A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of

THE SOVIET UNION AND REPUBLICS OF THE FORMER U.S.S.R.

Special Studies, 1992–1994

Supplement

UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS OF AMERICA
A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of

THE SOVIET UNION AND REPUBLICS OF THE FORMER U.S.S.R.
Special Studies, 1992–1994

Supplement

Project Coordinator
Paul Kesaris

Guide compiled by
Blair D. Hydrick

UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS OF AMERICA
An Imprint of CIS
4520 East-West Highway • Bethesda, MD 20814-3389
The Soviet Union and republics of the former U.S.S.R. [microform]: special studies, 1992-1994 : supplement. microfilm reels. — (Special studies series)

Accompanied by printed guide, compiled by Blair D. Hydrick, entitled: A guide to the microfilm edition of the Soviet Union and republics of the former U.S.S.R.

ISBN 1-55655-533-4 (microfilm)


II. University Publications of America (Firm) III. Title: Guide to the microfilm edition of the Soviet Union and republics of the former U.S.S.R. IV. Series: Special studies series (University Publications of America (Firm))

[UA770] 355'.033047—dc20 95-26364 CIP

Copyright © 1995 by University Publications of America. All rights reserved. ISBN 1-55655-533-4.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editorial Note ........................................................................................................ vii

Acronyms/Initialisms ........................................................................................... ix

Reel Index

Reel 1
USSR
  1990 .................................................................................................................. 1
  1991 .................................................................................................................. 5

Reels 2–3
USSR cont.
  1991 cont. ........................................................................................................ 6

Reel 4
USSR cont.
  1992 ................................................................................................................ 17
  1993 ................................................................................................................ 18

Reel 5
USSR cont.
  1993 cont. ....................................................................................................... 19
  1994 ................................................................................................................ 21
Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)
  1992 ................................................................................................................ 22

Reel 6
Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) cont.
  1992 cont. ........................................................................................................ 28
  1993 ................................................................................................................ 31
Reel 7
Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) cont.
1993 cont. ................................................................................................. 34
1994 ......................................................................................................... 35

Reel 8
Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) cont.
1994 cont. .................................................................................................. 36
Azerbaijan
1991 ....................................................................................................... 37
1993 ....................................................................................................... 37
Baltic States
1993 ....................................................................................................... 38
Belarus
1992 ....................................................................................................... 39
Estonia
1992 ....................................................................................................... 39
Georgia
1992 ....................................................................................................... 39
Kazakhstan
1994 ....................................................................................................... 40
1993 ....................................................................................................... 40
Central Asian States
1993 ....................................................................................................... 40
Latvia
1991 ....................................................................................................... 41
1992 ....................................................................................................... 41
Lithuania
1992 ....................................................................................................... 42
Moldova
1992 ....................................................................................................... 42
1993 ....................................................................................................... 42
Russian Federation
1991 ....................................................................................................... 43
1992 ....................................................................................................... 43

Reels 9–10
Russian Federation cont.
1992 cont. ............................................................................................... 44
EDITORIAL NOTE

The executive branch of the U.S. government requires a massive amount of information to make policy decisions. The many departments, agencies, and commissions of the government devote much of their energies to gathering and analyzing information. However, even the resources of the U.S. government are not adequate to gather all the information that is needed; therefore, the government contracts universities, colleges, corporations, think tanks, and individuals to provide data and analyses. Because the great majority of these studies are difficult to find and obtain, University Publications of America (UPA) publishes some of the most important ones in its Special Studies series. The Soviet Union and Republics of the Former U.S.S.R., 1992–1994 Supplement collection consists of studies on the U.S.S.R. that became available during the period 1992–1994.
ACRONYMS/INITIALISMS

The following acronyms and initialisms are used frequently in this guide and are listed here for the convenience of the researcher.

ASEAN  Association of South-East Asian Nations
CAC    Central Asian Countries
CDE    Conference Disarmament in Europe
CIS    Commonwealth of Independent States
CPSU   Communist Party of the Soviet Union
D.C.   District of Columbia
DOD    Department of Defense (U.S.)
EIA    Energy Information Administration
FESAP  Foreign Energy Supply Assessment Program
FSU    Former Soviet Union
GNP    Gross National Product
GRU    Chief Directorate of Military Intelligence
ICBM    Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles
INF    Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces
KGB    Committee of State Security
KOGB   Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Defense and State Security
MFA    Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MIA    Missing in Action
NA     Not Available
NATO  North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NIS    New Independent States
NKVD  People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs
NPT   Non-Proliferation Treaty
OECD  Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
POW   Prisoners of War
pp.   Pages
R&D   Research and Development
RF    Russian Federation
RSFSR Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic
S&T   Supply and Transport
START Strategic Arms Reduction Talks
UCLA  University of California, Los Angeles
UN    United Nations
USAID United States Agency for International Development
USGS  United States Geological Survey
USSR  Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Moscow’s Defense Intellectuals.
This essay was originally written two decades ago as a seminar paper. A substantial portion of it addresses what were then only the first steps toward the establishment of a community of professional civilian defense analysts in the Soviet Union. Throughout most of the intervening period, that community found itself mired in immobilism as jurisdiction over such key Soviet national security inputs as military doctrine, force requirements, resource needs, and to a considerable degree, arms negotiating positions remained an exclusive prerogative of the Defense Ministry and the General Staff. Today, this former military monopoly has come to be challenged with increasing success by a host of newcomers to the Soviet defense scene, including the Foreign Ministry, the Supreme Soviet, and an ambitious cadre of civilian analysts attached to the social science research institutes of the Academy of Sciences. These individuals are making a determined bid for greater influence over Soviet defense policy, with the express encouragement of President Gorbachev and his supporters. The result has been an unprecedented infusion of pluralism into Soviet defense politics and a significant change in the content and goals of Soviet military policy.

Glasnost and Soviet Foreign Policy.
This note examines the beginnings of Gorbachev’s glasnost, or openness, policy and its impact on Soviet foreign policy. It traces the gradual widening of Soviet public discussion of foreign and security policy issues and
identifies the external and domestic factors driving this development. It covers the period from 1985 through October 1988, but occasional reference is also made to later events.

Soviet leaders for the past twenty-five years have attempted to seize a small part of the defense industry success and bestow it on civilian industry through the transfer of defense managers and methods. Unfortunately, none of the magic has been captured in these hapless imitative ventures. Since the magic could not be transferred out of the defense production sphere, we have consequently witnessed since early 1988 the acceleration of efforts to increase the civilian output of defense industry. Civilian output will benefit in the short run from the use of the high-quality resource base, experience, and management practices built up under the regime of defense industry privilege. It will also benefit in the longer run from the absolute reallocation of resources. Over the longer run, the deep systemic problems of the Soviet economy will impose themselves on the defense industry’s production of civilian items.

0155 Gorbachev and Soviet Policy in the Third World.
Recent events around the world seem to indicate that Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev has made major changes in Soviet policy in the Third World. From developments such as the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, to a general decrease in military operations and arms transfers worldwide, evidence shows an increased Soviet willingness to seek political solutions to regional problems. While we in the West welcome such changes with cautious optimism, we should nevertheless scrutinize it under the light of the history of Soviet foreign policy.

0182 The Tradition of Change in Soviet Foreign Policy.
In four years as leader of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev has introduced radical changes in the theory and practices of Soviet foreign policy. In his self-proclaimed “new political thinking,” he has downplayed the importance of class struggle in international relations, emphasized “mutual security” and the role of politics in resolving disputes, and stressed the
interdependent nature of the contemporary world. He has called for common efforts to solve such problems as debt, hunger, pollution, and above all disarmament. The Soviets have also invoked new political thinking to explain a series of surprising policy moves, including the withdrawal of forces from Afghanistan, the acceptance of on-site inspection in the 1986 Conference on Disarmament in Europe (CDE) and the 1987 Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces (INF) agreements, and the payment of UN dues long in arrears.

Gorbachev’s First Five Years in the Soviet Leadership: The Clash of Personalities and the Remaking of Institutions.
This report provides a detailed overview of the multiple dilemmas that emerged during Gorbachev’s first five years in power under the impact of his effort to change the Soviet Union. The study seeks to show how the interwoven conflicts in different arenas of Soviet life have affected each other. The discussion reviews from five different aspects the struggle among the Soviet leaders from the spring of 1985 through the spring of 1990. Because the economic dimension is probably the decisive one, the report first traces how and why the Soviet leaders arrived at their present economic predicament. The study then reviews the purely political aspects of the leadership struggle as it evolved, and the implications of Gorbachev’s emerging political reforms for that struggle. It next discusses the main features of the nationality crisis around the country’s periphery as they affected Gorbachev in the center. The study then considers the evolution of Gorbachev’s relations with the military and their institutional consequences, and finally it weighs the implications of the political role of the KGB for the Gorbachev leadership. From these considerations, the report seeks to draw some overall conclusions about what is happening to Soviet institutions.

The Role of Shevardnadze and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Making of Soviet Defense and Arms Control Policy.
Since his surprise appointment in July 1985, Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has emerged as Gorbachev’s most important foreign policy adviser and an influential figure in internal debates on defense and arms control policy. He also has become increasingly critical of the Soviet military, which has resisted Military of Foreign Affairs (MFA) intrusions into its
Frame

domain. Shevardnadze's influence on national security policy derives from three sources. First, he is a personal friend of and close political adviser to Gorbachev, with a political stature unmatched by any military officer or defense official. Second, the intense pace of Soviet diplomacy since 1985 has meant that power has gravitated to those individuals and bureaucracies directly involved in East-West negotiations. Third, Gorbachev's new political thinking downplays the importance of military power in international politics, and has been interpreted by Shevardnadze as a mandate to the MFA to monitor the actions of the military to ensure that they are consistent with the USSR's newly proclaimed international obligations. Shevardnadze at first expressed rather traditional views. He supported a strong Soviet military posture and blamed the United States for most international problems. Initially, he did not call for radical changes either in the MFA or in Soviet foreign and defense policy. This situation began to change in May 1986, when Gorbachev gave an unusual speech to the MFA in which he demanded better performance from Soviet diplomats.

The End of a Monolith: The Politics of Military Reform in the Soviet Armed Forces.
This report analyzes the internal conflict within the Soviet armed forces that has developed as a result of the ongoing discussions about a fundamental reorganization into an all-volunteer/professional army or a territorial militia. It follows the rapid progression of the public debate, from its inception in 1988 as an unrealistic idea put forth by little-known radical reformers, to the present stage, where it has become one of the key issues on the Soviet national security agenda. The study identifies the major groups involved in discussions about military reform, examines their arguments, and assesses the impact of these discussions on the Soviet military institution.

Defense and the Macroeconomy in the Soviet Union.
The note addresses the relationship between defense and the macroeconomy in the Soviet Union. In the 1980s, the actual state of the Soviet economy is bleak. In considering the economic benefits that may ensue from reductions in defense spending, one needs to consider the extent to which the serious Soviet plight is attributable to the large size of the defense sector and the extent to which it is attributable to the shortcomings of the system itself.
This monograph seeks to identify and explain the major elements of continuity and change in Soviet military organization, concepts, and goals since the rise of President Gorbachev and his new political thinking. It looks beyond the rhetoric of glasnost and perestroika to the underlying motivations that account for the many departures that have occurred in such areas as Soviet declaratory rhetoric, operational doctrine, national security decision making, and defense resource allocation. This note assesses the personnel changes in the Soviet High Command since the dismissal of former Minister of Defense Marshal Sergei Sokolov in May 1987. It also offers three case studies of the most typical Gorbachev appointees.

Soviet Foreign Policy and the Revolutions of 1989 in Eastern Europe.
This report describes the revolutions of 1989 in Eastern Europe and the evolution of Soviet foreign policy toward the region in the 1980s.

Soviet International Finance in the Gorbachev Era.
This report was originally intended as a simple portrait of Soviet international financial practice: what kinds of international financial transactions the Soviet Union undertakes and who the counterparties to these transactions are. Since work began on this report in late 1989, though, the international financial circumstances of the Soviet Union have changed in important ways. In particular, the Soviet Union has gone from a first-class borrower, able to get the finest of terms in international credit markets, to what markets now perceive as a serious credit risk, able to borrow only with guarantees from Western governments. In addition to providing a profile of Soviet international financial activity, this report has necessarily also become a short history of the Soviet Union’s reversal of financial fortunes.
This paper analyzes the effects of increasing inter-ethnic tensions on the Soviet armed forces. While nationalist sentiments have long been a factor in the Soviet Union, Gorbachev’s policies of glasnost and democratization have allowed these tensions to come to the surface. Three factors related to the nationalities issue are addressed in this paper. First, problems with increased incidents of ethnically based hazing (zemlyachestvo) are discussed. The second factor examined is the problem of enforcing the draft in many of the Soviet republics. Third, this paper assesses the major cases of ethnic unrest within the Soviet Union since December 1986 and the
military's role in quelling this unrest. Nationalism has been an important factor in spurring the debates in the USSR about an all-volunteer force and the creation of national or territorial formations. In the broader sense, the question for the future will be whether the military (or segments of it) will be willing to act as the glue holding together a disintegrating Soviet Union.

Radioactive Waste Management in the USSR: A Review of Unclassified Sources, Volume II.
The Soviet Union does not currently have an overall radioactive waste management program or national laws that define objectives, procedures, and standards, although such a law is being developed, according to the Soviets. Occupational health and safety does not appear to receive major attention as it does in Western nations. In addition, construction practices that would be considered marginal in Western facilities show up in Soviet nuclear power and waste management operations. The issues involved with radioactive waste management and environmental restoration are being investigated at several large Soviet institutes; however, there is little apparent interdisciplinary integration between them, or interaction with the USSR Academy of Sciences. It is expected that a consensus on technical solutions will be achieved, but it may be slow in coming, especially for final disposal of high-level radioactive wastes and environmental restoration of contaminated areas. Meanwhile, many treatment, solidification, and disposal options for radioactive waste management are being investigated by the Soviets.

Energy Use and Conservation in the USSR: Patterns, Prospects and Problems.
This report presents an extensive analysis of the structure and intensity of energy use in the USSR since 1960. After a brief review of the energy supply situation in the USSR we analyze sectoral and sub-sectoral activity in the industrial, transportation, residential, and services sectors. The Soviet Union produces more steel and cement, and ships far more freight, per unit of income, than Western countries. But Soviet citizens have less space in their homes and in the service sector, fewer appliances, far fewer cars, and travel only one-third as much as their Western counterparts. A comparison of the energy intensities of key activities in the USSR with those of Western
countries shows that in most cases the Soviet Union uses more energy than Western countries per unit of activity. However, we reject aggregate measures as tools for analyzing the past evolution of Soviet energy use, or for predicting energy use in the future. This is because both the structure of the Soviet economy and the intensities of energy uses in the USSR differ so greatly from Western experience. The opportunities for energy conservation in the Soviet Union are truly enormous. Were the energy intensities of the major activities in the USSR to fall to the levels of Western Europe, energy use in the USSR would in 1985 have been one-third lower than it actually was. But there are many barriers to the realization of these savings. The problems in obtaining increased efficiencies are more institutional than technical: the USSR has had little economic incentive to invest in more efficient energy use. Energy prices determined by a central pricing authority have not kept pace with world energy prices or domestic energy production. The dilemma for the Soviet Union is that energy inefficiency is really a product of all the other inefficiencies in the Soviet economy.

Charting the Course of the Voyenno-Morskoy Flot: Soviet Naval Strategy Towards the Year 2000.

The Soviet navy exists as an element of a complex system of Soviet national security policy. Economic stagnation, political polarization, and centrifugal national unrest form the background surrounding the Soviet navy. Gorbachev’s perestroika reform program has brought fundamental changes to Soviet military doctrine, namely the requirements for reasonable sufficiency and a defensive doctrine. The methodology used in this study involved a combination of predictive systematization and the basic methods of intelligence analysis. Research was conducted in four stages: all-source collection, evaluation, analysis, and prediction. This analysis determined that there is an enduring Soviet national interest in maritime power. So far, the navy’s warfighting capabilities have not been affected by economic constraints. The Soviet navy of the year 2000 will be much smaller, but more technologically capable. This study predicts that it is structurally inconceivable that the Soviet navy will transition to an exclusively defensive strategy under new doctrinal requirements.
The Supreme Soviet and Soviet Defense Policy.
This thesis examines the potential role of the Supreme Soviet and its Committee for Questions of Defense and State Security (KOGB) in the formation of Soviet defense policy. Important events leading to the creation of the new Supreme Soviet and opening session debates on the appointment of the USSR defense minister and release of students from service in the armed forces are reviewed. The role of the KOGB in determining Soviet defense spending and military reform is also examined. The thesis concludes with an examination of the problems facing the KOGB, and points out that significant military reform will likely emerge from the Supreme Soviet should positive trends in Soviet political reform continue.

U.S.—Soviet Combined Operations: Can We Do It?
This study investigates the feasibility of conducting U.S.—Soviet combined operations from a military perspective. The emphasis is on identifying differences and similarities between U.S. and Soviet operational level of war concepts and coalition principles. Also investigated are the historical examples of U.S. and Soviet military cooperation during World War II. Finally, two case studies are included to provide examples of each nation's current application of their combined operations concepts. There are significant differences between U.S. and Soviet approaches to the operational level of war and coalition warfare that have the potential to adversely affect the outcome of military operations. However, U.S. concepts appear to exhibit sufficient flexibility to mitigate the effects of these discrepancies. The study contains the details of these differences, their potential effects on the outcomes of military operations, postulated command and control and liaison structures for the conduct of combined operations between the United States and the Soviets, and recommendations for further study.

Gorbachev, the Generals and the "Turn to the Right."
This thesis attempts to gauge the effects, on Soviet-Western relations and East European stability, of the conservative turn taken by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in late 1990 and early 1991. The signs of this move include: the repression in the Baltics, Foreign Minister Schevardnadze's
resignation, the removal of other reformist leaders from Gorbachev's retinue, and the growth of military influence. While apparently being negative for prospects of continued good relations and stability, this conservative turn was taken as a result of internal political dynamics and not specifically as a reaction against the West or against East European developments. Gorbachev, the new thinkers, and the foreign policy conservatives are involved in a power struggle. The conservatives, the generals, have gained influence and are now in a position to slow down but not derail the new thinking diplomacy. The "Turn to the Right" signals an end to the dramatic breakthrough diplomacy of 1989 and 1990 but is not a harbinger of a return to old relations. There is a power struggle going on in the USSR. Earlier, with Gorbachev on their side, the reformists were at the helm. As a result of their policies Eastern Europe was freed, the Cold War thawed, and East and West came closer together. Gorbachev has seemingly switched sides in the power struggle. The aim here is, by examining Soviet political maneuvering, to understand whether the influence of the conservatives has increased, and how this might affect the foreign policy achievements of the reformists.


In the classic studies of the Soviet enterprise, the failures of central planning are attributed, not to some traditional or noneconomic logic, but to the enterprise's rational pursuit of its own interests. Berliner and Granick have shown that rational strategies lead to irrational outcomes. Thus, enterprises bargain for loose plan targets by hiding resources, by not overfulfilling plans and by exaggerated underfulfillment of difficult targets. Enterprise performance is evaluated according to plan indicators that, if followed, lead to wasteful use of resources and the production of goods no one wants—heavy machinery, thin glass, or large nails. So, they conclude, it is impossible to create an incentive system that stimulates the production of what is needed. The more recent literature on enterprises in the reformed economies of Eastern Europe, particularly the Hungarian economy, argues that the same pathologies persist when physical planning gives way to fiscal planning.
The Future of the Soviet Union: What Is the Western Interest?
Uncertainty about the shape and character of the post–Cold War international system is dominated above all by uncertainty about the shape and character of its most unstable major component. Uncertainty about the Soviet Union has to do with the most basic questions bearing on the future of any state: its political structure, economic system, territorial configuration, and ethno-national composition. Rarely if ever in history have all of these fundamental questions been at issue simultaneously in any single state, certainly not in the absence of defeat in a major war. The range of possible outcomes of the Soviet crisis covers a large space. Radically different outcomes, none more commandingly plausible than others, could have vastly different consequences for the West. Highly schematic and simplistic visions of alternative Soviet futures have already become part of the Western conventional wisdom, and they are shaping emerging Western preferences and policies.

Rethinking the Role of Soviet Military Power.
This paper examines the changing role of the Soviet military and the military instrument in the Soviet system. It begins by identifying traditional Soviet foreign policy objectives and how they have changed under Gorbachev. In turn, these foreign policy shifts have played a part in redefining the role of the Soviet military. Changes in the General Staff's agenda are then examined, followed by an overview of the implications of the nationalities problem for the Soviet military. As the Soviet system faces a challenging time of change, the military must determine how it will participate in this change. This paper offers several alternative futures for the Soviet Union, with particular attention focused on the resultant alternative roles for Soviet foreign and security policy. This paper also argues that the security debates in the USSR, Eastern Europe, and Western Europe will all affect each other. Within the Soviet Union, the most important debate is the one between the union and the republics. The challenge for the West is to develop new approaches to our involvement in these security debates.
Reel 3

USSR cont.

1991 cont.

0001  
**USSR Agricultural Trade.**  
The report provides an overview of the factors affecting Soviet agricultural trade and the main patterns in Soviet agricultural trade, with special emphasis on grain and soybean trade. About 95 percent of U.S. agricultural exports and 70 percent of total U.S. exports to the USSR have been grains and oilseeds. The report's fifty-four tables provide a detailed statistical summary of USSR agricultural trade, with special emphasis on imports from and exports to the United States. Copies of the U.S.–USSR long-term grain agreements are included.

0114  
**Soviet Weapon-System Acquisition.**  
The Soviet Union has built the largest peacetime military establishment in history, a force whose size dwarfs any military establishment in the West. Only the combined efforts of the collective Western alliance can approach the Soviets' armament effort. The Soviet Union, in support of its military goals, has dedicated a larger share of its natural and industrial resources year after year to the production of military weapons than has any other country in peacetime. Research was undertaken to ascertain if the Soviet methodology of transitioning a weapon into production and subsequent manufacturing management differed significantly from U.S. practice and, if so, whether there were aspects of the Soviet methodology that could be usefully applied in managing U.S. weapons in the production/engineering and deployment to manufacturing stages. The document also reviews Soviet policies for logistical support of equipment.

0203  
**An Inside Look at Soviet Military Reform.**  
This paper examines a range of military-political issues associated with Soviet military reform from the perspective of a Soviet military officer. It begins by identifying the main reasons—both domestic and foreign—for the
current military reform effort in the USSR and analyzes the two main reform plans. The paper then identifies the economic factors that must be taken into consideration: the costs of military reform as well as the possible effects that conversion and the transition to a market economy may have on Soviet military reform. The positions of numerous political organizations on various military issues are examined, followed by an overview of interethnic tensions and changing demographics, and their effects on the military (including the creation of national formation). Soviet troop reductions and withdrawal from Eastern Europe and Mongolia present additional problems for consideration, namely from the perspective of the social problems they cause. The sixth chapter addresses legal guarantees for military reform and the idea of social protection for service personnel and their families. Finally, the paper examines the need to change the current conscription system and explains why a mixed system of conscripted forces combined with volunteers is the best option available. It concludes with a discussion of options for alternative service and presents data from public opinion surveys on this issue.

Arms Control with a Democracy?: Negotiating with the New Soviet Union.


This thesis analyzes a variety of aspects concerning arms control with a reformed Soviet Union. Despite the growth of pluralism in the Soviet Union, arms control will remain an important policy goal of the United States. Policy makers need to be aware of both new problems and opportunities that will be created as the Soviet Union transitions into a democracy. This study postulates four possible outcomes of Soviet governmental reform and then examines one in particular with respect to arms control with the Soviets in the future. Besides postulating the end form of Soviet government it looks at inter-democracy relationships with an eye on illuminating the particular idiosyncrasies involved in them. In addition, it analyzes the possibility of learning lessons from the interaction of previous U.S. democracy to democracy. Specifically, the U.S.–Japanese relationship in trade and security is utilized in this comparison. Arms control will still be necessary even if the Soviets are successful in the restructuring of their government. It may become more difficult rather than easier to reach arms control agreements with the new Soviet Union. A restructured Soviet Union must cause decision makers to rethink their approach to concluding successful arms control agreements.
Uncovering the “Hidden Wage”: Public Perceptions of Opportunities for Side Income in Various Occupations in the USSR.


It is well known that the monetary wage received by wage earners in the USSR by no means represents the true full compensation for their jobs. There is, in addition to the precuniary payment, a host of other material benefits, some of which are legal and well-publicized (e.g., enterprise-provided housing, meals on site, take-home food packages), while others are illegal or at best quasi-legal and, for that reason, are less public. Such illegal benefits include opportunities for pilferage or bribes, for shirking, or for engaging in private economic activity in connection with state employment. Although there have been many reports of the existence of this category or benefits, there has been no study of how their “hidden” nature influences economic behavior. The present report is an attempt to begin such an investigation.

Moscow, Seoul and Soviet Strategy in the Asia-Pacific Region.


The revolution that followed the abortive and counterrevolutionary Soviet coup of August 1991 opened a new page in Russian history. The possibility of an overall democratic reconstruction of all aspects of state policy beckoned as a possible reality for the first time since 1917. An important sector of that state policy was and remains Soviet or Russian policy towards the Asia-Pacific regions, the subject of this report. This report uses evolving Soviet policy in 1990–91 toward the Korean conflict as the fulcrum of a broader discussion of the struggle within Soviet politics between new and old thinking in regard to Asian policy. Focusing on Korean affairs but not exclusively so, this essay examines the rivalry between these two schools in the context of a policy whose evident strategic objective was to isolate Japan and reduce the American military presence, both conventional and nuclear, in that region.
This thesis explores the events in the Soviet Union that preceded the August 1991 coup. It will examine the failure of the coup itself. Using a methodology of policy analysis, two questions are investigated. The first is why did Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev seemingly align himself with conservatives during the fall and winter of 1990–91. Secondly, once the conservatives were in a position to control the USSR, why did they fail. The first question is answered by showing that Gorbachev’s movement away from reform was a pragmatic effort to retain his power as president of the USSR. The second question is answered by presenting evidence that reforms within the USSR had progressed to such a point that the media and the people were able to perform an important role in defeating the coup. The fact that the majority of the armed forces failed to support the plotters was also very significant.

Civil-Military Relations in the Soviet Union: Poised for Conflict.
The purpose of this research is to examine civil-military relations in the Soviet Union concluding with the August 1991 coup. Using a historical backdrop and existing case studies, it was illustrated that the military and political leadership had both conflict and consensus in their relationship. In an attempt to revive the stagnating Soviet economy, Gorbachev launched radical reforms under the guise of glasnost, perestroika, and new thinking. These changes had a significant impact on civil-military relations. Considerable access to the defense decision-making process was provided to a number of civilian institutions, reducing the military’s autonomy in military affairs. Glasnost provided the impetus for scrutiny and criticism of previous military policies, demoralizing the military leadership. Splits in the officer corps resulted from the enhanced political participation supported by Gorbachev. Lower and middle ranking officers in favor of reform became disillusioned with the conservatism of the High Command. The degree of conflict increased between the military and Gorbachev as concessions on arms control agreements, the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, and the deteriorating control over the republics had the military in a state of flux. Gorbachev’s persistence led to the collapse of Communist power and the ideology to which the military was bound. Further concessions made to
the republics created a power vacuum in Moscow. With no economic recovery in sight, and an impending Union Treaty that would have divulged further military control to the republics, the disgruntled High Command pledged its support to the coup d'état.

**USSR and the Baltic States: Leading Economic Players.**


Leading Soviet and Baltic officials for economic, financial, banking, and foreign trade policy are profiled in this Reference Aid. The following key is used to reflect the stance of each official in the spectrum of economic reform: (R) radical reformer; (M) moderate reformer; (C) cautious reformer.

**U.S.–Soviet Military Cooperation: An Exercise in Equipoise.**


On November 9, 1989, the world witnessed the beginning of the end of communism. The fall of the Berlin Wall symbolically signaled the subsequent demise of the Warsaw Pact and the eventual disintegration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Following nearly fifty years of Cold War hostility and mistrust between the United States and its archetypal enemy, the Soviet Union, there began to emerge a newfound sense of openness, conscience, and candor. Not only had the “new Soviets” developed a taste for democratic principles and free market economics, they also demonstrated uncharacteristic willingness to solicit technical and financial assistance from the West. The ultimate evidence of this remarkable metamorphosis was reflected in the Soviet Union's unprecedented support of U.S. policy in the recent Gulf War with Iraq. Given the dramatic lessening of tension between the two former superpower adversaries, the door has opened to a new phenomenon: U.S.–Soviet military cooperation. Six such initiatives are discussed herein: Moving to a Professional Army, Building a National Guard, United Nations Peacekeeping, Exchanging Comradeship, Nation Building, and Supporting Arms Destruction. It is proposed that such collaborative efforts will foster a more stable globe, decrease the potential for future U.S.–Soviet conflict, and provide humanitarian relief and assistance to the Third World.
Frame

Reel 4

USSR cont.

1992

0001 Soviet Style in War.
This report tries, through a close study of Soviet and other comments on war and on the Soviet armed forces in peacetime, to contribute to conjectures about how the Soviets—particularly the Soviet ground forces—would fight. This study is a revision of an original work first published in 1982.

0406 OECD Trade with the USSR and Eastern Europe.
The publication provides the most recent detailed commodity statistics of OECD trade with the USSR and Eastern Europe, trade of the five largest OECD countries with the region, and U.S. trade with individual countries of the region.

0529 A Case Study: Afghanistan—A Soviet Failure.
Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan, wrote nearly a century ago, "The friendship of Afghanistan is of no service to Russia whatsoever, beyond allowing her to pass through the country to India, which means placing Afghanistan under the foot of Russia." During Christmas 1979, the Soviet armed forces crossed the borders of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and seized control in Kabul. What were the reasons behind the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviets? This international crisis has puzzled many because of lack of basic information. This case study will analyze the Soviet strategic objectives or goals as well as the factors that contributed to their decision to invade and occupy Afghanistan. Additionally, the paper will review the Soviet failures in Afghanistan and propose some lessons learned for the United States from their failures. To accomplish this, the case study will first briefly examine Afghanistan's demography and history. The paper will then describe the economic and political developments that preceded the Soviet invasion.
Post-Soviet Strategic Interests in the Middle East: A Perspective for the 1990s.


The disintegration of the Soviet Union in December 1991 left analysts pondering the direction of post-Soviet foreign policy. Post-Soviet involvement in the Middle East was particularly ambiguous and remained so through at least the early months of 1992. This paper, written in April 1992, considers the likely future involvement of a dissolved Soviet Union in the region based upon Russian/Soviet history, ongoing domestic concerns, and foreign policy imperatives, and addresses implications for the United States. Given the deideologization of post-Soviet policy, the Middle East has lost its compelling interest as an arena for superpower competition. This notable shift in policy, along with the republics' inward focus, means that the Commonwealth of Independent States will remain largely uninterested in the Middle East and will offer little challenge to U.S. interests in the region. Although the issues of oil and the realignment of the former Central Asian republics will be of interest to the United States, they need not be of major concern. In fact, it is critical for the United States to resist pressures to view the world through the old Cold War mindset that assumed every world event involving the Soviet Union was potentially damaging to U.S. interests. The real challenge now for U.S. Middle East policy makers is to construct a policy based on mutual American/Soviet interests in the region.


The estimates in this collection represent broad areas of Soviet activity that interested the U.S. government during the 1950s. In that decade the CIA produced approximately 125 estimates on the USSR exclusive of those dealing with Soviet strategic nuclear forces. Of those 125 estimates, we have selected twenty-seven. This volume is divided into four parts. The first section contains estimates on Soviet internal issues: the state of science and technology, the question of leadership succession after Stalin's death, and economics. The second section deals with Soviet foreign policy in Asia, Europe, and the Middle East. The third section includes estimates about the global confrontation between East and West: nuclear weapons, balance of power questions, overall Soviet capabilities, and the probability of general
war. The last section concerns nuclear arms control. An introductory summary precedes each section, in which the documents appear chronologically.


This monograph describes the structures, access, and declassification procedures for Soviet-era civil and military archives located in Moscow. Although there are numerous holdings within former Soviet territory housing materials dated between 1917 and 1991, only those associated with the top leadership bodies (the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) Politburo, Secretariat, and Central Committee); the diplomatic, security, and intelligence services (the NKVD, KGB, and GRU); and the former Soviet military are examined in this paper. The author gathered most of the information for this document through interviews with Russian archive officials during a visit to Moscow between May 23 and May 31, 1992. The information cutoff is October 1992. This monograph is a part of the ongoing RAND project on World War II, the early Cold War, and Korean War POW-MIA issues. Research for this paper was sponsored by the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy and undertaken within the International Security and Defense Strategy Program of RAND's National Defense Research Institute, a federally funded research and development center sponsored by the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Staff. The monograph is expected to be of interest to officials and specialists seeking information on the organization of the post-Soviet archives.

Reel 5

USSR cont.

1993 cont.

Soviet Nationality Policy and National Identity in the Transcaucasian Republics: Drawing Together or Tearing Apart?

This paper will discuss Soviet nationality policies and specifically the characteristics and effects of these policies in the three Transcaucasian Republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. Through the use of demo-
graphic and linguistic data, a general assessment of the effectiveness of the Soviet attempt to erase national distinctions will be made. Did Soviet nationality policy in Transcaucasia encourage the ethnic groups to unify, or did these policies help to tear the USSR apart by sowing the seeds of nationalism?

**The Deterrent Value of U.S. Army Doctrine: The Active Defense and AirLand Battle in Soviet Military Thought.**

*Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, William K. Sutey. May 14, 1993. 64pp.*

This study seeks to isolate and probe the possible deterrent influence of conventional doctrine through a case study of the former Soviet Union's reaction to the U.S. Army's doctrinal evolution from 1976 (Active Defense) to 1985 (AirLand Battle). U.S. military doctrine is a function of government's policies regarding the protection of national interests, theories of war, and the best use of available and emerging military technologies and organization. In international relations, the quality of military doctrine has critical importance because it influences states' perceptions of and reactions to one another that may affect the likelihood of peace or war.

**Political Socialization of Youth in the Soviet Union: Its Theory, Use and Results.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Jean Macintyre. June 1993. 78pp.*

The political socialization of youth in the Soviet Union was recognized by the early Bolsheviks as critical to the future of the new socialist society. Their efforts included plans for Unified Labor Schools and compulsory education to develop a literature and politically aware proletarian force to continue the Communist struggle. Later schools and political socialization became a matter of strict Communist Party control from the smallest Octobrist unit to the Young Pioneer *zarnitsa* camps to the university Komsomol organizations. Despite the vast resources dedicated to *vospitanie* and Basic Military Training for youth, these socialization efforts were remarkably unsuccessful in producing the New Soviet Man. This lack of success in political socialization was clearly demonstrated by numerous factors, among them the many youth resisting the draft prior to the breakup of the Soviet Union, the speed of that breakup, the emerging ties to the capitalist West, and the lack of faith in the economy. This does not mean that seventy years of life in a Communist society did not socialize the youth to some extent. This research
suggests that they were more affected by the lack of information about non-Communist topics, such as a market economy and democracy, than they were by political socialization from the state.

**Soviet-Israeli Relations under Gorbachev.**


Upon Mikhail Gorbachev's accession to power on March 10, 1985, Soviet-Israeli relations were generally in the same state as they had been since 1967: formal relations between the states did not exist. From this point in 1985, relations between the two states progressed from a state of virulent verbal exchanges to the restoration of full diplomatic relations on October 18, 1991. When receiving this process, one can be misled to point to 1987 as the year when the Gorbachev government began the active pursuit of relations, relegating 1985–86 to a period of little change from previous administrations. The years 1985 and 1986 were a continuation of the status quo, but not because of the desires of the Gorbachev government. Instead, this group did not believe that their situation was secure enough to initiate change in this period. Thus, in their view, before starting out on this obviously controversial path, they had to attack each of these forces. Then once these forces were weak enough for them to act decisively, they would do so. This paper will present how the Gorbachev team sought to reestablish ties with Israel within the framework of "new thinking." First, the factors contributing to their belief that relations could, indeed, be reestablished will be examined. Second, a six-step Soviet approach to relations will be presented. Third, the period 1985–86 will be examined in regard to this six-step approach. Fourth, the period 1987–91 will be examined in the same manner. Fifth, the conservative resurgence in the final months before reestablishment of relations will be reviewed. The sum of this information will reinforce the view that the Gorbachev team had to create and initiate a coordinated plan in order to surmount the obstacles.

**The Soviet-Afghan War: Another Look.**

*Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, Mark S. Caren. June 17, 1994. 30pp.*

This research effort reviews the Soviet military’s involvement in Afghanistan from four general perspectives: (1) systemic problems in Soviet military culture, (2) the use of surprise, (3) operational maneuver and preeminence of aviation, and (4) employment of mines and chemical weapons, as an
extension of maneuver warfare. This paper concludes that the lessons of this war have been learned by the Russians. There is every reason to believe that they can achieve the level of doctrinal changes required to be successful in future "local" interventions. It must be accompanied, however, by corresponding socio-military reform.

**Commonwealth of Independent States**

1992


The disintegration of the Soviet Union into a dozen new republics has completely changed the way the region operates internally and externally. Not only have domestic institutions and programs collapsed, but international relations and agreements, many of which were recently brought about because of glasnost, are now in limbo or no longer apply. One such area in question is an agreement between the United States and the former Soviet Union (FSU) calling for the two countries to cooperate both internationally and in each other's territories on natural and manmade disasters. In fact, there is increased concern on the part of the United States and other Western nations that the FSU will not be able to cope with the next natural or manmade disaster in its own territory, much less take steps to prevent one from happening. The region is unstable and a major disaster could have adverse consequences on the administration's peace initiatives.


The Reference Aid gives an overview of the twelve republics that made up the former Soviet Union, as well as the three Baltic states. Included for each are basic demographic data, trends in ethnic composition, economic significance, and a map.
Obstacles to Trade and Investment in the New Republics of the Former Soviet Union: A Review of Impediments as Seen by the U.S. Business Community.


As the United States develops ways to assist the new nations of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) make the transition to market democracies, a key need is the immediate involvement of American businesses. However, they are deterred by the chaotic business climate and enormous political and economic risks that are seen as disproportionate to the likely rewards. The most significant barriers in the CIS are: Instability and uncertainty in regulations and laws, especially huge and unpredictable changes in tax rates; uncertain ownership, particularly of natural resources, compounded by disputes and overlapping jurisdiction among various levels of government; currency inconvertibility, worsened by collapse of the banking system, by regulations making countertrade difficult, and by unpaid debts; severe lack of commercial, legal, and market information; high cost and difficulty of establishing offices; serious visa restrictions and internal travel difficulties; severe physical and legal infrastructure problems; lack of a normal bilateral commercial relationship between the United States and the CIS republics; shortcomings in U.S. financial and commercial support; and the absence of a comprehensive U.S. business-government partnership.

The Soviet Region, the Environment and U.S. National Security.


This paper conveys an aspect of national security planning that is rarely discussed—environmental policy. It makes four essential points. First, environmental pollution is an international problem requiring international solutions. Second, environmental issues are integral to the prospect of economic vitality. Third, the Soviet Union has a history of environmental abuse and is now paying an economic and social price that must be reversed. And finally, since regional stability is an important U.S. interest, the United States should be concerned and helpful in resolving the Soviet region's environmental crisis.
In the recent years we have seen significant changes in the Soviet Union that have radically altered the way we have conducted business. Now, it is no longer the Soviet Union, but the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). We are now making wholesale unilateral cuts in our defense structure as the CIS is viewed as “our friend” and no longer “the Evil Empire.” We are supplying the CIS with food and loan credits, and are even offering assistance to help them destroy nuclear weapons. Even though the world has changed, the CIS remains the only country on the face of the earth capable of destroying the United States in a nuclear holocaust.

The demise of the Soviet Union has left the West struggling for a strategy to deal with its former republics. It is clearly in the collective interest of the West for these fledgling democracies to succeed. However, after seventy years of adversarial relations, Western nations are reluctant to provide the economic aid that is needed. This paper concludes that the West should deal with the former republics through a strategy of mutual economic engagement. The republics should liberalize price controls, privatize property, and permit free trade and foreign investment. In return, the West should provide the republics funds for currency stabilization and balance-of-payments support, assist in development of private sector, and provide technical assistance.

The evolution of the Soviet Union places the United States and other Western countries in a dilemma with two alternatives. One, to stand by and observe events, only providing economic aid after events solidify and alternatives become clear, or two, provide sufficient economic assistance to ensure that the political sorting-out process in the former Soviet Union is allowed to run its course, fostering an orderly completion of a transition away from a Communist-style society and nurturing democratic forces forming in
Russia and other republics. This paper discusses economic aid to the former Soviet Union and recommends an expanded assistance role through private investment and peaceful use of the U.S. military. The development of this recommendation is based on an examination of four related topics: United States historical support to Russia and later to the Soviet Union beginning in 1882; principal economic problems facing the former Soviet Union; recent ex-Soviet aid requests and the Free World's response; and the United States' current aid policy for the ex-Soviet republics.

**Statements on the Control and Disposition of CIS Nuclear Weapons.**

This Special Memorandum includes selected statements on the control and future disposition of the CIS nuclear arsenal by officials of the commonwealth military and of the four CIS member states with nuclear weapons in their territories through April 14, 1992.

**Violence in the Caucasus.**
*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Albert L. Patterson, III. April 15, 1992. 45pp.*

Tremendous change has been taking place recently in what used to be the Soviet Union. Since 1988, former Soviet President Gorbachev's policies of glasnost and perestroika produced significant changes and turmoil in the Caucasus region of the union. This report analyzes the situation in the Caucasus region as of March 1992 with emphasis on regional political structure and status of conflicts in the area. A review of United States, Russian, Commonwealth of Independent States, Turkish, Iranian, and Saudi Arabian interests presents insight into their potential for future involvement. Nations rushing to establish ties in this newly independent region found civil war, struggles for independence, territorial disputes, religious war, and even claims of impending genocide in the wake of Soviet retreat. The report gives descriptions of eight current conflicts and assesses their likelihood for escalation or settlement. The emerging importance of international organizations such as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is evident. Focus is on new demands placed on these organizations and their potential to help in conflict settlement or peace-times.
Pan-Turkism, Turkey and the Muslim Peoples of the Former Soviet Union: A Modern Problem in Hysteria Context.


The dissolution of the Soviet Union resulted in the creation of six new Muslim nations in Central Asia and the Caucasus, as well as increased activism of Muslim peoples within the Russian federation. In all, there are more than 54 million Muslims in the former Soviet Union, more than 90 percent of whom are Turkish, with the remainder being Iranian (Tajik) and a small number of Caucasians. Little is known about these peoples in the West, but many tout Turkey as a role model for the new Muslim nations to follow. This paper looks at the origins and historical development of the Muslim peoples of the former Soviet Union. It traces the formation of the great Turk and Mongol/Turkish empires of pre-Russian times, conflict and assimilation by the Russians, the spread of Islam, and the influences of the Soviet era. The paper also reviews the formation and impact of the pan-Islamic, Islamic modernization (Jadid), and pan-Turkish movements in Russia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and discusses their relevance to the events occurring in the former Soviet Union today. While many have forecast the formation of a new Turkish empire from the remnants of the Soviet empire, the paper discusses the impracticality of such a vision and the impact history will have on the direction the Muslim peoples of the former Soviet Union will take in the future.

*Foreign Affairs Chronology of Central Eurasia (Late December 1991–Early April 1992).*


The Central Eurasian chronology lists major foreign affairs visits, meetings, and statements of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), CIS member states, and Baltic states at international, regional, and interregional levels during the first three months of 1992 as reported in the media.

*Science, Technology and Industrial Policy in the Former Soviet Union.*


This conference was intended to give members of the American government and business communities a better understanding of the changes taking place in science, technology, and industry in the former Soviet Union. Science and technology issues were accorded a prominent place in the program of perestroika. In the six turbulent years of perestroika great strides
were made in identifying problems, shortcomings, and difficult relationships. But implementation of solutions to the problems has been far more modest. The science and technology community has been affected by the turmoil in the country, and continues to search for a viable and productive future. The objective of the conference was to examine the current state of science, technology, and industry in Russia and the other states of the commonwealth, and consider its possible future development. The specific topics and questions conference speakers were asked to address included: Analyze current science, technology, and industrial policy. What is the new legal framework for science, technology, and industry. How are property rights and intellectual property rights being handled. What has been done to ensure individual rights and freedoms. What are the organizational and management structures at the national level and at lower levels. What impact is decentralization having on priorities and funding. What industries are being denationalized. What will be the relationship between private and government sponsored research. To what extent will reductions in the budget for military research and development (R&D) affect nondefense supply and transport (S&T) funding. How will reductions in military R&D affect the long-term outlook for research. How serious has the brain-drain become in the military R&D sector. What has been the effect of glasnost on the R&D community. How might improved international contacts affect S&T. What economic forecasting, if any, is feasible.

**Former USSR Agriculture and Trade Report: Situation and Outlook Series.**


In 1991 real gross national product, industrial production, and agricultural output in the former Soviet Union all dropped between 7 and 17 percent. Even more serious, though, was the breakdown in the country’s distribution system. Contributing factors were the termination of the All-Union central supply system that accompanied the union’s political demise, and chronic weaknesses in the country’s physical infrastructure. A third reason was the collapse in the ruble’s power as effective money as a result of destabilizing price, wage, fiscal, and monetary policies pursued both before and after the coup. With output continuing to drop and the former planned command system largely discredited, almost all the newly independent states began 1992 committed to some form of decentralizing economic reform. Russia has taken the lead, with an ambitious program intended to create a system much closer to market capitalism than socialism.
This Special Memorandum includes documents adopted by the heads of state and heads of government of the Commonwealth of Independent States during the first five months of its existence—through April 30, 1992. This memorandum includes a chart indicating the attendees at each meeting of the heads of state or heads of government and the signatories of each agreement as well as a reference to the page on which the texts of the agreements are found.

Reel 6

Commonwealth of Independent States cont.
1992 cont.

Potential CIS/Russian Targets.
This paper (based on the limited unclassified literature available) describes potential target sets in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and Russia. If in the future the CIS or Russia should revert to a posture of hostility, it is estimated that the capability to deliver on target a few hundred nuclear weapons should be sufficient for deterrence.

Radioactive Waste Management on the Former USSR, Volume III.
Radioactive waste materials—and the methods being used to treat, process, store, transport, and dispose of them—have come under increased scrutiny over last decade, both nationally and internationally. Nuclear waste practices in the former Soviet Union, arguably the world's largest nuclear waste management system, are of obvious interest and may affect practices in other countries. In addition, poor waste management practices are causing increasing technical, political, and economic problems for the Soviet Union, and this will undoubtedly influence future strategies. This report was prepared as part of a continuing effort to gain a better understanding of the radioactive waste management program in the former Soviet
Frame

Union. The scope of this study covers all publicly known radioactive waste management activities in the former Soviet Union as of April 1992, and is based on a review of a wide variety of literature sources, including documents, meeting presentations, and database searches of worldwide press releases. The study focuses primarily on nuclear waste management activities in the former Soviet Union, but relevant background information on nuclear reactors is also provided in appendixes.

0196

Foreign Affairs Chronology of Central Eurasia (Late March–June 1992).
The Central Eurasian chronology lists major foreign affairs visits, meetings, and statements of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and individual Central Eurasian states at international, regional, and interregional levels during the second quarter of 1992 as reported in the media.

0251

Top Officials in Central Asia.
This primer on leaders in the Central Asian region (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan) provides biographic snapshots of key figures in each country. In addition, a directory of cabinet ministers, other leading officials, and political parties and movements is included.

0295

Radioactive Contamination of the Arctic Region, Baltic Sea and the Sea of Japan from Activities in the Former Soviet Union.
Contamination of the Arctic regions of northern Europe and Russia, as well as the Sea of Japan, may become a potential major hazard to the ecosystem of these large areas. Widespread poor radioactive waste management practices from nuclear fuel cycle activities in the former Soviet Union have resulted in direct discharges to this area as well as multiple sources that may continue to release additional radioactivity. Information on the discharges of radioactive materials has become more commonplace in the last year, and a clearer picture is emerging of the scale of the contamination. Radioactivity in the Arctic oceans is now reported to be four times higher than would be derived from fallout from weapons tests. Although the characteristics and extent of the contamination are not well known, it has been stated that the contamination in the Arctic may range from 1 billion to 3.5 billion curies. As
yet, no scientific sampling or measurement program has occurred that can verify the amount or extent of the contamination, or its potential impact on the ecosystem.

**An Analysis of Joint Ventures between the United States and the Commonwealth of Independent States.**


The purpose of this study was to develop insights for those who wish to engage in joint ventures with the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Over the last seventy years, joint ventures with the West have been scarce in the USSR. With the dissolution of the USSR, opportunities for commerce have greatly improved. Most Western countries are seeking to take advantage of the natural resources and untapped consumer market in the CIS. Consequently, companies wanting to engage in commercial endeavors will need current information on the different financial, cultural, organizational, and logistical issues that are peculiar to the CIS. This research provides insights into the current dynamic environment that will be found in doing business with CIS entities. A comprehensive approach has been taken with the existing literature on past and present joint ventures between the United States and the CIS. To further the understanding of the business climate, case studies were conducted. Through analysis of joint ventures, information was refined to reflect issues arising from these case studies.

**Drug Trafficking and Abuse in the Former Soviet Union.**


This report examines drug trafficking and abuse within the newly independent republics of the former Soviet Union. Due to the magnitude of the recent political, social, and economic changes in this region, unprecedented opportunities for domestic and international drug trafficking organizations have been developing. Consequently, the former Soviet republics face a dangerous array of drug law enforcement challenges and threats. Primary among these complex threats are large-scale opium poppy and cannabis cultivation, money laundering, domestic drug abuse, and the transshipment of drugs from Latin America, Asia, and the Middle East through these republics en route to Europe and the United States.
0421 Foreign Affairs Chronology of Central Eurasia (Late June–Early October 1992).
The Central Eurasian chronology lists major foreign affairs visits, meetings, and statements of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and individual Central Eurasian states at international, regional, and interregional levels during the third quarter of 1992 as reported in the media.

0460 Border Issues of Soviet Successor States in Asia.

1993

0629 Department of Defense Assistance to the Former Soviet Republics: Potential Applications of Existing Army Capabilities.
This report explores potential applications of existing U.S. Army nation assistance capabilities in twelve former Soviet republics. It assesses the costs and benefits of missions that would press the army further into the service of the U.S. aid effort in the region, beyond the scope of current Defense Department (DOD) involvement. The study looks at army roles that would replicate or build on current army and DOD foreign assistance programs, with emphasis on so-called dual-purpose aid actions that would serve both army and host-nation interests. The research helps connect a renewed army focus on noncombat missions with U.S. national objectives in the former Soviet Union. It should be of interest to army and DOD audiences concerned with nation assistance, force planning and training issues, and Slavic/Eurasian affairs. It also should be of interest to policy makers and analysts concerned with U.S. assistance to the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union.
The Defense Industries of Newly Independent States of Eurasia.
This paper provides a general overview of the defense-industrial base in each of the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union. The defense industry of the Soviet Union comprised a vast network of widely dispersed—but centrally controlled and highly interdependent—final assembly plants, component producers, and material production facilities, as well as research, development, and test facilities. With the breakup of the Soviet Union, some of the now-independent states are establishing their own defense industries on the basis of those former Soviet facilities located on their territory.

Foreign Affairs Chronology of Central Eurasia (Late September–December 1992).
The Central Eurasian chronology lists major foreign affairs visits, meetings, and statements of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and individual Central Eurasian states at international, regional, and interregional levels during the fourth quarter of 1992 as reported in the media.

Foreign Affairs Chronology of Central Eurasia (Late December 1992–March 1993).
The Central Eurasian chronology lists major foreign affairs visits, meetings, and statements of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and individual Central Eurasian states at international, regional, and interregional levels during the first quarter of 1993 as reported in the media.

Trade and Investment Patterns in the Crude Petroleum and Natural Gas Sectors of the Energy-producing States of the Former Soviet Union.
This report contains information on laws, regulations, and prices in the newly independent states that is pertinent to their crude petroleum and natural gas sectors. To the extent possible, this report contains the most up-to-date information available as of mid-June 1993. The reader should be aware, however, that the legislative environment in the newly independent states is very fluid: laws, regulations, and decrees change frequently.
Military Doctrine and Strategy in the Former Soviet Union: Implications for the Navy.
Report considers the debate over military doctrine and strategy in the final days of the Soviet Union and the first six months of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and Russian Federation. Since the direction that the CIS and former Soviet republics will take should be cast in terms of their immediate past, a brief review of recent Soviet history is warranted. The report then shifts to an analysis of the organizational development of the armed forces themselves. Having considered these overall questions, the report then outlines their implications for the navy. The source material for this report is the open-source literature and statements of authorized spokesmen in the former Soviet Union.

Agricultural Statistics of the Former USSR Republics and the Baltic States.
The bulletin consists of 259 tables of agricultural statistics for each of the fifteen republics as well as for the aggregate former USSR. The statistics cover land use; farm structure; population and labor force; inventories, deliveries, and scrapping rates of farm machinery; availability and use of mineral fertilizers; area, yield, production, and procurement of selected grains; livestock inventories; production and procurement of livestock products; area, yield, production, and procurement of selected crops (seed cotton, sugarbeets, sunflowers, fiber flax, potatoes, vegetables, fruits and berries, grapes, and tobacco); and per capita annual consumption of selected food products.

Foreign Affairs Chronology of Central Eurasia (Late June–Early October 1993).
The Central Eurasian chronology lists major foreign affairs visits, meetings, and statements of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and individual Central Eurasian states at international, regional, and interregional levels during the third quarter of 1993 as reported in the media.
Commonwealth of Independent States cont.

1993 cont.


0296 National Independence and Nonproliferation in the New States of Central Asia. Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, Livermore, California, Gregory Gleason. December 1993. 37pp. Five independent states emerged in Central Asia from the breakup of the USSR. One of these states, Kazakhstan, possesses nuclear weapons. The other four states, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, are not known to possess nuclear weapons; however, they occupy a geostrategic position that makes them important to nonproliferation efforts. The present report profiles the capabilities and intentions of these four Central Asian states. The analysis of capabilities suggests that none of these states has the capability to develop a usable nuclear weapon. However, all of these countries—especially Uzbekistan—have components of the old Soviet nuclear weapons complex that are now orphans. They have no use for these facilities and must either re-profile them, destroy them, or transfer them. The analysis of intentions suggests that the dynamics of national independence have created a situation in which Uzbekistan has hegemonic designs in the region. Implications for retarding nuclear proliferation in the Central Asian region are examined. Opportunities for outside influence are assessed.
1994

0333 U.S. Company Offices in Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Russia (Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Russian Far East).

This document is a directory of U.S. company offices in Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and Russia (Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Russian Far East). The companies are listed in alphabetical order with contact names, mailing/e-mail addresses, and telephone/fax/telex numbers. Each entry, except for those listed in Belarus, contains a brief description of the company.

0492 Foreign Affairs Chronology of Central Eurasia (Late September–December 1993).

The Central Eurasian chronology lists major foreign affairs visits, meetings, and statements of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and individual Central Eurasian states at international, regional, and interregional levels during the fourth quarter of 1993 as reported in the media.

0530 Foreign Affairs Chronology of Central Eurasia (December 1993–March 1994).

The Central Eurasian chronology lists major foreign affairs visits, meetings, and statements of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and individual Central Eurasian states at international, regional, and interregional levels during the first quarter of 1994 as reported in the media.

0575 Former USSR International Agriculture and Trade Reports, Situation and Outlook Series.

The economic reforms and tight financial constraints in the countries of the former Soviet Union (FSU) have caused significant reductions in import demand for a number of agricultural commodities since the demise of the USSR in 1991. Total FSU imports of grain, which averaged over 40 million tons in the 1980s, fell to an estimated 20.5 million tons in 1993/94, the lowest in over fifteen years. However, even with the sharp drop in grain imports, the
FSU remains among the world's largest grain buyers. High external debt and large budget deficits have left FSU governments less able to import agricultural commodities, other than those financed by loans or imported as food aid. Fairly stable grain production and procurements in the FSU during the last two years have dampened import demand as well.

0673 Fueling Reform: Energy Technologies for the Former East Bloc. 
The report focuses on the Soviet Union. The report: reviews energy supply technologies for fossil-fuel and nonfossil-based energy resources; reviews the environmental consequences of energy production and consumption; highlights specific needs for U.S. technology and opportunities for U.S. business; describes the highly varied political, economic, and social context of reform; and analyzes and catalogues Western energy-related assistance and investment programs for the region.

0888 Proliferation and the Former Soviet Union.
The report examines the whole range of consequences for proliferation of weapons of mass destruction of the Soviet Union's breakup and describes how U.S. assistance may reduce specific proliferation risks in the former Soviet Union.

Reel 8

Commonwealth of Independent States cont.

1994 cont.

0001 Legal Text Service: Central and Eastern Europe and Russia and Independent States—List of Commercial Laws and Regulations. 
This catalog lists texts of recently enacted foreign commercial laws and regulations received by the U.S. Department of Commerce.
Azerbaijan

1991

Transcaucasus in Transition.
The three Soviet Transcaucasian republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia experienced growing political and ethnic unrest, as well as increased aspirations for self-determination, in the late 1980s and early 1990s. As the Communist system has fallen deeper into crisis throughout the Soviet Union, popular movements have gained strength and varying degrees of power in all three republics, despite bureaucratic Communist holdovers in the republic administrations. Popular movements in all three republics have declared their intention to withdraw from the Soviet Union. This note analyzes the political problems and aspirations of the major Transcaucasian ethnic groups. The analysis is based on the author's participation in a conference on Soviet Caucasia at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in July 1990; on Radio Liberty's weekly Report on the USSR; and on the Central Asia and Caucasus Chronicle, published by the Society for Central Asian Studies.

1993

After decades of Communist domination, Azerbaijan and the Central Asian Countries (CACs) are reemerging in an increasingly critical, geopolitical significant region of the world. With an estimated 60 million population, and with its natural resources, this area constitutes an important region in its own right. The area's potential volatility could ripple throughout the Persian Gulf and affect Turkey, Iran, and Saudi Arabia. Those three states are involved in an ongoing struggle over influence in the region, and their policies and actions toward Azerbaijan and the CACs should be watched carefully for signs of increased intervention. Although the rapidly changing political situation within the region and on its periphery may cause details of the analysis to become outdated, the fundamental ethnic, religious, and economic cleavages identified will remain and continue to shape regional trends. To date, there have been several important policy developments
among Azerbaijan, Central Asia, and the Persian Gulf states. The effects of events in Azerbaijan and Central Asia on stability in the Persian Gulf must also be weighed against influences emanating from Europe, the Middle East, and Southwest Asia.

**Baltic States**

1993

**The Baltics: Regional Energy Profiles.**


All three Baltic Republics are heavily dependent on primary energy imports. Domestic energy sources in the Baltics are limited to oil shale mines in Estonia, small oil deposits in Lithuania, peat, and some very small hydroelectric power plants. A RBMK nuclear power station, similar to Chernobyl, operates at Snieckus in Lithuania, but the reactor fuel is imported from Russia. However, Lithuania and Estonia are net exporters of electricity despite their reliance on primary fuels imports. The major power stations in these two republics are the Ignalina Nuclear Power Station and the two thermal power plants at Narva in Estonia, which are fueled by oil shale. The only oil refinery in the Baltics is also located in Lithuania, at Mazeikiai. This refinery has the capacity to satisfy the demand for selected refined products of the entire region, including the Kaliningrad *oblast*, a noncontiguous part of Russia. The Mazeikiai refinery has operated at only 40 to 60 percent capacity since 1990 due to halts in crude oil supplies from Russia. The Baltic Republics also import 100 percent of their coal and natural gas supplies. Russia is the main trading partner for all the Baltic states, accounting for more than half of their trade flow. Mutual trade within the Baltics has been surprisingly low. Other Baltic states contribute less than 10 percent to each republic's exports or imports, even less than Belarus or Ukraine. Aside from Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus, only Kazakhstan contributes more than 2 percent to Baltics trade.
Belarus

1992

Top Officials of Belarus.


Belarusian politics are characterized by the absence of a dominant political leader: executive power is divided between Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich and Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich. Former Communist Party apparatchiks dominate both the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers. This guide identifies and provides background information on selected government officials and political figures in Belarus, including lists of the members of the Council of Ministers, state committee chairmen, and chairmen of key commissions of the Supreme Soviet. It also provides basic information on the more prominent opposition parties and movements, which are attempting to reform these political structures.

Estonia

1992

Estonia: An Economic Profile.


This profile provides a description of the geography, population, and economy of Estonia and compares its level of development, growth, and social welfare to that in Finland and Sweden.

Georgia

1992

Top Officials in Georgia.


The primer of leaders in Georgia provides biographic snapshots of top officials in the Georgian government, including members of the ruling State Council, the prime minister, and the foreign minister. In addition, a synopsis of the function of the State Council and some of its key members is included, as are lists of the members of the Council of Ministers and of key regional leaders. Biographic information on selected political party leaders also has been incorporated.
Kazakhstan

1994

0338

International Trade: Kazakhstan Unlikely to Be Major Source of Oil for the United States.


This report provides information on Kazakhstan's potential as (1) a source of oil for the United States and (2) an investment opportunity for the U.S. petroleum industry and an export market for U.S. oil and gas equipment suppliers. Also given is information on Kazakhstan's oil and gas production, reserves, exports, and consumption; the possible pipeline routes for bringing Kazakhstan's oil to export markets; the factors encouraging and discouraging investment in Kazakhstan's petroleum sector; and U.S. oil companies' responses to those efforts.

1993

0382

Kazakhstan: An Economic Profile.


This is one in a series of profiles of the republics of the former Soviet Union that are intended to provide a backdrop for assessing future developments in these new states. The profile provides a description of the geography, population, and economy of Kazakhstan and compares its level of development, growth, and social welfare to that in Mexico and Turkey.

Central Asian States

1993

0422

Central Asian States: Defining Security Priorities and Developing Military Forces.


This paper examines the decisions made by each of the five Central Asian states (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan) to create their own national military forces since the demise of the Soviet Union. It also suggests some of the possible security threats each of these countries may face in the coming years. Finally, it identifies other countries to whom the Central Asian states are turning to meet their perceived security requirements. Within this context, Russia's role remains extremely important. But to a lesser extent, these states are exploring relationships among themselves and with other countries and international institutions as well.
Latvia

1991

0456 Latvia Privatization Assistance, Phase 1 Report.
The report outlines Phase 1 of the privatization project involving the
government of Latvia. It describes the current situation in Latvia, privatization
objectives and options, and sector and enterprise screening criteria. The
report also contains two appendices that are overviews of the legal issues
and of the financial/capital markets.

1992

0508 Latvia Privatization Assistance, Preliminary Report on Sector Screening.
The report presents preliminary results of initial activities in Phase II of the
assessment of privatization potential of enterprises in four sectors. The
purpose of Phase II was to identify and profile state-owned entities in sectors
chosen by the minister of economic reform. The screening project focused
on gathering data that would be useful to the government of Latvia with
respect to the privatization process. Sectors chosen were Agriculture
Sector, Ministry of Industry, Construction Sector, and Ministry of the Sea.

0647 Latvia Privatization Assistance, Final Report.
The objective of this report is to develop appropriate strategies and work
plans for the Latvian Ministry of Agriculture to privatize four agroindustry
sectors and to privatize one enterprise in each of these sectors on a pilot
basis. The report identifies objectives, discusses accomplishments, and
compiles the documents prepared during the reporting period May 11
through August 31, 1992. The annexes compile the Latvian laws translated
into English and the contacts made by the team during the reporting period.

0726 Latvia: An Economic Profile.
This report is one in a series of profiles on the republics of the former Soviet
Union principally intended to provide basic reference material as a backdrop
for assessing future developments in these new states. The profile provides
a description of the geography, population, and economy of Latvia and compares its level of development, growth, and social welfare to that in Finland and Sweden.

**Lithuania**

1992

**Lithuania: An Economic Profile.**


This report is one of a series of profiles on the republics of the former Soviet Union that are intended to provide basic reference material as a backdrop for assessing future developments in these new states. The profile provides a description of the geography, population, and economy of Lithuania and compares its level of development, growth, and social welfare to that in Finland and Sweden.

**Moldova**

1992

**Top Officials in Moldova.**


This paper identifies and provides background information on selected government officials and political figures in Moldova. It also provides information on the members of the more prominent opposition movements and the leaders of separatist groups. In late June 1992, Moldova's cabinet resigned. By early August, candidates for all but two posts in the new cabinet had been confirmed. The two still unassigned positions were being held open for candidates acceptable to the secessionist self-proclaimed "Dniestr Republic."

1993

**The Chivalrous Republic: Intrarepublic Conflict and the Case Study of Moldova.**


The author describes the background and conduct of the recent civil war between the former Soviet Republic of Moldova and the breakaway region of Trans Dniester. This conflict traces its beginnings to deep ethnic tensions
and is notable for its proclivity to draw in outside involvement, including forced Russian involvement deemed undesirable by Moscow. The author concludes that this situation is not unique but may be typical of future Russian ethnic problems, both internally and around the periphery of the old Soviet state.

**Russian Federation**

1991

**Ethnic Dynamics and Dilemmas of the Russian Republic.** *RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, Paul B. Henze. 1991. 36pp.*

The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR), which contains 51.5 percent of the USSR's population, has emerged as a key factor in the political and economic ferment that is undermining the very existence of the Soviet Union. The election of Boris Yeltsin as RSFSR president in June 1991 marked a decisive step in the decline of Mikhail Gorbachev's primacy and a new stage in the process of reform and democratization, the consequences of which we are only beginning to see. Though the RSFSR's population is over 80 percent Russian and over 85 percent Slavic, the republic confronts almost as many problems of ethnic and regional self-assertion as the USSR as a whole. Though many native peoples are minorities in their own areas, some have political leverage and a disruptive capacity far beyond their numbers. In some parts of the RSFSR, Russians are exploiting ethnic concerns—forming alliances with other ethnic groups and serving as spokesmen for greater autonomy of ethnic areas—to advance their regional interests. Most Russians now tend to give regional interests priority over national and republic considerations.

1992


The Foreign Broadcast Information Service, anniversary issue, deals with republic and inter-republic affairs, covering all the republics of Russia and including at present also the Baltic States, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. The information that the issue presents has been obtained from foreign radio and television broadcasts, news agency transmissions, newspapers, books, and periodicals. The information covers government affairs, treaties,
laws, new political developments in Russia, republic developments, and other political issues, economic, environmental, and sociological news and commentaries, as well as scientific and technical data and reports.

Reel 9

Russian Federation cont.

1992 cont.

0001

Housing Reform in the Russian Federation: A Review of Three Cities and Their Transition to a Market Economy.
The housing sectors in the Russian cities of Moscow, Ekaterinburg (Sverdlovsk), and Novosibirsk are assessed to determine suitable areas for USAID technical assistance. For each city, the report assesses housing sector status and trends, the structure of the municipal government, the city's capacity to manage housing reform, constraints to the provision of private housing, and problems affecting the housing sector. An initial section identifies the following cross-cutting trends and issues observed in the three cities. (1) There is a significant shortage of housing. (2) At the same time, small contractors and "self-help" families have begun building single-family houses outside Moscow in significant numbers. (3) Management and maintenance of the existing housing stock require substantial reform. (4) There is a critical need for a stable financial system to channel resources for the development of infrastructure and the construction and purchase of housing. (5) Privatization is a growing phenomenon. (6) Communist-era bureaucracies are still responsible for administering housing programs.

0054

Nascent Revolution in Post-USSR Russia.
This paper presents a case study of the Soviet Union (past and present) and the conditions that could lead to a repeat of its February revolution of 1917. In doing so, an examination is conducted of classical sociological theories of revolution, and specifically, three propositions regarding the process of revolution and how the Soviet model fits: (1) prior to revolution, the majority of intellectuals cease to support the regime, write condemnations, and demand major reforms; (2) just prior to the fall of the old regime, the state
Frame

attempts to meet criticism by undertaking major reforms; and (3) the actual fall of the regime begins with an acute political crisis brought on by the government's inability to deal with some economic, military, or political problem rather than by the action of a revolutionary opposition. The underlying hypothesis of this paper is that the Soviet Union has displayed (and continues to display) characteristics common or unique to these three propositions—they are, therefore, continuing the march toward revolution of classical proportions.

Yeltsin's Struggle to Create a Strong Presidential Apparatus: A Guide to Russia's Executive Branch.

In his efforts to create a strong presidency since being elected Russian president in June 1991, Boris Yeltsin has created a series of new leadership organs—including the State Council, Administration, State Legal Directorate and state councillors—outside the Council of Ministers and beyond the control of the Supreme Soviet. Often unable or unwilling to rely on the Council of Ministers, which the Supreme Soviet must approve, he has preferred to work through his inner circle. His reliance on these extraconstitutional organs with unclear and overlapping powers has appeared to spawn intense rivalries and behind the scenes infighting among his top deputies, giving the appearance of turmoil in the Russian leadership. Yeltsin is currently trying to reorganize his apparatus to overcome some of these problems but his reorganization plans have also been delayed by a struggle for influence among his top lieutenants.

Russian-Japanese Accommodation: A Threat to America's Strategic Position in the Pacific.

The end of the Cold War presents the United States with new opportunities and challenges. During the Cold War, the U.S.—Japanese relationship was the linchpin of security in the Pacific. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, it seems logical to analyze pre-Bolshevik foreign policy to ascertain the likely direction of Russian policy in the Pacific. Russia and Japan have had economic relations throughout their history; one of the primary obstacles to normalized relations has been the Kuril Islands. Since Yeltsin has indicated his willingness to negotiate on the issue of the islands, the possibility exists for closer Russo-Japanese relations. The reliance on military power has
been overtaken by the need to ensure a country's economic health. Japan, an ally during the Cold War, can now be viewed as an economic competitor. Russia, an adversary during the Cold War, could become an economic ally. Continued U.S. influence in the Pacific requires a re-assessment of traditional relationships. Alliances unheard of during the Cold War are now possible. Closer ties between Russia and Japan could present new challenges to the United States in the Pacific. In order to prevent a loss of influence in the Pacific, new policy choices with regard to Russia and Japan need to be examined.

Housing Privatization in the Russian Federation.
In July 1991, the Russian Federation passed legislation allowing tenants of municipal and departmental housing (i.e., housing owned by enterprises or federal bodies) to purchase their units. The paper examines the antecedents and provisions of that legislation, as well as its early implementation in Moscow, Ekaterinburg, and Novosibirsk during the period January–May 1992.

Assessing the Impact of Reasonable Sufficiency on the Structure and Missions of the Former Soviet Navy.
Using content analysis of original writings and speeches by former Soviet military and political leaders, this paper ascertains the impact of the concept of “reasonable sufficiency for defense” on the former Soviet military in general, and its navy in particular. The research begins with the era of reform initiated in 1985 and ends coincidental with the dissolution of the former USSR in December 1991. This review demonstrates that “reasonable sufficiency,” as a component of the new defensive/defense oriented Soviet military doctrine, significantly affected the organizational structure and assigned roles of the former Soviet maritime forces. The final chapter summarizes the historical aspects of “reasonable sufficiency” and projects the concept's future impact on the Russian navy as the logical successor to the Soviet navy. As the Russian navy evolves from the roots of its predecessor, it will continue to play a viable role in the national defense of Russia. The influences of reasonable sufficiency on the Russian navy will continue to be significant into the next century.
Toward a Russian National Strategy.
This study attempts to identify the national interests and the issues and direction of national strategy for a newly emerging Russia in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union. The study assumes that an understanding of national interest is a key to understanding national strategy. Following a theoretical study and definition of national interest and national strategy, the study proposes a method for formulating national interest, taking the elements of national power and passing them through the filters of historical experience and political culture to address the essential questions of national interest: who we are and where we live. After reviewing the definition and practice of national interest in the former Soviet Union, the study examines the current situation in Russia (through February 1992) in accordance with the proposed theoretical methodology to articulate the directions of emergent Russian national interest and strategy.

Two Steps Forward, One Step Back: The Pattern of Russian Liberal Reforms and Its Implications for Russia and the United States.
The current political and social turmoil in the erstwhile Soviet Union challenges the United States to devise new methods for effectively dealing with Russia and the independent republics of the commonwealth. Part of this challenge involves the evaluation of the most likely changes arising from the revolution, the most probable course of events, and their implications for U.S. foreign relations. This thesis argues that the history of Russian liberal reforms has followed a definite pattern, and that an examination of the history of these reforms can provide U.S. foreign policy makers a tool with which to understand the dynamics of today's situation. Ultimately, this thesis argues that the United States must become thoroughly intertwined with Yeltsin's Russia and support the establishment of a liberal democratic society, or risk the backlash of conservative Russian elites.
The collapse of the Soviet Union provides an unparalleled opportunity to forge a new political partnership between the United States and Russia. If President Yeltsin can be persuaded to shed completely the legacy of Soviet expansionism and adopt Western principles in international relations, the United States and Russia should be able to cooperate to resolve regional conflicts and other security problems around the world. Both sides will need to be reassured. The United States must make an unequivocal commitment to Russia's fragile democracy and fledgling free market, while Russia must renounce the lingering remnants of the Soviet regime's long war against the West. This paper offers suggestions to U.S. foreign policy makers on how to create this new partnership.

Beyond the Warsaw Pact: Russian Foreign Policy in East Central Europe.
The breakup of the Soviet Union and the headlong rush of its former East European satellites to rejoin the West have placed Russia in a difficult position. Faced with seemingly insurmountable political and economic difficulties as it makes its transition from communism and a centrally planned economy to its own form of democracy and a market economy, Russia realizes that it needs Western aid and technology. On the other hand, similar attempts by its former East European satellites threaten to isolate Russia from the rest of Europe. In the immediate post–Cold War era, it is the task of Russian foreign policy to prevent Russia's isolation from Europe. A Russia denied the benefits of European trade and political and economic assistance can only sink into domestic chaos. This thesis examines Russian foreign policy in the immediate post–Cold War era in relation to Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland, the three East European nations that promise to hold the keys to Russian participation in or isolation from the European system. The thesis examines the Russian national interest in the region, as well as the evolving security and economic relationship between Russia and East Central Europe. The thesis concludes that the task of Russian foreign policy in the immediate post–Cold War era is to develop better economic relations with Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland.
Reel 10

Russian Federation cont.

1992 cont.

0001 Central Eurasia: Russian Congress of Peoples Deputies.
This document contains the stenographic report for the Sixth Congress of Peoples' Deputies of the Russian Federation.

0520 The Russian Security Services: Sorting Out the Pieces.
The security services of the former Soviet Union have been in a constant state of flux since the coup attempt in August 1991, but they are now beginning to stabilize under Russian jurisdiction. The reference aid provides an overview of the Russian organizations that have evolved from the USSR's KGB and internal security services. The paper also includes leadership profiles of important figures within each new entity.

0530 Military Influence in Russian Politics.
The tradition of the Russian and Soviet militaries has made them important elements in the political balance of power at this turning point of history. The same tradition, however, requires that the military's political intervention be legitimized by a civilian authority and/or political movement. The military in Russia is likely to continue to seek political influence, but the thrust of this search will be narrowly limited, unless it is combined with a strong Russian nationalist movement.

0569 After War and Revolution: Trends in Russian Middle Eastern Policy.
*Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Stephen J. Blank and Wilbur E. Gray. October 26, 1992. 52pp.*
The authors explore the new Russia's place in the Middle East and its evolving policies in this dramatically altered regional state system. They analyze Russian policy towards the Arab-Israeli conflict and negotiations currently underway, the Gulf, and the new states of Central Asia and post-Communist Afghanistan. They also focus on the potentially dangerous contradictions involved in Russia's efforts to cooperate with Iran and sell it arms on an extensive basis, while also selling arms and offering friendship.
to its regional rivals. They conclude that although Russia is weak now, it will soon begin to reassert traditional Russian interests in the area that do not correspond with American objectives there. Russian policy in this region will continue to require careful monitoring by the United States.

0621 Russian Defense Business Directory.
To help build a democratic peace in the post–Cold War era, the United States and the Russian Federation are committed to the successful conversion of defense facilities to commercial production. The directory provides information on U.S. business opportunities presented by the conversion process and facilitates contacts between American and Russian firms. It contains profiles of Russian defense enterprises and furnishes basic information on each of the enterprises (e.g. military and civilian product lines, type(s) of technology involved, officers, number of employees, and size of the facility). This edition contains the profiles of twenty-nine Russian defense enterprises. The selection of these enterprises reflects a focus on facilities near three major industry centers—Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Nizhniy Novgorod.

0732 Measuring Russia's Emerging Private Sector.
This study attempts to measure the size of the nascent private sector in Russia and establish a baseline for assessing Russian progress toward a market-based economy. In Russia there is still no such thing as full private ownership as we understand it in the West. There is, however, a large pool of enterprises operating as leaseholdings or in what the Russians call the nonstate sector that are apparently in the early stages of moving toward this goal. We define these enterprises to constitute the emerging Russian private sector. The emerging private sector encompasses many more enterprises than have thus far been targeted by Russia's privatization program. The privatization program commits the Yeltsin government by the end of 1992 to move some 60 percent of all shops, restaurants, service establishments, and light and food industry firms into private hands, largely through cash sales. This effort, however, is going poorly—as of October 1, 1992 only 5 percent of the targeted enterprises had been sold.
Coverage of the Congress of People's Deputies: A Perspective on the Russian Reformist Daily Newspapers.


With the collapse of the Soviet Communist regime and the disintegration of the USSR, Russian media have undergone drastic changes. In contrast to the past, when all media were controlled by the regime and reflected government policy, most media have now become free agents, reflecting various points of view of their owners, editors, and individual journalists. The media have made the shift from the passive role of dissemination of government-supplied information to the active one of investigation and competition for access to sources with varying degrees of success.

Russia in the United Nations: From Confrontation to Cooperation.


The recent atmosphere of cooperation in the United Nations (UN) has resulted in many nations, including the Russian Federation, proposing increases in the scope and nature of security missions that the UN should undertake. This thesis will focus on those security arrangements in the UN from the Russian perspective. This thesis will first examine the historical policy of the former Soviet Union and discuss those aspects that relate to the emerging Russian policy in the UN, namely, the rationale behind a cooperative approach and the factors that might return Russia to those confrontational policies of its predecessor's past. This will be followed by a discussion of Russia's assumption of Soviet responsibilities in the UN and the emerging foreign policy debate within the Russian government. This thesis will then highlight the recent Russian security initiatives in the UN, which include proposals for strengthening peacekeeping, peacemaking, and preventive diplomacy ventures. Finally, an overview of the motivations and impediments behind Russia's renewed emphasis on strengthening security management within the UN will be presented. Current diplomatic activity within the Russian Federation and UN clearly illustrates that Russia is seeking, through a cooperative approach, to expand its influence within the UN. However, in the future political infighting within the Russian government will determine the extent of this cooperative policy in the UN.
Russian Federation cont.

The Russian Military in the Year 2000.
Through the use of content analysis, this paper attempts to paint a picture of the Russian military in the year 2000 and its impact on the U.S. national security strategy. The research begins by defining the origin of Russian national security policy and how that translates into military policy and doctrine. A framework for evaluating Russian military doctrines is provided with a chronology of the military reform process and the related doctrinal reforms that has its birth in the 1987 announcement of a defensive-defense. Following from the doctrinal variant framework the new strategic missions of the 1992 draft military doctrine are presented with analysis that shows they are a clear departure from the past and truly represent a defensive-defense type doctrine. Additionally, a comparison is made with the current military reform ongoing in Russia with the historical precedent of the Russian military reform of 1924–25. A rough outline of the separate branches of the Russian military both present and future is provided based on the ongoing trends in the reform process. This thumbnail sketch of the Russian military then assists in the analysis and conclusion that even after a possible 50 percent cutback in U.S. military spending, in the year 2000 the Russian military will not pose a threat to U.S. national security. The major caveat to this conclusion is in the realm of nuclear weapons and this issue is therefore discussed in some length.

Russian Policy on Arms Sales.
In April 1992, Russian President Boris Yeltsin issued a decree establishing an export control system for the country, and in May he followed with a decree on military-technical cooperation with foreign states. Taken together, these decrees lay out a more coherent and comprehensive policy on arms sales than existed previously. In particular, they place controls on the
sales of weapons of mass destruction, spell out broad policies and decision-making procedures for conducting arms exports, and establish institutions with responsibility for licensing and monitoring sales.

1993


On May 5, 1991, a Russian KGB was established for the first time in Soviet history. Although the new secret police organization was initially subject to all-union, as well as Russian, command, the failed putsch of August 1991 enabled Yeltsin to transform it into a free-standing and almost completely “sovereign” institution. Hence, it was almost anticlimactic when the Russian KGB acquired full sovereignty in December 1991, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the disappearance of the all-union KGB. Although Yeltsin was widely expected to name a reformer to lead the post-Soviet, Russian KGB, he appointed Viktor Barannikov, a career policeman with distinctly conservative views. In addition, Yeltsin issued a series of decrees that made the Russian KGB into a near-clone of its all-union predecessor. As a result, the establishment of effective societal, legal, and political control over the KGB has been an uphill struggle.

**Conventional Arms Export Policy of the Russian Federation.**

During the late 1980s the Soviet Union embarked on a major revision of its arms export policy. Grant aid recipients gradually disappeared from delivery ledgers while Moscow pursued inroads into high profit, traditionally Western-dominated markets. The newly founded Russian Federation completed this reorientation, and announced in January 1992 that future contracts would be paid in hard currency. It was expected that sales revenues would be sufficient to both finance the conversion of Russia's immense arms industry to commercial production, and help alleviate the domestic hardships caused by President Yeltsin's sweeping economic reforms. These plans were frustrated by early failures in Yeltsin's conversion programs, the poor performance of Russian arms when competing with Western technology, and the unexpectedly severe domestic impact of reform. In a succession of policy changes Moscow has attempted to revitalize its arms trade. Barter has returned as an acceptable medium of payment, and Russia has acquiesced to the building of major arms plants abroad. More crucial to U.S.
interests, export controls have been loosened considerably. Today Russian-produced weapons are sold by factory and design bureau representatives, various government agencies, the military, and even international marketers. Profit has supplanted politics as the primary sales determinant, opening the door to outcast regimes in Iran and China. Moreover, export restrictions on many weapons types have been abandoned; high tech, offensively capable arms now dominate Russian sales. Unchecked, this escalating trend promises to surpass the proliferation seen during the high water mark of Soviet internationalism.

0320

**Top Officials in Russia.**
The reference aid is the seventh in a series on countries formed after the breakup of the USSR. The primer on leaders in Russia includes a biographic snapshot of the country’s top officials as well as a directory of key presidential representatives, cabinet members, ministers, legislators, business and science leaders, major political parties and movements, and security and military officials.

0403

**Ethnic Russians in the Baltic States and Russia’s Foreign Policy.**
*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Brian Blake Bales. March 1993. 113pp.*
Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, ethnic Russians living in the former republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have alleged that their civil and human rights are being violated. The issue has generated a great deal of concern from both progressive and conservative elements within the Russian government. Although Russia has vital military and economic interests in the Baltic region, and the human rights problem could possibly play into the hands of those who would use the issue as a pretext for maintaining a military presence in the area, this thesis will examine the possibility that the human rights agenda is not so much a cover for geostrategic interests as it is a political problem that facilitates the Russian foreign policy for keeping a foothold in the Baltic states. The situation may also represent a beneficial condition for the Russian military who have been pressing for support of a foreign policy that would discontinue the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltics, retain a Russian military presence in the area, and address their interests and concerns.
In the post–Cold War world, Russia's new military in transition will be compelled by a number of factors to develop into a smaller, more professional, mostly volunteer force in which Russian nationalism will be an overarching and unifying principle. This process will occur almost in spite of changes in the Russian leadership, the economy, and shifting threat perceptions. U.S. influence, while limited, can impact the future character of the force by accelerating the development of those positive factors identified in the study.

Military doctrine governs the direction of the armed forces in Russia. The draft doctrine emphasizes the need for adequate defense of the Russian borders. As the active duty force shrinks, force structure changes will occur. The changing geostrategic landscape and the political and economic problems within Russia have brought about the withdrawal of all forward deployed forces. This is a goal of the defensive doctrine. If internal order can be maintained, there is a chance the Russian military will survive into the next century as a smaller force, conducting limited operations.

Central Eurasia: Russian Congress of People's Deputies.
This document contains a stenographic report of the Seventh Congress on People's Deputies of the Russian Federation.
Reel 12

Russian Federation cont.

1993 cont.

0001


The foreign policy concept of the Russian Federation is described. The document reflects the results of the joint work performed by the MFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Supreme Soviet committees, scientific, social, and other departments.

0023

Russia and Moldova: Developing Relations between Two Countries. *Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Robert J. Smith, Jr., March 1993. 79pp.*

The breakup of the Soviet Union has created a myriad of problems, not the least of which is determining where each of the resulting states belongs in the world order and how each should develop international relations. Russia and Moldova are driven together by economic necessity and by the continuing conflict in the Dniester Republic of Moldova. While their relationship should be that of two sovereign states trying to solve a mutual problem, it has not been that simple. Both states are still searching for a direction for foreign and domestic policy. Russia is trying to balance her foreign policy emphasis between relations with the West and the “near abroad.” Moldova’s inexperienced government is struggling in attempts to formulate both domestic and foreign policy. This thesis examines the Russian-Moldovan relationship at the national level, looking at how the countries are trying to defend national interests while developing relations. It will also examine how their bilateral relationship impacts their relations with other countries. The conclusion reached is that Russia is not willing to treat Moldova as a sovereign state. Russia is trying to maintain control of not just the bilateral relationship, but also relations between Moldova and other members of the international community. Russia maintains this control primarily by being uncooperative in talks designed to remove Russian troops from Moldova.
Russia: Regional Reaction to Yeltsin's 20 March Speech.
In only a handful of Russia's republics and regions did local executive and legislative officials publicly express united and unequivocal support for President Boris Yeltsin's March 20, 1993 television address. In most regions, reactions were neutral, negative, or divided. This report categorizes these reactions as obtained from monitoring of Russian media sources.

Russia and the Baltic: Is There a Threat to European Security?
Two years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russian troops still remain in the Baltic. The author examines the current problems of Russian troop withdrawals from this region, which are progressing too slowly for the Baltic states, and Russian charges that the Baltic states are discriminating against Russians residing in the region. He recommends a U.S.-backed Western initiative to help resolve the disputes in such a way that answers both sides' legitimate and basic interests, as well as those of the United States. After considering the issues between Russia and the Baltic states and their ramifications, the author analyzes the regional context of developments among the littoral states of the Baltic Sea and, on that basis, suggests an initiative that might help resolve this conflict peacefully.

Russia: Regional Voting Patterns in the April 1993 Referendum.
Wall chart showing breakdown of voting patterns in vote of confidence election of April 1993 on Russian President Boris Yeltsin and his economic reforms.

Russian Defense Business Directory.
This directory contains profiles of Russian defense enterprises and furnishes basic information on each of the enterprises (e.g. military and civilian product lines, type(s) of technology involved, officers, number of employees, and size of the facility).
A Strategic Appraisal of Russia.


Predicting the future is a thankless task. But, in Russia everyone who reads the newspapers and spends their evenings by intently watching television news has become an amateur futurologist. The collapse of communism and the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc are indubitably positive phenomena. Perestroika and its predecessor, acceleration, never had these as a strategic goal and now everything else is still unclear. Revolutions are made quickly, but the process of creation is long and tedious; it takes many years of hard work. This study provides an appraisal of what is at stake, what the problems are, and how Russia is doing and provides some policy recommendations.

Russia, Ukraine, and European Security.


The author examines the problems connected with the presence of nuclear weapons in Ukraine and their impact on Russo-Ukrainian relations and European security. He analyzes the fears of both Russia and Ukraine, vis-a-vis each other, that have led to this situation and suggests ways out of the impasse for both states, and particularly for the United States. He examines how the present situation evolved and recommends a solution that contributes in peaceful fashion to all parties' interests.

Moscow's "Near Abroad" Security Policy in Post-Soviet Europe.


The Soviet collapse bequeathed an uneasy security legacy throughout Eurasia. Especially worrisome to defense planners at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) are the actual and potential conflicts in the European republics of the former USSR, part of Russia's near abroad: Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, and the Baltic republics. This area contains 70 million inhabitants, two thousand nuclear warheads, and disputes. These new nations are struggling to enter Western economic and security institutions while key Russian figures press for reintegration of the republics under Russia's leadership. Moscow's evolving policy toward near abroad will indicate what kind of Russia—democratic nation, revanchist empire, or anarchic battleground—the West will face in the twenty-first century.
The Evolution of Russian Offensive Air Warfare Theory: From Deep Battle to Aerospace War.
*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Mark A. Admiral. June 1993. 124pp.*

This thesis examines the development of Russian offensive air warfare theory from 1930 to the present day. The revolution in military affairs caused by the development of high-precision weaponry and advanced methods of detection has transformed traditional concepts of warfare, making remote strikes by aircraft and missiles an increasingly vital factor in modern war. To Russian observers, the Persian Gulf War offered proof that a paradigm shift has indeed taken place. Despite radical technological change, the traditional concepts of airpower employment developed in the 1930s and perfected during the Second World War remain essentially valid despite visionary views on independent air warfare strategy. However, the battle between offensive airpower and air defense is now considered the critical factor in determining the course and outcome of a war, but within the context of combined arms operations and not independent strategic action. The high effectiveness of emerging strike technology in the Gulf War has led to priority Russian development of both countermeasures and analogous capabilities. However, there is agreement that the means of air defense alone are not sufficient, and preemptive offensive conventional strikes are widely viewed as the only acceptable alternative, even in the framework of a defensive strategy.

The Russians Debate the Kuril Islands Territorial Dispute: An Aspect of Russo-Japanese Relations in the Post–Cold War World.

Both Japan and the Russian Federation still claim rightful ownership of a small group of islands between Japan’s Hokkaido Island and the Russian Federation’s Northern Kuril Islands. Russia seized the islands in the course of World War II. The disposition of the islands has prevented the two countries from signing a peace treaty. The objectives of this thesis will be to analyze Russia’s political, economic, strategic, and social perspectives of the Kuril Islands debate, during 1992, as an indication of the post–Cold War international relations between Moscow and Tokyo. It is the hypothesis of this thesis that although the breakup of the Soviet Union has eased tensions between the “West” and “East” international relations between Moscow and Tokyo continue to reflect Soviet philosophies and policies. This not only
hurts the Russian Federation's future development in the Pacific Rim but also acts as an obstacle for cooperative, interdependent ties between all the countries of the world.

**A Model of Defense for Russia.**

This thesis constructs an original model of defense for Russia. This model is developed in the context of Russia's current military situation, but can easily be adapted to other nations. It explains the geographic extent that a nation will defend through the interplay of two factors: the cost of defense and the propensity to defend. The dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the collapse of the Soviet Union have left Russian forces based in potentially hostile territory that is logistically insupportable in the event of hostilities. To support its troops, Moscow must redeploy them and prepare new theaters of military operations. The requirement for prepared theaters was discussed by the Russian military strategist A. A. Svechin. However, first Moscow must determine where wars are likely, and what territory it will defend. The model draws upon the work of Halford Mackinder, Johann von Nunen, YiFu Tuan, and Walter Christaller. The model addresses the complexity of the elements that compose the cost of defense and the propensity to defend. These elements can come into conflict with each other over specific geographic areas. Three regions of conflict are addressed: the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Ukraine. The thesis concludes with some policy implications.

**Revolutions in Russian Military Thought: Implications for U.S.–Russian Defense Cooperation.**
*Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, Bruce D. Slawter. June 18, 1993. 131pp.*

In light of the growing spirit of partnership between the U.S. and Russian defense establishments, Russian military thought deserves a fresh look. U.S. decision makers have a range of policy options before them. One strategy for increasing ties might be to address, by U.S. actions, the major issues that continue to affect the development of Russian military thought. Clearly, the United States has a long-term interest in seeing Russia succeed in its epic struggle to transform itself into a modern democracy. U.S. defense policy—if boldly but delicately formulated—can contribute to that success.
Reel 13

Russian Federation cont.

1993 cont.

This report summarizes the discussions and findings of a conference that was convened by the U.S. Institute of Peace in Washington, D.C., on May 27–28, 1993. The goal of the conference was to engage in an informal discussion about the problems and prospects for greater cooperation between the U.S., Japan, and Russia after the Cold War. All discussions were conducted on a not for attribution basis.

0033 Why Russia Is Not A State.
This article makes two principal points. First the author argues that the Russian Federation has never been a state and is not sustainable as a state. Four centrifugal indicators are presented to support this claim: ethnic divisiveness; uncertainty about the legitimacy of Russia’s current borders; competing claims for legitimacy on the part of federal and regional leaders; and army units’ unpredictable allegiances. Second, she argues that Soviet policies intended to facilitate central control of the periphery had the perverse effect of creating ethnic identity and demands for national autonomy where, in many cases, they did not exist prior to the Communist regime. Following the introduction, part one briefly reviews the concepts of state, nation, and nationalism and the roles they play in Russia. Criteria for statehood are discussed. Part two lists the main ethnic groups in Russia and considers the roots of ethnic nationalism in the Russian Federation. Part three discusses confusion over the legitimacy of the physical, economic, and political boundaries of the Russian Federation. Part four discusses political disarray in the center and the regions and the lack of unity among order-enforcing entities. The Volga-Ural region—where there is a large concentration of nuclear weapons and facilities, and which is especially volatile politically—is discussed in somewhat more detail. Part five argues
that these factors taken together call into question Russia's identity as a state. The author concludes that Russia remains a multiethnic empire in which the rule of law is still not supreme.

0078 Media Developments: Russia and Ukraine Number 2. 
This special memorandum is part of a periodic series aimed at reporting and analyzing changes to and events affecting the Russian and Ukrainian media.

0102 Russian Defense Business Directory. 
The directory assists U.S. firms interested in exploring existing and potential opportunities for participation in Russian defense conversion. It contains profiles of Russian defense enterprises and furnishes basic information on each of the enterprises (e.g. military and civilian product lines, type(s) of technology involved, officers, number of employees, and size of the facility), and much other information. While the information in the directory should help U.S. firms in general, it is particularly intended to assist small- and medium-size firms. The third installment contains cumulative profiles for over two hundred Russian defense enterprises, expanding coverage from eleven to twelve industrial sectors and from thirty-one to sixty-two cities. It also updates many of the profiles for the earlier ninety-one enterprises, as suggested by industry and government sources in both the United States and Russia.

0326 Media Developments: Russia and Ukraine Number 3. 
This special memorandum is part of a periodic series aimed at reporting and analyzing changes to and events affecting the Russian and Ukrainian media.


The author considers Russia’s program of conventional arms and nuclear technology exports in terms of the domestic and international security ramifications of that policy. After introducing some of the dangers that a virtually unrestricted arms sale or transfer program poses for the sellers, he analyzes the impact of these sales on Russia’s domestic politics and economics. The author traces the confirmed reports of nuclear transfers and their impact on both domestic and foreign policies. He then examines the nature and repercussions of Russian arms sales abroad, in particular to India, Iran, China, the members of ASEAN, and the two Koreas. The author concludes with a somber warning of the risks, foreign and domestic, posed by these sales, and offers a number of recommendations for the United States to consider in dealing with this problem.

Factors Fragmenting the Russian Federation.


This paper examines the factors that threaten the future of the Russian Federation (RF). The observations are based on a study that focused on eight republics: Mordova, Udmurtia, Tatarstan, Mari El, Bashkortostan, Kabardino-Balkaria, Buryatia, and Altay Republic. These republics were selected for their geographic and economic significance to the RF. Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Udmurtia, and Mari El are located on important supply routes, such as the Volga River and the trans-Siberian railroad. Some of these republics are relatively wealthy, with natural resources such as oil (e.g., Tatarstan and Bashkortostan), and all eight republics play significant roles in the military-industrial complex. The importance of these republics to the RF contrasts to the relative insignificance of the independence-minded Northern Caucasus area. The author chose not to examine the Northern Caucasus region (except Kabardino-Balkaria) because these republics may have only a minor impact on the rest of the RF if they secede. Their impact would be minimized because they lie on the frontiers of the RF. Many Russians believe that it might be best to let such a troublesome area secede.
Yeltsin's Executive Branch after Parliament's Dissolution.

President Boris Yeltsin's September 21, 1993 decree dissolving parliament and the later defeat and arrest of his main opponents at the Russian White House has left the executive branch in full control of government and has also changed relationships among Yeltsin's deputies and among institutions of his presidency. Those most active in supporting Yeltsin's attack on parliament now appear to be the strongest while those who pushed for compromise during the crisis appear less influential now. Among the main institutions of the executive branch, the cabinet, the defense and security ministries, and the president's administration played the main roles during the crisis, while the Security Council, with Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy no longer a member, appears to have started playing a bigger role now.

Media Developments: Russia and Ukraine Number 4.

This special memorandum is part of a periodic series aimed at reporting and analyzing changes to and events affecting the Russian and Ukrainian media.

Determinants of Wheat Import Demand: Russia.

This report provides an overview of the Russian domestic wheat sector and the factors that affect its wheat import demand. Despite its position as the world's largest wheat producer until the early 1980s, the former Soviet Union has been a consistent net importer of wheat since the mid 1970s. Import demand was driven by an expanding livestock sector and decreasing domestic supply in the form of state procurement. The primary suppliers of wheat to Russia are the United States, the European Community, and Canada. These exporters accounted for over 90 percent of FSU market share in marketing year 1992/93. Availability of financing and price were identified by importers as the most important determinants of import source. Increased cleanliness of U.S. wheat would not lead to larger Russian imports of U.S. wheat. Beginning in 1993, Russian wheat imports began to decline, due to creditworthiness problems, increased production in 1992, and decreased utilization, especially in the livestock sector. If substantial
liberalization of the domestic grain marketing system, which was proposed at the end of 1993, is implemented, Russian wheat imports should continue to decrease, given more efficient production and utilization.

1994

The Building Blocks of Russia's Future Military Doctrine.
This report examines the political, ideological, and geopolitical building blocks of Russia's future military doctrine. It provides an overview of internal and external security challenges to Russia's national security interests in Europe and Asia; explains the connection between Russia's internal crisis and the future direction of its national security policy and military doctrine; and outlines alternative solutions to its current crisis and national security challenges. The report concludes with summary implications for U.S. policy. This report was prepared as part of the project titled "After the Warsaw Pact. The Transformation of Military Policy and Security Environment in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union." It should be of interest to analysts and policymakers concerned with Russia's future military doctrine. The report was completed in February 1994.

Does Russian Democracy Have a Future?
In January 1994, several of this nation's leading Russian area specialists and scholars met at the U.S. Army Center of Military History to discuss the future of Russian democracy. Although many Russians lost faith in communism as a viable ideology sometime in the 1970s or 1980s, the expectations for democracy were, perhaps, overly optimistic. Whatever the future of democracy in Russia, one must remember that Russian national interests will remain fundamental to shaping Moscow's attitudes toward its neighbors, Western Europe, and the United States. The essays in this volume summarize discussions and conclusions regarding this future.
The Russian Economy in 1993.
Contents include: a Summary of Key Developments; Financial Stabilization Remains Elusive; Output and Investment Fall While Unemployment Climbs; Consumer Indicators Mixed; Privatization and Other Reforms Continue; Defense Conversion Proceeding Slowly; Foreign Economic Relations Yield Mixed Results; and Challenges Ahead.

This report discusses the status and costs of two agreements between the United States and Russia and the Chemical Weapons Convention, which are directed at ridding the world of chemical weapons. To assist the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in its deliberations over ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention, the General Accounting Office evaluated (1) the progress made in implementing the bilateral agreements with Russia, (2) the status of the Chemical Weapons Convention, and (3) the cost incurred by the United States in preparing for and implementing the treaties.

Media Developments: Russia and Ukraine Number 5.
This special memorandum is part of a periodic series aimed at reporting and analyzing changes to and events affecting the Russian and Ukrainian media.

The emergence of the new multiethnic nation-state—the Russian Federation on the geostrategic map—is one of the most important realities of the contemporary world. Though the Russian Federation was proclaimed as the successor of the Soviet Union as one of the great powers, in the matter of international economic and political obligations it is not the same country. Moreover, as a result of the end of the Cold War and dissolution of the former Soviet Union, Russia faces new realities and evolutionary changes in international and domestic arenas that inevitably shape and will continue to shape its domestic and foreign policy. Three themes influence the changes.
Foremost is the reduced military threat; one that was primarily based on the ideological rivalry between socialist and capitalist systems during the Cold War. Second, it is critical for Russia to join the international market system and democratic environment. Such participation will be the main guarantee of the future of the democracy and market economy in the country and political stability in the region. Lastly, there is a deep economic, political, and cultural crisis inside the country because of the rapid dissolution of the ineffective state institutions of the former Soviet Union and the necessity to formulate and pursue national goals on the basis of compromise between the interests of different social groups.

Reel 14

Russian Federation cont.

1994 cont.


This document focuses on Vladimir Zhirinovsky of Russia. His foreign and domestic politics, his personal and political history, his inconsistencies, and his possible future role and influence in Russian policy making are discussed. Alternative approaches Western nations might pursue in dealing with Zhirinovsky are explored.


Through the example of illicit sales of weapons and sensitive materials, this thesis shows how an economic theory of organized crime can be used to understand and predict the behavior of organized crime groups in Russia. The author assumes that organized crime groups are rational, "corporate like" entities, that seek to maximize profits and minimize the risks involved in attaining those profits. Therefore, they assess the opportunities, risks, and potential benefits of committing crimes. Furthermore, the assessment is entirely dependent on the condition of the environments in which they must operate. When this theory is applied to Russia, it shows that Russia's political, economic, state security, and social environments are well suited
to the illicit sale of weapons and sensitive materials. This is due to the increased opportunities, decreased risks, and huge potential benefits associated with these illicit activities in Russia today. As a result of this analysis, recommendations can be made that will better focus the efforts to fight proliferation by organized crime groups.

Russia's New Doctrine: Two Views.

The authors present two differing assessments of Russia's new defense doctrine. Published in November 1993, this doctrine is one primary indicator of the direction of Russian policies. This document has aroused much controversy and diverging assessments as to its significance since it encompasses all the major statements that are crucial to any understanding of Russian trends and policies.

The New Russia in the New Asia.

Russia remains a key player in Asian security, although U.S. thinking about Asia tends to ignore Russia's Asian presence and its impact. The Bush and Clinton administrations' formal policy statements on Russia and Asia do not mention Russia in the Asian context. Often scholars writing on U.S. policy in Asia and/or Asian security issues also omit Russia from their analysis. But Russian policy makers do not make this mistake even though they generally acknowledge that Russia's (and the USSR's) failure to bring its full weight (or potential) to bear in Asia lies at the root of this neglect. Russia's Asian role remains incomplete relative to its economic potential, and current economic conditions inhibit more serious and deeper linkages with Asia. Russia still stands apart from Asia's amazing dynamism. But as philosophers tell us, an absence is also a presence. Therefore no account of Asian prospects that ignores Russia's potential and its unique realities can be adequate to either subject.

Russia: An Economic Profile.

This is one of a series of surveys of the former Soviet Union that are intended to provide basic reference material as a backdrop for assessing future developments in these new states. The survey provides a description of the geography, population, and economy of Russia and compares its economic characteristics, growth, and social welfare with that of the United States.
Ukraine

1992

Ukrainian Independence.
This paper will examine the strengths of Ukraine and how these strengths led to Ukraine's independence. What caused Ukraine to become independent, in particular, were the cultural, economic, military, and political aspects of Ukrainian society. The strengths of Ukraine as well as its poor relations and political problems with the former Soviet Union led to its ensuing independence and thus the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The importance of Ukraine to the union was evidenced by the Bolshevik leader, Lenin, when he was just forming the Soviet empire. He said that, "For the Union to lose the Ukraine would be like losing our heads." In recent times there seemed to be nothing preventing decapitation. Aware that the loss of Ukraine would mean the unraveling of the entire Soviet Union, the Kremlin had traditionally kept the republic under a tight rein. Thus, it seemed that even in the beginning, Ukraine was critical to the survival of the Soviet Union. In fact, the independence declaration of Ukraine was perhaps the death blow to the Soviet Union's central authority. It shattered the Soviet Union.

Ukraine's Defense Dilemma.
As the second most populous and third largest of the former Soviet republics, what Ukraine does and the defense and foreign policies it adopts are important to Western security interests. A founding member of the Commonwealth of Independent States, it is considered by many to have the best chance for economic self-sufficiency and prosperity of the fifteen new states. It is also a valued member of the newly created Byelorussian-Ukrainian-Russian military-industrial combine that controls and develops key technologies associated with advanced weaponry. The author describes Ukraine's problem of maintaining a military force structure sufficient to deter threats from the East without provoking Russian countermeasures. As the largest country separating the Russian Republic from Western Europe, Ukraine offers both a challenge and an opportunity for the West to influence Ukrainian policy options in a manner consistent with Europe's broad security interests.
An Assessment of the Storage of Grains in Ukraine and Russia.

Postharvest grain losses in the New Independent States (NIS) of the former USSR are estimated to be between 20 percent and 40 percent of total production. A large proportion of these losses occur during storage. Improving grain handling and storage systems could be an efficient way to improve food availability, which has been threatened by recent declines in agricultural productivity and the collapse of centralized input and output distribution systems. The report focuses on Russia and Ukraine, two of the largest producers and consumers of grains in the NIS. The report: (1) analyzes grain production and utilization in the two states; (2) describes existing storage facilities and grain handling methods; (3) details the extent of losses during harvest, handling, and storage; (4) examines existing privatization efforts; and (5) reviews the interest of in-country institutions in collaborative technical assistance and training efforts to improve grain storage, conditioning, and handling.

Ukraine: An Economic Profile.
The profile provides a description of the geography, population, and economy of Ukraine and compares its level of development, growth, and social welfare to that in France and Poland.

Top Officials in Ukraine.
The paper identifies and provides information on selected government officials and political leaders in Ukraine.

Challenges for a New Democracy.
This paper is an analysis of the crucial role a new generation of strategic leaders might play in the successful transformation of Ukrainian society to a stable democracy. The author discusses some specific issues associated with the new Ukrainian Armed Forces Academy, an educational institution for senior military and civilian leaders that is the equivalent of the U.S. National War College. Analyzing the Soviet period of Ukraine's history
through different case studies, the author emphasizes the negative and sometimes criminal role the Soviet political culture and leadership style played in the development of Ukrainian society. Some of the author's examples can be used as an instructive case studies for any college's course on strategic leadership.

This report seeks to update the catalog of parties and organizations in Ukraine and to identify their proper names, their political orientation, and their leaders.

An Alternative American Foreign Policy for Ukraine.
*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Randall G. Williams. June 1993. 64pp.*
American policy makers have largely ignored Ukraine in their global policy planning. This lack of consideration shows a neglect of the potential for conflict in Eastern Europe. American foreign policy toward Ukraine, rooted in the START and NPT Treaties, is doomed to fail, and will actually sow the seeds of chaos, unless the United States: (1) comes to understand the motivations that drive Ukrainian foreign policy, and (2) facilitates significant positive alterations to the security and economic environment that has developed since the breakup of the Soviet Union. This thesis examines Western security goals and analyzes the current means available to achieve those goals. The contention of this thesis is that present Western policy pursuits will lead to a regenerated authoritarian Russian superpower that will be a threat to the security of Ukraine and Europe. The potentially dangerous consequences of an authoritarian Russia could be avoided by facilitating the development of a strong and stable Ukraine to act as a balance to Russian power in Eastern Europe.

From “Chicken Kiev” to Ukrainian Recognition: Domestic Politics in U.S. Foreign Policy.
*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Susan D. Fink. June 1993. 119pp.*
This thesis uses original research to achieve two goals. First, it is meant to give the first analytical account of U.S. recognition of Ukraine, along with its political significance. Second, it proposes a new theory of ethnic groups in U.S. foreign policy. This thesis proposes that ethnic groups will have an increasing role in American foreign policy for three reasons. First, they have
superior knowledge to elites who are encrusted in Cold War ways of thinking and divorced from their electorate. Second, Congress is more active in foreign policy and more permeable to the ethnic lobby. Third, the ethnic population of the United States is growing. The thesis works on at least five levels. First: the role of nationalism in world politics, especially in the collapse of the Soviet Union, which now increasingly challenges the system of sovereign states. Second: the way in which foreign policy is made in Washington, including the roles of the president, his bureaucracy, Congress, and the media. Third: the role of lobbies in the foreign policy-making process. Fourth: electoral politics and its role in decision making. Fifth: East European ethnics, Ukrainian-Americans in particular, and their role as subjects and objects in the struggle between Democrats and Republicans for the ethnic vote.

Reel 15

Ukraine cont.

1993 cont.

0001

The Role of Ukraine’s Communists in the Ukrainian Independence Movement.


Contrary to nearly all predictions, Ukraine’s Communists supported the Ukrainian declaration of independence in 1991. Closer scrutiny reveals this should have been no surprise because Communist support for independence was the result of Marxist-Leninist ideology’s failure to resolve the conflict between nationalism and communism. Because of this contradiction, Ukrainian Communists were promised national self-determination but were forbidden to exercise it. Similarly, Ukraine’s pre-Communist national consciousness survived and was even nurtured by the Soviet system. These two factors, acting simultaneously, meant the idea of an independent Ukrainian nation was never far from the thoughts of Ukraine’s Communists. Thus, when the opportunity came to realize self-determination for the third time this century, Ukraine’s Communists, still retaining national consciousness and marching under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, joined and even led the move toward independence.
**Frame**

0315  **Ukraine: Independent Nuclear Weapons Capability Rising.**
*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Martin J. Dewing. June 1993. 147pp.*

This thesis argues that Ukraine will move from possession of CIS-controlled nuclear weapons to the development of an independent nuclear capability. It attempts to show how the factors driving Ukraine towards remaining a nuclear state outweigh the factors acting in restraint. This thesis describes the contents of the Ukrainian arsenal, reviews its current material condition and investigates the likelihood that Ukraine can directly control it. This thesis also shows why Ukraine's most likely course in developing an independent nuclear weapons capability will be to retain its forty-six SS-24 ICBMs.

1994

0462  **Media Developments: Special Issue on Ukrainian News Agencies.**

While two government news agencies—Moscow-based TASS and APN—had an official monopoly on news under the Communist regime, new independent news agencies have arisen in Ukraine since the end of Communist rule and may overshadow the government's present news agency. By mid-1993 the Ukrainian government's Ukrinform, successor to the Ukrainian TASS, came up against stiff competition from three independent agencies—UNIAN, UNIAR, and Post-Postup—and from an agency affiliated with the nationalist political movement Rukh, Rukh-Pres. The latter three had their roots in dissident organizations begun under the Communist regime.

0474  **Command and Control in New Nuclear States: Implications for Stability.**

Command and control systems of new nuclear states are likely to fail when placed under stress. This thesis will demonstrate that such failures can dramatically affect regional or international stability. Describing the current argument over the consequences of nuclear proliferation between proliferation pessimists and deterrence optimists, this thesis shows how C2 is in fact the crux of the debate. This thesis develops an analytical tool that may be applied to new nuclear states in order to classify their C2 systems and to
predict when and how these evolving systems might fail. To show the tool's usefulness, it is applied to Ukraine, an important new nuclear state. This thesis also suggests several implications for U.S. foreign policy.

**Proliferation and Nonproliferation in Ukraine: Implications for European and U.S. Security.**


The author explores the background, terms, and aftermath of the January 1994 tripartite agreement among Russia, Ukraine, and the United States concerning the removal of nuclear missiles located in Ukraine after the fall of the Soviet Union. Inasmuch as Ukraine is the true Russian window on Europe and the key determinant of whether a post-Soviet empire or unitary state can be recreated, the security dilemmas it faces are significant not only to Russia and Ukraine's European neighbors, but also to the United States. The author also examines the nature of Russia's threat to Ukraine and the implications of the new agreement for U.S. policy vis-a-vis Ukraine and Russia.

**Turkmenistan**

*1993*

**Turkmenistan: An Economic Profile.**


This is one of a series of profiles on the republics of the former Soviet Union that is intended to provide basic reference material as a backdrop for assessing future developments in these new states. The profile provides a description of the geography, population, and economy of Turkmenistan and compares its level of development, growth and social welfare to that of Turkey and Mexico.

**Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Kyrgyzstanz**

*1993*

**Oil and Gas Resources of the Fergana Basin (Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan and Kyrgyzstanz).**


The Energy Information Administration (EIA), in cooperation with the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS), has assessed thirteen major petroleum producing regions outside of the United States. This series of assessments has
been performed under EIA's Foreign Energy Supply Assessment Program (FESAP). The basic approach used in these assessments was to combine historical drilling, discovery, and production data with EIA reserve estimates and USGS undiscovered resource estimates. Field-level data for discovered oil were used for these previous assessments. In FESAP, supply projections through depletion were typically formulated for the country or major producing region. Until now, EIA has not prepared an assessment of oil and gas provinces in the former Soviet Union (FSU). Before breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Fergana basin was selected for a trial assessment of its discovered and undiscovered oil and gas. The object was to see if enough data could be collected and estimated to perform reasonable field-level estimates of oil and gas in this basin. If so, then assessments of other basins in the FSU could be considered. The objective was met and assessments of other basins can be considered. Collected data for this assessment cover discoveries through 1987. Compared to most other oil and gas provinces in the FSU, the Fergana basin is relatively small in geographic size, and in number and size of most of its oil and gas fields. However, with recent emphasis given to the central graben as a result of the relatively large Mingbulak field, the basin's oil and gas potential has significantly increased. At least seven additional fields to the fifty-three fields analyzed are known and are assumed to have been discovered after 1987.
SUBJECT INDEX

The following index is a guide to the major subjects of this collection. The first arabic number refers to the reel, and the arabic number after the colon refers to the frame number at which a particular file containing the subject begins. Therefore, 3: 0372 directs the researcher to the file that begins at Frame 0372 of Reel 3. By referring to the Reel Index located in the initial part of this guide, the researcher can find the main entry for the subject.

Afghanistan
  Soviet invasion—analysis of failure 4: 0529
  Soviet military operations in 5: 0212
  Soviet withdrawal from 1: 0155, 0182

Agriculture
  reports—CIS 5: 0817; 7: 0575
  statistics—Baltic states 6: 1023
  statistics—CIS 6: 1023
  trade—Soviet 3: 0001

AirLand Battle
  in Soviet military thought 5: 0042

Air warfare theory
  offensive—Russian Federation 12: 0482

Arab-Israeli conflict
  Russian Federation policy toward 10: 0569

Archives, Soviet
  access, organization, and classification 4: 0919

Arctic region
  radioactive contamination of 6: 0295

Arms control agreements
  U.S.—Russian Federation—status of 13: 0856
  U.S.—Soviet 3: 0372

Arms control policy
  CIA estimates on 4: 0603
  general 3: 0372
  Shevardnadze, Eduard, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1: 0364

Arms export policy
  Russian Federation 11: 0270

Arms negotiating position
  1: 0001

Arms sales
  Russian policy on 11: 0215

Arms transfers
  decrease in 1: 0155
  policy—Russian Federation 13: 0352

Asia
  Central
    border issues—cultural factors in 6: 0460
    border issues—economic factors in 6: 0460
    top officials—list of 6: 0251
    drugs—transshipment from CIS 6: 0399
    security of—Russian Federation role 14: 0306
  Soviet foreign policy in—CIA estimates on 4: 0603
Asia cont.
Soviet successor states in—border issues in 6: 0460
U.S. policy toward 14: 0306

Asia-Pacific region
Soviet policy toward 3: 0527

Asilomar Conference Center
research round table on border issues of Soviet successor states in Asia 6: 0460

Azerbaijan
Iranian policy toward 8: 0146
Persian Gulf security—effect on 8: 0146
Saudi Arabian policy toward 8: 0146
Turkish policy toward 8: 0146
U.S. company offices in—directory of 7: 0333

Balance of power questions
CIA estimates on 4: 0603

Baltic Sea
radioactive contamination of 6: 0295

Baltic states
agricultural statistics 6: 1023
economic officials 3: 0804
ethnic Russians in—alleged civil and human rights violations against 11: 0403; 12: 0133
fishing fleet operations 7: 0001
foreign affairs chronologies 5: 0724
regional energy profile 8: 0221
Russian Federation plans for reintegration of 12: 0445
Russian Federation relations with 12: 0133
Russian troop withdrawal from 11: 0403; 12: 0133
Soviet repression in 2: 0706
See also Estonia; Latvia; Lithuania

Barannikov, Viktor
Russian Federation KGB—appointment as head of 11: 0244

Belarus
Russian Federation plans for reintegration of 12: 0445
top officials—list of 8: 0287
U.S. company offices in—directory of 7: 0333

Border issues
of Soviet successor states in Asia 6: 0460

Border problems
Russian Federation 13: 0033

Bulgaria
fishing fleet operations 7: 0001

Bush, George
Yeltsin, Boris—summit meeting with (1992) 9: 0667

Cannabis cultivation
in CIS 6: 0399

Caucasus region
Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe’s role in 5: 0610
foreign interests in 5: 0610
political structure 5: 0610
violence in 5: 0610

Central Asian states
military forces—development of 8: 0422
security priorities 8: 0422
See also Kazakhstan; Kyrgyzstan; Tajikistan; Turkmenistan; Uzbekistan

Chemical Weapons Convention
status of 13: 0856

China
Central Asian borders 6: 0460
Christaller, Walter
12: 0765

CIA
USSR—estimates of, from the 1950s
4: 0603

CIS
agricultural reports 5: 0817; 7: 0575
agricultural statistics 6: 1023
Caucasus region—interests in
5: 0610
commercial laws and regulations
8: 0001
disaster assistance—cooperation with
U.S. in 5: 0242
documents adopted by heads of state
and government in—list of 5: 0901
drug abuse in 6: 0399
drug trafficking in 6: 0399
economic problems 5: 0497
energy technologies 7: 0673
environmental policy 5: 0349
fishing fleet operations 7: 0001
foreign affairs chronologies 5: 0724;
6: 0196, 0421, 0744, 0787, 1271;
17: 0492
industrial policy in 5: 0785
joint ventures with U.S.—analysis of
6: 0319
military research and development
5: 0785
Muslim peoples in—role of 5: 0655
national security planning—
environmental aspects of 5: 0349
nuclear disarmament—compliance
with 5: 0384
nuclear proliferation in 7: 0888
nuclear weapons—statements on
control and disposition of 5: 0534
potential targets—list of 6: 0001

republics of—CIA overview of 5: 0280
science in 5: 0785
technology in 5: 0785
trade and investment in—obstacles to
5: 0297
trade reports 5: 0817; 7: 0575
U.S. Department of Defense
assistance for 6: 0629
U.S. food assistance to 5: 0384
U.S. loan credits for 5: 0384
Western economic assistance for
5: 0450, 0497

Civil-military relations
Soviet Union 3: 0684

Coalition warfare principles
2: 0525

Commercial laws and regulations
8: 0001

Communists
Ukrainian role in independence
movement 15: 0001

Conference on Disarmament in
Europe (1986)
on-site inspection—Soviet
acceptance of 1: 0182

Conference on Security and
Cooperation in Europe
Caucasus region—role in 5: 0610

Coup (August 1991)
analysis of 3: 0561
Soviet High Command support for
3: 0684

Czechoslovakia
Russian Federation—economic
relations with 9: 0684
Russian policy toward 9: 0684

Defense analysts, civilian
1: 0001
Defense conversion
   Russian Federation—U.S. opportunities for participation in 13: 0102

Defense cooperation
   U.S.—Russian Federation 12: 0876

Defense industries
   conversion of 1: 0105 in Eurasia 6: 0708

Defense minister, Soviet
   Supreme Soviet’s debates on appointment of 2: 0447

Defense model
   Russian Federation 12: 0765

Defense policy
   Shevardnadze, Eduard, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1: 0364
   Supreme Soviet’s Committee for Questions of Defense and State Security role in formation of 2: 0447
   Ukrainian 14: 0454

Defense spending
   reductions in 1: 0493

Department of Defense, U.S.
   CIS—assistance to 6: 0629

Disaster assistance and response
   U.S.—CIS cooperation 5: 0242

Dniester Republic
   conflict in 12: 0023
   secession of, from Moldova 8: 0786, 0798

Draft, military
   enforcement of 2: 0001

Drug abuse
   in CIS 6: 0399

Drug trafficking
   in CIS 6: 0399

Eastern Europe
   revolutions in (1989) 1: 0570
   Soviet foreign policy toward 1: 0570

East-West negotiations
   1: 0364

Economic assistance, Western
   for CIS 5: 0450, 0497

Economic problems
   CIS 5: 0497

Economic profiles
   Estonia 8: 0297
   Kazakhst 8: 0382
   Latvia 8: 0726
   Lithuania 8: 0757
   Russian Federation 14: 0349
   Turkmenistan 15: 0610
   Ukraine 14: 0580

Economic reforms
   Russian Federation—regional voting patterns in April 1993 referendum on 12: 0167

Economic relations, Russian
   with Czechoslovakia 9: 0684
   with Hungary 9: 0684
   with Poland 9: 0684

Economy
   Russian Federation—summary of 13: 0837
   Soviet—status of 1: 0493

Energy
   profiles—Baltic states 8: 0221
   supply situation—Soviet 2: 0165
   technologies—CIS 7: 0673
   use and conservation—Soviet 2: 0165
Enterprise, Soviet
under perestroika and privatization
2: 0846
performance—evaluation of 2: 0846

Environmental policy
CIS 5: 0349

Environmental restoration
2: 0041

Estonia
economic profile 8: 0297

Ethnic divisiveness
Russian Federation 13: 0033

Ethnic dynamics and dilemmas
Russian Federation 8: 0832

Ethnicity
international borders and 6: 0460

Ethnic unrest
Moldova 8: 0798
Russian Federation 8: 0832
USSR 2: 0001

Eurasia
Central—foreign affairs chronologies
5: 0724; 6: 0196, 0421, 0744, 0787, 1271; 7: 0492
defense industries in 6: 0708

Europe
Central—commercial laws and regulations 8: 0001
Eastern
commercial laws and regulations 8: 0001
OECD trade with 4: 0406
Russian policy toward 9: 0684
Soviet military withdrawal from 3: 0203
stability in 2: 0706
security—impact of Russian—Ukrainian relations on 12: 0403

Soviet foreign policy in—CIA estimates on 4: 0603

Export control system
Russian Federation 11: 0215

Fergana Basin
oil and gas resources 15: 0645
See also Kyrgyzstan; Tajikistan; Uzbekistan

Fishing fleet operations
Baltic states 7: 0001
CIS 7: 0001
Eastern Europe 7: 0001

Food assistance, U.S.
for CIS 5: 0384

Force requirements
1: 0001

Force structure
Russian Federation 11: 0669
Ukrainian 14: 0454

Foreign affairs chronologies
Baltic states 5: 0724
Central Eurasia 5: 0724; 6: 0196, 0421, 0744, 0787, 1271; 7: 0492
CIS 5: 0724; 6: 0196, 0421, 0744, 0787, 1271; 7: 0492

Foreign Energy Supply Assessment Program
15: 0645

Foreign policy
Russian 11: 0403; 12: 0001
Soviet
toward Asia—CIA estimates 4: 0603
toward Asia-Pacific region 3: 0527
changes in 1: 0182
deideologization of 4: 0575
toward Eastern Europe—evolution 1: 0570
Foreign policy cont.
Soviet cont.
toward Europe—CIA estimates 4: 0603
glasnost—impact of 1: 0059
toward Korean conflict 3: 0527
toward Middle East—CIA estimates 4: 0603
toward Middle East—general 4: 0575
objectives 2: 0933
toward Third World 1: 0155
Ukrainian 14: 0454

Foreign relations, Soviet
with Israel 5: 0184

Georgia
top officials—list of 8: 0325
U.S. company offices in—directory of 7: 0333

Glasnost
Soviet civil-military relations—effect on 3: 0684
Soviet foreign policy—impact on 1: 0059

Gorbachev, Mikhail
conservative turn by 2: 0706
general 1: 0155–0364
Soviet military—relationship with 1: 0228

Governmental reform, Soviet 3: 0372

Grain agreements
U.S.—Soviet 3: 0001

Grain storage
Russian Federation 14: 0478
Ukrainian 14: 0478

Gulf War
Russian views on 12: 0482
U.S. policy in—Soviet support for 3: 0829

High Command, Soviet
August 1991 coup—support for 3: 0684
conservatism of 3: 0684
personnel changes 1: 0524

Housing
privatization—Russian Federation 9: 0224
reform—Russian Federation 9: 0001

Hungary
economy 2: 0846
Russian Federation—economic relations with 9: 0684
Russian policy toward 9: 0684

Industrial policy
CIS 5: 0785

Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces agreement 1: 0182

International finance
profile of 1: 0755

Investments
in CIS—obstacles 5: 0297

Iran
Azerbaijan—policy toward 8: 0146
Caucasus region—interests in 5: 0610

Iraq
breakup of—security issues involving 6: 0460

Israel
Soviet relations with 5: 0184

Japan
American military presence in—
Soviet efforts to reduce 3: 0527
cooperative relations with U.S. and Russian Federation 13: 0001
Kuril Islands—territorial dispute with Russian Federation over 12: 0606

82
Russian Federation—relations with 9: 0116; 12: 0606
Soviet efforts to isolate 3: 0527
U.S. relations with 9: 0116
U.S. trade and security relationships with 3: 0372
Joint ventures
U.S.—CIS—analysis of 6: 0319
Kazakhstan
economic profile 8: 0382
international trade 8: 0338
national independence 7: 0296
nuclear nonproliferation in 7: 0296
oil potential 8: 0338
U.S. company offices in—directory of 7: 0333
Kebich, Vyacheslav
8: 0287
KGB
Russian Federation—formation and development of 11: 0244
Soviet—political role of 1: 0228
Korean conflict
Soviet policy toward 3: 0527
Kuril Islands
Russo-Japanese territorial dispute over 12: 0606
Kyrgyzstan
national independence 7: 0296
nuclear nonproliferation in 7: 0296
Labor market
1: 0924
Latin America
drugs—transshipment from CIS 6: 0399
Lithuania
economic profile 8: 0757
Loan credits, U.S.
for CIS 5: 0384
Mackinder, Halford
12: 0765
Macroeconomy
defense relationship to 1: 0493
Media developments
Russian Federation 13: 0078, 0326, 0511, 0892
Ukraine 13: 0078, 0236, 0511, 0892; 15: 0462
Middle East
drugs—transshipment from CIS 6: 0399
Russian Federation policy toward 10: 0569
Soviet foreign policy toward—CIA estimates on 4: 0603
Soviet strategic interests in 4: 0575
Military, Russian
analysis of 11: 0001
capabilities 11: 0669
future of 11: 0516
Russian politics—influence on 10: 0530
Military, Soviet
ethnic factor in 1: 0856; 2: 0001, 0933
Gorbachev, Mikhail—relationship with 1: 0228
hazing in 2: 0001
internal conflict within 1: 0440
reform in 1: 0440; 3: 0203
reorganization 1: 0440
role of 2: 0933
Shevardnadze, Eduard—criticism by 1: 0364
Military cooperation
U.S.—Soviet—general 3: 0829
U.S.—Soviet during World War II 2: 0525

Military doctrine
Russian Federation 11: 0001, 0669; 13: 0603, 0945; 14: 0262
Soviet 1: 0001; 6: 0910

Military forces
of Central Asian states—development 8: 0422

Military leadership
changes in 1: 0524

Military operations
decrease in 1: 0155

Military power, Soviet
role of 2: 0933

Military reform
1: 0440; 3: 0203

Military research and development
CIS 5: 0785

Military thought
Russian Federation 12: 0876

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Soviet defense and arms control
policy role in 1: 0364

Moldova
Dniester Republic conflict with 12: 0023
Dniester Republic secession 8: 0786, 0798
Russian Federation plans for
reintegration of 12: 0445
Russian Federation relations with 12: 0023
Russian refusal to withdraw troops in 12: 0023
top officials—list of 8: 0786

Monetary wages
in Soviet Union 3: 0470

Mongolia
Soviet military withdrawal from 3: 0203

Muslims
in Russia—historical movements 5: 0655
in Soviet armed forces 1: 0856

National Guard
building of 3: 0829

Nationality policy, Soviet
5: 0001

National security
agenda—key issues 1: 0440
interests—Russian Federation 13: 0603
policy (CIS)—environmental aspects of 5: 0349
policy (Russian Federation) 11: 0001; 12: 0445; 13: 0603
policy (Soviet)—influence of Eduard Shevardnadze on 1: 0364

Nation assistance capabilities, U.S.
3: 0829

Nation building
3: 0829

Natural gas industry
laws, regulations, and prices for 6: 0826
trade and investment patterns 6: 0826

Naval strategy, Soviet
2: 0227

Navy
Russian Federation—impact of reasonable sufficiency on structure and missions of 9: 0254
Soviet—warfighting capabilities
2: 0227
U.S.—implications of CIS military doctrine and strategy for 6: 0910

New political thinking 1: 0182

News agencies
Ukrainian 15: 0462

Newspapers, Russian analysis of 10: 0753

Nuclear disarmament
CIS compliance with 5: 0384

Nuclear nonproliferation
in former Soviet Central Asian states 7: 0296
in Russian Federation 15: 0566
in Ukraine 15: 0566

Nuclear power operations 2: 0041

Nuclear proliferation in CIS 7: 0888

Nuclear weapons capabilities—Ukrainian 15: 0315
CIS—potential targets 6: 0001
CIS—statements on control and disposition of 5: 0534
Soviet—CIA estimates on 4: 0603
Ukrainian—command and control systems for 15: 0474
Ukrainian—general 12: 0403

Nunen, Johann von 12: 0765

OECD
Eastern Europe—trade with 4: 0406
USSR—trade with 4: 0406

Officer corps, Soviet split in 3: 0684

Oil and gas resources
Fergana Basin 15: 0645

Oil potential
Kazakhstan 8: 0338

Opium poppy cultivation in CIS 6: 0399

Organized crime groups
Russian Federation—illicit sales of weapons and sensitive materials by 14: 0159

Pan-Turkism 5: 0655

Perestroika
Soviet enterprise under 2: 0846

Persian Gulf
security of—effect of Azerbaijan on 8: 0146

Petroleum industry
laws, regulations, and prices for trade and investment patterns 6: 0826

Poland
fishing fleet operations 7: 0001
Russian Federation—economic relations with 9: 0684
Russian policy toward 9: 0684

Political parties
Ukrainian—guide to 14: 0697

Political socialization youth 5: 0106

Prices
crude petroleum 6: 0826
natural gas 6: 0826

Private sector
Russian Federation—measuring emergence of 10: 0732

Privatization
project in Latvia 8: 0456–0647
Russian Federation 9: 0224
Soviet enterprise under 2: 0846
Professional army
movement toward 3: 0829

Radioactive contamination
Arctic region 6: 0295
Baltic Sea 6: 0295
Sea of Japan 6: 0295

Radioactive waste management
2: 0041; 6: 0027, 0295

Revolution
in Russian Federation—possibility of
9: 0054

Romania
fishing fleet operations 7: 0001

Russian Congress of Peoples
Deputies
stenographic reports 8: 0868;
10: 0001; 11: 0772

Russian Federation
Arab-Israeli conflict—policy toward
10: 0569
arms control agreements with U.S.—
status of 13: 0856
arms sales policy 11: 0215
arms transfer policy—repercussions
of 13: 0352

Baltic states—plans for reintegration
of 12: 0445

Baltic states—relations with 12: 0133

Belarus—plans for reintegration of
12: 0445

border problems 12: 0033

Caucasus region—interests in
5: 0610

Chemical Weapons Convention—
status of 13: 0856

commercial laws and regulations
8: 0001

conventional arms export policy
11: 0270

cooperaive relations with U.S. and
Japan 13: 0001
defense business directory 10: 0621;
12: 0172; 13: 0102
defense conversion—U.S.
opportunities for participation in
13: 0102
defense cooperation with U.S.
12: 0876
defense model for 12: 0765
democracy in—future of 13: 0671
Eastern Europe—policy toward
9: 0684
economic profile 14: 0349
economic reforms—April 1993
referendum on 12: 0167
economy—summary of 13: 0837

ethic divisiveness 13: 0033
ethic dynamics and dilemmas
8: 0832

exeuctive branch—Boris Yeltsin’s
efforts to strengthen 9: 0085;
13: 0486

force structure 11: 069

foreign policy 11: 0403; 12: 0001

fragmentation of 13: 0463

grain storage in—assessment of
14: 0478

housing privatization 9: 0224
housing reform in 9: 0001

Japan—relations with 9: 0116;
12: 0606

KGB—formation and development of
11: 0244

Kuril Islands—territorial dispute with
Japan over 12: 0606

liberal reforms in—implications of
9: 0563
media developments in 13: 0078, 0326, 0511, 0892
Middle East policy 10: 0569
military
   analysis of 11: 0001
   capabilities 11: 0669
document 11: 0001, 0669; 13: 0603, 0945; 14: 0262
   future of 11: 0516
   thought 12: 0876
Moldova
   refusal to remove troops from 12: 0023
   reintegration of—plans for 12: 0445
   relations with 12: 0023
   nationalism—role in 13: 0033
   national security interests 13: 0603
   national security policy 11: 0001; 12: 0445; 13: 0603
   national strategy 9: 0372
nuclear nonproliferation 15: 0566
offensive air warfare theory 12: 0482
organized crime groups in—illicit sales of weapons and sensitive materials by 14: 0159
parliament—decree by Boris Yeltsin dissolving 13: 0486
politics—military influence in 10: 0530
private sector—measuring emergence of 10: 0732
privatization program 10: 0732
reformist daily newspapers—analysis of 10: 0753
revolution in—possibility of 9: 0054
security services 10: 0520
State Council—creation of 9: 0085
strategic appraisal of 12: 0337
top officials—list of 11: 0320

Ukraine—plans for reintegration of 12: 0445
Ukraine—relations with 12: 0403
UN—cooperation with 10: 0785
UN—policy toward 10: 0785
U.S. company offices in—directory of 7: 0333
U.S. relations with 9: 0667
wheat import demands 13: 0558
Yeltsin, Boris—election as president 8: 0832

Rutskoy, Aleksandr
13: 0486

Saudi Arabia
Azerbaijan—policy toward 8: 0146
Caucasus region—interests in 5: 0610

Science
in CIS 5: 0785

Sea of Japan
radioactive contamination of 6: 0295

Security priorities
of Central Asian states 8: 0422

Security services
Russian Federation 10: 0520

Shevardnadze, Eduard
national security policy—influence on 1: 0364
resignation of 2: 0706
Soviet defense and arms control policy—role in 1: 0364
Soviet military—criticism of 1: 0364

Shushkevich, Stanislav
8: 0287

Side income
in Soviet Union—opportunities for 3: 0470
Sokolov, Sergei
dismissal of, as minister of defense 1: 0524
Soviet General Staff
changes in 2: 0933
Soviet-Western relations 2: 0706
Stalin, Josef
death of—CIA estimates on leadership succession after 4: 0603
Strategy, military 6: 0910
Students
release of, from service in armed forces 2: 0447
Supreme Soviet
Committee for Questions of Defense and State Security—problems facing 2: 0447
Committee for Questions of Defense and State Security—role in formation of defense policy 2: 0447
USSR defense minister—debates on appointment of 2: 0447
Svechin, A. A.
12: 0765
Tajikistan
national independence 7: 0296
nuclear nonproliferation in 7: 0296
Technology
in CIS 5: 0785
Third World
humanitarian relief and assistance for 3: 0829
Soviet foreign policy toward—changes in 1: 0155
Trade
with CIS—obstacles 5: 0297
international—Kazakhstan 8: 0338
reports—CIS 5: 0817; 7: 0575
Trade and investment patterns
 crude petroleum and natural gas sectors 6: 0826
Transcaucasian Republics
ethnic groups—political problems and aspirations 8: 0099
national identity in 5: 0001
political and ethnic unrest in 8: 0099
Troop reductions, Soviet 3: 0203
Tuan, YiFu
12: 0765
Turkey
Azerbaijan—policy toward 8: 0146
Caucasus region—interests in 5: 0610
Muslim peoples in CIS—support for 5: 0655
Turkmenistan
economic profile 15: 0610
national independence 7: 0296
nuclear nonproliferation in 7: 0296
"Turn to the Right," Soviet 2: 0706
Ukraine
defense policy 14: 0454
democracy in—analysis of 14: 0652
economic profile 14: 0580
foreign policy 14: 0454
grain storage in—assessment of 14: 0478
independence of 14: 0421
independence movement—role of Communists in 15: 0001
media developments in 13: 0078, 0326, 0511, 0892; 15: 0462
military force structure 14: 0454
news agencies 15: 0462
nuclear nonproliferation in 15: 0566
nuclear weapons in—command and control systems for 15: 0474
nuclear weapons in—general
   12: 0403; 15: 0315
political parties—guide to 14: 0697
Russian Federation—relations with
   12: 0403
Russian Federation plans for reintegration of 12: 0445
top officials—list of 14: 0625
U.S. company offices in—directory of
   7: 0333
U.S. policy toward 14: 0730, 0794
U.S. recognition of 14: 0794

UN
dues—Soviet payment of 1: 0182
peacekeeping operations 3: 0829
Russian Federation cooperation with
   10: 0785
Russian Federation policy toward
   10: 0785
security missions 10: 0785

Unified Labor Schools
5: 0106

U.S. Army
document—deterrent value of 5: 0042
country assistance capabilities 6: 0629

U.S.–Soviet combined operations
2: 0525

USSR
capabilities—CIA estimates on
   4: 0603
CIA estimates on, from the 1950s
   4: 0603
economic officials 3: 0804
future of 2: 0912

OECD trade with 4: 0406

USSR Academy of Sciences
2: 0041

Uzbekistan
   national independence 7: 0296
   nuclear nonproliferation in 7: 0296

War
   concepts 2: 0525
   Soviet views on 4: 0001

Warsaw Pact
demise of 3: 0829

Weapon system acquisition, Soviet
3: 0114

Wheat imports
   Russian Federation demands for
   13: 0558

World War II
   U.S.–Soviet military cooperation in
   2: 0525

Yeltsin, Boris
   Bush, George—summit meeting with (1992) 9: 0667
   March 20, 1993, television address—Russian regional reaction to
   12: 0102
   opponents—defeat and arrest of
   13: 0486
   president of Russian Federation—election as 8: 0832
   Russian executive branch—efforts to strengthen 9: 0085; 13: 0486
   Russian parliament—dissolution of
   13: 0486

Youth, Soviet
   political socialization 5: 0106

Yugoslavia
   fishing fleet operations 7: 0001

Zhirinovsky, Vladimir
   assessment of 14: 0001

89
THE SPECIAL STUDIES SERIES

Asia, 1980–1991
China, 1970–1980
Drugs, 1972–1986
Europe and NATO, 1970–1991
Immigration, 1969–1988
International Trade, 1971–1988
Latin America, 1962–1991
Middle East, 1970–1991
Multinational Corporations, OPEC, Cartels, Foreign Investments, and Technology Transfer, 1971–1988
Terrorism, 1975–1991
Vietnam and Southeast Asia, 1960–1980

UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS OF AMERICA