Russia & Eurasia Relevant Books 1H21 + Recommended Reading

“Books are the … most accessible and wisest of counselors, and the most patient of teachers.”


Most useful & interesting books published in 1H21. This review lists the most useful books for investors and business managers/planners about Russia and the broader Eurasia region which have been published in the first half of 2021. They have been chosen because they offer some insight into either the economy and politics or simply how Russia and the other Eurasia states work. Specifically excluded from this list are most of the “tabloid” books focusing on, e.g., the impending doom of war or simply ranting about why Russia/Eurasia is either so bad or so wonderful. None add anything useful for those looking to better understand how the region works or to better understand the business and investment climate.

Eurasia and Eurasianism. Interest in Central Asia and the topic of Eurasianism is increasing. This year marks the 30th anniversary of the independence of the Eurasian states so interest in how each country has developed or failed to is rising. There have been several very useful books looking at economic and social developments across the region and, separately, in several countries. The Eurasianism theme has been important in Russia for a long time but, as the region starts to become more integrated (in terms of trade and with the expanding BRI) but also more independent politically (e.g. current events in Belarus) and also more fractious (the Caucasus) the discussion about Eurasianism is gaining more prominence.

Environment and carbon targeting is also an emerging theme. We are starting to see more books published looking at expected trends in the Russian hydrocarbon sector, but especially concerning gas, both the economics and politics of gas. This is also linked with the increasingly important discussion about carbon management and environment themes and renewable investment opportunities. Several books have emerged this year and many more are expected in 2H21, especially Thane Gustafson’s book about climate change in Russia. Klimat: Russia in the Age of Climate Change is due to be published in October.

Economic coverage is improving. There are still only a few books that examine Russia’s economic development and the government policies that may drive future economic change. But Chris Miller’s Putinomics (Page 5) is not a bad start. It looks at some of the major policies adopted by Putin’s governments and explains, in general terms, some of the changes of the past two decades. There are also some specific books examining, e.g. trade policies and PPP strategies.

Recommended reading list. Also included in this report is the updated recommended list covering Russia and the Eurasia region. These are books we believe give the best overview for those that wish to understand modern Russia and the fast-developing Eurasia states.

No warranties, promises, and/or representations of any kind, expressed or implied are given as to the nature, standard, accuracy, or otherwise of the information provided in this material nor to the suitability or otherwise of the information to your particular circumstances. Macro-Advisory Limited does not accept any responsibility or liability for the accuracy, content, completeness, legality, or reliability of the content contained in this note. © Copyright Macro-Advisory Limited
The books reviewed this year are listed in no particular order other than within these categories:

Section I: Russia
- Domestic Politics (Page 3)
- Russia’s Economy (Page 5)
- Russia and Geopolitics (Page 8)
- General Russia Topics (Page 13)

Section II: Oil, Carbon, and the Environment (Page 18)

Section III: BRI-Russia and China in Eurasia (Page 20)

Section IV: Eurasia and Eurasianism (Page 21)

Section V: Eurasia country-specific books – new books in 1H21 (Page 27)

Section VI: Russia recommended reading List (Page 28)
- How the government works & decisions are made
- Vladimir Putin
- Economy
- Oligarchs, Siloviki, Elites
- Russia and the world
- Russia-Eurasia energy
- History
- The transition from the Soviet Union to Russia

Section VII: Energy, Carbon management, the Environment recommended books (Page 32)

Section VIII: China, Russia & BRI recommended books (Page 34)

Section IX: Eurasia Region recommended books (Page 35)

Section X: Eurasia country-specific recommended books (Page 37)

Reviews in Macro-Monthly reports. We highlight all new and relevant books published about Russia or the other countries of the CIS-Eurasia region in our flagship Macro-Monthly publication. A more detailed review of these books can be found in these reports. In some instances, we offer our own opinion about the books listed but, in other cases, we resort to the Amazon blurb for convenience.
Section I: Russia

❖ Domestic Politics

Title: Weak Strongman: The Limits of Power in Putin’s Russia
Author: Timothy Frye

Timothy Frye is the Marshall D. Shulman Professor in Political Science at Columbia University and Co-Director of a research laboratory at the Higher School of Economics in Moscow.

The author contends that Russia is similar to other autocracies—and recognizing this illuminates the inherent limits to Putin’s power. Weak Strongman seeks to challenge the conventional wisdom about Putin’s Russia, highlighting the difficult trade-offs that confront the Kremlin on issues ranging from election fraud and repression to propaganda and foreign policy.

Frye sets out to reveal how much we (the West) overlook today’s Russia when we focus solely on Putin or Russian exceptionalism. He poses such questions as: How popular is Putin? Is Russian propaganda effective? Why are relations with the West so fraught? Can Russian cyber warriors really swing foreign elections?

Title: Russian Conservatism: Managing Change under Permanent Revolution
Author: Glenn Diesen

Glenn Diesen is an Associate Professor at the University of South-Eastern Norway.

Russian conservatism is making a forceful return after a century of experimenting with socialism and liberalism. Conservatism is about managing change by ensuring that modernization evolves organically by building on the past. Conservatism has a natural attraction for Russia as its thousand-year-long history is largely characterized by revolutionary change - the destructive process of uprooting the past to give way to modernity. Navigating towards gradual and organic modernization has been a key struggle ever since the Mongols invaded in the early 13th century and decoupled Russia from Europe and the arteries of international trade. Russian history has consisted of avoiding revolutions that are either caused by falling behind on modernization or making great leaps forward that disrupts socio-economic and political traditions. Russian conservatives are now tasked with harmonizing the conservative ideas of the 19th century with the revolutionary changes that shaped Russia in the 20th century. The rise of Asia now provides new opportunities as it enables Russia to overcome its fixation on the West and develop a unique Russian path towards modernization that harmonizes its Eurasian geography and history.
**Title:** The Red Mirror: Putin's Leadership and Russia's Insecure Identity  
**Author:** Gulnaz Sharafutdinova  

Gulnaz Sharafutdinova is Reader in Russian Politics at King’s College London. She is the author of *Political Consequences of Crony Capitalism Inside Russia* and co-editor of *Soviet Society in the Era of Late Socialism, 1964-1985.*

The author tries to explain what is behind Putin's enduring popularity in Russia. The author uses social identity theory to explain Putin's leadership. The main source of Putin's political influence, she finds, lies in how he articulates the shared collective perspective that unites many Russian citizens. Under his tenure, the Kremlin’s media machine has tapped into powerful group emotions of shame and humiliation—derived from the Soviet transition in the 1990s—and has politicized national identity to transform these emotions into pride and patriotism. Culminating with the annexation of Crimea in 2014, this strategy of national identity politics is still the essence of Putin's leadership in Russia.

But victimhood-based consolidation is also leading the country down the path of political confrontation and economic stagnation. To enable a cultural, social, and political revival in Russia, Sharafutdinova argues, political elites must instead focus on more constructively conceived ideas about the country's future. Integrating methods from history, political science, and social psychology.

**Title:** Internet in Russia: A Study of the Runet and Its Impact on Social Life  
**Author:** Sergey Davydov  

Sergey Davydov is an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Communications, Media, and Design at the National Research University Higher School of Economics (Moscow, Russia).

This book presents an interdisciplinary analysis of the Internet in Russia and its impact on various aspects of social life. The contributions discuss topics such as the features of the Russian media system and digitization processes, the history of the Runet, national Internet markets, and the Internet economy, as well as legal aspects. By presenting the results of relevant case studies, it illustrates the process of integrating the Russian segment of the Internet into the international system, offering insights into various country-specific features of the Runet’s functioning and development.

The first part of the book focuses on the Internet in the context of the development of the Russian media system concerning historical features and digital inequalities. The second part then discusses the economic and legal aspects of the Runet, while the third and the fourth parts offer an analysis of digital culture, including the role of journalism and regional diversities as well as online representations and discussions.
Russia & CIS Book Review

Russia Economics

Title: Putinomics: Power and Money in Resurgent Russia
Author: Chris Miller

Chris Miller is an assistant professor of international history at The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and co-director of the school’s Russia and Eurasia Program. He is also Eurasia Director at the Foreign Policy Research Institute.

When Vladimir Putin first took power in 1999, he was a little-known figure ruling a country that was reeling from a decade and a half of crisis. In the years since he has re-established Russia as a great power. How did he do it? What principles have guided Putin's economic policies? What patterns can be discerned? In this new analysis of Putin's Russia, Chris Miller examines its economic policy and the tools Russia's elite have used to achieve its goals. Miller argues that despite Russia's corruption, cronyism, and overdependence on oil as an economic driver, Putin's economic strategy has been surprisingly successful.

Explaining the economic policies that underwrote Putin's two-decades-long rule, Miller shows how, at every juncture, Putinomics has served Putin’s needs by guaranteeing economic stability and supporting his accumulation of power. Even in the face of Western financial sanctions and low oil prices, Putin has never been more relevant on the world stage.

Title: Russian Trade Policy: Achievements, Challenges and Prospects
Editors: Sergei Sutyrin, Olga Y. Trafimenko, Alexandra Koval

Sergei F. Sutyrin is a Professor and World Economy Department Head at Saint Petersburg State University, WTO Chair Holder since 2010.

Olga Y. Trafimenko, Candidate of Economic Science (PhD), is an Associate Professor at the World Economy Department of Saint Petersburg State University.

Alexandra G. Koval, Candidate of Economic Science (PhD), is an Associate Professor at the World Economy Department of Saint Petersburg State University.

The authors investigate specific factors influencing the Russian trade policy evolution; recent trends in Russia’s international trade development; and the impact of Russia’s participation in the World Trade Organization on the domestic economy.

Particular attention is paid to regional integration processes that involve Russia and their outcomes; as well as challenges in the remaining and building commercial relations with Russia’s traditional and ‘new’ trade partners, taking into consideration those alienating the West and economic sanctions regimes. The analysis of key trends is combined with a special focus on selected industries and economic partners of Russia. The book contains a variety of case studies investigating the ways in which political and business actors adapt to the transformation of Russian trade policy, how Russia participates in the WTO dispute settlement mechanism, and what the driving forces and outputs are for the national economic agents.
Title: Public-Private Partnerships in Russia: Institutional Frameworks and Best Practices

Editors: Oleg V. Ivanov, Agnessa O. Inshakova

This volume presents the history and current state of the public-private partnership (PPP) sector in Russia. It analyzes the legal and institutional framework of PPPs as well as approaches and best practices for public administrations at the federal and regional levels to promote PPPs. Special attention is given to the management of PPP projects in different phases of their life cycle and to the legal and financial structuring of PPP projects. In addition, the contributions highlight best PPP practices in various sectors - from transport infrastructure to information technology - and also discuss international aspects of PPP.

Title: Pharmapolitics in Russia: Making Drugs and Rebuilding the Nation

Author: Olga Zvonareva

Olga Zvonareva is Assistant Professor of Health, Ethics, and Society at Maastricht University in the Netherlands, as well as an Associate Professor at National Research Tomsk State University and Siberian State Medical University in Russia.

Over the last one hundred years, the Russian pharmaceutical industry has undergone multiple dramatic transformations, which have taken place alongside tectonic political shifts in society associated with the rise and fall of the Soviet Union and the emergence of a post-Soviet order. Pharmapolitics in Russia argues that different versions of the Russian pharmaceutical industry took shape in a co-productive process, equally involving political ideologies and agendas, and technoscientific developments and constraints. Drawing on interviews, documents, literature, and media sources, Olga Zvonareva examines critical points in the history of the pharmaceutical industry in Russia. This includes the emergence of Soviet drug research and development, the short-lived neoliberal turn of the 1990s, and the ongoing efforts of the Russian government to boost local pharmaceutical innovation, which in turn produced a now widely shared vision of an independent and self-sufficient nation. The resulting industrial organizations and practices, she argues, came to embed and transmit particular imaginaries of the nation and its future.

Title: Russia Business: Analyze the Economy, Understand the Society, Manage Effectively

Editors: Olga Medinskaya, Henk R Randau, Christian Altmann

Olga Medinskaya is the founder of the training company Cultural Connectors. She is a lecturer on cross-cultural competence at several universities and a certified administrator of the Intercultural Development Inventory.

Dr. Henk R. Randau is the General Manager of the Healthcare Division within Freudenberg Performance Materials.
Dr. Christian Altmann is General Manager of the Investment Company „German House“, St. Petersburg, Russia. He was the head of the German-Russian Chamber of Commerce in St. Petersburg.

This is a summary guide, in a compact format, to doing business in Russia. ‘Russia Business’ discusses the economy, highlights the challenges Russia would face after the Coronavirus crisis, and covers key societal topics. In addition, it gives a greater insight into the work culture, business regulation and provides first-hand advice on how to manage a business in Russia.

This book covers topics of interest to business professionals looking to enter the Russian market, to grow their Russian operations, and to all managers who intend to update their knowledge about Russia in relevant business areas.
Russia and Geopolitics

Title: Russia–EU Relations and the Common Neighborhood: Coercion vs. Authority

Author: Irina Busygina

Irina Busygina is a Professor of Politics at the National Research University "Higher School of Economics" in St. Petersburg. She was previously Professor of Comparative Politics at Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) and European Studies Institute at MGIMO.

Examining Russia–EU relations in terms of the forms and types of power tools they use, this book argues that the deteriorating relations between Russia and the EU lie in the deep differences in their preferences for the international status quo. These different approaches, combined with economic interdependence and geographic proximity, means both parties experience significant difficulties in shaping strategy and formulating agendas with regards to each other.

She argues that the Russian leadership is well aware of the EU’s "authority orientation" but fails to reliably predict foreign policy at the EU level, whilst the EU realizes Russia’s "coercive orientation" in general, but cannot predict when and where coercive tools will be used next. Russia is gradually realizing the importance of authority, while the EU sees the necessity of coercion tools for coping with certain challenges. The learning process is ongoing but the basic distinction remains unchanged and so their approaches cannot be reconciled as long as both actors exist in their current form.

Title: The Sense of Mission in Russian Foreign Policy: Destined for Greatness!

Author: Alicja Curanović

Alicja Curanović is an Associate Professor in the Faculty of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Warsaw.

This book explores how far messianism, the conviction that Russia has a special historical destiny, is present in, and affects Russian foreign policy. Based on extensive original research, including analysis of public statements, policy documents, and opinion polls, the book argues that a sense of mission is present in Russian foreign policy, that it is very similar to thinking about Russia’s mission in Tsarist times, that the sense of mission matters more for Russia’s elites than for Russia’s masses, and that Russia’s special mission is emphasized more when there are questions about the regime’s legitimacy as well as great power status. Overall, the book demonstrates that a sense of mission is an important factor in Russian foreign policy.
**Title:** Russian Politics and Response to Globalization

**Author:** Lada V. Kochtcheeva

*Lada V. Kochtcheeva is an Associate Professor of Political Science at North Carolina State University, the US.*

This book analyzes the nature of Russia’s involvement with globalization. To date, Russia has mainly followed a course of selective openness governed by an increasingly strong state pursuing self-determination and its vision of strategic objectives and forms of cooperation, rather than the projected reproduction of global convergence. It is also a country that is believed to be finding a new place and position for itself in the evolving global order, where European and American reflections shape the treatment of contemporary questions concerning Russia’s status in the world. The book highlights the problems and conflicts associated with political developments, democratization, economic reforms, and innovation, as well as societal perceptions and national identity formation. The world is shifting, with Russia developing its vision of global politics and cultivating a pragmatic strategy based on national interest, one that supports globalization where necessary and opposes it where conflicts of interest and values are inevitable.

**Title:** Power and Conflict in Russia’s Borderlands: The Post-Soviet Geopolitics of Dispute Resolution

**Author:** Helena Rytövuori-Apunen

*Helena Rytövuori-Apunen has recently retired from the University of Tampere, Finland, where she was a Senior Researcher at the Tampere Peace Research Institute and a Professor in Politics and International Relations.*

As Cold War battle lines are seemingly re-drawn, Russia’s various frozen war zones (ongoing separatist conflicts) are often cited as particularly volatile and assumed by some Western commentators and policymakers to be next on Putin’s wish list. But, as Helena Rytövuori-Apunen demonstrates here, this is a gross (and dangerous) oversimplification that will only serve to fuel the vicious circle of reciprocal military escalation.

Drawing on a range of empirical research and across separatist conflicts in Georgia (South Ossetia and Abkhazia), Moldova (Transnistria and Gagauzia) and Azerbaijan (Nagorno-Karabakh), and Crimea, her book provides an assessment of the assumptions and misunderstandings that inform mainstream discussions, as well as placing the conflicts in their proper and complex historical contexts.

**Title:** The Dynamics of Russia’s Geopolitics: Remaking the Global Order (Frontiers in International Relations)

**Author:** David Oualaalou

*Dr. David Oualaalou is an international geopolitical consultant and former international security analyst in Washington, DC.*
This book aims to provide explanations for Russia’s geopolitical strategic interests as well as a larger picture of its political realities. It addresses three primary questions relevant to the current global context:

- Will current geopolitical shifts greatly benefit Russia’s long-term global objectives?
- What foreign policy will Russia pursue in the Middle East and the Baltic regions to guarantee the security of its strategic interests?
- Will major powers confront one another over resources that could trigger military conflict, or will they choose appeasement to maintain peace and stability in this new era?

**Title:** Putin Confronts West: The Logic of Russian Foreign Relations, 1999-2020  
**Author:** René De La Pedraja  

*Rene De La Pedraja* lived in Latin America for many years, researching and writing numerous publications. He is a professor of history at Canisius College in Buffalo, New York.

Russia’s surprising return to the world stage since 2000 has aroused the curiosity—if not the fear—of the West. Gradually, the Kremlin went from a policy of deference to foreign powers to act with independence. The driver of this transformation was President Vladimir Putin, who with skillful caution navigated Russia back into the ranks of global powers. In theatres of conflict such as Georgia, Syria, and Ukraine, the Kremlin won significant victories at little cost to consolidate its decisive position. Following a chronological approach from the fall of the Soviet Union to the present, this book draws on new documents to describe how Russia regained its former global prominence, with clear accounts of key decisions and foreign policy events—many presented for the first time—and important insights into the major confrontations with the West.

**Title:** Russian Active Measures: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow  
**Authors:** Olga Bertelsen, Andreas Umland  

*Olga Bertelsen* is an Assistant Professor of Intelligence Studies at Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University, Prescott, Arizona.

The contributions gathered in this collection, in which scholars from a diverse range of disciplines share their perspectives on Russian covert activities known as Russian active measures, help readers observe the profound influence of Russian covert action on foreign states’ policies, cultures, people’s mentality, and social institutions, past and present. Disinformation, forgeries, major show trials, cooptation of Western academia, memory, and cyberwars, and changes in national and regional security doctrines of states targeted by Russia constitute an incomplete list of topics discussed in this volume.
Through a nexus of perspectives and through the prism of new documents discovered in the former KGB archives, the texts highlight the enormous scale and the legacies of Soviet/Russian covert action. Because Russia annexed Crimea in 2014 and its ongoing war in Ukraine's Donbas, Ukraine lately gained international recognition as the epicenter of Russian disinformation campaigns, invigorating popular and scholarly interest in conventional and non-conventional warfare. The studies included in this collection illuminate the objectives and implications of Russia's attempts to ideologically subvert Ukraine as well as other nations. Examining them through historical lenses reveals a cultural clash between Russia and the West in general.

Title: Russia’s Relations with the GCC and Iran
Author: Nikolay Kozhanov

Nikolay Kozhanov is a Research Associate Professor at the Gulf Studies Center of Qatar University. He is also a Consulting Fellow at the Russia and Eurasia Program of Chatham House where he leads a project on Russia’s policy in the Middle East.

This book offers insight into the motives behind Moscow’s behavior in the Persian Gulf (with a specific focus on the GCC member states and Iran), considering Russia’s growing role in the Middle East and its desire to protect national interests using a wide range of means. The book explores the drivers and motivations of the Russian foreign policy in the Gulf region, thus, helping the audience to generate an informed prognosis about Moscow’s moves in this area over the next years. In contrast to most studies of Russia’s presence in the region, this book considers the Russian involvement in the Gulf from two standpoints – the Russian and foreign. The idea of the book is to take several key problems of Moscow’s presence in the Gulf, each of these to be covered by two authors—Russian and non-Russian scholars, to offer the readers alternative visions of Moscow’s policies towards Iran and the GCC countries.

Title: We Shall Be Masters: Russian Pivots to East Asia from Peter the Great to Putin
Author: Chris Miller

Chris Miller is the author of Putinomics: Power and Money in Resurgent Russia and The Struggle to Save the Soviet Economy. An Assistant Professor of International History at Tufts University.

Since Peter the Great, Russian leaders have been lured by opportunity to the East. Under the tsars, Russians colonized Alaska, California, and Hawaii. The Trans-Siberian Railway linked Moscow to Vladivostok. And Stalin looked to Asia as a sphere of influence, hospitable to the spread of Soviet Communism. In Asia and the Pacific lay territory, markets, security, and glory.

But all these expansionist dreams amounted to little. In We Shall Be Masters, Miller explores why, arguing that Russia’s ambitions have repeatedly outstripped its capacity. With the core of the nation concentrated thousands of miles away in the European borderlands, Russia’s would-be pioneers have always struggled to project power in Asia and to maintain public and elite interest in their far-flung pursuits.
Even when the wider population professed faith in Asia’s promise, few Russians were willing to pay the steep price. Among leaders, too, dreams of empire have always been tempered by fears of cost. Most of Russia’s pivots to Asia have therefore been halfhearted and fleeting.

Today the Kremlin talks up the importance of “strategic partnership” with Xi Jinping’s China, and Vladimir Putin’s government is at pains to emphasize Russian activities across Eurasia. But while distance is covered with relative ease in the age of air travel and digital communication, the East remains far off in the ways that matter most. Miller finds that Russia’s Asian dreams are still restrained by the country’s firm rooting in Europe.

**Title:** Light from the East: Russia’s Quest for Great Power Status in Asia  
**Author:** Stephen Blank  

*Stephen Blank is a Professor at the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College, USA.*

The sleeve notes say: *Russia’s determined diplomatic, economic and military efforts to recover its previous historic status as a great independent Asian power comprise major domestic initiatives to revitalize Siberia and Russian Asia, support large-scale foreign investment in projects based in those areas, and push major policy initiatives toward all East and South Asian governments. The implications of Russian success or failure also possess important consequences for the US who currently do not view Russia as an actor in Asia.*

**Title:** The International Political Economy of the BRICS  
**Author:** Li Xing  

*Li Xing is Professor and Director of the Research Centre on Development and International Relations, Department of Culture and Global Studies, Aalborg University, Denmark. He is also the Editor in Chief of Journal of China and International Relations.*

Exploring to what extent the BRICS group is a significant actor challenging the global order, this book focuses on the degree and consequence of their emergence and explores how important cooperation is to individual BRICS members’ foreign policy strategies and potential relevance as leaders in regional and global governance.

The BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) have come to play an important role on the global political scene. As a group, and as individual countries, they have taken initiatives to establish new institutions, and have engaged in yearly summits that coordinate their voice and focus on intra-BRICS cooperation. In this sense, the BRICS may be seen as a “balancing coalition”, and often the main opposing force to Western powers. Looking at the debate around the role of the BRICS as an actor, expert contributors also explore the international political economy (IPE) of individual BRICS countries as systemically important countries with highly asymmetrical individual power capacities.
Russia – General Coverage

**Title:** Russian Exceptionalism between East and West: The Ambiguous Empire

**Author:** Kevork Oskanian

Kevork Oskanian is a Research Fellow at the Centre for Russian and East European Studies (CREES) at the University of Birmingham’s Department of Political Science and International Studies, and a Research Associate at the Foreign Policy Centre, London.

This monograph provides a novel long-term approach to the role of Russia’s imperial legacies in its interactions with the former Soviet space. It develops ‘Hybrid Exceptionalism’ as a critical conceptual tool aimed at uncovering the great power’s self-positioning between ‘East’ and ‘West’, and its hierarchical claims over subalterns situated in both civilizational imaginaries. It explores how, in the Tsarist, Soviet, and contemporary eras, distinct civilizational spaces were created, and maintained, through narratives and practices emanating from Russia’s ambiguous relationship with Western modernity, and its part-identification with a subordinated ‘Orient’. The Romanov Empire’s struggles with ‘Russianness’, the USSR’s Marxism-Leninism, and contemporary Russia’s combination of feigned liberal and civilizational discourses are explored as the basis of a series of successive civilizing missions, through an interdisciplinary engagement with official discourses, scholarship, and the arts. The book concludes with an exploration of contemporary policy implications for the West, and the former Soviet states themselves.

**Title:** The Palgrave Handbook of Russian Thought

**Editors:** Marina Bykova, Michael Forster, Lina Steiner

Marina F. Bykova is Professor of Philosophy at North Carolina State University, the US, and editor-in-chief of the journals Studies in East European Thought and Russian Studies in Philosophy.

Michael N. Forster is Alexander von Humboldt Professor, Chair in Theoretical Philosophy, and Co-director of the International Center for Philosophy, North Rhine Westphalia at Bonn University.

Lina Steiner is a Research Associate at the International Center for Philosophy, North Rhine Westphalia, and a Senior Lecturer in Philosophy and Literature at Bonn University, Germany.

This volume is a comprehensive Handbook of Russian thought that provides an in-depth survey of major figures, currents, and developments in Russian intellectual history, spanning the period from the late eighteenth century to the late twentieth century. Written by a group of distinguished scholars as well as some younger ones from Russia, Europe, the United States, and Canada, this Handbook reconstructs a vibrant picture of the intellectual and cultural life in Russia and the Soviet Union during the most buoyant period in the country’s history. Contrary to the widespread view of Russian modernity as a product of intellectual borrowing and imitation, the essays collected in this volume reveal the creative spirit of Russian thought, which produced a range of original philosophical and social ideas, as well as great literature, art, and criticism. While rejecting reductive interpretations, the Handbook employs a unifying approach to its subject matter, presenting Russian thought in the context of the country’s changing historical landscape.
Title: The Other Russia: Local experience and societal change

Authors: Leo Granberg, Ann-Mari Sätre

Leo Granberg is a Scholar in the ‘Finnish Centre of Excellence in Russian Studies – Choices of Russian Modernisation’ at the University of Helsinki, Finland.

Ann-Mari Sätre is Senior Lecturer in Eurasian Studies and Research Fellow at the Centre of Russian and Eurasian Studies at Uppsala University, Sweden.

The most recent research seeks to explain contemporary changes in Russia by analyzing the decisions of Russian leaders, oligarchs, and politicians based in Moscow. This book examines another Russia, one of the ordinary people changing their environment and taking opportunities to provoke societal changes in small towns and the countryside. Russia is a resource-rich society and the country’s strategy and institutional structure are built on the most valuable of these resources: oil and gas. Analyzing the implications of this situation at the local level, this book offers chapters on resource use, local authorities, enterprises, poverty, and types of individuals, as well as a final chapter that places local societies within the framework of the Russian politicized economy.

Based on extensive empirical data gathered through more than 400 semi-structured interviews with entrepreneurs, teachers, social workers, and those working for the local authorities, this book sheds light on the role of local activity in the development of Russian society and is essential reading for students and scholars interested in Russia and its politics.

Title: Philosophical and Cultural Interpretations of Russian Modernisation

Editors: Katja Lehtisaari, Arto Mustajoki

Katja Lehtisaari is a postdoctoral researcher at the Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki.

Arto Mustajoki is a Professor of Russian language and Dean of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Helsinki

In this book, the expert international contributors attempt to answer questions such as: How far is it possible to attribute the change in contemporary Russia as due to cultural factors? How does the process of change in cultural institutions reflect the general development of Russia? Are there certain philosophical ideas that explain the Russian interpretation of a modern state?

It elaborates on processes of Russian modernization regarding a wide range of factors, including the use of modern technology, elements of civil society, a reliable legal system, high levels of education, equality among citizens, freedom of speech, religion, and trade. The main focus is on the Putin era but historical backgrounds are also discussed, adding context. The chapters cover a wide spectrum of research fields from philosophy and political ideas to gender issues, language, the education system, and the position of music as a constituent of modern identity.
Title: A Geography of Russia and Its Neighbors (Texts in Regional Geography)

Author: Mikhail Blinnikov

*Mikhail S. Blinnikov, Ph.D., is Professor of Geography and Graduate Coordinator at St. Cloud State University in Minnesota and Associate Researcher at Kazan Federal University Laboratory of Interdisciplinary Archaeological and Ethnological Studies in Kazan, Russia.*

The definitive undergraduate text on Russian geography and culture has now been thoroughly revised with the latest data and hot topics, such as the political crisis in Ukraine and the annexation of Crimea and Sevastopol. Thematic chapters provide up-to-date coverage of Russia’s physical, political, cultural, and economic geography. Regional chapters focus on the country’s major regions and the other 14 former Soviet republics. Over 200 original maps, photographs, and other figures are also available as PowerPoint slides at the companion website, many in color.

**New to This Edition: Separate chapter on Ukraine and Crimea**

Timely topics— the political crisis in Ukraine and annexation of Crimea and Sevastopol; the return of Putin as president; climate change and environmental degradation; economic slowdown; political shifts in the republics; the role of Russian-backed forces in Syria, Libya, and the Central African Republic; changes in Russia–United States relations; and more. Thoroughly updated population, economic, and political data 80 new or updated figures, tables, and maps.

Title: A Short History of Russia: From the Pagans to Putin

Author: Mark Galeotti

*Professor Mark Galeotti is based in London and is a Senior Non-Resident Fellow at the Institute of International Relations Prague. He previously headed its Centre for European Security and was before then Professor of Global Affairs at NYU.*

In this whistle-stop tour of one of the world’s most misunderstood nations, the author takes us behind the myths to the heart of the Russian story: from the formation of a nation to its early legends - including Ivan the Terrible and Catherine the Great - to the rise and fall of the Romanovs, the Russian Revolution, the Cold War, Chernobyl and the end of the Soviet Union - plus the arrival of Vladimir Putin.
Title: Religion and Politics in Contemporary Russia: Beyond the Binary of Power and Authority

Author: Tobias Kollner

Tobias Kollner is Senior Research Fellow at the Witten Institute for Family Business at the Witten/Herdecke University, Witten, Germany.

This book explores the relationship between Russian Orthodoxy and politics in contemporary Russia. It reveals close personal links between politicians at the local, regional, and national levels and their counterparts at the equivalent level in the Russian Orthodox Church – priests and monks, bishops, and archbishops – who are extensively consulted about political decisions. It outlines a convergence of conservative ideology between politicians and clerics and also highlights that, despite working closely together, there are nevertheless many tensions. The book examines in detail particular areas of cooperation and tension: reform to religious education and a growing emphasis on traditional moral values, the restitution of former church property, and the introduction of new festive days.

Title: The Volga: A History

Author: Janet M. Hartley

The longest river in Europe, the Volga stretches over three and a half thousand km from the heart of Russia to the Caspian Sea, separating west from east. The river has played a crucial role in the history of the peoples who are now a part of the Russian Federation—and has united and divided the land through which it flows.

Janet Hartley explores the history of Russia through the Volga from the seventh century to the present day. She looks at it as an artery for trade and as a testing ground for the Russian Empire’s control of the borderlands, at how it featured in Russian literature and art, and how it was crucial for the outcome of the Second World War at Stalingrad. This vibrant account unearths what life on the river was really like, telling the story of its diverse people and its vital place in Russian history.

Title: The Happy Traitor: Spies, Lies and Exile in Russia: The Extraordinary Story of George Blake

Author: Simon Kuper

George Blake was the last remaining Cold War spy. As a Senior Officer in the British Intelligence Service who was a double agent for the Soviet Union, his actions had devastating consequences for Britain. Yet he was also one of the least known double agents and remained unrepentant. In 1961, Blake was sentenced to forty-two years imprisonment for betraying to the KGB all of the Western operations in which he was involved, and the names of hundreds of British agents working behind the Iron Curtain. This was the longest sentence for espionage ever to have been handed down by a British court.
On the surface, Blake was a charming, intelligent, and engaging man, and most importantly, a seemingly committed patriot. Underneath, a ruthlessly efficient mole and a key player in the infamous 'Berlin Tunnel' operation. This illuminating biography tracks Blake from humble beginnings as a teenage courier for the Dutch underground during the Second World War, to the sensational prison break from Wormwood Scrubs that inspired Hitchcock to write the screenplay.

**Title:** Russia Today and Conspiracy Theories: People, Power and Politics on RT

**Authors:** Ilya Yablokov, Precious N Chatterje-Doody

*Ilya Yablokov* is a Lecturer in Journalism and Media at the University of Sheffield, UK. His areas of expertise are Russian media and international broadcasting, Russian politics, conspiracy theories, conspiracy theories, mis and disinformation campaigns as well as problems of censorship and self-censorship in today’s media.

*Precious N Chatterje-Doody* is a Lecturer in Politics and International Studies at the Open University, UK. Her areas of expertise are Russian foreign and security policy, soft power, information politics, and political communication.

The Russian international media outlet Russia Today (RT) has been widely accused in the Western world of producing government propaganda and conspiracy theories. This book explores the role that conspiracy theories actually play in the network’s broadcasts.

Policymakers, journalists, academics, and intelligence services alike seek to understand what role RT plays in the Russian government’s foreign policy agenda. The authors use RT as a case study to investigate how global communication technologies influence the development and dissemination of conspiracy theories, which, they claim, are also an important component of the post-Soviet Russian intellectual landscape and Kremlin-sponsored political discourse.

**Title:** Russia and the 2018 FIFA World Cup (Critical Research in Football)

**Author:** Richard Arnold

*Richard Arnold* is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Muskingum University, USA, where he teaches courses on International Sports and Politics, Russian Politics, Russian Foreign Policy, and Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism.

Despite many negative expectations of the 2018 FIFA World Cup, Russia delivered one of the best World Cups in living memory. This book brings together leading scholars working in Russian studies, sociology, and political science to analyze the 2018 World Cup and assess its significance for sport, Russia, and the world.

The book explores the connections between sport, soft power, populism, protest, and international politics, and investigates topics including security, surveillance, social media, and patriotic mobilization, shining new light on key contemporary themes in the social sciences. It reflects upon the importance of sporting mega-events for public diplomacy and considers what the 2018 World Cup can tell us about the current condition of Russian society and the Russian state.
Section II: Oil, Carbon, and the Environment

Title: Russian Energy Chains: The Remaking of Techno politics from Siberia to Ukraine to the European Union

Author: Margarita M. Balmaceda

Margarita M. Balmaceda is a professor of diplomacy and international relations at Seton Hall University. She is also an associate at Harvard University’s Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies and the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute.

Russia’s use of its vast energy resources for leverage against post-Soviet states such as Ukraine is recognized by some as a threat. Yet they cannot understand this danger without also understanding the opportunity that Russian energy represents. From corruption-related profits to transportation fee income to subsidized prices, many within these states have benefited by participating in Russian energy exports. To understand Russian energy power in the region, it is necessary to look at the entire value chain—including production, processing, transportation, and marketing—and at the full spectrum of domestic and external actors involved, from Gazprom to regional oligarchs to European Union regulators.

This book follows Russia’s three largest fossil-fuel exports—natural gas, oil, and coal—from production in Siberia through transportation via Ukraine to final use in Germany to understand the tension between energy as a threat and an opportunity. The author reveals how this dynamic has been a key driver of political development in post-Soviet states in the period between independence in 1991 and 2014. She analyses how the physical characteristics of different types of energy, by shaping how they can be transported and distributed affect how each is used—not only technically but also politically.

Title: Gazprom and the Russian State: The Political Economy of Russian Gas

Author: Jack Sharples

Jack Sharples is a Lecturer in Political Science and Sociology at the European University of St Petersburg.

Gazprom is often viewed simply as an agent of the Russian state, being used by the Russian state to exert political pressure on Russia’s neighbors and more widely. This book presents a thorough examination of the Russian gas sector and Gazprom’s place within it. It considers how the Russian gas sector has been modernized over recent decades, examines Russia’s gas exports to different parts of the world, and explores how the international situation has changed, and continues to change, over time.

The author concludes that the picture is complex; that Gazprom is both a commercially-oriented actor that lobbies strongly for its own interests and is at the same time subject to varying degrees of influence from the Russian government, the degree of influence depending on the policy area.
Title: Oil in Putin’s Russia: The Contests over Rents and Economic Policy

Author: Adnan Vatansecer

Dr. Adnan Vatansever is a Senior Lecturer at King’s Russia Institute. Previously, Adnan worked as a senior associate in the energy and climate program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a senior associate in Russian and Caspian energy at IHS Cambridge Energy Research Associates, and a consultant for the World Bank and the U.S. Department of Energy.

No sector has been as vital as oil to the Russian economy since Vladimir Putin came to power. The longest-serving leader since Stalin, Putin has presided during a period of relative economic prosperity driven largely by booming oil windfalls. Oil in Putin’s Russia offers an in-depth examination of the contests over windfalls drawn from the oil sector. Examining how the Russian leadership has guided the process of distributing these windfalls, the author explores the causes behind key policy continuities and policy reversals during Putin’s tenure.

Title: Russia’s Arctic Policy in the Twenty-First Century: National and International Dimensions (2021)

Author: Maria Lagutina

... devoted to the analysis of all aspects of the current Arctic policy of Russia, the main strategic interests of Russia, and the basics of the current Russian policy in the region taking into account new global trends. The book argues that nowadays the Arctic vector is one of the main priorities for Russia’s domestic and foreign policies and, undoubtedly, Russia’s future is connected with the development of the Arctic.
Section III: BRI

Title: The Prequel to China's New Silk Road: Preparing the Ground in Central Asia

Author: Tilman Pradt

Tilman Pradt is a geopolitical analyst based in Berlin. His research focus is on China's foreign policy. This book offers the prequel to China's successful implementation of its New Silk Road, the so-called Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The preconditions for the establishment of especially the land route between China and Western Europe have been set decades ago in Central Asia. In the political, security, and economic realms, China had to find arrangements with Russia as well as the Central Asian states. Border disputes had to be resolved, a security architecture and political cooperation were lacking. The key to BRI's success today lies in China's successful diplomacy of the 1990s and 2000s.
Section IV: Eurasia and Eurasianism

Title: Politics and International Relations in Eurasia

Author: Stylianos Sotiriou

Stylianos A. Sotiriou is a lecturer of political science and international relations at the University of Macedonia.

Eurasia has long been characterized by intense competition among populations and among States. The collapse of the Soviet Union constituted a critical juncture in the region’s course, since informal and formal norms subsided, giving rise to a hardly regulated socio-political environment, where survival and security considerations ranked atop. In this context, populations, first and foremost, sought to have their existence guaranteed within nation-states. While in most cases that transition was accomplished without major impediments, in the cases of Moldova, Ukraine, Georgia, and Azerbaijan, major challenges have been encountered, leaving their mark deep in the post-soviet course of the newly independent republics. Moldova has been rattled by the conflict in Transdniestria, Ukraine by the conflict in Crimea, Georgia by the conflict in South Ossetia and Abkhazia, and Azerbaijan by the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh. These conflicts have been classified as ‘frozen conflicts’, given their unsettled nature and the ‘smoldering fire’ between opposing populations within the respective republics. This intense competition, however, has not been constrained only to the domestic level and only to the issue of ‘frozen conflicts. Eurasia’s energy prospects have also been the cause of a constant power struggle among the States of the region. With the Caspian Sea constituting a rich natural resources hub, a clash of interests has taken place among the littoral States. Moreover, this competition has acquired a much broader geopolitical dimension, extending to Eurasia’s two ends, the European Union and China. As a result, Eurasia’s underbelly has become an area where the maximization of power figures is the best guarantee of survival and security in a fully unregulated environment.

Taken together, ‘frozen conflicts’ (domestic level) and ‘energy politics’ (international level) stand out as (the) two main features of Eurasia, both unfolding in comparable conditions. Therefore, the book presents them as a two-level game, aiming at offering better-substantiated explanations that draw on the very fundamentals of political science, and at building a ‘bridge of communication’ between the two levels that allows for well-informed and widely applicable policy implications.

Title: The Eurasian Economic Union and Integration Theory

Author: Mikhail Mukhametdinov

Mikhail Mukhametdinov is an adjunct professor at the Samara College for the Humanities, Russia. He is formerly head of applied linguistics and foreign languages at this school and visiting scholar at Stanford University’s Department of Iberian and Latin American Cultures and Harvard University’s Davis Centre for Russian and Eurasian Studies.
This book evaluates the utility of the Eurasian Economic Union in economic, political, cultural, and geostrategic dimensions. It does so through a systematic comparison of the bloc with aspects of the European Union along with several criteria derived from integration theory.

The book concludes that the EAEU is a useless undertaking, at least for Russia, in any of the integration dimensions discussed. This is so because of the inherent properties of the region, and also because of the behavior of the member states in the context of Russia’s resistance to the West. Besides, the principles of liberal economics, endorsed by the union, contribute to asymmetries in development among its member states. In addition to a symbolic event spotlighting Russia’s regional leadership, the union appears mainly as a shop where gas is sold below-market prices, and as an import base of unskilled labor for Russia in conditions of Russia’s high unemployment and underemployment. Concurrently, the book discusses Russia’s grievances with the West, which have been inducing and constraining Eurasian integration at the same time.

Title: Political Regimes and Neopatrimonialism in Central Asia: A Sociology of Power Perspective

Editors: Ferran Izquierdo-Birchs, Francesc Serra-Massansalvador

Ferran Izquierdo-Birchs is a Professor of International Relations at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. His research is focused on the Sociology of power and the Arab and Muslim world.

Francesc Serra-Massansalvador is lecturer on International Relations at Autonomous University of Barcelona. His research focuses on Russia's foreign policy and its relations with the EU, national minorities, ethnic conflicts and human rights in the post-Soviet space.

The authors adopt a sociological approach in understanding how power structures emerged in the wake of the Soviet collapse. The independencies in Central Asia did not happen as a consequence of a nationalist struggle, but because the USSR imploded. Thus, instead of the elites being replaced, the same Soviet elites who had competed for power in the previous system continued to do so in the new one, which they had to build, adapting themselves and the system to their needs. Additionally, unlike in the immense majority of the independent states that emerged from decolonization, the social movements and capacity to mobilize the people were very weak in the new Central Asian states.

For this reason, they argue that the configuration of the new systems was the product of a competition for power between a very small number of elites who did not have to answer to the people and their demands. Thus, the new power regimes acquired a strong neo-patrimonial component.
Title: Crises in the Post-Soviet Space: From the dissolution of the Soviet Union to the conflict in Ukraine

Authors: Tina Olteanu, Felix Jaitner, Tobias Spöri

Tina Olteanu is a Professor of Political Science at the Department for Political Science at the University of Vienna.

Felix Jaitner is a doctoral student at the Department of Political Science, University of Vienna. Tobias Spöri is a PhD candidate at the Department of Political Science, University of Vienna.

The breakup of the Soviet Union led to the creation of new states and territorial conflicts of different levels of intensity. Scrutinizing the post-Soviet period, this volume offers explanations for both the frequency and the intensity of crises in the region.

This book argues that the societies which emerged in the post-Soviet space share characteristic features, and that the instability and conflict-prone nature of the Soviet Union’s successor states can be explained by analyzing the post-independence history of the region and linking it to the emergence of overlapping economic, political and violent crises (called 'Intersecting Crises Phenomena’). The transformation itself is shown to be a decisive process and, while acknowledging specific national and regional characteristics and differences, the authors demonstrate its shared impact. This comparison across countries and over time presents patterns of crisis and crisis management common to all the successor states. It disentangles the process, highlighting the multifaceted features of post-Soviet crises and draws upon the concept of crisis to determine the tipping points of post-Soviet development.

Title: Central Peripheries: Nationhood in Central Asia

Author: Marlene Laruelle

Marlene Laruelle is Director and Research Professor at the Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (IERES), Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University. Dr. Laruelle is also Director of GW’s Central Asia Program.

Central Peripheries explores post-Soviet Central Asia through the prism of nation-building. Although relative latecomers on the international scene, the Central Asian states see themselves as globalized, and yet in spite of – or perhaps precisely because of – this, they hold a very classical vision of the nation-state, rejecting the abolition of boundaries and the theory of the ‘death of the nation’. Their unabashed celebration of very classical nationhoods built on post-modern premises challenges the Western view of nationalism as a dying ideology that ought to have been transcended by post-national cosmopolitanism.
Marlene Laruelle looks at how states in the region have been navigating the construction of a nation in a post-imperial context where Russia remains the dominant power and cultural reference. She takes into consideration the ways in which the Soviet past has influenced the construction of national storylines, as well as the diversity of each state’s narratives and use of symbolic politics. Exploring state discourses, academic narratives and different forms of popular nationalist storytelling allows Laruelle to depict the complex construction of the national pantheon in the three decades since independence. The second half of the book focuses on Kazakhstan as the most hybrid national construction and a unique case study of nationhood in Eurasia.

Title: Eurasian States: Socio-Economic and Political Processes

Editors: Arun Mohanty, Ajay Patnaik

Arun Mohanty is Professor and former Chairperson of the Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Ajay Patnaik is Professor and former Chairperson of the Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Eurasia has always drawn international attention because of its geographical location, strategic significance and the presence of huge amounts of natural resources. This region has become an arena of sharp competition for influence between all the major powers in the world—the US, the European Union, China, Japan, India, Turkey, Iran, besides many others.

The Eurasian states are about to complete 25 years of their independent existence and tumultuous transition. Each of the Eurasian states has chosen its own strategy for development as well as its foreign policy priorities. While the democratic reforms in these countries have faced enormous problems, the economic transition from a state-controlled economy to a market one has been painful. There is no single model that can characterize the entire region in terms of its political and socio-economic transformation. The prevalence of ethnic tensions combined with frozen conflicts between many of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries has compounded the situation. The competing integration processes sponsored by the major powers have further exacerbated tensions in the former Soviet space.

While Russia, the major state in the region, is India’s special and privileged strategic partner, Central Asia falls in its extended neighborhood, thus highlighting its significance in terms of India’s long-term interests. While the Western analyses of the developments in the region remain largely subjective and biased, India needs to develop its own perspective to best serve its interests, as developments in that part of the globe can have immense implications for India.

The volume discusses in depth the political and economic developments as well as issues related to stability, security and integration of the region. Scholars from many foreign countries, including Russia and other CIS countries, as well as Indian experts from different universities have analyzed issues such as inter-state relations, role of external players, issues of socio-cultural developments as well as India’s bilateral relations with the member states of the CIS.
Title: The Limits of Universal Rule: Eurasian Empires Compared

Editors: Yuri Pines, Michal Biran, Jorg Rupke

All major continental empires proclaimed their desire to rule 'the entire world', investing considerable human and material resources in expanding their territory. Each, however, eventually had to stop expansion and come to terms with a shift to a defensive strategy. This volume explores the factors that facilitated Eurasian empires' expansion and contraction: from ideology to ecology, economic and military considerations to changing composition of the imperial elites. Built around a common set of questions, a team of leading specialists systematically compare a broad set of Eurasian empires - from Achaemenid Iran, the Romans, Qin and Han China, via the Caliphate, the Byzantines and the Mongols to the Ottomans, Safavids, Mughals, Russians, and Ming and Qing China. The result is a state-of-the-art analysis of the major imperial enterprises in Eurasian history from antiquity to the early modern that discerns both commonalities and differences in the empires' spatial trajectories.

Title: Turkey's Pivot to Eurasia: Geopolitics and Foreign Policy in a Changing World Order

Editors: Emre Erşen, Seckin Kostem

*Emre Erşen is an Associate Professor at Marmara University’s Department of Political Science and International Relations in Istanbul.*

*Seçkin Köstem is an Assistant Professor of International Relations at Bilkent University in Ankara.*

This book discusses and analyses the dimensions of Turkey’s strategic rapprochement with the Eurasian states and institutions since the deterioration of Ankara’s relations with its traditional NATO allies.

Do these developments signify a major strategic reorientation in Turkish foreign policy? Is Eurasia becoming an alternative geopolitical concept to Europe or the West? Or is this ‘pivot to Eurasia’ an instrument of the current Turkish government to obtain greater diplomatic leverage? Engaging with these key questions, the contributors explore the geographical, political, economic, military and social dynamics that influence this process, while addressing the questions that arise from the difficulties in reconciling Ankara’s strategic priorities with those of other Eurasian countries like Russia, China, Iran and India. Chapters focus on the different aspects of Turkey’s improving bilateral relations with the Eurasian states and institutions and consider the possibility of developing a convincing Eurasian alternative for Turkish foreign policy.
Title: Putin and His Neighbors: Russia's Policies toward Eurasia

Authors: Dina Spechler, Martin Spechler

Dina R. Spechler is an associate professor of political science and an adjunct associate professor of international studies at Indiana University.

Martin C. Spechler is an emeritus professor of economics and faculty affiliate of the Russian and East European Institute at Indiana University.

President Putin has implemented a set of policies toward his neighbors intended to help him re-establish his country's status as a major world power. These have included dominating, as far as possible, the independent states that once were part of the USSR and preventing further NATO encroachment on Russia's borders. He has also sought a pragmatic partnership with China to help bolster the Russian economy in the face of Western sanctions and declining revenues from oil and gas. This book argues that Putin's efforts have been largely, although not entirely, successful. In the future, however, the weakness of the Russian economy as compared to China's may pose a threat to Moscow's ability to maintain a Russian sphere of influence in its own neighborhood.
Section V: Eurasia Country Books

❖ Azerbaijan

Title: Azerbaijan (Cultures of the World (Third Edition))
Author: Debbie Nevins

The nation of Azerbaijan combines rich historical tradition with a modern mindset. As a former part of the Soviet Union, it has had to forge its own path in the 21st century. The detailed narrative sidebars highlight political, cultural, geographical, and economic facts about Azerbaijan. Maps and images of this country's landscapes and people bring its culture into delightful focus. Recipes allow readers to take a hands-on approach to enjoying Azerbaijan.

❖ Kazakhstan

Title: Understanding Kazakhstan’s 2019 Political Transition
Author: Jean-François Caron

Jean-François Caron is an Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science, Nazarbayev University, Kazakhstan.

The final page in the political history of the Soviet Union was turned on March 19, 2019, when Nursultan Nazarbayev, the last former Chairman of a Soviet Republic who had managed to stay in power following the collapses of the USSR, unexpectedly decided to resign. This edited book looks to analyze the political aspects of this event more specifically by trying to understand its political significance for the country's policies, the prospects of democratization, the uniqueness of the transition compared with others that have previously occurred in the region, and how it may play an influential part in future political transitions in this part of the world. This book will interest scholars of authoritarian politics, scholars of Central Asia, and those researching the Belt and Road Initiative.
Section VI: Russia Recommended Reading List

These are books which we recommend to anybody looking to better understand Russia’s history, its transformation from the Soviet Union, the formation of capitalism and today’s political structures. These are books that:

- help place the development of the countries in a relevant context.
- explain how the various economies are emerging.
- consider the changing political landscape in the region and in individual countries.
- show how Russia and its Eurasia neighbors interact with the rest of the world and how the major powers in the world today view the region.

❖ Government, Politics and Society

Title: Can Russia Modernize? – Sistema, Power Networks and Informal Governance (2013) ... by far the best book for an understanding of how government works, especially how power is yielded inside the Kremlin.

Author: Alena Ledeneva

Title: Life and Work in Post-Soviet Russia (2020) – A very clearly written history and explanation about Russia’s economic, social, and political evolution since the birth of Russia.

Author: Chris Cheang

Title: Russian Politics and Society (2020) – revised and updated to reflect the changes in Russia over the last decade, the fifth edition of this text provides a comprehensive analysis of Russian politics and society.

Author: Richard Sakwa

Alternatives: Authoritarian Russia: analyzing post-Soviet regime change; Vladimir Gel’Man

A Russian Diary (2007) by Anna Politkovskaya
❖ Vladimir Putin

Title: The New Tsar (2015)
Author: Steven Lee Meyers

Alternative: First Person (2000) ... this is Putin’s autobiography. Yeltsin advised him to have it written so that people could better understand their new leader.

Putin v Putin (2013) by Alexander Dugin

The Putin Interviews (2017) by Oliver Stone

❖ The Economy

Title: Putinomics: Power and Money in Resurgent Russia (2021) ... the book examines the Kremlin’s economic policy and the tools Russia’s elite have used to achieve its goals. Miller argues that despite Russia’s corruption, cronyism, and overdependence on oil as an economic driver, Putin’s economic strategy has been surprisingly successful.

Author: Chris Miller

Title: Russian Trade Policy: Achievements, Challenges and Prospects (2021) ... The authors investigate specific factors influencing the Russian trade policy evolution; recent trends in Russia’s international trade development; and the impact of Russia’s participation in the World Trade Organization on the domestic economy.

Editors: Sergei Sutyrin, Olga Y. Trafimenko, Alexandra Koval

Title: Russia's Economy in an Epoch of Turbulence: Crises and Lessons (2017)
Author: Vladimir Mau

Title: Russian Trade Policy: Achievements, Challenges and Prospects
Editors: Sergei Sutyrin, Olga Y. Trafimenko, Alexandra Koval

Alternatives: Gaidar’s Revolution (2015) by Petr Aven & Alfred Kokh

Russian Tide (2012) ... an account of Proctor & Gamble’s experience of investing in Russia in the 1990s, written by John Pepper, President of P&G at the time
❖ Oligarchs, Siloviki and Elites

Title: Putin’s People: How the KGB Took Back Russia and then Took on the West (2020) – the story of how Vladimir Putin and his entourage of ex-KGB acquired power and built a new league of oligarchs. Meticulously researched and with many interviews with people who were close to events as they unfolded.

Author: Catherine Belton

Title: All the Kremlin’s Men (2016)

Author: Mikhail Zygar


The Oligarchs (2002) by David Hoffman.

❖ Russia and Geopolitics

Title: Russia–EU Relations and the Common Neighborhood: Coercion vs. Authority … this book argues that the deteriorating relations between Russia and the EU lie in the deep differences in their preferences for the international status quo.

Author: Irina Busygina

Title: Power and Conflict in Russia’s Borderlands: The Post-Soviet Geopolitics of Dispute Resolution (2021) … Russia’s various frozen war zones (ongoing separatist conflicts) are often cited as particularly volatile and assumed by some Western commentators and policymakers to be next on Putin’s wish list. But, this is a gross (and dangerous) oversimplification.

Author: Helena Rytövuori-Apunen

Title: Russia in a Changing World (2020) … book explores Russia’s efforts towards both adapting to and shaping a world in transformation.

Editors: Alexander Lukin, Glenn Diesen

Alternatives: The Russia Trap (2019) – George Beebe

Russia (2019) – Dmitri Trenin

Dealing with the Russians (2019) – Andrew Monaghan
❖ Russia History

Title: A History of Modern Russia (published in 1997 & updated in 2003) ... from Nicholas II to Putin
Author: Robert Service

Title: Hammer & Tickle (humor in the Soviet Union) (2008)
Author: Ben Lewis

Title: The Palgrave Handbook of Russian Thought (2021) ... a comprehensive Handbook of Russian thought that provides an in-depth survey of major figures, currents, and developments in Russian intellectual history, spanning the period from the late eighteenth century to the late twentieth century.
Editors: Marina Bykova, Michael Forster, Lina Steiner

Alternatives: Russia: A 1,000-Year Chronicle (2011) by Martin Sixsmith

The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Empire: from Lenin to Gorbachev (1998) by Dmitri Volkogonov.


❖ Transition from Soviet Union to Russia

Title: Lenin’s Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire (1994)
Author: David Remnick

Alternatives: Black Earth. Russia after the fall (2004) by Andrew Meier

Midnight Diaries (2000) by Boris Yeltsin
Section VII: Energy, Carbon & The Environment

Title: Russian Energy Chains: The Remaking of Techno politics from Siberia to Ukraine to the European Union (2021) ... to understand Russian energy power in Europe it is necessary to look at the entire value chain—including production, processing, transportation, and marketing—and at the full spectrum of domestic and external actors involved, from Gazprom to regional oligarchs to European Union regulators.

Author: Margarita M. Balmaceda

Title: Russia's Arctic Policy in the Twenty-First Century: National and International Dimensions (2021) ... analysis of all aspects of the current Arctic policy of Russia, the main strategic interests of Russia, and the basics of the current Russian policy in the region taking into account new global trends

Author: Maria Lagutina

Title: Informal Institutions in Policy Implementation: Comparing Low Carbon Policies in China and Russia (2020) – examines the prospects for implementing low-carbon policies in the two global superpowers of China and Russia, focusing on the role of informal institutions in achieving reductions in greenhouse gas emissions

Authors: Anna Karpoo, Iselin Stensdal and Marius Korsnes

Title: The Bridge: Natural Gas in a redivided Europe (2020) ... Thane argues that the political rivalries that capture the lion's share of media attention must be viewed alongside multiple business interests and differences in economic ideologies. With a dense network of pipelines linking Europe and Russia, natural gas serves as a bridge that unites the region through common interests.

Author: Thane Gustafson
Title: The Globalization of Russian Gas: Political and Commercial Catalysts (2020) ... This book analyses the involvement of the Russian gas industry in the changing international gas market and the dramatic implications for Russia's role as a global supplier of gas in the future.

Author: James Henderson and Arild Moe

Alternatives: Wheel of Fortune (2012), the definitive detailed history of the oil industry's evolution since the breakup of the Soviet Union, its current structure, as of early 2012, and the issues it faces. By Thane Gustafson.

Russian Oil Companies in an Evolving World: The Challenge of Change (2020) – the book explores the importance of the petroleum sector to Russian society, the place of Russian oil and gas in the world's energy supply and the rapid pace of change in the global energy industry— by Indra Overland and Nina Poussenkova.

The New Map: Energy, Climate, and the Clash of Nations (2020) by Daniel Yergin
### Section VIII: BRI, China & Russia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Editor</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The &quot;Roads&quot; and &quot;Belts&quot; of Eurasia (2020) ... The main theme of the first part of the book is examining the reaction evoked in different countries by the Chinese “Belt and Road Initiative.” The second part analyses other national and international integration and infrastructure projects in Eurasia</td>
<td>Alexander Lukin</td>
<td>Tilman Pradt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Prequel to China’s New Silk Road: Preparing the Ground in Central Asia (2020) – In the political, security, and economic realms, China had to find arrangements with Russia as well as the Central Asian states. Border disputes had to be resolved, a security architecture and political cooperation were lacking.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Harinder S. Kohli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China’s Belt and Road Initiative: Potential Transformation of Central Asia and the South Caucasus (2019)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section IX: Eurasia Region & Eurasianism

Title: Foundations of Eurasianism: Volume I (2020) – The first two decades of the twenty-first century have seen an explosion in the interest and relevance of Eurasianism in its classical and contemporary forms across diverse fields, from the pages of scholarship to the flashpoints of geopolitics.

Editors: Jafe Arnold, John Stachelski, Leonid Savin

Title: Eurasianism: An Ideology for the Multipolar World (Russian, Eurasian, and Eastern European Politics) 2020 - investigate the ideology of Eurasianism, a political doctrine that founds its principles on geopolitics and conservatism. Specifically, the book examines neo-Eurasianist thought and its implications for the international system.

Author: Paolo Pizzolo

Title: Politics and International Relations in Eurasia (2021) ... competition for power and influence in Eurasia has acquired a much broader geopolitical dimension, extending to Eurasia’s two ends, the European Union and China. As a result, Eurasia’s underbelly has become an area where the maximization of power figures is the best guarantee of survival and security in a fully unregulated environment.

Author: Stylianos Sotiriou

Title: The Eurasian Economic Union and Integration Theory (2021) ... This book evaluates the utility of the Eurasian Economic Union in economic, political, cultural, and geostrategic dimensions. It does so through a systematic comparison of the bloc with aspects of the European Union along with a number of criteria derived from integration theory.

Author: Mikhail Mukhametdinov

Title: Sovietistan: Travels in Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan (2020) – the author takes the reader on a compassionate and insightful journey to explore how their Soviet heritage has influenced these countries, with governments experimenting with both democracy and dictatorships.

Author: Erika Fatland
China’s Western Horizon: Beijing and the New Geopolitics of Eurasia (2020) – describes how perceptions of China vary widely within states such as Pakistan, Kazakhstan, and Iran. Powerful and privileged groups across the region often expect to profit from their connections to China, while others fear commercial and political losses.

Author: Daniel Markey

Turkey’s Pivot to Eurasia: Geopolitics and Foreign Policy in a Changing World Order (2021) … This book discusses and analyses the dimensions of Turkey’s strategic rapprochement with the Eurasian states and institutions since the deterioration of Ankara’s relations with its traditional NATO allies.

Editors: Emre Ersen, Seckin Kostem

The Resurgence of Central Asia (2017)

Author: Ahmed Rashid


Contributors: Daniel Burghart, Theresa Sabonis-Helf, Laura Adams & 15 others


Author: Peter Frankopan

The Great Game, On Secret Service in High Asia (1990) by Peter Hopkirk
Caucasus, An Introduction (2010) by Thomas de Waal
Section X: Eurasia Country Specific Books

Armenia

Title: The Armenian Experience: From Ancient Times to Independence (2020)
Author: Gaïdz Minassian

Title: Armenians; From Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars (2006)
Author: Ramzik Panossian

Alternative: The Crossing Point (1993) by Philip Marsden

Azerbaijan

Title: Azerbaijan: A Political History (2011)
Author: Suha Bolukbasi

Author: Thomas de Waal

Belarus

Title: A History of Belarus (2014)
Author: Lubov Bazan

Title: Belarus under Lukashenka: Adaptive Authoritarianism (2018)
Author: Matthew Frear


Georgia

Title: Georgia: From Autocracy to Democracy
Authors: Stephen F. Jones and Neil MacFarlane
**Russia & CIS Book Review**

**Title:** Edge of Empires: A History of Georgia (2019)  
**Author:** Donald Rayfield

**Alternative:** The Making of Modern Georgia, 1918-2012: The First Georgian Republic and its Successors by Stephen F. Jones

**Kazakhstan**

**Title:** Understanding Kazakhstan’s 2019 Political Transition (2021)  
**Author:** Jean-François Caron

**Title:** State-Building in Kazakhstan: Continuity and Transformation of Informal Institutions (2018)  
**Author:** Dina Sharipova

**Title:** Dark Shadow: Inside the Secret World of Kazakhstan (2019)  
**Author:** Joanna Lillis

**Title:** Once in Kazakhstan, The Snow Leopard Emerges (2005)  
**Author:** Keith Rosten

**Kyrgyz Republic**

**Title:** Life on the Edge of Empire: Oral Histories of Soviet Kyrgyzstan (2012)  
**Author:** Sam Tranum

**Title:** Democracy, Instability and Strategic Game in Kyrgyzstan (2014)  
**Author:** P. Stobdan

**Mongolia**

**Title:** Mongolia: The Shadow Land Hardcover (2016)  
**Author:** Michael Dillon
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russia &amp; CIS</td>
<td><strong>Genghis Khan: The Man who Conquered the World (2015)</strong></td>
<td>Frank McLynn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Not quite Shamans: Spirit Worlds and Political Lives in northern Mongolia (2011)</strong></td>
<td>Morten Pederson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajikistan</td>
<td><strong>Historical Dictionary of Tajikistan (2018)</strong></td>
<td>Kamoludin Abdullaev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tajikistan History: Ethnic Background, Early History, Society</strong></td>
<td>Uzo Marvin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkmenistan</td>
<td><strong>Tribal Nation: The Making of Soviet Turkmenistan (2004)</strong></td>
<td>Adrienne Lynn Edgar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td><strong>Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know (2020)</strong></td>
<td>Serhy Yekelchyk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbekistan</td>
<td><strong>Uzbekistan's New Face (2018)</strong></td>
<td>Frederick Starr, Svante Cornell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Making Uzbekistan, Nation, Empire and Revolution (2015)</strong></td>
<td>Adeeb Khalid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tamerlane, Sword of Islam, Conqueror of the World (2004)</strong></td>
<td>Justin Marouzzi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Who Are We?

- Macro-Advisory is an independent Eurasia-based consultancy providing international companies and investors with strategic advisory services throughout the CIS-Eurasia region
- Macro-Advisory’s coverage footprint includes the entire CIS-Eurasia region plus Mongolia, Iran and Afghanistan
- For our clients we carry out market and sectoral analysis, risk assessments, and deep due-diligence work across all the key industry sectors in all the countries in the region
- We keep our clients fully informed of the relevant trends and events which impacts their business
- We assist local business teams and management in headquarters to help ensure a strategic focus and success for our clients’ businesses
- We are experts on the Eurasian Economic Union (EaEU) and help our clients assess the opportunities and implications of the economic bloc
- We are experts in the operation of the Chinese promoted Belt & Road Initiative (BRI) and in helping our clients understand the opportunities arising from this expanding trade and transport network

Our Competitive Advantages

- **Local.** From our base in Moscow we cover the entire CIS-Eurasia region. We have an available network of industry specialists across the region to assist with project work as required. We also have offices in London, Washington, and New York, from which we can regularly engage with our clients.
- **Independent.** We are independent and this allows us to offer completely impartial advice. We combine coverage of economics, politics, industry and social trends to provide the most comprehensive analysis for our clients.
- **Experienced.** The combined experience of our key personnel living and working in the CIS-Eurasia region is over 150 years.
- **Network.** We have built a substantive network of contacts in government and regulatory agencies as well as in other relevant bodies. This allows us to consult with decision makers and policy influencers, and to gain better insights into evolving events.
- **Commercial.** All our reports come with commercially relevant and, more importantly, actionable recommendations.
- **Reports.** All our clients get regular reports updating and providing analysis of economic and industry data as well as an assessment of all relevant news and events which are important for companies and investors in the region.
- **Briefings.** We host regular client briefings, including quarterly events with specialist guest speakers. We also organize formal presentations for clients, including at management and board level.
Russia Macro Monthly. This monthly update provides a record of all of the events which investors in Russia are interested in, such as economics, politics, monetary policy and all business related developments. This publication also has updated economic forecasts for Russia and all of the CIS-Eurasia states. We also provide reviews of all new books published which are focused on or which may influence the Eurasia region.

In Context. Whenever a topic arises which is both topical and of concern to our clients, such as the questions and threats posed by sanctions, we issue quick response notes to place the topic into a proper context. In these notes we highlight the areas of concern and set out our opinion about what to expect next and how to prepare for it.

Eurasia Country Snapshot reports. We issue regular updates for all of the countries in the CIS-Eurasia region. These will cover not only macro and political events but will also highlight business trends and focus on opportunities for investors, both existing and emerging. These reports also look at and explain any risks in respective investment scenarios.

Beltway 360°. Macro-Advisory produces regular updates examining events and issues from inside the Washington Beltway as part of our Beltway 360° reports. These confidential and limited distribution reports examine what is behind a range of policy and legislative issues impacting or potentially affecting the investment climate in Russia and the Eurasia region. Sanctions and other political issues are monitored and insights are provided as to what investors can expect from inside the Beltway.

Covid-19 Checkup. This is our weekly series of updates covering the actions taken to deal with the Covid-19 crisis and what these events may mean for those doing business in Russia and the Eurasia region. We delve into macro-political implications for Russia and the other Eurasia region states in two separate weekly publications.

What Lies Beneath. What Lies Beneath” is a series of limited distribution reports prepared exclusively for Macro-Advisory clients and which goes deeper into headline grabbing events.
Contacts

Moscow: +7 495 139 4703
London: + 44 208 798 0742
Washington: +1 914 494 3344
Email: info@macro-advisory.com

Website: http://macro-advisory.com/

No warranties, promises, and/or representations of any kind, expressed or implied are given as to the nature, standard, accuracy, or likewise of the information provided in this material nor to the suitability or otherwise of the information to your particular circumstances. Macro-Advisory Limited does not accept any responsibility or liability for the accuracy, content, completeness, legality, or reliability of the content contained in this note.

© Copyright Macro-Advisory Limited 2021