

## Russia & Eurasia Relevant Books 2021 + Recommended Reading

*“No matter how busy you may think you are, you must find time for reading, or surrender yourself to self-chosen ignorance.”*

Confucius

**Most useful & interesting books published in 2021.** This review lists the most useful books for investors and business managers/planners covering Russia and the Eurasia region which have been published in 2021. Most are chosen because they offer useful insight into either the economy and politics or simply how Russia and the other Eurasia states work.

**Environment and climate attract greater interest.** So far, few good books are covering the topic of climate management and renewable energy in Russia-Eurasia. The exception is *Klimat: Russia in the Age of Climate Change* by the prolific Thane Gustafson. It is a good primer covering the key issues in the Russian climate and energy transition debate.

**A lot of focus is on Central Asia.** Interest in Central Asia and the topic of Eurasianism continues to grow, as does the number of books covering the topic. The US withdrawal from Afghanistan and China’s steadily increasing role in the region (investment rather than political at this stage) is adding to that interest. *The Making of Eurasia: Competition and Cooperation Between China’s Belt and Road Initiative and Russia*, by Moritz Pieper, is one of the more useful books issued this year. Another is *Turkey’s Pivot to Eurasia: Geopolitics and Foreign Policy in a Changing World Order*, authored by Emre Ersen and Seckin Kostem. Turkey’s ambition to be a major power in the Caucasus and Central Asia will have important political and economic consequences in the coming years.

**Economic coverage is still poor.** There are still only a few books that examine Russia’s economic development and policies that may drive future economic change. Most are still too focused on political-economic rather than properly examining macro-economic policies and trends.

**Holiday reads.** Highly recommended is the winner of this year’s Pushkin Prize, *The Human Factor: Gorbachev, Reagan, and Thatcher, and the End of the Cold War*, by Archie Brown. It offers a different and very comprehensive account of why and how the Soviet Union ended. David Remnick’s *Lenin’s Tomb* (1994) remains the best book covering the demise of the Soviet Union and the early days of Russia from an “on the ground” perspective. Brown’s book narrowly beat out Catherine Belton’s *Putin’s People* (2020) for the Pushkin Prize. This is a very comprehensively researched account of how Russia has changed since the early 1990s and about the people who now run the country. Along with Stephen Meyer’s *The New Tzar* (2015), these are the best books to give a clear picture of the structure of power and influence in Russia and about how the country is run.

**Geopolitics.** As always, there are a plethora of books covering Russia and geopolitics. Of the most useful, certainly very timely given the political changes in Berlin, is John Lough’s *Germany’s Russia problem: The struggle for balance in Europe*. He describes the relationship between Germany and Russia as Europe’s most important link with the largest country on the continent.

**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.

*The books reviewed this year are listed in no order other than within these categories:*

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*Reviews in Russia Politics-Monthly reports. We highlight all new and relevant books published about Russia or the other countries of the Eurasia region in our Russia Politics-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.

**Title:** **Russia after 2020: Looking Ahead after Two Decades of Putin**

**Author:** **J.L. Black**

*J. L. Black is an Emeritus Research Professor at Carleton University, Canada, and an Adjunct Professor at Laurentian University, Canada.*

This book presents a comprehensive survey of the current state of Russia and how Russia is likely to develop in the immediate future. Not always sticking to the mainstream narrative, it covers political events including Putin's constitutional reforms of January 2020 and their likely consequences, economic developments, Russia's international relations and military activities, and changes and issues in Russian society, including in education, the place of women, health care and religion. Special attention is paid to manifestations of the COVID-19 pandemic. The book's overall conclusion is that events of 2020 may compel Putin to 'think again' before he decides whether to run for office in 2024.

**Title:** **Bringing Stalin Back In: Memory Politics and the Creation of a Useable Past in Putin's Russia**

**Author:** **Todd Nelson**

*Todd H. Nelson is an assistant professor at Cleveland State University.*

While Joseph Stalin is commonly reviled in the West as a tyrant who committed egregious human rights abuses against his people, in Russia he is often positively viewed as the symbol of Soviet-era stability and state power. How can there be such a disparity in perspectives? Utilizing an ethnographic approach, extensive interview data, and critical discourse analysis, this book examines the ways that the political elite in Russia are able to control and manipulate historical discourse about the Stalin period to advance their own political objectives. Appropriating the Stalinist discourse, they minimize or ignore outright crimes of the Soviet period, and instead focus on positive aspects of Stalin's rule, especially his role in leading the Soviet Union to victory in the Second World War.

Advancing the concepts of "preventive" and "complex" co-optation, this book analyzes how elites in Russia inhibit the emergence of groups that espouse alternative narratives while promoting message-friendly groups that are in line with the Kremlin's agenda. Bringing the resources of the state to bear, the Russian elite is able to co-opt multiple avenues of discourse formulation and dissemination. Elite-sponsored discourse positions Stalin as the symbol of a strong, centralized state that was capable of great achievements, despite the great cost, enabling favorably portrayals of Stalin as part of a tradition of harsh but effective rulers in Russian history, such as Peter the Great. This strong state discourse is used to legitimize the return of authoritarianism in Russia today.

**Title:** Navalny: Putin's Nemesis, Russia's Future? Hardcover – 19 August 2021

**Authors:** Jan Matti Dollbaum, Morvan Lallouet, Ben Noble

*Jan Matti Dollbaum is a postdoctoral researcher at Bremen University, specializing in activism and civil society in Russia.*

*Morvan Lallouet is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Kent, researching Navalny and the Russian opposition.*

*Ben Noble is Lecturer in Russian Politics at University College London and an Associate Fellow at Chatham House.*

Navalny means very different things to different people. To some, he is a democratic hero. To others, he is betraying the Motherland. To others still, he is a dangerous nationalist. This book explores the many dimensions of Navalny's political life, from his pioneering anti-corruption investigations to his ideas and leadership of a political movement. It also looks at how his activities and the Kremlin's strategies have shaped one another.

❖ **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. Trofimenko, 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:**            **Global Finance, Local Control: Corruption and Wealth in Contemporary Russia**

**Author:**        **Igor O. Logvinenko**

*Igor O. Logvinenko is an Associate Professor of Diplomacy and World Affairs and an affiliate of the John Parke Young Initiative on Global Political Economy at Occidental College.*

Exploring Russia's re-entry into global capital markets at the dawn of the twenty-first century, *Global Finance, Local Control* shows how economic integration became deeply entangled with a bare-knuckled struggle for control over the vestiges of the Soviet empire. The author writes about how the post-communist Russian economy became a full-fledged participant in the international financial sector without significantly improving the local rule of law.

By the end of Putin's second presidential term (2008) Russia was more integrated into the global financial system than at any point in the past. However, the country's longstanding deficiencies—including widespread corruption, administration of justice, and an increasingly overbearing state—continued unabated. Scrutinizing stock-market restrictions on foreign ownership during the first fifteen years of Russia's economic transition, Logvinenko concludes that financial internationalization allowed local elites to raise capital from foreign investors while maintaining control over local assets. They legitimized their wealth using Western institutions, but they did so on their terms.

**Title:**            **Putin's Labor Dilemma: Russian Politics between Stability and Stagnation**

**Author:**        **Stephen Crowley**

*Stephen Crowley is Professor and Chair of the Department of Politics, Oberlin College, and author of *Hot Coal, Cold Steel*.*

In *Putin's Labor Dilemma*, the author investigates how the fear of labor protest has inhibited substantial economic transformation in Russia. Putin boasts he has the backing of workers in the country's industrial heartland, but as economic growth slows in Russia, reviving the economy will require restructuring the country's industrial landscape. At the same time, doing so threatens to generate protest and instability from a key regime constituency. However, continuing to prop up Russia's Soviet-era workplaces, writes Crowley, could lead to declining wages and economic stagnation, threatening protest and instability.

Crowley explores the dynamics of a Russian labor market that generally avoids mass unemployment, the potentially explosive role of Russia's monotowns, conflicts generated by massive downsizing in "Russia's Detroit" (Tol'yatti), and the rapid politicization of the truck driver's movement. Labor protests currently show little sign of threatening Putin's hold on power, but the manner in which they are being conducted points to substantial chronic problems that will be difficult to resolve. *Putin's Labor Dilemma* demonstrates that the Russian economy must either find new sources of economic growth or face stagnation. Either scenario—market reforms or economic stagnation—raises the possibility, even probability, of destabilizing social unrest.

**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:** **Germany's Russia problem: The struggle for balance in Europe**

**Author:** **John Lough**

*John Lough is an Associate Fellow of the Russia & Eurasia Programme at Chatham House (since 2009). He spent six years with NATO managing information programs aimed at Central and Eastern Europe, including a posting to Moscow.*

The relationship between Germany and Russia is Europe's most important link with the largest country on the continent. This book aims to explain the scale of the challenge facing Germany in managing relations with a changing Russia. It analyses how successive German governments from 1991 to 2014 misread Russian intentions until Angela Merkel sharply recalibrated German and EU policy towards Moscow. The book also examines what lies behind efforts to revise Merkel's policy shift, including attitudes inherited from the GDR and the role of Russian influence channels in Germany.

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

**Author:          Alicja Curanović**

*Alicja Curanovi 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:            Russia and the World in the Putin Era: From Theory to Reality in Russian Global Strategy**

**Editors:         Roger E. Kanet, Dina Moulioukova**

*Roger E. Kanet is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at both the University of Miami and the University of Illinois.*

*Dina Moulioukova is a Lecturer of International Studies at the University of Miami, USA.*

When the Soviet Union disintegrated after the Cold War, Russia seemingly embarked on the establishment of a democratic political system and seemed intent on joining the liberal international order. However, under President Putin's rule, there have been dramatic shifts in Russian domestic and foreign policies, to re-establish itself as a great power. This book examines broad aspects of Russian political culture and threat perception, such as Russia's reaction to NATO expansion; its information warfare and energy policies; and its policy towards the Global South, especially the Middle East and Africa. The objective of the analyses is to explain the factors that influence Russian foreign policy and to show how and why Russian relations with the European Union and the United States have deteriorated so rapidly in recent years. The volume introduces an alternative approach to the standard realist perspective, which often underlies existing analyses of Russian policy – namely, the work offers a theoretical perspective that focuses on the Russian sense of identity and on ontological security.

**Title:** Europe, Russia, and the Liberal World Order: International Relations after the Cold War

**Author:** Timofei Bordachev

*Timofei Bordachev is Program Director of the Valdai Discussion Club and Academic Supervisor of the Center for Comprehensive European and International Studies at the National Research University Higher School of Economics (Russia).*

This book analyses Russia-Europe/EU relations by exploring their practical essence and conceptualizing them in terms of the main categories of international relations research. It argues that the liberal world order, established in Cold War days, whereby international relations are underpinned by a global balance of power and a highly institutionalized framework of international relations, thereby balancing power and morality, continued after the Cold War, with high hopes in the early 1990s for a new order of security and cooperation for all Europe, including Russia. It goes on to show how the liberal world order has broken down, one manifestation of this being the new conflict between Russia and Europe in recent years, a conflict resulting from the failure of European countries/the EU to acknowledge the actual balance of military, economic and political power, the lack of limits on the policy of European countries in terms of infringing on Russia's interests, and Russia's consequent revision, after 1999, of its policy of co-operation. Overall, the book provides huge insight into the nature of Europe-Russia relations.

**Title:** Cooperation and Conflict between Europe and Russia

**Editors:** Magdalena Dembińska, Frederic Merand

*Magdalena Dembińska is Professor of Political Science and Academic Director of CÉRIUM, the Centre for International Studies at Université de Montréal.*

*Frédéric Mérand is Professor of Political Science and Scientific Director of CÉRIUM, the Centre for International Studies at Université de Montréal.*

When thinking about relations between Europe and Russia, International Relations scholars focus on why the conflict has replaced cooperation. The "geostrategic debate" excludes the possible coexistence of cooperation and conflict. Tracking the evolution of conflict and cooperation patterns in three zones of contact (Estonia, Kaliningrad, and Moldova) between 1991 and 2016, this edited volume argues that, although the standard narrative remains compelling, local patterns of cooperation and conflict are partly autonomous from the geostrategic level.

To account for the coexistence of cooperation and conflict, the first chapter elaborates a theoretical proposition distinguishing fluid, rigid, and disputed symbolic boundaries, which have different impacts on the ground. The subsequent chapters address distinct dimensions of Euro-Russian relations, paying attention to local reality in Estonia, Moldova, Ukraine, or Kaliningrad, different sectors from energy to peoples' movement, and across institutional contexts such as the EU and NATO. They confirm that the standard narrative holds in most cases, but also that Euro-Russian relations vary in crucial ways according to the interests and representations of actors immersed in specific geopolitical fields.

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**Title:** **Russia Rising: Putin's Foreign Policy in the Middle East and North Africa**

**Authors:** **Dimitar Bechev, Stanislav Secrieru, and Nicu Popescu**

*Dr. Nicu Popescu leads the Wider Europe program at ECFR. Between May-December 2019, he served as Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of Moldova.*

*Dr. Dimitar Bechev is Research Fellow at UNC Chapel Hill as well as a Senior Fellow at the Atlantic Council in Washington.*

*Dr. Stanislav Secrieru is Senior Analyst at the EU Institute for Security Studies where he covers Russian foreign and security policy.*

The war in Syria has put Russia at the center of Middle Eastern politics. Moscow's return to the region following a prolonged period of absence has enhanced its geopolitical status and it has emerged as a rival to the West. Yet, according to the authors, Russia is not set to become the new power-broker in this strategically important part of the world. Their book explores Russia's role in the Middle East and North Africa, the diverse drivers shaping its policy, and the response from local players. Chapters map out the history of Russian involvement, before and after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the impact on key issues such as security and defense, regional conflicts, arms trade, and energy, as well as relations with influential states and country clusters such as Iran, the Gulf, Turkey, Israel, Egypt, and the Maghreb. It also looks at how the Middle East impacts Russia's relations with the West.

**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 Qualaalou**

*Dr. David Qualaalou 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**

*René 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:** Three Dangerous Men: Russia, China, Iran, and the Rise of Irregular Warfare

**Author:** Seth G. Jones

*Seth G. Jones is the senior vice president, Harold Brown Chair, and director of the International Security Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).*

*One only has to look at the title and author to know what to expect from this book. We add it to the list simply for completeness.*

Conventional warfare — clashes between large military forces — defined twentieth-century power. But today, facing a dominant American military, principal adversaries Russia, China, and Iran, have adopted a new style of competition. Cyber-attacks, covert action, proxy conflicts, information and disinformation campaigns, espionage, and economic coercion — these are the tools of irregular or asymmetric warfare, which will increasingly reshape international politics.

**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 the 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 maintain public and elite interests.

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.

**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 (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.

**Title: Russia Upside Down: An Exit Strategy for the Second Cold War**

**Author: Joseph Weisberg**

*Joseph Weisberg is a former CIA officer and the creator of the hit TV series The Americans makes the case that America's policy towards Russia is failing--and we'll never fix it until we rethink our relationship*

Joe Weisberg was a Cold Warrior. After briefly studying Russian in Leningrad, he joined the CIA in 1990--just in time to watch the Soviet Union collapse. But less than a decade after the first Cold War ended, a new one broke out. Russia changed in many of the ways that America hoped it might--more capitalist, more religious, more open to Western ideas. US sanctions hit Russia's economy and Russia's interventions have exacerbated political problems in America. The old paradigm--America, the free capitalist good guys, fighting Russia, the repressive communist bad guys--simply doesn't apply anymore. But the US has continued to act as if it does.

In this book, Joe Weisberg interrogates these assumptions, asking hard questions about American policy and attempting to understand what Russia truly wants. Russia Upside Down makes the case against the new Cold War. It suggests that we are fighting an enemy with whom we have few if any serious conflicts of interest. It argues that we are fighting with ineffective and dangerous tools. And most of all, it aims to demonstrate that our approach is not working. With our own political system in peril and continually buffeted by Russian attacks, we need a new framework, urgently

**Title: Russia First: Breaking with the West (Geographers)**

**Author: Peter Truscott**

*Lord Truscott of St James's was appointed as a Member of the House of Lords in 2004. From 2006 to 2007, he was the UK's Energy Minister. An expert on Russia, he has written a biography of Vladimir Putin and the Kursk submarine disaster amongst other works and many articles.*

For 200 years, Russia has had a love-hate relationship with the West. Anxious on the one hand to emulate Western institutions, ideas, and lifestyles, while on the other strongly nationalistic and suspicious of Western political and cultural encroachment. All signs show, argues the author, that Russia is leaning back towards more comfortable and familiar territory away from the West. With most shades of Russian political opinion now firmly set on a "Russia First" policy, following the West's failure to accommodate Russia's post-Communist economic and diplomatic needs, coupled with the pain associated with Western economic models, he concludes that Russia is developing its own "Tsarist" solutions with profound effects on domestic and foreign policy.

❖ **Russia – General Coverage**

**Title:** **The Human Factor: Gorbachev, Reagan, and Thatcher, and the End of the Cold War**

**Author:** **Archie Brown**

*Archie Brown is an Emeritus Professor of Politics at the University of Oxford, a Fellow of the British Academy, and an International Honorary Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.*

Archie Brown recently was awarded the Pushkin House Book Prize for this book. In giving the award, Fiona Hill, chair of the judges, said that the book “represents the very best in Western scholarship on Russia and comparative politics. ‘The Human Factor’ is in many respects the culmination of Archie Brown’s long and distinguished career as a scholar and a writer. It is full of a lifetime’s achievement of wisdom and insight.”

In this analysis of the role of political leadership in the Cold War’s ending, Archie Brown shows why the popular view that Western economic and military strength left the Soviet Union with no alternative but to admit defeat is wrong. To understand the significance of the parts played by Mikhail Gorbachev, Ronald Reagan, and Margaret Thatcher in East-West relations in the second half of the 1980s, Brown addresses several specific questions: What were the values and assumptions of these leaders, and how did their perceptions evolve? What were the major influences on them? To what extent were they reflecting the views of their own political establishment or challenging them? How important for ending the East-West standoff were their interrelations? Would any of the realistically alternative leaders of their countries at that time have pursued the same policies?

**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:**           **Putin's Russia and the Falsification of History: Reasserting Control over the Past**

**Author:**       **Anton Weiss-Wendt**

*Anton Weiss-Wendt is a Research Professor at the Center for the Study of the Holocaust and Religious Minorities in Oslo, Norway.*

This book examines what the author describes as the political use of history in contemporary Russia. He argues that history is yet another discipline appropriated by the Kremlin for the purpose of rallying the population. He explains how, since the pro-democracy protests in 2011-'12, the Russian government has hamstrung independent research and simultaneously aligned state institutions in the promotion of militant patriotism.

**Title:**            **The Other Russia: Local experience and societal change**

**Authors:**       **Leo Granberg, Ann-Mari Satre**

*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:**            **Revealing Schemes: The Politics of Conspiracy in Russia and the Post-Soviet Region**

**Author:**        **Scott Radnitz**

*Scott Radnitz is the Herbert J. Ellison Associate Professor of Russian and Eurasian Studies in the Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington.*

Conspiracy theories have come to play an increasingly prominent role in political systems around the world. In *Revealing Schemes*, Scott Radnitz moves beyond psychological explanations for why people believe conspiracy theories to explore the politics surrounding them, placing two questions at the center of his account: What leads regimes to promote conspiracy claims? And what effects do those claims have on politics and society? Focusing on the former Soviet Union—a region of the world where such theories have long thrived—he shows that incumbent politicians tend to make conspiracy claims to demonstrate their knowledge and authority at moments of uncertainty and threat. They emerge more often where there is serious political competition rather than unbridled autocracy and in response to events that challenge a regime's ability to rule.

Yet conspiracy theories can also be habit-forming and persist as part of an official narrative even where immediate threats have subsided—a strategy intended to strengthen regimes, but that may inadvertently undermine them. *Revealing Schemes* explores the causes, consequences, and contradictions of conspiracism in politics with an original collection of over 1,500 conspiracy claims from across the post-Soviet region, two national surveys, and 12 focus groups. At a time of heightened distrust in democratic institutions and rising illiberal populism around the world, understanding how conspiracy theories operate in a region where democracy came late—or never arrived—can be instructive for concerned citizens everywhere.

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**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: Aeroflot – Fly Soviet: A Visual History**

**Authors: Bruno Vandermueren (Author), FUEL (Author), Damon Murray (Editor), Stephen Sorrell (Editor)**

*Bruno Vandermueren graduated with a degree in Aviation Technology from Ostend college. The airport of this Belgian coastal town was a stopover for many of the newly formed Russian cargo airlines. It was here that the author photographed many of the former Aeroflot Ilyushin and Antonov planes. Since 1998 he has worked as an aircraft engineer and aircraft maintenance operations coordinator for European Air Transport (DHL) and now TUI (Touristik Union International).*

Following the 1917 Revolution, Vladimir Lenin made the development of aviation a priority. Assisted by advertising campaigns by artists such as Alexander Rodchenko, Soviet society was mobilized to establish an air fleet – from the very beginning of the USSR through to its demise in 1991, Soviet aviation flew its own unique path. This book unfolds the story of Soviet air travel, from early carriers like Deruluft and Dobrolet, to the enigmatic Aeroflot. Organized like an Air Force, with a vast fleet of aircraft and helicopters, Aeroflot was the world's biggest air carrier of passengers and cargo, responsible for a wider range of duties than any other airline.

Aeroflot – Fly Soviet uses this ephemera to illustrate a parallel aviation universe that existed for 70 years. It pays tribute to generations of aircraft engineers, designers, pilots, ticket sellers, flight dispatchers, air traffic controllers, ground handlers, and flight attendants, who jointly created this remarkable chapter of Soviet civil aviation history.

**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: Writing Russia: The Discursive Construction of Another Nation**

**Author: Melissa-Ellen Dowling**

*Melissa-Ellen Dowling is a research fellow at the University of Adelaide.*

*Writing Russia* offers the first systematic analysis of Anglophone national histories of Russia. By deconstructing preeminent historical works on the history of Russia, this book provides insight into the hidden ideological underpinnings of the texts and their representations of Russia in the West. It demonstrates that historians employ a range of literary techniques to smooth over contradictions in their narratives of Russia, generating a seemingly cohesive depiction of Russia as a liminal, other nation. This is a process that this book theorizes as "discords", representing an original conceptual framework for examining national history texts. It identifies patterns in the language and employment of Anglophone Russian histories across several defining historical epochs from the Mongol conquests to the Putin presidency, revealing the extent to which historians wield the narrative power to "make or break" nations. Postmodern in approach, the work pushes the boundaries of historiography and calls into question the nature of history.

**Title:** Religion and Politics in Contemporary Russia: Beyond the Binary of Power and Authority

**Author:** Tobias Kollner

*Tobias Köllner 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 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:** **Klimat: Russia in the Age of Climate Change**

**Author:** **Dr. Thane Gustafson**

*Dr. Thane Gustafson is a Professor of Government at Georgetown University in Washington, DC. He is a widely-recognized authority on Eurasia whose previous books include the acclaimed *The Bridge: Natural Gas in a Redivided Europe*, and *Wheel of Fortune: The Battle for Oil and Power in Russia*.*

A discerning analysis of the future effects of climate change on Russia, the major power most dependent on the fossil fuel economy. Russia will be one of the countries most affected by climate change. No major power is more economically dependent on the export of hydrocarbons; at the same time, two-thirds of Russia's territory lies in the arctic north, where melting permafrost is already imposing growing damage. Climate change also brings drought and floods to Russia's south, threatening the country's agricultural exports.

Thane Gustafson predicts that, over the next thirty years, climate change will leave a dramatic imprint on Russia. The decline of fossil fuel use is already underway, and restrictions on hydrocarbons will only tighten, cutting fuel prices and slashing Russia's export revenues. Yet Russia has no substitutes for oil and gas revenues. The country is unprepared for the worldwide transition to renewable energy, as Russian leaders continue to invest the national wealth in oil and gas while dismissing the promise of post-carbon technologies. Nor has the state made efforts to offset the direct damage that climate change will do inside the country. Optimists point to new opportunities—higher temperatures could increase agricultural yields, the melting of arctic ice may open year-round shipping lanes in the far north, and Russia could become a global nuclear-energy supplier. But the eventual post-Putin generation of Russian leaders will nonetheless face enormous handicaps, as their country finds itself weaker than at any time in the preceding century.

**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

**Author:** Maria Lagutina

*Maria Lagutina is associate professor and vice-head of the World Politics Department at St. Petersburg State University.*

This book is 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. This monograph ambitions to compile in one comprehensive study domestic and international aspects of modern Russian Arctic policy, based mainly on Russian sources that allowed the author to reveal the specifics of the Russian approach to modern Arctic issues.

It raises a set of important research questions: What are the main interests of Russia in the modern Arctic? What areas are the priorities in the Russian Arctic policy? Who governs the Russian Arctic? How are decisions on the Arctic made in Russia? What kind of problems is faced in the Russian Arctic in the global epoch? How do bilateral and multilateral relations between Russia and other Arctic states impact regional developments in the Arctic? How is Russia dealing with non-Arctic states and non-state Arctic actors? How are Russia's domestic and foreign policy in the Arctic interrelated? How is Russia's Arctic policy likely to evolve in the future, in a changing global context?

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 relates to the development of the Arctic - a region occupying a large part of the country's territory. On the one hand, the main purpose of the current Arctic policy of Russia is the 're-development' and modernization of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation (AZRF) after the period following the breakup of the USSR that was detrimental to the Russian Arctic policies. Moreover, today the 're-development' of the Arctic is the most important prerequisite of the restoration of Russia's great power status. On the other hand, it is obvious that current Russia's Arctic strategy should be duly adapted to the new global realities - not only the ones formed in the wake of the breakup of the USSR and the end of the Cold War, but also to the latest developments as 'globalization'.

**Title:** China's Energy Security and Relations with Petrostates: Oil as an Idea

**Author:** Anna Kuteleva

*Dr. Anna Kuteleva is a postdoctoral research fellow at the School of International Regional Studies at the National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russia.*

This book examines the development of bilateral energy relations between China and Kazakhstan and Russia.

Challenging conventional assumptions about energy politics and China's global quest for oil, this book examines the interplay of politics and sociocultural contexts. It shows how energy resources become ideas and how these ideas are mobilized in the realm of international relations. China's relations with Kazakhstan and Russia are simultaneously enabled and constrained by the discursive politics of oil. It is argued that to build collaborative and constructive energy relations with China, its partners in Kazakhstan, Russia, and elsewhere must consider not only the material realities of China's energy industry and the institutional settings of China's energy policy but also the multiple symbolic meanings that energy resources and, particularly, oil acquire in China.

China's Energy Security and Relations with Petrostates offer a nuanced understanding of China's bilateral energy relations with Kazakhstan and Russia, raising essential questions about the social logic of international energy politics. It will appeal to students and scholars of international relations, energy security, Chinese and post-Soviet studies, along with researchers working in the fields of energy policy and environmental sustainability.

### Section III: BRI and China

**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.

**Title:** The Making of Eurasia: Competition and Cooperation Between China's Belt and Road Initiative and Russia

**Author:** Moritz Pieper

*Moritz Pieper* joined the German foreign service in 2020. Before that, he was a Research Associate at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik) in Berlin (2019-20) and Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Salford, Manchester (2016-19).

The Making of Eurasia investigates the two chief competing order conceptions and economic initiatives in Central Asia: China's Belt and Road Initiative and Russia's Eurasian Economic Union. This book analyses the extent to which these opposing order conceptions contribute to friction over the political domination of the region. China's One Belt, One Road initiative was launched in 2013 to expand infrastructure and trade links between Asia, Africa, and Europe while also promoting the rise of Chinese influence in global affairs. In 2015 the Russian-led Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) was also established, bringing into question whether these two models for the region would be compatible. By focusing on three case studies Kazakhstan, Iran and Mongolia Pieper examines the extent and levels of cooperation and confrontation which take place because of these initiatives within a geopolitical context. The book also reflects on the wider international significance of these competing regional policies to global leadership debates, given the emergence of a new Eurasian trans-continental political space. This study will provide valuable insight for students and scholars of International Relations, Asia Studies, and Security Studies.

**Title:**            **China’s Western Frontier and Eurasia: The Politics of State and Region-Building**

**Author:**         **Zenel Garcia**

*Zenel Garcia is an Associate Professor of National Security and Strategy at the U.S. Army War College.*

Since the founding of the People’s Republic, Chinese Communist Party leaders have sought to increase state capacity and exercise more effective control over their western frontier through a series of state-building initiatives. Although these initiatives have always incorporated an international component, the collapse of the USSR, increasing globalization, and the party’s professed concerns about terrorism, separatism, and extremism have led to a region-building project in Eurasia. Garcia traces how domestic elite-led narratives about security and development generate state-building initiatives, and then region-building projects. He also assesses how region-building projects are promoted through narratives of the historicity of China’s engagement in Eurasia, the promotion of norms of non-interference, and appeals to mutual development. Finally, he traces the construction of regions through formal and informal institutions as well as integrative infrastructure. By presenting three phases of Chinese domestic state-building and region-building from 1988-present, Garcia aims to show how region-building projects have enabled China to increase state capacity, control, and development in its western frontier.

**Title:**            **The Silk Road and the Political Economy of the Mongol Empire**

**Author:**         **Prajakti Kalra**

*Prajakti Kalra is a Research Fellow at the Central Asia Forum, Jesus College, University of Cambridge.*

The growing importance of Central and Inner Asia and the Silk Road is much discussed at present. This book compares the nature of present-day networks in these regions with the patterns of similar connections which existed at the time of the Mongol Empire in the thirteenth century and its successor states. It considers settlement patterns, technology and technology transfer, trade, political arrangements, the role of religion, and the impact of the powerful states which border the region. Overall, the book demonstrates that the Mongol Empire anticipated many of the networks and connections which exist in the region at present.

**Title:**            **On the Edge: Life along the Russia-China Border**

**Authors:**        **Franck Billé, Caroline Humphrey**

*Franck Billé is Program Director at the Tang Center for Silk Road Studies, University of California, Berkeley.*

*Caroline Humphrey is Fellow of King’s College, University of Cambridge, and founder of the university’s Mongolia and Inner Asia Studies Unit.*

The border between Russia and China winds for 2,600 miles through rivers, swamps, and vast taiga forests. It's a thin line of direct engagement, extraordinary contrasts, frequent tension, and occasional war between two of the world's political giants. Franck Billé and Caroline Humphrey have spent years traveling through and studying this important yet forgotten region. Drawing on pioneering fieldwork, they introduce readers to the lifeways, politics, and history of one of the world's most consequential and enigmatic borderlands.

It is telling that, along a border consisting mainly of rivers, there is not a single operating passenger bridge. Two different worlds have emerged. On the Russian side, in territory seized from China in the nineteenth century, defense is prioritized over the economy, leaving dilapidated villages slumbering amid the forests. For its part, the Chinese side is heavily settled and increasingly prosperous and dynamic.

Moscow worries about the imbalance, and both governments discourage citizens from interacting. But as Billé and Humphrey show, the cross-border connection is a fact of life, whatever distant authorities say. There are marriages, friendships, and sexual encounters. There are joint businesses and underground deals, including no shortage of smuggling. Meanwhile, some indigenous peoples, persecuted on both sides, seek to "revive" their own alternative social groupings that span the border. And Chinese towns make much of their proximity to "Europe," building giant Russian dolls and replicas of St. Basil's Cathedral to woo tourists.

**Title:            Beyond the Steppe Frontier: A History of the Sino-Russian**

**Author:         Sören Urbansky**

*Sören Urbansky is a research fellow at the German Historical Institute in Washington, DC. He is the author of *Kolonialer Wettstreit: Russland, China, Japan und die Ostchinesische Eisenbahn*.*

A comprehensive history of the Sino-Russian border, one of the longest and most important land borders in the world The Sino-Russian border, once the world's longest land border, has received scant attention in histories about the margins of empires. *Beyond the Steppe Frontier* rectifies this by exploring the demarcation's remarkable transformation—from a vaguely marked frontier in the seventeenth century to its twentieth-century incarnation as a tightly patrolled barrier girded by watchtowers, barbed wire, and border guards.

Through the perspectives of locals, including railroad employees, herdsman, and smugglers from both sides, Sören Urbansky explores the daily life of communities and their entanglements with transnational and global flows of people, commodities, and ideas. Urbansky challenges top-down interpretations by stressing the significance of the local population in supporting and undermining, border making. Because Russian, Chinese, and native worlds are intricately interwoven, national separations largely remained invisible at the border between the two largest Eurasian empires. This overlapping and mingling came to an end only when the border gained geopolitical significance during the twentieth century.

## **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 Transdnistria, 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:** **Incomplete Secession after Unresolved Conflicts: Political Order and Escalation in the Post-Soviet Space**

**Author:** **Ana Maria Albulescu**

*Ana Maria Albulescu has a Ph.D. in War Studies Research from King's College London, UK. She is a Postdoctoral Researcher at the Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest.*

This book analyses cases of incomplete secession after separatist wars and what this means for relations between central governments and de facto states. It explores the interplay between violence and power by examining the micro-dynamics inherent in the process of escalation between separatists and central governments. These dynamics affect not only the security interactions between these entities but also the character of political and government relations that are built in the aftermath of the secessionist war. The book provides comprehensive analyses of the evolution of post-conflict relations between the Republic of Moldova and Transnistria and between Georgia and South Ossetia and Abkhazia. Beyond these empirical and conceptual examples, the book contributes to a key debate in International Relations that addresses the relationship between democratization, nationalism and violence, and its applicability to the study of escalation in the post-Soviet space.

**Title:** **Global Islamic Leadership and the State in Eurasia**

**Author:** **Galina Yemelianova**

*Galina M. Yemelianova has researched and taught for over thirty years on various aspects of Middle Eastern and Eurasian history, and contemporary Muslim and ethnonational politics.*

The book presents the first integrated study of the relationship between official Islamic leadership (muftiship), non-official Islamic authorities, grassroots Muslim communities, and the state in post-Communist Eurasia encompassing Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, the Volga-Urals, Crimea, the North Caucasus, Azerbaijan, and ex-Soviet Central Asia. Its analysis is positioned within the current secularism/de-secularisation debate. The book is based on a wide range of primary and secondary

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sources, including the author's interviews with Islamic officials and popular leaders and authorities, which she conducted over two decades in various parts of Eurasia. The book employs a history-based perspective and compares the nature and role of official Islamic leadership and the state-Muslim relations across Eurasia with those in both the Middle East and Western Europe. It argues that in most of the post-Soviet lands, the official Islamic leadership and its relations with the state have largely retained their national and broader Eurasian character, which distinguishes them from what prevails in the Middle East and Western Europe. At the same time, the increasing political 'Europeanisation' of Lithuania and Ukraine since 2014 and, to some extent, Belarus, has accounted for their divergence towards the Western model of state-Muslim relations. In conclusion, it analyses the impact of globalization and the advance of global Salafism on Islamic leadership and state-Muslim relations across post-Soviet Eurasia.

**Title:**            **The Eurasian Steppe: People, Movement, Ideas**

**Author:**        **Warwick Ball**

*Warwick Ball is a Near Eastern archaeologist and author who spent over twenty years carrying out excavations, architectural studies, and monumental restoration throughout the Middle East and adjacent regions. Over the past fifty years, he has lived, worked, and traveled in most countries between Europe and China covered by this book, in particular in remote parts of Inner Asia.*

A geographical area, not a political entity, the steppe connects the western and eastern parts of the Eurasian landmass. As such, it is always open, subject to constant movement between Asia and Europe. Warwick Ball tells the story of that movement from prehistory to the present. From nomadic peoples to conquering empires, from tales of Amazon women to art nouveau, and from golden grave goods to the formation of countries that still exist today, Ball shows how the steppe has continually shaped Europe's destiny. Ultimately, he shows that the steppe and the movement of peoples across it are so crucial that they question the very idea of 'Europe' as a separate cultural and historical construct.

**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 a lecturer on International Relations at the 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:** **Sovietistan: Travels in Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan**

**Author:** **Erika Fatland**

*Erika Fatland studied Social Anthropology at the University of Oslo*

Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan became free of the Soviet Union in 1991. But though they are new to modern statehood, this is a region rich in ancient history, culture, and landscapes unlike anywhere else in the world.

Traveling alone, Erika Fatland is a true adventurer in every sense. In *Sovietistan*, she 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.

In Kyrgyzstani villages, she meets victims of the tradition of bride snatching; she visits the huge and desolate Polygon in Kazakhstan where the Soviet Union tested explosions of nuclear bombs; she meets shrimp gatherers on the banks of the dried-out Aral Sea; she witnesses the fall of a dictator.

She travels incognito through Turkmenistan, a country that is closed to journalists. She meets exhausted human rights activists in Kazakhstan, survivors from the massacre in Osh in 2010, and German Mennonites that found paradise on the Kyrgyzstani plains 200 years ago. We learn how ancient customs clash with gas production and witness the underlying conflicts between ethnic Russians and the majority in a country that is slowly building its future in nationalist colors.

**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.

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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, the 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 Ersen, 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, Martic 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.

**Title:**            **The Causes of Post-Mobilization Leadership Change and Continuity: A Comparative Analysis of Post-Color Revolution in Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan, and Georgia**

**Author:**        **Vasili Rukhadze**

*Vasili Rukhadze is Visiting Lecturer of Political Science at the University of Pittsburgh.*

The book examines the factors that contributed to post-uprising leadership durability in the Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan, and Georgia in 2004–12 after these countries underwent their so-called “Colour Revolutions.” Using structured, focused comparison and process tracing, he argues that the key independent variable influencing post-mobilization leadership durability is ruling coalition size and cohesion. He demonstrates that if the ruling coalitions are large and fragmented, as in the Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan, the coalitions disintegrate, thus facilitating the downfall of the governments. Alternatively, if the ruling coalition is small and cohesive, as in Georgia, the coalition maintains unity, hence helping the government to stay in power.

## Section V: Eurasia Country Books

### ❖ Afghanistan

**Title:** The Afghanistan File

**Authors:** Prince Turki Al-Faisal, Michael Field

*Prince Turki Al Faisal Al Saud is the youngest son of King Faisal, who ruled Saudi Arabia from 1964 to 1975. He was educated at Princeton and Georgetown University. From 1978 to 2001 he was head of the Saudi Arabian General Intelligence Department, which was responsible for the Kingdom's dealings with Afghanistan,*

*Michael Field became a journalist rather by accident and has been working in the Middle East since the 1970s.*

The Afghanistan File, written by the former head of Saudi Arabian intelligence, tells the story of his department's involvement in Afghanistan from the time of the Soviet invasion in 1979 to September 11, 2001. It begins with the backing given by Saudi Arabia to the Mujahideen in their fight against the Soviet occupation and moves on to the fruitless initiatives to broker peace among the Mujahideen factions after the Soviet withdrawal, the rise to power of the Taleban, and the shelter the Taleban gave to Osama Bin Laden. A theme that runs through the book is the extraordinary difficulties Saudi Arabia and its allies had in dealing with the Mujahideen. Prince Turki found them magnificently brave but exasperating.

On one occasion in trying to arrange peace among them, he got permission from the King to open the Kaaba in Mecca and had the leaders go inside, where they were overcome with emotion and swore never to fight each other again. A few hours later on their way to Medina, they almost came to blows on the bus. Turki's account gives details of the Saudi attempts in the 1990s to bring its volunteers out of Afghanistan - with chequered success - and his negotiations with the Taleban for the surrender of Osama Bin Laden.

The book includes a number of declassified Intelligence Department documents. Prince Turki explains that the nihilistic, apparently pointless terrorism that has been seen in the Middle East in the last twenty years had its origins in Afghanistan with Osama's deluded belief that he had helped defeat the Russians. There is no evidence that he ever fought them at all. Soon after 9/11, Saudi Arabia discovered that it had a home-grown terrorist problem involving some of the returnees from Afghanistan. Much of the huge change that has taken place in the Kingdom since has stemmed from the campaign to tackle this.

❖ **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.

❖ **Ukraine**

**Title:** **Memory Crash: Politics of History in and Around Ukraine, 1980s–2010s**

**Editor:** **Georgiy Kasianov**

*Georgiy Kasianov is Head of the Laboratory of International Memory Studies, Marie Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin, Poland.*

This account of historical politics in Ukraine, framed in a broader European context, shows how social, political, and cultural groups have used and misused the past from the final years of the Soviet Union to 2020. Georgiy Kasianov details practices relating to history and memory by a variety of actors, including state institutions, non-governmental organizations, political parties, historians, and local governments. He identifies the main political purposes of these practices in the construction of nation and identity, struggles for power, warfare, and international relations.

Kasianov considers the Ukrainian case in the context of a global increase in the politics of history and memory, with particular emphasis on a distinctive East-European variety. He pays special attention to the use and abuse of history in relations between Ukraine, Russia, and Poland.

**Title:** **The Donbas Conflict in Ukraine: Elites, Protest, and Partition**

**Author:** **Daria Platonova**

*Daria Platonova is a Researcher at King's College London.*

This book examines why, when the conflict in eastern Ukraine began in 2014, fighting broke out in the Donets'k region, whereas it did not in Kharkiv city, despite the city, like the Donets'k region, being geographically proximate to Russia and similar in ethnic and linguistic makeup. Based on extensive original research, the book argues that a key factor was the nature and behavior of local elites, with those in Kharkiv having diffuse ties to the center and therefore being more capable of adapting to sudden, profound regime change at the center, whereas the elites in the Donets'k region had much more concentrated ties to the center, were dependent on one network, and therefore were much less able to cope with change. The book aims to show how crucial for Ukraine are patronal politics, patronage networks, and informal center-region relations, and that it was these local political circumstances, rather than Russia, which brought about the conflict.

**Title:** **Decentralization, Regional Diversity, and Conflict: The Case of Ukraine (Federalism and Internal Conflicts)**

**Editors:** **Hanna Shelest, Matyna Rabinovych**

*Hanna Shelest is a Member of the Board at the Foreign Policy Council "Ukrainian Prism" and Editor-in-chief of UA: Ukraine Analytica.*

*Maryna Rabinovych is a researcher at the Faculty of Law, University of Hamburg, Germany.*

This edited volume focuses on the links between the ongoing crisis in and around Ukraine, regional diversity, and the reform of decentralization. It provides in-depth insights into the historical

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constitution of regional diversity and the evolution of center-periphery relationships in Ukraine, the legal qualification of the conflict in Eastern Ukraine, and the role of the decentralization reform in promoting conflict resolution, as well as modernization, democratization, and European integration of Ukraine. Particular emphasis lies on the securitization of both regional diversity issues and territorial self-government arrangements in terms of Russia's support for self-proclaimed Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics. The volume captures the complexity of contemporary "hybrid" conflicts, involving both internal and external aspects, and the hybridization and securitization of territorial self-governance solutions. It thus provides an important contribution to the debate on territorial self-government and conflict resolution.

## 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:** **Putin's Labor Dilemma: Russian Politics between Stability and Stagnation (2021)** ...the author investigates how the fear of labor protest has inhibited substantial economic transformation in Russia. Putin boasts he has the backing of workers in the country's industrial heartland, but as economic growth slows in Russia, reviving the economy will require restructuring the country's industrial landscape. At the same time, doing so threatens to generate protest and instability from a key regime constituency

**Author:** **Stephen Crowley**

**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:** Russian Trade Policy: Achievements, Challenges and Prospects (2021)

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

**Alternatives:** Russia's Economy in an Epoch of Turbulence: Crises and Lessons (2017) by Vladimir Mau

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

**Alternatives:** The New Nobility (2010) by Andrei Soldatov and Irina Borogan.

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:** **Germany's Russia problem: The struggle for balance in Europe (2021) ...** The relationship between Germany and Russia is Europe's most important link with the largest country on the continent. This book aims to explain the scale of the challenge facing Germany in managing relations with a changing Russia. It analyses how successive German governments from 1991 to 2014 misread Russian intentions until Angela Merkel sharply recalibrated German and EU policy towards Moscow. The book also examines what lies behind efforts to revise Merkel's policy shift, including attitudes inherited from the GDR and the role of Russian influence channels in Germany.

**Author:** **John Lough**

**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**

**Alternatives:** **The Russia Trap (2019) – George Beebe**

**Russia (2019) – Dmitri Trenin**

**Dealing with the Russians (2019) – Andrew Monaghan**

**Russia in a Changing World (2020) ...** by Alexander Lukin, Glenn Diesen

## ❖ **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.

**Stalin: The Court of the Red Tsar (2003)** by Simon Montefiore.

**The House of Government: A Saga of the Russian Revolution (2017)** by Yuri Slezkine.

## ❖ **Transition from the Soviet Union to Russia**

**Title:** **Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire (1994)**

**Author:** **David Remnick**

**Title:** **The Human Factor: Gorbachev, Reagan, and Thatcher, and the End of the Cold War (2021)** ... In this analysis of the role of political leadership in the Cold War's end, Archie Brown shows why the popular view that Western economic and military strength left the Soviet Union with no alternative but to admit defeat is wrong

**Author:** **Archie Brown**

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

**Midnight Diaries (2000)** by Boris Yeltsin

## Section VII: Energy, Carbon & The Environment

**Title:** **Klimat: Russia in the Age of Climate Change (2021) ...** A discerning analysis of the future effects of climate change on Russia, the major power most dependent on the fossil fuel economy. Russia will be one of the countries most affected by climate change. No major power is more economically dependent on the export of hydrocarbons; at the same time, two-thirds of Russia's territory lies in the arctic north, where melting permafrost is already imposing growing damage. Climate change also brings drought and floods to Russia's south, threatening the country's agricultural exports.

**Author:** **Dr. Thane Gustafson**

**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

**Title:** **The "Roads" and "Belts" 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

**Editor:** **Alexander Lukin**

**Title:** **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.

**Author:** **Tilman Pradt**

**Title:** **The Making of Eurasia: Competition and Cooperation Between China's Belt and Road Initiative and Russia (2021) ...** The Making of Eurasia investigates the two chief competing order conceptions and economic initiatives in Central Asia: China's Belt and Road Initiative and Russia's Eurasian Economic Union.

**Author:** **Moritz Pieper**

**Title:** **China's Belt and Road Initiative: Potential Transformation of Central Asia and the South Caucasus (2019)**

**Author:** **Harinder S. Kohli**

## Section IX: Eurasia Region & Eurasianism

**Title:** **Introduction to the Eurasia Economic Union (2018)** - detailed qualitative and quantitative assessment of the Eurasian Economic Union, including the history of Eurasian integration, the macroeconomy of EAEU member states, an assessment of trade and investment links, a descriptive analysis of the EAEU Treaty, an analysis of Eurasian institutions, the sociology of integration, the EAEU's emerging foreign economic policy, relations with the EU and China, the EAEU's position on One Belt One Road policies, and its mid-term policy agenda.

**Author:** **Evgeny Vinokurov**

**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:** **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

**Title:** **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

**Title:** **The Resurgence of Central Asia (2017)**

**Author:** Ahmed Rashid

**Title:** **Central Asia in the Era of Sovereignty: The Return of Tamerlane? (2018)**

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

**Title:** **The Silk Roads: A New History of the World (2015)**

**Author:** Peter Frankopan

**Alternatives:** **Sovietistan: Travels in Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan (2020)** by Erika Fatland

**New Silk Roads: The Present and Future of the World (2018)** by 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**

### **Afghanistan**

**Title: The Afghanistan File (2021)**

**Authors: Prince Turki Al-Faisal, Michael Field**

The Afghanistan File, written by the former head of Saudi Arabian intelligence, tells the story of his department's involvement in Afghanistan from the time of the Soviet invasion in 1979 to September 11, 2001.

### **Armenia**

**Title: The Armenian Experience: From Ancient Times to Independence (2020)**

**Author: Gädz 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**

**Title: Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan Through Peace and War (2003)**

**Author: Thomas de Waal**

### **Belarus**

**Title: A History of Belarus (2014)**

**Author: Lubov Bazan**

**Title: Belarus under Lukashenka: Adaptive Authoritarianism (2018)**

**Author: Matthew Frear**

**Alternative:** Modeling Economic Growth in Contemporary Belarus (Entrepreneurship and Global Economic Growth) – 2019 by Bruno S. Sergi

### **Georgia**

**Title:** Georgia: From Autocracy to Democracy

**Authors:** Stephen F. Jones and Neil MacFarlane

**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 Trantum

**Title:** Democracy, Instability and Strategic Game in Kyrgyzstan (2014)

**Author:** P. Stobdan

## Mongolia

**Title:** Mongolia: The Shadow Land Hardcover (2016)

**Author:** Michael Dillon

**Title:** Genghis Khan: The Man who Conquered the World (2015)

**Author:** Frank McLynn

**Title:** Not quite Shamans: Spirit Worlds and Political Lives in northern Mongolia (2011)

**Author:** Morten Pederson

## Tajikistan

**Title:** Historical Dictionary of Tajikistan (2018)

**Author:** Kamoludin Abdullaev

**Title:** Tajikistan History: Ethnic Background, Early History, Society

**Author:** Uzo Marvin

## Turkmenistan

**Title:** Tribal Nation: The Making of Soviet Turkmenistan (2004)

**Author:** Adrienne Lynn Edgar

## Ukraine

**Title:** Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know (2020)

**Author:** Serhy Yekelchuk

**Title:** Decentralization, Regional Diversity, and Conflict: The Case of Ukraine (Federalism and Internal Conflicts) (2021)

**Editors:** Hanna Shelest, Matyna Rabinovych

**Title:** The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine (2016)

**Author:** Serhii Plokhy

## **Uzbekistan**

**Title:** Uzbekistan's New Face (2018)

**Authors:** Frederick Starr, Svante Cornell

**Title:** Making Uzbekistan, Nation, Empire and Revolution (2015)

**Author:** Adeb Khalid

**Title:** Tamerlane, Sword of Islam, Conqueror of the World (2004)

**Author:** Justin Marouzzi

## 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.

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