

## Russia & Eurasia Relevant Books 1H22 + Recommended Reading

*“Opinion is usually something which people have when they lack comprehensive information.”*

**Idris Shah, Reflections**

*“It is a very sad thing that nowadays there is so little useless information.”*

**Oscar Wilde**

**Most useful & interesting books published in 1H22.** This review lists the most useful books for investors and business managers/planners covering the Eurasia region which have been published in 1H22. Most are chosen because they offer useful insight into either the economy and politics or simply how Russia and the other Eurasian states work.

**Many planned books are delayed.** The list of books published over the past six months is smaller than had been expected. One assumes that many have had publication dates extended to allow the authors to cover the momentous events that have occurred since February 24<sup>th</sup>. That obviously makes sense given the enormous geopolitical, economic, and social impact legacy expected in Ukraine, Russia, and many other Eurasian states.

**Expect many books to focus on the conflict.** There have been very few so far, but a large number are expected closer to the end year. Most will rehash the chronology of the conflict and summarize the news stories. There are a couple of good books, which provide useful historical context such as **The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine**, published in 2016. The best of the crop from the past six months is **Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands** by Richard Sakwa, a very prolific writer about Russia and the region.

**New Putin book.** Philip Short has published (late June) **Putin: The New and Definitive Biography**. We always say that the best books (mostly) about Russian politics are those written by foreign journalists that have covered Russia from Moscow for several years. Philip Short was BBC bureau chief. This book follows Catherine Belton’s (ex Financial Times in Moscow) **Putin’s People** (2020) and Stephen Meyer’s (New York Times ex Moscow bureau chief) **The New Tsar** (2016)

**The Eurasia theme is prominent.** There have again been some useful Eurasia-themed books (to add to an already impressive collection), such as **Sinostan: China’s Inadvertent Empire**, which, as the title suggests, covers Beijing’s slow encroachment into Russia’s near abroad. David Montgomery’s **Central Asia: Context for Understanding**, is a good primer.

**Geopolitics.** There have been a few books covering Russia and geopolitics but most, which were planned, now have a delayed publication date. Of those which were published, several focused on the legacy of the Cold War and what could have been done differently. **Not One Inch: America, Russia, and the Making of Post-Cold War Stalemate** is one of those worth reading.

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

*The books reviewed during 1H22 (see our Russia Politics-Monthly publication for updates – In some instances, we offer our own opinion about the books listed while, in other cases, we resort to the Amazon blurb for convenience) are listed in no order other than within these categories:*

### **New Issues in 1H22**

**Section I: Eurasia / Eurasianism books published in 1H22 (Pages 3 – 6)**

**Section II: Russia books issued in 1H22**

- Domestic politics (Page 7)
- Russia's economy (Page 10)
- Russia and geopolitics (Page 11)
- General Russia topics (Page 14)

**Section III: Oil, carbon, and the Environment (Page 17)**

**Section IV: Eurasia country-specific books (Page 18)**

- Ukraine books issued in 1H22 (Page 19)

### **Recommended Reading List** *(continuous update)*

**Section V: Eurasia recommended books (Pages 20-22)**

**Section VI: Russia recommended reading list**

- Vladimir Putin (page 22)
- How the government works & decisions are made (Page 23)
- Russia and geopolitics (Page 24)
- Economy (Page 25)
- Oligarchs, siloviki, elites (page 25)
- Russian history (Page 26)
- General interest books (Page 27)

**Section VII: Energy, carbon management, the environment recommended books (Page 29)**

**Section VIII: BRI and Russia-China recommended books (Page 3)**

**Section IX: Eurasia country-specific recommended books (Page 32-35)**

## Section I: New Eurasia/Eurasianism books

**Title:** Sinostan: China's Inadvertent Empire

**Authors:** Raffaello Pantucci, Alexandros Petersen

*Raffaello Pantucci is a Senior Fellow at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) in Singapore and a Senior Associate Fellow at the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) in London.*

*Alexandros Petersen was an academic, writer, and geopolitical energy expert.*

An extensively researched telling of Beijing's rising power in Central Asia, unvarnished by agenda or a desire to construct smooth grand narratives... the book lays out a convincing case for viewing China as a detached regional power. Central Asia may be the belt in the Belt and Road Initiative, but it is a loose fit.

**Title:** Empires of Eurasia: How Imperial Legacies Shape International Security

**Author:** Jeffrey Mankoff

*Jeffrey Mankoff is a Distinguished Research Fellow at the U.S. National Defense University's Institute for National Strategic Studies.*

Eurasia's major powers—China, Iran, Russia, and Turkey—increasingly intervene across their borders while seeking to pull their smaller neighbors more firmly into their respective orbits. While analysts have focused on the role of leaders such as Vladimir Putin and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in explaining this drive to dominate neighbors and pull away from the Western-dominated international system, they have paid less attention to the role of imperial legacies.

The author argues that what unites these contemporary Eurasian powers is their status as heirs to vast terrestrial empires, whose collapse left all four states deeply entangled with the lands and peoples along their peripheries but outside their formal borders. Today, they have all found new opportunities to project power within and beyond their borders in patterns shaped by their respective imperial pasts.

**Title:** Central Asia: Context for Understanding

**Author:** David Montgomery

*David W. Montgomery is a professor in the Department of Government and Politics and the Center for International Development and Conflict Management at the University of Maryland.*

Central Asia is a diverse and complex region of the world often characterized in the West as being difficult to access. Central Asia: Contexts for Understanding offers the most comprehensive introduction to the region available. Combining thematic chapters with case studies, readers will learn to appreciate the interconnected aspects of life in Central Asia. These wide-ranging, easy-to-understand contributions from some of the leading scholars in the field provide the context needed to understand Central Asia and present a launching-off point for further research.

"This volume assembles an impressive array of leading scholars and perspectives in Central Asian studies, combining beautifully-written thematic chapters with illuminating case studies. The authors offer nuanced reflection, engaging analysis, and complex interconnections, which will inspire deeper understanding and generative insights for new students and established scholars of the region alike

**Title: Regional Economic Integration and Global Competition in the Post-Covid Era: European Union, Eurasian Economic Union, and the Belt and Road Initiative**

**Editors: Oxana Karnaukhova, Dmitry Shevchenko**

*Oxana Karnaukhova, PhD, is an associate professor at the Institute of History and International Relations of Southern Federal University (Russia) and the Deputy Director of the European Union Centre in Southwest Russia.*

The globalized world has witnessed the development of several economic integration projects, including at least two Eurasian projects: the Eurasian Union and the Belt and Road Initiative. These initiatives blur the European Union Global Strategy adjusted in 2016 to be an attempt to reconsider and enhance the role and place of the European Union as the leader in the global arena. These initiatives must be studied and considered further to understand the numerous benefits, opportunities, and challenges they face.

Regional Economic Integration and Global Competition in the Post-Covid Era: European Union, Eurasian Economic Union, and the Belt and Road Initiative provide insight into the reasons and consequences of the discrepancy in the legal restrictions, institutional policies, and mutual skepticism on the economic integration progress. The text is also useful in defining and promoting a regional strategy of economic integration and the creation of a mutual trust.

**Title: The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Exploring New Horizons**

**Editors: Sergey Marochkin, Yury Bezborodov**

*Sergey Marochkin, Professor, JSD (Doctor of Juridical Sciences in legal theory and public international law); Honored Jurist of the Russian Federation; and Member, European Society of International Law. Russia.*

*Yury Bezborodov, Professor, JSD (Doctor of Juridical Sciences), Ural State Law University and Ural Federal University, Ekaterinburg, Russia.*

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is one of the most rapidly developing centers of the multipolar world, covering an enormous landmass including China, India, Russia, and its southern Eurasian neighbors.

With both its eight member states and a growing group of observer states, the SCO's activities have expanded beyond its initial focus on security and stability to broader cooperation with the UN and other groupings such as the G20, BRICS, NATO, and ASEAN. Bringing together large and disparate nation-states with often rival geostrategic agendas means that it not only faces substantial structural challenges but also has great potential. The contributors to this volume, representing a range of the states within the SCO, evaluate the possibilities for the Organization, and the challenges

it faces in achieving them through a prism of legal regulation. They evaluate the bloc's prospects for economic, humanitarian, legal, trade, labor, migration, and environmental cooperation, as well as its more traditional concerns with security and defense. The authors, analyzing the quality of cooperation between states within the SCO, note the controversial character of this process: it demonstrates both efficiency and the declarative and decorative nature of the SCO.

**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 (muftis), 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-secularization debate.

The book is based on a wide range of primary and secondary 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 particular 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, in particular, on Islamic leadership and state-Muslim relations across post-Soviet Eurasia.

**Title:** Eurasian Business and Economics Perspectives: Proceedings of the 35th Eurasia Business and Economics Society Conference: 22

**Editors:** Mehmet Huseyin Bilgin, Hakan Danis, Ender Demir, Ghulam Mustafa

*Mehmet Huseyin Bilgin is a Professor at Istanbul Medeniyet University (Turkey). He is the founder and current Chairman of the Istanbul Economic Research Association.*

*Hakan Danis is the Vice President of the Eurasia Business and Economics Society (EBES) and Director of the Credit Strategies Group at the Mitsubishi UFJ Financial Group (MUFG) (USA).*

*Ender Demir is an Associate Professor of Finance at the Department of Business Administration, School of Social Sciences, Reykjavik University, Iceland. Dr. Demir is the founder and conference coordinator of the Eurasia Business and Economics Society (EBES).*

*Ghulam Mustafa is an Associate Professor at the Department of International Business at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (Norway).*

EBES conferences have been an intellectual hub for academic discussion in economics, finance, and business fields and provide network opportunities for participants to make long-lasting academic cooperation. This is the 22nd volume of the Eurasian Studies in Business and Economics (EBES's official proceeding series) which includes selected papers from the 35th EBES Conference – Rome 2021. Due to Covid-19, the conference presentation mode has been switched to "online/virtual presentation only". At the conference, 142 papers by 302 colleagues from 48 countries were presented. Both theoretical and empirical papers in this volume cover diverse areas of business, economics, and finance from many different regions. Therefore, it provides a great opportunity for colleagues, professionals, and students to catch up with the most recent studies in different fields and empirical findings on many countries and regions.

## Section II: New Russia Books – By Category

### ❖ Domestic Politics

**Title:** Putin: The new and definitive biography

**Author:** Philip Short

*Philip Short* has written authoritative biographies including *Mao: A Life* and *Pol Pot: History of a Nightmare*, following a long career as a foreign correspondent for the BBC in Moscow.

Vladimir Putin has the power to reduce the United States and Europe to ashes in a nuclear firestorm. Despite western sanctions, the majority of Russians have been living better than at any time in the past. Under Putin's leadership, Russia has once again become a force to be reckoned with.

Philip Short's biography demolishes many of our preconceptions about Putin's Russia and explores in unprecedented depth the personality of its enigmatic leader. Since becoming President in 2000, his obsession has been to restore Russia's status as a great power, unbound by western rules. What forces and experiences shaped him? What led him to challenge the American-led world order that has kept the peace since the end of the Cold War?

**Title:** The Age of The Strongman: How the Cult of the Leader Threatens Democracy around the World

**Author:** Gideon Rachman

*Gideon Rachman* is the Chief Foreign Affairs columnist for the *Financial Times*. In 2016 he won the Orwell Prize for Journalism and was named Commentator of the Year at the European Press Prize awards.

Since the beginning of the millennium, when Vladimir Putin took power in Russia, authoritarian leaders have come to dominate global politics. Self-styled strongmen have risen to power in Moscow, Beijing, Delhi, Brasilia, Budapest, Ankara, Riyadh, and Washington. How and why did this new style of strongman leadership arrive? How likely is it to lead to war or economic collapse? And what forces are in place not only to keep these strongmen in check but to reverse the trend?

Everywhere they go, these leaders encourage a cult of personality. They are nationalists and social conservatives, with little tolerance for minorities, dissent, or the interests of foreigners. At home, they claim to stand up for ordinary people against globalist elites; abroad, they posture as the embodiments of their nations. And they are not just operating in authoritarian political systems but have begun to emerge in the heartlands of liberal democracy.

**Title: Russian Political Philosophy: Anarchy, Authority, Autocracy**

**Author: Evert Van Der Zweerde**

*Evert van der Zweerde is a professor of Social and Political Philosophy at the Department of Ethics and Political Philosophy at Radboud University, Nijmegen, Netherlands.*

Political philosophy in Russia has always sought and sometimes found, a middle way between embracing anarchy and searching for authority. While historical factors make this understandable, the topic deserves our attention more than ever, now that Russia, after a short Soviet century, has regained self-assurance as a world power. Its unique historical trajectory, and the specific role of philosophy in it, are of interest to many fields of research and, beyond that, to broader audiences. A focus on political philosophy as it existed and exists in Russia despite periods of marginalization and suppression, allows us to understand its specific character, importance, and relevance, and to realize that, in trying to think philosophically, critically, and reflectively about the political reality that shapes them, Russian thinkers are not essentially different from philosophers elsewhere. Hence, many lessons can be learned from this subject.

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

**Author: Anton Weiss-Wendt**

*Anton Weiss-Wendt is Research Professor at the Norwegian Center for Holocaust and Minority Studies, Norway.*

This book provides an examination of the political use of history in contemporary Russia. Anton Weiss-Wendt argues that history is yet another discipline appropriated by the Kremlin to rally the population. He explains how, since the pro-democracy protests in 2011–12, the Russian government has hamstrung independent research and aligned state institutions in the promotion of militant patriotism. The entire state machinery has been mobilized to construe a single, glorious historical narrative with a focus on the Soviet victory over Nazi Germany.

Putin's Russia and the Falsification of History examines the intricate networks in Russia that engage in "history-making." Whether it is the Holocaust or Soviet mass terror, Tsars or Stalin, the regime promotes a syncretic interpretation of Russian history that supports the notion of a strong state and authoritarian rule. That interpretation finds its way into new monuments, exhibitions, and quasi-professional associations. In addition to administrative measures of control, the Russian state has been using the penal code to censor critical perspectives on history, typically advanced by individuals who also happen to call for a political change in Russia.

**Title: Russian Grand Strategy in the Era of Global Power Competition**

**Author: Andrew Monaghan**

*Andrew Monaghan is an Academic Visitor at St Antony's College, Oxford, and a Senior Research Fellow in the Russia and Eurasia Program at The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House.*

This book offers a detailed examination of two of the most important current debates about contemporary Russia's international activity: is Moscow acting strategically or opportunistically, and should this be understood in regional or global terms? The book addresses core themes of Russian activity – military, energy, and economic - but it offers an unusual multi-disciplinary analysis of these themes. Monaghan incorporates both regional and thematic specialist expertise to give a fresh perspective to each of these core themes.

**Title: Understanding Russian Strategic Behavior: Imperial Strategic Culture and Putin's Operational Code**

**Author: Graeme P. Herd**

*Graeme P. Herd is Professor of Transnational Security Studies and Chair of the Research and Policy Analysis Department at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, Garmisch Partenkirchen, Germany.*

This book examines the extent to which Russia's strategic behavior is the product of its imperial strategic culture and Putin's operational code. The work argues that, by conflating personalistic regime survival with national security, Putin ensures that contemporary Russian national interest, as expressed through strategic behavior, is the synthesis of a peculiar troika: a long-standing imperial strategic culture, rooted in a partially imagined past; the operational code of a counterintelligence president and decision-making elite; and the realities of Russia as a hybrid state.

The book first examines the role of structure and agency in shaping contemporary Russian strategic behavior. It then provides a conceptual understanding of strategic culture and applies this to Tsarist and Soviet historical developments. The book's analysis of the operational code, however, demonstrates that Putinism is more than the sum of the past. In the end, the book assesses Putin's statecraft and stress-tests our assumptions about the exercise of contemporary power in Russia and the structure of Putin's agency.

**Title: The History of Russia – Covering Vladimir Putin, Kyiv, Crimea, Modern History, and more**

**Author: David Barnett**

As the home of famous thinkers, artists, poets, and military strategists throughout the ages, Russia holds a special place in our collective history. This biography explores their legacy, recounting the glorious triumphs and heart-wrenching tragedies of this giant on the world stage. Inside, you'll be taken on an unparalleled journey to witness Russia's past, retracing its steps from ancient times to

the modern-day. You'll glimpse into the unique and fascinating culture of the Russian people, their turbulent history throughout medieval times and the horrors of the 20th century, and their meteoric rise to become leaders on a global scale.

Told with a wealth of engaging insights, this history book dispels the mysteries surrounding the famous Motherland, providing a succinct account of Russia's role in human civilization. From the towering Ural Mountains to the depths of the Black Sea and the frozen Siberian wastes, *The History of Russia* paints a compelling picture of a nation with grit, determination, and perseverance like no other. It also provides key insights to help readers understand pressing modern issues and Russia's shaky relationship with Ukraine and the United States.

**Title:**            **The Territories of the Russian Federation 2022**

**Editor:**           **Europa Publications**

This reference source brings together hard-to-find information on the constituent units of the Russian Federation. The introduction examines the Russian Federation as a whole, followed by a chronology, demographic and economic statistics, and a review of the Federal Government.

The second section comprises territorial surveys, each of which includes a current map. This edition includes surveys covering the annexed (and disputed) territories of Crimea and Sevastopol, as well as updated surveys of each of the other 83 federal subjects. The third section comprises a select bibliography of books. The fourth section features a series of indexes, listing the territories alphabetically, by Federal Okrug and Economic Area. Users will also find a gazetteer of selected alternative and historic names, a list of the territories abolished, created, or reconstituted in the post-Soviet period, and an index of more than 100 principal cities, detailing the territory in which each is located.

## ❖     **Russia Economics**

**Title:**            **Black Earth, White Bread: A Technopolitical History of Russian Agriculture and Food**

**Author:**        **Susanne A. Wengle**

*Susanne A. Wengle is the Nancy R. Dreux associate professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame and the author of *Post-Soviet Power: State-Led Development and Russia's Marketization*.*

Like all facets of daily life, the food that Russian farms grew, and citizens ate—or, in some years, didn't eat—underwent radical shifts in the century between the Bolshevik Revolution and Putin's presidency. The modernization of agriculture during this time is usually understood in terms of advances in farming methods. The author's interdisciplinary history of Russia's agriculture and food systems documents far-reaching changes on farms, along with their effects on ordinary people and successive political regimes.

Wengle argues that we need to focus on the political actors who employed and favored agrotechnology to provide "the good life" for citizens. Each of the large-scale rural reforms was rooted as much in political ambitions as in the need to increase crop and meat yields. Attempts to create the conditions of abundance relied heavily on top-down programs that nearly always had unexpected, and occasionally devastating, outcomes.

## ❖ Russia and Geopolitics

**Title:** Deception: Russiagate and the New Cold War

**Author:** Richard Sakwa

*Richard Sakwa is a professor of Russian and European Politics at the University of Kent at Canterbury, UK.*

The 'Russiagate' affair is one of the most far-reaching political events of recent years. But what exactly was the nature and extent of Russian interference in the campaign that led to the presidency of Donald J. Trump? Richard Sakwa sets out the dramatic series of events that combined to create Russiagate and examines whether together they form a persuasive account of Russia's role in the extraordinary 2016 American election. Offering a meticulous account of the multiple layers in play, his authoritative analysis challenges the claims of Russian interference and collusion. As we enter a new cold war, this myth-busting, accessible and balanced account is essential reading to understand contemporary East-West relation

**Title:** The Grand Strategies of Great Powers

**Author:** Tudor A. Onea

*Tudor A. Onea is an Assistant Professor in the Department of International Relations of Bilkent University in Ankara, Turkey.*

What is a grand strategy and what is it good for? What are great powers, and which states are great powers today? What are the grand strategies available to great powers? What are the conditions under which a certain strategy is suitable and when should it be rejected? What are the factors affecting the success or failure of a given grand strategy? The present volume provides answers to these questions by introducing a typology of great power grand strategies, as strategies of rising, status quo, and declining powers, as well as through historical illustrations of each type.

The reader is thus exposed to strategies such as divide and conquer, bidding your time, opportunity strike, primacy, semi-detachment, concert, and appeasement through the experiences of leaders such as Bismarck, Peter the Great, Metternich, Deng Xiaoping, Neville Chamberlain, and Stalin. This analysis is then brought to bear on present developments in the grand strategies of the United States, China, and Russia.

**Title:            The Twilight Struggle: What the Cold War Teaches Us about Great-Power Rivalry Today**

**Author:           Hal Brands**

*Hal Brands is the Henry A. Kissinger Distinguished Professor of Global Affairs at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.*

The United States is entering an era of great-power competition with China and Russia. Such global struggles happen in a geopolitical twilight, between the sunshine of peace and the darkness of war. In this innovative and illuminating book, Hal Brands, a leading historian, and former Pentagon adviser argue that America should look to the history of the Cold War for lessons on how to succeed in great-power rivalry today. Although the threat posed by authoritarian powers is growing, America's muscle memory for dealing with dangerous foes has atrophied in the thirty years since the Cold War ended. In long-term competitions where the diplomatic jockeying is intense and the threat of violence is omnipresent, the United States will need all the historical insight it can get.

**Title:            Not One Inch: America, Russia, and the Making of Post-Cold War Stalemate**

**Author:           M. E. Sarotte**

*M. E. Sarotte is the Kravis Professor of Historical Studies at Johns Hopkins University, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and the author, among other books, of *The Collapse: The Accidental Opening of the Berlin Wall*.*

On the thirtieth anniversary of the Soviet collapse, this book uses new evidence and interviews to show how, in the decade that culminated in Vladimir Putin's rise to power, the United States and Russia undermined a potentially lasting partnership. Prize-winning historian M. E. Sarotte shows what went wrong.

Not one inch. With these words, Secretary of State James Baker proposed a hypothetical bargain to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev after the fall of the Berlin Wall: if you let your part of Germany go, we move NATO not one inch eastward. Controversy erupted almost immediately over this 1990 exchange—but more important was the decade afterward, when the words took on new meaning. Gorbachev let his Germany go, but Washington rethought the bargain, not least after the Soviet Union's collapse in December 1991. Washington realized it could not just win big but win bigger. Not one inch of a territory need be off-limits to NATO.

**Title:            The Folly and the Glory: America, Russia, and Political Warfare 1945-2020**

**Author:           Tim Weiner**

*Tim Weiner has won the Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Award for his reporting and writing on national security and intelligence. He covered the CIA, the war in Afghanistan, and crises and conflicts in fourteen nations for *The New York Times*.*

Weiner traces the roots of political warfare--the conflict America and Russia have waged with espionage, sabotage, diplomacy, and disinformation--from 1945 until 2020. Putin's Russia has revived Soviet-era intelligence operations gaining ever more potent information from--and influence over--the American people and government.

Weiner takes us behind closed doors, illuminating Russian and American intelligence operations and their consequences. To get to the heart of what is at stake and find potential solutions, he examines long-running 20th-century CIA operations, the global political machinations of the Soviet KGB, the erosion of American political warfare after the Cold War, and how 21st-century Russia has kept the Cold War alive.

**Title:**                **Russia in World History: A Transnational Approach**

**Author:**           **Choi Chatterjee**

*Choi Chatterjee is a Professor of History at California State University, Los Angeles, USA. She is the author of Celebrating Women: Gender, Festival Culture, and Bolshevik Ideology, 1910-1939 (2002) and the co-author of Russia in the Long Twentieth Century (2016)*

Russia in World History uses a comparative framework to understand Russian history in a global context. The book challenges the idea of Russia as an outlier of European civilization by examining select themes in modern Russian history alongside cases drawn from the British Empire. Choi Chatterjee analyzes the concepts of nation and empire, selfhood and subjectivity, socialism and capitalism, and revolution and the world order in the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries. In doing so she rethinks many historical narratives that bluntly posit a liberal West against a repressive, authoritarian Russia.

Instead, Chatterjee argues for a wider perspective which reveals that imperial practices relating to the appropriation of human and natural resources were shared across European empires, both East and West. Incorporating the stories of famous thinkers, such as Leo Tolstoy, Emma Goldman, Wangari Maathai, and Arundhati Roy, among others. This unique interpretation of modern Russia is knitted together from the varied lives and experiences of those individuals who challenged the status quo and promoted a different way of thinking.

❖ **Russia – General Coverage**

**Title:** **Soviet Samizdat: Imagining a New Society**

**Author:** **Ann Komaromi**

*Ann Komaromi is an Associate Professor at the Centre for Comparative Literature and the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of Toronto.*

Soviet Samizdat traces the emergence and development of samizdat, one of the most significant and distinctive phenomena of the late Soviet era, as an uncensored system for making and sharing texts. Based on extensive research of the underground journals, bulletins, art folios, and other periodicals produced in the Soviet Union from the mid-1950s to the mid-1980s, Ann Komaromi analyzes the role of samizdat in fostering new forms of imagined community among Soviet citizens.

Dissidence has been dismissed as an elite phenomenon or as insignificant because it had a little demonstrable impact on the Soviet regime. Komaromi challenges these views and demonstrates that the kind of imagination about self and community made possible by samizdat could be a powerful social force. She explains why participants in samizdat culture so often sought to divide "political" from "cultural" samizdat. Her study provides a controversial umbrella definition for all forms of samizdat in terms of truth-telling, arguing that the act is experienced as transformative by Soviet authors and readers. This argument will challenge scholars in the field to respond to contentions that go against the grain of both anthropological and postmodern accounts.

Komaromi's combination of literary analysis, historical research, and sociological theory make sense of the phenomenon of samizdat for readers today. Soviet Samizdat shows that samizdat was not simply a tool of opposition to a defunct regime. Instead, samizdat fostered informal communities of knowledge that foreshadowed a similar phenomenon of alternative perspectives challenging the authority of institutions around the world today.

**Title:** **Stalin's Library: A Dictator and his Books**

**Author:** **Geoffrey Roberts**

*Geoffrey Roberts is an emeritus professor of history at University College Cork and a member of the Royal Irish Academy*

In the engaging life of the twentieth century's most self-consciously learned dictator, Roberts explores the books Stalin read, how he read them, and what they taught him. Stalin firmly believed in the transformative potential of words and his voracious appetite for reading. A biography as well as an intellectual portrait, this book explores all aspects of Stalin's tumultuous life and politics.

Stalin, an avid reader from an early age, amassed a surprisingly diverse personal collection of thousands of books, many of which he marked and annotated revealing his intimate thoughts, feelings, and beliefs. Based on his wide-ranging research in Russian archives, Roberts tells the story of the creation, fragmentation, and resurrection of Stalin's personal library. As a true believer in communist ideology, Stalin was a fanatical idealist who hated his enemies—the bourgeoisie, kulaks, capitalists, imperialists, reactionaries, counter-revolutionaries, and traitors—but detested their ideas even more.

**Title:** Russian Populism: A History

**Author:** Christopher Ely

*Christopher Ely is a Professor of History at the Wilkes Honors College of Florida Atlantic University, USA. He is the author of This Meager Nature: Landscape and National Identity in Imperial Russia (2002).*

Russian populism, the belief that the peasantry embodied authentic Russian identity and once liberated from their poverty would lead the country to a brighter future, has animated Russian thought across the political spectrum and inspired much of Russia's world-historical literature, music, and art in the 19th century. This book offers the fullest and most authoritative account of the rise, proliferation, and influence of populist values and ideology in modern Russia to date. Christopher Ely explores the complete story of Russian populism. Starting from the cursed question of how to reconnect the popular masses with the Europeanized elite, he examines the populist obsession with the peasant commune as a model for a future socialist Russia.

He shows how the desire for revolution led Russian radicals to flood into the countryside and later to pioneer terrorism as a form of political action. He delves into those artists influenced by populist ideals, and he tells the story of the collapse of populist optimism and its rebirth among the Socialist Revolutionary neo-populists. The book demonstrates that populism existed in forms ranging from radical socialist to religious conservative

**Title:** News from Moscow: Soviet Journalism and the Limits of Postwar Reform

**Author:** Simon Huxtable

*Simon Huxtable is Lecturer in Modern European History at Birkbeck, University of London. His work focuses on the history of the Soviet Union, with a particular focus on mass media.*

News from Moscow is a social and cultural history of Soviet journalism after World War II. Focusing on the youth newspaper Komsomolskaya Pravda, the study draws on transcripts of behind-the-scenes editorial meetings to chart the changing professional ethos of the Soviet journalist. Simon Huxtable shows how journalists viewed themselves both as propagandists bringing the Party's ideas to the wider public, and also as reformers who tried to implement new ideas that would help usher the country towards Communism.

The volume focuses on both aspects of the journalists' role, from propaganda editorials in praise of Comrade Stalin and articles lauding young heroes' exploits in the Virgin Lands, to revolutionary new initiatives, such as the country's first-ever polling institute and clubs promoting the virtues of unfettered public debate. Soviet journalism, argues Huxtable, was riven with an unresolvable tension between innovation and conservatism: the more journalists tried to promote innovations to perfect Soviet society, the more officials grew anxious about the disruptive consequences of reform.

By demonstrating the day-to-day conflicts that characterized the press's activity, and by showing that the production of Soviet propaganda involved much more than redrafting orders from above, *News from Moscow* offers a new perspective on Soviet propaganda that expands our understanding of the possibilities and limits of reform in a period of rapid change.

**Title:** Don't Be a Stranger: Russian Literature and the Perils of Not Fitting In

**Author:** Jason Galie

*Jason Galie is a Russian language analyst at Booz Allen Hamilton and has taught Russian at Columbia University.*

It is human nature to want to fit in. The lengths people have gone to do so have provided creative minds with material for centuries. This book explores the consequences of being marked as an outsider in the Russian-speaking world through a close study of several seminal works of Russian literature. The author combines the fields of literary studies, linguistics, and sociology to illuminate what prompted Christof Ruhl, an economist at the World Bank, to comment, about Russia, "On a very broad scale, it's a country where people care about their family and friends. Their clan. But not their society."

**Title:** Lectures on Dostoevsky

**Author:** Joseph Frank

*Joseph Frank was professor emeritus of Slavic and comparative literature at Stanford and Princeton. The five volumes of his Dostoevsky biography won numerous awards.*

Joseph Frank (1918-2013) was perhaps the most important Dostoevsky biographer, scholar, and critic of his time. His never-before-published Stanford lectures on the Russian novelist's major works provide an unparalleled and accessible introduction to some of literature's greatest masterpieces. Presented here for the first time, these illuminating lectures begin with an introduction to Dostoevsky's life and literary influences and go on to explore the breadth of his career—from *Poor Folk*, *The Double*, and *The House of the Dead* to *Notes from Underground*, *Crime and Punishment*, *The Idiot*, and *The Brothers Karamazov*. Written in a conversational style that combines literary analysis and cultural history, *Lectures on Dostoevsky* places the novels and their key characters and scenes in a rich context. Bringing Joseph Frank's unmatched knowledge and understanding of Dostoevsky's life and writings to a new generation of readers, this remarkable book will appeal to anyone seeking to understand Dostoevsky and his times.

### Section III: Oil, Carbon, and the Environment

**Title:** Oil Leaders: An Insider's Account of Four Decades of Saudi Arabia and OPEC's Global Energy Policy

**Author:** Ibrahim Al-Muhanna

*Ibrahim Al-Muhanna was an adviser to the Ministry of Energy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia from 1989 to 2017. He currently works as an energy consultant and serves as vice-chair for the Gulf States/Middle East at the World Energy Council.*

Oil Leaders offers an unprecedented glimpse into the strategic thinking of top figures in the energy world from the 1980s through the recent past. Ibrahim Al-Muhanna—a close adviser to four different Saudi oil ministers during that period—examines the role of individual and collective decision-making in shaping market movements. He analyzes how powerful individuals made critical choices, tracking how they responded to the flow of information on pivotal market and political events and predicted reactions from allies and adversaries. Al-Muhanna highlights how the media has played an increasingly important role as a conduit of information among multiple players in the oil market. Energy leaders have learned to manage the signals they send to the market and other relevant players to avoid sending oil prices into a spiral.

**Title:** Industry, War and Stalin's Battle for Resources: The Arctic and the Environment

**Author:** Lars Rowe

*Lars Rowe is the Director of the Norwegian Resistance Museum, Norway.*

In this book, the territory of Pechenga, located well above the Arctic circle between Russia, Finland, and Norway, holds the key to understanding the geopolitical situation of the Arctic today. With a specific focus on the local nickel industry of the region, Lars Rowe explores the interaction between commercial and state security concerns in the Soviet Union.

**Title:** Pollution and Atmosphere in Post-Soviet Russia: The Arctic and the Environment

**Author:** Lars Rowe

*Lars Rowe is the Director of the Norwegian Resistance Museum, Norway.*

This study addresses the many initiatives to decrease industrial pollution emitting from the Pechenganikel plant in the north-western corner of Russia during the final years of the Soviet Union and examines the wider implications for the state of pollution control in the Arctic today. By examining the efforts of Soviet industry and government agencies, Finnish and Swedish officials, and Norwegian environmental authorities to curb industrial pollution in the region, this book offers an environmental history of the Arctic as well as a transnational, geopolitical history.

## Section IV: New Eurasia Country Books

### ❖ Kazakhstan

**Title:** Financial Inclusion for Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises in Kazakhstan

**Author:** Asian Development Bank

This report looks at financial inclusion in Kazakhstan and considers how microfinance organizations could boost lending to its fast-growing micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs). It analyzes the hurdles that prevent many small enterprises from securing traditional bank loans and recommends ways business-focused lenders can help bridge the financing gap. Recommendations include expanding Kazakhstan's microfinance market and ensuring non-traditional lenders become more tech-savvy to help MSMEs access sufficient credit, create jobs, and drive economic growth.

### ❖ Mongolia

**Title:** The Mongol World

**Editors:** Timothy May, Michael Hope

*Timothy May (Ph.D., University of Wisconsin-Madison) is a Professor of Central Eurasian History at the University of North Georgia and serves as Associate Dean of Arts & Letters.*

*Michael Hope (Ph.D., Australian National University) is an Associate Professor of History at Yonsei University, Korea. He specializes in the political and cultural history of the Mongol Empire with a particular focus on the Ilkhanate.*

Drawing upon research carried out in several different languages and across a variety of disciplines, The Mongol World documents how Mongol rule shaped the trajectory of Eurasian history from Central Europe to the Korean Peninsula, from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth century.

Contributing authors consider how intercontinental environmental, economic, and intellectual trends affected the Empire as a whole and, where appropriate, situate regional political, social, and religious shifts within the context of the broader Mongol Empire. Issues pertaining to the Mongols and their role within the societies that they conquered, therefore, take precedence over the historical narrative of the societies that they conquered. Alongside the formation, conquests, administration, and political structure of the Mongol Empire, the second section examines archaeology and art history, family and royal households, science and exploration, and religion, which provides greater insight into the social history of the Empire -- an aspect often neglected by traditional dynastic and political histories.

❖ **Ukraine**

**Title: Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands (2022)**

**Author: Richard Sakwa**

The unfolding crisis in Ukraine has brought the world to the brink of a new Cold War. As Russia and Ukraine tussle for the eastern regions, relations between Putin and the West have reached an all-time low. How did we get here?

Richard Sakwa unpicks the context of conflicted Ukrainian identity and Russo-Ukrainian relations and traces the path to the recent disturbances through events that have forced Ukraine, a country internally divided between East and West, to choose between a closer union with Europe or its historic ties with Russia. In providing the first full account of the ongoing crisis, Sakwa analyses the origins and significance of the Euromaidan Protests, examines the controversial Russian military intervention and annexation of Crimea, and reveals the extent of the MH17 disaster, and looks at possible ways forward following the October 2014 parliamentary elections. In doing so, he explains the origins, developments, and global significance of the internal and external battle for Ukraine.

**Title: Language of Conflict: Discourses of the Ukrainian Crisis**

**Author: Natalia Knoblock**

*Natalia Knoblock is an Assistant Professor of English at Saginaw Valley State University, USA.*

Exploring how language and conflict are intertwined and interrelated, this volume examines patterns of public discourse in Ukraine and Russia since the beginning of the Ukrainian Crisis in 2014. It investigates the trends in language aggression, evaluation, persuasion, and other elements of conflict communication related to the situation. Through the analysis of the linguistic features of salient discourses and prevalent narratives constructed by different social groups,

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

**Author: Georgiy Kasyanov**

*Georgiy Kasyanov 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. The author 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.

Kasyanov 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.

## Section V: Recommended Reading List - Eurasia

These are books that we recommend to anybody looking to better understand Eurasia and Eurasianism, 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 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.

**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 in geopolitics and conservatism. Specifically, the book examines neo-Eurasianist thought and its implications for the international system

**Author:** Paolo Pizzolo

**Title:** **Sinostan: China's Inadvertent Empire (2022)** .. ... an extensively researched telling of Beijing's rising power in Central Asia, unvarnished by agenda or a desire to construct smooth grand narratives... the book lays out a convincing case for viewing China as a detached regional power. Central Asia may be the belt in the Belt and Road Initiative, but it is a loose fit ...

**Authors:** Raffaello Pantucci, Alexandros Petersen

**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:** **Turkey's Pivot to Eurasia: Geopolitics and Foreign Policy in a Changing World Order (2021)** ... This book discuss 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

**Alternatives**

**Central Asia: Context for Understanding (2022)**, by David Montgomery

**The Eurasian Economic Union and Integration Theory (2021)**, by Mikhail Mukhametdinov

**China's Western Horizon: Beijing and the New Geopolitics of Eurasia (2020)**, by Daniel Markey

**Introduction to the Eurasia Economic Union (2018)**, by Evgeny Vinokurov

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

**The Silk Roads: A New History of the World (2015)** by Peter Frankopan

**The Resurgence of Central Asia (2017)**, by Ahmed Rashid

**Central Asia in the Era of Sovereignty: The Return of Tamerlane? (2018)**, by Daniel Burghart, Theresa Sabonis-Helf, Laura Adams & 15 others

**The Great Game, On Secret Service in High Asia (1990)** by Peter Hopkirk

**The Caucasus, An Introduction (2010)** by Thomas de Waal

## Section VI: Russia Recommended Reading List

These are books that 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 and motivations.

### Vladimir Putin

**Title:** **Putin: The new and definitive biography (2022).** Vladimir Putin has the power to reduce the United States and Europe to ashes in a nuclear firestorm. Despite western sanctions, the majority of Russians have been living better than at any time in the past. Under Putin's leadership, Russia has once again become a force to be reckoned with.

Philip Short's biography demolishes many of our preconceptions about Putin's Russia and explores in unprecedented depth the personality of its enigmatic leader. Since becoming President in 2000, his obsession has been to restore Russia's status as a great power, unbound by western rules. What forces and experiences shaped him? What led him to challenge the American-led world order that has kept the peace since the end of the Cold War?

**Author:** Philip Short

**Title:** **The New Tsar (2015)**

**Author:** Steven Lee Meyers

### Alternatives

**The Red Mirror: Putin's Leadership and Russia's Insecure Identity (2021)** by Gulnaz Sharafutdinova

**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

## Government and Politics

**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:** **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:** **Weak Strongman: The Limits of Power in Putin's Russia (2021)**. 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.

**Author:** Timothy Frye

**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

**Russia after 2020: Looking ahead after Two decades of Putin (2021)** by J.L. Black

**Life and Work in Post-Soviet Russia (2020)** by Chris Cheang

**Authoritarian Russia (2015)**: analyzing post-Soviet regime change; *Vladimir Gel'Man*

**A Russian Diary (2007)** by *Anna Politkovskaya*

## Russia and Geopolitics

**Title:** **Russian Grand Strategy in the Era of Global Power Competition (2022)**, This book offers a detailed examination of two of the most important current debates about contemporary Russia's international activity: is Moscow acting strategically or opportunistically, and should this be understood in regional or global terms? The book addresses core themes of Russian activity – military, energy, and economic - but it offers an unusual multi-disciplinary analysis of these themes. Monaghan incorporates both regional and thematic specialist expertise to give a fresh perspective to each of these core themes.

**Author:** Andrew Monaghan

**Title:** **Understanding Russian Strategic Behavior: Imperial Strategic Culture and Putin's Operational Code (2022)** The book first examines the role of structure and agency in shaping contemporary Russian strategic behavior. It then provides a conceptual understanding of strategic culture and applies this to Tsarist and Soviet historical developments. The book's analysis of the operational code, however, demonstrates that Putinism is more than the sum of the past. In the end, the book assesses Putin's statecraft and stress-tests our assumptions about the exercise of contemporary power in Russia and the structure of Putin's agency.

**Author:** Graeme P. Herd

**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**

**Cooperation and Conflict between Europe and Russia (2021)**, by Magdalena Dembiriska and Frederic Merand

**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

### **Russian 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

### **Alternatives**

**Pharmapolitics in Russia: Making Drugs and rebuilding the Nation (2021)**, by Olga Zvonareva

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

**Putin's Labor Dilemma: Russian Politics between Stability and Stagnation (2021)**, by Stephen Crowley

**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:** **The Vory: Russia's Super Mafia Hardcover (2018)** - The Vory—as the Russian mafia is also known—was born early in the twentieth century, largely in the Gulags and criminal camps, where they developed their unique culture. Identified by their signature tattoos, members abided by the thieves' code, a strict system that forbade all paid employment and cooperation with law enforcement and the state. Based on two decades of on-the-ground research, this book details the Vory's journey to power from their early days to their adaptation to modern-day Russia's free-wheeling oligarchy and global opportunities beyond.

**Author:** Mark Galeotti

**Title:** **All the Kremlin's Men (2016)** Based on an unprecedented series of interviews with Vladimir Putin's inner circle, this book presents a radically different view of power and politics in Russia. The image of Putin as a strongman is dissolved. In its place is a weary figurehead buffeted- if not controlled- by the men who at once advise and deceive him. The regional governors and bureaucratic leaders are immovable objects, far more powerful in their fiefdoms than the president himself. So are the gatekeepers- those officials who guard the pathways to power on whom Putin depends as much as they rely on him. The tenuous edifice is filled with all the intrigue and plotting of a Medici court, as enemies of the state are invented and wars begin to justify personal gains, internal rivalries, or one faction's biased advantage.

**Author:** Mikhail Zygar

### Alternatives

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

**The Oligarchs (2002)** by David Hoffman.

## Russian History

**Title:** **A Short History of Russia: From the Pagans to Putin (2021 – reissued in an updated format in May 2022).** Russia is a country with no natural borders, no single ethos, and no true central identity. At the crossroads of Europe and Asia, it is everyone's 'other'. And yet it is one of the most powerful nations on earth, a master game-player on the global stage with a rich history of war and peace, poets, and revolutionaries.

**Author:** Mark Galeotti

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

**Author:** *Robert Service*

**Title:** **Into Russia's Cauldron: An American Vision, Undone (2021)** In 1916, the National City Bank of New York, the precursor of today's Citibank, sent Leighton Rogers to Petrograd, the capital of the Russian Empire, to join a mission hell-bent on achieving American commercial pre-eminence in Russia - a compelling story of insight, conviction, and hubris which will appeal to Russian history students, business and finance professionals.

**Author:** Steven Fisher

### Alternatives

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

**The Palgrave Handbook of Russian Thought (2021)**, by Marina Bykova, Michael Forster, Lina Steiner

**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

### General Interest

**Title:** **Soviet Samizdat: Imagining a New Society (2022)**, Soviet Samizdat traces the emergence and development of samizdat, one of the most significant and distinctive phenomena of the late Soviet era, as an uncensored system for making and sharing texts. Based on extensive research of the underground journals, bulletins, art folios, and other periodicals produced in the Soviet Union from the mid-1950s to the mid-1980s, Ann Komaromi analyzes the role of samizdat in fostering new forms of imagined community among Soviet citizens.

**Author:** Ann Komaromi

**Title:** **Stalin's Library: A Dictator and his Books (2022)** Stalin, an avid reader from an early age, amassed a surprisingly diverse personal collection of thousands of books, many of which he marked and annotated revealing his intimate thoughts, feelings, and beliefs. Based on his wide-ranging research in Russian archives, Roberts tells the story of the creation, fragmentation, and resurrection of Stalin's personal library. As a true believer in communist ideology, Stalin was a fanatical idealist who hated his enemies—the bourgeoisie, kulaks, capitalists, imperialists, reactionaries, counter-revolutionaries, and traitors—but detested their ideas even more.

**Author:** Geoffrey Roberts

**Title:** **Russian Populism: A History (2022)** Russian populism, the belief that the peasantry embodied authentic Russian identity and once liberated from their poverty would lead the country to a brighter future, has animated Russian thought across the political spectrum and inspired much of Russia world-historical literature, music and art in the 19th century.

**Author:** Christopher Ely

**Title:** **Revealing Schemes: The Politics of Conspiracy in Russia and the Post-Soviet Region (2021)** 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.

**Author:** Scott Rednitz

**Title:** **Someone Is Out to Get Us: A Not So Brief History of Cold War Paranoia and Madness (2019)** ... the “delusions and best-kept secrets of the Cold War, during which the United States fought an enemy of its own making for over forty years-and nearly scared itself to death in the process. The nation chose to fear a chimera, a rotting communist empire that couldn't even feed itself, only for it to be revealed that what lay behind the Iron Curtain was only a sad Potemkin village”

**Author:** Brian T. Brown

### Alternatives

**Hammer & Tickle** (humor in the Soviet Union) (2008), by *Ben Lewis*

## 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:** **Oil in Putin's Russia: The Contests over Rents and Economic Policy (2021)**, by Adnan Vatansecer

**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 and China-Russia Relations

**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, and 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 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:** Gaïdz Minassian

**Title:** Armenians; From Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars (2006)

**Author:** Ramzik Panossian

**Alternative:** The Crossing Point (1993) by Philip Marsden

### **Azerbaijan**

**Title:** Azerbaijan: A Political History 2011)

**Author:** Suha Bolukbasi

**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:** **The Mongol World (2022)**

**Editors:** *Timothy May, Michael Hope*

**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:** **Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands (2022)** The unfolding crisis in Ukraine has brought the world to the brink of a new Cold War. As Russia and Ukraine tussle for the eastern regions, relations between Putin and the West have reached an all-time low. How did we get here? In providing the first full account of the ongoing crisis, Sakwa analyses the origins and significance of the Euromaidan Protests, examines the controversial Russian military intervention and annexation of Crimea

**Author:** Richard Sakwa

**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:** Adeeb 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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