

Eurasia Relevant Books 2023 + Recommended Reading

*"I kept always two books in my pocket,
one to read, one to write in."*

Robert Louis Stevenson

Most useful & interesting books published in 2023. This review lists the most useful books for investors and business managers/planners covering the Eurasia region that have been published in 2023. Most are chosen because they offer useful insight into either local and regional economics and politics or cover topics relevant to investors/businesses working in Eurasia. Similar reports for each of the past five (full) years are available.

Russia-Ukraine conflict. The number of books covering the conflict in Ukraine continues to expand. Many of the more recent books have similar structures and themes so we have focused on only some of these. Nevertheless, we list 19 books in this category during 2023. Highly recommended is Mikhail Zygar's **War and Punishment: Putin, Zelensky, and the Path to Russia's Invasion of Ukraine**. Another, from earlier in the year, is **The Russo-Ukrainian War**, by eminent historian Serhii Plokhly. Two of those published in late 2022 that remain very relevant, and which give a clear understanding of the origins of the conflict, are **Overreach: The Inside Story of Putin and Russia's War Against Ukraine**, by Owen Matthews (December 2022 publication), and **Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands**, by Richard Sakwa.

Greater interest in the Eurasia region. After several very thin years, 2023 saw a plethora of books published covering the Eurasia region and the Eurasianism theme. Some are focused on China's increasing involvement in the region, e.g., the C+5 Summit in Xian in May. Two of the more useful books are **Soft Power in Central Asia: The Politics of Influence and Seduction**, by Kirill Nourzhanov, and **China and Eurasia: Rethinking Cooperation and Contradictions in the Era of Changing World Order**, edited by Mher D Sahakyan and Heinz Gärtner. A very interesting historical book is **From Genghis Khan to Tamerlane: The Reawakening of Mongol Asia** by Peter Jackson.

Caucasus. Undoubtedly there will be several books published in 2024 covering the events of the past few months. Meantime, a good primer is **The Karabakh Conflict Between Armenia and Azerbaijan: Causes & Consequences**, by M. Hakan Yavuz and Michael M. Gunter.

Russia and China's relationship. Two of the most useful books covering this relationship are **Perfect Imbalance: China and Russia**, by Una Alexandra Berzina-Cerenkova, and **China and Russia: Four Centuries of Conflict and Concord**, by Philip Snow.

More Eurasia country-specific books ... There is also an increase in the number of books looking deeper into Eurasian states. Included in the list of those published through the first half of this year are **Belarus in Crisis: From Domestic Unrest to the Russia-Ukraine War**, by Paul Hansbury; **Kazakhstan: Snow Leopard at the Crossroads**, by Christopher Hartwell; **A Revolt in the Steppe: Understanding Kazakhstan's January Events of 2022**, by Jean-François Caron; a **History of Uzbekistan, Primary History: Ethnic Structure, Independence, Economy, Government Culture**, by Brandon Bell.

... especially covering Iran and Afghanistan. There has been almost a surge in books published about Iran, especially on 2H23. We mention 11 new books covering such topics as the country's history, the changes since the 1979 revolution, and the current political tensions in the country. Two of the

most useful books are **The Sacred Republic: Power and Institutions in Iran** and **Righteous Politics: Power and Resilience in Iran**, both by author Mehran Kamrava. For Afghanistan, **Inside Afghanistan: Political Networks, Informal Order, and State Disruption** by Timor Sharan provides a very good analysis of the structures of power and influence inside the country today and how these have emerged.

Russian domestic politics. One of the more interesting books is not exclusively about Russia but the country features prominently. It is **The Oligarchs' Grip: Fusing Wealth and Power** by David Lingelbach and Valentina Rodríguez Guerra. The best of the Russia politics books is the updated edition of Andrew Monaghan's **The New Politics of Russia**. Another to mention is **Memory Makers: The Politics of the Past in Putin's Russia**, by Jade McGlynn.

Geopolitical theme books. The most interesting book in the geopolitics category is by veteran Soviet-Russia analyst Thomas Graham. He published **Getting Russia Right**. Robert H. Donaldson and Vidya Nadkarni published **The Foreign Policy of Russia: Changing Systems, Enduring Interests**. Also worth reading is **How the West Lost the Peace: The Great Transformation Since the Cold War**, by Philipp Ther, and **Russia and the World in the Putin Era: From Theory to Reality in Russian Global Strategy**, edited by Roger E. Kanet and Dina Moulioukova. **Dagestan - History, Culture, Identity** by Robert Chenciner and Magomedkhan Magomedkhanov is a rare overview of one of the most troubled and least understood of Russia's regions.

Russia economics. The timing of Marek Dabrowski's book, **The Contemporary Russian Economy: A Comprehensive Analysis**, is unfortunate given that sanctions and current geopolitical events will substantially alter Russia's economic profile and outlook.

Some interesting historical updates. **Picturing Russian Empire** (Premium Edition), by Valerie Kivelson, Sergei Kozlov, and Joan Neuberger is one such update worth reading. It offers a new approach to viewing Russian history with a visual tour of the lands and peoples that constituted the Russian Empire and those that confronted it, defied it, accommodated it, and shaped it at various times. Also worth reading is an updated edition of Robert Wilton's **Russia's Agony**. First published in 1918, it is a firsthand account of the revolution.

General interest books. The best, or one of the best books of the year, is **The Soul of Russia** by Morris Berman. His central argument is that at the heart of this brilliance lies a particular idiosyncratic theme: the peasant-shamanic-folkloric tradition of the Russian people, which these artists, from Pushkin to Bulgakov to Tarkovsky, drew upon for their inspiration. Also worth reading are Masha Karp's **George Orwell and Russia** and **Spoils of War: A Soldier in a Billionaire's Battles with the Russian Oligarchs Who Placed Vladimir Putin in Power**, by Michael Haywood. Another in the "thriller" genre is the **Siberia Job**, by Josh Haven. A true story focused on the 1990s voucher scheme – those who lived in Moscow in the early-mid 90s will certainly recognize some characters and events.

Energy and Natural Resources. There were no specific energy sector books published in 1H23. But worth reading is **Nature's Evil: A Cultural History of Natural Resources**, by Alexander Etkind. It considers the history of the world and the development of humankind through the prism of natural resources – how we acquire them, use them, value them, trade them, and exploit them.

Recommended reading list. Included in this report is the updated recommended list (Sections VII to XII) covering the Eurasian region, the Eurasianism theme, and Russia, etc. These are books we believe give the best overview for those who wish to understand the fast-developing Eurasia region and states.

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Section I: New Eurasia/Eurasianism Books

Title: Geopolitics, Geoeconomics and Borderlands: A Study of a Changing Eurasia and Its Implications for Europe

Author: Antonia Colibășanu

Antonia Colibasanu is teaching geopolitics and international relations at the National University of Political Studies and Public Administration, Bucharest.

This book discusses the emerging threats to European stability in different borderland regions, from the Greater Middle East to the Eastern Mediterranean, the Balkans, and the Black Sea. It highlights the specific geopolitical risks that could, left unchecked, have global repercussions.

The book shows how recent events have exasperated underlying problems that have been slowly destabilizing each of these regions for years. It also looks at the geopolitical constraints and objectives of the countries within these regions to build a basis for understanding their current and future security challenges. While doing so, the book discusses the European borderlands in a non-traditional way, proposing a specific framework to study them, going beyond historical analysis and employing a heuristic process and in-depth socio-economic analysis to understand regional power relations and trends.

Title: Soft Power in Central Asia: The Politics of Influence and Seduction

Author: Kirill Nourzhanov

Kirill Nourzhanov is a senior lecturer at the Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies at the Australian National University.

Central Asia often evokes images of imperial power rivalry dating back to the 19th century. Yet as the region's international politics becomes more complex in the age of globalization, the need for new ways of looking at its many actors is more pressing than ever. Today even the traditional great powers rely increasingly on subtle forms of influence to augment their military might and economic clout in order to achieve their objectives in Central Asia. Bearing this in mind, *Soft Power in Central Asia* examines the patterns of attraction and persuasion that help shape the political choices of countries in the region. Starting with an investigation of soft power projection by the US, Russia, and China, it sheds light on normative transfer and public diplomacy of the European Union, Turkey, and Israel, and concludes with a discussion of the Central Asian republics' active stance in the competition for the hearts and minds. Containing original chapters contributed by leading experts in the field, the volume will appeal to scholars and professionals with an interest in international relations, political science, and Central Asian studies.

Title: **Regional Leadership in Post-Soviet Eurasia: The Strategies of Russia, China, and the European Union**

Editors: **Irina Busygina, Svetlana Krivokhizh**

Irina Busygina is a Visiting Scholar at the Davis Center at Harvard University. Svetlana Krivokhizh is an Associate Professor at the Department of Asian and African Studies, Higher School of Economics in Saint Petersburg.

Focusing on the major powers and smaller countries of Eurasia, the book argues that power in international relations is different from coercion and is rather a social contract between a leader state and follower states where reciprocity is key and where leadership relationships cannot be adequately explained by focusing solely on the leader. It challenges the perception that genuine regional leadership is quite common, contending instead that it is rare; that much more often major powers make claims for leadership; and that regional leadership does not indicate the status of a particular state, but rather the social role of the leader, which is recognized by its followers, a role which is always relative and based on communication and constant interaction with followers. The book highlights the important role followers play in recognizing regional power, and the importance of a state's regional leadership strategy in creating and holding a valuable position attractive to followers and delivering greater value to followers compared to other potential leaders.

Title: **China and Eurasia: Rethinking Cooperation and Contradictions in the Era of Changing World Order**

Editors: **Mher D Sahakyan, Heinz Gärtner**

Mher D. Sahakyan is the founder and director of the China-Eurasia Council for Political and Strategic Research, Armenia. Heinz Gärtner is a lecturer in the Department of Political Science at the University of Vienna.

Comparing perspectives and methodologies, the book promotes interdisciplinary dialogue on China's pivot towards Eurasia, the Belt and Road initiative, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Beijing's cooperation and arguments with India, the EU, Western Balkans and South Caucasus states, and the Sino-Russian struggle for multipolarity and multilateralism in Eurasia. It also researches digitalization processes in Eurasia, notably, it focuses on China's Silk Road and the Digital Agenda of the Eurasian Economic Union.

Great power competitions will remain. In the Asian regional system, more multilateral cushions have to be developed. Scholars from different nations including China, India, Russia, Austria, Armenia, Georgia, United Arab Emirates, and Montenegro introduce their own, independent research, making recommendations on the developments in China-Eurasia relations, and demonstrating that through joint discussions it is possible to find ways for cooperation and for ensuring peaceful coexistence.

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. His focus is on the intersection of international relations theory, security, and geopolitics.

The author argues that China has emerged as a dominant power in Eurasian affairs that not only exercise significant political and economic power but increasingly, ideational power too.

Title: **New Media and Political Participation in Russia and Kazakhstan: Exploring the Lived Experiences of Young People in Eurasia**

Author: **Yerkebulan Sairambay**

Yerkebulan Sairambay is currently a research fellow and assistant professor at Suleyman Demirel University in Kaskelen, Kazakhstan

Drawing from an extensive database and a cross-national comparative approach, this book examines the ways and reasons why new media promotes political participation among young people in Russia and Kazakhstan. The author develops theoretical models that better explain how new-media use translates into political participation.

Title: **Russia-Eurasia Relations: Actors, Issues and Challenges**

Editor: **Merve Suna Özel Özcan**

Merve Suna Özel Özcan is an Assistant Professor at the Department of International Relations, Kırkkale University, Turkey.

After the Cold War, a new era began in the Eurasian region, with the countries that gained their independence from the USSR acquiring a place in the international system. After 1991, the absence of strong international gravity in Russia increased the positive relations of many countries with the West. Across the world, there are regions caught between identity and power. In this respect, the ideological origin of the Russian Federation's foreign policy goals is connected with its position as a great power. On this note, the book analyses the great powers' challenges in Eurasia within the framework of strategic interests, conflict, and cooperation.

Title: **The Presidentialization of Political Parties in Russia, Kazakhstan, and Belarus**

Editors: **Marina Glaser, Ivan Krivushin, Mara Morini**

Marina Glaser is a Professor of Philosophy, at the Department of International Relations, HSE University, Moscow. Ivan Krivushin is a Professor of Modern History, at the Department of

International Relations, HSE University, Moscow. Mara Morini is an Associate Professor, Ph.D. in Political Science, Department of Political and International Sciences (DISPI), University of Genoa.

The concept of presidentialization of politics means that parties tend to adjust by becoming 'presidentialized' in the sense that parties delegate their leaders-as Presidents to shape both their electoral and governing strategies. The presidentialization of parties refers to institutional resources, constraints, and opportunities. It can be also described as the centralization of leadership and a style of government, overlapping with that of personalization of politics in that it consists of personal characteristics, attitudes, personal capital, and charisma in making politics, instead.

Since their introduction, the concept of presidentialization has been mostly analyzed within Western or other democratic countries. Very little attention, however, has been paid to the phenomenon of presidentialization of political parties in non-democratic countries or countries with a transitional form of government. This volume enhances our theoretical understanding of the political role of the Presidents of Russia, Kazakhstan, and Belarus in controlling the legislative space and elected officials.

Title: From Genghis Khan to Tamerlane: The Reawakening of Mongol Asia

Author: Peter Jackson

Peter Jackson is an emeritus professor of medieval history at Keele University and has written on the Crusades, the eastern Islamic world, and the Mongols.

An epic account of how a new world order under Tamerlane was born out of the decline of the Mongol Empire

By the mid-fourteenth century, the world empire founded by Genghis Khan was in crisis. The Mongol Ilkhanate had ended in Iran and Iraq, China's Mongol rulers were threatened by the native Ming, and the Golden Horde and the Central Asian Mongols were prey to internal discord. Into this void moved the warlord Tamerlane, the last major conqueror to emerge from Inner Asia.

In this account, Peter Jackson traces Tamerlane's rise to power against the backdrop of the decline of Mongol rule. Jackson argues that Tamerlane, a keen exponent of Mongol custom and tradition, operated in Genghis Khan's shadow and took care to draw parallels between himself and his great precursor. But, as a Muslim, Tamerlane drew on Islamic traditions, and his waging of wars in the name of jihad, whether sincere or not, had a more powerful impact than those of any Muslim Mongol ruler before him.

Title: History of the Caucasus: Volume 2: In the Shadow of Great Powers

Author: Christoph Baumer

Christoph Baumer is an explorer and historian of Central Asia, Tibet, and the Caucasus – and has written many well-received books in the fields of history, religion, archaeology, and travel. He is

President of the Society for the Exploration of EurAsia and a Senior Research Fellow at the Kazakhstan Academy of Sciences.

In the Shadow of Great Powers is the second volume of Christoph Baumer's *History of the Caucasus*. It covers the period from the Seljuk domination of the Southern Caucasus around 1050 CE to the present day. After the Kingdom of Georgia's golden age of independent power and cultural blossoming in the 12th and early 13th centuries, the Caucasus was overrun by the Mongols and soon disintegrated into innumerable smaller kingdoms, principalities, and khanates. At the same time, an Armenian kingdom in exile maintained a precarious independence in Cilicia, today's southern Turkey, by applying a three-way diplomatic policy balanced between the Mongol Il-Khanate, the Crusader states, and, to a lesser degree, the Mameluke Empire. Then followed four centuries during which the highly fragmented polities of the North and South Caucasus became political pawns of the regional great powers, above all the Ottomans, Iran, and Russia.

Title: **Securitization and Democracy in Eurasia: Transformation and Development in the OSCE Region**

Editors: **Anja Mihr), Paolo Sorbello, Brigitte Weiffen**

Anja Mihr is a DAAD Associate Professor at the OSCE Academy in Bishkek. She is a professor of Human Rights, Governance, Public Policy, and Transitional Justice. Paolo Sorbello is a researcher on Central Asian matters living in Almaty. Brigitte Weiffen is a political scientist and Senior Lecturer at the Department of Politics and International Studies (POLIS), The Open University, United Kingdom.

Gathering contributions by practitioners and researchers from various disciplines, it presents case studies and highlights recent activities of proactive engagement in democratic institution-building and responding to security threats from the Balkans to Central Asia. The volume is divided into three parts, the first of which focuses on security-related matters, armed conflicts, minorities, and women's safety, as well as the roles that civil society, foreign governments, social media, and external donors play in this area. These contributions illustrate how the OSCE's informal approach to peace, security, and securitization is closely linked to the level of democracy among its member states. The second part presents a special section on the political implications of China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), assessing the impact of this infrastructural program on the levels of democracy and/or autocracy in Eurasia. The third part consists of short chapters outlining future research and debates. The book will appeal to students and scholars of international relations, security studies, and the human rights-politics nexus.

Title: **The Karabakh Conflict Between Armenia and Azerbaijan: Causes & Consequences**

Authors: **M. Hakan Yavuz, Michael M. Gunter**

M. Hakan Yavuz is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Utah. Michael M. Gunter is a Professor of Political Science at Tennessee Technological, University in Cookeville.

This book focuses on post-Soviet ethnic conflicts and Russia's involvement in them. In light of its significant importance for general ethnic conflict, specifically the post-Soviet Caucasus, along with the most recent war fought over the area from September-November 2020, this book appropriately argues that it is time to reconsider Karabakh.

This project deals with the historical, social, and political aspects of the Karabakh issue regarding its origins, development, and the status of the conflict subsequent to the war in the autumn of 2020. Thus, the main themes will stress these points, as well as the importance of the Karabakh issue for the future, by considering its precedents and implications for other secessionist wars. This book also explores how such wars begin and end, the international legal precedents of self-determination versus territorial integrity, its implications for post-Soviet developments and conflicts, and the latest successful weapons developments lessons from the recent war involving drones, among others such as Azerbaijan's rich oil reserves.

Title: Iranian Azerbaijan, the competition field of the great powers

Author: Mohammad Soleimaniamiri

The Iran-Azerbaijan "crisis" is one of the most important events in the contemporary history of Iran and the world. During this crisis, the two superpowers of the East and West advanced to the brink of nuclear war. Moreover, the division of the world into the capitalist and socialist poles (blocs) and the beginning of the Cold War coincided with the outbreak of this crisis. Many historians and theorists consider it far more important than the events in Czechoslovakia and the blockade of Berlin (1948). The role of the local and Iranian actors as well as the political and social classes of Azerbaijan and Kurdistan is very important. Besides, the central government of Iran and the leaders and politicians as well as the king, the court, and the parliament representatives all played a decisive role in this crisis. Their response to these movements and the issue of crisis is very important. In addition, the role of the United Nations and the Security Council is very prominent in solving the crisis of Azerbaijan because during this crisis, Iran complained about the socialist Soviet Union in the Security Council, and this was the first complaint of a government of another one.

Title: Monuments and Identities in the Caucasus: Karabagh, Nakhichevan and Azerbaijan

Contributors: Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev, Haroutioun Khatchadourian

Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev, PhD (2002) and Habilitation (2009) at ÉPHÉ, Sorbonne, is a lecturer in Oriental Languages at Sofia University.

This is described as a multidisciplinary volume whose focus is on the highlands between Armenia and Azerbaijan and their artistic heritage. Numerous ancient and medieval monuments of Artsakh/Karabagh and Nakhichevan find themselves in the crucible of strife involving mutually exclusive national accounts.

This volume contains seventeen contributions by renowned scholars from eight nations, rare photographic documentation, and a detailed inventory of all the monuments discussed. Part 1 explores the historical geography of these lands and their architecture. Part 2 analyses the development of Azerbaijani nationalism against the background of the centuries-long geopolitical contest between Russia and Turkey. Part 3 documents the loss of monuments and examines their destruction in the light of international law governing the protection of cultural heritage.

Title: High Caucasus: A Mountain Quest in Russia's Haunted Hinterland

Author: Tom Parfitt

A memoir of Tom Parfitt's remarkable 1,000-mile walk through Russia's Caucasus region in search of solace and understanding after witnessing the Beslan school siege. Starting his journey in Sochi on the Black Sea and walking the mountain ranges to Derbent, the ancient fortress city on the Caspian, Tom traverses the political, religious, and ethnic fault-lines of seven Russian republics, including Chechnya and Dagestan. Through bear-haunted forests, across high-altitude pastures, and over the shoulders of Elbrus, Europe's highest mountain, he finds companionship and respite in the homes of proud, little-known peoples. Walking exerts a restorative power; it also provides a unique, ground-level view of a troubled yet exquisite corner of the world.

Title: Land, Community, and the State in the Caucasus: Kabardino-Balkaria from Tsarist Conquest to Post-Soviet Politics

Author: Ian Lanzillotti

Ian Lanzillotti is an Assistant Professor of History at Bethany College.

The author traces the history of Kabardino-Balkaria from the extension of Russian rule in the late 18th century to the ethno-nationalist mobilizations of the post-Soviet era. As neighboring communities throughout the Caucasus mountainous region descended into violence amidst the Soviet collapse, Russia's multiethnic Kabardino-Balkar Republic enjoyed intercommunal peace despite tensions over land and identity.

He explores why this region avoided violent ethnicized conflict by examining the historic relationships that developed around land tenure in the Central Caucasus and their enduring legacies. This study demonstrates how Kabardino-Balkaria formed out of the dynamic interactions among the state, the peoples of the region, and the space they inhabited. Deeply researched and elegantly argued, this book deftly balances sources from Russia's central archives with rare and often overlooked archival material from the Caucasus region to provide the first historical examination of Kabardino-Balkaria in the English language. As such, *Land, Community, and the State in the Caucasus* is a key resource for scholars of the Caucasus region, modern Russia, and peace studies.

Title: Eurasian Business and Economics Perspectives: Proceedings of the 39th Eurasia Business and Economics Society Conference

Editors: Ender Demir, Mehmet Hüseyin Bilgin, Hakan Danis, Fabrizio D'Ascenzo

Ender Demir is an Associate Professor of Finance at the Department of Business Administration, School of Social Sciences, Reykjavik University.

Mehmet Hüseyin Bilgin is a Professor at Istanbul Medeniyet University (Turkey). He has also held visiting faculty positions at Indiana University in Indianapolis (USA), Jacksonville University (USA), Zagreb University (Croatia), and Nanyang Technological University (Singapore).

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).

Fabrizio D'Ascenzo is a full professor of Production Management and Business Information Systems in the Faculty of Economics of Sapienza University of Rome, and he is the Dean of the Faculty.

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 26th volume of the Eurasian Studies in Business and Economics (EBES's official proceeding series), which includes selected papers from the 39th EBES Conference which took place in 2022 in Rome. The conference was organized with the support of the Istanbul Economic Research Association in hybrid mode with both online and in-person presentations at the Faculty of Economics, Sapienza University of Rome in Rome, Italy. At the conference, 205 papers by 436 colleagues from 49 countries were presented. Both theoretical and empirical papers in this volume cover diverse areas of business, economics, and finance from many different regions.

Title: Post-Imperial Possibilities: Eurasia, Eurafica, Afroasia

Authors: Jane Burbank, Frederick Cooper

Jane Burbank is professor emerita of history and Russian and Slavic studies at New York University.

A history of three transnational political projects designed to overcome the inequities of imperialism. After the dissolution of empires, was the nation-state the only way to unite people politically, culturally, and economically? In *Post-Imperial Possibilities*, historians Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper examine three large-scale, transcontinental projects aimed at bringing together peoples of different regions to mitigate imperial legacies of inequality. Eurasia, Eurafica, and Africa—in theory if not in practice—offered alternative routes out of empire.

The theory of Eurasianism was developed after the collapse of imperial Russia by exiled intellectuals alienated by both Western imperialism and communism. Eurafica began as a design for collaborative European exploitation of Africa but was transformed in the 1940s and 1950s into a project to include France's African territories in plans for European integration. The Afro-Asian movement wanted to replace the vertical relationship between colonizer and colonized with a

horizontal relationship among former colonial territories that could challenge both the communist and capitalist worlds.

Both Eurafica and Afroasia floundered victims of old and new vested interests. But Eurasia revived in the 1990s when Russian intellectuals turned the theory's attack on Western hegemony into a recipe for the restoration of Russian imperial power. While both the system of purportedly sovereign states and the concentrated might of large economic and political institutions continue to frustrate projects to overcome inequities in welfare and power, Burbank and Cooper's study of political imagination explores wide-ranging concepts of social affiliation and obligation that emerged after empire and the reasons for their unlike destinies.

Title: An Afterlife for the Khan: Muslims, Buddhists, and Sacred Kingship in Mongol Iran and Eurasia

Author: Dr. Jonathan Z. Brack

Jonathan Z. Brack is a Lecturer in the Department of Middle East Studies at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

In the Mongol Empire, the interfaith court provided a contested arena for a performance of the Mongol ruler's sacred kingship, and the debate was fiercely ideological and religious. At the court of the newly established Ilkhanate, Muslim administrators, Buddhist monks, and Christian clergy all attempted to sway their imperial overlords, arguing fiercely over the proper role of the king and his government, with momentous and far-reaching consequences.

Focusing on the famous but understudied figure of the grand vizier Rashid al-Din, a Persian Jew who converted to Islam, Jonathan Z. Brack explores the myriad ways Rashid al-Din and his fellow courtiers investigated, reformulated, and transformed long-standing ideas of authority and power. Out of this intellectual ferment of accommodation, resistance, and experimentation, they developed a completely new understanding of sacred kingship. This new ideal, and the political theology it subtends, would go on to become a central justification in imperial projects across Eurasia in the centuries that followed. *An Afterlife for the Khan* offers a powerful cultural and intellectual history of this pivotal moment for Islam and empire in the Middle East and Asia.

Section II: New Eurasia Country Books

❖ Afghanistan

Title: **Inside Afghanistan: Political Networks, Informal Order, and State Disruption**

Author: **Timor Sharan**

Timor Sharan is an Associate Fellow at IDEAS, London School of Economics and Political Science's foreign policy think tank, London.

This book maps out how political networks and centers of power, engaged in patronage, corruption, and illegality, effectively constituted the Afghan state, often with the complicity of the internationally directed state-building project. It argues that politics and statehood in Afghanistan, in the last two decades, including the ultimate collapse of the government in August 2021, are best understood in terms of the dynamics of internal political networks, through which warlords and patronage networks came to capture and control key sectors within the state and economy, including mining, banking, and illicit drugs as well as elections and political processes.

Networked politics emerged as the dominant mode of governance that further transformed and consolidated Afghanistan into a networked state, with the state institutions and structures functioning as the principal “marketplace” for political networks’ bargains and rent-seeking. The façade of state survival and fragmented political order was a performative act, and the book contends, sustained through massive international military spending and development aid, obscuring the reality of resource redistribution among key networked elites and their supporters. Overall, the book offers a way to explain what it was that the international community and the Afghan elites in power got so wrong that brought Afghanistan full circle and the Taliban back to power.

Title: **Revolutionary Afghanistan: A Reappraisal**

Author: **Beverley Male**

This book, first published in 1982, examines the reality of the so-called revolution in Afghanistan. It focuses on the career of Hafizullah Amin, considered in the West as a near-genocidal mass murderer, intent on establishing a personal fiefdom in Afghanistan. However, this book argues that he was a man struggling against impossible odds to preserve his country’s independence and at the same time drag it into the twentieth century. He commanded such loyalty and support within the Afghanistan Communist Party and the armed forces that the Russians had to invade to get rid of him.

Title: Afghanistan

Author: Michael Kerrigan

Michael Kerrigan is the author of The History of Death, A Dark History: The Roman Emperors, Ancients in Their Own Words, World War II Plans That Never Happened, and American Presidents: A Dark History.

By June 2002 the Taliban had been ousted and a US-friendly government was established in the capital, Kabul. But the campaign didn't end there, as American and allied NATO forces became bogged down for the next two decades. Afghanistan provides a photographic exploration of the 20-year war in Afghanistan, from the first deployment of US special forces in October 2001 to the final withdrawal of US forces in August 2021. In between, the book offers a compact overview of the operations fought by the US and NATO forces against the Taliban/al-Qaeda insurgency, including the bombing of the Tora Bora cave complex, Operation Anaconda, President Obama's deployment surge, the Navy SEAL's assassination of Osama bin Laden in neighboring Pakistan, the development of a local Afghan army, police force and government, the eventual withdrawal of US forces and the collapse of the Afghan administration amidst renewed Taliban pressure. Afghanistan offers a pictorial history of the war that came to define US policy in Central Asia and the Middle East in the 21st century.

❖ Armenia

Title: The Armenians: A People in Exile

Author: David Marshall Lang

David Marshall Lang was appointed Acting British Vice-Consul in Tabriz in 1945. In 1946 he became a fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, and lectured in Georgian at SOAS London from 1949-52. In 1965 he became Professor of Caucasian Studies at London University.

Originally published in 1981, this book tells the story of the Armenian dispersion and gives a graphic account of the persecution of the Armenians by the Turks from 1895 to 1922 which foreshadowed the Jewish holocaust at the hands of Hitler. This book follows the trail of the Armenians from their native lands around Mount Ararat to such far-flung spots as Lhasa, Harbin, and Buenos Aires - an account of a people who have been partly in exile for some 2,000 years.

❖ Belarus

Title: Belarus in Crisis: From Domestic Unrest to the Russia–Ukraine War

Author: Paul Hansbury

Paul Hansbury works with several Belarusian organizations, including Sense Analytics, a political consultancy, and the Minsk Dialogue Council on International Relations, a think tank. He also teaches International Relations.

In 2020, mass anti-government protests erupted across Belarus. The brutal crackdown that followed shocked the international community: the authorities arrested tens of thousands of citizens, shut down independent media and NGOs, and fomented a migrant crisis on the European Union's border. But where many thought Alyaksandr Lukashenka, would fall, he instead turned to Moscow for support. Many of his opponents fled the country. Then, in February 2022, Belarus provided a staging area for Russia's invasion of Ukraine, allowing troops and missile systems to be based on its territory as large-scale war returned to Eastern Europe once again. Many outsiders now view Belarus as little more than a Russian military district, rather than a sovereign country.

Paul Hansbury offers a wide-ranging account of these two related crises. Exploring the domestic origins of Belarus's political chaos and its international ramifications, he also assesses the effectiveness of western sanctions policy, as well as considering the history and prospects of Belarusian statehood. Does Belarus have a future as an independent polity? How has Russia's war with Ukraine affected Belarusians' views of their dictatorship and the cause of democracy in their country?

Title: Living the High Life in Minsk: Russian Energy Rents, Domestic Populism and Belarus' Impending Crisis

Author: Margarita M Balmaceda

Margarita M. Balmaceda is a Professor of Diplomacy and International Relations at Seton Hall University, USA, and a former Marie Curie Fellow at the Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki.

The book looks at the sources of stability and instability in post-Soviet states through the case study of President Lukashenka's firm hold on power in Belarus. It seeks to understand the role of energy relations, policies, and discourses in the maintenance of this power. The central empirical question Balmaceda seeks to answer is what has been the role of energy policies in the maintenance of Lukashenka's power in Belarus? It analyses the role of energy policies in the management of Lukashenka's relationship with three constituencies crucial to his hold on power: Russian actors, the Belarusian nomenklatura, and the Belarusian electorate.

In terms of foreign relations, the book focuses on the factors explaining Lukashenka's ability to project Belarus' power in its relationship with Russia in such a way as to compensate for its objective high level of dependency, assuring high levels of energy subsidies and rents continuing well beyond

the initial worsening of the relationship in c. 2004. In terms of domestic relations, Balmaceda examines Lukashenka's specific use of those energy rents in such a way as to assure the continuing support of both the Belarusian nomenklatura and the Belarusian electorate.

Title: State Capitalism Reforms and the Path for Belarus: Financial Diet

Author: Kiryl Rudy

Dr Kiryl Rudy served as Economic Advisor to the President of the Republic of Belarus and Chief of the Economic Department at the President's Office (from 2013 to 2016). From 2016-2020, Dr Rudy served as the Ambassador of Belarus in China. He is currently a member of the supervisory board of the Belarus Development Bank.

This book is a study of the transition economy, using the little-known case of Belarus, a country "trapped in transition" for almost three decades. The model of state capitalism, so widely internationally known, has different specific roots, metrics, and instruments in Belarus. The book outlines several pitfalls faced by the Belarusian economy, all of which lead to long-term economic recession in Belarus.

Title: Russian Policy toward Belarus after 2020: At a Turning Point?

Authors: Arkady Moshes, Ryhor Nizhnikau

Arkady Moshes is the Program Director of EU's Eastern Neighborhood at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs.

Ryhor Nizhnikau is a Senior Research Fellow at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs.

Traditionally Belarus has always had a special status in Russia's foreign policy. Russia's approach towards a key political and military ally and a "Slavic brother" was always an indicator of how Russia would see the optimal relationships with other countries of the post-Soviet space. At this moment Belarus-Russia relations are evolving in unexpected ways. The two interconnected crises - the Belarusian mass protests of 2020 and Russia's invasion of Ukraine - have had a profound impact on the Belarusian regime and society, regional security, and Russian policy towards Belarus. This book explores the ongoing development of Belarus-Russia relations and discusses the future of the relationship.

This edited volume reviews the state of the relationship and underlines key emergent trends of Belarus's and Russia's policies towards each other to identify new mechanisms and practices as they shape into a new model. The book is comprised of in-depth empirical contributions in a range of interdisciplinary perspectives on cooperation in political, economic, security, media, and societal domains within a broader regional context.

❖ Iran

Title: **The Regent of Allah: Ali Khamenei's Political Evolution in Iran**

Author: **Mehdi Khalaji**

Mehdi Khalaji is the Libitzky Family Fellow at The Washington Institute, focusing on the politics of Iran and Shia groups in the Middle East.

This book is a portrait of the current Supreme Leader and the cultural and intellectual milieu in which he came to power. It offers details about his character, including his interest in literature, and demonstrates how he became a master of consolidating power and adopted an aggressive regional posture and strategic hedging on the nuclear issue.

Title: **Reading Revolutionary Iran: The Worldview of the Islamic Republic's Religio-Political Elite**

Author: **Ze'ev Maghen**

Ze'ev Maghen is a professor of Arabic Literature and Islamic History and Chairman of the Department of Middle East Studies at Bar-Ilan University.

The burden of this book is twofold. The first half is charged with identifying and critiquing the many prejudices and misconceptions that inform popular - and even scholarly - perceptions of Islam and Iran, those rooted in neo-conservative hostility no less than those arising out of pro-regime apologetics or misleading "post-modern" methodologies.

The second half of the book deploys a large number of primary sources, both ancient and contemporary, to tease out the attitudes of the class of Muslim scholars recently and currently at the helm of the Iranian state in a variety of significant fields, including the role of religion in society, the relationship between democracy and theocracy, the modern Western Weltanschauung, the Sunni-Shi'i schism, and much more. Though the author parses and provides background and context for, the myriad citations from these influential Muslim thinkers, the ultimate objective is to allow them to speak for themselves.

Title: **The Sacred Republic: Power and Institutions in Iran**

Editor: **Mehran Kamrava**

Mehran Kamrava is a Professor of Government at Georgetown University in Qatar and Director of the Iranian Studies Unit at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies.

This book presents a detailed analysis of the establishment, evolution, and current significance of different institutions in today's Islamic Republic of Iran. The volume draws on the insights of several Iranian experts to examine their establishment, functions, and evolution, as a means of understanding Iranian politics and society. 'The Sacred Republic's' specific focus is on the key formal

institutions of the state through which the Islamic Republic exercises power, namely the 'velayat-e faqih': the judiciary, the presidency, the parliament, elections, the Revolutionary Guards, and the foreign policy establishment. Despite significant work on Iranian politics in recent decades, few studies have focused on state institutions, their resilience, or the reasons for and manner of institutional change. Through historical institutionalism and comparative historical analysis, the contributors to this book together fill a glaring gap in the study of Iran's political institutions, offering significant insights into the theoretical literature on comparative politics, Middle Eastern politics, and Iranian Studies.

Title: **A Brief History of Iran**

Author: **Kamrouz Pirouz (Armita Tehrani - Editor)**

This book is a short and brief history of Persia, written specifically for second-generation Iranians, who have been born in a foreign country. This is a generation that many of them do not speak their native language, and the majority of them are oblivious to the history of their ancestor's land. The hope is to make them aware and knowledgeable about the tumultuous and glorious history of their native land, Iran.

Title: **Iran's Soft Power in Afghanistan and Pakistan**

Authors: **Zahid Ahmed, Ali Akbar**

Dr Zahid Shahab Ahmed is a Research Fellow at Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University, Australia. He is also a Non-Resident Research Fellow at the Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore.

Studies Iran's soft power in Afghanistan and Pakistan in cultural, religious, social, ideological, and educational spheres Based on primary sources including Persian sources and materials collected through semi-structured interviews with research participants Discusses case studies about Iran's historical resources and instruments which it uses to increase its soft power reach, the reasons why Iran seeks to exercise soft power in both countries and the outcomes Iran has been able to achieve through its soft power From a theoretical perspective, it engages with Iran's soft power in light of the political theories of soft power Brings together materials from a range of disciplinary areas - history, politics, Islamic studies

This book explores Iran's soft power in two of its eastern neighbors - namely Afghanistan and Pakistan - in key areas including the cultural, religious, social, media, ideological, and educational spheres. It explains what resources and instruments Iran has used to project its soft power in the two selected countries since the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979, and how Iran's attempt to increase its reach has been perceived by elites and opinion makers in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It therefore offers an examination of Iranian soft power tools and strategies and how they are received in both countries - topics which have not hitherto been fully explored.

Title: Righteous Politics: Power and Resilience in Iran

Author: Mehran Kamrava

Mehran Kamrava is a Professor of Government at Georgetown University Qatar. He also directs the Iranian Studies Unit at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies.

Since the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979, the Iranian political system has been subject to diminishing legitimacy. In recent years, various waves of protest have spread across the country and the question of the resilience of the revolutionary state becomes more pressing by the day. Drawing from extensive fieldwork and primary sources, Mehran Kamrava provides here a comprehensive and accessible analysis of the Iranian state and the various formal and informal institutions through which it operates.

The book offers an in-depth analysis of the Iranian state, from the Constitution to the powers and offices of the Supreme Leader, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps the several intelligence agencies. Paying careful attention to the nuances of Iranian politics, Kamrava also highlights how factional politics and rentierism have served to enhance state resilience.

Title: Mass Protests in Iran: From Resistance to Overthrow

Author: Masoud Kazemzadeh

Masoud Kazemzadeh is based at the Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, Texas.

Mass Protests in Iran: From Resistance to Overthrow explores the various waves of protests in Iran over the past 44 years, surveying their causes, consequences, and outcomes. The author argues that the regime and its support base of fundamentalist groups constitute a minority in Iran and lack legitimacy, and thus the regime uses repression and violence to secure its rule. The result is a pre-revolutionary situation and a shifting political landscape of overthrows, constant mass protests, and mass repression.

Title: The Political History of Modern Iran: Revolution, Reaction and Transformation, 1905 to the Present

Author: Ali Rahnema

Ali Rahnema is an Emeritus Professor at the American University of Paris, France.

From the rise of constitutionalism during the rule of despotic Qajars, foreign invasions, the Pahlavi regimes' destructive politics, economic, cultural, and social modernization efforts, and the oil nationalization movement, to the Iranian Revolution, its high hopes, broken promises, repression and intolerance causing national discontent and another socio-political upheaval today, the history of modern Iran has been eventful, unstable and turbulent.

In this textbook, Ali Rahnema draws on his experience teaching and researching modern Iran to render one hundred years of modern Iranian politics and history into easy-to-follow episodic chapters. Step by step, and taking a chronological approach, students are given the core information, analysis, and critical assessment to understand the flow of contemporary Iranian history.

Title: Religion, Orientalism and Modernity: Mahdi Movements of Iran and South Asia

Author: Geoffrey Nash

Geoffrey Nash, a former Associate Professor at the University of Qatar.

An analysis of modernity and Orientalist discourses in Iranian millenarian movements, Religion, Orientalism, and Modernity explores the emergence in Iran of the revolutionary Babis and reformist Baha'is and their conflict with mainstream Shi'a Muslims and the parallel Ahmadi movement in North India. It gives fresh insights into the writings that defined these innovatory movements, penned on the one hand by their proponents, and on the other by western interpreters. A comparison of these movements shows that, together, they define important aspects of Islamic modernity. A focus on two case studies (Babis and Baha'is in Iran, and Ahmadis in India) reveals similarities and differences in their responses to a perceived need for change and renewal of religious authority.

Title: History of Iran: An Enthralling Overview of Iranian History, Starting from the Ancient Persians through the Persian Empire to Modern Iran

Author: Billy Wellman

Billy Wellman is known for his enthralling guides on various historical topics.

From the prehistoric ages to the modern Islamic Republic, Iran has always maintained its prevalent position in history as one of the most vibrant, distinct, and diverse countries in the world. This book seeks to explore the rich history of Iran, all the way from the first Iranian people to the creation of the modern nation-state we know today. It analyzes the transformation of the region's inhabitants from a primitive society to a world superpower to a country centered around strong religious principles and beliefs.

Title: Iran at War: Interactions with the Modern World and the Struggle with Imperial Russia

Author: Maziar Behrooz

Maziar Behrooz is an Associate Professor of History at San Francisco State University, the U.S.

After the destructive decades following the fall of the Safavid Empire, the Qajar dynasty inherited a weakened state and the growing threat of European imperial powers, culminating in two wars with Russia. In this book, Maziar Behrooz provides a history of the Qajar dynasty's navigation of this difficult period, beginning with the reign of Aqa Muhammad Shah and ending with that of Fath Ali Shah. Examining the key decisions taken by Qajar, Russian, British, and other actors, the book argues that a reevaluation of the early-Qajar period is required, one which acknowledges the failures of its rulers, while recognizing the external constraints they were under, and their successes in reuniting a formerly fragmented state in the face of overwhelming technological, economic and military firepower.

❖ **Kazakhstan**

Title: **Kazakhstan: Snow Leopard at the Crossroads**

Author: **Christopher Hartwell**

Christopher A. Hartwell is a Professor of International Business Policy, at ZHAW School of Management and Law, and a Professor of International Management, at Kozminski University in Warsaw

This volume examines the experience of Kazakhstan's transition over the past 30 years, explaining the political and economic performance of the country since the collapse of the USSR, through the country's institutions, policy choices, and external environment.

In an exploration of more than 1,000 years of institutional development, the chapters analyze and assess the development of political arrangements governance, and economic institutions, from pre-Russian colonization through to the Soviet experiment, and then take a magnifying glass to developments in a post-Soviet, independent Kazakhstan. Using a broad range of sources and data across disciplines, this book is the first to explicitly survey Kazakhstan's transition as a function of its history, its people, and its institutions.

Title: **A Revolt in the Steppe: Understanding Kazakhstan's January Events of 2022**

Editor: **Jean-François Caron**

Jean-François Caron is an Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Nazarbayev University.

This book explores the various ramifications and consequences of the violent civil protests that affected Kazakhstan in January 2022. In this study, the authors examine the underlying social and political tensions that have affected the country, especially since its political transition of 2019, and how the state has managed to justify its actions that led to a return to peace. It also puts in perspective this event in the wider transition affecting Eurasia with the war in Ukraine and how this shift of world politics may impact Kazakhstan which required the support of Russia and the other members of the Collective Security Treaty Organization during these protests.

Title: **The Creation of Kazakh National Identity: The Relationship with Russia, 1900-2015**

Author: **Dmitry V. Shlapentokh**

Dmitry V. Shlapentokh is currently an associate professor of Russian and World History at Indiana University South Bend.

This monograph utilizes three theoretical models to explain Kazakhstan's emergence as an independent state and its changing relationships with the broader world, particularly Russia, since the beginning of the twentieth century.

The book first explores the construction of Kazakh national identity and how intellectuals appealed to history to substantiate their claims about Kazakhstan's future. Secondly, the narrative demonstrates that not all segments of totalitarian machinery work in unison. While terror reached its peak in the 1930s, cultural and ideological control was not as rigid as it would become in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

The book introduces the notion of "cosmos," the peculiar connections between social, economic, and political forces. While not necessarily directly dependent on each other, they nevertheless created a unique interplay among the segments of societal structures and the state's relationship with the wider universe. Taking this framework as the point of departure, this research analyzes Kazakhstan's "multi-vectorism" as uniquely fit to contemporary global arrangements, when no global power dominates, and the lines between friend and foe are blurred.

❖ Kyrgyz Republic

Title: **The History of Kyrgyzstan: From Yurts to Peaks**

Authors: **Dilshan Jensen, Einar Felix Hansen**

"The History of Kyrgyzstan" is an immersive journey through the heart of Central Asia, offering readers an exploration of a land where history, culture, and nature converge in a mesmerizing tapestry. You'll delve deep into the annals of Kyrgyzstan's past, tracing the footsteps of Scythian and Saka tribes, exploring the crossroads of the Silk Road, and witnessing the rise of the Kyrgyz Khanate. The pages come alive with tales of Marco Polo's travels, the Mongol conquests, and Timur's enduring legacy in the region.

But Kyrgyzstan is not just a place of historical significance; it's a land of breathtaking natural beauty. From the shores of Issyk-Kul, the "Jewel of Kyrgyzstan," to the serene waters of Lake Song-Kul, you'll be transported to landscapes that seem straight out of a dream. The Celestial Mountains of Tian Shan reach for the heavens, offering thrilling adventures for outdoor enthusiasts.

Title: **Nomadity of Being in Central Asia: Narratives of Kyrgyzstani Women's Rights Activists**

Author: **Syinat Sultanalieva**

Syinat Sultanalieva is a Ph.D. researcher at the University of Tsukuba, Japan. In her academic research, she focuses on studying feminist narratives and activism from a decolonial point of view.

This book offers a new framework for understanding feminism and political activism in Kyrgyzstan. Here, foreign information and requirements, even forced ones, are transformed into an

amalgamation of the new and the old, alien and native-like kurak, a quilted patchwork blanket, made from scraps. Conceptualizing feminist narratives in Kyrgyzstan, while keeping in mind, the complex relationship between ideological borrowing, actualization, appropriation, or self-colonization of “feminist” concepts can expand both scholarly and activist understanding of specificities of post-Soviet feminisms from a historiographic point of view.

Kurak-feminism is feminism that is half-donor-commissioned, half-learned through interactions (personal, media, academic, professional), unashamed of its borrowed nature, and working toward its purpose that is being developed as the blanket is being quilted. Weaving in elements from completely different and, to a Western eye, incompatible approaches to nomadity of being might pave the way toward a Central Asian reframing of non-Western feminisms.

❖ Mongolia

Title: **The Legendary Mongol Khans: The Lives and Legacies of Genghis Khan, Kublai Khan, and Tamerlane**

Author: **Charles River**

Genghis Khan is one of history’s greatest and most famous conquerors. No man, before or since, has ever started with so little and gone on to achieve so much. From a noble family but raised in poverty that drove him to the brink of starvation, Genghis Khan rose to control the second-largest empire the world has ever known and easily the largest empire conquered by a single man.

Kublai was an influential ruler, but what helped his legacy endure was that he hosted Marco Polo, who stayed in China for years and described what he saw in detail. When Marco Polo’s travelogue was published back in Europe, it immediately became one of the most famous works on the continent, and while modern historians still debate which parts were factual and fictional, there can be no question that Kublai Khan was a monumental leader in Asia.

Tamerlane came from a Turkicized Mongol tribe, the Barlas, which had several constituent sub-clans. A number of original Mongol tribes had migrated west, where the majority of the population was Turkish. Over time, the Mongols blended with the Turks. However, due to his many conquests and his expansive empire, Tamerlane is closely associated with the Mongols today, and while he styled himself a pious leader, his main aim was to re-establish Genghis Khan’s vast Mongol Empire.

Title: **The Rich Culture and History of Mongolia**

Author: **Dr. Gaurav Gupta**

Mongolian culture is deeply rooted in its pastoral and nomadic heritage. Traditional life revolves around herding livestock, particularly horses, sheep, and camels. Nomadic families live in portable dwellings called yurts, which are easily dismantled and moved as the families follow their grazing animals across the vast Mongolian steppes. The nomadic lifestyle heavily influenced Mongolian arts

and customs. Mongolian music is characterized by throat singing (Khoomei), a unique vocal technique where singers produce multiple pitches simultaneously. Traditional instruments such as the horsehead fiddle (morin khuur) and the dulcimer-like instrument (yochin) are commonly used.

Title: **The History of Mongolia: From Genghis Khan to Modern Marvels**

Authors: **Dilshan Jensen, Einar Felix Hansen**

This text-only book takes you on a journey through time, exploring the ancient tribes and clans, the conquests of Genghis Khan, the cultural and scientific achievements of the Mongol Empire, and the subsequent periods of dynastic rule and modernization.

Title: **The Secret History of the Mongols**

Translator: **Christopher P. Atwood**

Christopher P. Atwood teaches Mongolian history and civilization at the University of Pennsylvania.

A new translation of a great historical epic, recounting the turbulent life and times of Chinggis Khan. Born poor into a world of dangers and hardships, Chinggis (or Genghis) Khan would grow up to unify Mongolia and conquer a vast empire stretching from modern-day Beijing to Baghdad. The Secret History of the Mongols, written after Chinggis's death in the thirteenth century, is a great historical saga recounting not only his turbulent life and times, but that of his loved ones, ancestors, and heirs. This remarkable new translation of the earliest surviving work written in Mongolian gives insight into a world of warlords, kinship, horses, yurts, shamans, and vast landscapes, where bloody battles and violent family conflicts are impelled by Heaven's destiny.

Title: **Edge of Blue Heaven: A Journey Through Mongolia**

Author: **Benedict Allen**

Mongolia has changed remarkably little since the days of its medieval hero, the warlord Genghis Khan. Famed for its cloudless blue skies, it is a country of varied terrain: icy mountains and lakes, wind-blown steppe, wolf and bear forests, and vast desert. This beautiful, in parts almost uninhabitable, landscape becomes home to Benedict Allen as he travels by horse and camel from the forests of Siberia, across the Mongolian steppe, and on alone through the Gobi Desert.

To prepare for the harsh conditions ahead, Benedict first makes contact with the Tsaatan or 'reindeer herders' who have lived in the Siberian icelands of the north for centuries. Armed with skills gleaned from these hardy people, a varied group of Mongol camels and horses, and a skilled horseman, he launches out on his five-month trek. But it is not long before the journey begins to take its toll. On reaching Kazakh country, Benedict's trusted animals are fatally attacked by biting flies. Forced to assemble a fresh team, and with no time to train or test it, he presses on to the final and most arduous leg of his journey, a 1,000-mile solo crossing of the Gobi Desert. Battling time, sub-zero temperatures, uncertain water supplies, and his mutinous camels, Benedict is tested to the limit as he struggles at 30 miles daily, to avoid the imminent and notorious Mongolian winter.

Edge of Blue Heaven presents a vivid picture of this fascinating country. It is an ideal choice for those who enjoy travel writing and for readers fascinated by diverse places and people.

❖ **Tajikistan**

Title: **Political Islam and Democracy in Central Asia: The Islamic Revival Party of Tajikistan**

Author: **Ajam Kalonov**

Ajam Kalonov received his Ph.D. from the Otto von Guericke University Magdeburg, Germany.

Political Islam and Democracy in Central Asia is a study of the moderation of political Islam in Central Asia. It analyses the only Islamic political party that was ever allowed to participate in elections in Central Asia and contributes to the debate on the radicalization or moderation of Islamic political parties.

The book examines the Islamic Revival Party of Tajikistan (IRPT), which has been the only legal Islamic party in post-Soviet Central Asia until 2015 and has been recognized by many observers as moderate. Studying the ideological change of the party, which happened after its inclusion into the political process, the book identifies their moderation as either tactical or ideological. The author examines and describes the main factors that led the IRPT toward moderation, with a focus on the inclusion-moderation hypothesis, which concludes that inclusion can lead to moderation. Based on extensive analytical data, the author provides reasons for the moderation of the Tajik Islamists. It also challenges the ideological moderation of the Tajik Islamists by examining their attitudes toward the conventions of the modern democratic political system.

Title: **History of the Tajiks: Iranians of the East**

Author: **Richard Foltz**

Richard Foltz is a Professor of Religions and Cultures at Concordia University, Canada.

In this comprehensive and up-to-date history, from prehistoric proto-Indo-Iranian times to the post-Soviet period, Richard Foltz traces the complex linguistic, cultural, and political history of the Tajiks, a Persian-speaking Iranian ethnic group from the modern-day Central Asian states of Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and Uzbekistan. In eight chapters, the author explores the revitalization of Persian culture under the Samanid Empire in the Tajik heartlands of historical Khorasan and Transoxiana; analyses the evolution of the politics of Tajik identity; and traces the history of the ethnic Tajik diaspora today. This revised edition includes a new chapter on the Tajiks' situation in Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and Uzbekistan since 2018, covering notably the effects of the Taliban's return to power in August 2021 and the COVID pandemic in all three countries, as well as border clashes with Kyrgyzstan.

Title: Tajikistan's National Epics: Muqanna's Rebellion and The Tajik People's Hero Temur Malik

Author: Sadriddin Ayni (*Abdusalom Mamadnazarov – Translation, Jonathan Zartman – Editor*)

Sadriddin Ayni (1878–1954) was a Tajik intellectual and writer.

Sadriddin Ayni (1878–1954) was a Tajik intellectual, regarded by many as one of the most important writers in the country's history. This book provides a translation of two historical monographs by Ayni: Is'yonu Muqanna (Muqanna's Rebellion) and Qahramoni Khalqi Tojik Temurmalik (The Tajik People's Hero Temur Malik). These works tell the story of two great Tajik heroes who fought against the Arabs and the Mongols. Besides the translations, the book discusses Ayni's life and work, highlighting his role, especially through these two monographs, in awakening and strengthening Tajik national consciousness. In addition, the book provides detailed background information on the historical events portrayed in the epics.

❖ Turkmenistan

Title: Discovering Turkmenistan: A Traveler's Guide

Author: Vikash Dabriwal

"Discovering Turkmenistan: A Traveler's Guide" is a comprehensive travel guidebook designed to help travelers explore the unique and intriguing country of Turkmenistan. The guide provides in-depth information about Turkmenistan's geography, history, culture, and attractions, making it an invaluable resource for those planning a journey to this lesser-known destination.

The guide takes readers on a virtual tour of Turkmenistan, highlighting its stunning landscapes, including the Karakum Desert, the Caspian Sea coast, and the spectacular Darvaza Gas Crater, often referred to as the "Door to Hell." It delves into the country's history, covering the ancient city of Merv, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, and the modern architectural marvels of Ashgabat, the capital known for its white marble buildings.

❖ **Uzbekistan**

Title: **History of Uzbekistan, Primary History: Ethnic Structure, Independence, Economy, Government. Culture.**

Author: **Brandon Bell**

Brandon Bell is a financial coach and travel writer.

The first people known to have occupied Central Asia were Iranian nomads who arrived from the northern grasslands of what is now Uzbekistan sometime in the first millennium. These nomads, who spoke Iranian dialects, settled in Central Asia and began to build an extensive irrigation system along the rivers of the region. At this time, cities such as Bukhoro (Bukhara) and Samarqand (Samarkand) began to appear as centers of government and culture. By the fifth century., the Bactrian, Soghdian, and Tokharian states dominated the region. As China began to develop its silk trade with the West, Iranian cities took advantage of this commerce by becoming centers of trade.

Using an extensive network of cities and settlements in the province of Mawarannahr (a name given to the region after the Arab conquest) in Uzbekistan and farther east in what is today China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, the Soghdian intermediaries became the wealthiest of these Iranian merchants. Because of this trade on what became known as the Silk Route, Bukhoro, and Samarqand eventually became extremely wealthy cities, and at times Mawarannahr was one of the most influential and powerful Persian provinces of antiquity. The wealth of Mawarannahr was a constant magnet for invasions from the northern steppes and China. Numerous intraregional wars were fought between Soghdian states and the other states in Mawarannahr, and the Persians and the Chinese were in perpetual conflict over the region. Alexander the Great conquered the region, bringing it briefly under the control of his Macedonian Empire.

Title: **Historical Dictionary of Uzbekistan (Historical Dictionaries of Asia, Oceania, and the Middle East)**

Author: **Reuel Hanks**

Reuel R. Hanks is a Professor of Geography at Oklahoma State University and holds the Humphreys Endowed Chair in International Studies. He has published widely on Uzbekistan and Central Asia.

Uzbekistan was established as an independent state in 1991, and the rich history of the people and culture extends back thousands of years. The Historical Dictionary of Uzbekistan covers several thousand years of Central Asian history, with emphasis on the period from the establishment of a territorialized entity under the Soviet regime called the Uzbek SSR, up through the period of the independent Republic of Uzbekistan.

The Historical Dictionary of Uzbekistan contains a chronology, an introduction, and an extensive bibliography. The dictionary section has more than 400 cross-referenced entries on important personalities as well as aspects of the country's politics, economy, foreign relations, religion, and culture.

Section III: Books about Russia and Ukraine

Title: War and Punishment: Putin, Zelensky, and the Path to Russia's Invasion of Ukraine

Author: Mikhail Zygar

Mikhail Zygar worked for Newsweek Russia and the business daily Kommersant, covering the conflicts in Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq, Serbia, and Kosovo before becoming founding editor-in-chief of Russia's only independent news TV channel, Dozhd, which provided an alternative to state-controlled federal TV channels.

As an expert on Kremlin actions, Zygar has spent years studying the Kremlin's plan regarding Ukraine, and here, in clear, chronological order he explains how we got here.

From 1996 to 2004, Ukraine became an independent post-Soviet country where everyone was connected to the former empire at all levels, financially, culturally, and psychologically. However, the elite anticipated that the empire would be back and punish them. From 2004 to 2018, there were many states inside one state, each with its rulers/oligarchs and its interests--some of them directly connected with Russia. In 2018, a new generation of Ukrainians arrived and having grown in an independent country, they do not consider themselves to be part of Russia--and that was the moment when the war began, as Putin could not tolerate losing Ukraine forever.

Title: Russia's War Against Ukraine

Author: Gwendolyn Sasse

Gwendolyn Sasse is the Director of the Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOIS) in Berlin and Einstein Professor for the Comparative Study of Democracy and Authoritarianism at Humboldt University, Berlin.

In this book, Gwendolyn Sasse analyses the background of this war and examines the factors that led to Putin's fateful decision. She retraces the history of Ukraine's struggle for independence from Russia and shows how democratic developments in Ukraine had become a risk for Russia's political system. She also shows that ambiguous Western policy towards Russia encouraged elites in the Kremlin to think that they had more room for action than they did.

Title: The Russo-Ukrainian War

Author: Serhii Plokhy

Serhii Plokhy is the author of *Chernobyl: History of a Tragedy*, which won the Baillie Gifford Prize and the Pushkin House Book Prize, and the New York Times bestseller *The Gates of Europe*. He is a Professor of History at Harvard University where he also serves as Director of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute.

On February 24th, 2022, Russia stunned the world by launching an invasion of Ukraine. While checking on the family and friends who were now on the front lines of Europe's largest conflict since the outbreak of the Second World War, historian Serhii Plokyh inevitably found himself attempting to understand the deeper causes of the invasion, analyzing its course and contemplating the wider outcomes.

The Russo-Ukrainian War is the comprehensive history of a war that has burned since 2014, and that, with Russia's attempt to seize Kyiv, exploded a geo-political order that had been cemented since the end of the Cold War. With an eye for the gripping detail on the ground, both in the halls of power and down in the trenches, as well as a keen sense of the grander sweep of history, Plokyh traces the origins and the evolution of the conflict, from the collapse of the Russian empire to the rise and fall of the USSR and on to the development in Ukraine of a democratic politics.

He argues that Ukraine's defiance of Russia, and the West's demonstration of unity and strength, has presented a profound challenge to Russia's Great Power ambition, and further polarized the world along a new axis.

Title: Post-Euromaidan Ukraine: Domestic Power Struggles and War of National Survival in 2014-2022

Author: Bohdan Harasymiw

Dr. Bohdan Harasymiw is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Calgary and formerly (2013-2016) coordinator of the Program on Contemporary Ukraine at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the University of Alberta.

Ukraine is a misfit among post-communist states, being neither a respectable, stable democracy nor an autocracy. Nor does it sit well as a patronal political system, like other post-Soviet regimes, since the Euromaidan Revolution. This study examines the presidencies of Petro Poroshenko and Volodymyr Zelenskyy focusing on their common tendency to subordinate the legal system and use it as a political instrument. It finds that this pattern of power struggle concentrated in the president's office was, contrary to the theory of patronal politics, more dominant than clientelism.

The second theme of this book is each president's handling of relations--largely meaning the war--with Russia, in the wake of the annexation of Crimea in 2014 and culminating in the invasion of 2022, as the key challenge to the nation's survival. One way or another, unable to reform itself or to withstand the Russian assault, post-Euromaidan Ukraine will have come to an end.

Title: The War Came To Us: Life and Death in Ukraine

Author: Christopher Miller

Christopher Miller is an American journalist and author known for his on-the-ground reporting of Ukraine's 2013-2014 Revolution of Dignity, Russia's annexation of Crimea, and Russia's long-running war against the country.

Title: **Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States**

Authors: **Maria Popova, Oxana Shevel**

Maria Popova is an Associate Professor of Political Science at McGill University.

Oxana Shevel is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Tufts University.

In *Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States*, Maria Popova and Oxana Shevel explain how since 1991 Russia and Ukraine diverged politically, ending up on a collision course. They argue that Russia slid back into authoritarianism and imperialism, while Ukraine consolidated a competitive political system and pro-European identity. As Ukraine built a democratic nation-state, Russia refused to accept it and came to see it as an “anti-Russia” project. After political and economic pressure proved ineffective, and even counterproductive, Putin went to war to force Ukraine back into the fold of the “Russian world.” Ukraine resisted, determined to pursue European integration as a sovereign state. These irreconcilable goals, rather than geopolitical wrangling between Russia and the West over NATO expansion, are – the authors argue – essential to understanding Russia’s war on Ukraine.

Title: **War, Peace, and Populist Discourse in Ukraine**

Author: **Olga Baysha**

This book explores the detrimental effects on global peace of populism’s tendency to present complex social issues in simplistic “good versus evil” terms. Analyzing the civilizational discourse of Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky with respect to the ongoing war between Russia and Ukraine—with his division of the world into “civilized us” versus “barbarian them”—the book argues that such a one-dimensional representation of complex social reality leaves no space for understanding the conflict and has little, if any, potential to bring about peace.

To deconstruct the “civilization versus barbarism” discourse propagated by Zelensky, the book incorporates into its analysis alternative articulations of the crisis by oppositional voices. The author looks at the writing of several popular Ukrainian journalists and bloggers who have been excluded from political representation within Ukraine, where all oppositional media are currently banned. Drawing on the discourse theory of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, the author argues that the incorporation of alternative perspectives, and silenced voices, is vitally important for understanding the complexity of all international conflicts, including the one between Russia and Ukraine.

Title: **The Ukraine-Russia Conflict**

Author: **Christoffer Smestad**

The Ukraine-Russia Conflict – is an in-depth analysis of one of the most significant conflicts of our time. From its origins in the political upheaval of the Euromaidan protests to the ongoing military tensions in the Donbas region, this book explores the many facets of the Ukraine-Russia conflict.

With chapters examining the geopolitical, historical, and cultural context of the conflict, as well as the technological and cyber warfare dimensions, this book offers a comprehensive and nuanced

understanding of the conflict. The book also explores the impact of the conflict on human rights, including reports of torture and unlawful detention, and the response of the international community.

Drawing on a range of sources and perspectives, "The Ukraine-Russia Conflict" provides a thorough analysis of the ongoing crisis and the challenges and opportunities it presents for peace and stability in the region. This book will be essential reading for anyone seeking to understand the complexities of this important conflict and its impact on the world today.

Title: Russia- Ukraine War: The Conflict and Its Global Impact

Author: Ajay Singh

Ajay Singh has authored five books encompassing a wide genre of novels, short stories, poetry, and military history.

The war is the most significant conflict of the century so far, even outstripping the US invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq. With it, war revisited Europe after 70 years, plunged it into turmoil, and directly or indirectly, impacted the entire globe. What makes it worse than earlier wars, is the nuclear shadow hovering over it which threatens to darken the world. A war that everyone thought would be over in a fortnight or so, extended interminably. The sheer scope of the war is reminiscent of the Second World War, and many of the battles were fought on the same ground.

The book traces the background and events right from the crucial battle of Kyiv and Kharkiv in the initial days, the Russian capture of the coast, the Donbas battles, the Ukrainian counter-offensive, and the Russian response. The economic and geopolitical aspects are highlighted. The impact on India and the world, with the likely emergence of a new global order, has been delved into in detail.

Title: Russia-Ukraine War and Its Consequences on the Geopolitics of the World

Editor: Nika Chitadze

Nika Chitadze is a specialist in Global and Caucasus geopolitics, World Politics, Human Geography, Democracy/Human Rights, Environmental Security, Combating Terrorism, Energy Security, and strategic affairs. He is currently the Director of the Center for International Studies and Professor and coordinator of the Doctoral Program at the Faculty of Social Sciences (Direction: International Relations and Politics) at the International Black Sea University (IBSU).

Title: Russia's War

Author: Jade McGlynn

Jade McGlynn is a specialist in Russian media, memory, and foreign policy in the Department of War Studies, King's College London.

The Russian assault has horrified the world. But Russians themselves appear to be watching an entirely different war – one in which they are the courageous underdogs and kind-hearted heroes successfully battling a malign Ukrainian foe.

Title: The Russia-Ukraine War of 2022: Faces of Modern Conflict

Editors: Agnieszka Kasinska-Metryka, Karolina Palka-Suchojad

Agnieszka Kasińska-Metryka is a professor of political science at Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce and director of the Institute of International Relations and Public Policy, specializing in political leadership, social communication, political marketing, and women's political activity in Poland. Karolina Palka-Suchojad is an Assistant Professor at the Institute of International Relations and Public Policies.

This volume examines the war in Ukraine from a range of historical, military, and feminist perspectives, exploring aspects such as the attitude of neighboring states, political leadership, local government, social mechanisms, and the cultural and media policies of both Russia and Ukraine.

The contributors explain how Ukraine shaped its identity following its separation from the USSR and how Russia built its military power and implemented its plans. Considering the impact of the conflict not only in Ukraine but also in the Baltic states, chapters discuss the leadership role of President Zelensky, patriotic attitudes, the victimization of women, and the impact on Poland as it helps and aids huge numbers of refugees.

Title: War Diary of the Ukrainian Resistance

Author: The Kyiv Independent

In War Diary of the Ukrainian Resistance, journalists from the Kyiv Independent share their work on the war. Combining articles published during the conflict with personal accounts, they give an unprecedented inside look at the reality of the conflict and its consequences.

Title: Ukraine-Russia War: An Examination of the International Dimensions

Author: Benjamin Pablo

The conflict between Ukraine and Russia has had far-reaching and devastating consequences for the people of the region and has raised important questions about the role of international actors in resolving conflicts and promoting peace. This book provides an in-depth analysis of the international dimensions of the conflict, including the roles of key actors, such as the European Union, the United States, NATO, China, the United Nations, and regional organizations.

The authors examine the complex and interrelated interests of these actors and consider their impact on the conflict and on efforts to find a lasting resolution. The book also sheds light on the economic and humanitarian impacts of the conflict and considers the prospects for peace and resolution. The author provides a nuanced and balanced assessment of the challenges and opportunities facing the international community in its efforts to find lasting peace in the region. This book is essential in understanding the complexities of the conflict between Ukraine and Russia and the role of international actors in resolving this critical issue.

Title: Drifts and Dynamics: Russia's Ukraine War and Northeast Asia

Author: Sriparna Pathak), Manoj Kumar Panigrahi

Sriparna Pathak is an associate professor and the founding director of the Centre for Northeast Asian Studies, School of International Affairs, O.P. Jindal Global University, India. Manoj Kumar Panigrahi is an assistant professor and co-director of the Centre for Northeast Asia Studies, at the Jindal School of International Affairs at O.P. Jindal Global University

The future of international relations hangs by a thread. Countries across the world have responded in myriad ways ranging from outright condemnation and imposition of sanctions on Russia, to taking a neutral stand or tacitly supporting Russia. Each of these responses has a multi-faceted geopolitical rationale that cannot be inferred through a binary lens. The West led by the USA and NATO desires the world to toe its line of condemnation of the Russian action. However, their efforts have not eventuated in reality so far.

Title: From Vladimir to Vladimir: A History of Russia-Ukraine Relations

Author: Vicchio J. Stephen

Stephen Vicchio is the author of forty books that include works in drama, stories, essays, religion, philosophy, and books about the Bible.

From Vladimir to Vladimir is about the long and complicated relationship between Russia and Ukraine. It begins with Prince Vladimir of Kyiv, who established the Kievan Rus' Empire (879–1240 CE), one that expanded and contracted over four centuries—longer than the United States has existed. The book ends with the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February of 2022.

Title: Putin's War on Ukraine: Russia's Campaign for Global Counter-Revolution

Author: Samuel Ramani

Samuel Ramani teaches Politics and International Relations at the University of Oxford.

Eight years after annexing Crimea, Russia embarked on a full-scale invasion of neighboring Ukraine in February 2022. For Vladimir Putin, this was a legacy-defining mission—to restore Russia's sphere of influence and undo Ukraine's surprisingly resilient democratic experiment. Yet Putin's aspirations were swiftly eviscerated, as the conflict degenerated into a bloody war of attrition and the Russian economy faced crippling sanctions. How can we make sense of his decision to invade?

This book argues that Putin's policy of global counter-revolution is driven not by systemic factors, such as preventing NATO expansion, but by domestic ones: the desire to unite Russians around common principles and consolidate his brand of authoritarianism. This objective has inspired military interventions in Crimea, Donbas, and Syria, and now all-out war against Kyiv. Samuel Ramani explores why Putin opted for regime change in Ukraine, rather than a smaller-scale intervention in Donbas, and considers the impact on his own regime's legitimacy. How has Russia's long-term political and foreign policy trajectory shifted? And how will the international response reshape the world order?

Title: Holy Russia? Holy War? Why the Russian Church is Backing Putin Against Ukraine

Author: Dr. Katherine Kelaidis

Katherine Kelaidis is a Research Fellow at the Institute of Orthodox Christian Studies, Cambridge, and the Director of Research and Content at the National Hellenic Museum in Chicago.

Why is the Russian Church supporting Putin in his war against Ukraine? Why does the Patriarch of Moscow believe that history is on Russia's side? And what are the implications for Christianity and Christian culture in the West? These are among the questions addressed in Holy Russia? Holy War? Written by Katherine Kelaidis, who is also an Orthodox believer, this book examines the way history and religion are being used to justify Putin's 'special military operation' in Ukraine.

The book covers:

- Shadows of the past
- Who is Patriarch Kirill and why is he dangerous?
- This is not just a problem for Ukraine
- The war will end but the causes and consequences will remain, so what can be done?
- Two modern Russian saints

Title: Ukraine's Patronal Democracy and the Russian Invasion: The Russia-Ukraine War

Editors: Bálint Madlovics, Bálint Magyar

Bálint Madlovics is a political scientist and economist. He is a junior research fellow at the CEU Democracy Institute. He holds an MA in Political Science (2018) from Central European University in Budapest. He was a member of the Hungarian Parliament (1990-2010).

The authors of this edited volume, leading Ukrainian scholars supplemented by colleagues from Hungary, examine the chances of an anti-patronal transformation after the war. The book provides an overview of the development of Ukraine's political-economic system: color revolutions in 2004 and 2014 brought democratic transformation, but no change in the patronage system. The result was patronal regime cycles instead of the emergence of a Western-type liberal democracy in the country. Building on the conceptual framework of the editors' *The Anatomy of Post-Communist Regimes* (CEU Press, 2020), the 12 chapters examine the impact of the war on patronal democracy, the relational economy, clientelist society, and the international environment in which Ukraine operates.

Section IV: New Russia Books – By Category

❖ Domestic Politics

Title: The New Politics of Russia: Second Edition

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 Programme at The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House.

This book examines Russian politics and how and why Russia's international relations have deteriorated to the point of inaugurating a new era of 'Great Power Competition'. It explores the long-term worsening of relations since the early 2000s, from the disagreements over European security and the war in Syria to mutual accusations of interference in domestic politics. The book also reflects on the nature of political power in Russia, looking both at protest and the networks of power that make up the country's political landscape. In so doing, it offers a fresh way to interpret Russian politics and to understand Putin's fourth presidential term.

Title: From Vladimir Lenin to Vladimir Putin: Russia in Search of Its Identity

Author: Vladimir N. Brovkin

Vladimir N. Brovkin is a Russian-born American historian who was an Associate Professor of Soviet History at Harvard University in the 1990s.

This book integrates Soviet and post-Soviet Russian history into a coherent whole by focusing on the culture, role models, habits, and behavior patterns that provide continuity between various political regimes, systems, and rulers from Vladimir Lenin to Vladimir Putin.

The unifying theme of all these periods is the central question of identity – how the Russians have defined themselves, their country, and their values. Why did the Bolsheviks try to erase any trace of Old Russia and with what did they try to replace it? Why did Stalin wipe out the kulaks and the old Bolsheviks? What were the political consequences of the Great Patriotic War on the Russians as a people? When post-Stalin Russia slowly weakened and gave way to the humanism and Westernization that led to the collapse of the Soviet system, why did the 1990s generate a resurgence of anti-western nationalism? And how to explain the slow and steady break with the West under President Putin?

Title: The Oligarchs' Grip: Fusing Wealth and Power

Authors: David Lingelbach, Valentina Rodríguez Guerra

David Lingelbach is a professor of entrepreneurship at the Merrick School of Business, The University of Baltimore.

Valentina Rodríguez Guerra is an author, oligarch researcher, and graduate student in business administration, at Facultad de Ciencias Económicas, Universidad Nacional de Colombia.

The authors claim this is the first-ever guide to oligarchs as a global and historical phenomenon.

Today, more than twenty oligarchs serve as heads of state or government in countries such as Russia, South Africa, Lebanon, and El Salvador. Many have a net worth of more than \$1 billion, and they all – whether directly or indirectly – impact our daily lives. Who are they and how have they dominated our world? What lessons can we learn from them, and what might the future hold?

In *The Oligarchs' Grip: Fusing Wealth and Power*, David Lingelbach and Valentina Guerra draw upon more than 25 years of research (including conversations with Vladimir Putin and other oligarchs), 16 case studies, and dozens of historical examples to develop the first-ever model revealing the strategies oligarchs employ to fuse wealth and power, and transition between the two. This model gives insight into how oligarchs use multiple control mechanisms to exploit an increasingly uncertain world.

Title: Eternal Putin? Confronting Navalny, the Pandemic, Sanctions, and War with Ukraine

Author: J.L. Black

Joseph Laurence (Larry) Black is Professor Emeritus and was re-designated Distinguished Research Professor by Carleton in 2017.

The short period of time stretching from the dramatic Constitutional amendments of January 2020 to February 2022, marked a sharp turning point in Russian history. The author explains how Russia got to that. Although Putin, termed 'eternal' because of amendments that allow him to run for two more terms as president, is everywhere in it, the book is a study of Russia writ large. It features the political uproar over the Navalny opposition, the pandemic, manifestations of climate change, and intensifying confrontations between Russia on one side, Ukraine, NATO, and the US on the other. The book provides a who, what, where, and when of the short but volatile period prior to the outbreak of war and offers a tentative reason why it happened.

Title: When Russia Did Democracy: From St Vladimir to Putin

Author: Kenneth MacInnes

Kenneth MacInnes lived and worked in Russia for two decades, from Gorbachev to Putin. He has translated 350 books, read papers at history conferences, investigated art crimes, and defended himself against the Russian navy in a court martial.

When Lenin and the Bolsheviks shut down the Constituent Assembly after only one session, it was said to mark the end of Russia's one-day experiment with democracy. However, with the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, a true period of democracy was ushered in – creating a strange world scarcely believable when viewed from the era of Vladimir Putin. A fascinating witness of Russian politics,

Kenneth MacInnes lived in the country through this unique and exciting era. His book not only chronicles this ten-year period, but also reveals all the other times in history when Russia led the world in democratic freedoms and popular representation. During the Middle Ages, the republic of Novgorod was the world's largest democracy. The national parliament established by Ivan the Terrible elected tsars, while the Russian Empire was the first place in Europe where women voted in local and national elections. In 1917, the Provisional Government passed the freest electoral law ever written. This book covers everything from the popular democratic struggles of 1612 and 1991 to the local 'republics' set up during wars, revolutions, and foreign invasions. It describes how Lenin and Stalin stood in democratic elections, the day Yeltsin's tanks bombed parliament, and the history of 'Western interference' in Russian polls.

Title: Memory Makers: The Politics of the Past in Putin's Russia

Author: Jade McGlynn

Jade McGlynn is a Researcher in the War Studies department at King's College London. She is the author of Russia's War (2023) and editor of two volumes on memory politics and history in Eastern Europe.

Why aren't ordinary Russians more outraged by Putin's invasion of Ukraine? Inside the Kremlin's historical propaganda narratives, Russia's invasion of Ukraine makes complete sense. From its World War II cult to anti-Western conspiracy theories, the Kremlin has long used myth and memory to legitimize repression at home and imperialism abroad, its patriotic history resonating with and persuading large swathes of the Russian population.

Jade McGlynn looks closely at Russian historical propaganda, revealing the web of nationwide narratives and practices perforating everyday life, from after-school patriotic history clubs to tower block World War II murals. The use of history to manifest a particular Russian identity has had grotesque, even gruesome, consequences, but it belongs to a global political pattern – where one's view of history is the ultimate marker of political loyalty, patriotism, and national belonging. Memory Makers demonstrates how the extreme Russian experience is a stark warning to other nations tempted to stare too long at the reflection of their own imagined and heroic past.

Title: Vladimir Putin: The Czar of Russia

Author: Daniel D Lee

Daniel D. Lee blends his diverse experiences in computer science, business, and Hollywood into his curation style.

The book starts by unveiling Putin's early life, his path through the KGB, and his meteoric rise within Russian politics. It provides an in-depth analysis of the strategies, alliances, and policies that facilitated his ascendancy to the presidency, and how these early days in office set the tone for his future rule. It further delves into Putin's domestic policies, casting a critical eye on economic reforms and their impacts on the Russian populace. Scrutinizing the state of civil liberties, political

opposition, and media freedom under Putin's regime, this comprehensive analysis offers an unflinching view of his leadership.

Title: The Dissident: Alexey Navalny: Profile of a Political Prisoner

Author: David Herszenhorn

David M. Herszenhorn is The Washington Post's Russia and Eastern Europe Editor. He is the former chief Brussels correspondent of POLITICO.

Alexey Navalny's stubborn insistence that Russians can defy the (corrupt) stereotype and create an entirely different country made him such a threat to the Kremlin that it now seems intent on keeping him locked in a prison colony for decades.

Title: Russia: Great Power, Weakened State

Authors: Marlene Laruelle, Jean Radvanyi

Marlene Laruelle is a research professor of international affairs and associate director of the Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies (IERES) at the Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University.

Jean Radvanyi is a professor of Russian Studies and Geography at the National Institute for Oriental Languages and Cultures in Paris.

This book aims to offer a comprehensive overview of Russia's fears and challenges and to help the American public understand how Russian domestic policy and foreign policy interact.

❖ **Russia Economics**

Title: **The Contemporary Russian Economy: A Comprehensive Analysis**

Editor: **Marek Dabrowski**

Marek Dabrowski is a Non-Resident Scholar at Bruegel, Brussels, Professor of the Higher School of Economics in Moscow, and Co-founder and Fellow at CASE - Center for Social and Economic Research in Warsaw.

This textbook offers an analysis of the contemporary Russian economy (as it functions in the early 2020s and pre-February 2022) concentrated on the economy, economic policy, and economic governance. Chapters cover recent Russian economic history, the economic geography of Russia, natural resources, population, major sectors, and industries, living standards and social policy, institutions, governance, economic policy, and Russia's role in the global economy.

Title: **Creating the Post-Soviet Russian Market Economy: Through American Eyes**

Author: **Daniel Satinsky**

Daniel Satinsky, J.D., M.A.L.D., Consultant, Author, and Associate of Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University.

This book captures the essence of the period when Russians and Americans collaborated in creating new structures of government and new businesses in completely uncharted conditions. It presents the experiences of key American participants in late Soviet and post-Soviet Russia during a time when Americans thought anything was possible in Russia. Using an analytic framework of foreground ideas (Western, liberal, and neo-liberal) and background forces (Russian cultural influences, nationalism, and lingering Soviet ideology), it examines the ideas and intentions of the people involved. First-person interviews with consultants, businesspeople, and citizen diplomats help capture the essence of this turbulent reform period through the eyes of those who experienced it and present the importance of this experience as a piece of the puzzle in understanding contemporary Russia.

Title: **The post-war economy of the USSR and modern Russia: 1950-2019.**

Author: **D'jord' Shimon**

the author describes the main characteristics of the economies of the USSR and Russia in the post-1950 period both at the macro level and in individual sectors. The theoretical framework of his study covers, in addition to the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, primarily neoclassical and endogenous models of economic growth. The central role of the mechanism of technical progress in economic growth and the accumulation of physical and human capital is emphasized. Special attention is paid to key issues of economic policy and Soviet-American rivalry. The monograph is intended for a wide range of readers interested in political economy, economic theory, and practice.

❖ **Russia Regions**

Title: **Dagestan - History, Culture, Identity**

Authors: **Robert Chenciner, Magomedkhan Magomedkhanov**

Dagestan – History, Culture, Identity provides an up-to-date and comprehensive overview of Dagestan - It outlines Dagestan's rich and complicated history, from 5th c ACE to post USSR, as seen from the viewpoint of the Dagestani people. Chapters feature the new age of social media, urban weddings, modern and traditional medicine, innovative food cultivation, the little-known history of Mountain Jews during the Soviet period, flourishing heroes of sport and finance, emerging opportunities in ethno-tourism and a recent Dagestani music revival. In doing so, the authors examine a large number of different ethnic groups in Dagestan, their languages and traditions, and assess how the people of Dagestan are coping and thriving despite the changes brought about by globalization, new technology, and the modern world: through which swirls an increasing sense of identity in an indigenous multi-ethnic society.

Title: **For Putin and for Sharia: Dagestani Muslims and the Islamic State**

Author: **Iwona Kaliszewska**

Iwona Kaliszewska is an Assistant Professor at the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Warsaw.

For Putin and for Sharia examines what it means to support sharia in twenty-first-century Dagestan, where calls for an Islamic state coexist with nostalgia for the days of Stalin's rule and Mecca calendars hang alongside portraits of Putin. Confronting existing narratives about sharia, terrorism, and anti-terrorism through ethnographic fieldwork, Iwona Kaliszewska looks at the beliefs and practices of Dagestani Muslims, revealing that the pursuit of sharia can assume a range of forms from sweeping visions of an Islamic state imposed through violence, to minor acts of everyday resistance against injustice, to attempts to restore the security and stability once afforded by the Soviet state. In *For Putin and for Sharia*, Kaliszewska challenges the official dichotomy of Muslims as supporting either the political underground or state authorities and deconstructs the Salafi/Sufi division between the so-called reformists and traditional Islam.

Title: **Russia and the GCC: The Case of Tatarstan's Paradiplomacy**

Author: **Diana Galeeva**

Diana Galeeva is an Academic Visitor at St Antony's College, Oxford University, UK.

In this book, Diana Galeeva examines the relations between the Gulf States and Russia from the Soviet era to the present day. Using the Republic of Tatarstan, one of Russia's autonomous Muslim polities as a case study, Galeeva demonstrates the emergence of relations between modern Tatarstan and the GCC States, evolving from concerns with economic survival to a rising paradiplomacy reliant on shared Islamic identifiers.

Having conducted fieldwork in the Muslim Republics of Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, and Dagestan, the book includes interviews with high-ranking political figures, heads of religious organizations, and academics. Moving beyond solely economic and geopolitical considerations, the research in this book sheds light on the increasingly important role that culture and shared Islamic identity play in paradiplomacy efforts.

Title: Torch of New Russia

Author: Pavel Gubarev (Peter Nimitz -Translator)

Russian speakers in eastern Ukraine were outraged at the Maidan Revolution in Kyiv in February 2014. Mass protests arose in eastern cities such as Kharkiv and Donetsk against the new regime. While most of the protests were successfully coopted or crushed by forces loyal to the new Ukrainian government, those in Donetsk and Lugansk were not. That was in large part due to the hard work of political organizers such as Pavel Gubarev, whose movement laid the foundation of the Donbas Uprising that sparked the First Donbas War of 2014-2015.

This book is Pavel Gubarev's memoir of his experiences in both the Donbas Uprising and the events leading up to it. He was a prominent pro-Russian protest leader, political prisoner, politician, and military organizer.

Title: The Territories of the Russian Federation 2023

Editor: Europa Publications

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 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.

❖ **Russia and Geopolitics**

Title: **Getting Russia Right**

Author: **Thomas Graham**

Thomas Graham is a distinguished fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. He has worked on Soviet and Russian affairs for the past 40 years in and out of government. He served as the senior director for Russia on the National Security Council staff during the George W. Bush administration and as a political officer at the American Embassy in Moscow for eight years just before and after the breakup of the Soviet Union.

As US-Russian relations scrape the depths of cold-war antagonism, the promise of partnership that beguiled American administrations during the first post-Soviet decades increasingly appears to have been false from the start. Why did American leaders persist in pursuing it? Was there another path that would have produced more constructive relations or better prepared Washington to face the challenge Russia poses today?

With a practitioner's eye honed during decades of work on Russian affairs, Thomas Graham traces the evolution of opposing ideas of national purpose that created an inherent tension in relations. Getting Russia Right identifies the blind spots that prevented Washington from seeing Russia as it is and crafting a policy to advance American interests without provoking an aggressive Russian response. Distilling the Putin factor to reveal the contours of the Russia challenge facing the United States whenever he departs the scene, Graham lays out a compelling way to deal with it so that the United States can continue to advance its interests in a rapidly changing world.

Title: **The Foreign Policy of Russia: Changing Systems, Enduring Interests**

Authors: **Robert H. Donaldson, Vidya Nadkarni**

Robert H. Donaldson is a Trustees Professor of Political Science Emeritus at the University of Tulsa.

Vidya Nadkarni is a Professor of Political Science at the University of San Diego.

This text traces the lineage and development of Russian foreign policy with the insight that comes from a historical perspective. Now fully updated, the seventh edition incorporates new coverage of issues including relations with the major powers and with other post-communist states, with an emphasis on tensions with the United States and engagement with Ukraine, Crimea, and Syria. International security issues including arms control, sanctions, and intervention continue to grow in importance. Domestic and regional issues related to natural resource politics, human rights, Islamism, and terrorism also persist.

Chronologically organized chapters highlight the continuities of Russia's behavior in the world since tsarist times as well as the major sources of change and variability over the revolutionary period, wartime alliances and Cold War, détente, the Soviet collapse, and the first post-communist decades. The basic framework used in the book is a modified realism that stresses the balance of power and

the importance of national interest, and it identifies several factors (both internal and external) that condition Russian policy. The interpretations are original and based on a mix of primary and secondary sources.

Title: **The “Russian Idea” in International Relations: Civilization and National Distinctiveness (Worlding Beyond the West)**

Author: **Andrei P. Tsygankov**

Andrei P. Tsygankov is a Professor of International Relations and Political Science at San Francisco State University, USA.

The "Russian Idea" in International Relations identifies different approaches within Russian Civilizational tradition — Russia’s nationally distinctive way of thinking — by situating them within IR literature and connecting them to practices of the country’s international relations.

Civilizational ideas in IR theory express states’ cultural identification and stress religious traditions, social customs, and economic and political values. This book defines Russian civilizational ideas by two criteria: the values they stress and their global ambitions. The author identifies leading voices among those positioning Russia as an exceptional and globally significant system of values and traces their arguments across several centuries of the country’s development. In addition, the author explains how and why Russian civilizational ideas rise, fall, and are replaced by alternative ideas. The book identifies three schools of Russian civilizational thinking about international relations — Slavophiles, Communists, and Eurasianists. Each school focuses on Russia’s distinctive spiritual, social, and geographic roots, respectively.

Each one is internally divided between those claiming Russia’s exceptionalism, potentially resulting in regional autarchy or imperial expansion, and those advocating the Russian Idea as global in its appeal. Those favoring the latter perspective have stressed Russia’s unique capacity for understanding different cultures and guarding the world against extremes of nationalism and hegemony in international relations.

Title: **Russia’s Role in World Politics: Power, Ideas, and Domestic Influences**

Editor: **Elias Götz, Neil MacFarlane**

Elias Götz is a Postdoctoral Researcher at the Uppsala Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies (UCRS), Uppsala University, Sweden. Neil MacFarlane is Lester B Pearson Professor of International Relations and Fellow at St Anne’s College, University of Oxford, UK.

In recent years, Moscow has played an increasingly active and assertive role in geopolitics. Examples include Crimea and eastern Ukraine; military intervention in Syria and support for the Assad government; alleged interference in the 2016 US presidential race; the pursuit of closer economic and diplomatic ties with China; and Russia’s ambitious military reforms and nuclear brinkmanship. Russia’s role in world politics has become the object of a spirited debate among Western policymakers, think-tank analysts, and academics. Much of this debate focuses on one central

question: What are the main drivers, or causes, of Moscow's recent assertiveness? The contributions gathered here address this question by focusing on the interplay of power, ideas, and domestic influences.

Title: **How the West Lost the Peace: The Great Transformation Since the Cold War**

Author: **Philipp Ther**

Philipp Ther is a Professor of Central European History at the University of Vienna.

When the Berlin Wall was stormed and the Soviet Union fell apart, the West and above all the United States looked like the sole victors of history. Three decades later, the spirit of triumph rings hollow. What went wrong?

In this sequel to his award-winning history of neoliberal Europe, historian Philipp Ther searches for an answer to this question. He argues that global capitalism created many losers, preparing the ground for the rise of right-wing populists and nationalists. He shows how the promise of prosperity and freedom did not catch on sufficiently in Eastern Europe despite material progress, and how the West lost Russia and alienated Turkey. Neoliberal capitalism also left the world poorly prepared to cope with Covid-19, and the pandemic further weakened the Western hegemony of the post-1989 period, which is now brutally contested by Russia's war against Ukraine. The double punch of the pandemic and the biggest war in Europe since 1945 has brought to a close the age of transformation that was inaugurated by the end of the Cold War.

Title: **Economic War: Ukraine and the Global Conflict between Russia and the West**

Author: **Maximilian Hess**

Maximilian Hess is a political risk analyst and consultant, as well as a fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute.

Vladimir Putin's first invasion of Ukraine, in 2014, set off a global economic clash, as the West used its clout with international markets to deter and penalize the Kremlin. The battlelines of this 'war by other means' traversed a series of deep economic connections, built up during Russia's oil, gas, and commodities boom: global equity and capital markets, and transnational kleptocracy.

Maximilian Hess looks at Russia's response to Western sanctions, and the ensuing skirmishes in London's courts, on Swiss trading desks, and in boardrooms in New Delhi. He explores how pipelines, mines, loans, and crypto markets were weaponized. Rather than a 'new Cold War', Hess argues we are witnessing a conflict over finance, energy, and capital markets.

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 a 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.

This volume examines the role of Russia in the world under President Putin's rule. 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, in order 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 ontological security.

Title: **Containing History: How Cold War History Explains US-Russia Relations**

Author: **Stephen P. Friot**

Stephen P. Friot is a Senior U.S. District Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Oklahoma. He has traveled extensively in the Russian Federation while serving as a guest lecturer with the faculties of law at numerous universities.

In the wake of February 2022, with U.S.-Russia relations approaching a breaking point, this book adds to the understanding of how we got here. Specifically, the author asks, how do Russians and Americans think about each other, and why do they see the world so differently? The answers, Friot suggests, lie in the historical events surrounding the Cold War and their divergent influence on politics and popular consciousness.

Title: **Kennan: A Life between Worlds**

Author: **Frank Costigliola**

Frank Costigliola is a Board of Trustees Distinguished Professor of History at the University of Connecticut.

The diplomat and historian George F. Kennan (1904–2005) ranks as one of the most important figures in American foreign policy—and one of its most complex. Drawing on many previously

untapped sources, Frank Costigliola's authoritative biography offers a new picture of a man of extraordinary ability and ambition whose idea of containing the Soviet Union helped ignite the Cold War but who spent the next half century trying to extinguish it. Always prescient, Kennan in the 1990s warned that the eastward expansion of NATO would spur a new cold war with Russia.

Title: **Western Hostility to Russia: The Hidden Background to War in Ukraine**

Author: **Terry M. Boardman**

Terry M. Boardman is a freelance lecturer, writer, and translator of German and Japanese. He is the author of Mapping the Millennium, Behind the Plans of the New World Order (1998)

What are the origins of the war in Ukraine? Contrary to popular opinion, the conflict is ultimately not between Russia and Ukraine but between Russia and the West. Neither did it begin with Russia's invasion in 2022, nor the Maidan revolution in 2014. --- Providing a wealth of documented evidence, Terry Boardman shows that the roots of the hostility date back to the geopolitics of the nineteenth century, when Britain and Russia engaged in the so-called Great Game of controlling the 'heartland' of central Eurasia. With colonial supremacy at stake, the British ruling elite stoked hatred of the 'Russian bear'. --- In addition to conventional political motivations, the author identifies a little-known, esoteric dimension.

Title: **Russia's Imperial Endeavor and Its Geopolitical Consequences: The Russia-Ukraine War**

Editors: **Bálint Madlovics, Bálint Magyar**

Bálint Madlovics is a political scientist and economist. He is a junior research fellow at the CEU Democracy Institute.

Bálint Magyar is a Research Fellow at CEU Democracy Institute, working on the subject of paternalism in post-communist countries. He was a member of the Hungarian Parliament (1990-2010).

The 12 chapters in this volume examine the main geopolitical consequences of what authors describe as the resurgent imperialist aspirations of the Russian Federation. They examine the ideological tools of history falsification as an integral part of hybrid warfare. Turning to the economy, the book discusses how the war and economic sanctions imposed on Russia are redrawing the geopolitical map and how economic relations would change following a regime transformation. The book discusses the reactions of members of the international community to the invasion, whether threatened or neutral parties or allies. The collection therefore offers a comprehensive picture of the main consequences of the resurgent imperialist aspirations of the Russian Federation. Equipped with the conceptual tools of the analysis with a focus on the patronal features of the political-economic system, the book considers the aftermath of the war. This collection complements the book entitled Ukraine. Patronal Democracy and the Russian Invasion.

❖ **Russia and China**

Title: **Perfect Imbalance: China and Russia**

Author: **Una Aleksandra Berzina-cerenkova**

Dr. Una Aleksandra Bērziņa-Čerenkova is a political scientist, China scholar, and Head of the Political Science Ph.D. Program and China Studies Centre at Riga Stradins University, Head of the Asia Programme at the Latvian Institute of International Affairs, a member of CHERN and European Think-tank Network on China (ETNC).

Perfect Imbalance seeks to answer one of the most important questions in twenty-first-century politics: how close are Putin's Russia and Xi's China? This book examines the current China–Russia partnership from several perspectives. **First**, what Vladimir Putin, Xi Jinping, and their respective foreign policy establishments publicly say about the relationship between the countries. **Second**, how the two establishments frame their tangible cooperation on matters such as security, the Arctic, space, and international relations with other Eurasian countries. **Finally**, the book examines the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic upon Sino–Russian relations. Putin and Xi's stories, where possible, are cross-checked with what is happening. Perfect Imbalance argues that although Russia has not pivoted towards China, and although there is no official Sino–Russian alliance in sight, the relationship will continue to grow and expand in search of a perfect imbalance.

Title: **China and Russia: Four Centuries of Conflict and Concord**

Author: **Philip Snow**

Philip Snow has traveled extensively in Russia and China since the 1960s and has lived in Hong Kong since 1994. An expert in China's international relations.

Russia and China, the largest and most populous countries in the world, respectively, have maintained a delicate relationship for four centuries. In addition to a four-thousand-kilometer border, they have periodically shared a common outlook on political and economic affairs. But they are, in essence, profoundly different polities and cultures, and their intermittent alliances have proven difficult and at times even volatile.

Philip Snow provides an account of the relationship between these two, looking at politics, religion, economics, and culture. We see the shifts in the balance of power, from the wealth and strength of early Qing China to the Tsarist and Soviet ascendancies, and episodes of intense conflict followed by harmony. He looks at the experiences and opinions of ordinary people, which often vastly differ from those of their governments, and considers how long the countries' current amicable relationship might endure.

❖ **Russian History**

Title: **Russia's Agony**

Author: **Robert Wilton**

Robert Wilton (1868-1925) was a British journalist who worked for the London Times and the New York Herald, specializing in Russian and German political reporting. He was present in Russia during the Russian Revolution, and wrote two books based on his experiences, "Russia's Agony" (1918) and "The Last Days of the Romanovs" (1920).

A new and completely reset edition of the 1918 original, featuring all the original illustrations and maps, digitally restored to the highest possible quality. The author, a journalist working in Russia at the time of the Russian Revolution which saw the Bolsheviks sweep to power, provides one of the few eye-witness accounts of those tumultuous times.

Title: **Red Shadows: The Cheka and the Dawn of the Soviet Union**

Author: **Paul Abramov**

In the chaotic aftermath of the Russian Revolution, a new force emerged from the ashes. An agency designed to protect the new regime at any cost, the Cheka is more than a secret police force - it's a symbol of a turbulent time, a testament to the ruthlessness of power and the struggle for control. "Red Shadows: The Cheka and the Dawn of the Soviet Union" takes you on a journey through the tumultuous early days of Soviet Russia. Uncover the methods, the madness, and the men who built the Red Fortress. Dive into the chilling era of the Red Terror, where no dissent was tolerated, and fear was a constant companion. Explore the Cheka's reach beyond Russia's borders, its web of spies, and the victories and failures that marked its existence.

Title: **The Story of Russia**

Author: **Van Bergen R. van Bergen**

Covering more than 900 years in the span of 221 pages isn't conducive to in-depth analysis. That said, it does a nice job of providing a chronology of the various rulers and some of the complexities of national relations in that part of the world.

Title: **Picturing Russian Empire: Premium Edition**

Authors: **Valerie Kivelson, Sergei Kozlov, Joan Neuberger**

Valerie Kivelson is the Thomas N. Tentler Collegiate Professor of History at the University of Michigan. Sergei Kozlov is Professor and Chair of the Department of History at the University of Tyumen (Russia). Joan Neuberger is a Professor of History at the University of Texas at Austin.

Picturing the Russian Empire offers a new way to approach the history of Russia as an empire and as a state located in a world characterized by a churning, dynamic exchange of people, ideas, and practices. It presents readers with a visual tour of the lands and peoples that constituted the Russian Empire and those that confronted it, defied it, accommodated to it, and shaped it at various times in more than a millennium of history.

Bringing together scholars and experts from across the world and from various disciplines, Picturing Russian Empire consistently raises big historical questions to stimulate readers to think about images as embedded in the diverse, lived worlds of the Russian empire. The authors challenge the reader not only to see images as the creations of individuals, but as objects circulating among viewers in a variety of contexts, creating new impressions, meanings, and experiences.

Title: **Russian History: An Enthralling Overview of Russia's Past and the Romanovs**

Author: **Billy Wellman**

Two manuscripts in one book:

1. History of Russia: An Enthralling Overview of Major Events in Russian History
2. The Romanovs: An Enthralling Overview of the House of Romanov

From the exploits of Ivan the Terrible to the murder of the Romanov royal family, there's a lot of history to explore. How did Ivan the Terrible earn his title? Who were the Romanovs, and what led to the brutal end of their dynasty? Follow the story of Russia and discover the major historical events that shaped this country.

Russia, the nation-state we know today, was largely created because of the efforts of Romanov rulers like Peter the Great or Catherine the Great. The Romanov family has forever been guaranteed a place in Russian, European, and even world history books.

Title: **History of Russia (Untold): Tsars and revolution 1917-2022**

Author: **Billy Anderson**

Described as "Experience the glory of the Russian empire, the drama of the revolution, and the tumultuous Soviet era through a unique lens - From the enigmatic Mongol invasions to the vibrant cultural movements of the 20th century, 'History of Russia Untold' takes you on a journey through time.

Title: **The Russia That We Have Lost**

Author: **Pavel Khazanov**

Pavel Khazanov is an assistant professor of Russian at Rutgers University, where he teaches courses on Russian literature and history.

In 1917, Bolshevik revolutionaries overthrew the tsar of Russia and established a new, communist government, one that viewed the Imperial Russia of old as a righteously vanquished enemy. And yet, as Pavel Khazanov shows, after the collapse of Stalinism, a reconfiguration of Imperial Russia slowly began to emerge, recalling the culture of tsarist Russia not as a disgrace but as a glory, a past to not only remember but to recover, and to deploy against what to many seemed like a discredited socialist project.

Khazanov's untangling of this discourse in the late Soviet period reveals a process that involved figures of all political stripes, from staunch conservatives to avowed intelligentsia liberals. Further, Khazanov shows that this process occurred not outside of or in opposition to Soviet guidance and censorship, but in mainstream Soviet culture that commanded wide audiences, especially among the Soviet middle class. Excavating the cultural logic of this newly foundational, mythic memory of a "lost Russia," Khazanov reveals why, despite the liberal achievement of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Boris Yeltsin (and later, Vladimir Putin) successfully steered Russia into oligarchy and increasing autocracy. The anti-Soviet memory of the pre-Soviet past, ironically constructed during the late socialist period, became and remains a politically salient narrative, a point of consensus that surprisingly attracts both contemporary regime loyalists and their would-be liberal opposition.

Title: Soviet Russia

Author: Albert Rhys Williams

Soviet Russia is a book about the Bolshevik Revolution and the early years of the Soviet Union. The book provides a firsthand account of the tumultuous period from 1917 to 1920 when the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia and began to implement their socialist vision. The author, Albert Rhys Williams, was an American journalist who was present in Russia during this period. His book provides a glimpse into the world of revolutionary Russia and the people who made it happen.

❖ **Russia – General Coverage**

Title: **The Soul of Russia**

Author: **Morris Berman**

Morris Berman is a poet, novelist, essayist, social critic, and cultural historian. Dr. Berman lives in Mexico.

In terms of literature, music, and film, it would be hard to outdo the sheer genius and creativity of Russia. These things constitute the soul of the nation, and it is this that Morris Berman explores in his latest work, *The Soul of Russia*. His central argument is that at the heart of this brilliance lies a particular idiosyncratic theme: the peasant-shamanic-folkloric tradition of the Russian people, which these artists, from Pushkin to Tarkovsky, drew upon for their inspiration. It was a "Dionysian" source, a nonrational one, and it endowed Russian creative work with what we would have to call vibrancy.

Berman presents ten Russian artists who have left their indelible imprint on our collective consciousness. Pushkin offers a supernatural puzzle that Russian scholars are still trying to solve to this day. Gogol tells a tale of a man who wakes up to discover he has lost his nose and goes in search of it-while his nose has simultaneously taken on a life of its own. Andrei Bely, in Petersburg, explains the revolution of 1905 not through traditional sociological or historical analysis, but by means of a surreal panorama of Oedipal events. Chekhov wittily explores the erotic properties of food, while Diaghilev shocks Europe with the great Vaslav Nijinsky and the Ballets Russes. Composing for this radical dance company, Stravinsky manages to alter the face of music forever. Mikhail Bulgakov offers one of the greatest novels of the twentieth century, *The Master and Margarita*, and Tarkovsky responds to Stanley Kubrick's famous 2001: *A Space Odyssey* by coming up with *Solaris*, a film based not on superficial American techno-fetishism but on questions of love, reality, and human identity.

Title: **George Orwell and Russia**

Author: **Masha Karp**

Masha Karp is a political journalist and a leading scholar on the work of George Orwell. She worked for the BBC Russian Service between 1991 and 2009, first as a producer and then as a Features editor. A member of the St. Petersburg Writers' Union and the Literary Translators Guild in Russia.

For those living in the Soviet Union, Orwell's masterpieces, *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, were not dystopias, but accurate depictions of reality. Masha Karp explores how Orwell's work was received in Russia when it percolated into the country even under censorship. Suggesting a new approach to the controversial 'Orwell's list' of 1949, Karp puts into context the articles and letters written by Orwell at the time. She sheds light on how the ideas of totalitarianism exposed in Orwell's writing took root in Russia and, in doing so, helps us to understand the contemporary political reality. As Vladimir Putin's actions continue to shock the West, it is clear we are witnessing the next transformation of totalitarianism, as predicted and described by Orwell. Now, over 70 years after Orwell's death, his writing, at least as far as Russia is concerned, remains as timely and urgent as it has ever been.

Title: **Shamanism in Siberia: Sound and Turbulence in Cursing Practices in Tuva**

Author: **Mally Stelmaszyk**

Mally Stelmaszyk is a Research associate in Social Anthropology working on an ERC-funded project "Cosmological Visionaries" at the University of Manchester.

The focus of this book is on the phenomenon of cursing in shamanic practice and everyday life in Tuva, a former Soviet republic in Siberia. Based on extensive anthropological fieldwork where the author interacted with a wide range of people involved in cursing practices, the book examines Tuvans' lived experience of cursing and shamanism, thereby providing deep insights into Tuvans' intimate and social worlds. It highlights especially the centrality of sound: how interactions between humans and non-humans are brought about through an array of sonic phenomena, such as musical sounds, sounds within words, and non-linguistic vocalizations, and how such sonic phenomena are a key part of dramatic cursing events and wider shamanic performance and ritual, involving humans and spirits alike. Overall, the book reveals a great deal about occult practices and social change in post-Soviet Tuva.

Title: **Only In ... Russia: Tales of the peculiar, ridiculous, and outright funny.**

Author: **Stephen Anthony Rafferty**

Embark on an extraordinary journey through Russia's lesser-known history, where the strange and the surprising come alive. "Silly Soviets" uncovers ten astonishing episodes that will make you question what you thought you knew about this great northern land. From the whimsical to the bewildering, these tales traverse a landscape where the past is not just about dates and facts, but also about the incredible, the implausible, and the outright hilarious. Each chapter in this collection peels back a layer of Russia's history to reveal the unexpected and the unconventional.

Title: **What's Cooking in the Kremlin: A Modern History of Russia Through the Kitchen Door**

Author: **Witold Szablowski (Antonia Lloyd-Jones - Translator)**

Witold Szablowski is an award-winning Polish journalist and the acclaimed author of books including Dancing Bears and How to Feed a Dictator. Szablowski lives in Warsaw.

What's Cooking in the Kremlin is a tale of feast and famine told from the kitchen, the narrative of one of the most complex, troubling, and fascinating nations on earth.

Readers will travel through modern Russia with Witold Szablowski as he learns the story of the chef who was shot alongside the Romanovs, and the Ukrainian woman who survived the Great Famine and still weeps with guilt; the soldiers on the Eastern front who roasted snails and made nettle soup as they fought back Hitler's army; the woman who cooked for Yuri Gagarin and the cosmonauts; and the man who ran the Kremlin kitchen during the years of plenty under Brezhnev. We will hear from

the women who fed the firefighters at Chernobyl, and the story of the Crimean Tatars, who returned to their homeland after decades of exile, only to flee once Russia invaded Crimea again, in 2014.

Title: Spoils of War: A Soldier in a Billionaire's Battles with the Russian Oligarchs Who Placed Vladimir Putin in Power

Author: Michael Haywood

Michael Haywood has been an athlete, soldier, security professional, and hedge fund manager. Overlapping his civilian jobs were twenty-five years serving as a U.S. Army Intelligence Officer.

The first-person account of an American intelligence officer working in Moscow for a billionaire investor during the privatization of the Russian economy and Vladimir Putin's rise to power. The turbulent period following the dissolution of the Soviet Union was a pivotal moment in history, offering an incredible opportunity to reset East-West relations after seventy years of hostilities embodied by the Cold War. But something went awry. Russia's brief flirtation with democracy was undermined by massive corruption, greed, weak institutions, and the blind ambition of a political leader seeking to restore Russia's lost status as a global superpower. Spoils Of War provides a window into the underlying political and economic factors enabling a small group of oligarchs to gain control of the country's wealth and power before losing it all.

Title: The Siberia Job

Author: Josh Haven

Josh Haven was an art critic for magazines and newspapers in the US and Europe and an astro-geophysicist who solved the Saturn-Hyperion density/porosity problem before moving into novel-writing.

After the demise of the Soviet Union, the newly established government privatized its industry by issuing vouchers to all its citizens, giving them the chance to be shareholders in the country's burgeoning businesses. For those living in abject poverty, the vouchers appear to be little more than pieces of paper. But for Texas businessman John Mills and his Czech companion, Petr Kovac, the chits suggest a lucrative potential. They travel to the furthest, coldest reaches of the country, roving from town to town with suitcases full of cash.

The two men quickly learn that the plan has complications - the auctions at which these vouchers are traded for actual shares have been planned at the most remote locations possible to deter outsiders from buying in. And when the Russian mafia and oligarchs catch wind of their successes, the stakes suddenly become deadly...

Title: **Muppets in Moscow: The Unexpected Crazy True Story of Making Sesame Street in Russia**

Author: **Natasha Lance Rogoff**

Natasha Lance Rogoff is an award-winning television producer and journalist. Rogoff served as Executive Producer of Sesame Street International from 1992-1997.

In the early 1990s, communism collapsed, and Russia was finally awakening, economically and culturally. The timing appeared perfect to bring Sesame Street to millions of children across the country, introducing them to Western liberal values, capitalism, and concepts such as diversity and inclusion. No one had any idea just how challenging this would prove to be.

Title: **My Russia: War or Peace?**

Author: **Mikhail Shishkin**

Mikhail Shishkin is one of the most prominent names in contemporary Russian literature and is the only author to have won all three major Russian Literary Prizes. Born in 1961 in Moscow, he now lives.

Shishkin argues that Russia is not a 'riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma': we just don't know enough about it. So, what is the real story behind Putin's autocratic regime and its invasion of Ukraine?

In *My Russia: War or Peace?* Shishkin traces the roots of Russia's problems, from the 'Kievan Rus' via the Grand Duchy of Moscow, empire, revolution, and Cold War, to the now thirty-year-old Russian Federation. He explores the uneasy relationship between state and citizens, explains Russian attitudes to people's rights and democracy, and proposes that there are two Russian peoples: the disillusioned and disaffected, who suffer from 'slave mentality', and those who embrace 'European' values and try to stand up to oppression.

Title: **Under the Bear's Gaze: Russian Espionage from Ivan the Terrible to Today**

Author: **Paul Abramov**

Abramov is a mysterious figure with (he claims) intimate knowledge of Russian intelligence. From the sinister plots of Ivan the Terrible's Oprichniki, through the intricate machinations of the KGB during the Cold War, to the dawn of a new era of cyber espionage, Abramov escorts readers through a labyrinth of intrigue, deception, and power politics. Each chapter unfurls the history of Russian intelligence like a Matryoshka doll, revealing the complex layers that have shaped its evolution.

Title: **Occult Russia: Pagan, Esoteric, and Mystical Traditions 2023**

Author: **Christopher McIntosh**

Christopher McIntosh is a British-born writer and historian, specializing in the esoteric traditions of the West.

In this in-depth look at occult and esoteric traditions in Russia, Christopher McIntosh explores the currents of mysticism, myth, magic, and the spiritual to which the Russian soul has always been attuned. The author explains how the search for meaning in the post-Soviet era has given rise to a revival of ancient spiritual traditions and a plethora of new movements. He examines the precursors to these movements in the “Silver Age” (1880-1920) before the Revolution when alternative forms of spirituality were finding new life as a reaction to the ongoing climate of violence, revolt, and repression. He discusses the impact of the Russian Revolution on spiritual and esoteric groups and shows how their activities were tolerated and even in some instances encouraged--until Stalin assumed power in 1924.

Title: **Muscovy: Russia through Foreign Eyes 1553-1900**

Author: **Francesca Wilson**

First Published in 1970, Muscovy presents a lively and amusing selection of travelers’ tales from the most important of old and rare books. There is the journal of the Dutch sailor Struys, whose imbroglios with Cossacks and Tartars reads more like a picturesque novel than a seaman’s log. There are accounts by visitors, long resident in Russia, who learned the language and made friends with people like Captain John Perry, engineer to Peter the Great, Dr. Cook, physician to Prince Galitzin, Martha Wilmot, the Irish girl who helped Princess Dashkov to write her memoirs, Daniel Wheeler, the Quaker whom Alexander I invited to drain the marshes of St. Petersburg. Most of the travelers were baffled by the immense scale of Russia, and some were perplexed and amused by its different ways of life. They describe the Russian landscape and the Russian people: how they lived in their cities and their villages, what they ate and drank, how they built their homes, tilled their fields, how they worshipped, bore tyranny under which they lived, and celebrated birth, marriage, and death.

Title: **The British Myth of Russia**

Author: **Svetlana Koroleva**

Dr. Svetlana Koroleva is a Professor at the Linguistic University of Nizhny Novgorod, Russia, where she is also Head of the International Research Laboratory ‘Aspects of Cultural Identification’. Her published output is mainly devoted to the problem of perceiving and describing Russia in British fiction.

This book is devoted to the problem of perceiving and describing the national Other. It is focused on the British myth of Russia as a product of such perception and description and considers this myth a particular semiotic structure developed in British culture and a sustainable mental unit of

collective British consciousness. Expressed in images, stereotypes, judgments, and plots, the myth of Russia is shown here to have been formed gradually, based on the ideas engendered by the complex cultural, historical, and sociopolitical context of different epochs. It describes all major stages of shaping the myth of Russia in British culture and analyses the specific nature of all semantic layers, corresponding to these stages. The book explores the forms the myth takes in British fiction, and will appeal to specialists in imagology, comparative studies, English literature, and intercultural communication, as well as to a much wider audience.

Section IV: Energy, The Arctic, and the Environment

Title: Nature's Evil: A Cultural History of Natural Resources

Author: Alexander Etkind, Sara Jolly (Translator)

Alexander Etkind is a professor at the Central European University in Vienna.

This wide-ranging book views the history of humankind through the prism of natural resources – how we acquire them, use them, value them, trade them, and exploit them. History needs a cast of characters and in this story, the leading actors are peat and hemp, grain and iron, fur, and oil, each with its tale to tell.

The uneven spread of resources was a prime mover for trade, which in turn led to the accumulation of wealth, the growth of inequality, and the proliferation of evil. Different sorts of raw materials have different political implications and give rise to different social institutions. When a country switches its reliance from one commodity to another, this often leads to wars and revolutions. But none of these crises go to waste – they all lead to dramatic changes in the relations between matter, labor, and the state. Our world is the result of a fragile pact between people and nature.

Section V: Belt and Road Initiative

Title: China's Belt and Road Initiative: A Geopolitical and Geo-economic Assessment

Editor: The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

The IISS Strategic Dossier China's Belt and Road Initiative provides a geopolitical and geo-economic assessment of President Xi Jinping's flagship foreign-policy initiative. The dossier explores the Belt and Road Initiative's role in China's domestic industrial strategy and in the country's growing influence around the world. It studies how Beijing's ambitions, management, and financing of the initiative have evolved since its launch in 2013. In addition, the volume reflects on the future of China's initiative following the Covid-19 pandemic.

The dossier is organized around a region-by-region assessment of what Beijing has sought to achieve in different countries and how the Belt and Road Initiative has played out over time. The volume examines recipient countries' responses to the Belt and Road Initiative and how these have affected it. It also looks at responses from other global and regional powers to China's economic activities around the world.

Section VI: 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: **Russia-Eurasia Relations: Actors, Issues, and Challenges (2023)** - After the Cold War, a new era began in the Eurasian region, with the countries that gained their independence from the USSR acquiring a place in the international system. After 1991, the absence of strong international gravity in Russia increased the positive relations of many countries with the West. The ideological origin of the Russian Federation's foreign policy goals is connected with its position as a great power - the book analyses the great powers' challenges in Eurasia within the framework of strategic interests, conflict, and cooperation.

Editor: **Merve Suna Özel Özcan**

Title: **The Karabakh Conflict Between Armenia and Azerbaijan: Causes & Consequences (2022)** - This book focuses on post-Soviet ethnic conflicts and Russia's involvement in them. In light of its significant importance for general ethnic conflict, specifically the post-Soviet Caucasus, along with the most recent war fought over the area from September to November 2020, this book appropriately argues that it is time to reconsider Karabakh.

Authors: **M. Hakan Yavuz, Michael M. Gunter**

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 finds its principles in geopolitics and conservatism. 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 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**

Alternatives

From Genghis Khan to Tamerlane: The Reawakening of Mongol Asia by Peter Jackson (2023)

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

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

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 VII: Russia-Ukraine Recommended Reading List

Title: **War and Punishment: Putin, Zelensky, and the Path to Russia's Invasion of Ukraine (2023).** From 1996 to 2004, Ukraine became an independent post-Soviet country where everyone was connected to the former empire at all levels, financially, culturally, and psychologically. However, the elite anticipated that the empire would be back and punish them. From 2004 to 2018, there were many states inside one state, each with its rulers/oligarchs and its interests--some of them directly connected with Russia. In 2018, a new generation of Ukrainians arrived and having grown in an independent country, they do not consider themselves to be part of Russia--and that was the moment when the war began, as Putin could not tolerate losing Ukraine forever.

Author: **Mikhail Zygar**

Title: **The Russo-Ukrainian War (2023)-** The Russo-Ukrainian War is the comprehensive history of a war that has burned since 2014, and that, with Russia's attempt to seize Kyiv, exploded a geo-political order that had been cemented since the end of the Cold War. With an eye for the gripping detail on the ground, both in the halls of power and down in the trenches, as well as a keen sense of the grander sweep of history, Plokhy traces the origins and the evolution of the conflict, from the collapse of the Russian empire to the rise and fall of the USSR and on to the development in Ukraine of a democratic politics.

Author: **Serhii Plokhy**

Title: **Overreach: The Inside Story of Putin and Russia's War Against Ukraine (2022).** The Russo-Ukrainian War is the most serious geopolitical crisis since the Second World War – and yet at the heart of the conflict is a mystery. Vladimir Putin lurched from a calculating, subtle master of opportunity to a reckless gambler, putting his regime – and Russia itself – at risk of destruction. Why?

Author: **Owen Matthews**

Title: **The Moscow Factor: U.S. Policy toward Sovereign Ukraine and the Kremlin (2022).** This study situates the stance of the United States toward Ukraine in the broader context of international relations. It focuses on the complex trilateral dynamics between the United States, Ukraine, and Russia from 1991 to 2016.

Authors: **Eugene Fishel**

Also: **Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands (2022).** The unfolding crisis in Ukraine has brought the world to the brink of a new Cold War. By **Richard Sakwa**.

Section VIII: 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: **The Oligarchs' Grip: Fusing Wealth and Power (2023).** Today, more than twenty oligarchs serve as heads of state or government in countries such as Russia, South Africa, Lebanon, and El Salvador. Many have a net worth of more than \$1 billion, and they all – whether directly or indirectly – impact our daily lives. Who are they and how have they dominated our world? What lessons can we learn from them, and what might the future hold?

Authors: **David Lingelbach, Valentina Rodríguez Guerra**

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, most 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. 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 (up to 2020). Yeltsin advised him to have it written so that people could better understand their new leader. It was withdrawn during Putin's first term.

Putin v Putin (2013) by Alexander Dugin

The Putin Interviews (2017) by Oliver Stone

Government and Politics

Title: **The New Politics of Russia: Second Edition (2023).** This book examines Russian politics and how and why Russia's international relations have deteriorated to the point of inaugurating a new era of 'Great Power Competition'. It explores the long-term worsening of relations since the early 2000s, from the disagreements over European security and the war in Syria to mutual accusations of interference in domestic politics. The book also reflects on the nature of political power in Russia, looking both at protest and the networks of power that make up the country's political landscape.

Author: **Andrew Monaghan**

Title: **From Vladimir Lenin to Vladimir Putin: Russia in Search of Its Identity (2023).** This book integrates Soviet and post-Soviet Russian history into a coherent whole by focusing on the culture, role models, habits, and behavior patterns that provide continuity between various political regimes, systems, and rulers from Vladimir Lenin to Vladimir Putin. The unifying theme of all these periods is the central question of identity – how the Russians have defined themselves, their country, and their values. Why did the Bolsheviks try to erase any trace of Old Russia and with what did they try to replace it? Why did Stalin wipe out the kulaks and the old Bolsheviks? What were the political consequences of the Great Patriotic War on the Russians as a people? When post-Stalin Russia slowly weakened and gave way to the humanism and Westernization that led to the collapse of the Soviet system, why did the 1990s generate a resurgence of anti-western nationalism? And how to explain the slow and steady break with the West under President Putin?

Author: **Vladimir N. Brovkin**

Title: **Memory Makers: The Politics of the Past in Putin's Russia (2023)** - Why aren't ordinary Russians more outraged by Putin's invasion of Ukraine? Inside the Kremlin's historical propaganda narratives, Russia's invasion of Ukraine makes complete sense. From its World War II cult to anti-Western conspiracy theories, the Kremlin has long used myth and memory to legitimize repression at home and imperialism abroad.

Author: **Jade McGlynn**

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

Alternatives

Weak Strongman: The Limits of Power in Putin's Russia (2021): Timothy Frye

Russian Politics and Society (2020: Richard Sakwa

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

A Russian Diary (2007) by Anna Politkovskaya

Russia and Geopolitics

Title: **Getting Russia Right (2023).** As US-Russian relations scrape the depths of cold-war antagonism, the promise of partnership that beguiled American administrations during the first post-Soviet decades increasingly appears to have been false from the start. Why did American leaders persist in pursuing it? Was there another path that would have produced more constructive relations or better prepared Washington to face the challenge Russia poses today?

Author: Thomas Graham

Title: **The Foreign Policy of Russia: Changing Systems, Enduring Interests (2023).** This text traces the lineage and development of Russian foreign policy with the insight that comes from a historical perspective. Now fully updated, the seventh edition incorporates new coverage of issues including relations with the major powers and with other post-communist states, with an emphasis on tensions with the United States and engagement with Ukraine, Crimea, and Syria. International security issues including arms control, sanctions, and intervention continue to grow in importance. Domestic and regional issues related to natural resource politics, human rights, Islamism, and terrorism also persist.

Authors: Robert H. Donaldson, Vidya Nadkarni

Title: **How the West Lost the Peace: The Great Transformation Since the Cold War (2023)** - When the Berlin Wall was stormed and the Soviet Union fell apart, the West and above all the United States looked like the sole victors of history. Three decades later, the spirit of triumph rings hollow. What went wrong?

Author: Philipp Ther

Title: **Russia and the World in the Putin Era: From Theory to Reality in Russian Global Strategy (2023)** - This volume examines the role of Russia in the world under President Putin's rule. 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, in order to re-establish itself as a great power.

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

Title: **Backfire: How Sanctions Reshape the World Against U.S. Interests (2022).** Sanctions have become the go-to foreign policy tool for the United States. Coercive economic measures such as trade tariffs, financial penalties, and export controls affect large numbers of companies and states across the globe. Some of these penalties target nonstate actors, such as Colombian drug cartels and Islamist terror groups; others apply to entire countries, including North Korea, Iran, and Russia. U.S. policymakers see sanctions as a low-cost tactic, but these measures often fail to achieve their intended goals—and their potent side effects can even harm American interests.

Author: **Agathe Demarais**

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: **Kennan: A Life between Worlds (2023)** - The diplomat and historian George F. Kennan (1904–2005) ranks as one of the most important figures in American foreign policy—and one of its most complex. Drawing on many previously untapped sources, Frank Costigliola's authoritative biography offers a new picture of a man of extraordinary ability and ambition whose idea of containing the Soviet Union helped ignite the Cold War but who spent the next half century trying to extinguish it. Always prescient, Kennan in the 1990s warned that the eastward expansion of NATO would spur a new cold war with Russia.

Author: **Frank Costigliola**

Alternatives

Title: **Russia–EU Relations and the Common Neighborhood: Coercion vs. Authority (2023) ...** by Irina Busygina

Understanding Russian Strategic Behavior: Imperial Strategic Culture and Putin’s Operational Code (2022) ... by Andrew Monaghan

Power and Conflict in Russia’s Borderlands: The Post-Soviet Geopolitics of Dispute Resolution (2021) ... by Helena Rytövuori-Apunen

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

The Russia Trap (2019) – *George Beebe*

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

Russian Economy

Title: **The Contemporary Russian Economy: A Comprehensive Analysis (2023)** - This textbook offers an analysis of the contemporary Russian economy (as it functions in the early 2020s and pre-February 2022) concentrated on the economy, economic policy, and economic governance. Chapters cover recent Russian economic history, the economic geography of Russia, natural resources, population, major sectors, and industries, living standards and social policy, institutions, governance, economic policy, and Russia's role in the global economy.

Editor: **Marek Dabrowski**

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 Procter & 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: **Picturing Russian Empire: Premium Edition (2023)** - Picturing Russian Empire offers a new way to approach the history of Russia as an empire and as a state located in a world characterized by a churning, dynamic exchange of people, ideas, and practices. It presents readers with a visual tour of the lands and peoples that constituted the Russian Empire and those that confronted it, defied it, accommodated to it, and shaped it at various times in more than a millennium of history. Bringing together scholars and experts from across the world and from various disciplines, Picturing the Russian Empire consistently raises big historical questions to stimulate readers to think about images as embedded in the diverse, lived worlds of the Russian Empire. The authors challenge the reader not only to see images as the creations of individuals, but as objects circulating among viewers in a variety of contexts, creating new impressions, meanings, and experiences.

Authors: **Valerie Kivelson, Sergei Kozlov, Joan Neuberger**

Title: **The Story of Russia: 'An Excellent Short Study' (2022)**. No other country has been so divided over its past as Russia. None has changed its story so often. How the Russians came to tell their story and to reinvent it as they went along, is a vital aspect of their history, their culture, and beliefs. To understand what Russia's future holds – to grasp what Putin's regime means for Russia and the world – we need to unravel the ideas and meanings of that history. In *The Story of Russia*, Orlando Figes brings into sharp relief the vibrant characters that comprise Russia's rich history, and whose stories remain so important in making sense of the world's largest nation today – from the crowning of sixteen-year-old Ivan the Terrible in a candlelit cathedral to Catherine the Great, riding out in a green uniform to arrest her husband at his palace, to the bitter last days of the Romanovs.

Author: **Orlando Figes**

Title: **Russia's Agony (first published in 1918 and updated in 2023)** - A new and completely reset edition of the 1918 original, featuring all the original illustrations and maps, digitally restored to the highest possible quality. The author, a journalist working in Russia at the time of the Russian Revolution which saw the Bolsheviks sweep to power, provides one of the few eye-witness accounts of those tumultuous times.

Author: **Robert Wilton**

Title: **The History of Russia: From the Rus' people to President Putin (2022).** From monarchy to the world's first socialist state, from Communism to Capitalism, from mass poverty to Europe's new super-rich, Russia has seen immense revolutions in just the past century, including purges, poisonings, famines, assassinations, and massacres. During that time, it also endured civil war, world war, and the Cold War.

Author: **Michael Kerrigan**

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**

Alternatives

Into Russia's Cauldron: An American Vision, Undone (2021), by Steven Fisher

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: **The Soul of Russia (2023).** In terms of literature, music, and film, it would be hard to outdo the sheer genius and creativity of Russia. These things constitute the soul of the nation, and it is this that Morris Berman explores in his latest work, *The Soul of Russia*. His central argument is that at the heart of this brilliance lies a particular idiosyncratic theme: the peasant-shamanic-folkloric tradition of the Russian people, which these artists, from Pushkin to Tarkovsky, drew upon for their inspiration. It was a "Dionysian" source, a nonrational one, and it endowed Russian creative work with what we would have to call vibrancy.

Author: **Morris Berman**

Title: **George Orwell and Russia (2023)** - For those living in the Soviet Union, Orwell's masterpieces, *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, were not dystopias, but accurate depictions of reality. Masha Karp explores how Orwell's work was received in Russia when it percolated into the country even under censorship. Suggesting a new approach to the controversial 'Orwell's List' of 1949, Karp puts into context the articles and letters written by Orwell at the time. She sheds light on how the ideas of totalitarianism exposed in Orwell's writing took root in Russia and, in doing so, helps us to understand the contemporary political reality. As Vladimir Putin's actions continue to shock the West, it is clear we are witnessing the next transformation of totalitarianism, as predicted and described by Orwell. Now, over 70 years after Orwell's death, his writing, at least as far as Russia is concerned, remains as timely and urgent as it has ever been.

Author: **Masha Karp**

Title: **The British Myth of Russia (2023)** - This book is devoted to the problem of perceiving and describing the national Other. It is focused on the British myth of Russia as a product of such perception and description and considers this myth a particular semiotic structure developed in British culture and a sustainable mental unit of collective British consciousness. Expressed in images, stereotypes, judgments, and plots, the myth of Russia is shown here to have been formed gradually, based on the ideas engendered by the complex cultural, historical, and sociopolitical context of different epochs. It describes all major stages of shaping the myth of Russia in British culture and analyses the specific nature of all semantic layers, corresponding to these stages. The book explores the forms the myth takes in British fiction, and will appeal to specialists in imagology, comparative studies, English literature, and intercultural communication, as well as to a much wider audience.

Author: **Svetlana Koroleva**

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, counterrevolutionaries, 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**

Title: **What's Cooking in the Kremlin: A Modern History of Russia Through the Kitchen Door (2023)**. What's Cooking in the Kremlin is a tale of feast and famine told from the kitchen, the narrative of one of the most complex, troubling, and fascinating nations on earth. Readers will travel through modern Russia with Witold Szablowski as he learns the story of the chef who was shot alongside the Romonovs, and the Ukrainian woman who survived the Great Famine and still weeps with guilt; the soldiers on the Eastern front who roasted snails and made nettle soup as they fought back Hitler's army; the woman who cooked for Yuri Gagarin and the cosmonauts; and the man who ran the Kremlin kitchen during the years of plenty under Brezhnev. We will hear from the women who fed the firefighters at Chernobyl, and the story of the Crimean Tatars, who returned to their homeland after decades of exile, only to flee once Russia invaded Crimea again, in 2014.

Author: **Witold Szablowski** (*Antonia Lloyd-Jones - Translator*)

Alternatives

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

Section IX: 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 considering 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) is 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 X: BRI and China-Russia Relations

Title: **Perfect Imbalance: China and Russia (2023)** - Perfect Imbalance seeks to answer one of the most important questions in twenty-first-century politics: how close are Putin's Russia and Xi's China? This book examines the current China–Russia partnership from several perspectives. **First**, what Vladimir Putin, Xi Jinping, and their respective foreign policy establishments publicly say about the relationship between the countries. **Second**, how the two establishments frame their tangible cooperation on matters such as security, the Arctic, space, and international relations with other Eurasian countries. **Finally**, the book examines the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic upon Sino–Russian relations. Putin and Xi's stories, where possible, are cross-checked with what is happening. Perfect Imbalance argues that although Russia has not pivoted towards China, and although there is no official Sino–Russian alliance in sight, the relationship will continue to grow and expand in search of a perfect imbalance.

Author: **Una Aleksandra Berzina-cerenkova**

Title: **China and Russia: Four Centuries of Conflict and Concord (2023)** - Russia and China, the largest and most populous countries in the world, respectively, have maintained a delicate relationship for four centuries. In addition to a four-thousand-kilometer border, they have periodically shared a common outlook on political and economic affairs. But they are, in essence, profoundly different polities and cultures, and their intermittent alliances have proven difficult and at times even volatile.

Author: **Philip Snow**

Title: **China's Belt and Road Initiative: A Geopolitical and Geo-economic Assessment (2023)** - provides a geopolitical and geo-economic assessment of President Xi Jinping's flagship foreign-policy initiative. The dossier explores the Belt and Road Initiative's role in China's domestic industrial strategy and in the country's growing influence around the world. It studies how Beijing's ambitions, management, and financing of the initiative have evolved since its launch in 2013. In addition, the volume reflects on the future of China's initiative following the Covid-19 pandemic.

Editor: **The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)**

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 XI: Eurasia Country-Specific Books

Afghanistan

Title: **Inside Afghanistan: Political Networks, Informal Order, and State Disruption (2023).** This book maps out how political networks and centers of power, engaged in patronage, corruption, and illegality, effectively constituted the Afghan state, often with the complicity of the internationally directed state-building project. It argues that politics and statehood in Afghanistan, in the last two decades, including the ultimate collapse of the government in August 2021, are best understood in terms of the dynamics of internal political networks, through which warlords and patronage networks came to capture and control key sectors within the state and economy, including mining, banking, and illicit drugs as well as elections and political processes.

Author: **Timor Sharan**

Title: **Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History (2022).** Afghanistan traces the historic struggles and the changing nature of political authority in this volatile region of the world, from the Mughal Empire in the sixteenth century to the Taliban resurgence today. Thomas Barfield introduces readers to the bewildering diversity of tribal and ethnic groups in Afghanistan, explaining what unites them as Afghans despite the regional, cultural, and political differences that divide them.

Author: **Thomas Barfield**

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

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

Armenia

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

Author: **Gaidz 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: **Living the High Life in Minsk: Russian Energy Rents, Domestic Populism and Belarus' Impending Crisis (2023).** The book looks at the sources of stability and instability in post-Soviet states through the case study of President Lukashenka's firm hold on power in Belarus. It seeks to understand the role of energy relations, policies, and discourses in the maintenance of this power. The central empirical question Balmaceda seeks to answer is what has been the role of energy policies in the maintenance of Lukashenka's power in Belarus? It analyses the role of energy policies in the management of Lukashenka's relationship with three constituencies crucial to his hold on power: Russian actors, the Belarusian nomenklatura, and the Belarusian electorate.

Author: Margarita M Balmaceda

Title: **Belarus in Crisis: From Domestic Unrest to the Russia–Ukraine War (2023)** - In 2020, mass anti-government protests erupted across Belarus. The crackdown that followed shocked the international community: the authorities arrested tens of thousands of citizens, shut down independent media and NGOs, and fomented a migrant crisis on the European Union's border. But where many thought Belarus's leader would fall, he instead turned to Moscow for support. Many of his opponents fled the country. Then, in February 2022, Belarus provided a staging area for Russia's invasion of Ukraine, allowing troops and missile systems to be based on its territory as large-scale war returned to Eastern Europe once again.

Author: Paul Hansbury

Title: A History of Belarus (2014)

Author: Lubov Bazan

Title: Belarus under Lukashenka: Adaptive Authoritarianism (2018)

Author: Matthew Frear

Georgia

Title: Georgia: From Autocracy to Democracy

Authors: Stephen F. Jones and Neil MacFarlane

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

Iran

Title: **The Sacred Republic: Power and Institutions in Iran (2023).** This book presents a detailed analysis of the establishment, evolution, and current significance of different institutions in today's Islamic Republic of Iran. The volume draws on the insights of several Iranian experts to examine their establishment, functions, and evolution, as a means of understanding Iranian politics and society. 'The Sacred Republic's' specific focus is on the key formal institutions of the state through which the Islamic Republic exercises power, namely the 'velayat-e faqih': the judiciary, the presidency, the parliament, elections, the Revolutionary Guards, and the foreign policy establishment. Despite significant work on Iranian politics in recent decades, few studies have focused on state institutions, their resilience, or the reasons for and manner of institutional change. Through historical institutionalism and comparative historical analysis, the contributors to this book together fill a glaring gap in the study of Iran's political institutions, offering significant insights into the theoretical literature on comparative politics, Middle Eastern politics, and Iranian Studies.

Editor: Mehran Kamrava

Title: **The Regent of Allah: Ali Khamenei's Political Evolution in Iran (2023).** This book is a portrait of the current Supreme Leader and the cultural and intellectual milieu in which he came to power. It offers details about his character, including his interest in literature, and demonstrates how he became a master of consolidating power and adopted an aggressive regional posture and strategic hedging on the nuclear issue.

Author: Mehdi Khalaji

Title: **Righteous Politics: Power and Resilience in Iran (2023).** Since the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979, the Iranian political system has been subject to diminishing legitimacy. In recent years, various waves of protest have spread across the country and the question of the resilience of the revolutionary state becomes more pressing by the day. Drawing from extensive fieldwork and primary sources, Mehran Kamrava provides here a comprehensive and accessible analysis of the Iranian state and the various formal and informal institutions through which it operates.

Author: **Mehran Kamrava**

Kazakhstan

Title: **A Revolt in the Steppe: Understanding Kazakhstan's January Events of 2022 (2023)** – This book explores the various ramifications and consequences of the violent civil protests that affected Kazakhstan in January 2022. In this study, the authors examine the underlying social and political tensions that have affected the country, especially since its political transition of 2019, and how the state has managed to justify its actions that led to a return to peace. It also puts in perspective this event in the wider transition affecting Eurasia with the war in Ukraine and how this shift of world politics may impact Kazakhstan which required the support of Russia and the other members of the Collective Security Treaty Organization during these protests.

Editor: **Jean-François Caron**

Title: **Kazakhstan: Snow Leopard at the Crossroads (2023)** - This volume examines the experience of Kazakhstan's transition over the past 30 years, explaining the political and economic performance of the country since the collapse of the USSR, through the country's institutions, policy choices, and external environment.

Author: **Christopher Hartwell**

Title: **The Creation of Kazakh National Identity: The Relationship with Russia, 1900-2015 (2023)**

Author: **Dmitry V. Shlapentokh**

Title: **Understanding Kazakhstan's 2019 Political Transition (2021)**

Author: **Jean-François Caron**

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

Author: **Joanna Lillis**

Kyrgyz Republic

Title: **The History of Kyrgyzstan: From Yurts to Peaks (2023).** The History of Kyrgyzstan" is an immersive journey through the heart of Central Asia, offering readers an exploration of a land where history, culture, and nature converge in a mesmerizing tapestry. You'll delve deep into the annals of Kyrgyzstan's past, tracing the footsteps of Scythian and Saka tribes, exploring the crossroads of the Silk Road, and witnessing the rise of the Kyrgyz Khanate. The pages come alive with tales of Marco Polo's travels, the Mongol conquests, and Timur's enduring legacy in the region.

Authors: Dilshan Jensen, Einar Felix Hansen

Title: **Nomadity of Being in Central Asia: Narratives of Kyrgyzstani Women's Rights Activists (2023) ... by Syinat Sultanalieva**

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 Legendary Mongol Khans: The Lives and Legacies of Genghis Khan, Kublai Khan, and Tamerlane (2023)** - Genghis Khan is one of history's greatest and most famous conquerors. No man, before or since, has ever started with so little and gone on to achieve so much. From a noble family but raised in poverty that drove him to the brink of starvation, Genghis Khan rose to control the second-largest empire the world has ever known and easily the largest empire conquered by a single man.

Author: Charles River

Title: **The History of Mongolia: From Genghis Khan to Modern Marvels (2023)**

Author: Dilshan Jensen and Einar Felix Hansen

Title: **The Secret History of the Mongols (2023)**

Translator: Christopher P. Atwood

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: **History of the Tajiks: Iranians of the East (2023).** In this comprehensive and up-to-date history, from prehistoric proto-Indo-Iranian times to the post-Soviet period, Richard Foltz traces the complex linguistic, cultural, and political history of the Tajiks, a Persian-speaking Iranian ethnic group from the modern-day Central Asian states of Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and Uzbekistan. In eight chapters, the author explores the revitalization of Persian culture under the Samanid Empire in the Tajik heartlands of historical Khorasan and Transoxiana; analyses the evolution of the politics of Tajik identity; and traces the history of the ethnic Tajik diaspora today. This revised edition includes a new chapter on the Tajiks' situation in Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and Uzbekistan since 2018, covering notably the effects of the Taliban's return to power in August 2021 and the COVID pandemic in all three countries, as well as border clashes with Kyrgyzstan.

Author: Richard Foltz

Title: **Political Islam and Democracy in Central Asia: The Islamic Revival Party of Tajikistan (2023)**

Author: Ajam Kalonov

Title: **Tajikistan's National Epics: Muqanna's Rebellion and The Tajik People's Hero Temur Malik**

Author: Sadriddin Ayni

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

Title: Discovering Turkmenistan: A Traveler's Guide (2023)

Author: Vikash Dabriwal

Ukraine

See also books listed in Russia-Ukraine Conflict Section VIII

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 and 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: **History of Uzbekistan, Primary History: Ethnic Structure, Independence, Economy, Government. Culture (2023)** - The first people known to have occupied Central Asia were Iranian nomads who arrived from the northern grasslands of what is now Uzbekistan sometime in the first millennium. These nomads, who spoke Iranian dialects, settled in Central Asia and began to build an extensive irrigation system along the rivers of the region. At this time, cities such as Bukhoro (Bukhara) and Samarqand (Samarkand) began to appear as centers of government and culture. By the fifth century, the Bactrian, Soghdian, and Tokharian states dominated the region. As China began to develop its silk trade with the West, Iranian cities took advantage of this commerce by becoming centers of trade.

Author: **Brandon Bell**

Title: **Historical Dictionary of Uzbekistan (Historical Dictionaries of Asia, Oceania, and the Middle East) (2023)**

Author: **Reuel Hanks**

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 impact their business
- We assist local business teams and management in headquarters to help ensure a strategic focus and success for our client's 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 several locations in Eurasia, 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 provide analysis of economic and industry data as well as an assessment of all relevant news and events that 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 the management and board level.

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