

Russia & CIS Relevant Books 2018 + Recommended Reading List

*“If you only read the books that everyone else is reading,
you can only think what everyone else is thinking.”*

Haruki Murakami, Norwegian Wood

Most useful & interesting books in 2018. The first section of this report lists the most useful (for investors and business managers) books about Russia, the CIS and Central Asia which have been published in 2018 and which offer some insight into either the economy and politics or simply how Russia works. Intentionally excluded from this list are most of the “tabloid” books focusing on, e.g. the impending doom of war or simply ranting about why Russia/the CIS is either so bad or so wonderful. Also excluded are the dozen, or more, written about Russia’s alleged involvement in the 2016 US Presidential election and the Skripal affair. None of these add anything useful for those looking to better understand how Russia works or the business and investment climate.

Increased interest in Central Asia. One notable trend this year has been the increase in the number of books published about the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and also about Central Asia, both with a regional focus and on individual countries. This also reflects the growing interest among investors and international corporations in the broader CIS-Eurasia region.

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

- Domestic Politics
- Economy
- General Russia Books
- International Relations
- Russia, China and BRI
- CIS and Eurasia Region
- CIS and Eurasia Countries

Reviews in Macro-Monthly reports. We list all new and relevant books published about Russia or the other countries of the CIS-Eurasia region in our flagship Macro-Monthly publication. A more detailed review of these books can be found in that report.

Russia recommended reading. The second section of the report lists the most useful books published about Russia since independence. These books, in our opinion, will help the reader to better understand Russia today; how it has evolved, how it is run, and how decisions are made. These books collectively will help the reader to get a better feel of what to expect next or at least to place events in a better context.

Caucasus and Central Asia. Sections three to five list the most useful books about China’s involvement in Central Asia; about the emergence of the Central Asia region in terms of politics and investment opportunities; and, finally, some recommended books for each country in the CIS-Eurasia region. For our clients, we issue regular updates, covering the macro-economic, political, investment and business environment for each of the countries in the region and, within these, new books are reviewed.

Section I: 2018 Publications

❖ Domestic Politics

Title: The New Autocracy: Information, Politics, and Policy in Putin's Russia

Author: Daniel Treisman (editor) and contributors

After fading into the background for many years following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia now appears to be a threat in the minds of many Western politicians and for NATO planners. But, Treisman argues, Western assumptions about Russia, and in particular about political decision-making in Russia, tend to be out of date or just plain wrong. Under the leadership of Vladimir Putin since 2000, Russia is neither a somewhat reduced version of the Soviet Union nor a classic police state. He argues that while corruption is undoubtedly prevalent at many levels of government and business, Russia's leaders pursue broader and more complex goals than one would expect in a typical Kleptocracy. Nor does Russia fit the standard political science model of a "competitive authoritarian" regime; its parliament, political parties, and other political bodies are neither fakes to fool the West nor forums for bargaining among the elites.

This work is the result of a two-year collaboration between Russian experts and Western political scholars. It aims to explore the roles of Russia's presidency, security services, parliament, media and other actors. The authors argue that Putin has created an "informational autocracy," which relies more on media manipulation than on the comprehensive repression of traditional dictatorships. While these tactics have been successful in the short run, the regime that depends on them already shows signs of age: over-centralization, a narrowing of information flows, and a reliance on informal fixers to bypass the bureaucracy. The conclusion the various contributing authors come to is that the regime's challenge will be to continue to block social modernization without undermining the leadership's own capabilities.

The editor of this work is Daniel Treisman. He is a professor of political science at the University of California, Los Angeles and a research associate of the National Bureau of Economic Research. Much of his research focuses on Russian politics and economics as well as comparative political economy, including in particular the analysis of democratization, the politics of authoritarian states, political decentralization, and corruption. His previous book, *The Return: Russia's Journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev* was one of the *Financial Times'* "Best Political Books of 2011."

Title: **Russia: Strategy, Policy and Administration**

Author: ***Irvin Studin (Editor)***

This book sets out to examine how Russia, which it describes as the world's most complicated country, is governed. The book explores Russia's overarching strategies, and how it organizes itself (or not) in policy areas ranging from foreign policy and national security to healthcare, education, immigration, science, sport, agriculture, the environment and criminal justice. The book also discusses the structures and institutions on which Russia relies in order to deliver its goals in these areas of national life, as well as what's to be done, in policy terms, to improve the country's performance in its first post-Soviet century.

The study is edited by Irvin Studin but has chapters contributed by many well-known Russia experts and commenters, including, Alexei Kudrin & Vladimir Mau. Chapters are divided into:

- Russian Strategy & Statecraft
- Public Policy
- State Institutions and Structures

Topics covered include; Russia's goals in the 21st Century, Federalism, Political structures, Security concerns and ambitions, the Arctic, Industrial policies, education and healthcare, bureaucracy, judiciary, energy policy, transportation & infrastructure, etc.

Title: **Russia's Response to Sanctions**

Author: ***Richard Connolly***

There have been many articles written about the impact of sanctions. Most, even from venerable academics, are politically biased. Some very recent examples echoed the 2015 comment from former US President Obama that sanctions had wreaked havoc on the economy and left it in tatters. Such commentaries ignore the impact of the collapsing oil price and also some basic facts about the economy such as that the recession was milder than expected and short-lived or that the country's balance sheet is in a strong position as are financial, trade and budget balances.

Richard Connolly's book is the first to comprehensively look at the subject in great detail. His focus is, however, the political economy and the role of the state in the response to sanctions. He looks at how the sanctions caused Russian officials to formulate rapid policy responses to enable the country adapt to the new conditions. He also looks at the shift away from previous Western dependency towards a greater Asian focus.

His book looks in detail at how sanctions have affected, and reshaped, the defense, energy and financial sectors. He argues that all three sectors, while clearly hurt by sanctions, have become a lot less vulnerable to external pressure so that additional sanctions will be a lot less effective and will not allow Western governments achieve their intended goals.

The book does not cover the changing role of hydrocarbons to any great extent. It is clear that a second oil shock in six years was also a major contributor to the government's policy actions. It does not want to be vulnerable to future oil price collapses and that, as much as the need for a sanctions response, led to such initiatives as the Budget Rule and the strategy to get the budget to balance at US\$42 per barrel oil within a few years. It also does not cover in detail the fact that the old hydrocarbon-based economy was becoming much less effective from late 2012 and needed to change or risk entering a prolonged period of stagnation.

Sanctions are a big part of the mix but the response of the government must also take into account the impact of the oil revenue collapse and the need for a policy response to an already failing economic model. It is not all about the political economy.

That said, this is by far the best academic analysis of the impact of sanctions on the economy and a very useful introduction for those wanting to get a better insight than is available from other academic works.

Richard Connolly is director of the Center for Russia, European and Eurasian Studies at the University of Birmingham. He is principally focused on the political economy of Russia.

Title: **The Long Hangover: Putin's New Russia and the Ghosts of the Past**

Author: **Shaun Walker**

I always maintain that amongst the best books to read to understand Russia are those written by foreign correspondents who have lived for several years in the country. This is one of those and it does not disappoint. The author has been Moscow-based for various media groups for ten or more years. Currently, he is Central and Eastern Europe correspondent for The Guardian.

This is what Angus Roxborgh has to say about the book:

"The Long Hangover is a superb book, based on real knowledge and long conversations with Russians (and Ukrainians) with a wide variety of views and backgrounds. Walker is clearly guided not by prejudice but by empathy and a willingness to accept that not everything is black and white -- not as simple as the majority of Western commentators make it out to be. He eschews the hectoring or supercilious tone that marks so much Western writing about Russia. It actually adds to our knowledge, rather than recycling clichés.

In The Long Hangover, Shaun Walker provides a deeply reported, bottom-up explanation of Russia's resurgence under Putin. By cleverly exploiting the memory of the Soviet victory over fascism in World War II, Putin's regime has made ordinary Russians feel that their country is great again".

The book explores why Russia has failed to come to terms with the darkest pages of its past: Stalin's purges, the Gulag, and the war deportations. The narrative roams from the corridors of the Kremlin to the wilds of the Gulags and the trenches of east Ukraine. It puts the annexation of Crimea and the newly assertive Russia in the context of the delayed fallout of the Soviet collapse.

Title: **Fortress Russia: Conspiracy Theories in the Post-Soviet World**

Author: *Ilya Yablokov*

Allegations of Russian conspiracies meddling in the affairs of Western countries have been a persistent feature of Western politics since the Cold War - allegations of Russian interference in the US presidential election are only the most recent in a long series of conspiracy allegations that mark the history of the twentieth century. But Russian politics is rife with conspiracies about the West too. Everything bad that happens in Russia is traced back by some to an anti-Russian plot that is hatched in the West. Even the collapse of the Soviet Union was, according to some Russian conspiracy theorists, planned and executed by Russia's enemies in the West. This book is a study of Russian conspiracy theories in the post-Soviet period. It examines why these conspiracy theories have emerged and gained currency in Russia and what role intellectuals have played in this process.

Dr. Ilya Yablokov is a Teaching Fellow in Russian Studies at Leeds University

Title: **Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain**

Edited: *Stephen Wegren*

Contributing authors explore a list of domestic and international problems which they believe Russia confronts. They consider an array of economic, political, foreign policy, and social issues. They all appear to accept the view that Putin's approach for dealing with his country's challenges emphasizes recentralization of power and a strong state. They see him as having returned to power for a fourth term amidst unresolved policy issues both domestically and from the international community.

In each of the chapters, the contributors outline the parameters of the institutional or policy themes established during the Yeltsin years of the 1990s. They then clarify the often sharp changes that President Putin put in place in the early 21st century. On a broader level, the Putin/Medvedev years have been characterized by the contradiction between movement in a more statist centralized direction and the emergence of a more robust and participatory political culture. Domestic policy chapters highlight past changes and current needs in demographic, economic, crime/corruption, and agricultural policy. The four foreign policy chapters focus on the tensions with the US, the priority on Central Asia, the importance of relations with the EU, and the process of military reform.

Stephen K. Wegren is professor of political science at Southern Methodist University.

Title: Russia's Regional Identities: The Power of the Provinces

Editors: *Edith Clowes, Gisela Erbsloh, Ani Kokobobo*

Contemporary Russia is often viewed as a centralized regime based in Moscow, with dependent provinces, made subservient by government policies limiting regional autonomy. This book argues that by looking at Russia's regions more in cultural and social terms, a quite different picture emerges, of a Russia rich in variety, with different regional identities, cultures, traditions and memories. The book aims to explore how identities are formed and rethought in contemporary Russia, and outlines the nature of particular regional identities, from Siberia and the Urals to southern Russia, from the Russian heartland to the non-Russian republics. A useful book for anybody looking to understand Russia outside of the MKAD (Moscow outer ring-road).

❖ Economy

Title: The Russian Budget

Edited: *Stephen Fortescue*

The Russian budget process has received little detailed attention in academic literature. Here various key aspects of the formation of the federal budget, largely since Putin began his third presidential term in 2012, are examined. It is primarily the writing of the expenditure side of the budget which is described, that is, how it is decided how much money is spent on what. While ample information is provided on budgetary outcomes, the focus is on the process: the issues faced by budget makers, the actors and institutions involved, and the formal and informal procedures that lead to outcomes. It is not the task of the volume to provide an analysis of the wisdom or effectiveness of particular budget allocations; its goal is to provide some judgement on the effectiveness of the process. Chapters are offered on the budgetary process as it relates to the two main claimants on federal budget funding, the social and defence sectors. Three chapters then examine the major locations of budgetary policy-making: the executive (at presidential and cabinet of ministers level), the Duma, and the expert community.

Stephen Fortescue is an Honorary Associate Professor at the University of New South Wales, Australia.

❖ Russia General

Title: The Vory: Russia's Super Mafia

Author: *Mark Galeotti*

Mark Galeotti is quite rightly regarded as the go-to expert on organized crime in Russia. He is a senior researcher at the Institute of International Relations in Prague.

This is the first English-language book to document the men who emerged from the gulags to become Russia's much-feared crime class: the vory v zakone. The vory, or simply the Russian mafia, is a group that has survived and thrived amid the changes brought on by Stalinism, the Cold War, the Afghan War, and the end of the Soviet Union. The vory first emerged 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. This book studies details of the vory's emergence and their adaptation to modern-day Russia and their global reach.

Title: **Rich Russians: From Oligarchs to Bourgeoisie**

Author ***Elisabeth Schimpfössl***

The lives of wealthy people have long held an allure to many, but the lives of wealthy Russians pose a particular fascination. Having achieved their riches over the course of a single generation, the top 0.1 percent of Russian society has become known for often ostentatious lifestyles.

Rich Russians takes a deep look at this group: their personal stories, trajectories, ideas about life and how they see their role and position both on top of Russian society as well as globally. These people grew up and lived through a historically unique period of economic turmoil and social change following the collapse of the Soviet Union. But when taken in a wider historical context, their lives follow a familiar path, from new money to respectable money; parvenus becoming part of Society.

Based on interviews with millionaires, billionaires, their spouses and children, *Rich Russians* concludes that, as a class, they have acquired all sorts of cultural and social resources which help consolidate their personal power. Many have developed distinguished tastes, rediscovered their family history, and begun actively engaging in philanthropy. Most importantly, they have worked out a narrative to justify why they deserve their elitist position in society - because of who they are and their superior qualities - and why they should be treated as equals by the West.

Dr Elisabeth Schimpfössl is Lecturer in Sociology and Policy at Aston University in Birmingham, England

Title: **Fortress Russia: Conspiracy Theories in Post-Soviet Russia**

Author ***Ilya Yablokov***

Allegations of Russian conspiracies to meddle in the affairs of the West have been a persistent feature of Western politics since the Cold War – recent allegations of Russian interference in the 2016 US presidential election are only the most recent in a long series of conspiracy allegations that mark the history of the 20th century. However, Russian politics is rife with conspiracies about the West too. Everything bad that happens in Russia is traced back by some to an anti-Russian plot that is hatched in the West. Even the collapse of the Soviet Union – this crucial turning point in world politics that left the US as the only remaining superpower – was, according to some Russian conspiracy theorists, planned and executed by Russia's enemies in the West.

❖ **Global Oil**

Title: **Saudi America: The Truth about Fracking**

Author: ***Bethany McLean***

The technology of fracking in shale rock – particularly in the Permian Basin in Texas – has transformed America into the world's top producer of both oil and natural gas. Many experts expect the US to be "energy independent" and a "net exporter" in less than a decade, a move that will upend global politics, destabilize Saudi Arabia, crush Russia's chokehold over Europe, and finally bolster American power again. Or will it?

Investigative journalist Bethany McLean digs deep into the cycles of boom and bust that have plagued the American oil industry for the past decade, from the financial wizardry and mysterious death of fracking pioneer Aubrey McClendon, to the investors who are questioning the very economics of shale itself. McLean finds that fracking is a business built on attracting ever-more gigantic amounts of capital investment, while promises of huge returns have yet to bear out.

*Bethany McLean is an investigative journalist who has written and co-authored several financial investigative books, including *The Smartest Guys in the Room* (The Enron story)*

❖ **International relations**

Title: **Russia Reconsidered: Putin, Power, and Pragmatism**

Author: ***Matthew Crosston plus multiple authors***

In this work, the author studies the strained foreign relations between the United States and Russia. While acknowledging the pragmatism, self-interest, and (alleged) unethical aspects of Russia's foreign policy, he argues that this ever-tense situation is best viewed through an amoral, apolitical, and unbiased lens - a controversial approach in a country whose citizens have viewed Russia and the Former Soviet Union as black-and-white, clear-cut villain for decades.

Dr. Matthew Crosston is the Miller Chair for Industrial and International Security and Director of the International Security and Intelligence Studies (ISIS) program at Bellevue University

Title: **No Place for Russia: European Security Institutions Since 1989**

Author: ***William Hill***

This is a discussion of European institutions from the late Cold War to the present; in short, how we got from "Europe whole and free" to the mess we are in.

The optimistic vision of a "Europe whole and free" after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 has given way to disillusionment, bitterness, and renewed hostility between Russia and the West. In *No Place for Russia*, Hill traces the development of the post-Cold War European security order to explain today's tensions, showing how attempts to integrate Russia into a unified Euro-Atlantic security order were gradually overshadowed by the domination of NATO and the EU. Hill argues that the redivision of Europe has been largely unintended and not the result of any single decision or action. Instead, the current situation is the cumulative result of many decisions - reasonably made at the time - that gradually produced the current security architecture and led to mutual mistrust.

The author analyzes the US decision to remain in Europe after the Cold War, the emergence of Germany as a major power, and the transformation of Russia into a nation-state, placing major weight on NATO's evolution from an alliance dedicated primarily to static collective territorial defense into a security organization with global ambitions. Closing with Russia's annexation of Crimea and war in eastern Ukraine, No Place for Russia argues that the post-Cold War security order in Europe has been irrevocably shattered, to be replaced by a new and as-yet-undefined order.

Dr. William Hill is a Global Fellow at the Wilson Center in Washington. He is a former Professor of National Security Strategy, National War College and a retired Foreign Service officer.

Russia, China and BRI

Title: **China's Eurasian Dilemmas: Roads & Risks for a Sustainable Global Power**

Author: ***R.J. Ferguson***

Ferguson focuses on the challenges obstructing China's path to becoming a sustainable global power. Engagement across Eurasia presents China, its leaders and policymakers with intensified contact with regional and national conflicts, posing environmental, developmental and strategic dilemmas. Including an up-to-date analysis of wider Central Asian and transnational interactions between China and the EU, Eastern Europe and Russia, Ferguson evaluates the present and prospective implications of Chinese initiatives in the region.

Particular emphasis is paid to China's decision to create the Belt and Road Initiative and establish the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Divergent perspectives on multilateral international systems across Eurasia are also discussed, focusing on the contrast between Chinese and Russian approaches. Ferguson also explores China-Russia relations, linking their Eurasian and global agendas.

R. James Ferguson, Director, Centre for East-West Cultural and Economic Studies and Assistant Professor, Faculty of Society and Design, Bond University, Australia

Title: **New Silk Roads: The Present and Future of the World**

Title: ***Peter Frankopan***

The New Silk Roads is an update from the author's highly successful (it sold over 1 million copies) work on the emergence of the so-called modern Silk Road. It focuses on the network of relationships being formed along the length and breadth of the Silk Road today.

Following the Silk Roads eastwards from Europe through to China, by way of Russia and the Middle East, The New Silk Roads is a reminder that we live in a world that is profoundly interconnected. In this work, Peter Frankopan assesses the global reverberations of these continual shifts in the center of power - all too often absent from headlines in the West.

Title: **China, Russia, and Twenty-First Century Global Geopolitics**

Authors: ***Paul J. Bolt (Author), Sharyl N. Cross (Author)***

The caveat about this interesting sounding book is that both authors are Professors at the Department of Political Science at the United States Air Force Academy. Hence, you know exactly where the conclusions are coming from and aimed at. Still, the book is very useful in looking at trends and the developing relationship and interaction between Russia and China, especially with Belt & Road in mind.

The book compares the national worldviews, priorities, and strategic visions for the Chinese and Russian leaderships, examining several aspects of the relationship in detail. The energy trade is the most important component of economic ties, although both sides desire to broaden trade and investments. In the military realm, Russia sells advanced arms to China, and the two countries engage in regular joint exercises.

The authors highlight four themes:

- Russia and China have common interests that cement their partnership, including security, protecting authoritarian institutions, and re-shaping aspects of the global order.
- They are key players not only influencing regional issues, but also international norms and institutions.
- The Sino-Russo partnership presents a potential counterbalance to the United States in shaping the contemporary and emerging geopolitical landscape.
- The West is still an important partner for China and Russia. Both seek better relations with the West, but on the basis of 'mutual respect' and 'equality'.

The authors also point out where Russia and China have frictions in their relationship, i.e. not all of their interests overlap. China and Russia describe their relationship as a comprehensive 'strategic partnership', but they are not 'allies'.

Title: **China and Russia: The New Rapprochement**

Author: ***Alexander Lukin***

The author starts with the contention that Russia and China's growing cooperation in a number of key strategic areas looks set to have a major impact on global power dynamics. He sets out to examine what lies behind this Sino-Russian rapprochement and asks "is it simply the result of deteriorated Russo-US and Sino-US relations or does it date back to a more fundamental alignment of interests after the Cold War?"

In the book, the author traces the evolution of this partnership from the 1990s to the present day and how economic and geopolitical interests drove the two countries together in spite of political and cultural differences. He looks at the areas of cooperation and where there may be eventually. He argues that China's and Russia's strategic partnership is part of a growing system of cooperation in the non-Western world, which has also seen the emergence of a new political community: Greater Eurasia.

CIS & Eurasia Region

Title: **The Dawn of Eurasia: On the Trail of the New World Order**

Author: ***Bruno Macaes***

The author argues that the best word for the emerging global order is 'Eurasian', and sets out to explain why the world needs to begin thinking on a super-continental scale. While China and Russia have been quicker to recognize the increasing strategic significance of Eurasia, even Europeans are realizing that their political project is intimately linked to the rest of the supercontinent. The author uses as a backdrop a six-month road trip he undertook between Baku & Samarkand and from Vladivostok to Beijing, to reflect on the broader region and what role it may play in the decades to come.

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

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

The five Central Asian states have now been independent for over 25 years. The contributors highlight that the states, while sharing much in common, increasingly differ from each other, especially when it comes to global politics. No longer connected only to Russia, they are now connected in important ways to Afghanistan, South Asia, China, Iran, and each other. This volume covers a wide range of issues and presents the work of authors well-known for their expertise in the region.

The first part addresses social issues. Covering a wide range from HIV/AIDs to social media, the rebirth of Islam, outmigration, and problematic borders, this section follows two main currents: political development in the region and states' responses to transboundary challenges.

The second part, addressing economics and security, provides analyses of new infrastructure, informal economies (from bazaars to criminal networks), energy development, the role of enclaves in the Ferghana Valley, and the development of the states' military structures. This section illuminates the interactions between economic developments and security, and the forces that could undermine both.

The final part, comprised of five case studies, offers a "deeper dive" into a specific factor that matters in the development of each Central Asian state. These cases include Kazakhstan's foreign policy identity, Kyrgyzstan's domestic politics, Tajikistan's pursuit of hydropower, foreign direct investment in Turkmenistan, and the perception of everyday corruption in Uzbekistan.

Title: **Return of Marco Polo's World: War, Strategy, and American Interests in the Twenty-first Century Hardcover**

Author: *David Kaplan*

David Kaplan is an American author whose work covers politics, primarily foreign affairs, and travel. He is a Senior Fellow at the Center for a New American Security in Washington, DC.

This is a very American defense-sector focused work, which offers the Pentagon's view of what is happening in Central Asia and what the US should be doing about it.

The blurb describes this as an assessment of US foreign policy and world disorder over the past two decades, anchored by a Pentagon-commissioned essay about changing power dynamics among China, Eurasia, and America. The essay, recently released by the Pentagon's Office of Net Assessment, lays out a blueprint of the world's changing power politics that recalls the late thirteenth century. As Europe fractures from changes in culture and migration, Eurasia coheres into a single conflict system. China is constructing a land bridge to Europe. Iran and India are trying to link the oil fields of Central Asia to the Indian Ocean. America's ability to influence the power balance in Eurasia is declining.

Title: **Nationalism in Central Asia: A Biography of the Uzbekistan-Kyrgyzstan Boundary**

Author: *Nick Megoran*

This book explores the process of building independent nation-states in post-Soviet Central Asia through the lens of the boundary between Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, using a combination of political, historical, ethnographic, and geographic frames to shed new light on this process.

'Biographies' of political borders offers an insight on nationalism, argues Megoran in this multi-layered work. He presents an account of the troubled boundary between two post-Soviet Central Asian states, showing how 'interethnic conflict' actually results from particular internal political decisions.

Nick Megoran is lecturer in political geography at Newcastle University, UK.

Title: **Introduction to the Eurasian Economic Union**

Author: *Evgeny Vinokurov*

The Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), which includes Russia, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, and Armenia, is a new but substantial regional organization. Significant achievements include a common external customs tariff, a customs union and a common labor market: a well-developed institutional environment has emerged to support and advance these processes, ranging from the Eurasian Economic Commission and the EAEU Court to the Eurasian Development Bank and the Eurasian Fund for Stabilization and Development. This major integration achievement also has several drawbacks and 'stumbling stones'—some due to Russia's dominant position, some due to the authoritarian nature of political regimes, and some due to dependence on oil and gas exports.

This book presents a detailed qualitative and quantitative assessment of the Eurasian Economic Union, including the history of Eurasian integration, the macro-economy of EAEU member states, an assessment of trade and investment links, a descriptive analysis of the EAEU Treaty, an analysis of Eurasian institutions, the sociology of integration, the EAEU's emerging foreign economic policy, relations with the EU and China, the EAEU's position on One Belt One Road policies, and its medium-term policy agenda.

This primer text will be of interest and value for students, academics and practitioners working in economic policy and business communities and those interested in the history and development of the Eurasian Economic Union.

Dr Evgeny Vinokurov is Director of the Center for Integration Studies at the Eurasian Development Bank in Russia. As the founding director of the Centre of Integration Studies, he is responsible for an extensive research agenda which focuses on economic integration.

❖ Belarus

Title: Belarus under Lukashenka: Adaptive Authoritarianism

Author: Matthew Frear

This book explores the nature of the regime of Alexander Lukashenka, who has ruled Belarus since 1994, and who has often been described as "the last dictator in Europe". It discusses how Lukashenka came to power, providing a survey of politics in Belarus in early post-Soviet times, examines how power became personalized under his regime whilst maintaining good popular support. The book discusses all aspects of politics, including presidential power, the ruling elites, elections, the opposition, and civil society. The author characterizes Lukashenka's rule as "adaptive authoritarianism", and demonstrates how the regime's avoidance of any ideology, even nationalism, permits great freedom of maneuver, enabling pragmatic adaptation to changing circumstances.

Matthew Frear is an Assistant Professor at the Institute of History in Leiden University in The Netherlands. He teaches and supervises students on the BA International Studies, MA International Relations, BA Russian Studies, and MA Russian and Eurasian Studies programs.

❖ Kazakhstan

Title: State-Building in Kazakhstan: Continuity and Transformation of Informal Institutions

Author: Dina Sharipova

The declared aim of this book is to challenge the conventional wisdom that informal institutions -- networks, clientelism, and connections -- have to disappear in modern societies due to liberalization of the economy, rapid urbanization, and industrialization. The case of Kazakhstan shows that informal reciprocal institutions continue to play an important role in people's everyday lives. Liberalization of the economy and state retrenchment from the social sphere decreased the provision of public goods and social support to the population in the post-independence period. Limited access to state benefits has, in turn, stimulated people's engagement in informal reciprocal relations.

The author investigates the informal channels and mechanisms people use to gain access to quality public goods -- education, housing, and healthcare. Comparing the Soviet and post-Soviet periods, the author shows that people are more likely to rely on family networks and clientelist relations rather than on help from the state to obtain scarce resources.

Dr. Dina Sharipova is Assistant Professor at DMC, KIMEP University. She has Ph.D. in Political Science, Indiana University, Bloomington, USA, 2013

❖ Kyrgyz Republic

Title: **Have the Mountains Fallen? Two Journeys of Loss and Redemption in the Cold War**

Author: **Jeff Lilley**

Jeff Lilley is a team leader with Palladium International, a British-funded support group working with the parliament in the Kyrgyz Republic

After surviving the blitzkrieg of World War II and escaping from three Nazi prison camps, Soviet soldier Azamat Altay fled to the West and was charged as a traitor in his homeland of Kyrgyzstan in Soviet Central Asia. Chingiz Aitmatov became a hero of Kyrgyzstan, propelled by family loss to write novels about the everyday lives of his fellow citizens. Altay became the voice of democracy on Radio Liberty, broadcasting back into his shuttered homeland, while Aitmatov rose through the ranks of Soviet society, a quiet rebel whose prose masked truths about Soviet communism. Yet just as they seemed to be pulled apart by the divisions of the Cold War, they found their lives intersecting in compelling ways, joined by a common mission to save their people. Through narratives of loss, love, and longing for a homeland forever changed, the author offers a picture of the struggle for freedom inside the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

Title: **Order at the Bazaar: Power and Trade in Central Asia**

Author: **Regine Spector**

In Asia, bazaars are the economic bedrock for many throughout the region — they are the entrepreneurial hubs of Central Asia. However, they are also often regarded as criminally-governed environments that are largely populated by the dispossessed. By immersing herself in the bazaars of Kyrgyzstan, the author says she learned that some are rather best characterized as islands of order in a chaotic national context.

She draws on interviews, archival sources, and participant observation to show how traders, landowners, and municipal officials create order in the absence of a coherent government apparatus and bureaucratic state. Merchants have adapted Soviet institutions, including trade unions, and pre-Soviet practices, such as using village elders as the arbiters of disputes, to the urban bazaar by building and asserting their own authority.

Regine Spector is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Massachusetts Amherst.

❖ Tajikistan

Title: Historical Dictionary of Tajikistan

Author: *Kamoludin Abdullaev*

This third edition of Historical Dictionary of Tajikistan contains a chronology, an introduction, appendixes, and an extensive bibliography. The dictionary section has over 800 cross-referenced entries on important personalities, politics, economy, foreign relations, religion, and culture. This book is an excellent resource for anyone wanting to know more about Tajikistan.

Tajikistan is the only Persian-speaking country among the post-Soviet independent states. Historically, the Tajiks of Central Asia and Afghanistan along with the Persians of modern Iran came from a related ethnic group. During the first decade of the 21st century, the country was making modest progress toward stability. However, the heavy burden of socio-economic problems, in addition to continuing conflict in neighboring Afghanistan, presented even bigger challenges for Tajikistan. In addition, Western economic sanctions against Russia in 2014, coinciding with continuing lower oil prices, have negatively affected one million of Tajik labor migrants in Russia. Yet Tajikistan has become neither weaker nor less important as a player in world politics.

Kamoludin Abdullaev is an independent historian from Tajikistan who has studied and taught modern Central Asian history for more than 40 years. He has taught courses on modern Central Asia from a multidisciplinary perspective at Yale University and the Ohio State University from 2001-13.

❖ Turkmenistan

Title: Learning to Become Turkmen: Literacy, Language, and Power, 1914-2014

Author: *Victoria Clement*

Learning to Become Turkmen examines the ways in which the iconography of everyday life in dramatically different alphabets, multiple languages, and shifting education policies reflects the evolution of Turkmen society in Central Asia over the past century. The author claims that the formal structures of the Russian imperial state did not affect Turkmen cultural formations nearly as much as Russian language and Cyrillic script. Their departure was also as transformative to Turkmen politics and society as their arrival.

Complemented by extensive fieldwork, Learning to Become Turkmen is the first book in a Western language to draw on Turkmen archives, as it explores how this part of Eurasia has been shaped historically. It traces how Turkmen consciously used language and pedagogy to position themselves within global communities such as the Russian/Soviet Empire, the Turkic cultural continuum, and the greater Muslim world.

Victoria Clement is a regional analyst for professional Solutions at the Center for Advanced Operational Culture Learning at Marine Corps University

Ukraine

Title: **The Ukrainian Night: An Intimate History of Revolution**

Author: ***Marci Shore***

Marci Shore is associate professor of history at Yale University and the award-winning author of *Caviar and Ashes* and *The Taste of Ashes*. She has spent much of her adult life in Central and Eastern Europe. In this book she offers an intimate account of the Ukrainian Revolution. She contrasts what the rest of the world say while watching the events in Maidan Square, i.e. a major geopolitical event, with the experience of those in Kyiv and the rest of Ukraine; the blurring of night and day, the loss of a sense of time, the sudden disappearance of fear, the imperative to make choices. Using the true stories of activists and soldiers, parents and children, the book blends a narrative of suspenseful choices with a historian's reflections on what revolution is and what it means.

❖ **Uzbekistan**

Title: **Uzbekistan's New Face**

Authors: ***Frederick Starr, Svante Cornell***

This book is published by the American Foreign Policy Council

The “blurb” says “Uzbekistan, long considered the center of Central Asia, is undergoing rapid and fundamental reforms affecting all areas of society, from economics and judicial matters to religious life and foreign affairs. This process is helping kindle a new spirit of regionalism in Central Asia, and provides new opportunities for Western governments and businesses”

Section II: Recommended Reading List

These are books which I 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. They are in no particular order other than by category.

How Government Works and Decisions Are Made

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

Author: *Alena Ledeneva*

Title: **The New Autocracy: Information, Politics, and Policy in Putin's Russia (2018)**

Author: *Daniel Treisman (editor) and contributors (see comment earlier)*

Title: **Russia's Response to Sanctions (2018)**

Author: *Richard Connolly (see comment earlier)*

Alternatives: **Authoritarian Russia:** analyzing post-Soviet regime change; *Vladimir Gel'man*

The Invention of Russia, The Journey from Gorbachev's Freedom to Putin's War (2015) by *Arkady Ostrovsky*

A Russian Diary (2007) by *Anna Politkovskaya*

Vladimir Putin

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

Author: *Steven Lee Meyers*

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

Putin v Putin (2013) by *Alexander Dugin*.

The Putin Interviews (2017) by *Oliver Stone*

The Economy

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

Author: *Vladimir Mau*

Title: The Russian Budget (2018)

Edited: *Stephen Fortescue*

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

Russian Tide (2012) an account of Proctor & Gamble's experience of investing in Russia in the 1990s, written by John Pepper, President of P&G at the time ... by *John Pepper*

Oligarchs, Siloviki and Elites

Title: All the Kremlin's Men (2016 ... see review in 2016 Books)

Author: *Mikhail Zygar*

Title: The New Nobility: The Restoration of Russia's Security State and the Enduring Legacy of the KGB (2010)

Authors: *Andrei Soldatov and Irina Borogan*

Alternatives: **Sale of the Century (2000)** by *Chrystia Freeland*

The Oligarchs (2002) by *David Hoffman*

Russia-CIS Energy Sector

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

Author: *Thane Gustafson*

Title: **Putin's Oil: The YUKOS Affair (2010)** ... the best record of the YUKOS case

Author: *Martin Sixsmith*

Title: **The Oil and the Glory (2007)** ... Development of energy in the Caspian region

Author: *Steve LeVine*

General History

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

Author: *Robert Service*

Title: Hammer & Tickle (*humor in the Soviet Union*) (2008)

Author: *Ben Lewis*

Title: The House of Government: A Saga of the Russian Revolution (2017)

Author: *Yuri Slezkine*

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

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

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

Transition from Soviet Union to Russia

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

Author: *David Remnick*

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

Midnight Diaries (2000) by *Boris Yeltsin*

Rebirth of a Nation: An anatomy of Russia (1998) by *John Lloyd*

Section III: China & BRI

Title: China and Russia: The New Rapprochement

Author: *Alexander Lukin*

The author starts with the contention that Russia and China's growing cooperation in a number of key strategic areas looks set to have a major impact on global power dynamics. He sets out to examine what lies behind this Sino-Russo rapprochement and asks "is it simply the result of deteriorated Russo-US and Sino-US relations or does it date back to a more fundamental alignment of interests after the Cold War?"

Section IV: CIS and Eurasia Region

Title: The Resurgence of Central Asia (2017)

Author: *Ahmed Rashid*

The Resurgence of Central Asia is Ahmed Rashid's seminal study of the states that emerged in the aftermath of the breakup of the Soviet Union: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. All have Muslim majorities and ancient histories but are otherwise very different. Rashid's book, now with a new introduction by the author examining some of the crucial political developments since its first publication in 1994, provides entree to this geopolitically important region.

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

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

The five Central Asian states have now been independent for over 25 years. The contributors highlight that the states, while sharing much in common, increasingly differ from each other, especially when it comes to global politics. No longer connected only to Russia, they are now connected in important ways to Afghanistan, South Asia, China, Iran, and each other. This volume covers a wide range of issues and presents the work of authors well-known for their expertise in the region.

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

Title: *Peter Frankopan*

The New Silk Roads is an update from the author's highly successful (the 2015 version, below, sold over 1 million copies) work on the emergence of the so-called modern Silk Road. It focuses on the network of relationships being formed along the length and breadth of the Silk Roads today.

Following the Silk Roads eastwards from Europe through to China, by way of Russia and the Middle East, *The New Silk Roads* is a reminder that we live in a world that is profoundly interconnected. In this work, Peter Frankopan assesses the global reverberations of these continual shifts in the center of power - all too often absent from headlines in the West.

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

Author: *Peter Frankopan*

In this book, Frankopan goes back to (circa) 1,000 BC and the emergence of the Persian and Greek dynasties, and shows how it was, in fact, the Middle East and countries along the Silk Road which have had the greatest role in shaping the modern world and which continue to play a critical role today, albeit currently more in terms of energy risk and globally-impacting conflicts. His conclusion, after more than 600 pages of descriptive history and analysis, is that the Silk Road – broadly defined as those from the Black Sea to the Chinese border – countries are again in the ascendency and will regain their historic role as the spine of global commerce and culture.

The book also looks at China's current efforts to build trade links with the rest of the world. Beijing has allocated hundreds of billions of dollars to create what it refers to as the "21st Century Maritime Silk Road" or "One Belt, One Road". That plan is to build thousands of miles of rail and road links to Europe, the Middle East and North Africa, and to the Indian Ocean and sub-Sahara Africa. Those links will be laid cross Central Asia, Russia and Iran – i.e., basically across the old trade paths. Frankopan's contention is that this century will again belong to the Silk Road countries, especially taking into account the re-emergence of Iran and the expansion of India's regional economic and political ambitions. Iran, in particular, has always been the central player in Silk Road history. Whether the author's view is overly optimistic or not, it is becoming clear that the Silk Road "region" is returning to a more important economic and political role in the world.

Title: The Great Game, On Secret Service in High Asia (1990)

Author: *Peter Hopkirk*

For over a century (1803-1907) the two most powerful nations on earth, Victorian Britain and Tsarist Russia, fought a secret war in the lonely passes and deserts of Central Asia, almost all in what is modern day Uzbekistan. Those engaged in this shadowy struggle called it 'The Great Game', a phrase immortalized by Kipling. When play first began the two rival empires lay nearly 2,000 miles apart. By the end, some Russian outposts were within 20 miles of India. This classic book tells the story of the Great Game through the exploits of the young officers, both British and Russian, who risked their lives playing it. Disguised as holy men or native horse-traders, they mapped secret passes, gathered intelligence and sought the allegiance of powerful Khans. Some never returned. The violent repercussions of the Great Game are still convulsing Central Asia, and global politics, today.

Title: Great Game, Local Rules; The New Great Power Contest in Central Asia (2013)

Author: *Alexander Cooley*

Over the past quarter century, a new "great game" has emerged, pitting America against a newly assertive Russia and a resource-hungry China, all struggling for influence over the same region, now one of the most volatile areas in the world: the long border region stretching from Iran through Pakistan to Kashmir.

The author argues that, overlooked in all of the talk about this new great game, is the fact that the Central Asian governments have proven themselves critical agents in their own right, establishing local rules for external power involvement that serve to fend off foreign interest. As a result, despite a decade of intense interest from the United States, Russia, and China, Central Asia remains a collection of segmented states, and the external competition has merely reinforced the sovereign authority of the individual Central Asian governments.

Title: **Caucasus, An Introduction (2010)**

Author: ***Thomas de Waal***

The author makes the case that while the Caucasus is often treated as a sub-plot in the history of Russia, or as a mere gateway to Asia, the five-day war in Georgia, which flared into a major international crisis in 2008, proves that this is still a combustible region, whose inner dynamics and history deserve a much more complex appreciation from the wider world. In *The Caucasus*, de Waal provides an insight into the South Caucasus -- Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia, and their many smaller regions, enclaves, and breakaway entities. Providing both historical background and an insightful analysis of the period after 1991, de Waal sheds light on how the region has been scarred by the tumultuous scramble for independence and the three major conflicts that broke out with the end of the Soviet Union – Nagorny Karabakh, Abkhazia, and South Ossetia.

Section V: CIS-Eurasia Countries

Armenia

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

Author: Ramzik Panossian

The book traces the evolution of Armenia and Armenian collective identity, in the homeland and in the diaspora, from its beginnings to the eve of the Armenian nationalist movement over Karabakh in 1988. The emphasis is on the modern era – the seventeenth century onwards, including the Soviet period. Panossian's overall approach is that of interpretive political and cultural history, centered around theories of national identity formation and nationalism. The cultural identity of the Armenian people -- expressed in their art, literature, religious practice and even commerce -- played a vital role in preserving national memory, and forms an important component of this study, as does the author's analysis of the Armenian Genocide in 1915.

Title: The Crossing Point (1993)

Author: Philip Marsden

After centuries of prominence as a world power, Armenia has withstood every attempt during the 20th century to destroy it. With a name redolent both of dim antiquity and of a modern world and its tensions, the Armenians founded a civilization and underwent a diaspora that brought many of the great ideas of the East to Western Europe. The Crossing Place is Philip Marsden's account of his remarkable journey through the Middle East, Eastern Europe and the Caucasus. Caught between opposing empires, between warring religions and ideologies – at the crossing place of history – the Armenians have somehow survived against the odds.

Azerbaijan

Title: Azerbaijan: A Political History (2011)

Author: Suha Bolukbasi

Azerbaijan's Soviet and post-Soviet political history has been tumultuous and varied, particularly with regard to the struggle for independence, democracy and sovereignty. Suha Bolukbasi here illustrates how post-Stalin resilience, the tolerance shown toward subtle nationalist expression and Gorbachev's relaxation of central control from Moscow were all-in-part responsible for the initial emergence of a more liberal atmosphere in Azerbaijan. As a result, issues such as environmental degradation, the depletion of Azerbaijan's oil, and unfavorable terms of trade have all begun to be freely discussed. However, the Azerbaijan-Armenia dispute over Karabakh has had a dramatic impact on the political discourse.

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

Author: ***Thomas de Waal***

Since its publication in 2003, the first edition of *Black Garden* has become the definitive study of how Armenia and Azerbaijan, two southern Soviet republics, were pulled into a conflict that helped bring them to independence, spell the end of the Soviet Union, and plunge a region of great strategic importance into a decade of turmoil. This is both a reconstruction of the history of the Nagorny Karabakh conflict since 1988 and on-the-spot reporting of the convoluted aftermath. Part contemporary history, part travel book, part political analysis, the book is based on six months traveling through the south Caucasus, more than 120 original interviews in the region, Moscow, and Washington, and unique historical primary sources, such as Politburo archives. The historical chapters trace how the conflict lay unresolved in the Soviet era; how Armenian and Azerbaijani societies unfroze it; how the Politburo failed to cope with the crisis; how the war was fought and ended; how the international community failed to sort out the conflict. What emerges is a complex and subtle portrait of a beautiful and fascinating region, blighted by historical prejudice and conflict. The revised and updated 10th-year anniversary edition includes a new forward and a new chapter covering developments up to-2011.

Belarus

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

Author: ***Lubov Bazan***

A blank spot on the map for many, Belarus is an undiscovered mystery in the heart of Europe – undiscovered, because little has been published on the country's history and current affairs, and the origin of the ethnic group that calls itself 'Belarusians'. Author Lubov Bazan lifts the veil of secrecy surrounding Belarus and answers an important question of the ethno genesis of the Belarusians. Unique in its ongoing struggle for independence, throughout its history Belarus has been deprived of this luxury by being continuously included in various state formations such as 'Kievan Rus', the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Kingdom of Poland, the Russian Empire and later the Soviet Union. *A History of Belarus* is a thorough chronological narrative that covers major milestones of Belarus's journey into the 21st century.

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

Author: ***Matthew Frear***

This book explores the nature of the regime of Alexander Lukashenka, who has ruled Belarus since 1994, and who has often been described as "the last dictator in Europe". It discusses how Lukashenka came to power, providing a survey of politics in Belarus in early post-Soviet times, examines how power became personalized under his regime whilst maintaining good popular support. The book discusses all aspects of politics, including presidential power, the ruling elites, elections, the opposition, and civil society. The author characterizes Lukashenka's rule as "adaptive authoritarianism", and demonstrates how the regime's avoidance of any ideology, even nationalism, permits great freedom of maneuver, enabling pragmatic adaptation to changing circumstances.

Georgia

Title: **The Making of Modern Georgia, 1918-2012: The First Georgian Republic and its Successors**

Author: *Stephen F. Jones*

When most of Eastern Europe was struggling with dictatorships of one kind or another, the Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918-1921) established a constitution, a parliamentary system with national elections, an active opposition, and a free press. Like the Democratic Republic of Georgia in 1918, its successors emerged after 1991 and faced, yet again, the task of establishing a new economic, political and social system from scratch. Regional experts in this book explore the domestic and external parallels between the Georgian post-colonial governments of the early twentieth and twenty-first centuries. How did the inexperienced Georgian leaders in both eras deal with the challenge of secessionism, what was their state building strategy? What did their electoral systems look like, why were their economic strategies so different, and how did they negotiate with the international community neighboring threats.

Kazakhstan

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

Author: *Dina Sharipova*

The declared aim of this book is to challenge the conventional wisdom that informal institutions -- networks, clientelism, and connections -- have to disappear in modern societies due to liberalization of the economy, rapid urbanization, and industrialization. The case of Kazakhstan shows that informal reciprocal institutions continue to play an important role in people's everyday lives. Liberalization of the economy and state retrenchment from the social sphere decreased the provision of public goods and social support to the population in the post-independence period. Limited access to state benefits has, in turn, stimulated people's engagement in informal reciprocal relations.

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

Author: *Keith Rosten*

In *'Once in Kazakhstan'*, Rosten draws a sometimes humorous portrait of a critical period in the emergence of this Central Asian country, interweaving the challenges of living in Kazakhstan with the historical back drop of a nation grappling with its independence. From horse heads in the Central Market, to guns on the ski slopes, and to the first-ever parliamentary elections. He recounts the change in currency from the Soviet ruble to the tenge and travels with a candidate for parliament to a rural village near Semipalatinsk. Rosten provides access to native sources on the history, politics, traditions, and spirit of Kazakhstan.

Kyrgyzstan

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

Author: ***Sam Trantum***

The 35 oral histories in this English-language anthology touch on events including: Urkun; World War I; sedentarization; collectivization; World War II; the post-war reconstruction period; Stalin's death; the Khrushchev and Brezhnev eras; independence; and privatization. The interviewees talk about language, religion, the roles of men and women in society, their school days, their war experiences, migration issues, deported nationalities, agriculture, food, and entertainment. The first edition was published with support from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and the American University of Central Asia. This is the second edition.

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

Author: ***P. Stobdan***

Central Asia remains both stable and unpredictable after 20 years of its re-emergence. The states here continue to undergo a complex nation-building process, which is far from complete, but they firmly remain insulted by Russia and China. P. Stobdan served in Central Asia twice. His last diplomatic assignment was in Bishkek where he has served as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of India to Kyrgyzstan. He also served as Joint Director in the National Security Council Secretariat and Director/Professor of the Centre for Strategic and Regional Studies at the University of Jammu.

Mongolia

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

Author: ***Frank McLynn***

At well over 600 pages, this book covers the life and achievements of Genghis Khan as well as any of the previous established works. It goes through the early life of the future ruler and extends the coverage beyond his death to the achievements of his sons; the conquests of Eastern Europe, southern China and the establishment of the Golden Horde in Russia.

For those interested in the fine detail of how each campaign was planned and executed then this is the book to read. The author is very enamored with his hero and extols the genius of the great Khan on every other page. There is no doubt that this work covers the emergence of the Mongol Empire and the sequence of battles and campaigns which facilitated its growth, in very great detail. There are well illustrated maps and timelines which make this an easy book to follow and understand. There is no doubt that it is a remarkable story, of how one man inspired and organized a tribal and nomadic people to conquer most of the known world in not much more than half a decade.

Mention is certainly made of the huge slaughter that resulted from almost every battle but almost as an afterthought to the description of the genius of the campaign. Nobody knows how many people died in China, Central Asia, Eastern Europe, and The Middle East or in Russia as a result of the spread of the Mongol Empire but there is no dispute that it was in the “millions”. The Great Khan’s only offer to his enemies was “surrender or die” and he never compromised.

Unfortunately there is too little about the death of Genghis Khan and the speculation about where he may be buried. Although that is more a Western curiosity, as Mongol tradition was that people of importance were buried in unmarked graves and then the area left unmarked. There are quite a few Genghis Khan Mausoleums in both Inner and Outer Mongolia but almost certainly his remains are not in any of them.

The author’s assumption is that held by most credible historians which is that Genghis Khan died in the ordos region of Inner Mongolia (west of Beijing). The Mongol elite tried to bring his body home to bury on Mount Burqan in North-East Mongolia but because they had no embalming skills and the weather was warm, the task was impossible. Instead, the people of Mongolia see the whole country as his burial ground (albeit Mount Burgan is regarded as sacred).

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

Author: ***Morten Pederson***

This book explores how the Darhad people of Northern Mongolia's remote Shishged Valley have understood and responded to the disruptive transition from 1990 by engaging with shamanic beliefs and practices associated with the past. Mongolia's communist rulers attempted to eradicate shamanism and the shamans who once served as spiritual guides and community leaders. With the transition from a collectivized economy and a one-party state to a global capitalist market and liberal democracy in the 1990s, the people of the Shishged were plunged into a new and harsh world that seemed beyond their control. "Not-quite-shamans"— young, unemployed men whose undirected energies erupted in unpredictable, frightening bouts of violence and drunkenness that seemed occult in their excess — became a serious threat to the fabric of community life.

In the ideal version of traditional Darhad shamanism, shamans can control when and for what purpose their souls travel, whether to other bodies, landscapes, or worlds. Conversely, caught between uncontrollable spiritual powers and an excessive display of physical force, the "not-quite-shamans" embody the chaotic forms — the free market, neoliberal reform, and government corruption—that have created such upheaval in peoples' lives.

Tajikistan

Title: Historical Dictionary of Tajikistan (2018)

Author: *Kamoludin Abdullaev*

This third edition of Historical Dictionary of Tajikistan contains a chronology, an introduction, appendixes, and an extensive bibliography. The dictionary section has over 800 cross-referenced entries on important personalities, politics, economy, foreign relations, religion, and culture. This book is an excellent resource for anyone wanting to know more about Tajikistan.

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

Author: *Uzo Marvin*

The people now known as the Tajiks are the Persian speakers of Central Asia, some of whose ancestors inhabited Central Asia (including present-day Afghanistan and western China) at the dawn of history. Despite the long heritage of its indigenous peoples, Tajikistan has existed as a state only since the Soviet Union decreed its existence in 1924. The creation of modern Tajikistan was part of the Soviet policy of giving the outward trappings of political representation to minority nationalities in Central Asia while simultaneously reorganizing or fragmenting communities and political entities.

Turkmenistan

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

Author: *Adrienne Lynn Edgar*

On 27 October, 1991, the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic declared its independence from the Soviet Union. Seven decades earlier, Turkmenistan had been a stateless conglomeration of tribes. What brought about this remarkable transformation? *Tribal Nation* addresses this question by examining the Soviet effort in the 1920s and 1930s to create a modern, socialist nation in the Central Asian Republic of Turkmenistan. Adrienne Edgar argues that the recent focus on the Soviet state as a "maker of nations" overlooks another vital factor in Turkmen nationhood: the complex interaction between Soviet policies and indigenous notions of identity. In particular, the genealogical ideas that defined premodern Turkmen identity were reshaped by Soviet territorial and linguistic ideas of nationhood. The Soviet desire to construct socialist modernity in Turkmenistan conflicted with Moscow's policy of promoting nationhood, since many Turkmen viewed their "backward customs" as central to Turkmen identity.

Tribal Nation is the first book in any Western language on Soviet Turkmenistan, the first to use both archival and indigenous-language sources to analyze Soviet nation-making in Central Asia, and among the few works to examine the Soviet multinational state from a non-Russian perspective. By investigating Soviet nation-making in one of the most poorly understood regions of the Soviet Union, it also sheds light on broader questions about nationalism and colonialism in the twentieth century.

Ukraine

Title: **The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine**

Author: ***Serhii Plokhy***

This is a good primer for anybody wishing to better understand Ukraine. The author examines the history of Ukraine's search for its identity, bringing together some of the major figures in Ukrainian history: Prince Yaroslav the Wise of Kyiv, whose daughter Anna became queen of France; the Cossack ruler Ivan Mazepa, who was immortalized in the poems of Byron and Pushkin; Nikita Khrushchev and his protégé-turned-nemesis Leonid Brezhnev.

At the Western edge of the Eurasian steppe, caught between Central Europe, Russia, and the Middle East, Ukraine has long been the meeting place of empires – Roman to Ottoman, Habsburg to Russian – that left their imprint on the landscape, the language and the people. The frontier between Islam and Christianity created a class of ferocious warriors known as the Cossacks, while the encounter between the Catholic and Orthodox churches led to a religious tradition that bridges Western and Eastern Christianity. Ukraine has been a home to millions of Jews, serving as the birthplace of Hassidism – and as one of the killing fields of the Holocaust.

In the author's opinion, the recent conflict with Russia is a tragic case of history repeating itself, as Ukraine once again finds itself in the center of a battle of global proportions

Uzbekistan

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

Authors: ***Frederick Starr, Svante Cornell***

This book is published by the American Foreign Policy Council.

The “blurb” says “Uzbekistan, long considered the center of Central Asia, is undergoing rapid and fundamental reforms affecting all areas of society, from economics and judicial matters to religious life and foreign affairs. This process is helping kindle a new spirit of regionalism in Central Asia, and provides new opportunities for Western governments and businesses”.

Title: **Making Uzbekistan, Nation, Empire and Revolution in the Early USSR (2015)**

Author: ***Adeeb Khalid***

This book chronicles the history of Central Asia in the age of the Russian revolution. Traumatic upheavals, war, economic collapse, and famine transformed local society and brought new groups to positions of power and authority in Central Asia, just as the new revolutionary state began to create new institutions that redefined the nature of power in the region. This was also a time in which local actors seized upon the opportunity presented by the revolution to reshape their society. As the intertwined passions of nation and revolution reconfigured the imaginations of Central Asia's intellectuals, the region was remade into national republics, of which Uzbekistan was of central importance. Making use of archival sources from Uzbekistan and Russia, the author provides an account of the political history of the 1920s in Uzbekistan.

Uzbekistan, he argues, was not a creation of Soviet policies, but a project of the Muslim intelligentsia that emerged in the Soviet context through the interstices of the complex politics of the period. The energies unleashed by the revolution also made possible the golden age of modern culture, as authors experimented with new literary forms and the modern Uzbek language took shape.

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

Author: *Justin Marouzzi*

This is an account of the life of Tamerlane the Great (1336-1405), the last master nomadic power and one of history's most ruthless rulers. The name of the last great warlord conjures up images of mystery and romance: medieval warfare on desert plains; the clash of swords on snow-clad mountains; the charge of elephants across the steppes of Asia; the legendary opulence and cruelty of the illiterate, chess-playing nemesis of Asia. He ranks alongside Alexander the Great and Genghis Khan as one of the world's great conquerors.

He was not born to a distinguished family, nor did he find his apprenticeship easy – at one point his mobile army consisted only of himself, his wife, seven companions and four horses – but his dominion grew with astonishing rapidity. In the last two decades of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth, he blazed through Asia. Cities were razed to the ground, inhabitants tortured without mercy, sometimes enemies were buried alive – more commonly they were decapitated. On the ruins of Baghdad, Tamerlane had his princes erect a pyramid of 90,000 heads.

During his lifetime he sought to foster a personal myth, exaggerating the difficulties of his youth, laying claim to supernatural powers and a connection to Genghis Khan. This myth was maintained after his death in legend, folklore, poetry, drama and even opera, nowhere more powerfully than in Marlowe's play – he is now as much a literary construct as a historical figure.

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
- For our clients we carry out market and sectoral analysis, risk assessments, and deep due-diligence work across all of the key industry sectors in all of the countries in the region
- We keep our clients fully informed of the relevant trends and events which impacts their business
- We assist local business teams and management in headquarters to help ensure a strategic focus and success for our clients' businesses
- We are experts on the Eurasian Economic Union (EaEU) and help our clients assess the opportunities and implications of the economic bloc
- We are experts in the operation of the Chinese promoted Belt & Road Initiative (BRI) and in helping our clients understand the opportunities arising from this expanding trade and transport network

Our Competitive Advantages

- **Local.** From our base in Moscow we cover the entire CIS-Eurasia region. We have an available network of industry specialists across the region to assist with project work as required. We also have offices in London, Washington, and New York, from which we are able to 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 of our reports come with commercially relevant and, more importantly, actionable recommendations.
- **Reports.** All of our clients get regular reports updating and providing analysis of economic and industry data as well as an assessment of all relevant news and events which are important for companies and investors in the region.
- **Briefings.** We host regular client briefings, including quarterly events with specialist guest speakers. We also organize formal presentations for clients, including at management and board level.

Reports Suite*

MACRO ADVISORY Macro Monthly
Eurasia-Russia Consulting December 2017

Key Macro Forecasts - Base Case

	2017E	2018E
Growth, real % Y/Y	1.8%	1.7%
GFC, real % Y/Y	2.0%	3.5%
Real sales, % Y/Y	2.0%	3.0%
CR - year end, % Y/Y	2.8%	3.6%
Budget balance, % GDP	-1.9%	-1.5%
Current account, % GDP	1.9%	2.9%
Unemployment, % emp	5.5%	5.4%
CRR key rate, %	8.7%	8.5%

Tempered holiday mood

"Once again, we come to the Holiday Season, a deeply religious time that each of us observes, in his own way, by going to the mall of his choice."

Dave Barry, American author and satirist

* Investors and government are waiting for sanctions. The CAATS act

Russia Macro Monthly. This monthly update provides a record of all of the events which investors in Russia are interested in, such as economics, politics, monetary policy and all business related developments. This publication also has updated economic forecasts for Russia and all of the CIS-Eurasia states. We also provide reviews of all new books published which are focused on or which may influence the Eurasia region.

MACRO ADVISORY Sanctions Update
Eurasia-Russia Consulting January 2018

The Oligarch and INF Reports: How will they change the economic and political calculus?

"All unfriendly actions by the US will be met with exactly the same measures on the part of Russia"

President Putin, December 2017

Relatively calm 2017. Although 2017 saw a deterioration in US-Russia political relations, it was a relatively good

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

MACRO ADVISORY Uzbekistan Update
Eurasia-Russia Consulting September 2017

Key Statistics

GDP, US\$ bn (2015 est)	548.5
Population, mln	21.1
GDP/capita, US\$	22,297
GDP/capita, PPP basis, US\$	32,020

Source: World Bank

Catch-up is neither a sprint nor a marathon

"It's time for Uzbekistan to wake up"

Opening statement on Uzbekistan-24, the country's first 24-hour news channel

Key Macro Indicators

* Off the blocks quickly. Uzbekistan is playing catch-up with the rest of

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

MACRO ADVISORY Russia Agriculture
Eurasia-Russia Consulting November 2017

Key Macro Forecasts

	2017E	2018E
Growth, real % Y/Y	1.8%	2.0%
GFC, real % Y/Y	2.0%	3.5%
Real sales, % Y/Y	2.0%	3.0%
CR - year end, % Y/Y	2.8%	3.6%
Budget balance, % GDP	-2.3%	-1.5%
Current account, % GDP	1.9%	2.9%
Unemployment, % emp	5.5%	5.4%
CRR key rate, %	8.7%	8.5%

Can Russia Feed the World?

"Russia will feed the world. No doubt. We have arable land, water technology and infrastructure, already in place. Countries will simply be faced with a scarcity of food, so they will look at Russia and invest in Russia"

Andrei Guryev, CEO Phosagro

* Economy grows. The Russian economy is now growing again. The

Industry reports. The bulk of the work we undertake for our clients, for example, strategic industry analysis, is customized and is exclusive for the client. But, from time to time, we cover the general trends and focus on opportunities for investors in sectors which we believe have high growth potential. Over the past year we have issued reports covering agriculture, e-commerce, insurance, pharmaceuticals, construction, and many others.

MACRO ADVISORY Eurasian Economic Union
Eurasia-Russia Consulting September 2017

Population and PPP/Cap*

	Population million	GDP / Cap US\$ PPP
Armenia	3.0	56,174
Belarus	9.5	516,742
Kazakhstan	18.1	523,500
Kyrgyzstan	5.4	52,292
Russia Federation	144.8	524,025

Slowly Consolidating

"It's a purely economic union, which serves the interests of all our countries."

President Nursultan Nazarbayev (Kazakhstan), July 2017

* Steady Progress. Progress in building the trade and legislative

Thematic reports. In this series of reports we look at interesting and emerging themes which have relevance across the CIS-Eurasia region and are not exclusive to one country. We issue regular updates on the development of the Eurasia Economic Union (EaEU), the expanding Belt & Road network and the investment opportunities arising from this, Caspian Corridor developments, and others.

MACRO-ADVISORY What Lies Beneath
Bespoke Eurasia-Russia Consulting April 18th, 2017

PRIVILEGED AND CONFIDENTIAL

"What Lies Beneath" is a series of limited distribution reports prepared exclusively for Macro-Advisory clients that look at headline grabbing events, going deeper than the headlines.

Political Evolution, not Revolution

Political briefings. For our clients we issue regular updates covering sensitive political issues in all of the countries of Eurasia. In these tightly controlled reports we are able to offer an un-biased and frank opinion about the events and set out the implications for businesses and investment risk.

*Refer to our web site (www.macro-advisory.com) for a full list of available reports

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