

Russia & Eurasia Relevant Books 2019 + Recommended Reading

“Finally you get to an age when a book’s power to make you think is the first thing you notice about it”

Clive James, Author and broadcaster

Most useful & interesting books in 2019. This review lists the most useful books, for investors and business managers/planners, about Russia and the broader Eurasia region which have been published in 2019 and which offer some insight into either the economy and politics or simply how Russia and the other Eurasia states work. Specifically excluded from this list are most of the “tabloid” books focusing on, e.g. the impending doom of war or simply ranting about why Russia/Eurasia is either so bad or so wonderful. None add anything useful for those looking to better understand how the region works or to better understand the business and investment climate.

Moving beyond conflict. One major trend in 2019 is that there have been very few books published that are predicting war or a Russian invasion of the Baltics, or fewer than we have seen in 2015-18. Instead, the doom genre has been replaced, or displaced, with a number of books arguing that the US, and the West generally, needs to better understand Russia and that both sides need to cooperate rather than to remain in a state of conflict. Notably among these books are Angela Stent’s *Putin’s World: Russia Against the West and with the Rest*; Andrew Monaghan’s *Dealing with the Russians*; and George Beebe’s *The Russia Trap*.

Cyberwar coverage. We have added a new section to highlight the new genre of Russia and the cyber threat. There are several books on this topic scheduled for publication in 2020, to coincide with the US election no doubt.

Arctic interest. The Arctic is gaining more attention and several books have been published this year which look at Russia’s activities in the region.

Economic coverage is a noticeable gap. There have been no books published in the English language this year which focus on the economy.

Coverage of the Eurasia region is increasing. Interest in Central Asia and the Eurasian region generally is increasing. This year there have been quite a few books published focused on regional themes rather than only on one country. The impact of BRI, the Eurasia Economic Union and inward investment, from China in particular, are big themes this year

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

Section 1: Russia

- Domestic politics (Page 3)
- Russia and the world (Page 6)
- Russia and BRICS (Page 13)
- Cyber conflicts (Page 13)
- The Arctic (Page 14)
- General topics (Page 15)

Section II: Global oil (Page 19)

Section III: Russia, China and BRI (Page 20)

Section IV: Eurasia region – new books in 2019 (Page 21)

Section V: Eurasia country specific books – new books in 2019 (Page 24)

Section VI: Russia recommended reading List (Page 27)

- How the government works & decisions made
- Vladimir Putin
- Economy
- Oligarchs, Siloviki, Elites
- Russia and the world
- Russia-Eurasia energy
- History
- Transition from Soviet Union to Russia

Section VII: China & BRI recommended books (Page 30)

Section VIII: Eurasia Region recommended books (Page 31)

Section IX: Eurasia country specific recommended books

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

Section I: Russia 2019

❖ Domestic Politics

Title: Russia

Author: Dmitri Trenin

*Dmitri Trenin, Ph.D., has been Director of the Carnegie Moscow Center since 2008. A regular commentator on Russian affairs, he is the author of numerous books, including **Should We Fear Russia?** (2016) and **What is Russia Up to in the Middle East?** (2017).*

Over the past century alone, Russia has lived through great achievements and deepest misery; mass heroism and mass crime; over-blown ambition and near-hopeless despair - always emerging with its sovereignty and its fiercely independent spirit intact. In this book, the author traces Russia's rollercoaster journey from revolution to post-war devastation, perestroika to Putin's stabilization of post-Communist Russia. Explaining the causes and the meaning of the numerous twists and turns in contemporary Russian history, he offers a view of a country through one of its most trying and often tragic periods.

Today, he cautions, Russia stands at a turning point - politically, economically and socially - its situation strikingly reminiscent of the Russian Empire in its final years. For the Russian Federation to avoid a similar demise, it must learn the lessons of its own history.

Title: The Putin System: An Opposing View

Author: Grigory Yavlinsky

Grigory Yavlinsky is a Russian economist and politician. A proponent of market-oriented reforms under Gorbachev, Yavlinsky has been a key figure of the opposition in post-Soviet Russia with the independent liberal party Yabloko, for which he was the 2018 presidential candidate.

In *The Putin System*, Russian economist and opposition leader Grigory Yavlinsky explains his country's politics from a unique perspective, voicing a Russian liberal critique of the post-Soviet system. Combining the first-hand experience of a practicing politician with academic expertise, Yavlinsky offers insights into the sources of Putin's power and what might be next. He argues that Russia's dysfunction is neither the outcome of one man's iron-fisted rule nor a deviation from the supposedly natural development of Western-style political institutions. Instead, Russia's peripheral position in the global economy has fundamentally shaped the regime's domestic and foreign policy, nourishing authoritarianism while undermining its opponents. The quasi-market reforms of the 1990s, the bureaucracy's self-perpetuating grip on power, and the Russian elite's frustration with its secondary status have all combined to enable personalized authoritarian rule and corruption. Ultimately, he argues, Putin is as much a product of the system as its creator.

Title: In Putin's Footsteps

Author: Nina Khrushcheva, Jeffrey Tayler

Nina Khrushcheva is the author of *Imagining Nabokov* and *The Lost Khrushchev*, and a Professor of International Affairs at New School University, New York, and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. She is also the great-granddaughter and adoptive granddaughter of Nikita Khrushchev.

Jeffrey Tayler has reported on Russia and the former Soviet Union for *Foreign Policy*, *Harper's Magazine*, *Conde Nast Traveller*, *National Geographic*, and more. He lives in Moscow.

The authors offer an exploration of Russia through their recreation of Vladimir Putin's fabled New Year's Eve speech planned across all eleven standard time zones. After taking over from Yeltsin in 1999, and then being elected president in March 2000, Putin travelled to almost two dozen countries and a quarter of Russia's eighty-nine regions to connect with ordinary Russians. His travels inspired the idea of a rousing New Year's Eve address delivered every hour at midnight throughout Russia's eleven time zones. The idea was quickly abandoned as an impossible feat. He correctly intuited, however, that the success of his presidency would rest on how the country's outback citizens viewed their place on the world stage. Today more than ever, Putin is even more determined to present Russia as a formidable nation. The authors also set out to explain why Russia has for centuries been an adversary of the West. Its size, nuclear arsenal, arms industry, and scientific community (including cyber-experts), guarantees its influence.

Title: *Kremlin Winter: Russia and the Second Coming of Vladimir Putin*

Author: Robert Service

Robert Service is a Fellow of the British Academy and of St Antony's College, Oxford. He has written several books, including the acclaimed Lenin: A Biography, Russia: Experiment with a People, Stalin: A Biography and Comrades: A History of World Communism, as well as many other books on Russia's past and present.

In *Kremlin Winter*, Robert Service brings his understanding of Russia to bear on the man who leads it. He reveals a premier who cannot take his supremacy for granted, yet is determined to impose his will not only on his closest associates but on society at large.

Title: *Russia's Public Diplomacy: Evolution and Practice*

Editors: Anna Velikiya and Greg Simons

Anna Velikaya works at the Gorchakov Public Diplomacy Foundation, Russia, and is a member of the Expert Council of Rossotrudnichestvo Federal Agency. She specialized in humanitarian cooperation at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) and has co-authored Modern International Relations (2017) and Public Diplomacy of Russia and Foreign Countries (2018).

Greg Simons is a researcher and Associate Professor at the Institute for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Uppsala University, Sweden and a lecturer at the Department of Communication Sciences at Turība University, Latvia.

Russian public diplomacy attracts growing attention in the current global climate of tension and competition. However, it is often not understood or is misunderstood. Although some articles and book chapters exist, there are almost no books on Russian public diplomacy neither in Russian, nor in English. This edited collection is an in-depth and broad analysis of Russian public diplomacy in its conceptual understanding and its pragmatic aims and practice.

Title: Putin v. the People: The Perilous Politics of a Divided Russia

Author: Samuel A. Greene Graeme B. Robertson

Samuel Greene is a reader in Russian politics and director of the Russia Institute at King's College London. Graeme Robertson is professor of political science at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and director of the Centre for Slavic, Eurasian and East European Studies.

The book looks at a number of questions, such as: What do ordinary Russians think of Putin? Who are his supporters? And why might their support now be faltering? Greene and Robertson draw on interviews, surveys, social media data, and leaked documents to reveal how hard Putin has to work to maintain broad popular support, while, they claim, exposing the changing tactics that the Kremlin has used to bolster his popularity. This is a book written very much from a Western perspective and proposes conclusions that are in keeping with the Western political view of President Putin.

Title: Russia's Domestic Security Wars: Putin's Use of Divide and Rule Against His Hardline Allies

Author: Peter Reddaway

Peter Reddaway was a professor of political science at the London School of Economics and then at George Washington University, specializing in Soviet/Russian government. He is also a former head of the Kennan Institute at the Wilson Center.

The author says he is presenting a case study of Putin's use of the tactics of divide and rule in relation to, particularly, the hard-line elements among his supporters. It aims to illustrate Putin's methods of staying in power vis-à-vis groups that might put too much pressure on him, or who might even try to oust him. The project also suggests that Putin's survival tactics have brought Russia to a deeply corrupt, state-dominated form of authoritarianism, which lacks deep institutional roots and will probably lead in due course to some form of state collapse.

Title: Russia's Crony Capitalism: The Path from Market Economy to Kleptocracy

Author: Anders Aslund

Anders Aslund is a senior fellow at the Atlantic Council in Washington, DC, and an adjunct professor at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service.

This book sets out to explore how, as the author sees it, the economic system Vladimir Putin has developed in Russia works to consolidate control over the country. By appointing his close associates as heads of state enterprises he has enriched his business friends from Saint Petersburg with preferential government deals. Thus, Putin has created a super wealthy and loyal plutocracy that owes its existence to authoritarianism. Much of this wealth has been hidden in offshore havens in the United States and the United Kingdom, where companies with anonymous owners and black money transfers are allowed to thrive.

❖ **Russia and the World**

Title: **Dealing With The Russians**

Author: **Andrew Monaghan**

Dr. Andrew Monaghan is a researcher and analyst in the field of international politics. He is a Russianist in the area studies style, with a preference for old-fashioned Kremlinology. His particular interests are Russian domestic politics, strategy and biography. He is Director of Research on Russia and Northern European Defence and Security at the Changing Character of War Centre at Pembroke College, Oxford.

How to handle Russia? This question has become ever more prominent as the Euro-Atlantic community's relations with Russia languish in systemic crisis, with dialogue suspended, reciprocal sanctions in place and proxy wars raging. The wars in Ukraine and Syria, accusations of Russian interference in domestic politics and the Skripal affair have all contributed to soaring tension in the relationship. Yet faced with this array of serious challenges, Euro-Atlantic thinking about Russia remains stuck in twentieth-century rhetoric, trapped by misleading abstract labels and unsure whether to engage Moscow in dialogue or enhance deterrence and collective defence.

Instead of thinking in these terms, Monaghan argues that the West must devise a new grand strategy for dealing with the Russians. Examining the ongoing Euro-Atlantic debate over Russia and framing Moscow's own position towards the West, he sets out the foundations of a forward-looking strategy; one that can accommodate the many complex challenges presented by this new era of competition between Russia, Europe and the United States.

Title: **Putin's World: Russia Against the West and with the Rest**

Author: **Angela Stent**

Angela Stent is director of the Centre for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies and a professor of government and Foreign Service at Georgetown University. From 2004 to 2006, she served as national intelligence officer for Russia and Eurasia at the National Intelligence Council.

How did Russia manage to emerge resurgent on the world stage and play a weak hand so effectively? Is it because Putin is a brilliant strategist? Or has Russia stepped into a vacuum created by the West's distraction with its own domestic problems and US ambivalence about whether it still wants to act as a superpower?

Putin's World examines the country's turbulent past, how it has influenced Putin, the Russians' understanding of their position on the global stage and their future ambitions -- and their conviction that the West has tried to deny them a seat at the table of great powers since the USSR collapsed.

This book looks at Russia's key relationships -- its downward spiral with the United States, Europe, and NATO; its ties to China, Japan, the Middle East; and with its neighbors, particularly the fraught relationship with Ukraine. **Putin's World** will help Americans understand how and why the post-Cold War era has given way to a new, more dangerous world, one in which Russia poses a challenge to the United States in every corner of the globe -- and one in which Russia has become a toxic and divisive subject in US politics.

Title: The Russia Anxiety: And How History Can Resolve It

Author: Mark B. Smith

*Mark B. Smith teaches in the Faculty of History at the University of Cambridge. He is the author of **Property of Communists: The Urban Housing Program from Stalin to Khrushchev** and the blog *Beyond the Kremlin*.*

Time and again, Russia is judged by unique standards. It is usually assumed that it possesses higher levels of cunning, malevolence and brutality. Yet the country has more often than not been a crucial ally, not least against Napoleon and in the two world wars. It is admired for its music and its writers. And still we think of Russia as a unique menace. What is it about this extraordinary country that consistently provokes such excessive responses? And why is this so dangerous?

Ranging from the earliest times to the present, Mark B. Smith's book is a history of this 'Russia Anxiety'. Whether ally or enemy, superpower or failing state, Russia grips the imagination and fuels fears unlike any other country. This book aims to show how history itself offers a clearer view and a better future.

Title: Russia Trap, The

Author: George Beebe

George S. Beebe is the Vice President and Director of Studies at the Center for the National Interest, a non-partisan think-tank in Washington, D.C. He served in the US government for nearly twenty-five years, including as director of Russia analysis at CIA and as a White House adviser on Russia matters for Vice President Dick Cheney.

The author sates that after years of unsuccessful post-Cold War efforts to forge a cooperative relationship, it is now clear that the U.S. and Russia have become competitors, not partners - no matter what some politicians would have the American public believe. And this competition is quickly spiraling into enmity thanks to new strategic weapons, shifts in world power, and unsettled regional conflicts. Meanwhile, the rules that kept the Cold War from getting hot no longer apply.

The inherent advantages of cyber attackers over cyber defence are incentivizing aggression and fueling feelings of vulnerability. And the arms control regimes and deterrence strategies that once contained dangers are ironically stoking mistrust between the U.S. and Russia. Americans don't worry about nuclear war the way they did thirty years ago. But, the author argues, they should because the danger has become even greater today.

Title: Strategic Communication in EU-Russia Relations: Tensions, Challenges and Opportunities Hardcover – 27 Nov 2019

Editor: Evgeny Pashentsev

Evgeny Pashentsev is Professor and a leading researcher at the Diplomatic Academy of the MFA of the Russian Federation. He is a member of the Advisory Board of Comunicar, Spain, and the editorial board of the Journal of Political Marketing, USA.

In this book an international team of EU, Russian and US researchers focus on the dangerous challenges of the current unstable international equilibrium and opportunities of the breakthrough for a better future. Eight chapters engage with a variety of issues, ranging from general tendencies and controversies in EU–Russia strategic communication and its political and economic aspects to reputation management of Russian companies in the EU and the psychological aspect of US sanctions in EU-Russia relations. Analyzing the security dimension, the authors focus on the geopolitical threats, opportunities and risks of advanced technologies such as artificial intelligence, robotics, cyberization and human genetics.

Title: Russia and the European Union: Development and Perspectives

Author: Elena G. Popkova (editor)

Elena G. Popkova is Doctor of economic sciences, Professor of the Chair “International Economics and Economic Theory”, Volgograd State Technical University.

This book focuses on the economic and political relationships between Russia and Europe, which are currently characterized by the existence and escalation of contradictions. On the one hand, the common history and geographical proximity of Russia and Europe have naturally produced a close interdependence; on the other, current global political affairs and opposing positions continue to hinder the development of common economic relationships in Russia and Europe. This contributed volume describes integration processes in Russia and Europe to illustrate best practice examples and demonstrates how both parties have increasingly come to understand the importance of international cooperation, highlighting economic, legal, philosophical, political and sociological aspects.

Title: Europe, the Former Soviet Republics and Europe since 1989

Author: Katherine Graney

Katherine Graney is Professor of Political Science at Skidmore College, where she has also held the Joseph C. Palamountain Chair in Political Science and directed the Gender Studies Program. She earned a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1999. She has published widely on ethnic politics, gender and other aspects of contemporary politics in Russia.

Nearly three decades after the fall of the Berlin Wall, early hopes for the integration of the post-Soviet states into a "Europe whole and free" seem to have been decisively dashed. Europe itself is in the midst of a multifaceted crisis that threatens the considerable gains of the post-war liberal European experiment. In *Russia, the Former Soviet Republics, and Europe Since 1989*, Katherine Graney provides a panoramic and historically-rooted overview of the process of "Europeanization" in Russia and all fourteen of the former Soviet republics since 1989. Graney argues that deeply rooted ideas about Europe's cultural-civilizational primacy and concerns about both ideological and institutional alignment with Europe continue to influence both internal politics in contemporary Europe and the processes of Europeanization in the post-Soviet world. By comparing the effect of the phenomenon across Russia and the ex-republics, Graney provides a theoretically grounded and empirically rich window into how we should study politics in the former USSR.

Title: The Return of the Russian Leviathan

Author: Sergey Medvedev

Sergei Medvedev is Professor in the Faculty of Social Sciences at the Higher School of Economics in Moscow. The host of several history and current affairs programs on TV and radio and a regular commentator in the print, broadcasting and online media, he is one of Russia's most in-demand public intellectuals.

The author reflects on the fact that Russia's relationship with its neighbors and with the West has worsened in recent years. He sets out to explain the transformation of the country during Putin's third term in office, from 2012 to 2018. He argues that this new wave of Russian nationalism is the result of mentalities that have long been embedded within the Russian psyche. Whereas in the West, the turbulent social changes of the 1960s and a rising awareness of the legacy of colonialism have modernized attitudes, Russia has been stymied by an enduring sense of superiority over its neighbors alongside a painful nostalgia for empire. It is this infantilized and irrational worldview that (he argues) Putin and others have exploited, as seen most clearly in Russia's recent foreign policy decisions.

Title: Russia's Futures

Author: Richard Sakwa

Richard Sakwa is Professor of Russian and European politics at the University of Kent. He writes books about Russian and Eastern European communist and post-communist politics.

The author asks the question “what does it mean that Russia is back as a major force in global politics?” Is Russia the dangerous revisionist foe that meddles in Western elections and tries to subvert the liberal international order? Or is it a country precariously trying to maintain security and enhance prosperity at home, while re-asserting its place as a great power in the world today?

Sakwa explores current debates on Russia, placing them in historical context and outlining the fundamental challenges currently facing the country. He proposes that solutions are still being sought and argues that the failure to create an international system in which Russia's transformation became part of a revised world order has made the search far more difficult than it may otherwise have been. He declares that “although Russia is one of the oldest states in Europe, in its contemporary guise it is one of the youngest. Russia has had many pasts and, given its size, centrality and complexity, it will also have many futures”.

Title: **We Need to Talk About Putin: Why the West gets him wrong, and how to get him right**

Author: **Mark Galeotti**

Professor Mark Galeotti is Senior Non-Resident Fellow at the Institute of International Relations Prague, having previously headed its Centre for European Security, and was before then Professor of Global Affairs at NYU.

Despite the millions of words written on Putin's Russia, the West still fails to truly understand one of the world's most powerful politicians, whose influence spans the globe and whose networks of power reach into the very heart of our daily lives. In this work, the author aims to uncover the man behind the myth, addressing the key misperceptions of Putin and explaining how we can decipher his motivations and next moves.

Title: **Putin and His Neighbor: Russia's Policies toward Eurasia**

Authors: **Dina R. Spechler and Martin C. Spechler**

The authors claim that Russia has implemented a set of policies toward his neighbors intended to help him re-establish the country's status as a major world power. These have included preventing further NATO encroachment on Russia's borders and seeking a pragmatic partnership with China to help bolster the Russian economy in the face of Western sanctions. This book argues that Putin's efforts have been largely, although not entirely, successful. In the future, however, the weakness of the Russian economy as compared to China's may pose a threat to Moscow's ability to maintain a Russian sphere of influence in its own neighborhood.

Title: Russia and America: The Asymmetric Rivalry

Author: Andrei P. Tsygankov

Andrei Pavlovich Tsygankov is a Russian-born academic and author in the fields of international relations. He is currently a professor at San Francisco State University in California, where he teaches comparative, Russian, and international politics in the Political Science and International Relations departments

In recent times, US-Russia relations have deteriorated to what both sides acknowledge is an "all-time low." Russian alleged interference in the 2016 US presidential election and Putin's continued support for the Assad regime in Syria have placed enormous strain on this historically tense and complex relationship. Andrei Tsygankov challenges the dominant view that US-Russia relations have entered a new Cold War phase.

Russia's US strategy, he argues, can only be understood in the context of a changing international order. While America strives to preserve its global dominance, Russia -- the weaker power--exploits its asymmetric capabilities and relations with non-Western allies to defend and promote its interests, and to avoid yielding to US pressures. Focusing on key areas of conflict and mutual convergence--from European security to China and the Middle East, as well as cyber, nuclear, and energy issues, Tsygankov paints a nuanced and unsentimental picture of two countries whose ties are likely to remain marked by suspicion and conflict for years to come.

Title: Russia and the Middle East: Viewpoints, Policies, Strategies

Author: Fyodor Lukyanov (editor) plus several contributors

This collection of articles and essays paints an intriguing portrait of Russia's Middle East vision and how it has developed in the 21st century. Carefully selected by Fyodor Lukyanov, editor in chief of the journal *RUSSIA IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS*, many of these pieces are written by officials who played a direct part in crafting Russian policy, such as the late Yevgeny Primakov (prime minister under both Yeltsin and Putin), current Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov and Energy Minister Alexander Novak.

RUSSIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST also features contributions from reputable scholars on a range of topics that include regional conflicts, the Arab Spring, terrorism, Islamic doctrine, demographic trends and much more.

These experts, diplomats and state leaders address challenging, relevant questions:

- Why did Russia choose Syria as the place to reassert itself as a superpower?
 - How do Russia's geopolitical interests in the Middle East coincide and conflict with those of the West?
 - What repercussions has the Arab Spring had on the region and the world as a whole?
 - How can the global community address the problem of terrorism?
 - What economic opportunities does this region offer?
 - Does the Middle East hold the key to a new world order?
-

Title: **The Lands in Between: Russia vs. the West and the New Politics of Hybrid War**

Author: **Mitchell A. Orenstein**

Mitchell A. Orenstein is the S. Richard Hirsch Associate Professor of European Studies at Johns Hopkins University.

Russia's involvement in Ukraine and its alleged role in the US elections in 2016 forced the West to grapple with the effects of hybrid war. While most citizens in the West are not new to the problems of election hacking, state-sponsored disinformation campaigns, influence operations by foreign security services, and frozen conflicts, citizens of the frontline states between Russia and the European Union have been dealing with these issues for years.

This book contends that these "lands in between" hold powerful lessons for other western countries, i.e. the United States. For politics is becoming increasingly similar to the lands in between, where hybrid warfare has polarized parties and voters into two camps: those who support a vision of liberal democracy and those who support a vision of nationalist authoritarianism. Paradoxically, while politics increasingly boils down to a zero sum choice" between Russia and the West, those who rise to the pinnacle of the political system in the lands in between are often non-ideological power brokers who have found a way to profit from both sides, taking rewards from both Russia and the West. Increasingly, the political pathologies of these small, vulnerable, and backwards states in Europe are our problems too.

Title: **Moscow Rules: What Drives Moscow to Confront the West**

Author: **Keir Giles (Chatham House)**

Keir Giles currently works with the Conflict Studies Research Centre (CSRC), a group which focuses on Eurasian security and which was formerly attached to the UK Ministry of Defense.

The best I can do is to refer you to an excellent analysis of this book, and why it has been written, by Paul Robinson. You will find his excellent analysis here

<https://irrussianality.wordpress.com/2019/02/19/book-review-moscow-rules/>

Title: **The Shadow in the East**

Author: **Aliide Naylor**

Aliide Naylor is a freelance journalist focusing on Russia and Eastern Europe. Her writing has appeared in New Statesman, POLITICO Europe, frieze, New Eastern Europe, among others. Naylor has travelled to all corners of the Baltic states and has also lived in both St. Petersburg and Moscow, where she served as Arts Editor at The Moscow Times.

The Baltics are increasingly the subject of unsettling headlines in both Western and Russian media. But how real are these fears, subject as they are to media embellishment, qualification and denial by both Russia and the West? What do they mean for those living in the Baltics? Naylor explains the region's unique identities, and why, she argues, they matter for the world.

❖ **Russia and BRICS**

Title: Russia, BRICS, and the Disruption of Global Order

Author: Rachel S. Salzman

Rachel S. Salzman is a visiting scholar in the Department of European and Eurasian Studies at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. She was previously a postdoctoral fellow at Georgetown University's Centre for Eurasian, Russian, and East European Studies.

The author claims that Russia's leadership in establishing the BRICS group (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) is emblematic of its desire to end US hegemony and rewrite the rules of the international system. The author tells the story of how BRICS came together and opinions that the group is emblematic of Russia's challenge to the existing global order.

The BRICS group of non-Western states with emerging economies is held together by a shared commitment to revising global economic governance and strict non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. BRICS is not exclusively a Russian story, but understanding the role of BRICS in Russian foreign policy is critical to understanding the group's mission. The author also claims that in a time of alienation from the Euro-Atlantic world, BRICS provides Russia with much needed political support and legitimacy. While the long-term cohesion of the group is uncertain, BRICS stands as one of Vladimir Putin's signature international accomplishments.

❖ **Cyber conflicts**

Title: Russian Political War: Moving Beyond the Hybrid

Author: Mark Galeotti

Professor Mark Galeotti is Senior Non-Resident Fellow at the Institute of International Relations Prague, having previously headed its Centre for European Security, and was before then Professor of Global Affairs at NYU.

The author claims that this book cuts through the misunderstandings about Russia's geopolitical challenge to the West, presenting this not as 'hybrid war' but 'political war.' Russia seeks to antagonise: its diplomats castigate Western 'Russophobia' and cultivate populist sentiment abroad, while its media sells Russia as a peaceable neighbor and a bastion of traditional social values. This is generally characterised as 'hybrid war,' but this is a misunderstanding of Russian strategy. Drawing extensively not just on their writings but also decades of interactions with Russian military, security and government officials, this study aims to demonstrate that the Kremlin has updated traditional forms of non-military 'political war' for the modern world. Aware that the West, if united, is vastly richer and stronger, Putin is seeking to divide, and distract, in the hope it will either accept his claim to Russia's great-power status – or at least be unable to prevent him. In the process, Russia may be foreshadowing how the very nature of war is changing: political war may be the future.

Title: **Sandworm: A New Era of Cyberwar and the Hunt for the Kremlin's Most Dangerous Hackers**

Author: **Andy Greenberg**

Andy Greenberg is senior writer for Wired magazine, where he covers security, privacy, information freedom, and hacker culture. He is the author of the 2012 book *This Machine Kills Secrets*, and his stories for Wired on Ukraine's cyberwar (including an excerpt from *Sandworm*) have won a Gerald Loeb Award for International Reporting and two Deadline Club Awards from the New York Society of Professional Journalists.

In 2014, the world witnessed the start of a mysterious series of cyberattacks. Targeting American utility companies, NATO, and electric grids in Eastern Europe, the strikes grew ever more brazen. They culminated in the summer of 2017, when the malware known as NotPetya was unleashed, penetrating, disrupting, and paralyzing some of the world's largest businesses -- from drug manufacturers to software developers to shipping companies. At the attack's epicenter in Ukraine, ATMs froze. The railway and postal systems shut down. Hospitals went dark. NotPetya spread around the world, inflicting an unprecedented ten billion dollars in damage--the largest, most devastating cyberattack the world had ever seen.

The hackers behind these attacks are quickly gaining a reputation as the most dangerous team of cyberwarriors in history: a group known as Sandworm. Allegedly working in the service of Russia's military intelligence agency, they represent a persistent, highly skilled force, one whose talents are matched by their willingness to launch broad, unrestrained attacks on the most critical infrastructure of their adversaries. They target government and private sector, military and civilians alike. *Sandworm* considers the danger this force poses to US national security and stability.

❖ Russia and the Arctic

Title: **Russia's Arctic Policy in the Twenty-First Century: National and International Dimensions**

Author: **Maria L. Lagutina**

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

This book is devoted to the analysis of all aspects of the current Arctic policy of Russia, the main strategic interests of Russia and the basics of the current Russian Policy in the region taking into account new global trends. It compiles in one comprehensive study domestic and international aspects of modern Russian Arctic policy, based mainly on Russian sources that allowed the author to reveal the specifics of Russian approach to modern Arctic issues.

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

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

❖ Russia – General Coverage

Title: **The Compatriots: The Brutal and Chaotic History of Russia's Exiles, Émigrés, and Agents Abroad**

Authors: **Irina Borogan and Andrei Soldatov**

Andrei Soldatov and Irina Borogan are Moscow based journalists who are regarded as the experts when it comes to analyzing the Russian security services and how/why they operate in the way they do. They have previously authored books such as *The New Nobility* (the new role of the KGB/FSB) and *the Red Web* (how Russia controls the internet in Russia).

From the time of the tsars to the waning days of Communist regime, Russian leaders tried to control the flow of ideas by controlling its citizens' movements. They believed strict limits on travel combined with censorship was the best way to escape the influence of subversive Western ideologies. Yet Russians continued to emigrate westward, both to seek new opportunities and to flee political crises at home. Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, Russians' presence in Western countries - particularly the United States - has been for the Kremlin both the biggest threat and the biggest opportunity. It sought for years to use the Russian emigre community to achieve Russia's goals - espionage to be sure but also to influence policies and public opinion. Russia's exiles are a potent mix of the very rich and the very driven, some deeply hostile to their homeland and others deeply patriotic. Russia, a vast, insular nation, depends on its emigres - but it cannot always count on them.

Title: **A History of the Soviet Union from the Beginning to its Legacy**

Author: **Peter Kenez**

*Peter Kenez is Emeritus Professor of History at the University of California, Santa Cruz. He is the author of numerous articles and books, including *Hungary from the Nazis to the Soviets: The Establishment of the Communist Regime in Hungary, 1944–1948* (Cambridge, 2006).*

This concise yet comprehensive textbook examines political, social, and cultural developments in the Soviet Union and the post-Soviet period. It begins by identifying the social tensions and political inconsistencies that spurred radical change in Russia's government, from the turn of the century to the revolution of 1917. He presents this revolution as a crisis of authority that the creation of the Soviet Union resolved. The text traces the progress of the Soviet Union through the 1920s, the years of the New Economic Policies, and into the Stalinist order. It illustrates how post-Stalin Soviet leaders struggled to find ways to rule the country without using Stalin's methods -- but also without openly repudiating the past -- and to negotiate a peaceful but antipathetic coexistence with the capitalist West. This updated third edition includes substantial new material, discussing the challenges Russia currently faces.

Title: **The Apartment**

Author: **Alexandra Litvina**

Alexandra Litvina studied at Moscow State University and at the Gorky Institute of World Literature in Moscow. She has written a number of history books for children. She lives in Russia.

The Apartment: *A Century of Russian History* explains the history of 20th-century Russia through the fictitious story of a Moscow family and their apartment. The Muromtsev family have been living in the same apartment for more than a century, generation after generation. Readers are taken through different rooms and witness how each generation actually lived alongside the larger social and political changes that Russia experienced. A search-and-find element has readers looking for objects from page to page to see which items were passed down through the generations. Beautifully illustrated with minute details, this book helps readers engage with Russia's history in an all new way. The book includes a timeline, glossary, bibliography, and index.

Title: **Informal Healthcare in Contemporary Russia**

Author: **Yulia Krasheninnikova**

Yulia Krasheninnikova is an expert at the Laboratory for Local Administration of the National Research University Higher School of Economics in Moscow and associate professor of public administration at the HSE Campus in Perm.

This volume deals with one of the most understudied aspects of everyday life in Russian society. Its main characters are the providers of goods and services to whom people turn for healthcare instead of official medical institutions. This encompasses a wide range of actors-from network marketing companies to 'folk' journals on health as well as healers, complementary medicine specialists, and religious organizations.

Krasheninnikova's investigation pays particular attention to the legal, social, and economic status of informal healthcare providers. She demonstrates that these agents tend to flourish in bigger towns rather than in small settlements, where public healthcare is lacking. She also emphasizes the flexibility of boundaries between formal and informal healthcare due to the evolution of rules and regulations. The study reveals the important role of institutions that are generally not connected to alternative medicine, such as pharmacies, libraries, and church shops.

Title: The Man Who Knows Too Much About Russia

Author: John Helmer

Anybody who knows John Helmer and his work will not be at all surprised with the title of this book. If you don't yet know of John then look up his Dances with Bears blog and other writings. John Helmer claims to be the longest continuously serving foreign correspondent in Russia (although not currently living in Russia), and the only western journalist to direct his own bureau independent of single national or commercial ties. He first set up his bureau in 1989.

This is what the author has written as a description of the book (available on Amazon and elsewhere).

My corpse managed to keep talking for twenty years. That's the time it took between the Soviet KGB dosing my champagne with a near-fatal volume of a drug called SP-117, in order to get the truth out of me; and a Russian oligarch sending two gunmen to fire their pistols into me, to stop the truth getting out. With hindsight, those who weren't watching when Vladimir Putin was small insist he was bigger than he was, but good at keeping secrets. Big or small physically or politically, they have still been unable to fathom Putin's character, or explain why, after so many years in power, Putin remains as characterless as when he started. I was watching from the beginning; the KGB elixir allowed me to see through the secrets to the truth of the matter. This was that Putin has remained the nondescript I had first met, but that the potency attributed to him now was picked up from a group of men on whom he depended for his rise, and on whom he still depends for his power. These were, these are the Russian oligarchs whose stories I have been investigating and reporting every day. By penetrating their secrets, I measure how Putin rules Russia; better to say, how Russia is ruled, and with what effect.

Title: Hunt the Banker: The Confessions of a Russian ex-Oligarch

Author: Alexander Lebedev

Alexander Lebedev is best known as the Russian businessman who bought the Evening Standard and The Independent newspapers in the UK. A former KGB intelligence officer in the USSR's London Embassy, his book covers the years from his birth in 1959 to 2016.

The Daily Mail carried a two page review of the book under the heading of "How I survived grenades, bullets and gangsters: Ex KGB colonel turned banker Alexander Lebedev on making billions in Putin's Wild West Russia" pretty much tells you everything you need to know about the book and why it has been written. The review is here (<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7436901/Ex-KGB-colonel-turned-banker-ALEXANDER-LEBEDEV-making-billions-Putins-wild-west-Russia.html>)

Title: **Someone Is Out to Get Us: A Not So Brief History of Cold War Paranoia and Madness Hardcover**

Athor: **Brian T. Brown**

According to the author's notes, in *Someone Is Out to Get Us*, he explores 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"

How can anybody make that statement when the Soviet Union had thousands of ballistic missiles and a formidable military and security apparatus. Recall 1963 and the even more dangerous 1982 period when the world almost came to nuclear war. I place this book in the current anti-Russia context that has engulfed East Coast America.

In fact, one of the greatest threats to our national security may have been our closest ally. The most effective spy cell the Soviets ever had was made up of aristocratic Englishmen schooled at Cambridge. Establishing a communist peril but lacking proof, J. Edgar Hoover became our Big Brother and Joseph McCarthy went hunting for witches. Richard Nixon stepped into the spotlight as an opportunistic, ruthless Cold Warrior; his criminal cover-up during a dark presidency was exposed by a Deep Throat in a parking garage.

Someone Is Out to Get Us is the true and complete account of a long-misunderstood period of history during which lies, conspiracies and paranoia led Americans into a state of madness and misunderstanding, too distracted by fictions to realize that the real enemy was looking back at them in the mirror the whole time.

Title: **How to Be a Dictator: The Cult of Personality in the Twentieth Century**

Author: **Frank Dikötter**

Not a Russia or Central Asia book, but interesting and useful nevertheless. The historic dictators analyzed by the author are Mussolini, Hitler, Stalin, Mao Zedong, Kim Il-sung, Ceausescu, Mengistu of Ethiopia and Duvalier of Haiti.

No dictator can rule through fear and violence alone. Naked power can be grabbed and held temporarily, but it never suffices in the long term. A tyrant who can compel his own people to acclaim him will last longer. The paradox of the modern dictator is that he must create the illusion of popular support. Throughout the twentieth century, hundreds of millions of people were condemned to enthusiasm, obliged to hail their leaders even as they were herded down the road to serfdom.

Section II: Global Oil

Title: Oil Power and War: A Dark History

Author: Matthieu Auzanneau

In many ways this book covers similar ground to that covered in Daniel Yergin's *The Prize* but brings it up to date with the events of the last two decades. The author looks at the way oil interests have (allegedly) commandeered politics and economies, changed cultures, disrupted power balances across the globe, and spawned wars. He examines the commonly held assumptions about key political and financial events of the past 150 years and aims to shed light on what our oil-constrained and eventually post-oil future might look like.

Oil, Power, and War follows the oil industry from its heyday when the first oil wells were drilled to the quest for new sources as old ones dried up. It traces the rise of the Seven Sisters and other oil cartels and exposes oil's key role in the crises that have shaped our times: two world wars, the Cold War, the Great Depression, Bretton Woods, the 2008 financial crash, oil shocks, wars in the Middle East, the race for Africa's oil riches, and more. And it defines the oil-born trends shaping our current moment, such as the jockeying for access to Russia's vast oil resources, the search for extreme substitutes for declining conventional oil, the rise of terrorism, and the changing nature of economic growth.

He covers a long line of characters from John D. Rockefeller to Dick Cheney and Rex Tillerson, and relates lesser-known stories like how New York City taxes were once funneled directly to banks run by oil barons. He looks at how oil and power, once they became inextricably linked, drove actions of major figures like Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin, Hitler, Kissinger, and the Bushes. *Oil, Power, and War* is a story of the dreams and hubris that spawned an era of economic chaos, climate change, war, and terrorism--as well as an eloquent framing from which to consider our options as our primary source of power, in many ways irreplaceable, grows ever more constrained. The book has been translated from the highly acclaimed French title, *Or Noir*.

Section III: Russia, China and BRI

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

Author: Harinder S. Kohli

Harinder S. Kohli is the Founding Director and Chief Executive of the Emerging Markets Forum as well as Founding Director, President, and CEO of Centennial Group International, both based in Washington, DC. He is the Editor of Global Journal of Emerging Markets Economies. Prior to starting his current ventures, he served over 25 years in various senior managerial positions at the World Bank.

China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a potential game changer for the Central Asia and South Caucasus (CASC) region. CASC countries naturally view this massive development program as a unique opportunity to accelerate their economic development through increased foreign investment, upgraded physical infrastructure, and tighter economic relationships with their neighbors.

Yet embracing the BRI is not without risks. Some BRI investments may prove to be fiscally unsustainable, economically and financially unviable, and socially and environmentally harmful. Inadequate cross-border coordination and infrastructure maintenance could render some BRI investments wasteful or redundant. If not proactively addressed, these risks have the potential to leave countries worse off for having participated in the BRI. Policymakers in the CASC region and their development partners, thus, face a daunting question: how to realize the promise of the BRI for their countries while avoiding the pitfalls that lie along the way?

Section IV: Eurasia Region – New Books in 2019

Title: Modern Central Asia: A Primary Source Reader (Contemporary Central Asia: Societies, Politics, and Cultures)

Author: Yuriy Malikov

Yuriy Malikov is associate professor of history at SUNY Oneonta.

Modern Central Asia: A Primary Source Reader is an academic resource that discusses the basic political, social, and economic evolution of Central Asian civilization in its colonial (1731-1991) and post-colonial (1991-present) periods. Among other aspects of Central Asian history, this source reader discusses resistance and accommodation of native societies to the policies of the imperial center, the transformation of Central Asian societies under Tsarist and Soviet rule, and the history of Islam in Central Asia and its role in nation and state-building processes. **Modern Central Asia: A Primary Source Reader** demonstrates the active participation of the indigenous peoples in contact with other peoples by examining the natives' ways of organizing societies, their pre-colonial experience of contact with outsiders, and the structure of their subsistence systems.

Title: Trade Logistics in Landlocked and Resource Cursed Asian Countries

Author: Kankesu Jayanthakumaran (editor) plus several contributors

This book focuses on strategies to achieve economic diversification in Asian landlocked countries. It does so by analyzing the impact of the Dutch disease, non-resource firm heterogeneity, trade logistics operations, trade facilitation, aid for trade, small and medium-sized enterprises, and foreign direct investment. Offering a wide range of expert views and opinions, research findings, information and data, the book will be of value to policy makers and students of trade and development economics.

Countries reviewed include Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Mongolia.

Title: Sovietistan: A Journey Through Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan

Authors: Erika Fatland and Karl Dickson

Erika Fatland's book is a travelogue through the five former Soviet Republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

In the Kyrgyzstani villages Erika Fatland meets victims of the widely known tradition of bride snatching; she visits the huge and desolate Polygon in Kazakhstan where the Soviet Union tested explosions of nuclear bombs and meets Chinese shrimp gatherers on the banks of the dried-out Aral Sea. She travels incognito through Turkmenistan, a country that is closed to journalists. She meets human rights activists in Kazakhstan, survivors from the massacre in Osh in 2010, German Menonites that found paradise on the Kyrgyzstani plains 200 years ago. During her travels, she observes how ancient customs clash with energy gas.

Title: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union: Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Ukraine

Author: Harun Yilmaz

Harun Yilmaz is a Lecturer in the Department of History at Queen Mary University of London, UK. He is the author of *National Identities in Soviet Historiography* (2015).

This book compares the past of three countries, which were part of the Soviet Union. These republics are in different corners of the former Soviet geography: Ukraine is in the west; Azerbaijan is in the Caucasus and Kazakhstan is in Central Asia. It analyses how and by whom Soviet national histories were constructed in these countries in the post-war years of Stalin and the initial years of Khrushchev. It examines the political and ideological agendas behind the way they were written. The author argues that local considerations are extremely important, that they cannot be ignored and that they played an active part in the implementation of policy at a local level. He places the outcome of the Second World War in the USSR in the context of these national developments as well as looking at evolution of policy all these countries. He also shows the extent to which the Communist Party was dependent on input from local elites – in this case, on historians who were familiar with the national development – and demonstrates how the Communist Party and the intelligentsia interacted.

Title: Pravda Ha Ha: True Travels to the End of Europe

Author: Rory MacLean

Rory MacLean is one of Britain's most expressive and adventurous travel writers. His books - which have been translated into a dozen languages - include the *Sunday Times* bestseller *Stalin's Nose*, *Under the Dragon* and *Berlin: Imagine a City*, which was named a *Book of the Year* by the *Washington Post*.

Espionage thriller writer John le Carré had this to say about the book. 'A gem of a book, informative, companionable, sometimes funny, and wholly original. MacLean must surely be the outstanding, and most indefatigable, traveler-writer of our time'

In 1989 the Berlin Wall fell. In that euphoric year Rory MacLean travelled from Berlin to Moscow, exploring lands that were - for most Brits and Americans - part of the forgotten half of Europe. Thirty years on, MacLean traces his original journey backwards, across countries confronting old ghosts and new fears: from Russia, through Ukraine's bloodlands, into Hungary, and then Poland, Germany and the UK. Along the way he shoulders an AK-47 to go hunting with Moscow's chicken Tsar, plays video games in St Petersburg with a cyber-hacker who (allegedly) cracked the US election, drops by the Che Guevara High School of Political Leadership in a non-existent nowhereland and meets the Warsaw doctor who tried to stop a march of 70,000 nationalists. Finally, on the shores of Lake Geneva, he waits patiently to chat with Mikhail Gorbachev.

Title: Days in the Caucasus

Author: Banine

Banine was born Umm El-Banu Assadullayeva in 1905, into a wealthy family in Baku, then part of the Russian Empire. Following the Russian Revolution and the subsequent fall of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, Banine was forced to flee her home-country - first to Istanbul, and then to Paris. In Paris she formed a wide circle of literary acquaintances including Nicos Kazantzakis, André Malraux, Ivan Bunin and Teffi and eventually began writing herself. Days in the Caucasus is Banine's most famous work. It was published in 1945 to critical acclaim but has never been translated into English, until now.

This is her unforgettable memoir of an 'odd, rich, exotic' childhood, growing up in Azerbaijan in the turbulent early twentieth century, caught between east and west, tradition and modernity. She remembers her luxurious home, with endless feasts of sweets and fruit; her beloved, flaxen-haired German governess; her imperious, swearing, strict Muslim grandmother; her bickering, poker-playing, chain-smoking relatives. She recalls how the Bolsheviks came, and they lost everything. How, amid revolution and bloodshed, she fell passionately in love, only to be forced into marriage with a man she loathed - until the chance of escape arrived. By turns gossipy and romantic, wry and moving, *Days in the Caucasus* is a coming of age story and a portrait of a vanished world. It shows what it means to leave the past behind, yet how it haunts us.

Section V: Eurasia Country Books

❖ Belarus

Title: **Modeling Economic Growth in Contemporary Belarus (Entrepreneurship and Global Economic Growth)**

Editor: **Bruno S. Sergi**

Bruno S. Sergi teaches on emerging markets and the political economy of Russia and China at Harvard University; he is an Associate of the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard, and he is the Series Editor of Cambridge Elements in the Economics of Emerging Markets.

Since 1991, the eyes of the world have been on the economic growth and development of the states that formerly made up the Soviet Union. Looking at Belarus's industrial structure, economic growth, and economic prospects, this edited collection analyses why Belarus is considered ahead of many of its neighbor states in terms of human development.

Looking across both medium- and long-term economic growth, editor Bruno S. Sergi brings together a cast of expert contributors to analyse the foreign and domestic policies that affect Belarus's economy. Across the 20 chapters included in the book, the contributors explore the largest industries in Belarus, including the financial, technology, tourism, and energy industries. With chapters on foreign investments, exports and imports, and regional policy, this is a text that looks across the whole breadth of the economy. Finally, the contributors suggest factors to increase the growth of Belarus's economy, such as launching smart cities, expanding logistic services and the tourism and hospitality industry, and the modernization of the agrarian sector.

❖ Georgia

Title: **Edge of Empires: A History of Georgia**

Author: **Donald Rayfield**

Donald Rayfield is Emeritus Professor of Russian and Georgian in the Department of Russian, Queen Mary, University of London. He has published the standard history of Georgia's literature, and is editor-in-chief of the immense Comprehensive Georgian-English Dictionary. Georgia is the most Western-looking state in today's Near or Middle East and, despite having one of the longest, most turbulent histories in the Christian or Near Eastern world, no proper history of the country has been written for decades. Eminent historian Donald Rayfield redresses this balance in *Edge of Empires*, focusing not merely on the post-Soviet era, like many other books on Georgia, but on the whole of its history, accessing a mass of new material from the country's recently opened archives. Rayfield describes Georgia's swings between disintegration and unity, making full use of primary sources, many not available before in an English-language book. He examines the history of a country which, though small, stands at a crossroads between Russia and the Muslim world, between Eastern Europe and Central Asia, and is a dramatic example of state-building and, also, of tragic political mistakes.

❖ **Kazakhstan**

Title: Dark Shadow: Inside the Secret World of Kazakhstan

Author: Joanna Lillis

Joanna Lillis is a Kazakhstan-based journalist reporting on Central Asia whose work has featured in the Guardian, The Economist and the Independent newspapers, the Eurasianet website and Foreign Policy and POLITICO magazines. Prior to settling in Kazakhstan in 2005, she lived in Russia and Uzbekistan between 1995 and 2005 and worked for BBC Monitoring.

Dark Shadows is a portrait of Kazakhstan, a country that is little known in the West. Strategically located in the heart of Central Asia, sandwiched between Russia, its former colonial ruler, and China, this vast oil-rich state is carving out its place in the world as it contends with its own complex past and present. Journalist Joanna Lillis paints a vibrant picture of this emerging nation through vivid reportage based on 13 years of on-the-ground coverage, and travels across the length and breadth of this enigmatic country that lies along the ancient Silk Road and at the geopolitical and cultural crossroads where East meets West. Featuring tales of murder and abduction, intrigue and betrayal, extortion and corruption, this book explores how president Nazarbayev transformed himself into a potentate and the economically-struggling state he inherited at the fall of the USSR into a swaggering 21st-century monocracy.

Title: Kazakhstan and the Soviet Legacy: Between Continuity and Rupture

Author: Jean-Francois Caron

The author is associate professor and Chair of the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Nazarbayev University in Nur-Sultan

This book examines Kazakhstan's struggle to distance itself from its Soviet past over 25 years after its independence. To a very large extent, the affirmation of its sovereignty and a unique Kazakh way remain largely a matter of rhetoric. This book looks to explain the various aspects that show the continuity of Kazakhstan's political system and governance with its colonial legacy, namely through its foreign policy, the country's environmental policies, the judicial system, the management of religious diversity, the way youth organizations are structured and administered or how those who were born after the collapse of Soviet Union are still showing a typical Soviet behavioral attitude towards the political sphere.

What are the reasons for this reluctance or incapacity to break away from these ties of the past? Will the unavoidable political transition that will bring new individuals to the head of the state contribute to a real change? Will this lead to a break with the country's past and a radical shift in the country's policies or will things remain as they have been since 1991?

Title: **The Dead Wander in the Desert**

Author: **Rollan Seisenbayev**

*Rollan Seisenbayev is Kazakhstan's most celebrated and honored author. He played a prominent role in the emergence of Kazakh independence in the aftermath of the breakup of the Soviet Union and was a personal advisor to President Nazarbayev in the crucial early years of the 1990s. He is the author of *The Return of Kazybek*, *Throne of Satan*, and *The Day the World Collapsed*.*

Unfolding on the vast grasslands of the steppes of Kazakhstan before its independence from the USSR, this haunting novel examines the struggles of the world through the eyes of Nasyr, a simple fisherman and village elder, and his resolute son, Kakharman. Both father and son confront the terrible future that is coming to the poisoned Aral Sea.

Once the fourth-largest lake on earth, it is now an impending environmental catastrophe. Starved of water by grand Soviet agricultural schemes, the sea is drying out, and the land around it is turning into a salt desert. The livelihood of the fishermen who live on its shores is collapsing. Vanishing with the water is a whole way of life. Despite overwhelming odds, Kakharman wages a battle against an indifferent bureaucracy, while Nasyr looks to Allah for guidance. Without the support of neighbors, who have lost hope, Kakharman must travail alone to rescue what literally gives them life. Even as the consequences mount, his quixotic fight proves more daunting. Even the sea itself seems to roil with distress.

❖ **Ukraine**

Title: **Ukraine and the Art of Strategy**

Author: **Lawrence Freedman**

Lawrence Freedman is Emeritus Professor of War Studies at King's College London. He joined King's in 1982 as Professor of War Studies and was Vice-Principal of the College until 2013. He was Official Historian of the Falklands Campaign and a member of the Official Inquiry into the UK's participation in the Iraq War.

In *Ukraine and the Art of Strategy*, Lawrence Freedman provides an account of the origins and course of the Russia-Ukraine conflict through the lens of the theory and practice of strategy. That is, he explores Russia's near, medium, and long-term strategies. How successful has it been? A very English/Western perspective.

Section VI: Russia 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 & Decisions 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 Compatriots: The Brutal and Chaotic History of Russia's Exiles, Émigrés, and Agents Abroad (2019)**

Authors: Irina Borogan and Andrei Soldatov

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

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

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

Russia's Response to Sanctions (2018): Richard Connolly

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

❖ **Oligarchs, Siloviki and Elites**

Title: All the Kremlin's Men (2016)

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 and the World** (*new section added this year*)

Title: Russia (2019) – *see review earlier*

Author: Dmitri Trenin

Title: Dealing with The Russians (2019) – *see review earlier*

Author: Andrew Monaghan

Title: Putin's World: Russia Against the West and with the Rest (2019)

Author: Angela Stent

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

❖ Russia-Eurasia Energy

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**

❖ Russia History

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

Author: **Robert Service**

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

Author: **Ben Lewis**

Title: **The 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 VII: China & BRI

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

Author: Harinder S. Kohli

China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a potential game changer for the Central Asia and South Caucasus (CASC) region. CASC countries naturally view this massive development program as a unique opportunity to accelerate their economic development through increased foreign investment, upgraded physical infrastructure, and tighter economic relationships with their neighbor. Yet embracing the BRI is not without risks. Some BRI investments may prove to be fiscally unsustainable, economically and financially unviable, and socially and environmentally harmful. Inadequate cross-border coordination and infrastructure maintenance could render some BRI investments wasteful or redundant. If not proactively addressed, these risks have the potential to leave countries worse off for having participated in the BRI. Policymakers in the CASC region and their development partners, thus, face a daunting question: how to realize the promise of the BRI for their countries while avoiding the pitfalls that lie along the way?

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?"

Section VIII: Eurasia Region Recommended Books

Title: Trade Logistics in Landlocked and Resource Cursed Asian Countries (2019)

Author: Kankesu Jayanthakumaran (editor) plus several contributors

This book focuses on strategies to achieve economic diversification in Asian landlocked countries. It does so by analyzing the impact of the Dutch disease, non-resource firm heterogeneity, trade logistics operations, trade facilitation, aid for trade, small and medium-sized enterprises, and foreign direct investment. Offering a wide range of expert views and opinions, research findings, information and data, the book will be of value to policy makers and students of trade and development economics. Countries reviewed include Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Mongolia.

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)

Author: 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 at 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 ascendancy 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 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 IX: Eurasia Country Specific Books

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 the Soviet Union, and plunge a region of great strategic importance into a decade of turmoil. This 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, 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 answer 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.

Title: Modeling Economic Growth in Contemporary Belarus (Entrepreneurship and Global Economic Growth) - 2019

Editor: Bruno S. Sergi

Since 1991, the eyes of the world have been on the economic growth and development of the states that formerly made up the Soviet Union. Looking at Belarus's industrial structure, economic growth, and economic prospects, this edited collection analyses why Belarus is considered ahead of many of its neighbor states in terms of human development.

Georgia

Title: Edge of Empires: A History of Georgia (2019)

Author: Donald Rayfield

Georgia is the most Western-looking state in today's Near or Middle East and, despite having one of the longest, most turbulent histories in the Christian or Near Eastern world, no proper history of the country has been written for decades. Eminent historian Donald Rayfield redresses this balance in *Edge of Empires*, focusing not merely on the post-Soviet era, like many other books on Georgia, but on the whole of its history, accessing a mass of new material from the country's recently opened archives. Rayfield describes Georgia's swings between disintegration and unity, making full use of primary sources, many not available before in an English-language book.

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

Author: **Joanna Lillis**

Dark Shadows is a portrait of Kazakhstan, a country that is little known in the West. Strategically located in the heart of Central Asia, sandwiched between Russia, its former colonial ruler, and China, this vast oil-rich state is carving out its place in the world as it contends with its own complex past and present. Journalist Joanna Lillis paints a vibrant picture of this emerging nation through vivid reportage based on 13 years of on-the-ground coverage, and travels across the length and breadth of this enigmatic country that lies along the ancient Silk Road and at the geopolitical and cultural crossroads where East meets West. Featuring tales of murder and abduction, intrigue and betrayal, extortion and corruption, this book explores how president Nazarbayev transformed himself into a potentate and the economically-struggling state he inherited at the fall of the USSR into a swaggering 21st-century monarchy.

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.

Kyrgyz Republic

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: Mongolia: The Shadow Land Hardcover (2016)

Author: Michael Dillon

Michael Dillon was founding Director of the Centre for Contemporary Chinese Studies at the University of Durham, where he taught modern Chinese history. He is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and the Royal Asiatic Society and was Visiting Professor at Tsinghua University in Beijing in 2009.

Since declaring independence from China in 1911, Mongolia has suffered from repression, turbulent Soviet rule, dictatorships and corruption. However, in recent decades Mongolia has begun to build a parliamentary democracy which can truly claim to be representative and has taken action to protect the way of life of the Steppes people. But its immediate future is fragile, located between Russia and China it has always sat in the shadow of two vast superpowers. China is expanding economically into the region, buying up mining interests and exploiting vast natural resources, while Russia is keen to use Mongolia as a trade corridor to supply natural gas to Asia, and talks of an economic corridor along the Silk Road are under way.

Over the next decades Mongolia will emerge as a key player in a region whose future is of global importance. Here, Michael Dillon draws on his expertise in Central Asian history and the history of China to present a necessary, passionate and authoritative account of Mongolia. Using local sources, he adeptly traces the nation's history and illuminates the profound effect of the past on the development of 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.

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 now embalming skills and the weather was warm, the task was impossible. Instead, people in Mongolia 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 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.

Contacts

Moscow: +7 495 139 4703
London: + 44 208 798 0742
Tokyo: +81 3 5219 1520
Washington: +1 914 494 3344
Email: info@macro-advisory.com

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

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

© Copyright Macro-Advisory Limited 2019