



*Changing Character of War Centre  
Pembroke College, University of Oxford  
With Axel and Margaret Ax:son Johnson Foundation*

## **CCW's Russia Reading List September 2018**

### **Note to readers**

This reading list is necessarily selective. It includes key texts, classic analysis, and work that illuminates all important background. It is a “live” document, and will be amended and updated as appropriate.

There are currently large gaps in the literature, particularly in the study of Russian defence and armed forces and – even more so – the Russian security and intelligence services. Some older work is therefore included that will hopefully be useful for providing essential background.

The reading list is intended to be as accessible as possible. Therefore, all the works are in English, the articles are available to download for free (without subscription), and the books are in print and available to buy online, mostly at a decent price. While it is certainly worth consulting a number of other journals, including the *Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, and *The Journal of Post-Soviet Affairs*, access to these publications may require subscription. Readers are also encouraged to make use of the Russian military studies archive at the Defence Academy of the UK (<http://barrington.cranfield.ac.uk/rmsa>).

Finally, readers are encouraged to explore Russian sources that are often available in English. An essential text is the book Kolesnikov, A. et al (Eds.), *First Person: An Astonishingly Frank Self Portrait by Russia's President* (Publicaffairs, 2000), a translation of a series of interviews with Putin published when he first came to power. The websites of the Presidential Administration (<http://en.kremlin.ru/>) and Foreign Ministry ([http://www.mid.ru/en/main\\_en](http://www.mid.ru/en/main_en)) have useful English language pages, and post speeches, strategies, doctrines, and concepts – often translated into English. It is worth regularly monitoring these sites. The “Russian Studies” series, edited by Dr. Andrew Monaghan and published by the NATO Defence College, provides English language reviews of Russian language texts, available at: <http://www.ndc.nato.int/research/research.php?icode=6>

The English language pages of websites of various Russian think tanks and consultancies offer useful insight into the debates underway in Russia. These include Russia in Global Affairs (<http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/>), the Russian International Affairs Council (<http://russiancouncil.ru/en/>), the Valdai International Discussion Club (<http://valdaiclub.com/>), Minchenko Consulting (<http://www.minchenko.ru/en/about/>) and the Centre for Analysis of Strategies and Technologies (<http://cast.ru/eng/>).

And lastly, CCW publishes its own work on Russia, including an analytical series (CCW's *Russia Brief*), detailed research articles, essays, and book reviews, all available at: <http://www.ccw.ox.ac.uk/russia-nordic-baltic-defence-security>

The reading list comprises four main sections – **core reading**, which includes the most important foundational material; **essential reading**, which is grouped into four sections by subject (defence and security, foreign policy, domestic politics and economics and energy); **recommended background reading**, which includes history, geography and soviet era work; and **UK-Russia relations**.

## Core Reading

Bartles, C. "Getting Gerasimov Right", *Military Review*, January-February 2016, [http://fmso.leavenworth.army.mil/Regional%20security%20europe/MilitaryReview\\_20160228\\_art009.pdf](http://fmso.leavenworth.army.mil/Regional%20security%20europe/MilitaryReview_20160228_art009.pdf)

Carleton, G. *Russia. The Story of War*. London: Belknap, 2017.

Connolly, R. "Towards Self Sufficiency? Economics as a Dimension of Russian Security and the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation to 2020", NATO Defence College, July 2016, <http://www.ndc.nato.int/research/research.php?icode=6>

Cooper, J. *If War Comes Tomorrow*, Whitehall Report, 4-16, RUSI: August 2016, [https://rusi.org/sites/default/files/201608\\_whr\\_4\\_16\\_if\\_war\\_comes\\_tomorrow.pdf](https://rusi.org/sites/default/files/201608_whr_4_16_if_war_comes_tomorrow.pdf)

Covington, S. "The Culture of Strategic Thought Behind Russia's Modern Approaches to Warfare", Belfer Center Report, October 2016, [http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/26986/culture\\_of\\_strategic\\_thought\\_behind\\_russias\\_modern\\_approaches\\_to\\_warfare.html?breadcrumb=%2Fexperts%2F3347%2Fstephen\\_r\\_covington](http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/26986/culture_of_strategic_thought_behind_russias_modern_approaches_to_warfare.html?breadcrumb=%2Fexperts%2F3347%2Fstephen_r_covington)

Harrison, R. W. *The Russian Way of War. Operational Art, 1904-1940*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001.

Hingley, R. *The Russian Mind*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1977.

Kofman, M. "The Seven Deadly Sins of Russia Analysis", *War on the Rocks*, 23 December 2015, <https://warontherocks.com/2015/12/the-seven-deadly-sins-of-russia-analysis/>

Monaghan, A. *Power in Modern Russia: Strategy and Mobilisation*. Manchester: MUP, 2017.

Norberg, J. *Training to Fight. Russia's Military Exercises, 2011-2014*. Stockholm: FOI, 2015. <http://home.columbia.edu/event/training-fight-how-russian-armed-forces-build-fighting-power-82553>

Persson, G. (Ed.), *Russian Military Capability in a Ten-Year Perspective – 2016*. Stockholm, FOI: 2016. <https://www.foi.se/en/our-services/fois-reports--publications/summary.html?reportNo=FOI-R--4326--SE>

Svechin, A. *Strategy*. Minneapolis: East View Information Services, 2004.

Thomas, T. *Thinking Like A Russian Officer: Basic Factors and Contemporary Thinking on the Nature of War*, FMSO Paper, 2016, [http://fmso.leavenworth.army.mil/documents/Thinking%20Like%20A%20Russian%20Officer\\_monograph\\_Thomas%20\(final\).pdf](http://fmso.leavenworth.army.mil/documents/Thinking%20Like%20A%20Russian%20Officer_monograph_Thomas%20(final).pdf)

Yakunin, V. *The Treacherous Path. An Insider's Account of Modern Russia*. London: Biteback, 2018.

## Essential reading

Armed forces, Defence Economics, Intelligence and Security

Adamsky, D. *Cross-Domain Coercion: The Current Russian Art of Strategy*. Paris: IFRI, November 2015. <http://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/pp54adamsky.pdf>

Adamsky, D. *Moscow's Syria Campaign. Russian Lessons for the Art of Strategy*. Paris, IFRI, July 2018. <https://www.ifri.org/en/publications/notes-de-lifri/russieneivisions/moscows-syria-campaign-russian-lessons-art-strategy>

- Bennett, G. (Henry Plater-Zyberk) *The SVR – Russia’s Intelligence Service*. C103, Camberley, CSRC: March 2000. <https://www.da.mod.uk/Publications/the-svr-russias-intelligence-servicec103-19054/category/73>
- Bennett, G. (Henry Plater-Zyberk) *The Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation*. C102, Camberley, CSRC: 2000. <https://www.da.mod.uk/Publications/the-federal-security-service-of-the-russian-federationc102-19055/category/73>
- Bennett, G. (Henry Plater-Zyberk) *The Federal Agency of Government Communications and Information*. Camberley: CSRC, 2000. [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/96806/00\\_Aug.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/96806/00_Aug.pdf)
- Barabanov, M. (Ed.), *Russia’s New Army*. Moscow: CAST, 2011. [http://www.cast.ru/files/book/NewArmy\\_sm.pdf](http://www.cast.ru/files/book/NewArmy_sm.pdf)
- Barrie, D. and H. Gethin, “Russian Weapons in the Syrian Conflict”, NATO Defence College Russian Studies Series 02/18, May 2018, <http://www.ndc.nato.int/news/news.php?icode=1169>
- Bogdanov, K. & I. Kramnik, “The Russian Navy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century”, CAN Occasional Paper, October 2018, [https://www.cna.org/CNA\\_files/PDF/IOP-2018-U-018268-Final.pdf](https://www.cna.org/CNA_files/PDF/IOP-2018-U-018268-Final.pdf)
- Cooper, J. “Russia’s Invincible Weapons: Today? Tomorrow? Sometime? Never?”, *CCW Research Paper*, April 2018, <http://www.ccw.ox.ac.uk/blog/2018/4/30/russias-invincible-weapons-today-tomorrow-sometime-never>
- Cooper, J. “The Russian State Armament Programme, 2018-2027”, *NDC Russian Series*, 01/18, May 2018, <http://www.ndc.nato.int/news/news.php?icode=1167>
- Cooper, J. *Russian Military Expenditure: Data, Analysis and Issues*. Stockholm: FOI, September 2013. [https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Julian\\_Cooper2/publication/299338279\\_Russian\\_Military\\_Expenditure\\_Data\\_Analysis\\_and\\_Issues\\_FOI\\_Report/links/56f11e9008aee94ad4de78e0/Russian-Military-Expenditure-Data-Analysis-and-Issues-FOI-Report.pdf](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Julian_Cooper2/publication/299338279_Russian_Military_Expenditure_Data_Analysis_and_Issues_FOI_Report/links/56f11e9008aee94ad4de78e0/Russian-Military-Expenditure-Data-Analysis-and-Issues-FOI-Report.pdf)
- Ellis, G. “Russia’s Military Campaign in Syria, September 2015 to December 2017 – New Warfare and Lessons Identified?”, *CCW Research Paper*, March 2018, <http://www.ccw.ox.ac.uk/blog/2018/3/14/russias-military-campaign-in-syria-september-2015-to-december-2017-new-warfare-and-lessons-identified>
- Gareev, M. *If War Comes Tomorrow. The Contours of Future Armed Conflict*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Giles, K. *Russia’s ‘New’ Tools for Confronting the West. Continuity and Innovation in Moscow’s Exercise of Power*, Chatham House Research Paper, March 2016, <https://www.chathamhouse.org/publication/russias-new-tools-confronting-west>
- Giles, K. *Handbook of Russian Information Warfare*, Fellowship Monograph 9, Rome: NDC, 2016. <http://www.ndc.nato.int/news/news.php?icode=995>
- Howard, C. & R. Pukhov (Eds.), *Brothers Armed. Military Aspects of the Crisis in Ukraine*. Minneapolis: East View Press, second edition, 2015.
- Kjellén, J. *Russian Electronic Warfare. The Role of Electronic Warfare in the Russian Armed Forces*. Stockholm: FOI, September 2018. <https://www.foi.se/rapportsammanfattning?reportNo=FOI-R--4625--SE>
- Kofman, M. “A Comparative Guide to Russia’s Use of Force: Measure Twice, Invade Once”, *War on the Rocks*, 16 February 2017, <https://warontherocks.com/2017/02/a-comparative-guide-to-russias-use-of-force-measure-twice-invade-once/>
- Kofman, M. “Russian Performance in the Russo-Georgia War Revisited”, *War on the Rocks*, 4 September 2018, <https://warontherocks.com/2018/09/russian-performance-in-the-russo-georgian-war-revisited/>
- Monaghan, A. “Putin’s Ways of War: Putting the War into Hybrid Warfare”, *Parameters*, Vol.45, No.4, Winter 2015-2016. [http://strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/parameters/issues/Winter\\_2015-16/9\\_Monaghan.pdf](http://strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/parameters/issues/Winter_2015-16/9_Monaghan.pdf)

Norberg, J. *Training for War. Russia's Strategic Level Military Exercises 2009-2017*. Stockholm: FOI, October 2018. <https://www.foi.se/rapportsammanfattning?reportNo=FOI-R--4627--SE>

Persson, G. *The War of the Future: A Conceptual Framework and Practical Conclusions. Essays on Strategic Thought*. Russia Studies Series, 03/17, Rome: NDC, 2017.  
<http://www.ndc.nato.int/news/news.php?icode=1078>

Podvig, P. (Ed.), *Russian Strategic Nuclear Forces*. London: MIT Press, 2001.

Renz, B. *Russia's Military Revival*. Cambridge: Polity, 2018.

Rowlands, K. (Ed.) *21<sup>st</sup> Century Gorshkov. The Challenge of Sea Power in the Modern Era*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2017.

Thomas, T. *Recasting the Red Star. Russia Forges Tradition and Technology Through Toughness*, Fort Leavenworth: FMSO, 2011.

Thomas, T. *Russian Military Strategy. Impacting 21<sup>st</sup> Century Reform and Geopolitics*. Fort Leavenworth: FMSO, 2015.

Thomas, T. *Kremlin Kontrol. Russia's Political-Military Reality*. FMSO: 2017.

#### Russian Foreign Policy

Hønneland, G. *Russia and the Arctic: Environment, Identity and Foreign Policy*. London: IB Tauris, 2016.

Legvold, R. (Ed.), *Russian Foreign Policy in the Twenty First Century and the Shadow of the Past*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Lukin, A. *China and Russia: The New Rapprochement*. Cambridge: Polity, 2018.

Stent, A. *The Limits of Partnership. US-Russia relations in the Twenty First Century*. Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014.

Tsygankov, A. *Russia's Foreign Policy. Change and Continuity in National Identity*. Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, 2010.

#### Russian Domestic Politics and Internal Affairs:

Ledeneva, A. *Can Russia Modernise? Sistema, Power Networks and Informal Governance*. Cambridge, CUP, 2013.

Monaghan, A. *The New Politics of Russia. Interpreting Change*. Manchester: MUP, 2016.

Robertson, G. *The Politics of Protest in Hybrid Regimes: Managing Dissent in Post-Communist Russia*. Cambridge: CUP, 2010.

Sakwa, R. *The Crisis of Russian Democracy. The Dual State, Factionalism, and the Medvedev Succession*. Cambridge, CUP, 2011.

Sakwa, R. *Putin Redux. Power and Contradiction in Contemporary Russia*. London: Routledge, 2014.

White, S. et al. (Eds.), *Developments in Russian Politics 8*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014.

## Economy and Energy:

Connolly, R. *Russia's Response to Sanctions: How Western Economic Statecraft is Reshaping Political Economy in Russia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Gaddy, C. *Bear Traps on Russia's Road to Modernisation*. London: Routledge, 2013.

Gustafson, T. *Wheel of Fortune. The Battle for Oil and Power in Russia*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Henderson, J. & A. Ferguson, *International Partnership in Russia. Conclusions from the Oil and Gas Industry*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014.

Mehdiyeva, N. "When Sanctions Bite: Global Export Leadership in a Competitive World and Russia's Energy Strategy to 2035", *Russia Studies*, Rome: NATO Defence College, 2017.

<http://www.ndc.nato.int/news/news.php?icode=1014>

Miller, C. *Putinomics: Power and Money in Resurgent Russia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018.

Sutela, P. *The Political Economy of Putin's Russia*. London: Routledge, 2012.

## **Recommended Background Reading – History, Geography, Soviet Strategy and Military Thinking**

Barnes, I. *Restless Empire. A Historical Atlas of Russia*, London: Belknap, 2015.

Braithwaite, R. *Afghantsy. The Russians in Afghanistan, 1979-1989*. Oxford: OUP, 2011.

Crankshaw, E. *Russia and the Russians*. London: MacMillan and son, 1947.

Crankshaw, E. *Putting up with the Russians*. London: Viking, 1984.

Davies, J. & A. Kent. *Red Atlas. How the Soviet Union Secretly Mapped the World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017.

Dick, C. *From Defeat to Victory. The Eastern Front, Summer 1944. Decisive and Indecisive Military Operations, Volume 2*. Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2016.

Donnelly, C. *Red Banner. The Soviet Military System in Peace and War*. London: Jane's Information Group, 1988.

Erickson, J. *The Road to Berlin. Stalin's War with Germany, Volume 2*. London: Phoenix Giant, 1996.

Erickson, J. *The Road to Stalingrad. Stalin's War with Germany, Volume 1*. London: Phoenix Giant, 1998.

Erickson, J. *The Soviet High Command. A Military-Political History, 1918-1941*. London: Frank Cass, 2001.

Fitzpatrick, S. *On Stalin's Team. The Years of Living Dangerously in Soviet Politics*. Princeton: PUP, 2015.

Fuller, W. *Strategy and Power in Russia, 1600-1914*. New York: The Free Press, 1992.

Garthoff, R. *Soviet Leaders and Intelligence. Assessing the American Adversary*. Washington, D.C., 2015.

Glantz, D. *Soviet Military Deception in the Second World War*. Abingdon: Frank Cass, 1989.

Glantz, D. *Soviet Military Operational Art. In Pursuit of Deep Battle*. Abingdon: Frank Cass, 1991.

Glantz, D. *The Soviet Conduct of Tactical Manoeuvre*. Abingdon: Frank Cass, 1991.

Glantz, D. *The Military Strategy of the Soviet Union. A History*. Abingdon: Frank Cass, 1992.

Kennaway, A. "The Mental and Psychological Inheritance of Contemporary Russia" in Kennaway, A. *Collected Writings, 1990-2000*. Conflict Studies Research Centre papers, M20. Camberley: CSRC, 2000.

Laruelle, M. "Is Russia Really Fascist?", PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 539, September 2018.

LeDonne, J. P. *The Grand Strategy of the Russian Empire, 1650-1831*. Oxford: OUP, 2004.

Lieven, D. *Towards the Flame. Empire, War and the End of Tsarist Russia*. London: Allen Lane, 2015.

Lynch, D. *Russian Peacekeeping Strategies in the CIS. The Cases of Moldova, Georgia and Tajikistan*. London: RIIA, 2000.

Lynch, D. *Engaging Eurasia's Separatist States. Unresolved Conflicts and de facto States*, Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2004.

Mackintosh, M. *Juggernaut. A History of Soviet Armed Forces*. London: Secker and Warburg, 1967.

McCwire, M., Booth, K., and J. McDonnell (Eds.), *Soviet Naval Policy. Objectives and Constraints*. London: Praeger, 1975.

Odom, W. *The Collapse of the Soviet Military*. Yale: Yale University Press, 2000.

Poe, M. *The Russian Moment in World History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.

Shukman, H. (Ed.) *Stalin's Generals*. London: Phoenix Press, 1993.

Triandafilov, V. K. *The Nature of the Operations of Modern Armies*. (edited by Kipp, J.) London: Routledge, 1994.

Vigor, P.H. "Doubts and Difficulties of a Would-be Soviet Attacker", *RUSI Journal*, Vol.125, No.2, 1980, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03071848009441863#.V6mMc4RlkUQ>

Vigor, P.H. *Soviet Blitzkrieg Theory*. London: Palgrave MacMillan, 1984.

Vigor, P.H. *The Soviet View of War, Peace and Neutrality*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.

## **UK-Russia relations**

Crankshaw, E. *Russia and Britain*. London: Collins, 1944.

Lain, S. & A. Kortunov, *Defining Dialogue: How to Manage UK-Russia Security Relations*, RUSI-RIAC Track II Bilateral Conference Report, March 2017. [https://rusi.org/sites/default/files/201703\\_rusi\\_rusi-riac\\_how\\_to\\_manage\\_russia-uk\\_security\\_relations.1.pdf](https://rusi.org/sites/default/files/201703_rusi_rusi-riac_how_to_manage_russia-uk_security_relations.1.pdf)

*The UK's Relations with Russia*, House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, 7<sup>th</sup> Report of Session 2016-2017, HC 120, March 2017.

<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmffaff/120/120.pdf>

Monaghan, A. "Moscow Will See the SDSR as a Challenge", Chatham House Expert Comment, December 2015, <https://www.chathamhouse.org/expert/comment/moscow-will-see-sdsr-challenge>

UK-Russia Relations project – *A Troubled Relationship* (2 edited volumes)

Part I – Conflict Studies Research Centre, May 2007, <http://studies.agentura.ru/centres/csdc/ukruss.pdf>

Part II – NATO Defence College, August 2009, <http://www.ndc.nato.int/research/research.php?icode=0>