Changing Europe
Explorations of the Far Right
History
Interdisciplinary Series of the CES
Journal of Soviet & Post-Soviet Politics & Society
Literature & Culture in Central & Eastern Europe
Political Science
Social Sciences
Soviet & Post-Soviet Politics & Society
Texts in German

London's Polish Borders
Transnationalizing Class and Ethnicity among Polish Migrants in London

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London Book Fair Edition
14 - 16th March 2017
Civil Society in Central & Eastern Europe
Edited by Heiko Pleines, Sabine Fischer  Series edited by Heiko Pleines, Sabine Fischer, Hans-Henning Schröder

Utilizing a wide range of empirical cases, the contributions in this edited volume highlight the different aspects of the role, development and societal background of civil society in Central and Eastern Europe. The first part of the book deals with dissent under socialism. The second part of the book looks at the role of civil society in the Western Balkans in the context of the breakup of the former Yugoslavia and the related ethnic conflicts. The third part goes on to examine the role of civil society in the post-Soviet region, which is marked by authoritarian tendencies. The fourth part returns to Central Eastern Europe with an analysis of the impact of EU accession on the role of civil society and considers the underlying aspects of a ‘common European memory’. The final section of the book looks at two cases - one from Central Eastern Europe, one from the CIS region - of political participation and lobbying by civil society organizations. This book presents a selection of the papers discussed at the Changing Europe Summer School on ‘Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe’ held at the National University of 'Kyiv-Mohyla Academy' (NAUKMA), Ukraine, in July 2009.

PB 9783838200415 £24.90 May 2010 Ibidem Press 192 pages
Export Pipelines from the CIS Region  
Geopolitics, Securitization & Political Decision-Making  
Edited by Andreas Heinrich, Heiko Pleines  
Series edited by Heiko Pleines, Sabine Fischer, Hans-Henning Schröder  
This timely collection offers fresh perspectives on the analysis of the ‘New Great Game’ – the fight for access to the former Soviet Union’s energy resources. Thus far the export of crude oil and natural gas has only been assessed through a geopolitical lens, which oversimplifies the political dynamics of the region and neglects to acknowledge the post-Soviet countries as actors in their own right.  
Broadening the scope of analysis, this volume brings together insights from various different angles, including the securitization of energy issues, the formation of post-Soviet energy policies, and the motives of local business and political actors.  
PB 9783838206394 £29.90 February 2014 Ibidem Press 300 pages

Interest Representation & Europeanization of Trade Unions from EU Member States of the Eastern Enlargement  
Edited by Heiko Pleines, Christin Landgraf  
Series edited by Sabine Fischer, Hans-Henning Schröder, Heiko Pleines  
This book examines the integration of major trade unions from the six biggest countries of EU’s Eastern enlargement into EU governance structures. Based on extensive empirical research, including more than 150 in-depth interviews, statistical data collection, document research, and eight detailed case studies, the contributions describe the activities and perceptions of the trade unions under investigation and the different levels of engagement, including European umbrella organizations, interregional cooperation, and European Works Councils. The book thus contributes to political science research on interest representation and Europeanization as well as sociological research on labor relations.  
PB 9783838207346 £27.90 May 2015 Ibidem Press 248 pages

EXPLORATIONS OF THE FAR RIGHT

Doublespeak  
The Rhetoric of the Far Right since 1945  
Edited by Matthew Feldman, Paul Jackson  
Series edited by Anton Shekhovtsov  
This timely intervention exposes the euphemized language of the extreme right as a Trojan Horse of deception to re-gain greater influence on public policy.  
Since the end of the Second World War, the extreme right has been tactically using ‘doublespeak’, aping the language of liberal democracy. Attentive observation and accurate recognition of the extreme right pedigree means taking seriously their deliberately crafted slogans, symbols and themes. The essays in this book inquire into the extreme right’s attempts at ‘repackaging’ contemporary ultranationalism to make it palatable to more mainstream European and American tastes.  
PB 9783838205540 £33.90 March 2014 Ibidem Press 336 pages
The Dark Side of European Integration
Social Foundations and Cultural Determinants of the Rise of Radical Right Movements in Contemporary Europe
Alina Polyakova Series edited by Anton Shekhovtsov

Across Europe, radical right-wing parties are winning increasing electoral support. The Dark Side of European Integration argues that this rising nationalism and the mobilization of the radical right are the consequences of European economic integration. The European economic project has produced a cultural backlash in the form of nationalist radical right ideologies. This assessment relies on a detailed analysis of the electoral rise of radical right parties in Western and Eastern Europe. Contrary to popular belief, economic performance and immigration rates are not the only factors that determine the far right’s success. There are other political and social factors that explain why in post-socialist Eastern European countries such parties had historically been weaker than their potential, which they have now started to fulfill increasingly. Using in-depth interviews with radical right activists in Ukraine, Alina Polyakova also explores how radical right mobilization works on the ground through social networks, allowing new insights into how social movements and political parties interact.

HB 9783838208169 £35.90 August 2015 Ibidem Press 180 pages
PB 9783838207667 £22.90 August 2015 Ibidem Press 180 pages

HISTORY

A Life Dedicated to the Republic
Vavro Srobář’s Slovak Czechoslovakism
Josette Baer, Milan Zemko

In this stunning biography, Josette Baer re-traces the eventful life of the Slovak politician Vavro Srobář, the principal figure in the implementation of Czechoslovak democracy in Slovakia. Spanning from his student days and his fight for Slovak civil rights in Upper Hungary via his ministerial positions during the First Czechoslovak Republic to his active resistance against German fascism, Baer’s research paints a most comprehensive picture. Based on rich archive material available to the English-reading public for the first time, Baer shows how Srobář’s political thought and activities shaped the turbulent history of Czechoslovakia in the first half of the 20th century. Offering unique insights into the political past of a country whose history remains largely under-researched, this book is a must-read for anyone interested in the region.

PB 9783838206462 £32.90 March 2014 Ibidem Press 360 pages

NEW TITLE

Dealing with the Yugoslav Past
Alina Zubkovich

This fascinating book analyzes the socialist past as represented in the national history museums of the majority of the former Yugoslav states. While traveling to Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Kosovo, and Macedonia, the study elucidates the strategies of constructing the national narratives that maintain and legitimize the particular vision of the common past. The cross-national comparison allows to extract the main tendencies in visual interpretation of the socialist past. The existence of the diverse opinions with the further possibility of displaying them in the public space has tremendous importance for the democratic development of the state and, consequently, the analysis of the exhibitions representing the socialist past in multiparadigmatic ways is the promising tool for the identification of both the memory politics in the region and the extent to which political actors are interfering in the given field.

PB 9783838209432 £22.00 February 2017 Ibidem Press 222 pages
The Culmination of Conflict
The Ukrainian-Polish Civil War & the Expulsion of Ukrainians After the Second World War
Stephen Rapawy

As Germany and the Soviet Union engaged in colossal battles during World War II, a much smaller but vicious struggle broke out in the borderlands of southeastern Poland, resurrecting longstanding ethnic and territorial conflicts between Poles and Ukrainians. During the war, both sides organized large partisan armies and sought to establish control over territory each deemed integral to their post-war national visions. The violence reached a fever pitch only in the years immediately following the war.

This comprehensive study provides a unique overview to Polish–Ukrainian relations dating back to the tenth century. Examining the development of this long-standing feud as part of a longer historical process that has occurred between the Polish and Ukrainian ethnic groups in Europe, Rapawy takes into consideration centuries of ethnic strife, population shifts that resulted from ethnic conquests, and the formation of national states after the First World War on multi-ethnic territories as a pre-condition for the events that occurred on the years following World War II.

PB 9783838208558 £30.00 May 2016 Ibidem Press 474 pages

NEW TITLE

Frozen Mud & Red Ribbons
A Romanian Jewish Girl’s Survival Through the Holocaust in Transnistria & its Rippling Effect on the Second Generation
Avital Baruch

When Sophica was abruptly separated from her father as a toddler, she found a haven in Grandmother Gitté. But one sunny day in July, when she was six years old, gendarmes marching and shouting in the streets stopped her dreamy childhood and her hopes to go to school and to be a big girl like her sister. She was deported together with her mother and the whole of the Jewish community of Mihaileni, Romania. On foot, through icy fields, they arrived in eastern Ukraine, a strip of land called Transnistria. Death, illness, brutality, shame, became her daily scenes. Sophica suffered hunger and fear but kept her hopes and sanity, albeit losing her sister and her father and witnessing her mother being viciously attacked. She survived Typhus and starvation by being strong and quiet.

Herman was a jolly little boy who didn’t care much needing to wear the yellow star and being forbidden from school. He continued playing outside with his friends while his father and brother were sent to a labor camp. At the age of 14, when the Second World War ended, he joined a Jewish youth movement and embarked on a ship to the Promised Land. However, their journey was interrupted and they were taken to a British detention camp in Cyprus.

Sophica and Herman were given new names, Shulamit and Tzvi. They met and made a home in Israel. Shulamit/Sophica never mentioned her sad childhood, but the essence of the past found its ways out. Sixty-five years after those events, her daughter comes across a family secret and starts asking questions, inducing Shulamit to break her silence and become again the frightened little Sophica.

This book tells her moving childhood story.

PB 9783838209982 £15.00 February 2017 Ibidem Press 216 pages
Memory is Our Home
Loss & Remembering -- Three Generations in Poland & Russia 1917-1960s
Suzanna Eibuszyc

"Memory is Our Home" is a powerful biographical memoir based on the diaries of Roma Talasiewicz-Eibuszyc, who was born in Warsaw before the end of World War I, grew up during the interwar period and who, after escaping the atrocities of World War II, was able to survive in the vast territories of Soviet Russia and Uzbekistan.

Translated by her own daughter, interweaving her own recollections as her family made a new life in the shadows of the Holocaust in Communist Poland after the war and into the late 1960s, this book is a rich, living document, a riveting account of a vibrant young woman’s courage and endurance.

A forty-year recollection of love and loss, of hopes and dreams for a better world, it provides richly-textured accounts of the physical and emotional lives of Jews in Warsaw and of survival during World War II throughout Russia. This book, narrated in a compelling, unique voice through two generations, is the proverbial candle needed to keep memory alive.

HB 9783838207322 £43.90 April 2015 Ibidem Press 256 pages
PB 9783838206820 £17.90 April 2015 Ibidem Press 256 pages

Romania & the Holocaust
Events – Contexts – Aftermath
Edited by Simon Geissbühler

From summer 1941 onwards, Romania actively pursued at its own initiative the mass killing of Jews in the territories it controlled. 1941 saw 13,000 Jewish residents of the Romanian city of Iași killed, the extermination of thousands of Jews in Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia by Romanian armed forces and local people, large-scale deportations of Jews to the camps and ghettos of Transnistria, and massacres in and around Odessa. Overall, more than 300,000 Jews of Romanian and Soviet or Ukrainian origin were murdered in Romanian-controlled territories during the Second World War. In this volume, a number of renowned experts shed light on the events, the contexts, and the aftermath of this under-researched and lesser-known dimension of the Holocaust. 75 years on, this book gives much-needed impetus to research on the Holocaust in Romania and Romanian-controlled territories.

HB 9783838209845 £59.00 October 2016 Ibidem Press 274 pages
PB 9783838209241 £30.00 October 2016 Ibidem Press 274 pages

Seven Czech Women
Portraits of Courage, Humanism, and Enlightenment
Josette Baer, Karel Boruvka

This engaging and insightful book is the first historical study in English portraying the lives and fates of Czech women. The seven life stories, ranging from the late 19th century to the present day, expose the often cruel political history of Bohemia (19th century), the Czech lands in Czechoslovakia (20th century), and the Czech Republic (20th-21st century) through the eyes of prominent women whose acts and deeds on behalf of their fellow citizens remain unforgettable in the Czech collective mind. The three chapters and four oral history interviews offer a captivating insight into how the situation of Czech women in society has changed during a most eventful period of history. This book has been preceded by a first volume on Slovak women (ISBN 9783838206387) whose lives have been of the same singular importance for Slovakia as their Czech counterparts were for their country. The two volumes are separate entities in their own right, but together provide the reader with a comprehensive picture of women's lives in the Czech lands and Slovakia, stressing the distinct political circumstances Czech and Slovak women have faced in recent history.

PB 9783838206400 £18.90 October 2015 Ibidem Press 284 pages
Seven Slovak Women
Portraits of Courage, Humanism & Enlightenment
Josette Baer, Jan Foltin

This engaging and insightful book is the first historical study in English portraying the lives and fates of Slovak women. The seven life stories, ranging from the late 19th century to the present day, expose the often cruel political history of Slovakia through the eyes of prominent women whose acts and deeds on behalf of their fellow citizens remain unforgotten in the Slovak collective mind. The four chapters and three oral history interviews offer a captivating insight into how the situation of Slovak women in society has changed during a most eventful period of history.

This book will be complemented by a second volume on Czech women whose lives have been of the same singular importance for the Czech lands as their Slovak counterparts were for their country (ISBN 978-3-8382-710-0, coming out in fall 2015). The two volumes are separate entities in their own right, but together provide the reader with a comprehensive picture of women's lives in the Czech lands and Slovakia, stressing the distinct political circumstances Czech and Slovak women have faced in recent history.

PB 9783838206387 £19.90 March 2015 Ibidem Press

Stalins Kommandotruppen 1941-1944
Alexander Gogun

There are certain parallels between the operations Vladimir Putin initiated in the wake of the Ukraine crisis of 2014 and the approach Stalin took in the region during the Second World War. Stalin’s ruthless use of scorched earth tactics, the deliberate provocation of reprisals of the occupiers against the civilian population, the destruction of their own villages, the chaotic collection of taxes in kind from the population, accompanied by everyday looting, benders, fornication and violence, fratricidal internal conflicts, the use of doping, the operational use of bacteriological weapons, and even cannibalism—all this was not a random price for the massive bloodshed and no spontaneous response of the population to the brutality of the German occupation in the 1940s. These were, as Alexander Gogun shows in his historiographical investigation, planned or consciously accepted phenomena and peculiarities of Stalin’s warfare tactics.

A book that makes an important contribution to the historical context of the current crisis in Ukraine.

PB 9783838207209 £31.90 April 2015 Ibidem Press 408 pages

The Belzec Death Camp
History, Biographies, Remembrance
Chris Webb

This book is a comprehensive account of the Belzec death camp in Poland which was the first death camp using static gas chambers as part of the Aktion Reinhardt mass murder program. This study covers the construction and the development of the mass murder process. The story is painstakingly told from all sides, the Jewish inmates, the perpetrators, and the Polish inhabitants of Belzec village, who lived near the factory of death. A major part of this work is the Jewish Roll of Remembrance, that covers the few survivors and details of some of the Jews among the many hundreds of thousands who perished in Belzec.

The book is richly illustrated with historical and modern photographs, as well as documents and drawings, some of the photographs have never before been seen in public.

PB 9783838208268 £29.00 March 2016 Ibidem Press 314 pages
**Stepan Bandera - The Life & Afterlife of a Ukrainian Nationalist**

*Fascism, Genocide & Cult*

Grzegorz Rossolinski-Liebe

"The Life and Afterlife of a Ukrainian Nationalist" is the first comprehensive and scholarly biography of the Ukrainian far-right leader Stepan Bandera and the first in-depth study of his political cult. In this fascinating book, Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe illuminates the life of a mythologized personality and scrutinizes the history of the most violent twentieth-century Ukrainian nationalist movement: the Organization of Ukrainian Nationals and its Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Elucidating the circumstances in which Bandera and his movement emerged and functioned, Rossoliński-Liebe explains how fascism and racism impacted on Ukrainian revolutionary and genocidal nationalism. The book shows why Bandera and his followers failed—despite their ideological similarity to the Croatian Ustaša and the Slovak Hlinka Party—to establish a collaborationist state under the auspices of Nazi Germany and examines the involvement of the Ukrainian nationalists in the Holocaust and other atrocities during and after the Second World War. The author brings to light some of the darkest elements of modern Ukrainian history and demonstrates its complexity, paying special attention to the Soviet terror in Ukraine and the entanglement between Ukrainian, Jewish, Polish, Russian, German, and Soviet history. The monograph also charts the creation and growth of the Bandera cult before the Second World War, its vivid revivals during the Cold War among the Ukrainian diaspora, and in Bandera’s native eastern Galicia after the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

PB 9783838206042 £32.90 October 2014 Ibidem Press 670 pages

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**The Treblinka Death Camp**

*History, Biographies, Remembrance*

Chris Webb, Michal Chocholaty, Tom Lawson

A number of books have been written on the death camp of Treblinka, but "The Treblinka Death Camp. History, Biographies, Remembrance" is unique. Webb and Chocholaty present the definitive account of one of history’s most infamous factories of death where approximately 800,000 people lost their lives. The Nazis who ran it, the Ukrainian guards and maids, the Jewish survivors and the Poles living in the camp’s shadow – every angle is covered in this astonishingly comprehensive work.

The book attempts to provide a Roll of Remembrance with biographies of the Jews who perished in the death camp as well as of those who escaped from Treblinka in individual efforts or as part of the mass prisoner uprising on August 2nd, 1943. It also includes unique and previously unpublished sketches of the camp’s ramp area and gas chamber, drawn by the survivors.

PB 9783838206561 £33.90 April 2014 Ibidem Press 484 pages
European Engagement Under Review
Exporting Values, Rules & Practices to the Post-Soviet Space
Edited by Vera Axyonova Series edited by Volker Hinnenkamp, Anne Honer, Gudrun Hentges, Hans Wolfgang Platzer

This timely book seeks to contribute to the debate on the transfer of values, rules, and practices by European actors to former soviet countries. The actors in focus include multilateral organizations, such as the European Union, the Council of Europe, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, as well as European governments and non-governmental organizations.

The contributions in this collection address different aspects of the export or transfer of values, such as democracy, human rights, and the rule of law, as well as rules and practices in the fields of education and migration management, examining motives, mechanisms, and effects of the European engagement.

PB 9783838208602 £21.90 April 2016 Ibidem Press 218 pages

European Union’s Democratization Policy for Central Asia
Failed in Success or Succeeded in Failure?
Vera Axyonova

The European Union has developed a range of instruments to promote democracy and human rights worldwide. However, the success of its democratization efforts remains questionable in countries that lack an EU membership perspective. The case of post-soviet Central Asia, where the EU declares democracy promotion among its key priorities yet is confronted with unfavorable domestic conditions for democratization and often fails to follow through, is an eye-opening example. Vera Axyonova’s study offers the first comprehensive evaluation of the micro-level effects of the EU engagement in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan and examines the factors that have made the EU efforts more or less successful in Central Asia.

PB 9783838206141 £24.90 October 2014 Ibidem Press 210 pages

Lobbying Uncovered?
Lobbying Registration in the European Union & the United States
Lisa Moessing

To the public’s eye, lobbying is still a highly obscure trade. Lobbyists are generally perceived to work behind closed doors in order to influence legislation—what really happens is unknown to the public. To make interest representatives more visible, both the European Union and the United States have developed mechanisms to register lobbyists. However, while US legislation now forces lobbyists to register and report their influential work by fixed deadlines, the EU’s registration remains voluntary due to the lack of a legal basis.

This book takes the reader closer to today’s concept of lobbying, especially in regard to the EU’s registration mechanism. Lisa Moessing compares both the US and the EU registration systems by their technical composition, accessibility, and handling and contrasts their efficiency and effectiveness. Providing a forum for 17 lobbyists, watch dog members, and political representatives to discuss lobbying registration, this book defines starting points for improvement and emphasizes the importance of listening to those who deal with the registers in everyday practice.

PB 9783838206165 £24.90 October 2014 Ibidem Press 156 pages
Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society
Gender, Nationalism & Citizenship in Anti-Authoritarian Protests in Belarus, Russia & Ukraine
Edited by Samuel Greene  Editor-in-chief Julie Fedor  Volume editor Andriy Portnov  Edited by Andre Härtel, Andrey Makarychev  Consultant editor Andreas Umland

This special issue focuses on gender dynamics in protest movements that occur in patriarchal, authoritarian and semi-authoritarian societies. Themes covered include the place of feminist and gender equality movements in democratically restricted environments, intersections between feminism and nationalism, the relationship between nationality and sexuality, the question of political agency of non-mainstream groups in the context of protest activity, and the dilemmas of conducting qualitative research while participating in a protest.

The journal features contributions by scholars, gender equality activists, and artists, and provides a wide-ranging discussion of recent and ongoing protest movements in Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine.

2016/1: PB 9783838208862 £25.00 May 2016 Ibidem Press 160 pages
2015/1: PB 9783838207261 £21.90 April 2015 Ibidem Press 334 pages

Holocaust in the Central European Literatures & Cultures
Problems of Poetization & Aestheticization
Edited by Reinhard Ibler

This volume addresses a problem of high controversy: Relating the Holocaust to poetic and aesthetic phenomena has often been seen as a taboo, as only authentic testimonies, documents, or at least ‘unliterary’, prosaic approaches were considered appropriate for dealing with the topic. However, from the very beginning of Holocaust literature and culture, there were tendencies towards literarization, poetization, and ornamentalization. Nowadays, aesthetic approaches—also in provocative, taboo-breaking ways—are more and more regarded as important instruments to evoke the attention required for keeping the cataclysm in the collective memory.

The contributions of the volume using examples predominantly from Polish, Czech, and German Holocaust literature and culture focus on selected aspects of this complex of problems, such as: poetry of concentration camp detainees; lyrical poetry about the Holocaust; poetical tendencies in narrative literature and drama; ‘ornamental prose’ about the Holocaust; devices and functions of aestheticization in Holocaust literature and culture.

PB 9783838209524 £26.00 October 2016 Ibidem Press 296 pages
Holocaust in the Central European Literatures & Cultures Since 1989
Reinhard Ibler

Text in English & German. This volume assembles 22 English and German contributions dealing with the literature and culture of the Holocaust in the years since 1989 thereby focussing on Poland, the Czech Republic and Germany. It becomes apparent from these essays that the Nazi genocide continues to be a pivotal issue in literature, theatre and film even at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. Included are overviews of the literary and cultural developments of the last decades, comparative studies and numerous analyses of the works of individual authors of the older as well as the middle and younger generation. Among the authors whose works are discussed are R. Klüger, R. Ligocka, L. Weliczker, A. Bart, M. Bienczyk, M. Tulli, Z. Rudzka, O. B. Kraus, M. Uhde, A. Goldflam, J. Topol, I. Dousková, R. Denemarková and H. Andronikova. The growing use of provocative and taboo-breaking forms of expression turns out to be an important instrument in keeping the memory of the horrible events alive in the collective memory.

PB 9783838205120 £28.90 October 2014 Ibidem Press 372 pages

POLITICAL SCIENCE

An Agenda for Western Balkans
From Elite Politics to Social Sustainability
Edited by Nikolaos Papakostas

The Western Balkan countries have been both a popular subject matter for diachronic analysis and a 1990s favorite. The significant changes that followed the most recent times of conflict in the region mostly evolve around the process of Europeanization. Despite the plethora of analyses, most approaches to the Western Balkans suffer from theoretical stagnancy, ex parte political practice, and detachment of politics from societal needs.

This volume is the work of a team of theorists and practitioners who attempt a multidisciplinary approach to Western Balkans reality. An Agenda for the Western Balkans offers a critical view on issues that have been over-analyzed in mainstream terms and opens a discussion that will occupy researchers and practitioners for years to come. It addresses novel topics and engages in innovative approaches that cut across disciplines of social sciences (political science, international relations, sociology, historiography, geography, political economy) and levels of analysis (local, national, regional, European, global). This collection is a pioneer theoretical and practical guide towards a sustainable future for the Western Balkans.

PB 9783838206684 £27.90 March 2015 Ibidem Press 0 pages
Democracy by Decree
 Prospects and Limits of Imposed Consociational Democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina
 Adis Merdzanovic

The introduction of consociational power sharing as a post-war political system has become one of the international community's preferred post-conflict devices. In situations where warring polities are internally divided by ethnic, religious, linguistic, or national identity, consociationalism guarantees the inclusion of all groups in the political process and prevents a ‘tyranny’ of the majority over one or more minorities. However, if international actors keep intervening in the political process, the advantages of consociationalism are turned upside down.

In this exceptional book, Adis Merdzanovic develops a theoretical and empirical approach to understanding consociational democracies that include external intervention. Using the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the consociational Dayton Peace Agreement ended the three-year war between Serbs, Croats, and Bosniaks twenty years ago, it elaborates on the different approaches used in the past and gives practical recommendations for future state-building exercises by the international community.

HB 9783838208121 £50.90 August 2015 Ibidem Press 436 pages
PB 9783838207728 £30.90 August 2015 Ibidem Press 436 pages

Development-Induced Displacement & Resettlement: Causes, Consequences & Socio-Legal Context
 Bogumil Terminski

This book explores the issue of development-induced resettlement, with a particular emphasis on the humanitarian, legal, and social aspects of this problem. Today, so-called development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR) is one of the dominant causes of internal spatial mobility worldwide. Each year over 15 million people are forced to abandon their homes to make space for economic development infrastructure. The construction of dams and irrigation projects, the expansion of communication networks, urbanization and re-urbanization, the extraction and transportation of mineral resources, forced evictions in urban areas, and population redistribution schemes count among the many possible causes.

Terminski aims to present the issue of development-caused displacement as a highly diverse, global social problem occurring in all regions of the world. As a human rights issue it poses a challenge to public international law and to institutions providing humanitarian assistance. A significant part of this book is devoted to the current dynamics of development-caused resettlement in Europe, which has been neglected in the academic literature so far.

PB 9783838206936 £39.90 May 2015 Ibidem Press 611 pages
Divided We Stand: Discourses on Identity in 'First' and 'Other' Serbia
Social Construction of the Self and the Other
Ana Russell-Omaljev

Serbia is still widely thought of as an unfinished state, whose people struggle to establish a compelling identity narrative in answer to the question 'who are we?'. While existing literature has over-analyzed Serbian nationalism, the Serbian public sphere remains largely ignored. This engaging and timely book fills this gap by giving context to the persistent and overwhelming dialogue between opposing factions on the identity spectrum in Serbia. Russell-Omaljev's focus on elite discourses provides a fresh perspective on this contentious subject. It offers an original understanding of the competing arguments surrounding 'First' and 'Other' Serbia and of the contested visions of Serbian national identity and broader European identity.

By closely examining the identity vocabulary of Serbian elites and the opposing ways in which these elites view the use of labels such as 'anti-Serbian', 'patriot', and 'traitor', this book provides a vital lesson in post-conflict nation-building and raises important questions about the symbolic representations of political and cultural identities. A much-needed and compelling intervention in the Serbian identity discourse, Russell-Omaljev's work is a must-read for any researcher on the Western Balkans.

PB 9783838206615 £26.00 February 2016 Ibidem Press 284 pages

EU: Beyond the Crisis
A Debate on Sustainable Integrationism
Edited by Nikolaos Papakostas, Nikolaos Pasamitros

This book ventures a critical gaze at the image of the European Union beyond the crisis. Keeping in mind that crises constitute organic parts of all systems, the volume attempts to apprehend the EU’s losses, gains, challenges, and opportunities deriving from the crisis and assesses what constitutes a viable and integrated exit from the current predicament. Moreover, through dealing with the EU as an everlasting process rather than a completed edifice, the collection aims at charting the conceptual weaknesses which resulted in a crisis so acute and long-lasting and at opening a discourse on the future and the required reconceptualization of the EU.

The project is based on three large and interconnected thematic pillars that relate to the European Union after the crisis:
- Facets of parliamentarism in the EU in the context of the crisis,
- Political cohesion and institutional integration,
- Perceptions, images, stereotypes, and their impact on the process of social and political integration of the EU.

PB 9783838208480 £26.00 March 2016 Ibidem Press 234 pages
Modern Dilemmas
Understanding Collective Action in the 21st Century
Edited by Dylan Kissane, Alexandru Volacu

Collective action problems are ubiquitous in situations involving human interactions and therefore lie at the heart of economy and political science. In one of the most salient statements on this topic, Elinor Ostrom (co-recipient of the 2009 Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences) even claims that “the theory of collective action is the central subject of political science”. The current volume, Modern Dilemmas: Understanding Collective Action in the 21st Century, is a collection of essays which target the problem of collective action from both a theoretical and applied perspective. The volume consists of four parts, each of these providing insights into different research fields. Thus, the first part, Theoretical Approaches, offers a guideline to the study of collective action in public choice theory and rational choice institutionalism and shows how it can be connected to other research programs such as constructivism, social network analysis and contractualism. The second part, Collective Action and Responsibility, tackles issues specific to political philosophy such as collective and individual responsibility and the morality of free-riding behavior. The third part, Collective Action and Public Policies, presents empirical studies on collective action in relation to educational policies, health policies and policies which target food security. Finally, the fourth part, Collective Action, Political Institutions and Social Movements, consists of various studies on classical problems of collective action such as political protests and revolutions, but also problems which are not traditionally associated with collective action such as party funding and the role of international organizations in economic recessions. The multidisciplinary character of the volume therefore makes it an interesting reading for students and scholars working in a number of different areas of study, such as political science, economy, political philosophy, public policies, comparative politics and international relations.

Nazarbayev - Our Friend the Dictator
Kazakhstan`s Difficult Path to Democracy
Viktor Khrapunov Translated by Nicki Challinger

"Like David, I am battling against a Goliath that has almost immeasurable means and powerful allies. I don't think I can win, I just want to be heard. No dictatorship lasts forever, and if my contribution can sooner or later bring about its downfall, then I will have achieved what I set out to do."

The man waging this unequal war is Viktor Khrapunov. He used to be mayor of Almaty, Kazakhstan's largest city, and the country's Energy Minister before he was forced into exile. From Switzerland, where he now lives with his family, he brings charges against the rule of Nursultan Nazarbayev, which will soon reach its twenty-fifth year.

Nazarbayev, initially welcomed as a young, dynamic president, has become a reckless and unpredictable dictator over the years. From the abusive privatization of the country's mineral resources and thriving corruption to personal intrigues and the stone-cold elimination of political opponents-Khrapunov's account of the criminal wheeling and dealing of this self-styled 'ruler of the nation' tells it how it is.

Based on Khrapunov's insider knowledge from the hallways of global power, his story is also a revelation of Western apathy towards a brutal dictatorial regime. This gripping autobiographical narrative helps the reader understand how Kazakhstan has developed politically from the collapse of the Soviet Union to the modern day, and how it can blossom into a democratic state.
Contemporary Life and Witchcraft
Magic, Divination, and Religious Ritual in Europe
Alexandra Tataran

Witchcraft is very much alive in today's post-communist societies. Stemming from ancient rural traditions and influenced by modern New Age concepts, it has kept its function as a vibrant cultural code to combat the adversities of everyday life. Intricately linked to the Orthodox church and its rituals, the magic discourse serves as a recourse for those in distress, a mechanism to counter-balance misfortune and, sometimes, a powerful medium for acts of aggression.

In this fascinating book, Alexandra Tataran skillfully re-contextualizes the vast and heterogenous discourse on contemporary witchcraft. She shows how magic, divination, and religious rituals are adapted to the complex mechanisms of modern mentalities and urban living in the specific historical and social context of post-communist countries. Based on years of first-hand fieldwork, Tataran offers fascinating insights into the experience of individuals deeming themselves bewitched and argues that the practice can also teach us a lot about particular forms of adapting traditions and resorting to pre-existing cultural models.

PB 9783838207384 £22.90 February 2016 Ibidem Press 224 pages

Europeans & the Public Sphere
Communication without Community?
Maximilian Conrad

What kind of public sphere is possible in the European Union with its considerable diversity of national identities, languages and media systems? Against the backdrop of debates about a fundamental European community deficit and the possibility of postnational democracy, this book explores the role of a European public sphere not only in bridging presumed gaps between citizens and their representatives in the European institutions, but also in creating transnational communicative spaces that contribute to the politicization of EU politics.

Drawing on Deweyan pragmatism, social constructivism and the Habermasian notion of constitutional patriotism, this book moves beyond the conventional wisdom that a European public sphere necessitates the existence of a sense of European “identity light”. Arguing that a political sense of community along the lines of a European constitutional patriotism can only emerge out of the democratic process itself, Maximilian Conrad looks at the role of daily newspapers not only as framers of public debate, but also as actors with distinct normative views regarding the future of the integration process, both in terms of the nature of the EU as a polity and the nature of democratic rule in this polity. The crucial empirical question addressed in the book is: Do newspapers with a pronounced preference for more democracy beyond the nation state also play a more active role in providing forums for transnational debate?

PB 9783838206158 £32.90 October 2014 Ibidem Press 340 pages

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London's Polish Borders
Transnationalizing Class & Ethnicity Among Polish Migrants in London
Michał Garapich

The figure of the Polish plumber or builder has long been a well-established icon of the British national imagination, uncovering the UK’s collective unease with immigration from Central and Eastern Europe. But despite the powerful impact the UK’s second largest language group has had on their host country’s culture and populist politics, very little is known about its members. This painstakingly researched book offers a wide perspective on Polish migrants in the UK, taking into account the interactions between Poles and British society through discursive actions, policies, family connections, transnational networks, and political engagement of the diaspora.

Borne out of a decade of ethnographic studies among various communities of Polish nationals living in London, Michał P. Garapich documents the changes that affect both Polish migrants and British society. Arguing that neither group can be fully understood in isolation, it explores the complexity of Polish ethnicity and offers an insight into the inner tensions and struggles within what the public and scholars often assume to be a uniform and homogeneous category. From Polish financial sector workers to the Polish homeless population, this groundbreaking book offers an ethnographic, street-level account of cultural and social determinants of Polish migration and how Polish migrants redefine and reconstruct their understanding of class and ethnicity on a daily basis.

PB 9783838206073 £28.90 July 2016 Ibidem Press 344 pages

When Stereotype Meets Prejudice
Antiziganism in European Societies
Timofey Agarin

Antiziganism is a widespread phenomenon in all European societies. Poor or rich, ‘postcommunist’ or ‘traditional’, North or South, with ‘lean’ or ‘thick’ welfare systems—all European societies demonstrate antiziganist prejudice.

All across Europe Romanis are among the poorest, most destitute, and most excluded communities. Widespread prejudice and stereotypical representations of Romani individuals limit their chances for participation in democratic decision making processes and their access to services. Unable to counteract majority stereotypes systematically, more often than not they remain on the fringes of society. This edited volume asks where these stereotypes and prejudices come from, why they are ubiquitous to all societies, and how pertinent their impact on antiziganist attitudes found in European societies really is.

PB 9783838205885 £28.90 October 2014 Ibidem Press 280 pages
How a Small, Landlocked Country Ran Maritime Business During the Cold War
Lenka Kratka
Series edited by Andreas Umland

This book offers a comprehensive history of the Czechoslovak Ocean Shipping Company (C. O. S.) from its beginning in the late 1940s until the fall of communism. Owned by the Czechoslovak state, C. O. S.'s activities were shaped by Soviet standards. This unique study is structured according to the different phases of the Cold War and highlights the political aspects that determined C. O. S.'s fate.

Lenka Kratka focuses on two contradictory economic dimensions that C. O. S. had to engage with. Being part of the planned economy of a socialist state, it also dealt with companies in the capitalist West. Another paradoxical aspect of C. O. S. emerges from the memories of former Czechoslovak seamen, who experienced relative freedom when being aboard and strict communist regime control while at home with their families. Kratka's book offers fascinating insights into a neglected topic, using thus far untapped sources and building on primary research in oral history and personal memory.

PB 9783838206660 £23.90 August 2015 Ibidem Press 296 pages

Alexander Solzhenitsyn
Cold War Icon, Gulag Author, Russian Nationalist?
Elisa Kriza

Alexander Solzhenitsyn was one of the Cold War's most iconic writers. This book offers an in-depth analysis of his reception in the US, UK, and Germany before and after 1991. Elisa Kriza skillfully explores how Solzhenitsyn's work can be understood with the paradigm of witness literature and uncovers the dynamics behind the politicized reception of his writing. From the mid-1980s onwards, Solzhenitsyn's popularity dwindled—was this for ideological reasons? What about the rumors linking him with Russian nationalism? This study does not shy away from stretching beyond anti-communism and touching more contentious subjects—such as anti-feminism, anti-Semitism, and revisionism—in Solzhenitsyn's work and reception. Bringing Solzhenitsyn back from his 'critical exile' and redefining his work as memory culture, Kriza's book is a crucial scholarly intervention, unveiling the mechanism that can transform a controversial figure into a moral icon.

HB 9783838206905 £49.90 October 2014 Ibidem Press 308 pages
PB 9783838205892 £28.90 October 2014 Ibidem Press 308 pages
Aspects of the Orange Revolution I
Democratization & Elections in Post-Communist Ukraine
Edited by Paul D. Anieri, Taras Kuzio Series edited by Andreas Umland

Ukraine's 2004 presidential election was falsified, spurring the Orange Revolution. To many observers, the Orange Revolution was a shock, and the stolen elections a recent development. However, both the election fraud and the effort to topple the government of Leonid Kuchma emerged from political dynamics that had appeared in earlier Ukrainian elections. In this path breaking volume, leading scholars place Ukraine's 2004 Orange Revolution in the longer perspective of Ukraine's post-Soviet electoral politics. Covering both presidential and parliamentary elections over the entire post-Soviet period, the chapters clarify the manner in which earlier elections had emerged as part of the battle for power in Ukraine well before 2004. The opposition that came to power in 2004 had also won the 2002 elections and had developed its strategies during opposition protests that had been catalyzed by the Kuchmagate crisis in 2000. The evolution of the dynamics that led to the fraudulent 2004 election reveals that the events of 2004 represented continuity as well as change. By placing the 2004 elections within a longer trajectory, the volume enriches our understanding of the Orange Revolution and helps us to understand the difficulties faced in consolidating Ukraine's democratic breakthrough following the Orange Revolution.

The volume contains an introduction to Aspects of the Orange Revolution I-VI by Andreas Umland followed by eight chapters by Robert K. Christensen, Edward R. Rakhimkulov and Charles Wise, Paul D'Anieri, Robert Kravchuk and Victor Chudowsky, Paul Kubicek, Taras Kuzio, Lucan Way, and Anna Makhorkina. These authors bring complex and varied perspectives that situate Ukraine's post-Soviet elections in economic reforms, constitutional law, foreign policy objectives of integrating into Europe, as well as in the broader context of the rough and tumble competition for political control of Ukraine.

PB 9783898216982 £29.90 November 2007 Ibidem Press 250 pages

Aspects of the Orange Revolution II
Information & Manipulation Strategies in the 2004 Ukrainian Presidential Elections
Edited by Bohdan Harasymiw, Oleh S. Ilnytzkyj Series edited by Andreas Umland

In Ukraine's presidential elections of 2004, the establishment candidate Viktor Yanukovych had the advantages of a solid regional base, access to administrative resources, dominance in the media, help by Russian spin-doctors, and support of Moscow. Yet the winner was the pro-Western challenger, Viktor Yuschenko. How did Ukrainian voters break through the barrage of propaganda so as to deliver their ultimate verdict? Was the divide between Eastern and Western Ukraine fact or PR fiction? In this volume, scholars from two continents examine various aspects of the elections that turned into the Orange Revolution focusing on electoral campaigns and attempts to manipulate results. Following the editor's scene-setting chapter which looks at the electoral laws and their consequences in the previous decade's elections, presidential and parliamentary, the contributors take up specific features of the 2004 contest. The critical part played by a single independent television channel is analyzed by Marta Dyczok. Ilya Khineyko reviews the coverage of the elections in the Russian press, favourable to Yanukovych and always looking for parallels between Russia and Ukraine as well as keeping in mind Moscow's interests. The myths and stereotypes of the campaign are taken up in two contributions by Lyudmyla Pavlyuk and Olena Yatsunska. Clearly, constructed images often overshadowed real issues. Valerii Polkonsky's essay exposes the linguistic innovations of the campaign, including the irony and humour unleashed by such incidents as the "egg attack" on Yanukovych. In Kerstin Zimmer's final paper, the machine politics, administrative resources and fraud which had worked so well in Donets'k are shown to have been less than successful on the national level for reasons of scale and impersonality.

PB 9783898216999 £29.90 November 2007 Ibidem Press 264 pages
Aspects of the Orange Revolution III
Context & Dynamics of the 2004 Ukrainian Presidential Elections
Edited by Ingmar Bredies, Andreas Umland, Valentin Yakushik Series edited by Andreas Umland

The third volume of Aspects of the Orange Revolution complements the essays of the first two collections providing further historical background on, and analytical insight into, the events at Kyiv in late 2004. Its seven contributions by both established and younger specialists range from electoral statistics to musicology, and deal with, among other issues, such questions as: Why had blatant election fraud not generated mass protest before 2004, but, in that year, did? How was Viktor Yushchenko able to collect enough votes to defeat the establishment candidate Viktor Yanukovych, and become the new President of a socially, geographically and culturally divided country? How was it possible to prevent large-scale violence, and which role did the judiciary play during the quasi-revolutionary events in autumn-winter 2004? What legal foundations and court decisions made the repetition of the second round of the presidential elections possible? Which campaign instruments, and political 'technologies' were applied by various domestic and foreign actors to activate the Ukrainian population? How did the internet and music become factors in the emergence of mass protests involving hundreds of thousands of people? To which degree and how did external influences affect the Orange Revolution? Erik S. Herron, Paul E. Johnson, Dominique Arel, Ivan Katchanovski, Ralph S. Clem, Peter R. Craumer, Hartmut Rank, Stephan Heidenhain, Adriana Helbig and Andrew Wilson present a multifarious panorama of the origins and dynamics of the processes that changed the nature of political and civic life during and between the three rounds of Ukraine's fateful 2004 presidential elections.

PB 9783898218030 £29.90 November 2007 Ibidem Press 250 pages

Aspects of the Orange Revolution IV
Foreign Assistance & Civic Action in the 2004 Ukrainian Presidential Elections
Edited by Ingmar Bredies, Andreas Umland, Valentin Yakushik Series edited by Andreas Umland

The fourth volume of Aspects of the Orange Revolution continues the previous volume’s discussion on the impact of foreign actors on Ukrainian politics. It provides both scholarly analyses and first-hand accounts. The collection not only investigates, but also gives voice to, some of those involved in the events of 2004. While most of the volume’s contributors have an academic background, some of them report here from the perspective of official election or informal participant observers of the three rounds of the Ukrainian presidential elections. Part One juxtaposes some contrasting views on how far Russia’s and the West’s various interests, activities and tools influencing the Orange Revolution were comparable to each other, and adequate given the circumstances. Part Two presents individual reports by a number of international election observers who were following the campaign and voting in various parts of Ukraine in 2004. Part Three presents three additional on-the-ground observations focusing solely on the notorious electoral district No. 100 of Kirovohrad Oblast. The contributions by Andreas Umland, Iris Kempe, Iryna Solonenko, Vladimir Frolov, Valentin Yakushik, Matthias Brucker, Jake Rudnitsky, Rory Finnin, Adriana Helbig, Paul Terdal, Tatiana Terdal, Peter Wittschorke, Hans-Jörg Schmedes, Adrianna Melnyk, Ingmar Bredies, Oxana Shevel and Volodymyr Bilyk add a number of novel points of view to those presented in the previous volumes. These partly contradictory and emotional texts as well as a number of photographs document the tense atmosphere and confrontational climate within which Ukraine’s second phase of post-Soviet democratization started in 2004.

PB 9783898218085 £29.90 November 2007 Ibidem Press 244 pages
Institutional Observation Reports on the 2004 Ukrainian Presidential Elections
Edited by Ingmar Bredies, Andreas Umland, Valentin Yakushik
Series edited by Andreas Umland

Reports by international governmental and non-governmental organizations on the 2004 presidential elections in Ukraine constituted a significant factor in generating, facilitating and completing the Orange Revolution. Ukrainian civil society, mass media, courts and political parties were the main driving force behind the popular uprising that returned Ukraine to the path of democratization it had embarked on in 1991. Yet, the unambiguous stance and political weight of such institutions as the EU, PACE, NATO, and, above all, OSCE played their role too. The democratic movement benefited from the spectre of international isolation and stigmatization of the Ukrainian state had President Leonid Kuchma decided to prevent a repetition of the second round of the voting.

The volume collects not all, but some of the most widely discussed reports, including English translations of selected sections of the three reports produced by the CIS International Observers Mission. The latter as well as a report by an Israeli institute depart from the assessments of the other organizations represented here, allowing for comparison of diverging evaluations of the same events. The volume assembles full or excerpted official reports of the International Republican Institute, Tel Aviv Institute for the Countries of Eastern Europe and CIS, European Network of Election Monitoring Organizations, Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, and Commonwealth of Independent States. Contributions by Jevgen Shapoval and Roman Kupchinsky introduce and conclude the collection.

Aspects of the Orange Revolution VI
Post-Communist Democratic Revolutions in Comparative Perspective
Edited by Taras Kuzio
Series edited by Andreas Umland

Post-communist democratic revolutions have, so far, taken place in six countries: Slovakia (1998), Croatia (1999-2000), Serbia (2000), Georgia (2003), Ukraine (2004) and Kyrgyzstan (2005). The seven chapters in this volume situate these events within a theoretical and comparative perspective. The volume draws upon extensive experience and field research conducted by political scientists specializing in comparative democratization, regime politics, political transitions, electoral studies, and the post-communist world. The papers by Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik, Henry Hale, Paul D’Anieri, David R. Marples, Taras Kuzio, Lucan A. Way and Steven Levitsky, as well as Anika Locke Binnendijk and Ivan Marovic explore different regime types and opposition strategies in post-communist states, the diffusion of opposition strategies between states in which democratic revolutions were attempted, the strategic importance of youth NGO’s in mobilizing oppositions towards democratic revolutions, the use of non-violent strategies by the opposition, path dependent, theoretical and comparative explanations of the sources of successful and failed democratic revolutions, and the factors that lie behind divergent post-revolutionary trajectories.

The volume represents a breakthrough in our understanding of why and how democratic revolutions take place in the post-communist world. It provides an integrated analysis of why such upheavals succeed in some, but fail in other states. The contributions point to, among other issues, why the post-revolutionary breakthroughs in Serbia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan have encountered obstacles, the ousted regime was never fully defeated and its representatives were able to launch counter-revolutions, as well as why, in Serbia and Ukraine, the political forces of the ousted regimes have returned to power in free elections held after democratic revolutions. Post-Communist Democratic Revolutions in Comparative Perspective will be important reading for scholars and policy makers alike.

PB 9783898218207 £29.90 November 2007 Ibidem Press 226 pages
Assisting Reform in Post-Communist Ukraine 2000-2012
The Illusions of Donors and the Disillusion of Beneficiaries
Duncan Leitch Series edited by Andreas Umland

This book is an in-depth analysis of some unexpected consequences of international aid for transition in a post-communist state. Examining the reform efforts of relations between Kiev and the regions of Ukraine, Duncan Leitch explores how and why fiscal decentralization and regional policy programs initiated by the Ukrainian government and supported by the Western donor community failed to achieve a sustained outcome.

Drawing on concepts from Institutional Theory, Comparative Politics, and Development Studies, Leitch explains the complex interactions between external donors and the domestic recipients of their advice. His findings throw a light on the narrow circumstances under which short-term success can be achieved, but also point towards the failings of the donor community to lay the groundwork for lasting reform.

A valuable resource for anyone working in the development sector in Eastern Europe or beyond, this book provides a new outlook on the political realities of the reform process, the relevance of international advice, and the domestic pressures leading to the Maidan uprising of 2013.

PB 9783838208442 £24.90 March 2016 Ibidem Press 262 pages

Borderlands into Bordered Lands
Geopolitics of Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine
Tatiana Zhurzhenko Series edited by Andreas Umland

Since 1991, post-Soviet political elites in Ukraine, Russia and Belarus have been engaged in nation- as well as state-building. They have tried to strengthen territorial sovereignty and national security, re-shape collective identities and re-narrate national histories. Former Soviet republics have become new neighbours, partners and competitors searching for geopolitical identity in the new Eastern Europe, i.e. the countries left outside the enlarged EU. Old paradigms such as "Eurasia" or "East Slavic civilisation" have been re-invented and politically instrumentalized in the international relations and domestic politics of these countries. At the same time, these old concepts and myths have been contested and challenged by pro-Western elites. The main subject of this book is the construction of post-Soviet borders and their political, social and cultural implications. It focuses on the exemplary case of the Ukrainian-Russian border, approaching it as a social construct and a diskursive phenomenon. The book shows how the symbolic meanings of and narratives on this border contribute to national identity formation and shape the images of the neighbouring countries as "the Other" thereby shedding new light on the role of border disputes between Ukraine and Russia in bilateral relations, in EU neighbourhood politics and in domestic political conflicts. The study also addresses "border making" on the regional level, focusing on the cross-border cooperation between Kharkiv and Belgorod and on the dilemmas of a Euroregion "in absence of Europe." Finally, it reflects the everyday experiences of the residents of near-border villages and shows how national and local identities are performed at, and transformed by, the new border.

PB 9783838200422 £33.90 July 2010 Ibidem Press 334 pages
**Changing Images of the Left in Bulgaria**

*The Challenge of Post-Communism in the Early 21st Century*

**Boris Popivanov**  
Series edited by **Andreas Umland**

The violent protests that shook Bulgaria in recent years were fueled by a widespread belief that, after 25 years of transition, a new base for the political process is required. In this important new study, Popivanov provides a critical re-assessment of the role of the Bulgarian Socialist Party - arguably, the single most important political entity in Bulgaria’s post-communist history. Assessing its internal problems and the challenges it faces from a new and radical grassroots Left, Popivanov asks why and how Bulgaria’s Socialist Party was the only one in the Eastern bloc to remain an important political organization, after the end of communism. This timely book skilfully analyzes the current societal and political situation in Bulgaria that threatens the Socialists and argues for a complete reformulation of the concept of the 'Bulgarian Left'.

PB 9783838206677 £23.90 August 2015 Ibidem Press 134 pages

**Digital Orthodoxy in the Post-Soviet World**

*The Russian Orthodox Church & Web 2.0*

**Edited by Mikhail Suslov** Series edited by **Andreas Umland**

This volume explores the relationship between new media and religion, focusing on the WWW’s impact on the Russian Orthodox Church.

Eastern Christianity has travelled a long way through the centuries, amassing the intellectual riches of many generations of theologians and shaping the cultures as well as histories of many countries, Russia included, before the arrival of the digital era. New media pose questions that, when answered, fundamentally change various aspects of religious practice and thinking as well as challenge numerous traditional dogmata of Orthodox theology. For example, an Orthodox believer may now enter a virtual chapel, light a candle by drag-and-drop operations, send an online prayer request, or worship virtual icons and relics. In recent years, however, Church leaders and public figures have become increasingly skeptical about new media. The internet, some of them argue, breaches Russia’s "spiritual sovereignty" and implants values and ideas alien to the Russian culture.

This collection addresses such questions as: How is the Orthodox ecclesiology influenced by its new digital environment? What is the role of clerics in the Russian WWW? How is the specifically Orthodox notion of sobornost’ (catholicity) being transformed here? Can Orthodox activity in the internet be counted as authentic religious practice? How does the virtual religious life intersect with religious experience in the "real" church?

PB 9783838208718 £28.90 June 2016 Ibidem Press 352 pages
NEW TITLE

The Effects & Implications of Kazakhstan’s Adoption of International Financial Reporting Standards
A Resource Dependence Perspective
Oksana Kim

Despite having an underdeveloped supporting infrastructure and limited resources, Kazakhstan was the first CIS country to require IFRS in 2004 for banks, and in 2005 for all public companies. What were the economic consequences of this important reform?

In the 1990s, Kazakhstan’s capital market reforms mirrored those of Russia due to the two countries’ cooperating mode driven by a high level of resource interdependence and environmental uncertainty, following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Yet, by 2003, dependence on external donors (IMF, World Bank) took precedence over interdependence with Russia. As a result, Kazakhstan unilaterally proceeded with adoption of IFRS, while Russia backed up from this initiative. This study reports that Kazakhstan’s inflow of Foreign Direct Investments was the greatest among the CIS nations following the adoption of IFRS. In addition, in 2005–11, Kazakhstani public firms’ reporting quality was higher than that of the Russian public firms operating in a similar environment but exempt from the IFRS reporting requirement. Kazakhstan was the first CIS nation to repay its external debt ahead of schedule and to receive an investment grade from Moody’s rating agency. The book concludes that Western-style capital market reforms—in this emerging market with a not-so-distant communist past—had significantly positive outcomes.

PB 9783838209876 £22.00 February 2017 Ibidem Press 144 pages

Elephant in the Room
Corruption & Cheating in Russian Universities
Sergey Golunov

This book offers a long overdue account of the wide range of corruption and cheating practices in Russian higher education, including bribery, financial fraud, clientelism, plagiarism, exam cheating, and much more. Serghei Golunov ruthlessly uncovers the recent social trends that have created a favourable ground for such malpractices and evaluates the efficiency of measures taken against corruption and fraud by various actors. Although corruption and cheating are so widespread in most Russian universities that the real value of their diplomas is very questionable, these problems are prioritized neither by higher education managers nor by foreign actors such as partner universities, participants of the Bologna process, or the authors of global university rankings.

PB 9783838205700 £19.90 October 2014 Ibidem Press 102 pages

Filming the Unfilmable
Casper Wrede’s
Ben Hellman, Andrei Rogachevskii Series edited by Andreas Umland

In this amply illustrated book, Hellman and Rogachevskii tell the fascinating story behind the screen adaptation of one of the most impactful novels of all times. Despite its huge global success, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn refused all offers to have his One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich turned into a movie for many years for artistic reasons. It took the full resolve and commitment of the Finnish director Caspar Wrede to bring this challenging project to fruition, eight years after the novel had been published.

This second, expanded edition of Filming the ‘Unfilmable’ offers an all-encompassing account of the movie’s production, reception and impact. Filled with little-known facts, it also gives unique and valuable insights into Solzhenitsyn’s complex relationship with the art of filmmaking.

PB 9783838200446 £29.90 February 2014 Ibidem Press 260 pages
Ethnic Belonging, Gender & Cultural Practices
Youth Identities in Contemporary Russia
Ulrike Ziemer Series edited by Andreas Umland

How are youth cultural identities rooted in gender, ethnicity, and place? What resources do young people from ethnic minorities use in creating their cultural identities? Drawing upon interdisciplinary research, Ulrike Ziemer’s case study demonstrates the different ways in which young people from ethnic minorities respond to the social, political, and cultural transformations of post-Soviet Russia and provides a detailed analysis of how local vs. global relations are experienced outside the West.

Relying on extensive ethnographic fieldwork, Ziemer explores the complex processes of identity formation and cultural experiences among young Armenians in Krasnodar krai and young Adyghs in the Republic of Adyghe. Both ethnic groups, Armenians and Adyghs, have a minority status in Russia, yet Adyghs are indigenous to the region while Armenians constitute a diaspora people.

Ulrike Ziemer is the first to examine specifically Armenian and Adygh youth identities in the context of everyday life experiences in post-Soviet Russia.

PB 9783838201528 £29.90 August 2011 Ibidem Press 250 pages

Helsinki Revisited
A Key U.S. Negotiator’s Memoirs on the Development of the CSCE into the OSCE
John Maresca, Hafiz Pashayev Series edited by Andreas Umland

The Helsinki Final Act of the 1975 Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) set the rules for legitimate changes in national frontiers: They must be accomplished by peaceful means and agreement. Together with the Charter of Paris for a New Europe of 1990, the Helsinki Accords paved the way for a peaceful coexistence of the West and the Eastern Bloc. The Paris conference ended the Cold War, issuing a “Joint Declaration of Twenty-two States,” in which all member states of NATO and the Warsaw Pact affirmed they are no longer enemies. The Helsinki process, continuing in the form of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), resulted ultimately in the prevailing of pluralist democracy, market economy, and personal freedom. Today, it may serve as an example for how to deal with the current situation in Ukraine and crises in other regions of the former Soviet Union.

John J. Maresca was a senior U.S. diplomat at the center of this long negotiating process. He was sent as the first, and only, US Ambassador to the newly-independent states after the break-up of the USSR—the American Ambassador to the “Near Abroad”—and started a negotiating process to try to end the one conflict in the region at that time. With this book, he presents his personal memoirs of how it was possible to reach the Helsinki Accords and following agreements—a story of astonishing change and evolution which is as eminently relevant today as it was 40 years ago.

PB 9783838208527 £17.90 March 2016 Ibidem Press 210 pages
Historical Legacies & the Radical Right in Post-Cold War Central & Eastern Europe
Sabrina P Ramet Edited by Michael Minkenberg Series edited by Andreas Umland

The transformation process in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) after 1989 is often clothed in terms of historical and geographical categories, either as a 'return of history' or as a 'return to Europe', or both. Either way, the radical right in CEE claims a prominent place in this politics of return. Studies of the radical right echo the more general concern, in analyses of the region, with historical analogies and the role of legacies. Sometimes parallels are discovered between the post-1989 radical right and interwar fascism. They imply a 'Weimarization' of the transformation countries and the return of the pre-socialist, ultranationalist, or even fascist past - the 'return of history'. Another interpretation argues that since some CEE party systems increasingly resemble their West European counterparts, so does the radical right, at least where it is electorally successful - the 'return to Europe'. A third line of thought states that the radical right in the region is a phenomenon sui generis, inherently shaped by the historical forces of state socialism and the transformation process. As a result and in contrast to Western Europe, it is ideologically more extreme and anti-democratic while organizationally more a movement than a party phenomenon. This book provides insight into the role of historical forces in the shaping and performance of the current radical right in CEE. It conceptualizes 'legacies' both as a contextual factor, i.e. as part of structural and cultural opportunities for new movements and parties in the region, and as textual factors, i.e. as part of the ideological baggage of the past which is revived - and reinterpreted - by the radical right. An introductory essay by Michael Minkenberg puts the topic and the concept of legacies into a larger research perspective. Articles by Lenka Bustikova and Herbert Kitschelt as well as John Ishiyama employ the role of legacies as context, whereas the contributions by Timm Beichelt, Sarah de Lange and Simona Guerra as well as James Frusetta and Anca Glont treat legacies as text.

PB 9783838201245 £29.90 August 2010 Ibidem Press 240 pages

History as Therapy
Alternative History and Nationalist Imaginings in Russia
Konstantin Sheiko, Stephen Brown Series edited by Andreas Umland

This astonishing book explores the delusional imaginings of Russia’s past by the pseudo-scientific ‘Alternative History’ movement. Despite the chaotic collapse of two empires in the last century, Russia’s glorious imperial past continues to inspire millions. The lively movement of ‘Alternative History’, diligently re-writing Russia’s past and ‘rediscovering’ its hidden greatness, has been growing dramatically since the collapse of Communism in 1991. Virtually unknown in the West, these pseudo-historians have published best-selling books, attracted widespread media attention, and are a prominent voice in Internet discussions about Russian and world history. Alternative History claims that Russia is much older than Ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome; that the medieval Mongol Empire was in fact a Slav-Turk world empire; and that, in the twentieth century, duplicitous foreign powers stabbed Russia in the back and stole its empire. For its followers the key to Russia’s greatness in the future lies in ensuring that Russians understand the true wealth of their past. Alternative history has become a popular therapy for Russians still coming to terms with the reality of Post-Soviet life. It is one of the forces shaping a new Russian nationalism and an important factor in the geopolitics of the twenty-first century.

PB 9783838206653 £25.90 May 2014 Ibidem Press 240 pages
Identities and Politics During the Putin Presidency
The Foundations of Russia's Stability. With a foreword by Heiko Haumann
Edited by Philipp Casula, Jeronim Perovic. Series edited by Andreas Umland

How could an undemocratic regime manage to stabilise Russia? What is Putin's success formula? What are the symbolic and discursive underpinnings of Russia's new stability? Many outside observers of Russia regarded the authoritarian tendencies during the Putin presidency as a retreat from, or even the end of, democratisation. Rather than attempting to explain why Russia did not follow the trajectory of democratic transformation, this book aims to attain an understanding of the stabilisation process during Putin's tenure as president. Proceeding from the assumption that the stability created under Putin is multi-layered, the authors attempt to uncover the underpinnings of the new equilibrium, inquiring especially about the changes and fixations that occurred in the discourses on political and national identity. In doing so, the authors analyse the trajectories of the past years from the traditional perspective of transitology as well as through the lens of post-structuralist discourse theory. The two approaches are seen as complementary, with the latter focusing less on the end point of transition than on the nature of the mechanisms that stabilise the current regime. The book therefore focuses on how nationalism became an increasingly important tool in political discourse and how it affected political identity. "Sovereign democracy" is seen by many contributors as the most explicit manifestation of a newfound post-Soviet identity drawing on nationalist ideas, while simultaneously appeasing most sectors of the Russian political spectrum.

PB 9783838200156 £33.90 November 2009 Ibidem Press 404 pages

Informal Healthcare in Contemporary Russia
Sociographic Essays on the Post-Soviet Infrastructure for Alternative Healing Practices
Yulia Krasheninnikova

This volume deals with one of the most understudied aspects of everyday life in Russian society. Its main heroes are the providers of goods and services to whom people turn for healthcare instead of official medical institutions. A wide range of agents is described—from network marketing companies to ‘folk’ journals on health as well as healers, complementary medicine specialists, and religious organizations.

Krasheninnikova’s book is based on rich empirical observations and avoids both positive and critical assessment of the analyzed phenomena. Her 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. The study reveals the important role of institutions that are generally not related to alternative medicine, such as pharmacies, libraries, and church shops. The result is a vivid and thorough introduction to the world of self-medication and alternative healing in contemporary Russia. A special emphasis was made on the flexibility of boundaries between formal and informal healthcare due to the evolution of rules and regulations.

PB 9783838209708 £30.00 February 2017 Ibidem Press 290 pages
NEW TITLE

The Instrumentalisation of Mass Media in Electoral Authoritarian Regimes
Evidence from Russia’s Presidential Election Campaigns of 2000 & 2008
Nozima Akhrakhodjaeva

Focusing on the case of Russia during Putin’s first two presidential terms, this book examines media manipulation strategies in electoral authoritarian regimes. Which instruments and approaches do incumbent elites employ to skew media coverage in favour of their preferred candidate in a presidential election? What effects do these strategies have on news content? Based on two case studies of the presidential election campaigns in Russia in 2000 and in 2008, this investigation identifies the critical internal mechanisms according to which these regimes work. Looking at the same country, while it transformed from a competitive into a hegemonic authoritarian regime, allows one to make a diachronic comparison of these two regime types based on the Most-Similar Systems Design. The book explicates the subtle differences between competitive and hegemonic regimes, different types of media manipulation strategies, the diverging extent of media instrumentalisation, various interactions among state actors, large business owners, the media, and journalists, the respective effects that all these factors and interactions have on media content, and the peculiar types of bias prevalent in each type of regime.

This deep exploration of post-Soviet politics is based on extensive review of documents, interviews with media professionals, and quantitative as well as qualitative content analyses of news media during two Russian presidential election campaigns.

PB 9783838210131 £30.00 February 2017 Ibidem Press 304 pages

Language Policy & Discourse on Languages in Ukraine Under President Viktor Yanukovych
Michael Moser Series edited by Andreas Umland

The status of Ukrainian as the sole state language of Ukraine has been challenged by various post-Soviet political forces since it was established in 1989 and enshrined in the Constitution in 1996. Since President Viktor Yanukovych came to power in February 2010, the President and the Party of Regions have put forward several initiatives to promote the Russian language at the expense of Ukrainian as well as the minority languages of Ukraine. Paradoxically, their most important instrument has been the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. However, the Russian language in Ukraine does not meet the criteria of a regional or minority language according to the Charter nor do those politicians who struggle for the “rights of the native Russian language” in the name of Russkiy mir represent the democratic values upon which the Charter is built, as perfectly reflected by the history of the unconstitutional language law of 2012.

PB 9783838204970 £42.90 March 2014 Ibidem Press 506 pages

Latvia - A Work in Progress?
100 Years of State & Nation-Building
Edited by David J. Smith

A quarter century after the formation of the Popular Front and a decade since joining the EU, processes of state- and nation-building in Latvia are still on-going. Issues such as citizenship, language policy, minority rights, democratic legitimacy, economic stability, and security all remain objects of vigorous public discussion. The current situation also reflects longer-standing debates on the relationship between state, nation, and sovereignty in Latvian society and polity. By examining different aspects of these relationships, this volume aims to reveal both key turning points and continuities in Latvia’s development, thereby helping to inform current debates.

PB 9783838206486 £26.00 February 2017 Ibidem Press 332 pages
Limits of a Post-Soviet State
How Informality Replaces, Renegotiates & Reshapes Governance in Contemporary Ukraine
Abel Polese, Colin Williams Series edited by Andreas Umland

This book illustrates why and how informality in governance is not necessarily transitory or temporary, but a constant in most systems of the world. The difference between various administrative structures is not whether informality is present or not, but where, in which areas, it is located. The essays gathered in this volume demonstrate that, in some cases, informal mechanisms are self-protective, while, in others, they are perceived as ‘normal’ responses and a set of tactics for individuals, classes, and communities to respond to unusual demands. Where expectations—of the state, a company, or some commission—are too far from citizens’ existing models of normative behavior, informal behavior continues to thrive. Indeed, new tactics are adopted in order to cope with disjunctions between theory and reality as well as to serve as contrasts to values imposed by a center of power, such as a central state, a city administration, or the management board of a large company.

The focus of the papers contained in this book is two-fold and rests on an analysis of phenomena manifesting themselves “beyond” and “in spite of” the state. The first part deals with areas where the state is not always, or only marginally, active whilst the second analyzes activities performed in conflict with state regulations, i.e. behavior often studied from a criminal and legal standpoint.

PB 9783838208459 £24.90 June 2016 Ibidem Press 258 pages

Migrant Friendships in a Super-Diverse City
Russian-Speakers and their Social Relationships in London in the 21st Century
Darya Malyutina, Claire Dwyer Series edited by Andreas Umland

This timely book offers an integrative and critical approach to the conceptualization of diversity of social ties in contemporary urban migrant populations. It explores the informal relationships of migrants in London and how the construction and the dynamics of their social ties function as a part of urban sociality within the super-diversity of London.

Based on the results of a qualitative study of Russian-speaking migrants, it targets the four main themes of transnationalism, ethnicity, cosmopolitanization, and friendship. Acknowledging the complexity of the ways in which contemporary migrants rely on social relationships, the author argues that this complexity cannot be fully grasped by theories of transnationalism or explanations of ethnic communities alone. Instead, one can gather a closer understanding of migrant sociality when adding the analysis of informal relationships in different locations and with different subjects. This book suggests that friendship should be seen as an important concept for all research on migrant social connections.

PB 9783838206523 £22.90 October 2015 Ibidem Press 159 pages
"Our Glorious Past"
Lukashenka's Belarus & the Great Patriotic War
David R Marples

This timely book examines how the regime of President Aliaksandr Lukashenka has used the 'Great Patriotic War' (1941-45) as a key element in state and identity formation in Belarus. The campaign was discernible from 2003 and intensified after a rift with Russia that led to a re-examination of the earlier policy of close political and economic partnership. David R. Marples focuses in particular on the years 2009 and 2010, which commemorated two 65th anniversaries: the liberation of Minsk (3 July 1944) and the end of World War II in Europe (9 May 1945). Using a variety of sources, this unique book critically examines the official interpretations of the war from various angles: the initial invasion, occupation, the Partisans, historic sites and monuments, films, documentaries, museums, schools, and public occasions commemorating some of the major events. Relying on first-hand research, including books recommended by the Ministry of Education, state-controlled media and examinations through personal visits to the major historic sites and monuments of Belarus, Marples explains and measures the effectiveness of Lukashenka’s program. In outlining the main tenets of the state interpretation of the war years, the book highlights the distortions and manipulations of historical evidence as well as the dismissal of alternative versions as ‘historical revisionism.’ It assesses the successes and weaknesses of the campaign as well as its long term effects and prospects.

PB 9783838205748 £39.90 April 2014 Ibidem Press 410 pages

NEW TITLE
Revolution & War in Contemporary Ukraine
The Challenge of Change
Olga Bertelsen

What are the reasons behind, and trajectories of, the rapid cultural changes in Ukraine since 2013?

This volume highlights: the role of the Revolution of Dignity and the Russian-Ukrainian war in the formation of Ukrainian civil society; the forms of warfare waged by Moscow against Kyiv, including information and religious wars; Ukrainian and Russian identities and cultural realignment; sources of destabilization in Ukraine and beyond; memory politics and Russian foreign policies; the Kremlin's geopolitical goals in its 'near abroad'; and factors determining Ukraine’s future and survival in a state of war.

The studies included in this collection illuminate the growing gap between the political and social systems of Ukraine and Russia. The anthology illustrates how the Ukrainian revolution of 2013–2014, Russia's annexation of the Crimean peninsula, and its invasion of eastern Ukraine have altered the post-Cold War political landscape and, with it, the regional and global power and security dynamics.

PB 9783838210162 £34.00 February 2017 Ibidem Press 444 pages
Rocking St. Petersburg
Transcultural Flows & Identity Politics in Post-Soviet Popular Music
David-Emil Wickström Series edited by Andreas Umland

In this remarkable book, David-Emil Wickström traces the transcultural flow of popular music production emanating from St. Petersburg, a central hub of the Russian music scene. With a specific focus on the post-Soviet emigrant community in Germany and their event ‘Russendisko’, Wickström – himself a trumpet player in two local bands – explores St. Petersburg’s vibrant music scene, which provides an electrifying platform for musical exchange.

The findings shed a new light on Soviet and post-Soviet popular music history and even Russia’s relationship to Ukraine. Wickström demonstrates the filtering processes embedded in transcultural flows and how music is attributed new meanings within new contexts. This innovative book not only promotes a deeper understanding of the role of popular music in society, it also enables a better comprehension of cultural processes in the second decade after the fall of the Soviet Union.

PB 9783838201009 £33.90 May 2014 Ibidem Press 374 pages

Russia & the EU in a Multipolar World
Discourses, Identities, Norms
Andrey Makarychev, Klaus Segbers

This timely book offers a multifaceted analysis of EU-Russian relations, drawing on the investigation of competing models of international society. Makarychev argues that the huge variety of interest-based and normative models is best explained through the study of foreign policy and identity discourses. His approach defies simplistic explanations of EU-Russian relations as either destined for cooperation or doomed to constant collisions. Instead, Makarychev unveils multiple alternatives that both the EU and Russia face in their policies toward each other.

Assessing the repercussions ongoing EU-Russian discord has on Europe and the world, Makarychev’s volume reveals the interconnectedness of the discourses dominating the EU and Russia while also accounting for the deep-seated disconnect between them.

PB 9783838206295 £25.90 April 2014 Ibidem Press 212 pages

Russia in the Arctic
Hard or Soft Power?
Alexander Sergunin, Valery Konychev Series edited by Andreas Umland

In this timely book, the authors provide a detailed analysis of Russia’s national interests in the Arctic region. They assess Russia’s domestic discourse on the High North’s role in the system of national priorities as well as of Moscow’s bi- and multilateral relations with major regional players, energy, environmental, socio-cultural, and military policies in the Arctic.

In contrast to the internationally wide-spread stereotype of Russia as a revisionist power in the High North, this book argues that Moscow tries to pursue a double-sided strategy in the region. On the one hand, Russia aims at defending her legitimate economic interests in the region. On the other hand, Moscow is open to co-operation with foreign partners that are willing to partake in exploiting the Arctic natural resources. The general conclusion is that in the foreseeable future Moscow’s strategy in the region will be predictable and pragmatic rather than aggressive or spontaneous.

The authors argue that in order to consolidate the soft power pattern of Russia’s behavior a proper international environment in the Arctic should be created by common efforts. Other regional players should demonstrate their responsibility and willingness to solve existing and potential problems on the basis of international law.

PB 9783838207537 £22.90 October 2015 Ibidem Press 192 pages
Russian Nationalism, Foreign Policy & Identity Debates in Putin’s Russia
New Ideological Patterns After the Orange Revolution
Edited by Mariéne Laruelle Series edited by Andreas Umland

The contributors to this book discuss the new conjunctions that have emerged between foreign policy events and politicized expressions of Russian nationalism since 2005. The 2008 war with Georgia, as well as conflicts with Ukraine and other East European countries over the memory of the Soviet Union, and the Russian interpretation of the 2005 French riots have all contributed to reinforcing narratives of Russia as a fortress surrounded by aggressive forces, in the West and CIS. This narrative has found support not only in state structures, but also within the larger public. It has been especially salient for some nationalist youth movements, including both, pro-Kremlin organizations, such as “Nashi,” and extra-systemic groups, such as those of the skinheads. These various actors each have their own specific agendas; they employ different modes of public action, and receive unequal recognition from other segments of society. Yet many of them expose a reading of certain foreign policy events which is roughly similar to that of various state structures. These and related phenomena are analyzed, interpreted and contextualized in papers by Luke March, Igor Torbakov, Jussi Lassila, Marlène Laruelle, and Lukasz Jurczyszn.

PB 9783838203256 £20.90 April 2012 Ibidem Press 160 pages

Setting Signs for Europe
Why Diacritics Matter for European Integration
Bernd Kappenberg, Peter Schlobinski Series edited by Andreas Umland

More than 20 years have passed since the introduction of the Universal Character Set. However, legacy applications still cannot even render German umlauts correctly. Part of this problem is a hidden political agenda: consciously or unconsciously, patterns of the Cold War are continued in the interaction between Western and Eastern European languages.

This book examines the current use of diacritical marks in Western Europe, such as the use of names from Slavic languages in electronic data processing systems. The role of the media as multiplier receives particular attention, with most error examples taken from actual media coverage.

Considering international, EU, and national law and referring to landmark court decisions, Kappenberg answers the question: "Is there a right to diacritical marks in people’s names?" This is followed by a description of current practice in several European countries.

Finally, Setting Signs for Europe answers the question how in the framework of the EU’s multilingualism policy, effective approaches can be created to raise awareness among software vendors, the media, government agencies, and individuals regarding the correct handling of diacritics. Kappenberg also assesses the use of diacritics as a style element and offers an improved input method for diacritics.

PB 9783838206639 £27.90 April 2015 Ibidem Press 0 pages
**Socio-Economic Foundations of the Russian Post-Soviet Regime**

*The Resource-Based Economy and Estate-Based Social Structure of Contemporary Russia*

Simon Kordonsky Series edited by Andreas Umland

This monograph discloses the estate-based social structure of contemporary Russia by way of outlining the principles of the USSR's peculiar estate system, and explaining the new social estates of post-Soviet Russia. Simon Kordonsky distinguishes and describes in particular the currently existing Russian service and support estates. He introduces the notions of a resource-based state and resource-based economy as the political and economic foundations for Russian society's estate structure. His study demonstrates, moreover, how the method of inventing and institutionalizing threats plays a dominant role in the mode of distribution of scarce resources in such a social system.

The book shows fundamental differences between resource- as well as threat-based economies, on the one side, and traditional risk-based economies, on the other, and discloses what this means for Russia's future.

PB 9783838207759 £24.90 March 2016 Ibidem Press 220 pages

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**The 2002 Dubrovka & 2004 Beslan Hostage Crises**

*A Critique of Russian Counter-Terrorism. With a foreword by Donald N Jensen*

John B Dunlop, Donald N Jensen Series edited by Andreas Umland

This volume contains by far the most complete reports available in English concerning two major terrorist incidents in Russia: the October 2002 seizure of a Moscow theater at Dubrovka and the September 2004 taking of a large school in Beslan in southern Russia. The issues examined are as follows:

- the backgrounds of the Muslim extremists who carried out these acts including the de facto leaders of the terrorist assaults, ethnic Chechen Ruslan Elmurzaev and Ingush Ruslan Khuchbarov;
- the failure of Russian law-enforcement to prevent these two incidents, documenting both the massive corruption of the Russian security services and police and the absence of the rule of law; the storming of the Moscow theater building and of the school at Beslan by Russian police, aided by the military, elucidating the reasons for the very large loss of life in both incidents; the use by the Russian police of a special gas at Dubrovka and of tanks and flamethrowers at Beslan; the evident fixation of the Putin leadership with portraying these two assaults as incidents of international Islamic terrorism linked to the Al-Qaeda network; and the repeated attempts on the part of the Russian authorities at the time of these incidents to weaken the influence of moderate Chechen separatists headed by the late Aslan Maskhadov.

PB 9783898216081 £20.90 January 2006 Ibidem Press 166 pages
The Moscow Bombings of September 1999
Examinations of Russian Terrorist Attacks at the Onset of Vladimir Putin’s Rule
John B Dunlop, Amy Knight Series edited by Andreas Umland

The five chapters contained in this volume focus on the complex and tumultuous events occurring in Russia during the five months from May through September 1999. They sparked the Russian invasion of Chechnya on 1 October and vaulted a previously unknown former KGB agent into the post of Russian prime minister and, ultimately, president.

The five chapters are devoted to:
- The intense political struggle taking place in Russia between May and August of 1999, culminating in an incursion by armed Islamic separatists into the Republic of Dagestan.
- Two Moscow terrorist bombings of 9 and 13 September 1999, claiming the lives of 224 Muscovites and preparing the psychological and political ground for a full-blown invasion of Chechnya.
- The so-called Ryazan Incident of 22 September 1999, when eyewitnesses observed officers of the FSB special forces placing a live bomb in the basement of an apartment building in the town of Rzayan.
- The detonation of a powerful truck bomb outside of an apartment house in Buinaksk, Dagestan, on 4 September 1999, which took the lives of fifty-eight innocent victims.
- The explosion on 16 September 1999 of a truck bomb in the city of Volgdonsk in southern Russia, which killed eighteen persons and seriously wounded eighty-nine.

PB 9783838203881 £29.90 February 2014 Ibidem Press 290 pages

The New Third Rome
Readings of a Russian Nationalist Myth
Jardar Østbø, Pål Kolstø Series edited by Andreas Umland

This in-depth analysis discloses the sources, contents, and implications of post-Soviet Russian messianism. Since its rediscovery 150 years ago, writers ranging from Western critics of Moscow’s foreign policy to ardent Russian imperialists have used the concept of Moscow as the Third Rome as ‘evidence’ of Russia’s particularism and expansionism. But for the original author of the formula of the Third Rome, the Orthodox monk Filofei of Pskov, it was a religious concept he referred to when criticizing what he saw as the apostasy of his time.

This book is the first to look beyond this dichotomy. Drawing on theories of political myth and concepts of nationalism, Østbø develops a novel analytical perspective. Rather than dismissing political uses of the religious, medieval idea as ‘wrong’, the author analyzes the modern content and ideological function of the myth of the Third Rome. Through case studies of four prominent nationalist intellectuals, Vadim Tsymburskii, Aleksandr Dugin, Nataliia Narochnitskaia and Egor Khholmogorov, the author shows how this messianic myth is used to ‘reinvent’ Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union. These writers use their own constructed image of the Russian nation to demonstrate what Russia ‘should be’ and its allegedly rightful place in the world. Existing in radically diverging versions, the myth of the Third Rome routinely conveys rabid anti-Westernism. At ‘best’, it is employed to forge a self-image of the Russians as an essentially isolationist civilization. At worst, it is used to ‘explain’ how the Russians are divinely elected to be the rulers of a world empire.

PB 9783838208701 £24.90 March 2016 Ibidem Press 292 pages
The Quest for an Ideal Youth in Putin's Russia I
Back to Our Future! History, Modernity & Patriotism According to Nashi, 2005-2013
Ivo Mijnssen, Jeronim Perovic Series edited by Andreas Umland

This important book analyzes the dubious role of the so-called Democratic Antifascist Youth Movement ‘Nashi’ in contemporary Russia. Part and parcel of the Putinist project of political stabilization, Nashi dominates state-sponsored youth politics in Russia, communicating demands from official discourse to a young audience. Idealizing the past, present, and future of Putin’s Russia, Nashi mobilized young Russians through its emotional appeal, skillful use of symbolic politics and the promise for professional self-realization. However, the movement’s impact remains limited – mostly due to its internal contradictions.

Based on original and meticulous research, Ivo Mijnssen skillfully picks apart the dynamics underlying Nashi’s influence and furthers a deeper understanding of state-sponsored youth politics in early 21st century Russia.

PB 9783838203683 £29.90 February 2014 Ibidem Press 260 pages

The Quest for an Ideal Youth in Putin’s Russia II
The Search for Distinctive Conformism in the Political Communication of Nashi, 2005-2009
Jussi Lassila, Kirill Postoutenko Series edited by Andreas Umland

The so-called Democratic Antifascist Youth Movement “Nashi” represents a crucial case of a post-Orange government-organized formation whose values have broad support in Russian society. Yet, at the same time, in view of the movement’s public scandals, Nashi was also a phenomenon bringing to the fore public reluctance to accept all implications of Putin’s new system. The Russian people’s relatively widespread support for his patriotic policies and conservative values has been evident, but this support is not easily extended to political actors aligned to these values. Using discourse analysis, this book identifies socio-political factors that created obstacles to Nashi’s communication strategies. The book understands Nashi as anticipating an “ideal youth” within the framework of official national identity politics and as an attempt to mobilize largely apolitical youngsters in support of the powers that be. It demonstrates how Nashi’s ambivalent societal position was the result of a failed attempt to reconcile incompatible communicative demands of the authoritarian state and apolitical young.

PB 9783838204154 £29.90 April 2014 Ibidem Press 236 pages

Towards a New Russian Work Culture
Can Western Companies & Expatriates Change Russian Society?
Vladimir Karacharovskyi, Ovsey Shkaratan, Gordey Yastrebov Series edited by Andreas Umland

This innovative book offers a fresh perspective on the national work culture of Russia and the substantial role foreign institutional and cultural impact has had in shaping it. Russia’s contemporary work culture is understood as a national system supplemented by new values and attitudes that have been adopted through the mediation of foreign individuals and corporations or in response to the challenges of Western competition. It is argued that the ‘foreign factor’ triggers change in the landscape of Russia’s work culture, the scope of which depends on the type of influence. However, there is a certain core of the work culture that remains resistant to any external impact.

PB 9783838209029 £22.00 October 2016 Ibidem Press 256 pages
Ukraine - Crimea - Russia
Triangle of Conflict
Taras Kuzio Series edited by Andreas Umland

The Crimea was the only region of Ukraine in the 1990s where separatism arose and inter-ethnic conflict potentially could have taken place between the Ukrainian central government, ethnic Russians in the Crimea, and Crimean Tatars. Such a conflict would have inevitably drawn in Russia and Turkey. Russia had large numbers of troops in the Crimea within the former Soviet Black Sea Fleet. Ukraine also was a nuclear military power until 1996. This book analyses two inter-related issues. Firstly, it answers the question why Ukraine-Crimea-Russia traditionally have been a triangle of conflict over a region that Ukraine, Tatars and Russia have historically claimed. Secondly, it explains why inter-ethnic violence was averted in Ukraine despite Crimea possessing many of the ingredients that existed for Ukraine to follow in the footsteps of inter-ethnic strife in its former Soviet neighbourhood in Moldova (Trans-Dniestr), Azerbaijan (Nagorno Karabakh), Georgia (Abkhazia, South Ossetia), and Russia (Chechnya).

PB 9783898217613 £24.90 March 2007 Ibidem Press 258 pages

Ukraine's Euromaidan
Analyses of a Civil Revolution
Edited by David Marples, Frederick Mills

The papers presented in this volume analyze the civil uprising known as Euromaidan that began in central Kyiv in late November 2013, when the Ukrainian president Viktor Yanukovych opted not to sign an Association Agreement with the European Union, and continued over the following months. The topics include the motivations and expectations of protesters, organized crime, nationalism, gender issues, mass media, the Russian language, and the impact of Euromaidan on Ukrainian politics as well as on the EU, Russia, and Belarus.

The goal of the book is less to offer a definitive account than one that represents a variety of aspects of a mass movement that captivated world attention and led to the downfall of the Yanukovych presidency. The authors comprise well known and younger scholars who work on contemporary Ukraine and its neighbors.

HB 9783838207407 £39.90 March 2015 Ibidem Press 270 pages
PB 9783838206608 £23.90 April 2015 Ibidem Press 270 pages

Wandering Workers
Mores, Behavior, Way of Life, and Political Status of Domestic Russian Labor Migrants
Series edited by Andreas Umland Translated by Julia Kazantseva Literary editor Simon Kordonsky

This timely book offers a fresh perspective on the issue of contemporary migratory labor, otkhodnichestvo, in Russia—the temporary departure of inhabitants from small towns and villages for short-term jobs in the major cities of Russia. Although otkhodnichestvo is a mass phenomenon, it is not reflected in official economic statistics.

Based on numerous interviews with otkhodniks and local experts, this stunningly original work focuses on the central and northern regions of European Russia. The authors draw a social portrait of the contemporary otkhodnik and offer a sociological assessment of the economic and political status these ‘wandering workers’ live with.

PB 9783838206530 £31.90 June 2015 Ibidem Press 306 pages
NEW TITLE

Ukraine’s Post-Communist Mass Media Between Capture & Commercialization
Natalya Ryabinska

Natalya Ryabinska calls into question the commonly held opinion that the problems with media reform and press freedom in former Soviet states merely stem from the cultural heritage of their communist (and pre-communist) past. Focusing on Ukraine, she argues that, in the period after the fall of communism, peculiar new obstacles to media independence have arisen. They include the telltale structure of media ownership, with news reporting being concentrated in the hands of politically engaged business tycoons, the fuzzy and contradictory legislation of the media realm, and the informal institutions of political interference in mass media.

The book analyzes interrelationships between politics, the economy, and media in Ukraine, especially their shadowy sides guided by private interests and informal institutions. Being embedded in comparative politics and post-communist media studies, it helps to understand the nature and workings of the Ukrainian media system situated in-between democracy and authoritarianism. It offers insights into the inner logic of Ukraine’s political system and institutional arrangement in the post-Soviet period. Based on empirical data of 1994–2013, this study also highlights many of the barriers to democratic reforms that have been persisting in Ukraine since the Revolution of Dignity of 2013–2014.

PB 9783838210117 £22.00 February 2017 Ibidem Press 186 pages

TEXTS IN GERMAN

Das sowjetische Fieber
Fußballfans im poststalinistischen Vielvölkerreich
Manfred Zeller

What did the citizens of the Soviet Union identify with? Where did the societal faultlines lie? Did mass demonstrations effectively de-stabilize Soviet order? How did informal groups come into being within a society based on uniformity? What impact did new media and new forms of interconnectivity have on the development of a multinational Soviet society? What remained after the end of the Soviet Union?

Using Soviet soccer teams from Moscow (Spartak, Dynamo, ZSKA) and Kiev (Dynamo) as examples, Manfred Zeller tells a story of community and enmity in the post-Stalinist multinational empire. This brilliant monograph exposes the complex loyalties that governed group identities and explains phenomena like the love-hate relationship between Kiev and Moscow.

'Moscow against Kiev' in Soviet times wasn't a question of war and peace, but in soccer it was already a feeling of 'us against them' and a question of victory or defeat in the complex multinational setting of the region.

Zeller’s book is an important contribution to the research of Soviet pop culture after Stalin as well as to contemporary debates on antagonism in the post-Soviet world.

PB 9783838207575 £31.90 August 2015 Ibidem Press 336 pages
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Ukraine's Post-Communist Mass Media
Between Capture and Commercialization
With a foreword by Marta Dyczok

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