

MYKHAILO MINAKOV

List of publications

Academic Monographs

From Servant to Leader. Chronicles of Ukraine under Zelensky's Presidency, 2019–2024 (accepted for publication at Stuttgart: ibidem Verlag, 2025).

The Post-Soviet Human. Philosophical Reflections on Social History after the End of Communism (Stuttgart: ibidem Verlag, 2024).

The book is also available in Ukrainian: *Пострадянська людина і її доба* (Kyiv: Laurus – Milano: Koinē, 2024).

The book is also available in Russian: *Постсоветский человек и его время. Опыт философского осмысления постсоветской эпохи* (1st edition: Riga: School for Civic Education, 2024) (2nd edition: Riga: Free University Press, 2024).

The book will also be available in German: *Der post-sowjetische Mensch. Philosophische Überlegungen zur postsowjetischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart: ibidem Verlag, 2025).

Диалектика современности в Восточной Европе [from Russian: Dialectics of modernity in Eastern Europe] (Kyiv: Laurus, 2020).

The book is also available in Italian: *Dialettica della modernità nell'Europa orientale. Una riflessione socio-filosofica* (Milano: Ledizioni, 2022).

История опыта [from Russian: History of Experience] (Kyiv: Laurus, 2019).

The book is also available in Ukrainian: *Історія поняття досвіду* (Kyiv: Tsentr praktychnoyi filosofii, 2007).

Development and Dystopia. Studies in Post-Soviet Ukraine and Eastern Europe (Stuttgart: ibidem, 2018).

Вчення Канта про віру розуму [from Ukrainian: Kant's Teaching on Faith of Reason] (Kyiv: Tsentr praktychnoyi filosofii, 2001).

Popular Philosophy Books

Photosophy (Kyiv: Laurus, 2017).

Dictionary of Misprints (Kyiv: Tsekh, 1st ed. – 2008; 2nd ed. – 2010).

Edited volumes

Books

Minakov, M. (ed.). *Philosophy Unchained. Developments in Post-Soviet Philosophical Thought* (Stuttgart: ibidem, 2023).

Minakov, M. (ed.). *Inventing Majorities. The Ideological Creativity in Post-Soviet Societies* (Stuttgart: ibidem, 2022).

Minakov, M., Kasianov, G., Rojansky, M. (eds). *From "The Ukraine" to Ukraine. A Contemporary History, 1991-2021* (Stuttgart: ibidem, 2021). Also in Ukrainian: *Наруку новітньої історії України* (Kyiv: Laurus, 2021).

Minakov, M., Isachenko, D., Sasse, G. (eds). *Post-Soviet Secessionism, Nation-Building and State-Failure after Communism* (Stuttgart: ibidem, 2021).

Etkind, A., Minakov, M. (eds). *Ideology after Union: Political Doctrines, Discourses, and Debates in Post-Soviet Societies* (Stuttgart: ibidem, 2020).

Rabkin, Y., Minakov, M. (eds). *Demodernization: The Future in the Past* (Stuttgart: ibidem, 2018). Also in Italian: *Demodenizzazione. Il Futuro nel Passato* (Milano: Ledizioni, 2021).

Journal Issues

The Fate of Philosophy after the Fall of the USSR, *Ideology and Politics Journal* 1(20), 2022.

Universal Norms in the Time of Sovereigntism, *Ideology and Politics Journal* 1(17), 2021.

(co-editor with Georgii Kasianov) The Image of The Other in Post-Soviet Societies, *Ideology and Politics Journals* 2(16), 2020.

(co-editor with Yana Prymachenko) The Freedom and Subjection in the Long 1989 Year. Societies in Eastern and Southern Europe in 1989/91, *Ideology and Politics Journal* 3(14), 2019.

(co-editor with Olga Shparaga) Ideology and Education in Post-Soviet Countries, *Ideology and Politics Journal* 2(13), 2019.

(co-editor with Daria Isachenko and Gwendolyn Sasse) Secessionisms in Europe: Societies, Political Systems and International Order under Stress, *Ideology and Politics Journal* 1(12), 2019.

(co-editor with Stefano Bianchini) State-building Politics after the Yugoslav and Soviet Collapse, *The Southeastern Europe Journal* 3(42), Brill: 2018.

(co-editor with Tatiana Shchytsova) Logos and Pathos: Humanities in the Conditions of War, *The Ideology and Politics Journal* 3(11), 2018.

(co-editor with Alexander Etkind) Post-Soviet Transit and Demodernization, *The Ideology and Politics Journal* 1(9), 2018.

Post-Soviet Transit between Revolution and Restoration, *The Ideology and Politics Journal* 2 (8), 2017.

(co-editor with Isaac Webb) Freedom and Militarism in Post-Soviet Societies, *The Ideology and Politics Journal* 1(6), 2016.

War, Propaganda and Political Process in Post-Soviet Societies, *The Ideology and Politics Journal* 1(5), 2015.

Post-Soviet Order between the Tradition and Modernity, *The Ideology and Politics Journal* 1(4), 2014.

The Post-Soviet Contrasts: Memory, Ideology, Conflict, *The Ideology and Politics Journal* 1(3), 2013.

(co-editor with Myron Stachiw) Higher Education, Ideology and Politics in the Post-Soviet Countries, *The Ideology and Politics Journal* 2(2), 2012.

Ideological Innovations in the Post-Soviet Countries, *The Ideology and Politics Journal* 1(1), 2012.

Journal Articles & Book Chapters (divided by disciplines)

Political Science and History of International Relations

1) “Postsowjetische De-facto Staaten: Die politischen Systeme Abchasiens und Transnistriens in vergleichender Perspektive”, a chapter accepted for the publication in the textbook: Priebus, S., Beichelt, T. (Hrsg.). (2025). Die politischen Systeme im östlichen Europa. Wiesbaden: Springer, 2025 (forthcoming).

2) “Eurasian Middle Powers in a Changing Interstate System: The Cases of Turkey and Kazakhstan.” *Annual Review of Global Affairs* 1 (2024): 367–380.

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3) (in coauthorship with Dmytro Vovk) “Ukraine: Constitutional Amendments in 2023”. In: Barroso, Luis Roberto and Albert, Richard (Eds). The 2023 International Review of Constitutional Reform (Austin: University of Texas, 2024), 378–382.

4) “Patronalism and Political Systems of the Post-Soviet De Facto States: The Cases of Abkhazian and Transnistrian Resilience”, *Quaderni di Scienze Politiche* 25 (2024) 49–78.

5) “War, De-Oligarchization, and the Possibility of Anti-Patronal Transformation in Ukraine”. In: Madlovics, B., Magyar, B. (eds.). *Ukraine's Patronal Democracy and the Russian Invasion: The Russia-Ukraine War*. Vol. 1. (Budapest: CEU Press, 2023), 141–166. DOI: 10.7829/jj.3985461.9.

Also this text is in Ukrainian translation as: “Війна, деолігархізація та можливість розвитку України поза патрональною політикою”. In: Балінт Мадяр, Балінт Мадловіч (ред.). Патрональна демократія в Україні та російське вторгнення. Російсько-українська війна. Том 1. Бостон: Academic Studies Pres, 2024, 150–172.

6) “Elections in Wartime Ukraine Would Test Ukraine's Legal-Political Flexibility”, *Kennan Cable* 59 (2023): 1–9.

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8) “The End of a Great Era: Post-Soviet Transformation in a Historical Perspective”, *Nuovi Autoritarismi e Democrazie: Diritto, Istituzioni, Società* 5(1) (2023): 177–27.

- 9) “Political creativity and its democratic and autocratic outcomes: The case of the post-Soviet period, 1989–2022”, *Ideology and Politics Journal* 23(1) (2023): 57–107. DOI: 10.36169/2227-6068.2023.01.00003.
- 10) “Un siècle de système politique ukrainien : l'expérience de construction d'un État en Europe orientale aux XX e et XXI e siècles”, *Connexe* 8 (2022): 169–186. DOI: 10.5077/journals/connexe.2022.e1029. Also published in Spanish and Russian in:
- a. “El centenario del sistema político Ucraniano: Historia, estructura y dinámica”. In: Brinkmann, Sören, Rodríguez Rodríguez, Angélica, and Rouvinski, Vladimir (eds.). (2022). *Entre Este y Oeste. Estado, nación y conflicto en la Ucrania contemporánea* (Bogotá: Tirant lo Blanch), 73–126. DOI: 10.18046/EUI/tirant.2021.3
 - b. “Столетие украинской политической системы” [from Russian: Hundred years of the Ukrainian political system], *Neprikosnovennyi Zapas* 129 (2020): 161–179.
- 11) “Ukraine: Constitutional Amendments in 2021”. In: Barroso, Luis Roberto and Albert, Richard (Eds.). *The 2021 International Review of Constitutional Reform* (Austin: University of Texas, 2022), 233–236.
- 12) “Gli esiti dei primi sei mesi della guerra russo-ucraina: aspetti militari e di politica interna”. In: Boccalatte, Luciano, Borgna, Paolo, e Marchis, Riccardo (a cura di). *Il disegno neoimperiale della Russia di Putin e le sue guerre. Materiali per opporsi e costruire la pace* (Torino: Edizioni SEB27, 2022), 28–34.
- 13) “La Crisi in Ucraina”. In: Ferrari, A., Tafuro Ambrosetti, E. (eds.). *Tensioni nello spazio ex sovietico: i casi di Bielorussia, Kazakistan e Ucraina* (Milano: Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale, 2022), 18–26.
- 14) “Sovereignty as a Contested Concept: The Cases of Trumpism and Putinism”. In: Minakov, M. (ed.). *Inventing Majorities. Ideological Creativity in Post-Soviet Societies* (Stuttgart: ibidem Verlag, 2022), 281–320.
- 15) “Ideological Creativity. Introduction to Post-Soviet Ideologies”. In: Minakov, M. (ed.). *Inventing Majorities. Ideological Creativity in Post-Soviet Societies* (Stuttgart: ibidem Verlag, 2020), 9–20.
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- 17) “The Belarusian Protest Movement of 2020 from an Eastern European Comparative Perspective”, *Ricerche Slavistiche* 4(64) (2021): 61–83.
- 18) “Post-Soviet Sovereignty and Ukraine’s Political Development”, *Ukraine Analytica* 2(24) (2021): 26–34.

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- 20) “Идеологическое творчество. Введение в понятие” [from Russian: The Ideological Creativity. A Conceptual Introduction], *Ковчег. The Almanac of Philosophical Essays* 1 (2021): 86–99.
- 21) “The Sovereigntist Turn: Sovereignty as a Contested Concept Again”, *Ideology and Politics Journal* 1(17) (2021): 87–112.
- 22) “The Transition of “Transition”: Assessing the Post-Communist Experience and Its Research.” In: Kushnir O. et al. (eds.), *Meandering in Transition: Thirty Years of Identity Building in Post-Communist Europe* (Lanham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021), 25–41.
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- 24) (in co-authorship with Will Pomeranz) “Constitutional Crisis in Ukraine: Looking for Solutions”, *The Kennan Cable* 65 (2021): 1–9.
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- 26) (in co-authorship with Gwendolyn Sasse and Daria Isachenko) “Post-Soviet Secessionism. Introductory remarks”. In: Minakov M., Isachenko D., Sasse G. (eds.) *Post-Soviet Secessionism* (Stuttgart: ibidem, 2021), 7–15.
- 27) “Democratisation and Europeanisation in 21st century Ukraine”. In: *CEIPS 3DFTAs Reports: Understanding EU's Association Agreements with Ukraine, Moldova, and Georgia*, CEIPS website, June 9, 2020.
- 28) “Othering from Within. The Ideological Function of Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance in 2015–2018”, *Ideology and Politics Journal* 2(16) (2020): 215–228.
- 29) “Shades of Periphery: A Typology of States in New Eastern Europe”. In: Hayoz N., Herlth J. & Richers J. (eds.). *Centres and Peripheries in the Post-Soviet Space* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2020), 63–102.
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- 32) “Post-Soviet Eastern Europe. Achievements in Post-Soviet Development in Six Eastern European Nations, 1991–2020”, *Ideology and Politics Journal* 3(14) (2019): 171–193.

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- 34) "On the extreme periphery. The status of post-Soviet non-recognised states in the world-system", *Ideology and Politics Journal* 2(13) (2019): 39–72.
- 35) "Republic of clans: Evolution of Ukrainian political system in 20th century". In: Magyar, B. (ed) *Stubborn Structures: reconceptualizing post-Communist regimes* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2019), 88–99.
- 36) "Die Umgestaltung des kollektiven Gedächtnisses. Die ideologische Funktion des ukrainischen Instituts für nationales Gedächtnis in 2014-2017", *Porównania* 1(24) (2019): 27–39.
- 37) (in co-authorship with Ghia Nodia and Denis Cenusă) "Towards becoming European-style democracies". In: *The Struggle for Governance in Eastern Europe* (London: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2018): 9–56.
- 38) (in co-authorship with Alexander Etkind) "Post-Soviet Transit and Demodernization", *Ideology and Politics Journal* 1(9) (2018): 3–13.
- 39) (in co-authorship with Stefano Bianchini) "State-building Politics after the Yugoslav and Soviet Collapse: The Western Balkans and Ukraine in a Comparative Perspective", *Southeastern Europe Journal* 3(42) (2018): 291–304.
- 40) "Летопись Євромайдана. Концептуальне вступ" [from Russian: Chronicles of Euromaidan. Conceptual Introduction]. In: Chizhov, G. et al. *Perelomnyie gody. Stranitsi ukrainskoi revoliutsyi* (Kyiv: Laurus, 2018): 11–13.
- 41) "Civil Society and the Power Elites after the Euromaidan in Ukraine. Competition, Cooperation, and Fusion". In: Horton Smith, D., A. Moldanova, S. Krasynska (eds.), *The Nonprofit Sector in Eastern Europe, Russia, and Central Asia. Civil Society Advances and Challenges* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2018): 174–190.
- 42) (in co-authorship with Matt Rojansky) "Democracy in Ukraine: Are We There Yet?", *Kennan Cable* 30 (2018): 1–17.
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- 45) "Між владною вертикаллю та ліберальною демократією. Перспективи розвитку політичного режиму в післямайданній Україні" [from Ukrainian: Between Power Vertical and Liberal Democracy. Political Regime after Euromaidan], *Agora* 19-20 (2017): 9–15.

- 46) “Novorossiia and Transnationalism of Unrecognized Post-Soviet Nations”. In: Beichelt, T., S. Worschech (eds) *Transnational Ukraine? Networks and Ties that Influence Contemporary Ukraine* (Stuttgart: ibidem, 2017): 65–88.
- 47) “Big Europe’s Gap: Dynamic Obstacles for integration between EU and EAU”. In: Di Gregorio, A., Angeli, A. (eds.) *The Eurasian Economic Union and the European Union: Moving Toward a Greater Understanding* (The Hague: Eleven International Publishing, 2017): 45–56.
- 48) “Does Ukraine still matter?”. In: Ferrari, A. (ed.) *Putin’s Russia: Really Back?* (Milan: ISPI, 2016): 93–114.
- 49) “A Decisive Turn? Risks for Ukrainian Democracy After the Euromaidan”, *Carnegie Regional Insight, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, February 3, 2016.
- 50) “The Consolidation of Power in Ukraine: What It Means for the West”, *Carnegie Policy Paper Series*, September 20, 2016.
- 51) “Post-Soviet Parliamentary Drama: a View from ‘the gods’ in Kyiv”, *OpenDemocracy*, February 23, 2016.
- 52) “Paradise Lost. Ukraine in 1991-2012”, *Studi Slavistici* 12 (2015): 377–384.
- 53) “Модерн і Революція в Україні: до питання про генеалогію Євромайдана” [from Ukrainian: Modernity and Revolution in Ukraine: On Genealogy of Euromaidan], *Naukovi Zapysky NaUKMA* 154 (2014): 45–53.
- 54) “Цветные революции в постсоветском мире: причины и последствия” [from Russian: The post-Soviet color revolutions: causes and consequences], *Obshhaja tetrad’* 2-3 (2013): 59–77.
- 55) “The Language of Dystopia”, *Russian Politics and Law* 5(49) (2011): 34–43. Also available in Russian: “Язык дистопии: идеологическая ситуация Украины”, *Neprikosnovennyi Zapas* 5(73) (2010): 14–21).
- 56) “Wu ke lan de zhan dou zheng quan yu guo jia de dui jue” [from Chinese: Conservative Ideologies in Ukraine], *Foreign Theoretical Trends* 10 (2010): 95–97.

Philosophy and its history

- 1) “Кант на берегах Дніпра. Кантознавство в Україні у 1970-х – 2020-х роках” [from Ukr.: Kant on the Dnipro banks. Kantian Studies in Ukraine in the 1970s – 2020s], *Коліж. The Almanac of Philosophical Essays* 3 (2025): 71–95.
 - a. Also published in Russian as “Кант на берегах Днепра. Украинское кантоведение в 1970-х – 2020-х годах”, *Коліж. The Almanac of Philosophical Essays* 3 (2025): 71–95.
- 2) “Інженери нових душ. Пострадянська цезура і проєктування нових соціальних світів у філософії і літературі України та Росії у 1990-х роках” [from Ukr.: Engineers of New Souls. Post-Soviet Caesura and the Design of New Social Worlds in the Philosophy and Literature of Ukraine and Russia in the 1990s], *Коліж. The Almanac of Philosophical Essays* 1 (2025): 1–59.

- 3) (in co-authorship with Simon Radchenko) “The Structure of Archaeological Knowledge and the Concept of Archaeological Culture: The Perspective of Actor-Network Theory” (in Ukr.: Структура археологічного знання та поняття археологічної культури: Пропозиції до перегляду в перспективі акторно-мережевої теорії). *Archeologia – Археологія* 4 (2024): 104–124. <https://doi.org/10.15407/arheologia2024.04.104>
- 4) “Between Historicity and Normativity. Reception of German Classical Philosophy in Late Soviet and Post-Soviet Philosophical Studies.” *Intersezioni. Review of the History of Ideas* 3 (2024): 281–306. <https://www.rivisteweb.it/doi/10.1404/115078>
- 5) “Towards an Ontology of the Caesura. Reflections on the Russian-Ukrainian war.” In: Vanbrabant, J. (ed.) *Philosophers on the Russian Aggression in Ukraine* (Nordhausen: Verlag Traugott Bautz GmbH, 2023), 53–67.
 - a. The earlier version of this paper was published as: “Towards an Ontology of the Caesura. Reflections on the Russian-Ukrainian War”, *Koinē. The Almanac of Philosophical Essays* 2 (2022): 67–79.
- 6) “Немецкие классики на Востоке Европы. Изучение немецкой классической философии в позднем СССР и постсоветских Беларуси, России и Украине” [from Russian: German Classics in East of Europe. The study of German classical philosophy in the late USSR and post-Soviet Belarus, Russia and Ukraine], *Koinē. The Almanac of Philosophical Essays* 3 (2023): 68–122.
 - a. Also available in Ukrainian: “Німецькі класики на Сході Європи. Вивчення німецької класичної філософії у пізньому СРСР і пострадянських Білорусі, Росії та Україні”, *Koinē. The Almanac of Philosophical Essays* 3 (2023): 68–120.
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- 7) “Philosophy Unchained. Introductory Notes on the Post-Soviet Philosophical Condition”. In: Minakov, M. (ed.) *Philosophy Unchained. Developments in Post-Soviet Philosophical Thought* (Stuttgart: ibidem, 2023), 17–20.
- 8) “The Soviet Philosophical Condition. Adventures of Philosophy in Soviet Union”. In: Minakov, M. (ed.) *Philosophy Unchained. Developments in Post-Soviet Philosophical Thought* (Stuttgart: ibidem, 2023), 21–74.
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- 10) “The Quest for Koinē: Overcoming the Shibboleth”, *Koinē. The Almanac of Philosophical Essays* 1 (2021): 1–13.
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- 12) (in co-authorship with Yana Prymachenko) “The Velvet Revolutions of 1989: A Lasting 'End of History'?”, *Ideology and Politics Journal* 3(14) (2019): 4–9.
- 13) “Філософія в Україні: у вічному пошуку себе” [from Ukrainian: Philosophy in Ukraine: in the Permanent Quest for Itself] (in co-authorship with: A. Yermolenko, V. Turchynovskiy, V. Fadeev, O. Vedrov, I. Ivashcheno, V. Tzyba), *Ukraina Moderna* 26 (2019): 12–30.
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- 15) “Модерність і мир. Уроки прикладного просвітництва Канта” [from Ukrainian: Modernity and Peace. The Lessons of Kant’s Applied Enlightenment], *Ukraina Moderna* 26 (2019): 99–117.
- 16) “Возвращение к самому важному: Философское восстание Льва Шестова” [from Russian: A return to the most important: Lev Shestov’s philosophical rebellion], *Istoriia filosofii* 23(1) (2018): 82–95.
- 17) “Война – ‘то ситуація Небытия. Интервью Татьяны Щитцовой С Михаилом Минаковым” [from Russian: War in the situation of Non-Being. An Interview], *Topos* 1-2 (2016): 11–18.
- 18) “Найважливіше і останній Бог. Онтотеології Лева Шестова та Мартіна Гайдегера” [from Ukrainian: The-Most-Important and the Last God: Ontotheologies of Lev Shestov and Martin Heidegger], *Naukovi Zapysky NaUKMA* 192 (2017): 22–28.
- 19) “Универсализм и партикуляризм” [from Russian: Universalism and Particularism], *Obshchaia tetrad’* 71 (2016): 25–29.
- 20) “The De-Modernization Current: An Approach to Understand Ethical and Political Challenges of Post-Soviet Societies”. In: *Global Political Theory and “Charitas in Veritate”* (Lviv: UCU, 2016): 36–49.
- 21) “Tenebrae seu lux ex oriente? Переоцінка радянської філософії в сучасній англо-американській історіографії” [from Ukrainian: “Tenebrae seu lux ex oriente? Re-evaluation of the Soviet Philosophy in Contemporary Anglo-American Historiography], *Filosofska dumka* 3 (2009): 103–116.
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