



THIRD ANNUAL TARTU CONFERENCE ON RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

**Reflecting on Nation-Statehood in
Eastern Europe, Russia and Eurasia**

10–12 June 2018

University of Tartu, Estonia

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A Word from the Programme Committee

The Tartu Annual Conference on Russian and East European Studies is taking place already for the third time. When the idea of a new annual forum for scholars working on the region was first discussed in the framework of the UPTAKE consortium, we envisaged it as a venue for top-quality academic discussion of the fundamental social and political trends affecting all aspects of people's life in Russia and Eastern Europe. We also believed that Tartu offers an excellent location for a productive dialogue among scholars across multiple disciplines. We have been excited to learn that our vision has resonated with scholars, students and experts in the region and beyond. This year's conference breaks a new record, with the number of participants reaching up to nearly 250 and the geographic representation expanding wider than ever.

The theme of this year's conference is *Reflecting on Nation-Statehood in Eastern Europe, Russia and Eurasia*. The year 2018 marks a century since the introduction of nation-statehood as the main frame for political, cultural and economic life for the peoples of Eastern Europe, Russia and Eurasia. As demonstrated by the programme of the conference, this anniversary provided an excellent starting point for the reflection on the history of the region as well as on the current developments in all spheres of social, cultural and political life.

Like the first three events, this year's Tartu conference is generously supported by the European Commission's Horizon 2020 Twinning Programme. The project that established UPTAKE, a consortium consisting of the universities of Tartu, Uppsala and Kent, will come to an end in early 2019. Our efforts to continue the conference beyond the end of UPTAKE have borne fruit: we are happy to announce that the Fourth Annual Tartu Conference on Russian and East European Studies will take place on 9–11 June 2019.

We would like to thank all participants for their hard academic work, which resulted in such a great collection of panels and roundtables. Special thanks must go to the chairs and discussants, who have undertaken, in addition to their other commitments, to coordinate and provide feedback on the work of their colleagues. It is our special pleasure and honour to welcome our plenary speakers, who will share their thoughts on how looking at the past can help us in thinking about the future of democracy in our region and its relationship with nation-statehood. We look forward to the three days of stimulating intellectual exchange and networking. Let's get to work!

Viacheslav Morozov
University of Tartu

Stefan Hedlund
Uppsala University

Elena Korosteleva
University of Kent

About UPTAKE

UPTAKE is a consortium of three partners – the University of Tartu (Estonia), Uppsala University (Sweden) and the University of Kent (UK) – in the field of Russian and East European Studies. The goal of the consortium is to increase research productivity and excellence at the three universities through a diverse programme of joint activities. The consortium builds on the work of multi-disciplinary research centres at each university:

- *Centre for EU-Russia Studies (CEURUS)* at the University of Tartu is a centre for scholars and students who share an interest in the evolving relationship between the European Union and the Russian Federation;
- *Uppsala Institute for Russian and Eurasian Studies (IRES)* is an integrated multi-disciplinary long-term research programme with an in-depth focus on recent developments in Russia and in the post-Soviet space;
- *The Global Europe Centre (GEC)* at the University of Kent is a research centre focusing on Europe, its member states and its place in a changing world.

The Annual Tartu Conference on Russian and East European Studies is the consortium's main outreach event. It is the ambition of the consortium to establish the Tartu Conference as a regular, high-level forum for discussing the results of academic research focusing on politics and societies of Russia and Eastern Europe.

In addition to the Conference, UPTAKE organizes a variety of research workshops and meetings, as well as training schools for PhD and post-doctoral researchers. It offers mobility support for consortium scholars, facilitating joint research as well conference participation, and runs a guest lecture series that features renowned experts sharing their insights into topical issues in Russia and Eastern Europe.

The consortium is funded by the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 691818.

Invited Speakers

Grzegorz Ekiert is Laurence A. Tisch Professor of Government at Harvard University, Director of the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, and Senior Scholar at the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies. His research and teaching interests focus on comparative politics, regime change and democratization, civil society and social movements and East European politics and societies. His current projects explore civil society development in new democracies in Central Europe and East Asia, state mobilized contention in authoritarian and hybrid regimes and patterns of political and economic transformations in the post-communist world. He is the author or editor of six books, edited volumes and special issues of journals. His papers appeared in numerous social science journals in the US, Europe and Asia and in many edited volumes. He is also Member of the Advisory Board of Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung, External Examiner in Politics, Public Administration and Global Studies at the University of Hong Kong and Member of the Club of Madrid Advisory Committee.

Catriona Kelly is Professor of Russian at the University of Oxford and a Fellow of the British Academy. She is an internationally renowned specialist in Russian culture, particularly of the Soviet period. Her many books include *Refining Russia: Advice Literature, Polite Culture, and Gender from Catherine to Yeltsin* (Oxford University Press, 2001); *Children's World: Growing Up in Russia, 1890-1991* (Yale University Press, 2008, awarded the Grace Abbott Prize of the Society for the History of Childhood and Youth); *St Petersburg: Shadows of the Past* (Yale University Press, 2014), and *Socialist Churches: Radical Secularization and the Preservation of the Past in Petrograd and Leningrad, 1918-1988*. Her work has appeared in many different languages, including French, German, Croatian, Polish, Korean, Chinese, and Japanese as well as English and Russian, and she has presented keynote addresses and lectures in venues across Europe, the USA, and in Asia. In 2015, she acted as the first President of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies from outside the USA. She is currently working on a study of cinema in the late Soviet period, *The Soviet Art House: Lenfilm Studio under Brezhnev*.

Featured Roundtables

New Russian Sociology

Monday, 11 June 14:30–16:15, Lossi 36, room 214

Maksim Alyukov, University of Tyumen

Vladimir Magun, RAS Institute of Sociology

Anna Temkina, European University at St. Petersburg

Moderator: **Greg Yudin**, HSE Moscow / Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences

The roundtable offers a diverse range of analytical perspectives on contemporary Russian society and its values, beliefs and opinions. While the participants of the roundtable represent different trends in contemporary Russian sociology, all of them have first-hand knowledge of how Russian society works and will also discuss what needs to be done to enhance our understanding of societal developments.

History of Nation-Statehood in Eastern Europe: New Research Agendas?

Tuesday, 12 June 9:00–10:45, Lossi 36, room 214

Alexander Etkind, European University Institute

Ivars Ījabs, University of Latvia

Róisín Healy, NUI Galway

Dorota Kołodziejczyk, University of Wrocław

Moderator: **Viacheslav Morozov**, University of Tartu

The roundtable focuses on the origins of East European nation-statehood and lessons that need to be drawn from its history for the contemporary political debate. The year 2018 marks the one-hundredth anniversary of the establishment of modern Baltic statehood. This provides a good opportunity for a critical analysis of the Baltic states' respective experiences with self-determination as they relate to both regional and European developments. The speakers will reflect on the multiple applications of the concept of nation-statehood in academia and in light of the diverse experiences and journeys of post-Soviet, Baltic and other European nations and states.

General Programme

Sunday, 10 June

- 17:00–19:30** **Registration**
Main building of the University of Tartu, Ülikooli 18
- 18:00–20:00** **Welcome and Opening Keynote**
Assembly Hall of the University of Tartu, Ülikooli 18
- Prof Grzegorz Ekiert, Harvard University**
One hundred years on: legacies of state building, democracy and authoritarianism reconsidered
- 20:15–21:30** **Reception**
White Hall of the University Museum, Lossi 25

Monday, 11 June

- 8:30–16:15** **Registration**
Faculty of Social Sciences, Lossi 36
- 9:00–10:45** **First panel session**
Lossi 36
- 10:45–11:15** **Coffee break**
- 11:15–13:00** **Second panel session**
Lossi 36
- 13:00–14:30** **Lunch break**
See p 37 for suggested lunch options
- 13:15–14:15** **Book presentation, Abel Polese**
Café Werner, Ülikooli 11
- 14:30–16:15** **Third panel session**
Lossi 36

- 16:30–18:00** **Keynote Address**
Main building of the University of Tartu, Ülikooli 18
- Prof Catriona Kelly, University of Oxford**
*Soviet/ Russian Identity,
1881–2018: Empire, Nation, and the Lure of the Local*
- 18:00–20:30** **Reception**
University Café, Ülikooli 20

Tuesday, 12 June

- 9:00–10:45** **Fourth panel session**
Lossi 36
- 10:45–11:15** **Coffee break**
- 11:15–13:00** **Fifth panel session**
Lossi 36
- 13:00–14:30** **Lunch break**
See p 37 for suggested lunch options
- 13:15–14:15** **Book presentation, Sergei Medvedev**
Restaurant Vilde ja Vine, Vallikraavi 4
- 14:30–16:15** **Sixth panel session**
Lossi 36
- 19:00** **Book presentation, Alexander Etkind**
Lossi 36–214

Schedule of panel sessions

All sessions take place in the Faculty of Social Sciences building, Lossi 36

Monday

09:00–10:45

MA1	Monday	9:00–10:45	Room: 214
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The Politics of Civilizations in Eurasian History

Chair: **Mark Bassin**

Södertörn University, Stockholm

The Limits of a Paradigm: Historians Look at Russia/USSR as Civilizations

Ronald Grigor Suny University of Michigan

Fictions of the USSR as the ‘More Civilized Ally’ in WWII: The Historiographic Bedrock of “Soviet Civilization” in its Opposition to the “West” (1946–1973–2001)

Holt Meyer University of Erfurt

Zacharias Topelius’ Travel in Finland (1874): A Nation between Civilizations in Eurasian Space

Sanna Turoma University of Helsinki

Russian Law and the Politics of Civilization

Tatiana Borisova National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg

MA2	Monday	9:00–10:45	Room: 215
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Russia and the Future of International Order

Chair: **Stefan Hedlund**

Uppsala University

Junior Partner?: Developing a Theory of Russia’s Decline in Eurasia

Camille Merlen University of Kent

Zachary Paikin University of Kent

Kaneshko Sangar University College London

Russia and the European Security Order Revisited: From Vienna to Paris and Beyond

Tuomas Forsberg University of Tampere

Russia's 'Strategic Narratives': The Case of the Arab Spring

Derek Averre University of Birmingham

Russia and the Liberal World Order: Beyond Binarism

Camille Merlen University of Kent

Discussant: **Tatiana Romanova**

St. Petesburg State University

MA3 **Monday** **9:00–10:45** Room: **305**

Georgia and its significant Others

Chair: **Susanne Szkola**

University of Kent

The Imperial Legacy and Formation of New Identities in Georgia (An Early Stage of Independence)

Ivane Tsereteli Tbilisi State University

Controversial Representation of Russia in the Georgian Political Public Sphere (The Post-Soviet Period)

David Matsaberidze Ivane Javakishvili Tbilisi State University

Dealing with traumatic legacy through the Politics of Memory in Georgia

Nino Chikovani Ivane Javakishvili Tbilisi State University

Nostalgia, societal cleavages, and the modernization project: Georgians' attitudes towards the European Union

Rati Shubladze Tbilisi State University / CRRG-Georgia

David Sichinava Tbilisi State University / CRRG-Georgia

Pro-Russian Political forces in Georgia as the Instrument of the Russian Soft Power

Meri Gabedava Sokhumi State University

Maia Manchkhvashvili Tbilisi State University

Discussant: **Michael Eric Lambert**

Black Sea Institute / Sorbonne University / INSEAD

MA4 **Monday** **9:00–10:45** Room: **204**

Grassroots politics and civil society under authoritarianism

Chair: **Larisa Deriglazova**

Tomsk State University

Sanctioned Activism: Civil Society in the Authoritarian Regime of Belarus

Leonid Polishchuk Uppsala University
Vasil Navumau Uppsala University
Ryhor Nizhnikau Finnish Institute of International Affairs
Anastasiya Astapova University of Tartu / Uppsala University

Neutralization and domestication of grassroots activity in Russia

Maksim Kulaev University of Tartu

Transformed Beyond Recognition: From the Komsomol to the Russian Youth Union (1990–2018)

Kristiina Silvan University of Helsinki

Civil society and civic engagement in rural Russia

Inna Kopoteva Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy
and Public Administration

**Coercion, Good Will, or Self-Interest?: Soviet-Style Volunteering in the Retrospective
Accounts of Russian Israelis**

Natalia Khvorostianov Ben Gurion University of the Negev
Larissa Remennick Bar-Ilan University

Discussant: **Marina Shilina**
Plekhanov Russian University of Economics

MA5 **Monday** **9:00–10:45** Room: **205**

Russian diaspora in the comparative context

Chair: **Siobhan Kattago**
University of Tartu

Citizenship, geopolitics and transnationalism of the Russian speakers in Finland

Teemu Tapani Oivo University of Eastern Finland

**The Evolution of the Discourse of Language Policy in Contemporary Estonia, Latvia, and
Ukraine**

Ksenia Maksimovtsova Justus Liebig University of Giessen

**“Rare people are those who don’t have borders”. On the centrality of Narva in the Estonian
society**

Francisco Martinez University of Helsinki

Orientalizing the Other from Within: Representing Narva and Latgale Regions

Heidi Erbsen University of Tartu

Minority Right to Effective Public Participation: a comparative case study of Russian-speaking minority in independent Estonia and Latvia

Lilija Alijeva

School of Advanced Study, University of London

Discussant: **Konstantin Zamyatin**

University of Helsinki

MA6

Monday

9:00–10:45

Room: **207**

Nation-building in Central Asia

Chair: **Leonardo Pataccini**

University of Tartu

Nations between pre-state legacies and nation-state national stories: Nation-building feature in post-soviet Central Asia

Arzuu Sheranova

Corvinus University of Budapest

The creation of cultural identity in Tajikistan and the consciousness of being Persian

Lucrezia Savasta

National Research University Higher School of
Economics, Moscow

The history reinterpretation and nation-building in Kazakhstan: fluctuating official historiography and popular narratives

Mukhtar Senggirbay

Suleyman Demirel University

Post-colonial aspect of the project of Kazakh language “latinization”

Gulnara Dadabayeva

KIMEP University, Almaty

Discussant: **Diana Shendrikova**

University of Rome “La Sapienza”

MA7

Monday

9:00–10:45

Room: **306**

Challenges for regional security and capacity-building in the eastern region and Central Asia (I): a domestic perspective

Chair: **Siddharth Saxena**

University of Cambridge

Mega-events and building European identity of Azerbaijanis: did it work?

Anar Valiyev

ADA University

Regional security system: Approaches of Belarus

Andrei Rusakovich

Belarusian State University

Culture of security: original and established in the case of Tajikistan

Munira Shahidi Tajikistan National University

Nargis Nurulla-Khozhaeva Tajikistan National University

Transformation of the international system and geopolitical identity of Uzbekistan

Sherzod Abdullaev University of World Economy and Diplomacy

Discussant: **Roza Turarbekava**

Belarusian State University

MA8 **Monday** **9:00–10:45** Room: **307**

Roundtable: An Interdisciplinary approach to historical commemoration in Eastern Europe

Chair: **Naphtali Rivkin**

Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation

Roundtable participants:

Alina Clay Latvian Institute of International Affairs

Richard Martyn-Hempbill Intersection Project

Liis Jõhvik Tallinn University

Indra Ekmanis The Wilson Center

11:15–13:00

MB1 **Monday** **11:15–13:00** Room: **214**

Identity and Ideology in the Politics of Civilizations

Chair: **Mark Bassin**

Södertörn University, Stockholm

The Ukraine Crisis and the Politics of Civilizations

Vsevolod Samokhvalov University of Liege / University of Cambridge

Russian Grossraum: Conservative Communitarianism in the Russian Civilizational Rhetoric

Mikhail Suslov University of Copenhagen

Beyond Russia's 'Civilizational Turn': Narrating a Foreign Policy Dilemma

Iain Ferguson National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg

Civilization Recycled: Political Discourse in Regional Context

Katalin Miklóssy

University of Helsinki

MB2

Monday

11:15–13:00

Room: **215**

Past and Present: Russian, Soviet and Post-Soviet approaches to Gender, Sexuality and Pornography

Chair: **Michael Loader**

Uppsala University

Censoring the Obscene: Pornography and the Police in Late Imperial Russia

Siobhan Hearne

University of Latvia

Censoring the Periphery: Photography, Pornography, and the Criminal Case of Iosif A. Schneider

Jessica Werneke

Loughborough University

Can There Be Love at My Age? Teenagers Respond to the Late Soviet Morality Campaign

Alissa Klots

European University at St. Petersburg

“Born This Way”? Framing of Homosexuality in the Russian Orthodox Church

Caroline Campbell Hill

University of Innsbruck

Discussant: **Catriona Kelly**

University of Oxford

MB3

Monday

11:15–13:00

Room: **204**

Challenges for regional security and capacity-building in the eastern region and Central Asia (II): an international perspective

Chair: **Elena Korosteleva**

University of Kent

The international political economy of transition in Central Asian countries

Leonardo Pataccini

University of Tartu

Belarus and the Council of Europe: in search of cooperation

Alisa Dekhtiarenko

Belarusian State University

Eurasian Economic Union: Integration or imitation

Roza Turarbekava

Belarusian State University

Uzbekistan’s contemporary foreign policy on Afghanistan: theoretical and historical background

Akram Umarov

University of World Economy and Diplomacy

International cooperation and domestic legitimacy in Azerbaijan

Eske Van Gils University of Kent

Discussant: **Anar Valiyev**

ADA University

MB4	Monday	11:15–13:00	Room: 205
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Russia's post-Crimea foreign policy and the Trump factor

Chair: **Sergei Akopov**

National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg

The impotence of moralism: Why sanctions against Russia did not and could not work

Stefan Hedlund Uppsala University

Brezhnevism, the use of force and contemporary limited sovereignty

Sean Morris University of Helsinki

The impacts of Trump advent on the realization of a Russian desirable world order

Javad Keypour Tallinn University of Technology

Vlad Alex Vernygora Tallinn University of Technology

Russia's Containment Strategy in the U.S. Foreign Policy during the Presidency of D. Trump and the Factor of Baltic States

Gerda Jakstaite Vytautas Magnus University

Discussant: **Holger Mölder**

Tallinn University of Technology

MB5	Monday	11:15–13:00	Room: 306
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Old and new approaches to studying identity narratives in Eastern Europe and Russia

Chair: **Kristiina Silvan**

University of Helsinki

Othering Russia: Georgia's Self in the East-West nexus

Shota Kakabadze University of Tartu

Stigmatisation in Russian-Western relations and the politicisation of democracy in the post-Soviet space

Adrian Rogstad London School of Economics

Why study individual, non-elite narratives in international relations?

Maren Rohe University of Birmingham

Reconceptualizing political representation in Central and Eastern Europe: construction of (anti)political identity in Latvia

Lele Arnica

University of Tartu

Discussant: **Vasil Navumau**

Uppsala University

MB6

Monday

11:15–13:00

Room: **307**

Eurasian integration and its effects

Chair: **Zachary Paikin**

University of Kent

Going regional the Russian way: The Eurasian Economic Union between instrumentalism and global social appropriateness

Diana Shendrikova

University of Rome “La Sapienza”

Labour migration in post-Soviet area: the prerequisite or the side-effect of Eurasian integration?

Anastasia Pogorelskaya

Tomsk State University

Eurasian Economic Union: political and economic factors of potential cooperation with the EU

Alexandra Vasileva (Dienes)

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Regional Office for Cooperation and Peace in Europe / University of Amsterdam

Circling the Barrels: The Surprising Case of Kazakhstan’s Regime Consolidation in the wake of the 2014 Oil Bust

Morena Skalamera

Harvard University

Discussant: **Katri Pynnöniemi**

University of Helsinki / National Defence University

MB7

Monday

11:15–13:00

Room: **305**

Regime evolution and social change

Chair: **Larisa Shpakovskaya**

National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg

Too Much Development or Not Enough Democracy? Patterns of Social Development in Post-Communist Countries

Alo Raun

Tallinn University

Social security discourses in a non-democratic state: Belarus between Soviet paternalistic legacies and neo-liberal pressures

Tatsiana Chulitskaya

European Humanities University

Irina Matonyte

General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of
Lithuania

Is there Policy Convergence in Authoritarian Regimes? The Experience of Central Asian countries

Angelo Vito Panaro

Scuola Normale Superiore

Turkish political Islam under AKP rule: Identity contradiction, strategic adaptation and 'hidden agenda' pursuit

Ye Kan

Université libre de Bruxelles

Discussant: **Rati Shubladze**

Tbilisi State University / CRRC-Georgia

MB8

Monday

11:15–13:00

Room: **207**

Nation-statehood and regional developments in the Russian Federation

Chair: **Georgios E. Trantas**

Aston University

Ethnic Politics and State Building: Power Distribution Along the Ethnic Lines in Ethnic Republics of Post-Soviet Russia

Konstantin Zamyatin

University of Helsinki

Ethnonational movements and regional policy in the Republic of Karelia

Elena Eltc

Saint-Petersburg State University

Reflecting on the evolution of tourist and recreational development in the Finnish-Russian borderland: historical, cultural and economic aspects

Svetlana V. Stepanova

Institute of Economics, Karelian Research Center of
the Russian Academy of Sciences

Kaliningrad as a challenge to nation-state norms and to Russia

Ingmar Oldberg

Swedish Institute of International Affairs

Discussant: **Andrey Shcherbak**

National Research University Higher School of Economics

14:30–16:15

MC1 **Monday** **14:30–16:15** **Room: 214**

Featured roundtable: New Russian sociology

Chair: **Greg Yudin**

National Research University Higher School of Economics / Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences

Roundtable participants:

Maksim Alyukov

University of Tyumen

Vladimir Magun

National Research University Higher School of Economics / Institute of Sociology, FCTAS RAS

Anna Temkina

European University at St. Petersburg

MC2 **Monday** **14:30–16:15** **Room: 305**

Translation in a Nation-State: Pros and Contras

Chair: **Sofya Khagi**

University of Michigan

Translating Marxism from Russian into Finnish: Translated Soviet Non-Fiction as an Alternative Perspective on the Finnish Nation State Identity

Hannu Kemppanen

University of Eastern Finland

Translating images: an analysis of photographs and cartoons in Western newspaper articles and their ‘translations’ into Russian

Piet Van Poucke

Ghent University

Censorship in Translation Through a Translator’s Diary

Mariia Smirnova

Russian State University for the Humanities

Translation as “the Danger” for Nation-State Identity Politics

Olga Demidova

Leningrad State University after A.S. Pushkin

Discussant: **Zakhar Ishov**

University of Tübingen

MC3 **Monday** **14:30–16:15** Room: **207**

Varying perspectives on resilience

Chair: **Elena Korosteleva**

University of Kent

The notion of resilience from the perspective of critical legal theory

Adam Sulikowski University of Wrocław

Rafał Mańko University of Amsterdam

Legal regulation of electronic communication technologies: Is it resilient enough?

Dominik Góra University of Wrocław

Resilience of corruption in Russia

Tatiana Borisova National Research University Higher School of
Economics, St. Petersburg

What is the place of resilience in EU-Russian relations

Tatiana Romanova St. Petersburg State University

Discussant: **Elena Pavlova**

St. Petersburg State University

MC4 **Monday** **14:30–16:15** Room: **204**

Basic Rights and Rule of Law in a Young Democracy – Estonian Experiences after World War I

Chair: **Piotr Szymaniec**

Angelus Silesius University of Applied Sciences in Wałbrzych

Basic Rights in Estonian Constitution (1920) between Russian Tradition and German Innovation

Marju Luts-Sootak University of Tartu

Hesi Siimets-Gross University of Tartu

Marelle Leppik University of Tartu

Estonian Land Reform as a Legal Challenge of Rule of Law in the Example of Principle of Legal Certainty

Karin Visnapuu University of Tartu

Constitution and Reality: the Emancipation of Women in a New State

Katrin Kiirend-Pruuli University of Tartu

Russian Emigrants Building the Estonian Statehood

Lea Leppik University of Tartu

Discussant: **Naphtali Rivkin**

Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation

MC5 **Monday** **14:30–16:15** Room: **215**

Nation-building in Central and Eastern Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

Chair: **Molly O’Neal**

Baylor University

“Peasant Maids in Rags to Laugh at”: the Song Festival Tradition and the Birth of Latvian Socialism

Ivars Tjabs University of Latvia

Challenges of consolidation of legal orders in interwar Poland

Maciej Kruk University of Warsaw

(Czech)Slovakia: The myth that created a nationstate and its failure

Aaron T. Walter University of Cyril & Methodius in Trnava

Accountability for Communist Crimes Post-1989 in the Light of Polish Law

Valeri Vachev University of Warsaw

Discussant: **Vello Pettai**

University of Tartu

MC6 **Monday** **14:30–16:15** Room: **306**

Russia and its neighbours: interests, instruments and threats

Chair: **Sean Morris**

University of Helsinki

Energy interests perspective on the annexation of Crimea

Javad Keypour Tallinn University of Technology

Ivar Hendla Tallinn University of Technology

Everyday cyber securities and cyber (in)security: ‘E-Estonia’ and the menace of Russian ‘cyber warfare’

Alex Hardy Royal Holloway, University of London

A Theoretical Reflection: Latvia’s Vulnerabilities vis-à-vis Informational Warfare

Alina Clay Latvian Institute of International Affairs

Russia's Soft Power as Limited Efficiency Tool in Lithuania

Giedrius Cesnakas

General Jonas Zemaitis Lithuania Military

Small State or Small Nation-state? Security Implications of Nation-statehood in the Baltics

Matthias Maass

Yonsei University, Korea

Discussant: **Olena Lennon**

Southern Connecticut State University

MC7

Monday

14:30–16:15

Room: **307**

Nation-statehood in the Western Balkans

Chair: **Eleni Tseligka**

Staffordshire University

Nation-statehood and minority issues in interwar Yugoslavia: the case of non-Slavic Muslims

Klara Volaric

Loughborough University

Between Yugoslavia and Europe - The State-Nation Concept in the Post-Yugoslav States

Soeren Keil

Canterbury Christ Church University

Bernhard Stahl

University of Passau

Self-Destruction and the Nation State: The Slovene Suicide Crisis (c. 1960–1991)

Mat Savelli

McMaster University

Discussant: **James Headley**

University of Otago

MC8

Monday

14:30–16:15

Room: **205**

Between Integration and National Sovereignty: The CMEA and Intrabloc Relations

Chair: **Max Trecker**

Institute for Contemporary History Munich-Berlin

Cotton Trade and COMECON Coordination on Capitalist Markets in the Early Cold War

Jan Zofka

Leipzig University

The Limits of Socialist Economic Integration: The Comprehensive Program of the CMEA and Joint Investment Projects

Jun Fujisawa

Kobe University

Trading Factories for Resources: Attempts to Coordinate East-South Economic Relations in the CMEA

Max Trecker

Institute for Contemporary History Munich-Berlin

The CMEA and the EC in 1988: perestroika or collapse?

Suvi Kansikas

Network for European Studies / University of Helsinki

Discussant: **Uwe Müller**

Leipzig University

Tuesday ***09:00–10:45***

TA1	Tuesday	9:00–10:45	Room: 214
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Featured roundtable: History of nation-statehood in Eastern Europe: new research agendas?

Chair: **Viacheslav Morozov**

University of Tartu

Roundtable participants:

Ivars Ījabs

University of Latvia

Alexander Etkind

European University Institute

Róisín Healy

National University of Ireland Galway

Dorota Kołodziejczyk

Wrocław University

TA2	Tuesday	9:00–10:45	Room: 215
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Religion, History, Politics, and National Identities

Chair: **Frank Cibulka**

Zayed University, Abu Dhabi

Harmony Rather Than Melody: The National Cultural Role of Lutheran and Catholic Churches in Soviet Estonia and Latvia after World War II

Robert Goeckel

State University of New York at Geneseo

Is the symphony possible today: Russian law, Russian state and Russian Orthodox Church?

Mikhail Antonov

National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg

Religion in the Public Sphere in Contemporary Ukraine: Political and Legal Aspects

Dmytro Vovk

Yaroslav the Wise National Law University, Kharkiv

Kirill Gundiaev and the Circulation of Elites in Russia: From Soviet Bishop to Moscow Patriarch

Jerry Pankhurst

Wittenberg University

Discussant: **Alar Kilp**

University of Tartu

TA3 **Tuesday** **9:00–10:45** Room: **204**

Information Warfare and Pax Russica

Chair: **Holger Mölder**

Tallinn University of Technology

The Russian speaking minorities of Estonia, “Pax Russica” and Russian information campaigns

Vladimir Sazonov

University of Tartu / Estonian National Defence College

Military domain as part of information warfare

Zdzislaw Sliwa

Baltic Defence College

Information War and Identity Politics in Estonia and Latvia

Vassilis Petsinis

University of Tartu

Culture of fear, information warfare and Pax Russica

Holger Mölder

Tallinn University of Technology

Character Attacks on Western Politicians: Pax Russica and Information Warfare

Eric Shiraev

George Mason University

Discussant: **Giedrius Cesnakas**

General Jonas Zemaitis Lithuania Military Academy

TA5 **Tuesday** **9:00–10:45** Room: **207**

Living apart together: Europe’s quest for unity among diversity

Chair: **Adrian Rogstad**

London School of Economics

Negotiating Europe’s past: the Shoah within European identity

Stefan van der Poel

University of Groningen

Solidarity, peace and the space between nations: 1918, 1945, 2018

Siobhan Kattago

University of Tartu

The Problem of a National Elite: 100 Years of Baltic Memory & Forgetting in Estonia

David Ilmar Beecher

University of California Berkeley

Discussant: **Heiko Pääbo**

University of Tartu

TA6

Tuesday

9:00–10:45

Room: 306

Poland and its neighbours

Chair: **Andrii Nekoliak**

University of Tartu

From Intermarium to the Three Seas Initiatives – Regional Integration in Central and Eastern Europe and the Challenges of the Hungarian Foreign Policy

Andrea Schmidt

University of Pecs

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Vilnius University

Polish-Ukrainian bilateral relations in the context of nationalism's rise in both countries

Weronika Waclawska

University of Wrocław

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Molly O'Neal

Baylor University

Polish-Russian Disputes over History as an Important Factor in Their Mutual Relations

Przemysław Furgacz

College of Business and Entrepreneurship in
Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, Poland

Discussant: **Oleksiy Polegkyi**

Antwerp University

TA7

Tuesday

9:00–10:45

Room: 305

Translation and National / Cultural (Self) Identity

Chair: **Hannu Kemppanen**

University of Eastern Finland

The Khakas Nation? The Role of Translation Identity-Building Processes of a Small Siberian People

Irina Pohlan

Freelancer

Miera/Улица Мира/Peace Street: The 'Orbita' Group, Translingual Poetry, and Latvia after the Fall

Sofya Khagi University of Michigan

Prosody and Politics: Joseph Brodsky's Translations of Zbigniew Herbert or the Poets' Take on Russian-Polish Love-Hate Relations

Zakhar Ishov University of Tübingen

The difference between composing and translating poetry as part of bilingual experience (based on the analysis of Aygi's verce)

Natalia Azarova Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences

Discussant: **Mariia Smirnova**

Russian State University for the Humanities

TA8	Tuesday	9:00–10:45	Room: 307
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Visions of regional integration in Europe and Eurasia

Chair: **Sofie Bedford**

Uppsala University

Uniting Europe from afar. Regional Plans by Eastern European Emigrants during the Cold War

Pauli Heikkilä University of Helsinki

Changing Identities: The Impact of EU Membership on Foreign Policies of Eastern European Countries

Burak Giray University of Houston

Institutions and Trade in the Europeanization Context in DCFTA Countries

Lela Jamagidze Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Azerbaijan's attempt to diversify the economy

Dominika Jířchová University of Ostrava

Collective Betrayal: Sinophilia and Recalcitrant CEE

Pengfei Hou University of St. Andrews

Discussant: **Kristi Raik**

International Centre for Defence and Security

11:15–13:00

TB1 **Tuesday** **11:15–13:00** **Room: 204**

Nation-Building and Political Imagination

Chair: **Aaron T. Walter**

University of Cyril & Methodius in Trnava

“Another hoax of the fascist gang”: representation of the enemy from the West in 1920-1930’s soviet cinema: origins and typology

Pavel Stepanov European University at St. Petersburg

Ukrainian “National Building” as a Cultural Project: between imperialism and totalitarianism of the 20th century

Olena Haleta Ivan Franko National University of Lviv

Post-Soviet Nationhood: Cultural Ritualisation vs. Political Innovation

Nerija Putinaité Vilnius University

Discussant: **Dorota Kołodziejczyk**

Wrocław University

TB2 **Tuesday** **11:15–13:00** **Room: 215**

Eastern Orthodoxy, National and State Identities

Chair: **Jerry Pankhurst**

Wittenberg University

The Holy and Great Council: Negotiating National and State Identities, Church Unity, and Pan-Orthodoxy

Frances Kostarelos Governors State University

The Byzantine Commonwealth: a Model for Cultural Diplomacy? The Case of the Greek Orthodox Church (1998–2008)

Georgios E. Trantas Aston University

Orthodoxy as a Common Denominator of Identity between Diasporas: The Case of Greek Americans and Greeks in Germany

Eleni Tseligka Staffordshire University

The Orthodox Church in the Czech Republic and Slovakia: Ambivalence and Ambiguity of its Historical Role

Frank Cibulka

Zayed University, Abu Dhabi

Discussant: **Mikhail Antonov**

National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg

TB3

Tuesday

11:15–13:00

Room: **205**

Societal transformations: from Soviet to post-Soviet

Chair: **Teemu Tapani Oivo**

University of Eastern Finland

Attitudes to the Use of Natural Resources and Ecology in the USSR

Alexander Tolstykh

Independent scholar

Cultivating new moralities: the construction of alternative moral standards in the Ukrainian healthcare sector – from universities to hospitals

Abel Polese

Tallinn University of Technology

Tatiana Stepurko

Kiev Mohyla Academy

Cultural Representations of Foster Parenting in the context of Child Welfare Reform in Contemporary Russia

Larisa Shpakovskaya

National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg

Foreign-born individuals in the Russian labour market: does ethnicity matter?

Evgeniya Polyakova
Economics

National Research University Higher School of Economics

Larisa Smirnykh

National Research University Higher School of Economics

Dynamics of media system in post-Soviet Turkmenistan

Oguljamal Yazliyeva

Charles University

Discussant: **Tatsiana Chulitskaya**

European Humanities University

TB4 **Tuesday** **11:15–13:00** **Room: 207**

Disintegration of the USSR and Yugoslavia and their Legacies in Successor States

Chair: **Vello Pettai**

University of Tartu

The Imperial Legacy as a Source of Divergence in Post-Soviet “Second Modernities”

Dmitrii Karasev Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy
and Public Administration, Moscow

Soviet Imperial Legacies in Russia’s Post-Communist Political Transformation

Mikhail Maslovsky Sociological Institute of the Russian Academy of
Sciences, St. Petersburg

**Kosovo: A Case Study in the Unintended Consequences of Communist Nationality Policy,
1968–1986**

Veljko Vujačić European University at St. Petersburg

The Failure of Federation and the Bosnian Dilemma

Brendan Humphreys University of Helsinki

Discussant: **Ronald Grigor Suny**

University of Michigan

TB5 **Tuesday** **11:15–13:00** **Room: 214**

Russia between East and West

Chair: **Kacper Dziekan**

European Solidarity Centre / Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan

**The ‘Easternism’ of Esper Ukhtomsky as an attempt to recreate the Russian national
identity**

Roman Tsirulev Heidelberg University

**“Centralized nation states in the East”: USSR’s imagined union with postcolonial states, the
case of Nejd-Hijaz and Yemen**

Alexander Kondrashev European University at St. Petersburg

**Political Use of Tragedy: Remembering the Revolution, Building the Nation, Legitimizing
the State in Contemporary Russia**

Ekaterina Klimenko Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish
Academy of Sciences

Metaphors of Western Moral Debt and Guilt in Russian Political Discourse on National State Sovereignty

Sergei Akopov

National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg

The Politics of Otherness: EU in Russia's 'multipolar world'

Aziz Elmuradov

University of Bielefeld

Discussant: **Greg Yudin**

National Research University Higher School of Economics / Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences

TB6 **Tuesday** **11:15–13:00** Room: **305**

Nation-statehood in post-Crimean Eastern Europe

Chair: **Lilija Alijeva**

School of Advanced Study, University of London

Shaping the Ukrainian National Identity in Conditions of the Armed Conflict in Donbas

Elzbieta Olzacka

Jagiellonian University

Kırımli Community in Lviv: a New Home or a Permanent Shelter?

Nataliya Shalenna

Ivan Franko National University of Lviv

Belarus at a Crossroads: Will the Russia-Ukraine War Make or Break It?

Olena Lennon

Southern Connecticut State University

Aemin Becker

University of New Haven

For a Stronger Rule of Law in Europe: Holding Russia's Judges and Public Prosecutors to Account

Stefanie Lemke

European Commission / Maastricht University / Netherlands Helsinki Committee

Discussant: **Eske Van Gils**

University of Kent

TB7 **Tuesday** **11:15–13:00** Room: **306**

Competing ideas and practices of nation-statehood in the Soviet Union

Chair: **Stefan van der Poel**

University of Groningen

**Nationalities Policy in the USSR: Explaining the ‘The Pendulum Swing’ by Randall Collins’
Geopolitical Theory**

Andrey Shcherbak

National Research University Higher School of
Economics

**Who secedes and who succeeds? Disputing the uniqueness of 20th century Russian
secessionism**

Joseph Varuolo

Air University

**Ukraine between East and West: Ideological Landmarks of Ukrainian Cultural Revival 1920s-
1930s (Nowadays Perception)**

Galina Babak

Queen Mary University of London / Charles
University

Discussant: **Róisín Healy**

National University of Ireland Galway

TB8

Tuesday

11:15–13:00

Room: 307

Political imagination and nation-building in Russia

Chair: **Gulnara Dadabayeva**

KIMEP University, Almaty

**“Russia’s Thousand-Year-Old History”: The Claim for a Past in Contemporary Russian
Conservatism**

Kåre Johan Mjør

Uppsala University

The perception of ‘Russianness’ among Russian students

Larisa Deriglazova

Tomsk State University

Nation building, The novel and Propaganda. The Case of Aleksandr Prokhanov’s Recent Prose

Erik Vlaeminck

University of Edinburgh

Memory, Ideology, and Identity: Eurasia and the former Soviet Union

Justin Tomczyk

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign /
Russian Armenian Slavonic University

Discussant: **Francisco Martinez**

University of Helsinki

14:30–16:15

TC1 **Tuesday** **14:30-16:15** **Room: 307**

Identity and nationalism in Central and Eastern Europe

Chair: **Matthias Maass**

Yonsei University, Korea

National interests and the limits of socialist integration within the CMEA (mid-1950s – mid-1960s)

Aleksei Popov South Ural State University, Chelyabinsk

Nationalisms without nation-statehood: shifting identities in the Republic of Moldova

Tamás Illés Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

From Lenin to Mazepa: The Transformation of Monuments and Collective Identity in Post-Maidan Ukraine

Lina Klymenko University of Eastern Finland

Cultural heritage and the regulation of religious freedom: the case of Poland and Czech Republic

Piotr Szymaniec Angelus Silesius University of Applied Sciences in
Wałbrzych

Discussant: **David Ilmar Beecher**

University of California Berkeley

TC2 **Tuesday** **14:30–16:15** **Room: 205**

Nationalism and democracy in Central and Eastern Europe

Chair: **Ksenia Maksimovtsova**

Justus Liebig University of Giessen

Post-Communist Transition as a Critical Juncture: Political Origins of Institutional and Cultural Bifurcation

Leonid Polishchuk Uppsala University

Kharis Sokolov National Research University Higher School of
Economics

Resurgent nationalism and European integration in Central/Eastern Europe

James Headley University of Otago

Is Contemporary Central Europe Facing a Backlash of Democracy because of the Prevailing Inequality?

Baiba Witajewska-Baltvilka

Institute for Structural Research (IBS), Warsaw

When the Ethnic Cleavages Overshadows the Class Cleavage in a Post-Communist Society and Why to Care?

Tõnis Saarts

Tallinn University

Ellu Saar

Tallinn University

Post-Soviet Regime Dynamics: Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Ukraine and Russia

Oleksiy Polegkyi

Antwerp University

Discussant: **Piret Ehin**

University of Tartu

TC3

Tuesday

14:30–16:15

Room: 207

The Soviet Nomenklatura in the Baltics: Leadership, Intra-Party Feuding and Societal Challenges

Chair: **Siobhan Hearne**

University of Latvia

Was the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers an Ethnicity-Based Organ of Power? The Council of Ministers of the ESSR, 1940s–1950s

Olev Liivik

Estonian History Museum

The Rise of the Latvian National Communists and the Ouster of Moscow's Russian Watchdog

Michael Loader

Uppsala University

Latvian Communist Party First Secretaries between 1940 and 1988 – A Collective Portrait

Daina Bleiere

Institute of History of Latvia / University of Latvia

From „free economic zone“ to territorial self-management. Early visions of economic autonomy of Soviet Estonia in 1986–1988

Juhan Saharov

University of Tartu

Discussant: **Jessica Werneke**

Loughborough University

TC4

Tuesday

14:30–16:15

Room: 214

Rethinking Russian foreign policy

Chair: **Camille Merlen**

University of Kent

Russia's Foreign and Security Policy in Recent Academic Works of IR

Gerda Jakstaite Vytautas Magnus University

Ieva Karpavičiūtė Vytautas Magnus University

Exploring the International Dimensions of Legitimacy: A Case Study of Russia

Balki Begumhan Bayhan University College London

Resisting the West, Forging Regional Consensus: Russia's Discourse on Humanitarian Cooperation after the Crimean Referendum

Natalia Morozova National Research University Higher School of Economics, Nizhny Novgorod

In Between War and Peace: A Conceptualization of Russian Strategic Deterrence in the Shared Euro-Russian Neighborhood

Okke Geurt Lucassen Brussels School of International Studies, University of Kent

EU-Russian relations and the eastern enlargement: Integration or isolation?

Mukesh Shankar Bharti Jawaharlal Nehru University

Discussant: **Eric Shiraev**

George Mason University

TC5 **Tuesday** **14:30–16:15** **Room: 215**

Identity politics and societal cohesion in South Caucasus

Chair: **Shota Kakabadze**

University of Tartu

Identities – Emotions – Security and the 'In-between': Ontological security seeking and othering in the South Caucasus

Susanne Szkola University of Kent

Nationalization and De-securitization of Islam in Azerbaijan

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Accepting Alien Rule? State-Building Nationalism in Georgia's Azeri Borderland

Christofer Berglund Uppsala University

The Juxtaposition of Cultural Identity, Tourism Development, and Conservation Among the Svan in Upper Svaneti, Georgia

Sara Alexander Baylor University

Michael Long Baylor University

The lure of Alania: why Ossetian identity matters in the Georgia-Ossetia conflict

Adam Charles Lenton

The George Washington University

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University of California, Santa Cruz

TC6

Tuesday

14:30–16:15

Room: **305**

Cultural cleavages and nationalism in Central and Eastern Europe

Chair: **Maksim Alyukov**

University of Tyumen

New Iron Curtain? East European coalition against gender and ‘gay-Europe’

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University of Lodz

The “Endangered national identity” as a driver of anti-EU attitude in Poland

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University of Trento

A Poor Nation Looks at the Holocaust: The Micro-Macro Links in the Polish Historical Thinking

Kornelia Kończal

Hannah Arendt Institute for Totalitarianism
Studies at the TU Dresden

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TC7

Tuesday

14:30–16:15

Room: **306**

Europeanization and separatism in post-Soviet space

Chair: **Vassilis Petsinis**

University of Tartu

Russian ethnocentrism and moral-cultural defamation of Europe as subversion device to Russian minorities [in Ukraine]: A view through the PSYOPS glass

Nico T. L. Segers

Independent transatlantic security analyst

The foreign policy options of de facto states in the Black Sea region

Michael Eric Lambert

Black Sea Institute / Sorbonne University / INSEAD

„Make Alaska Russian again” - a case study of Russian nationalistic agenda after the annexation of Crimea

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Practical Information

List of suggested lunch options nearby

The places below offer daily lunch specials (päevapakkumine) on weekdays at favourable prices (generally 4–5 EUR for a meal) from 12.00 to 15.00. If time allows, you can also order from the menu, all restaurants have menus in English and English-speaking staff.

Werner Cafe, on the corner of Ülikooli and Lossi st (Ülikooli 11). Tartu's best-known cafe. Great selection of pastries, cakes and coffee on the first floor, a pleasant restaurant with an international menu on the second floor.

Umb Roht (Ülikooli 7), good restaurant in a quiet courtyard. Quality food, including vegetarian options.

Suudlevad Tudengid, on Town Hall Square (Raekoja plats 10). A variety of favorably priced daily specials.

Püssirohukelder (Gunpowder Cellar), half-way down Lossi st (Lossi 28). Hearty meals in a pub-style restaurant, located in a cavernous old gun powder cellar.

Chocolats de Pierre, on Town Hall Square (Raekoja plats 12). Tasty daily specials, cakes and chocolate.

Kohvipaus, on the corner of Rüütli and Kүүtri st (Rüütli 7). Good place for a quick salad, smoothie or pastry.

Polpo, on the ground floor of Hotel London (Rüütli 9). Slightly upscale, great food.

University Café, next to the University's main building (Ülikooli 20). More sophisticated than the name suggests, yet popular with students.

Restaurant München, on the corner of Ülikooli and Kүүtri st (Kүүtri 2). German cuisine.

Pahad Poisid pub, on the corner of Town Hall Square and Kүүni st (Kүүni 2). Good budget meals.

RP9 (Raekoja Plats 8), on Town Hall Square. Good pub-style meals.

Cafe Truffe, on Town Hall Square (Raekoja plats 16). Tasty food, pleasant cafe.

Meat Market, on the corner of Kүүtri and Rүүtli (Kүүtri 3). Steakhouse and more.

La Dolce Vita (Kompanii 10). Popular Italian restaurant with a long menu.

Hot Pot (Kүүtri 6) and Himaalaja Jutud (Kүүni 5b) serve Asian food.

Mobile phones and wi-fi

For roaming information, consult your local operator. Free wi-fi is available almost everywhere, so we recommend internet phone calls. In university buildings, ut-public is the main network.

Emergency numbers

112 to call the police, ambulance or rescue services

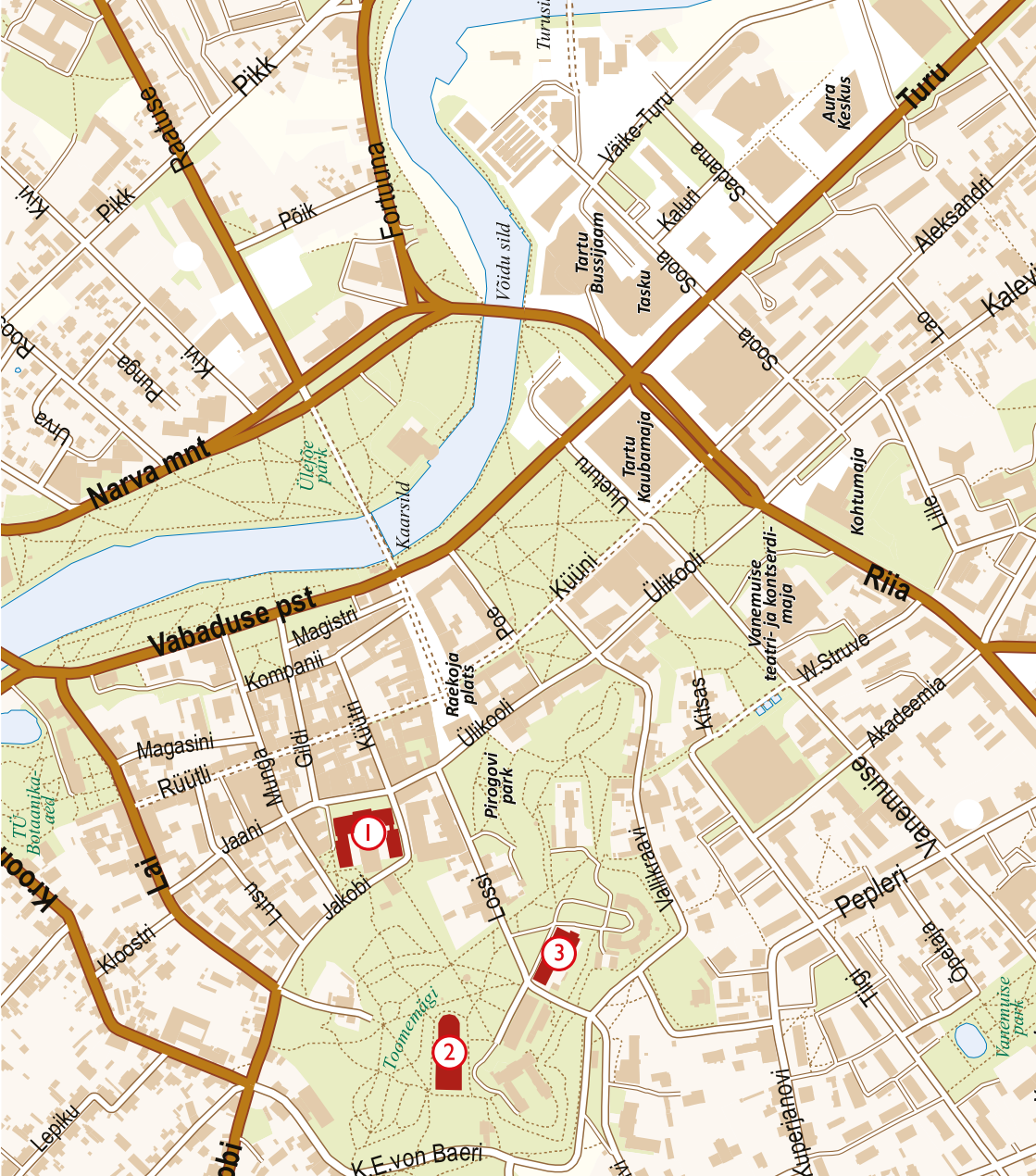
+372 514 7899 to contact the conference organisers

Taxi services in Tartu

Elektritakso +372 588 588 00 or 1918

Tartu Taksopark +372 7 300 200 or 1200

If you have a smartphone, you can also use apps like Uber or Taxify.



1. Main building of the University of Tartu, Ülikooli 18. Venue for registration, opening and the keynote address on 10 June and for the keynote address on 11 June.
2. Museum of the University of Tartu, Lossi 25. Venue for the reception on 10 June.
3. Faculty of Social Sciences, Lossi 36. Venue for registration and all panel sessions on 11–12 June.

Join us at the next

**Annual Tartu Conference
on Russian and East European Studies
on 9–11 June 2019
University of Tartu, Estonia**

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