## The Politics of Civilizations in Eurasian History

**Chair:** Mark Bassin  
Södertörn University, Stockholm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Room</th>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td><strong>The Limits of a Paradigm: Historians Look at Russia/USSR as Civilizations</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|      | Ronald Grigor Suny  
University of Michigan                                                  |          |
|      | 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 |          |

## Russia and the Future of International Order

**Chair:** Stefan Hedlund  
Uppsala University

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Room</th>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td><strong>Junior Partner?: Developing a Theory of Russia’s Decline in Eurasia</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|      | 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                                             |          |
### 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 Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University*

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

Rati Shubladze  
*Tbilisi State University / CRRC-Georgia*

David Sichinava  
*Tbilisi State University / CRRC-Georgia*

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

Meri Gavedava  
*Sokhumi State University*

Maia Manchkhashvili  
*Tbilisi State University*

**Discussant:** Michael Eric Lambert  
*Black Sea Institute / Sorbonne University / INSEAD*

### Grassroots politics and civil society under authoritarianism

**Chair:** Larisa Deriglazova  
*Tomsk State University*

**Sanctioned Activism: Civil Society in the Authoritarian Regime of Belarus**

Anastasiya Astapova  
*University of Tartu / Uppsala University*

Vasil Navumau  
*Uppsala University*

Ryhor Nizhnikau  
*Finnish Institute of International Affairs*

Leonid Polishchuk  
*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*
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

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 history reinterpretation and nation-building in Kazakhstan: fluctuating official historiography and popular narratives
Mukhtar Sengirbay
Suleyman Demirel University

Post-colonial aspect of the project of Kazakh language “latinization”
Gulnara Dabayeva
KIMEP University, Almaty

Discussant: Diana Shendrikova
University of Rome "La Sapienza"
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
Nargis Nurulla-Khozhaeva
Tajikistan National University
Munira Shahidi
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

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
Mārtiņš Hiršs
National Defence Academy of Latvia
Richard Martyn-Hempbill
Intersection Project

Identity and Ideology in the Politics of Civilizations

Chair: Mark Bassin
Södertörn University, Stockholm

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
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

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 Dekhtiarrenko
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
### Russia's post-Crimea foreign policy and the Trump factor

Chair: Sergei Akopov  
National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The impotence of moralism: Why sanctions against Russia did not and could not work</td>
<td>Stefan Hedlund</td>
<td>Uppsala University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brezhnevism, the use of force and contemporary limited sovereignty</td>
<td>Sean Morris</td>
<td>University of Helsinki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The impacts of Trump advent on the realization of a Russian desirable world order</td>
<td>Javad Keypour</td>
<td>Tallinn University of Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vlad Alex Vernygora</td>
<td>Tallinn University of Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia's Containment Strategy in the U.S. Foreign Policy during the Presidency of D. Trump and the Factor of Baltic States</td>
<td>Gerda Jakstaite</td>
<td>Vytautas Magnus University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussant:</td>
<td>Holger Mölder</td>
<td>Tallinn University of Technology</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Old and new approaches to studying identity narratives in Eastern Europe and Russia

Chair: Kristiina Silvan  
University of Helsinki

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Othering Russia: Georgia’s Self in the East-West nexus</td>
<td>Shota Kakabadze</td>
<td>University of Tartu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stigmatisation in Russian-Western relations and the politicisation of democracy in the post-Soviet space</td>
<td>Adrian Rogstad</td>
<td>London School of Economics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why study individual, non-elite narratives in international relations?</td>
<td>Maren Rohe</td>
<td>University of Birmingham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reconceptualizing political representation in Central and Eastern Europe: construction of (anti)political identity in Latvia</td>
<td>Leide Arnicāne</td>
<td>University of Tartu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussant:</td>
<td>Vasil Navumau</td>
<td>Uppsala University</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

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
Irmina 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
Nation-statehood and regional developments in the Russian Federation

Chair: Georgios E. Trantas
Aston University

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

Kalinigrad as a challenge to nation-state norms and to Russia
Ingmar Oldberg
Swedish Institute of International Affairs
Andrey Shcherbak
National Research University Higher School of Economics

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

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
Zakhar Ishov
University of Tübingen
### Varying perspectives on resilience

**Chair:** Elena Korosteleva  
**University of Kent**

#### The notion of resilience from the perspective of critical legal theory
- **Rafał Mańko**  
  **University of Amsterdam**
- **Adam Sulikowski**  
  **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  
  **University of Tartu / St. Petersburg State University**

---

### 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
- **Marelle Leppik**  
  **University of Tartu**
- **Marju Luts-Sootak**  
  **University of Tartu**
- **Hesi Siimets-Gross**  
  **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**

---

### 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 Ījabs**  
  **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
Ivar Hendla  Tallinn University of Technology
Javad Keypour  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 Academy

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
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

Featured roundtable: History of nation-statehood in Eastern Europe: new research agendas?
Chair: Viacheslav Morozov
University of Tartu

Roundtable participants:
Alexander Etkind
European University Institute
Róisín Healy
National University of Ireland Galway
Ivars Ījabs
University of Latvia
Dorota Kołodziejczyk
Wroclaw University

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

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
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

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
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

Poland’s Policy towards Russia in 2005-2007 under the Rule of Law and Justice Party: Attempts at Engagement
Marijuš Antonovič
Vilnius University

Polish-Ukrainian bilateral relations in the context of nationalism’s rise in both countries
Weronika Waclawska
University of Wroclaw

Europeanization and Its Discontents: Raison d’Etat and Historical Justice in Polish-Ukrainian Relations
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

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

Мiera/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 Herbet 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 verse)
Natalia Azarova
Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences

Discussant: Mariia Smirnova
Russian State University for the Humanities
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 Jíchová, University of Ostrava

Collective Betrayal: Sinophilia and Recalcitrant CEE
Pengfei Hou, University of St. Andrews
Discussant: Kristi Raik, International Centre for Defence and Security

Nation-Building and Political Imagination

Chair: Aaron T. Walter, University of Cyril & Methodius in Trnava

"Another hoax of the fasict 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 Putinaitė, Vilnius University
Discussant: Dorota Kołodziejczyk, Wrocław University
### Eastern Orthodoxy, National and State Identities

**Chair:** Jerry Pankhurst, Wittenberg University

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Holy and Great Council: Negotiating National and State Identities, Church Unity, and Pan-Orthodoxy</td>
<td>Frances Kostarellos</td>
<td>Governors State University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthodoxy as a Common Denominator of Identity between Diasporas: The Case of Greek Americans and Greeks in Germany</td>
<td>Eleni Tseligka</td>
<td>Staffordshire University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Orthodox Church in the Czech Republic and Slovakia: Ambivalence and Ambiguity of its Historical Role</td>
<td>Frank Cibulka</td>
<td>Zayed University, Abu Dhabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussant: Mikhail Antonov</td>
<td>National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Societal transformations: from Soviet to post-Soviet

**Chair:** Teemu Tapani Oivo, University of Eastern Finland

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes to the Use of Natural Resources and Ecology in the USSR</td>
<td>Alexander Tolstykh</td>
<td>Independent scholar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultivating new moralities: the construction of alternative moral standards in the Ukrainian healthcare sector - from universities to hospitals</td>
<td>Abel Polese</td>
<td>Tallinn University of Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tatiana Stepurko</td>
<td>Kiev Mohyla Academy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Representations of Foster Parenting in the context of Child Welfare Reform in Contemporary Russia</td>
<td>Larisa Shpakovskaya</td>
<td>National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-born individuals in the Russian labour market: does ethnicity matter?</td>
<td>Evgeniya Polyakova</td>
<td>National Research University Higher School of Economics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Larisa Smirnykh</td>
<td>National Research University Higher School of Economics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynamics of media system in post-Soviet Turkmenistan</td>
<td>Oguljamal Yazliyeva</td>
<td>Charles University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussant: Tatsiana Chulitskaya</td>
<td>European Humanities University</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shaping the Ukrainian National Identity in Conditions of the Armed Conflict in Donbas</td>
<td>Elzbieta Olzacka</td>
<td>Jagiellonian University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kırımli Community in Lviv: a New Home or a Permanent Shelter?</td>
<td>Nataliya Shalenna</td>
<td>Ivan Franko National University of Lviv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belarus at a Crossroads: Will the Russia-Ukraine War Make or Break It?</td>
<td>Aemin Becker</td>
<td>University of New Haven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For a Stronger Rule of Law in Europe: Holding Russia’s Judges and Public Prosecutors to Account</td>
<td>Steffanie Lemke</td>
<td>European Commission / Maastricht University / Netherlands Helsinki Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussant: Eske Van Gils</td>
<td></td>
<td>University of Kent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nationalities Policy in the USSR: Explaining the ‘The Pendulum Swing’ by Randall Collins’ Geopolitical Theory</td>
<td>Andrey Shcherbak</td>
<td>National Research University Higher School of Economics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who secedes and who succeeds? Disputing the uniqueness of 20th century Russian secessionism</td>
<td>Joseph Varuolo</td>
<td>Air University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine between East and West: Ideological Landmarks of Ukrainian Cultural Revival 1920s-1930s (Nowadays Perception)</td>
<td>Galina Babak</td>
<td>Queen Mary University of London / Charles University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussant: Róisín Healy</td>
<td></td>
<td>National University of Ireland Galway</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TB8 Tuesday 11:15-13:00 Room: 307

**Political imagination and nation-building in Russia**

**Chair:** Gulnara Dadabayeva  
KIMEP University, Almaty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Russia’s Thousand-Year-Old History”: The Claim for a Past in Contemporary Russian Conservatism</td>
<td>Kåre Johan Mjør</td>
<td>Uppsala University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The perception of ‘Russianness’ among Russian students</td>
<td>Larisa Deriglazova</td>
<td>Tomsk State University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nation building, The novel and Propaganda. The Case of Aleksandr Prokhanov’s Recent Prose</td>
<td>Erik Vlaeminck</td>
<td>University of Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memory, Ideology, and Identity: Eurasia and the former Soviet Union</td>
<td>Justin Tomczyk</td>
<td>University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign / Russian Armenian Slavonic University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussant: Francisco Martinez</td>
<td></td>
<td>University of Helsinki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 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

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

Ellu Saar  
Tallinn University

Tõnis Saarts  
Tallinn University

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

Oleksiy Polegkyi  
Antwerp University

**Discussant:** Piret Ehin  
University of Tartu
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

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
### TC 5  
**Tuesday 14:30-16:15  
Room: 215**

**Identity politics and societal cohesion in South Caucasus**

**Chair:** Shota Kakabadze  
*University of Tartu*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Identities – Emotions – Security and the ‘In-between’: Ontological security seeking and othering in the South Caucasus</td>
<td>Susanne Szkola</td>
<td>University of Kent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalization and De-securitization of Islam in Azerbaijan</td>
<td>Sofie Bedford</td>
<td>Uppsala University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accepting Alien Rule? State-Building Nationalism in Georgia’s Azeri Borderland</td>
<td>Christofer Berglund</td>
<td>Uppsala University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Juxtaposition of Cultural Identity, Tourism Development, and Conservation Among the Svan in Upper Svaneti, Georgia</td>
<td>Sara Alexander, Michael Long</td>
<td>Baylor University</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Discussant:** Maxim Tabachnik  
*University of California, Santa Cruz*

### TC 6  
**Tuesday 14:30-16:15  
Room: 305**

**Cultural cleavages and nationalism in Central and Eastern Europe**

**Chair:** Maksim Alyukov  
*University of Tyumen*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Iron Curtain? East European coalition against gender and ‘gay-Europe’</td>
<td>Iza Desperak</td>
<td>University of Lodz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The “Endangered national identity” as a driver of anti-EU attitude in Poland</td>
<td>Adriana Cuppuleri</td>
<td>University of Trento</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Invention of the “Cursed Soldiers” and its Opponents: Post-war Partisan Struggle in Contemporary Poland</td>
<td>Kornelia Kończal, Nerija Putinaitė</td>
<td>Hannah Arendt Institute for Totalitarianism Studies at the TU Dresden, Vilnius University</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Discussant:** Nerija Putinaitė  
*Vilnius University*

### TC 7  
**Tuesday 14:30-16:15  
Room: 306**

**Europeanization and separatism in post-Soviet space**

**Chair:** Vassilis Petsinis  
*University of Tartu*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russian ethnocentrism and moral-cultural defamation of Europe as subversion device to Russian minorities [in Ukraine]: A view through the PSYOPS glass</td>
<td>Nico T. L. Segers</td>
<td>Independent transatlantic security analyst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The foreign policy options of de facto states in the Black Sea region</td>
<td>Michael Eric Lambert</td>
<td>Black Sea Institute / Sorbonne University / INSEAD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>„Make Alaska Russian again“ - a case study of Russian nationalistic agenda after the annexation of Crimea</td>
<td>Kacper Dziekan</td>
<td>European Solidarity Centre / Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Page 20 of 20