## The Politics of Civilizations in Eurasian History

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

### MA1 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 214

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<tr>
<th>Session</th>
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<tr>
<td>The Limits of a Paradigm: Historians Look at Russia/USSR as Civilizations</td>
<td>Ronald Grigor Suny</td>
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<td>Zacharias Topelius’ Travel in Finland (1874): A Nation between Civilizations in Eurasian Space</td>
<td>Sanna Turoma</td>
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<td>Russian Law and the Politics of Civilization</td>
<td>Tatiana Borisova</td>
<td>National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg</td>
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### MA2 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 215

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<th>Session</th>
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<tr>
<td>Russia and the Future of International Order</td>
<td>Stefan Hedlund</td>
<td>Uppsala University</td>
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<td>Junior Partner?: Developing a Theory of Russia’s Decline in Eurasia</td>
<td>Camille Merlen</td>
<td>University of Kent</td>
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<td>Zachary Paikin</td>
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<td>Kaneshko Sangar</td>
<td>Kaneshko Sangar</td>
<td>University College London</td>
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<td>Russia and the European Security Order Revisited: From Vienna to Paris and Beyond</td>
<td>Tuomas Forsberg</td>
<td>University of Tampere</td>
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<td>Russia’s ‘Strategic Narratives’: The Case of the Arab Spring</td>
<td>Derek Averre</td>
<td>University of Birmingham</td>
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<td>Russia and the Liberal World Order: Beyond Binarism</td>
<td>Camille Merlen</td>
<td>University of Kent</td>
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<td>Discussant: Tatiana Romanova</td>
<td>St. Petesburg State University</td>
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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 Javakhishvili 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 Gbedava
Sokhumi State University
Maia Manchkhashvili
Tbilisi State University

Discussant: TBA

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: Anna Sorokina
National Research University Higher School 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 Aalto University

Orientationalizing 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: TBA

Nation-building in Central Asia

Chair: TBA

Nations between pre-state legacies and nation-state national stories: Nation-building feature in post-soviet Central Asia
Arzuu Sheranova Corvinus University of Budapest

Sona Apbasova Catholic University Eichstätt-Ingolstadt

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 Sengirbay Suleyman Demirel University

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

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

Chair: Montu 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

Let's look at the big picture: Central Asia as a polity
Alisher Faizullaev
University of World Economy and Diplomacy, Uzbekistan

Culture of security: original and established in the case of Tajikistan
Nargis Nurulla-Khozhaeva
Tajikistan National University
Munira Shahidi
Tajikistan National University

Discussant: TBA

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
Indra Ekmanis
The Wilson Center
Liis Jõhvik
Tallinn University
Richard Martyn-Hempbill
Intersection Project

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

**Chair:** Michael Loader  
Uppsala University

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<td>Censoring the Obscene: Pornography and the Police in Late Imperial Russia</td>
<td>Siobhan Hearne</td>
<td>University of Latvia</td>
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<td>Censoring the Periphery: Photography, Pornography, and the Criminal Case of Iosif A. Schneider</td>
<td>Jessica Werneke</td>
<td>Loughborough University</td>
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<td>Can There Be Love at My Age? Teenagers Respond to the Late Soviet Morality Campaign</td>
<td>Alissa Klots</td>
<td>European University at St. Petersburg</td>
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<td>“Born This Way”? Framing of Homosexuality in the Russian Orthodox Church</td>
<td>Caroline Campbell Hill</td>
<td>University of Innsbruck</td>
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### Challenges for regional security and capacity-building in the eastern region and Central Asia (II): an international perspective

**Chair:** Elena Korosteleva  
University of Kent

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<td>Economic globalisation and structural reform challenges in Central Asia: A comparative analysis with the Latin American experiences</td>
<td>Oybek Madiyev</td>
<td>University of Kent</td>
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<td>Belarus: A strategic hedger amid black-and-white geopolitics</td>
<td>Yauheni Preiherman</td>
<td>University of Warwick</td>
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<td>Eurasian Economic Union: Integration or imitation</td>
<td>Roza Turarbekava</td>
<td>Belarusian State University</td>
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<td>International cooperation and domestic legitimacy in Azerbaijan</td>
<td>Eske Van Gils</td>
<td>University of Kent</td>
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**Discussant:** TBA
Russia’s post-Crimea foreign policy and the Trump factor

Chair: TBA

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

Reset or restart? The US stance toward Russia under Trump
Gabriele Natalizia
University of Rome
Marco Valigi
University of Bologna

The impacts of Trump advent on the realization of a Russian desirable world order
Javad Keypour
Tallinn University of Technology
Vlad Alex Vernojgora
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: TBA

Old and new approaches to studying identity narratives in Eastern Europe and Russia
Chair: Sofie Bedford
Uppsala University

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 Arnicāne
University of Tartu

Discussant: Vasil Navumau
Uppsala University
## Eurasian integration and its effects

**Chair:** TBA

**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

**Shaping of symbolic system of the Eurasian Economic Union**

Yulia Ten  
Russian Customs Academy

**Discussant:** TBA

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## Regime evolution and social change

**Chair:** TBA

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

Alo Raun  
Tallinn University

**Nation-State Building and Ethnicity in Eurasia: Challenges for Democracy**

Zahra Atri Sangari  
Middle Eastern Studies Researcher at the Institute for Iran-Eurasia Studies: (IRAS), Tehran, Iran

Fatemeh Atri Sangari  
Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Iran-Eurasia Studies: (IRAS), Tehran, Iran

**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:  TBA

Russian Political Regime Change and Strategies of Diversity Management: From a Multinational Federation towards a Nation-State
Konstantin Zamyatin  
University of Helsinki

Political Strategies of Transfers Redistribution in Russian Regions
Valeriia Kamolikova  
National Research University Higher School of Economics

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

Kalinkingrad as a challenge to nation-state norms and to Russia
Ingmar Oldberg  
Swedish Institute of International Affairs

Discussant:  TBA

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
Valeria Kasamara  
National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow
Vladimir Magun  
Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences
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**  
*Maria 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*

### 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*

**Legal regulation of electronic communication technologies: Is it resilient enough?**  
*Dominik Górka*  
*University of Wrocław*

**(Re-)imagining poverty: The limits of Western discourses on resilience**  
*Julian Reid*  
*University of Lapland*

**Resilience of corruption in Russia**  
*Tatiana Borisova*  
*National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg*

**Elena Pavlova**  
*St. Petersburg State University*

**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:  TBA

Basic Rights in Estonian Constitution (1920) between Russian Tradition and German Innovation
Marelle Leppik  University of Tartu
Marju Luts-Sootak  University of Tartu
Hesi Simets-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:  TBA

MC5  Monday  14:30-16:15  Room: 215

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

Chair:  TBA

"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

Nation-statehood and minority issues in interwar Yugoslavia: the case of non-Slavic Muslims
Klara Volaric  Loughborough University, UK

Accountability for Communist Crimes Post-1989 in the Light of Polish Law
Valeri Vachev  University of Warsaw

Discussant:  TBA
Russia and its neighbours: interests, instruments and threats
Chair: TBA

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: TBA

Nation-statehood in the Western Balkans
Chair: Blerim Haxhiaj

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

Role of Historical Legacy in the Western Balkans Democratic Transition Process. The Case of Albania, 1991-2016
Liana Suleymanova  Diplomatic Academy of Vienna

Borders still (un)defined in the Western Balkans: a source of instability
Teresa Gomes  University of Porto

Construction of Kosovar Identity after 17 February 2008
Elmaze Nura  Prishtina University "Hasan Prishtina"

Discussant: James Headley  University of Otago
Between Integration and National Sovereignty: The CMEA and Intrabloc Relations

Chair: TBA

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

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
Information Warfare and Pax Russica

Chair: Holger Mölder

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: TBA

Institutions, values and cleavages in the post-socialist world

Chair: TBA

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

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

Question of Ukrainian Self-Identification after 1991: Identities, Sub-Identities or Values?
Ildar Daminov
Diplomatic Academy of Vienna

Explaining the ideological divide: basic personal values predict political and ideological orientation
Martin Konstantinov
Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

Attitudes towards pro-market values and education: searching for a universal effect
Maksym Bryukhanov
National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow

Discussant: Kornelia Kończal
Hannah Arendt Institute for Totalitarianism Studies at the TU Dresden
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<td><strong>Negotiating Europe’s past: the Shoah within European identity</strong></td>
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<td>Stefan van der Poel</td>
<td>University of Groningen</td>
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<td><strong>Breathing with both lungs: the relocation plan as a European solidarity crisis</strong></td>
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<td>Guido van Hengel</td>
<td>The Hague University of Applied Sciences</td>
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<td><strong>Solidarity, peace and the space between nations: 1918, 1945, 2018</strong></td>
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<td>Siobhan Kattago</td>
<td>University of Tartu</td>
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<td><strong>The Problem of a National Elite: 100 Years of Baltic Memory &amp; Forgetting in Estonia</strong></td>
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<td>David Ilmar Beecher</td>
<td>UC Berkeley</td>
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<td><strong>Discussant:</strong> Hans van Koningsbrugge</td>
<td>University of Groningen</td>
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<td><strong>Poland and its neighbours</strong></td>
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<td><strong>From Intermarium to the Three Seas Initiatives - Regional Integration in Central and Eastern Europe and the Challenges of the Hungarian Foreign Policy</strong></td>
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<td>Andrea Schmidt</td>
<td>University of Pecs</td>
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<td><strong>Poland’s Policy towards Russia in 2005-2007 under the Rule of Law and Justice Party: Attempts at Engagement</strong></td>
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<td>Marijuš Antonovič</td>
<td>Vilnius University</td>
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<td><strong>Polish-Ukrainian bilateral relations in the context of nationalism’s rise in both countries</strong></td>
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<td>Weronika Waclawska</td>
<td>University of Wroclaw</td>
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<td><strong>Europeization and Its Discontents: Raison d’Etat and Historical Justice in Polish-Ukrainian Relations</strong></td>
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<td>Molly O’Neal</td>
<td>Baylor University</td>
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<td><strong>Polish-Russian Disputes over History as an Important Factor in Their Mutual Relations</strong></td>
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<td>Przemysław Furgacz</td>
<td>College of Business and Entrepreneurship in Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, Poland</td>
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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 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 verce)
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: TBA

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: TBA
The evolution of nation-statehood in Central and Eastern Europe after WWI

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

Late Arrivals: Polish Avant-Gardism And the Rise of the Nation-state, 1919-1939
George Gasyna
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Ukrainian "National Building" as a Cultural Project: between imperialism and totalitarianism of the 20th century
Olena Haleta
Ivan Franko National University of Lviv

Securitizing the nation: The nexus between identity and national security in the post-Soviet space
Lisa Haeusermann
University of St. Gallen

Post-Soviet Nationhood: Cultural Ritualisation vs. Political Innovation
Nerija Putinaite
Vilnius University

Discussant: TBA

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

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

**Chair:** TBA

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<td><strong>Cultivating new moralities: the construction of alternative moral standards in the Ukrainian healthcare sector - from universities to hospitals</strong></td>
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### Disintegration of the USSR and Yugoslavia and their Legacies in Successor States

**Chair:** TBA

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Russia between East and West

Chair: TBA

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

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

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Aziz Elmuradov
University of Bielefeld

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Chair: TBA

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Elzbieta Olzacka
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Kırımli Community in Lviv: a New Home or a Permanent Shelter?
Nataliya Shalenna
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Belarus at a Crossroads: Will the Russia-Ukraine War Make or Break It?
Aemin Becker
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Olenna Lennon
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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

The European radical right and Russia
Jose Pedro Zuquete
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Discussant: Filip Milacic
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Competing ideas and practices of nation-statehood in the Soviet Union

Chair: TBA

Nationalities Policy in the USSR: Explaining the ‘The Pendulum Swing’ by Randall Collins’ Geopolitical Theory
Andrey Shcherbak
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Towards the Post-Imperial Order? The Development of the Ideas of Nation-State During the Crisis of Russian and Soviet Empires
Aleksandr Korobeinikov
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Margaret Pavlova
National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg

An imperial crisis and a nation-state dilemma. Moscow’s nationalities policies 1990-1993
Carolina de Stefano
Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna / National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow

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

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Political imagination and nation-building in Russia

Chair: TBA

“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

National myths in Russian Loesje posters
Joanna Łaszcz
University of Gdansk

Memory, Ideology, and Identity: Eurasia and the former Soviet Union
Justin Tomczyk
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign / Russian Armenian Slavonic University

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Selfhood and otherness in Russian and Soviet culture

Chair: TBA

Samoyeds of the Novaya Zemlya: evolution of identification practices in ethnography, literature and art (XIX - XX centuries)

Natalia Gramatchikova Institute of History and Archeology, the Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences

"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

"Black Like Me", Red Like Us: John Howard Griffin in the Context of Soviet Anti-Racism and Anti-Americanism in 1960s

Aleksandr Grishin European University at St. Petersburg

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Nationalism and democracy in Central and Eastern Europe

Chair: TBA

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

Back to Competitive Authoritarianism? Democratic Backsliding in Vucic’s Serbia

Antonino Castaldo University of Lisbon

The challenges of democratic consolidation: Yugoslav lessons for Ukraine

Filip Milacic University of Rijeka

Ivan Vukovic University of Montenegro

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

Oleksiy Polegkyi Antwerp University

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# 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:** TBA
TC5  Tuesday  14:30-16:15  Room: 215

Identity politics and societal cohesion in South Caucasus

Chair:  TBA

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
Sofie Bedford  Uppsala University

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

Discussant:  Maxim Tabachnik  University of California, Santa Cruz

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Cultural cleavages and nationalism in Central and Eastern Europe

Chair:  TBA

New Iron Curtain? East European coalition against gender and ‘gay-Europe’
Iza Desperak  University of Lodz

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

A Poor Nation Looks at the Holocaust: The Micro-Macro Links in the Polish Historical Thinking
Kornelia Kojczał  Hannah Arendt Institute for Totalitarianism Studies at the TU Dresden

Silesian Autonomy Movement and the new cultural cleavage in Poland
Magdalena Solska  University of Fribourg

The Far Right and the Internet in the Baltics: The Structure of Far Right Online Networks and Discourses on European Integration
Christian Pipal  NEOS Lab / University of Vienna
Eglė Žemaitytė  Kaunas University of Technology
Eva Maria Zierschitz  University of Vienna

Discussant:  TBA
Europeanization and separatism in post-Soviet space

Chair: TBA

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

Nico Seger
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**

Kacper Dziekan
European Solidarity Centre / Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan

**European identity on the frontline: the case of Abkhazia**

Sophie Clamadieu
Black Sea Institute / Panthéon Assas University

Discussant: Barbara Anna Bernsmeier
EU-Russia Civil Society Forum e.V. / MitOst e.V.

Identity and nationalism in Central and Eastern Europe

Chair: TBA

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

Aleksei Popov
South Ural State University, Chelyabinsk

**Flower-power and nationalism: the unique case of a state-directed counterculture. Cenaclul Flacara and Romania**

Adrian-George Matus
European University Institute

**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: TBA