



SECOND ANNUAL TARTU CONFERENCE ON RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

The Russian Revolution and Its Legacies:
Taking Stock a Century Later

4–6 June 2017

University of Tartu, Estonia

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A Word from the Programme Committee

When the idea of a new annual forum on Russian and East European studies was discussed in the framework of the UPTAKE consortium a few years ago, 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. With just a few days to go before the opening of the Second Tartu Conference, there are good reasons to believe that this vision has become reality.

We initiated this project with the firm belief that Tartu offers an excellent location for a productive dialogue among scholars across multiple disciplines, from the region and beyond. We have been excited to learn that this belief is shared by a vast number of our colleagues. The number of submissions this year remained roughly the same as in 2016, which is to say it stayed at a very high level. The quality, in our subjective estimation, has improved even further, making the Programme Committee's job even tougher.

As a result of rigorous selection, we have been able to put together a programme that is both broad in terms of disciplinary diversity and coherent in the sense that papers on each panel seems to be talking to each other. The legacies and historical significance of the Russian revolution serve as a starting point for a wide variety of academic debates, which will undoubtedly have a wider social significance.

We would like to thank all participants for their hard academic work, which resulted in such a great collection of panels. 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 offer their own perspectives on 1917 and its contemporary meaning for Russia, Eastern Europe and the entire world. Last but not least, we would like to express our appreciation of the generous support provided by the European Commission's H2020 Twinning Programme.

It has been a wonderful and thoroughly enjoyable experience working on the programme with such a professional and diverse scholarly crowd. We look forward to the several days of intense discussions. We are also happy to announce that the Third Annual Tartu Conference on Russian and East European Studies will take place in June 2018. We hope all participants will return home with valuable feedback, new research ideas and the desire to come to Tartu again in a year's time.

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 Centre for Russian and Eurasian Studies (UCRS)* 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

Ronald Grigor Suny is William H. Sewell Distinguished University Professor of History at the University of Michigan; Emeritus Professor of Political Science and History at the University of Chicago; and Senior Researcher at the Higher School of Economics, National Research University, St. Petersburg, Russia. He is author of *The Baku Commune, 1917-1918*; *The Making of the Georgian Nation*; *Looking Toward Ararat: Armenia in Modern History*; *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union*; *The Soviet Experiment: Russia, the USSR, and the Successor States*; *“They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else”: A History of the Armenian Genocide*; co-author of *Russia’s Empires*; and co-editor of *A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire*.

Mark Kramer is Director of the Cold War studies program at Harvard University and a senior fellow of Harvard’s Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies. He has taught at Harvard, Yale, and Brown Universities and was formerly an Academy Scholar in Harvard’s Academy of International and Area Studies and a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University. Kramer is the author or editor of several books and has written nearly 200 articles on a variety of topics. He has worked extensively in newly opened archives in all the former Warsaw Pact countries and several Western countries. He has been a consultant for numerous government agencies and international organizations.

Lauri Mälksoo is Professor of International Law and Head of the Department of Public Law at the University of Tartu, Estonia. He received his PhD (dr. iur) from Humboldt University Berlin (2002) and he has held visiting researcher positions at New York University (2004-2005, 2013-2014) and Tokyo University (2006-2007). Prof Mälksoo has published on the history and theory of international law and on the understanding of international law in Russia. He is the author of *Russian Approaches to International Law* (Oxford University Press, 2015), a monograph for which he received Honorable Mention of the Marshall Shulman Book Prize from ASEES (2016). Prof Mälksoo is also the Chairman of the Estonian Foreign Policy Institute and member of the Estonian Academy of Sciences. He is the recipient of the Estonian National Science Award in social sciences (2017).

Richard Sakwa is Professor of Russian and European Politics at the University of Kent at Canterbury and an Associate Fellow of the Russia and Eurasia Programme at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House. After graduating in History from the London School of Economics, he took a PhD from the Centre for Russian and East European Studies at the University of Birmingham. He held lectureships at the Universities of Essex and California, Santa Cruz, before joining the University of Kent in 1987. He has published widely on Soviet, Russian and post-communist affairs. Books include *Communism in Russia: An Interpretative Essay*, published by Palgrave Macmillan in 2010 (with a Russian version published

by Rosspen in 2011), *The Crisis of Russian Democracy: The Dual State, Factionalism and the Medvedev Succession* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), *Putin and the Oligarch: The Khodorkovsky - Yukos Affair* (London and New York, I. B. Tauris, 2014) and *Putin Redux: Power and Contradiction in Contemporary Russia* (London and New York, Routledge, 2014). His latest book is *Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands*, an extended paperback version of which was published by I. B. Tauris in 2016. He is currently working on *Russia against the Rest: Pluralism and the Post-Cold War International System* (contracted for Cambridge University Press).

Madina Tlostanova is professor of postcolonial feminism at the Department of Thematic Studies (Gender studies) at Linköping University (Sweden). Previously, she was professor of philosophy at the Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (2012-2015), professor of history of philosophy, comparative political science and cultural studies at the People's Friendship University of Russia (2004-2012) and senior researcher at Gorky Institute of World Literature, Russian Academy of Sciences (1997-2003). She focuses on decolonial/postcolonial theory, postsocialist studies, non-Western feminisms, contemporary art and fiction. Her recent books include *Gender Epistemologies and Eurasian Borderlands* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), *Learning to Unlearn: Decolonial Reflection from Eurasia and the Americas* (co-authored with Walter D. Mignolo, Ohio State University Press, 2012) and the forthcoming *Postcolonialism and Postsocialism in Fiction and Art: Resistance and Re-existence* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

General Programme

Sunday, 4 June

- 17:00–19:30 **Registration**
Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Jakobi 2 lobby
- 18:30–20:15 **Official opening and keynote speech**
Ring Auditorium, Jakobi 2–226
- Keynote speech**
Prof Ronald Grigor Suny, University of Michigan
- Lessons of October:*
The Fate of Democracy and Socialism in the Age of
Revolution and Counter-Revolution
- 20:30–22:00 **Reception**
White Hall of the University History Museum, Lossi 25

Monday, 5 June

- 8:30–18:00 **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 35 for suggested lunch options
- 14:30–14:40 **Buses depart for the Estonian National Museum**
- Bus stop at Vabaduse puistee, see the map on the in-*
side back cover

- 15:00–21:00 **Afternoon programme**
Estonian National Museum, Muuseumi tee 2
- 15:15–17:00 **Plenary roundtable**
Soviet Legacies and De-Sovietization in Russia and Eastern Europe
Mark Kramer, Harvard University
Richard Sakwa, University of Kent
Madina Tlostanova, Linköping University
Lauri Mälksoo, University of Tartu
- 17:00–18:15 **Guided tours** at the museum
- 18:30–21:00 **Reception**
- 20:30–21:00 **Buses** depart for the city centre

Tuesday, 6 June

- 9:00–10:45 **Third panel session**
Lossi 36
- 10:45–11:00 Coffee break
- 11:00–12:45 **Fourth panel session**
Lossi 36
- 12:45–14:00 Lunch break
See p 35 for suggested lunch options
- 14:00–15:45 **Fifth panel session**
Lossi 36
- 15:45–16:00 Coffee break
- 16:00–17:45 **Sixth panel session**
Lossi 36

Schedule of panel sessions

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

Monday, 5 June

Panel session 1

MA1	Monday	9:00-10:45	Room: 204
Russian Revolution and its Legacies in Socio-Religious Transformations and Anti-Colonial Struggles			
Chair: Archana Upadhyay Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi			
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The Conflict of Religious and Political Values in Crimea			
Tatiana Senyushkina Crimean Federal V. I. Vernadsky University			
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The Russian Revolution and its Impact on the Indian Freedom Movement			
Archana Upadhyay Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi			
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Changing Dimensions of Religious Revival and its Impact on Cultural Diversity			
Preeti D. Das Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi			
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Freedom and Lack of Freedom of Association in Contemporary Slovakia			
Martina Gajdošová Trnava University in Trnava			
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The Prague Spring of 1968 and Its Impact on Religious Life and State-Church Relations in Czechoslovakia			
Michaela Moravčíková Trnava University in Trnava			
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Discussant: Mark Kramer Harvard University			
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MA2	Monday	9:00-10:45	Room: 215
A Multidisciplinary Account of Protest and Dissent in Contemporary Russia			
Chair: Heiko Pleines University of Bremen			
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Against the stream: political opposition in the Russian regions during the electoral cycle 2012-2016			
Andrei Semenov Perm State University			
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**From a nation-wide protest movement to local activist initiatives:
the recent evolution of activism in Russia**

Natalia Savelieva

European University at St. Petersburg

Oleg Zhuravlev

Public Sociology Laboratory, St. Petersburg

Svetlana Yerpyleva

European University at St. Petersburg

**Comparing regional development paths of protest in electoral authoritarianism.
The case of Russia 2011-2016**

Jan Matti Dollbaum

University of Bremen

Discussant: **Christian Fröhlich**

National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow

MA3

Monday

9:00-10:45

Room: **214**

Russian Diasporas

Chair: **Aaron T. Walter**

University of Ss. Cyril & Methodius in Trnava

**The narratives of place in the post-Soviet borderlands: The experiences of Russian
speakers in Kazakhstan**

Alina Jasina

Justus Liebig University of Giessen

Drivers and impediments to inter-ethnic cultural convergence in Estonia

Leonid Polishchuk

Uppsala University

Piret Ehin

University of Tartu

Ryhor Nizhnikau

Finnish Institute of International Affairs

Alexander Rubin

National Research University Higher School of
Economics, Moscow

**Russkiy Mir: The political mobilization of Russian diasporas and Russian-language
speakers abroad**

Moritz Pieper

University of Salford

**Humour as a tool for strategic communication on Russian TV. A case study of New
Year's Eve entertainment shows on Russian Television**

Sigita Struberga

University of Latvia

Discussant: **Ieva Berzina**

National Defence Academy of Latvia

MA4	Monday	9:00-10:45	Room: 305
Revisiting the Year 1917 and Its Conceptual and Aesthetic Legacies via Music and Literature			
Chair: Sanna Turoma			
University of Helsinki			
The History, Formation and Legacies of the Soviet Cultural Theory of Music after 1917			
Elina Viljanen		University of Helsinki	
The Continuum of Institutional and Cultural Policy Practices from Soviet Music to Putin's Russia			
Meri Herrala		University of Helsinki	
Pre- and Post-revolutionary Roots of Post-Stalinist Literary Politics			
Susan Ikonen		University of Helsinki	
Discussant: Oksana Golovashina			
G.R. Derzhavin Tambov State University			

MA5	Monday	9:00-10:45	Room: 307
(Post-)Soviet Borderlands from the Postcolonial Perspective I			
Chair: Benedikts Kalnačs			
University of Latvia			
Why Soviet (post)colonialism? A View from the Baltic Borderlands			
Epp Annus		Estonian Literary Museum / Ohio State University	
Colonialism and Collaboration in Lithuania during WWII			
Violeta Davoliūtė		Vilnius University / Lithuanian Culture Research Institute in Vilnius	
(Post)colonial Agency in post-Soviet Estonian Life Stories			
Tiina Ann Kirss		University of Tartu	
Decolonization of Urban Space: Postcolonial Africa and post-Soviet Eastern Europe			
Rasa Balockaite		Vytautas Magnus University	
Discussant: Oleksiy Polegkyi			
National Chengchi University, Taiwan / University of Antwerp			

MA6	Monday	9:00-10:45	Room: 207
Recent Trends in Contemporary Russian Fiction			
Chair: Marja Sorvari			
University of Eastern Finland			
The Pleasure of Translingual Punning and Other Homage to Nabokov in Grushin's The Dream Life of Sukhanov			
Julie Hansen		Uppsala University	
What Would Have Happened if...: The Revolution of 1917 and the Genre of Alternative History			
Sofya Khagi		University of Michigan	
The Futility of an Individual Utopia in Vladimir Sorokin's Telluria			
Mattias Ågren		Uppsala University	
The Image of Power in Russian Women's Fiction			
Elena Pavlova		University of Tartu	
Roman Voitehhovitš		University of Tartu	
Discussant: Adrian Wanner			
Pennsylvania State University			

MA7	Monday	9:00-10:45	Room: 306
Russian Security Policy I			
Chair: Igor Torbakov			
Uppsala University			
Russia in the Caucasus			
Neil MacFarlane		University of Oxford	
Are the Pillars of Kadyrov's Rule over Chechnya Eroding?			
Jakob Tolstrup		Aarhus University	
Emil Souleimanov		Charles University	
Speaking Truth to Power? The Russian Arms Control Expert Community			
Alexander Graef		University of St. Gallen / National Research University Higher School of Economics	
Discussant: Bettina Renz			
University of Nottingham			

Panel session 2

MB1	Monday	11:15-13:00	Room: 204
Change and Continuity: The Idea of Modern Society After the October Revolution			
Chair: Sofie Bedford			
Uppsala University			
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Making Women 'Modern': the Impact of 1917			
Melanie Ilic	University of Gloucestershire		
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Administrative modernisation and the question of public order in Soviet Russia and Finland 1917-1932			
Ira Jänis-Isokangas	University of Helsinki		
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Technology and the Idea of the Modern Soviet-Russia after 1917			
Sari Autio-Sarasma	University of Helsinki		
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"War is the Health of the State": World War I and Contextualizing the Red October			
Andrei Znamenski	University of Memphis		
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Discussant: Sanna Turoma			
University of Helsinki			
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MB2	Monday	11:15-13:00	Room: 305
UT Student Panel: Legacies of the Past and Current Political Struggles			
Chair: Peter Tuka			
Glasgow Museums			
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Re-Interpretation of Russian Formalism Ideas in Current Deconstructivist Architecture			
Kristina Ivakhnenkova	University of Tartu		
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Saving Compatriots: Geopolitical Imaginary, Representations of the Self and Others in Russian Discourse on the Annexation of Crimea			
Xuan Hung Le	University of Tartu		
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Informing without Information: Russia's Elite-Level Strategic Communication on Twitter			
George Terry	University of Tartu		
Volha Damarad	University of Tartu		
Zumrud Pashayeva	University of Tartu		
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International Media Agenda and Framing of the ‘EU’: Case Study of ‘Brexit’ as Represented in Online International News Media

Heidi Erbsen

University of Tartu

Discussant: **Richard Sakwa**

University of Kent

MB3 **Monday** **11:15-13:00** Room: **214**

From 1917 to 2017: Russia’s Unfinished Revolution

Chair: **Camille Merlen**

University of Kent

Theorising Revolution: Russia’s Legacy

Maxine David

Leiden University

Sending the Federalist Papers to Moscow: The American and Russian Revolutions in Post-Cold War US Policy Toward Russia

Ruth Deyermond

King’s College London

1917 in 2017: a Useless Past? Remembering and Forgetting the Russian Revolution

Natasha Kuhrt

King’s College London

Aglaya Snetkov

ETH Zurich

Discussant: **Olga Malinova**

National Research University Higher School of Economics / Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences RAS

MB4 **Monday** **11:15-13:00** Room: **306**

Translation and Translingualism Panel 1: Translating Revolution, Ideology and Ideas

Chair: **Julie Hansen**

Uppsala University

Translating the Language of (the) Revolution

Olga Demidova

Leningrad State University /

European University in St Petersburg

One Gorky, many “Mothers”? Retranslations and re-editions of a famous revolutionary Russian novel into Dutch

Piet Van Poucke

Ghent University

Return of the Empire? A Corpus-based Source Text Analysis of Contemporary Russian Non-Fiction

Hannu Kemppanen

University of Eastern Finland

Translating A. Badiou's "Le Siècle" and a problem of migrating key notions

Natalia Azarova

Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences

Discussant: **Emily Finer**

University of St. Andrews

MB5	Monday	11:15-13:00	Room: 307
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(Post-)Soviet Borderlands from the Postcolonial Perspective II

Chair: **Tiina Ann Kirss**

University of Tartu

Introducing the Soviet Folklore in Estonia: An Unfortunate Endeavour

Liina Saarlo

Estonian Literary Museum

Protecting the Family in Soviet Estonian Everyday Novels

Johanna Ross

University of Tartu

Soviet Colonial Modernity and the Everyday in 21st Century Latvian Literature

Benedikts Kalnačs

University of Latvia

Discussant: **Piret Peiker**

Tallinn University

MB6	Monday	11:15-13:00	Room: 207
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(Re)imagining Central and Eastern Europe

Chair: **Zachary Paikin**

University of Kent

The End of "Central Europe"? Rise of the radical right and contestation of identities in Slovakia and the Visegrad region

Aliaksei Kazharski

Comenius University in Bratislava

Intermarium: is a transnational alternative to Moscow and Brussels growing in Eastern Europe and the Baltic states?

Louis Wierenga

University of Tartu

When socialist and neo-liberal ideologies meet: perceptions of (in)justice in everyday contexts in post-soviet Lithuania

Kristina Sliavaite

Lithuanian Social Research Center

Discussant: **Kazushige Kobayashi**

Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva

MB7

Monday

11:15-13:00

Room: **215**

Russian Security Policy II

Chair: **Stefan Hedlund**

Uppsala University

Explaining Russia's Nuclear Weapons Policy: Strategic Deterrence, Status Seeking, or Regime Security?

Elias Götz

Uppsala University

Russian Military Signaling in the Baltic Sea Area

Flemming Splidsboel Hansen

Danish Institute for International Studies

Hybrid Warfare in Russian Strategic Thinking

Bettina Renz

University of Nottingham

Discussant: **Neil MacFarlane**

University of Oxford

Tuesday, 6 June

Panel session 3

TA1	Tuesday	9:00-10:45	Room: 305
The Legacy of the October Revolution: Different Countries, Different Stories			
Chair: Vassilis Petsinis			
University of Tartu			
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From the Soviet Union to the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU): Russia's strategies to establish influence in Caucasus			
Michael Lambert		Caucasus Initiative / Sirice Research Center (Sorbonne Identité Relations Internationales et Culture en Europe)	
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Russian influence: Latvian case study			
Ilvija Bruge		Latvian Institute of International Affairs / Riga Stradins University	
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Caught in the revolution - the meaning of October in Poland			
Kacper Dziekan		European Solidarity Centre / Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan	
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Protection of cultural heritage during the revolutionary process in Russia			
Elena Eltc		Saint-Petersburg State University	
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Discussant: Ondřej Vojtěchovský			
Institute of the Study of Totalitarian Regimes / Charles University			
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TA2	Tuesday	9:00-10:45	Room: 214
The Organizations of Civil Society in Contemporary Russia: New Forms and Roles in a Changing Society			
Chair: Christian Fröhlich			
National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow			
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Participation of NGOs in the modernization of social policy in Russia			
Vladimir Benevolenski		National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow	
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Incentives that drive founding of professional and business associations: evidence from Russia			
Ekaterina Ivanova		Vienna University of Economics and Business	
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Shifting Missions and Civic Cultures: Russian NGOs in transition**Maria V. Wathen**

Loyola University Chicago

Organizational Identity within Russian Civil Society**Christian Fröhlich**National Research University Higher
School of Economics, MoscowDiscussant: **Andrei Semenov**

Perm State University

TA3	Tuesday	9:00-10:45	Room: 215
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Soviet Legacy and Russian Foreign PolicyChair: **Alexander Graef**

University of St. Gallen / National Research University Higher School of Economics

Can There Be Ethical Politics? Or the Relevance of Post-Revolutionary Eurasianism for Understanding Russian Foreign Policy**Natalia Morozova**National Research University Higher
School of Economics, Nizhny Novgorod

Ethics in Foreign Policy: Russian justification of peacebuilding efforts**Johanna Ohlsson**

Uppsala University

Roles of the military in Russia's aspirations in East Asia**Hiroshi Yamazoe**

National Institute for Defense Studies, Japan

Protection of cultural heritage during the revolutionary process in Russia**Elena Eltc**

Saint-Petersburg State University

Discussant: **Tom Casier**

University of Kent, Brussels

TA4	Tuesday	9:00-10:45	Room: 306
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Translation and Translingualism Panel 2: Poet-Translators and Translingual WritersChair: **Piet Van Poucke**

Ghent University

The Most Polyglot of Russian Poets: Elizaveta Kul'man and Her Multilingual Oeuvre**Adrian Wanner**

Pennsylvania State University

Translated, Translingual and Bilingual Identities in Russian Migrant Writing in Finland

Marja Sorvari

University of Eastern Finland

Brodsky's Unknown English Translations of Mandelstam

Zakhar Ishov

University of Tübingen

Poet-Translators in the Underground culture of Leningrad

Miriam Rossi

Tallinn University

Discussant: **Julie Hansen**

Uppsala University

TA5

Tuesday

9:00-10:45

Room: **307**

(Post-)Soviet Borderlands from the Postcolonial Perspective III

Chair: **Inga Sapunian**

University of Tartu

Gender in the Postsoviet/Postcolonial Space: The Estonian Case

Eve Annuk

Estonian Literary Museum

Playing Comrade: The Soviet Past as anti-Putinist Critique in Contemporary Estonia

Lorraine Weekes

Stanford University /
Tallinn University of Technology

De-constructing of Lost Empire: Identities between Trauma and Nostalgia in Post-Soviet Space

Oleksiy Polegkyi

National Chengchi University, Taiwan /
University of Antwerp

Discussant: **Uku Lember**

Uppsala University / Tallinn University

TA6	Tuesday	9:00-10:45	Room: 205
Impact of the Revolution on the Western Periphery of the Empire			
Chair: Leonid Polishchuk			
Uppsala University			
Visions of Empire in Russia's Western Periphery			
Susanna Rabow-Edling		Uppsala University	
Cartographical Mobilisation in the Former Baltic Provinces of the Russian Empire, 1917-1921			
Catherine Gibson		European University Institute	
The 1917 Bolshevik revolution as the unrecognized turning point in the modern political history of Poland			
Tomasz Zarycki		University of Warsaw	
Exporting October: the Soviet model in other political contexts			
Brendan Humphreys		University of Helsinki	
Discussant: Karsten Brüggemann			
Tallinn University			

TA7	Tuesday	9:00-10:45	Room: 204
From Contested Territories to De Facto States: Theoretical and Political Implications			
Chair: Raul Toomla			
University of Tartu			
Re-conceptualizing the de-facto state: a theoretical and methodological utility for research			
Shpend Kursani		European University Institute	
Unresolved Conflicts in the post-Soviet Space: The Relative Success and Failure of International Organisations, 1992-2013			
Nina Lutterjohann		University of St. Andrews	
Foreign policy options of small de facto states. A comparative study of Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia and Transnistria			
Kristel Vits		University of Tartu	
Discussant: Eiki Berg			
University of Tartu			

Panel session 4

TB1	Tuesday	11:00-12:45	Room: 215
Remembering the Revolution: Intellectual and Cultural (pre-)History			
Chair: Andrei Znamenski			
University of Memphis			
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Semyon Frank and Nicolas Roerich: two transnational intellectuals - two trajectories after Russian revolutions			
Sergei Akopov	National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg		
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Narrative forms of post-revolutionary female prose			
Anna Nizhnik	Lomonosov Moscow State University		
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October Revolution through the Eyes of a Soviet Propagandist: The “Great October” in Mark Mitin in the 1930s, 1950s and 1970s			
Sergei Veršinin	Tallinn University		
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Discussant: Boris Lanin			
Academy of Education of Russia			

TB2	Tuesday	11:00-12:45	Room: 205
Soviet Legacies and Governance			
Chair: Andrei Semenov			
Perm State University			
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Soviet system heritage in public administration: A Case study of Latvia and Kazakhstan			
Aleksandra Kjakste	University of Latvia		
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Neo-Patrimonial Practices and Sustainability of Authoritarian Regimes in Eurasia			
Stanislav Shkel	Perm State National Research University		
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Mobilizing for the Public Good: Soviet Legacies and the Standard Operating Procedures of Modern Anti-Corruption			
Barbara Lehbruch	Uppsala University		
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‘The Election Game:’ Authoritarian Consolidation Processes in Belarus			
Sofie Bedford	Uppsala University		
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Discussant: Gulnaz Sharafutdinova			
King’s College London			

TB3	Tuesday	11:00-12:45	Room: 305
Security, Norms and Integration in Europe and Eurasia			
Chair: Ruth Deyermond			
King's College London			
Divisions by Unions? Explaining the Normative Contestation between the EU and the Eurasian Union in the Post-Soviet Space			
Kazushige Kobayashi	Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva		
Evolving Norms, Values and Principles in the EU-Russia Energy Security Discourses			
Yaroslava Marusyk	University of Groningen		
The Ukraine crisis and the securitization of EU-Russia gas trade			
Marco Siddi	Finnish Institute of International Affairs		
The necessity of political ties for trade between Russia and the former communist bloc			
Raul Toomla	University of Tartu		
Discussant: Iain Ferguson			
Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Saint Petersburg			

TB4	Tuesday	11:00-12:45	Room: 306
Translation and Translingualism Panel 3: West European Literature in Soviet Translations in the 1920-1930s			
Chair: Hannu Kemppanen			
University of Eastern Finland			
'Philological Translation' in the History of Soviet Culture of the 1930s			
Maria Malikova	Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkin House) of the Russian Academy of Sciences		
D. H. Lawrence's Translators into Russian in 1920s-1930s: Biographical Aspects			
Mariia Smirnova	Russian State University for the Humanities		
"Some Revolutionary Trends in Modern English Poetry": the 1930s Russian Translations of W. H. Auden			
Elena Ostrovskaya	National Research University Higher School of Economics		
Translating Revolution? Publishing A Tale of Two Cities for the Soviet Reader			
Emily Finer	University of St. Andrews		
Discussant: Olga Demidova			
Leningrad State University / European University in St Petersburg			

TB5 **Tuesday** **11:00-12:45** Room: **204**

Discourse Analysis Approach in Post-Soviet Studies

Chair: **Viacheslav Morozov**

University of Tartu

On the power of definition: concepts of 'nationalist' and 'patriot' in the contemporary Russian discourse

Veera Laine

University of Helsinki /
Finnish Institute of International Affairs

Discursive Adaptations in Post-Soviet Russia: A Critical Approach to Social Change

Elena Psyllakou

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens

Knowledge politics in the (semi)periphery: historical brotherhoods in the post-Communist context

Justyna Pierzynska

University of Helsinki

Religion and Culture as Two Faces of One Coin: Russian conservative project 100 years after revolution

Ekaterina Grishaeva

Ural Federal University /
Uppsala University, Sweden

Tatiana Romashko

Herzen University, St Petersburg /
University of Jyväskylä

Discussant: **Natalia Morozova**

National Research University Higher School of Economics, Nizhny Novgorod

TB6 **Tuesday** **11:00-12:45** Room: **307**

Soviet Empire and Its Western Periphery: Domination, Resistance, Collapse

Chair: **Kaarel Piirimäe**

University of Tartu

The Soviets face Greater Finland: Pan-Finnism, Finnic Epics and Languages after the Russian Revolution, 1917-1950

Takehiro Okabe

University of Helsinki

Year 1968 in Czechoslovakia: Normalization and Revolution in Art

Peter Tuka

Glasgow Museums

The Estonian Assamalla, the Estonian Waterloo: A new look into the origins of the Estonian-Russian crisis of 1992

Kaarel Piirimäe

University of Tartu

Discussant: **Rasa Balockaite**

Vytautas Magnus University

TB7	Tuesday	11:00-12:45	Room: 214
Roundtable: Quo Vadis Ukraine? Taking Stock of a Quarter Century of Disappointment			
Chair: Andres Kasekamp			
University of Tartu			
Roundtable presenters:			
Leonid Polishchuk		Uppsala University	
Stefan Hedlund		Uppsala University	
Igor Torbakov		Uppsala University	
Ryhor Nizhnikau		Finnish Institute of International Affairs	

Panel session 5

TC1	Tuesday	14:00-15:45	Room: 307
Remembering the Revolution: Legal Perspectives			
Chair: Piret Ehin			
University of Tartu			
The Russian October Revolution of 1917 and the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination			
Lauri Mäliksoo		University of Tartu	
Russia's view on 'double standards' in international politics 2000–2016			
Kristian Lundby Gjerde		Norwegian Institute of International Affairs	
Russia and international human rights in the UN: Pushing traditional values from theory to practice?			
Katre Luhamaa		University of Tartu	
Closing the Impunity Gap through Prosecutions for Crimes Committed during the Communist Regime in the Baltics and Bulgaria			
Stoyan Panov		University College Freiburg / Albert-Ludwigs University of Freiburg	
Discussant: Aliaksei Kazharski			
Comenius University in Bratislava			

TC2 **Tuesday** **14:00-15:45** Room: **214**

Roundtable: Research Data Quality Assessment for the Area-Studies on the post-Soviet region: New Approaches needed?

Chair: **Heiko Pleines**
University of Bremen

Roundtable presenters:

Andreas Heinrich	Bremen University
Giorgio Comai	Dublin City University
Oleg Zhuravlev	Public Sociology Laboratory, St. Petersburg
Felix Herrmann	Bremen University

TC3 **Tuesday** **14:00-15:45** Room: **306**

Security and Conflict in Eastern Europe

Chair: **Jan Matti Dollbaum**
University of Bremen

Ontological security seeking: a tripartite take on motivational factors (with illustrations from the South Caucasus)

Susanne Szkola University of Kent

The Clash of Nationalisms and the Ukraine Conflict - How does nationalism respond to a security dilemma?

Hana Josticova University of Birmingham

Conceptualization of Armed Conflict 2014-2017 in Eastern Ukraine in the Letters of Female Residents of Soviet and Post-Soviet Generations of Conflict-Torn Luhansk City

Olena Moiseyenko Luhansk National University, Ukraine

Resurrecting of Intermarium Concept as a Remedy for Russia's Aggressive Foreign Policy – a Possible Reality or an Unimaginable Fantasy?

Przemysław Furgacz College of Business and Entrepreneurship
in Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, Poland

Discussant: **Michael Lambert**

Caucasus Initiative / Sirice Research Center (Sorbonne Identité Relations Internationales et Culture en Europe)

TC4	Tuesday	14:00-15:45	Room: 205
Russia and the West: Competing Conceptions of Sovereignty and Order?			
Chair: Richard Sakwa			
University of Kent			
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Russian Approaches to Sovereignty			
Camille Merlen	University of Kent		
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Sovereignty and its enemies in the Russian hegemonic discourse			
Maksim Kulaev	University of Tartu		
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Erosion: How rival conceptions of sovereignty have challenged liberal order in the post-Cold War world			
Zachary Paikin	University of Kent		
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In search of post-liberal cooperation: The impasse of Russia's foreign policy			
Iain Ferguson	Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Saint Petersburg		
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Discussant: Viacheslav Morozov			
University of Tartu			

TC5	Tuesday	14:00-15:45	Room: 305
Soviet Legacies and Economic Governance			
Chair: Viktor Trasberg			
University of Tartu			
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The economic performance of Central Asian countries after the independence: The challenges between transition and development			
Numonjon Malikov	University of World Economy and Diplomacy, Uzbekistan / University of Tartu		
Leonardo Pataccini	University of Tartu		
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Varieties of financialization in the European periphery: the role of the banking sector in the transition of the Baltic States			
Leonardo Pataccini	University of Tartu		
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Discussant: Viktor Trasberg			
University of Tartu			

TC6	Tuesday	14:00-15:45	Room: 204
Revolutionary Legacies and Memory Politics			
Chair: Eva Clarita Pettai			
Friedrich Schiller University Jena			
The Socialist revolution of 1917: changing memory in contemporary Russia			
Maria Matskevich	Sociological Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences		
October 1917 in Russia: the history of an image and the image of a history			
Oksana Golovashina	G.R. Derzhavin Tambov State University		
“The October Coup” or “the Great Russian Revolution”: 1917 as the issue for the Russian Political Elites			
Olga Malinova	National Research University Higher School of Economics / Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences RAS		
Preserving Civic Accord: Representation of the Red Terror by the Russian Media			
Kirill Bryanov	Louisiana State University		
On the Legacy of the Soviet Person in Contemporary Russia			
Gulnaz Sharafutdinova	King’s College London		
Discussant: Larisa Deriglazova			
Tomsk State University			

TC7	Tuesday	14:00-15:45	Room: 215
Revolution a Century Later: Maidan Protests of 2014 and Their Legacies			
Chair: Olena Podolian			
Södertörn University			
The Crimean Tatars under occupation. Crime and punishment			
Oleksandr Moskalenko	University of Turku		
Crimean Tatars: shift in politics of representation in post-Maidan Ukraine			
Alina Zubkovych	Södertörn University		
Nation-building and regional identities in Ukraine			
Valentyna Romanova	Institute for Strategic Studies “New Ukraine”		
Olena Podolian	Södertörn University		
Discussant: Dmytro Khutkyy			
University of Tartu			

Panel session 6

TD1	Tuesday	16:00-17:45	Room: 215
Remembering the Revolution: Education and the Reproduction of Memory			
Chair: Maria Matskevich			
Sociological Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences			
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The Legacy of Communism to the Post-Wall, Post-Truth Generations of Central Europe			
Aaron T. Walter		University of Ss. Cyril & Methodius in Trnava	
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Teaching about Oktyabrskaya revolution in high schools in Russia, 1992-2017			
Larisa Deriglazova		Tomsk State University	
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The Revival of the First World War Memories in Russia and Ukraine: A Comparative Analysis of Textbooks			
Hanna Bazhenova		Institute of East-Central Europe	
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The Russian Revolutions of 1917: Narratives and Comparative Images in Estonian History Textbooks			
Timur Guzairov		University of Tartu	
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University of Tartu			
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TD2	Tuesday	16:00-17:45	Room: 204
Democratic Institutions and Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe			
Chair: Alina Zubkovych			
Södertörn University			
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Patterns and Causes of Electronic Democracy Advancement in the Eastern Europe and the Baltic States			
Dmytro Khutkyy		University of Tartu	
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Resource dependency, the role of state, and the professionalization of the Russian NGOs after the “Foreign Agents Law”			
Vsevolod Bederson		Perm State National Research University	
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Discussant: Tatiana Romashko			
Herzen University, St Petersburg / University of Jyväskylä			

TD3	Tuesday	16:00-17:45	Room: 214
The War of Narratives: Russia, Its Concept of Information Warfare and Confrontation with the West			
Chair: Oleksandr Moskalenko			
University of Turku			
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Tools of Russian (des)information operations in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine in 2014			
Vladimir Sazonov		University of Tartu	
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Russia's challenge to Western liberal democracy			
Ieva Berzina		National Defence Academy of Latvia	
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Russia in developing information warfare as its strategic tool in the post-truth era			
Holger Mölder		Tallinn University of Technology	
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In Estonia, we should be careful not to overstate the impact of the information war			
Vassilis Petsinis		University of Tartu	
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King's College London			

TD4	Tuesday	16:00-17:45	Room: 306
Russian Fiction and Politics			
Chair: Anna Nizhnik			
Lomonosov Moscow State University			
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The Russian Revolution in Contemporary Russian Literature			
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Russian Post-Soviet Anti-Utopia: Borders and Identities			
Boris Lanin		Academy of Education of Russia	
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Maria Galina		Novy Mir magazine, Moscow	
Arkady Shtypel		Independent researcher	
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University of Tartu			

TD5 **Tuesday** **16:00-17:45** **Room: 305**

(Re)imagining Russia

Chair: **Irina Paert**

University of Tartu

Role of Academic Research in Constructing and Deconstructing Russia

Gerda Jakstaite Vytautas Magnus University

Ieva Karpavičiūtė Vytautas Magnus University

How to save the memory of the past in the digital era? The case of “1917. Free history” and “1941-1945. Alive memory”

Daria Shcheglova Moscow State University

Discussant: **Oleg Zhuravlev**

Public Sociology Laboratory, St. Petersburg

TD6 **Tuesday** **16:00-17:45** **Room: 205**

Aspects and Legacies of Soviet Federalism

Chair: **Vello Pettai**

University of Tartu

Revolutionary Impact on Russia’s Governmental Structure

Ekaterina Paustyan Central European University

Towards a Non-Ethnic Soviet Federation: Bolshevik Regionalism in the Russian Far East, 1917–1926

Ivan Sablin National Research University Higher
School of Economics, St. Petersburg

Russia’s birth and survival: revolutionary legacies and federal negotiations 1989-1991

Carolina de Stefano George Washington University

Discussant: **Aimar Ventsel**

University of Tartu

TD7

Tuesday

16:00-17:45

Room: 307

Civilizational Discourses in Soviet and Russian Academic and Intellectual Debates

Chair: **Meri Herralá**

University of Helsinki

Oswald Spengler and the Late 20th-Century Russian Intellectuals

Sanna Turoma

University of Helsinki

From Socio-Economic Formations to Civilizations: Seeking for a Paradigm Change in Late Soviet Discussions

Vesa Oittinen

University of Helsinki

The Russian Revolutions from the Perspective of Civilisational Analysis

Mikhail Maslovsky

National Research University Higher School of
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Discussant: **Susanna Rabow-Edling**

Uppsala University

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Practical Information

List of suggested lunch options nearby

The places below offer daily lunch specials (päevapakkumine) 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.

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.

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

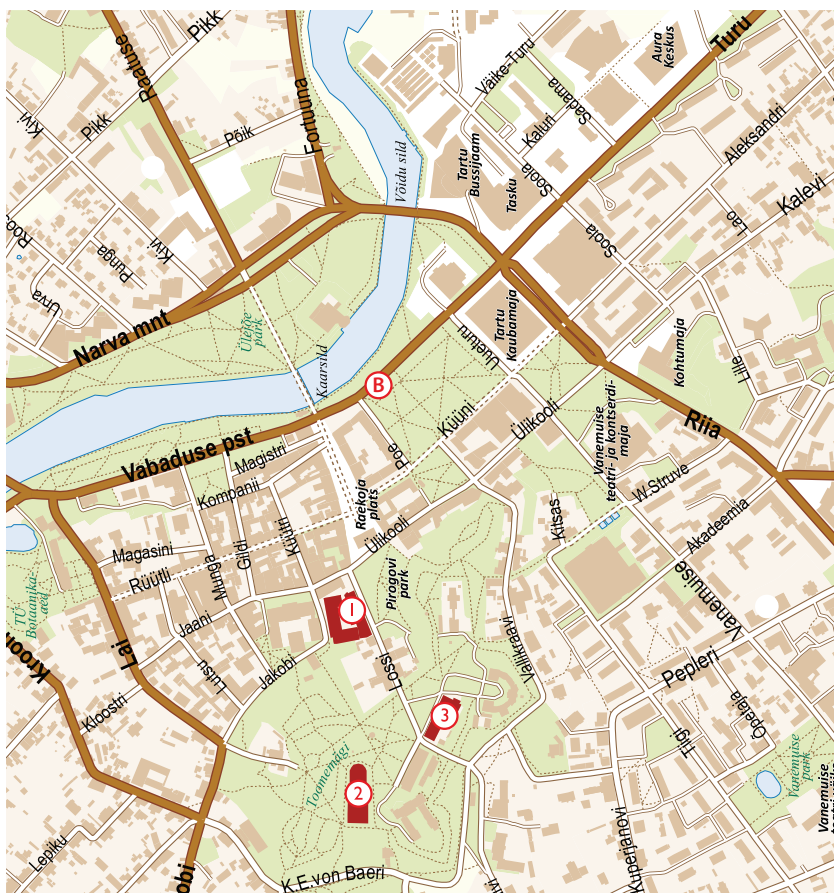
If you have a smartphone, you can also use apps like Uber or Taxify.

About the Estonian National Museum

The Estonian National Museum, founded in Tartu in 1909, opened the doors of its new building at the site of a former Soviet airfield in October 2016. It features two permanent exhibitions: Encounters, expanding upon Estonian cultural history and everyday life; and Echo of the Urals, providing insight into the lives of the different people speaking Finno-Ugric languages and inhabiting the northern parts of this corner of the world.

The Estonian National Museum is an ethnologically and cultural-historically oriented museum which aims at reflecting everyday life and culture as a way of life, taking into account its periodical, spatial and social diversity. The museum focuses on collecting, preserving and studying material concerned with the culture and history of Estonians, Estonian minorities and Finno-Ugric peoples and making it accessible.

The main emphasis of research and collecting is on Estonian everyday life in the second half of the 20th century as well as on the Estonian diaspora and audiovisual, archival and artifactual data from Finno-Ugric cultures.



1. Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Jakobi 2
Venue for registration, opening and keynote speech on 4 June
 2. History Museum of the University of Tartu, Lossi 25
Venue for the reception on 4 June
 3. Faculty of Social Sciences, Lossi 36
Venue for registration and all panel sessions on 5-6 June
- B. Bus stop on the corner of Vabaduse puiestee and Poe st
Departure for the Estonian National Museum on 5 June.
Look for our volunteers in red T-shirts at the lower end of the Town Hall Square, next to the big yellow photo frame

Join us at the next

**Annual Tartu Conference
on Russian and East European Studies**

in June 2018

University of Tartu, Estonia

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