

CONFERENCE

1989-2009: The East European Revolutions in Perspective

17-18 October 2009

University of London Union, Malet Street WC1E 7HY

Keynote Speakers:

Alex Callinicos, Bernd Gehrke, Boris Kagarlitsky, Catherine Samary, Gáspár Miklós Tamás

Schedule: see below

Questions: gareth.dale@brunel.ac.uk

Tickets:

Visitors from Eastern Europe or the 'Global South': no charge.

For those based in Western Europe / N. America / etc.:

With institutional support: £80

Waged, without institutional support: £25

Unwaged: £10

Tickets can be bought at the conference itself, but advance payments are welcome and can be made online or by cheque.

Online: to The Co-operative Bank, Sort Code 089299 Account Number 65259566 00, (Insert as reference "Debatte conference")

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Conference Programme

SATURDAY 17 OCTOBER

09:30 –10:00 **Registration: Room 3CD, Third Floor, ULU.**

10:00 –10:15 **Welcome and Introduction : Room 3CD**

10:15 –12.30 **Opening Plenary : Room 3CD**

Chair: Gareth Dale, Brunel University

Bernd Gehrke

The East German 'Wende': Between Participatory Peoples' Revolution and Deutschnational Counter-Revolution

Alex Callinicos

The Multiple Meanings of 1989

Gáspár Miklós Tamás

Marx on 1989: Eastern Europe's Turn to the Market and to Ethnicity

12:30-13:30 **Lunch**

13:30-15:20 Panel Session 1.1 : Room 3C

Eastern Europe's transition in literature and film

Chair: Susan Zimmermann, Central European University, Budapest

Brigid Haines (Swansea University)

Not Nostalgia, but Nation: Remembering Eastern Europe in Recent Texts in German

Gareth Dale (Brunel University)

'Ostalgie' and the Stasi: the GDR in recent German cinema

Velichka Ivanova (University of Strasbourg)

Literature in the 'Other' Europe Before and After the Transition

Magdalena Latkowska (University of Warsaw)

The political role of East- and West German writers before and after 1989

13:30-15:20 Panel Session 1.2 : Room 3D

From the Soviet Union to Russia

Chair: Wolfgang Deckers, Richmond University

Stanislav Holubec (West Bohemia University, Pilsen, Czech Republic)

The fall of the Soviet Union in the world-system perspective

Mike Haynes (University of Wolverhampton)

Getting Russia wrong again? A critique of the Warwick approach to the Russian transition

Simon Pirani (Oxford Institute for Energy Studies)

Social Movements in Russia, 2004-09

Mihály Gruber (Eötvös Loránd University, and Budapest City Archives)

On the key features of the Soviet-Russian systemic change

13:30-15:20 Panel Session 1.3 : Room 3E

Entropy and Neoliberalism in the Baltics: Two Decades of Turbulence Reviewed

Chair: Vlad Mykhnenko, University of Nottingham

Charles Woolfson (University of Glasgow, and Linköping University, Sweden.)

Neo-liberalism, social unrest and the fragmentation of social solidarity in Baltic Lithuania: Anticipating the post-crisis migratory landscape

Jeffrey Sommers and **Janis Berzins** (Stockholm School of Economics in Riga, Latvia, and Raritan Valley College, USA)

Twenty Years Lost: Entropy and Latvia in the Post Soviet World

Veiko Spolitis (Riga Stradins University and Helsinki University)

Multiple levels of governance in European Union, neoliberal economic reforms and Estonian transformation 1997-2009

Anna Soboleva (Russian Seminarium *Hortus Humanitatis*, Riga, Latvia)

15:20-15:40 **Coffee Break** : (Gallery Café, First floor)

15:40-17:00 Panel Session 2.1 : Room 3C

Elite turnover within and beyond the law

Chair: Juliane Edler, York University, Toronto

Matt Killingsworth (Latrobe University, Australia)
Lustration and Legitimacy

Liviu Damsa (University of Warwick)
From Communist bureaucracy to a liberal state in East Central Europe? Lustration and its implications

Kelly Hignett (University of Hull)
The Changing Face of Organised Crime in Post-Communist Eastern Europe

15:40-17:00 Panel Session 2.2 : Room 3D

Oil, imperialism and the military

Chair: Mike Haynes (University of Wolverhampton)

Gonzalo Pozo (University College London, and SSEES)
Imperialism, Russia and the West: ideology, business and the state in Russian Foreign Policy

Gábor Kiss (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)
The question of the military within the transformation of Eastern Europe

Mihály Madarász (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)
The role of oil in the dissolution of the Soviet Union

15:40-17:00 Panel Session 2.3 : Room 3E

*Presentation by editors of Alternativity: ***Collapse of the USSR: Lessons for 21st Century Capitalism and Socialism (or What are the Alternatives for Post-Crisis Imperialism)****

Chair: Gus Fagan, London Metropolitan University

Alexandr Buzgalin (Lomonosov Moscow State University, and editor-in-chief of 'Alternatives')
Lessons of the USSR as a Challenge for the 21st Century: The Collapse of "Real Socialism" led to the Crisis of Left and Right Projects. What are the Alternatives?

Liudmila Bulavka (Russian Institute of Culturology, Moscow)
Lessons on the Collapse of the USSR: socio-cultural aspects

17:00-17:30 **Break**

17:30-19:20 Panel Session 3.1 : Room 3C

Memory, heritage, and narratives of the 'fall'

Chair: Brigid Haines, Swansea University

James Krapfl (McGill University, Montréal)

Narrating the Turn / Fall / Collapse / End / Extinction / Demise / Change / Events of 1989, or, The Stolen Revolution Revisited

Susan C. Pearce (East Carolina University, USA)

Writing Public Culture from the Solidarity Text(s): Post-Revolutionary Remembering in the Re-imagined Poland

Anna Saunders (Bangor University)

The memorialisation of the GDR's 'peaceful revolution'

Stephen Glencross Brown (Managing Editor, Ecumenical News International, Geneva)

Revisiting East Germany's 'Protestant' Revolution

Gareth Dale (Brunel University)

Collective Memories, Collective Amnesia: Social Movements in Poland and East Germany

17:30-19:20 Panel Session 3.2 : Room 3D

Nations and nationalism: Secessions and Unifications

Chair: Gonzalo Pozo, University College London, and SSEES

Stefan Auer (Latrobe University, Australia)

Who's Afraid of the 'New Europe'? Nationalism and the post-1989 project of European unity

Juliane Edler (York University, Toronto)

The Wages of Germanness: Working-Class Recomposition and (Racialized) Nationalism after Unification

Jörg Roesler (Leibniz-Sozietät, Berlin)

Nationalism and Economic Disparities: Lessons from the Dissolution of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia and the Secession of Baltic States

Hendrik Meurs (University of Heidelberg, Germany)

Inventing a Nation: Construction and Instrumentalisation of "Turkmen Nationality"

Jordan Miczov (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

Political Change and the National Question during the Transition in Bulgaria

17:30-19:20 Panel Session 3.3 : Room 3E

Dissidence and East-West dialogue before and during the 1989 upheavals

Chair: Susan Zimmermann, Central European University, Budapest

Hugo Radice (University of Leeds)

Marxism in Eastern Europe between: From Socialist Dissidence to Liberal Restoration

Patrick Burke (University of Westminster)

Our friends in the East? Western peace activists' participation in the 'dialogue' with independent peace and human rights activists in the Soviet bloc in the 1980s

Charles Rhéaume (Directorate of History, Department of National Defence, Government of Canada)

1989: An Exhausting Year for Sakharov... and Perestroika

Bent Boel (Aalborg University, Denmark)

Western European Trotskyism and the Opposition in the Soviet Bloc, 1956-1989

Grzegorz Piotrowski (European University Institute, Firenze)

Why only young people? The changes of 1989 in Poland through the lens of the dissenting groups

SUNDAY 18 OCTOBER

10:00-11:20 Panel Session 4.1 : Room 3C

Social Movements in Poland

Chair: Laszlo Andor, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

Gonzalo Pozo (University College London and SSEES)

No to Marx; Yes to Mary. The Evolution of Solidarnosc

Krzysztof Brzechczyn (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland)

The Polish Round Table Agreement in the Light of the Concept of Class Compromise: An Attempt at a Model

Gavin Rae (Kozminski University, Warsaw)

No Left Turn? The Rise and Demise of the Polish Left since 1989

10:00-11:20 Panel Session 4.2 : Room 3D

Eastern Europe in the 2007-9 Great Recession

Chair: Hugo Radice, Leeds University

Robert Bideleux (Swansea University)

From Crisis to Crisis: Comparing 1989 and 2009 in the Balkans and East Central Europe

Marko Bojcun (London Metropolitan University)

The impact of the international financial crisis on Ukraine

Jan Drahokoupil (University of Mannheim, Germany)

What difference has the financial crisis made for the welfare-state regimes in Eastern Europe and the CIS?

10:00-11:20 Panel Session 4.3 : Room 3E

Evolving minority identities; new zones of exclusion

Chair: Juliane Edler, York University, Toronto

Ina Dietzsch (Durham University)

Surviving after transition: The rhetorics of decline, crisis, shrinking and disappearance

Rafał Chabowski and Dominik Owczarek (University of Warsaw)

Gated Communities in Warsaw – a new and fast-growing spatial form of socio-political division and exclusion in Poland

Rohee Dasgupta (Keele University)

The Second Being: Evolving Polish-Jewish Identity and Rights in the Polish State system post-1989

Jane Hardy (University of Hertfordshire)

Migration from 'new' to 'old' Europe: state, capital and labour

11:20-11:50 **Coffee Break** : (Gallery Café, First floor)

11:50 –13.20 **Sunday Plenary : Room 3CD**

Chair: Andy Kilmister, Oxford Brookes University and chief editor, *Debatte*

Boris Kagarlitsky

Success and Failure of Capitalist Restoration in Eastern Europe

Catherine Samary

The Great Transformation in Eastern Europe

13:20-14:05 **Lunch**

14.05-15.55 Panel Session 5.1 : Room 3C

(Im-)Materialities of (Post-)Socialism

Chair/Discussant: Victor Buchli, University College London and editor, *Home Cultures*

Dimitris Dalakoglou (University of Sussex)

Who Builds the Roads? Constructing infrastructure in postsocialist Albania

Dimitra Kofti (University College London)

Smoking and idle chimneys: Renegotiating labour practices in abandoned industrial spaces in postsocialist Bulgaria

Ivana Bajic-Hajdukovic (European University Institute, Florence)

From the 'Embargo Cake' to the 'Tycoon Cake': Food Shortages, Changes in Everyday Diet and New Recipes in post-1990 Serbia

Nicolette Makovicky (Wolfson College, Oxford University)

Talking Things: Concretizing neo-liberalization in Slovakia

14.05-15.55 Panel Session 5.2 : Room 3D

Against the Current: Marxist critiques of the neoliberal mainstream in Eastern Europe

*Presentation by editors and authors of *Eszmélet**

Chair: Martin Kovats, Budapest University of Economic Sciences and Public Administration, and University of Birmingham

Laszlo Andor (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development)

Neoliberal economists of transition: Sachs, Kornai, and Aslund

Miklos Mitrovits (Institute of Political History, Budapest)

From workers' self-management to market transition: Solidarnosc and the 'liberal counterrevolution'

Matyas Binder (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)
'Gypsies' and the Transition in Eastern Europe: The limits of liberal interpretation

Tamás Krausz (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)
The revolution that never was: From state socialism to multinational capitalism

14.05-15.55 Panel Session 5.3 : Room 3E

Contesting the (global) political economy of post-communism

Chair: Jane Hardy, University of Hertfordshire

Paul Copeland (University of Manchester)
East Central Europe and the European 'Double-Movement': Contextualising Accession Preparations and EU Membership

Stuart Shields (University of Manchester)
Neoliberal globalization, regressive nationalism, and labour in the 'new' Europe

Owen Worth (University of Limerick, Ireland)
Russia's Caesarist Journey: Post-Communist Russia and its (dis)integration into the global political economy

Rick Simon (Nottingham Trent University)
Passive revolution in Eastern Europe

15:55- 16:20 **Coffee Break** (Gallery Café, First floor)

16:20-18:00 Panel Session 6.1 : Room 3C

Transitions in Europe, transitions in Asia

Chair: Wolfgang Deckers, Richmond University

György Lukács B (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)
The Transition in Slovenia: Processes and Characteristics

Adam Fabry (Brunel University)
A tale of combined and uneven development: The development of Hungary's political economy since 1989

Christian Timm (Humboldt University, Berlin)
Neopatrimonialism by default: Georgia after the Rose Revolution

Zsolt Szilágyi (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Committee on Ethnography)
The Impact of Social and Economical Change on Politics: Mongolia in the Post-Soviet Period

16:20-18:00 Panel Session 6.2 : Room 3D

Ukraine and Belarus

Chair: Simon Pirani, Oxford Institute for Energy Studies

Vlad Mykhnenko and Adam Swain (University of Nottingham)
Models of development, crisis and the Ukrainian space-economy

Alex Svyetlov (University of Vienna)
Post-Soviet political projects in Ukraine: A case study

Maksym Zhrebkin (Essex University)
The “Orange revolution” in the Ukraine

András Radványky (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)
Belarus or Belorussia: The historical roots and possible causes of an unfinished transition

16:20-18:00 Panel Session 6.3 : Room 3E

Political and economic change since 1989

Chair: Andy Kilmister, Oxford Brookes University

Anna Fruhstorfer (Humboldt University, Berlin)
Path-dependent patterns for the discrepancy between constitutional and factual power of presidents after '89

Marcel Tomášek (Centre for Public Policy, Prague)
Three Waves of Conceptualizing the Sources of Socio-economic Change in East-Central Europe; The Post 1989 overlap of politics and economy and nationalization of investment risks

Veronika Pasyukova (European University at St. Petersburg)
Modes of Post-Communism: Successor parties, trade unions and the state in Russia and East Central Europe

Piotr Trzepacz (Jagiellonian University, Cracow, Poland)
Air transport communications between Western and Eastern Europe

MEALS AND BREAKS

In three of the breaks, coffee, tea, biscuits etc. will be provided. No lunches have been organised but details of nearby sandwich shops, cafes and restaurants will be included in the conference packs.

On Saturday evening, tables will be booked at a nearby restaurant. Either by email or when registering, please indicate whether you wish to take part.

TRANSPORT

The nearest underground stations are Russell Square and Goodge Street. Also within easy walking distance are Euston Square, Warren Street, Euston (and Kings Cross). Parts of some underground lines tend to be closed at weekends for engineering work. You are advised to check, under ‘service updates’ and ‘live travel news,’ at: www.tfl.gov.uk/ This website also has maps of the underground network, of bus routes, etc.