



ORIENTALISTIKOS CENTRAS  
CENTRE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

# ORIENTALISM, COLONIAL THINKING AND THE FORMER SOVIET PERIPHERY

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Exploring Bias and Stereotype Representations of Eastern  
and Central Europe, the Caucasus, and Central Asia

**Vilnius University**

August 27-29, 2015

*With the support of:*



Konrad  
Adenauer  
Stiftung



GABRIELIUS LANDSBERGIS  
EUROPOS PARLAMENTO NARYS

**EESC**  
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**The Clarion**

# Conference Concept and Purpose

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The Ukraine crisis has placed the entire post-communist world back at the very centre of global debates in the media, politics and academia. Concepts such as sovereignty of post-Soviet and post-communist states have been brought into question once again, alongside the historical development, international alignment and the aspirations of state actors in the region.

In this context, a narrative of "Russian interests versus Western interests/values" seems to have gained currency in Western media and political discourses. Smaller actors of Eastern and Central Europe, Central Asia, the Baltics and the Caucasus see their perspectives ignored or put on a secondary level. This has led some scholars to suggest the existence among Western and Russian commentators of a "colonial", "Orientalist" bias that favours the former imperial "centre" and sees formerly subaltern actors as passive entities in a greater game, giving a stereotypical and demeaning image of such countries and their people. This in turn leaves countries of the former Czarist and Soviet peripheries unable to influence the mainstream debate and to present a self-centred approach in a world in which perceptions and narratives more and more legitimize actions in international relations.

The purpose of the conference is to provide an academic framework for the discussion of these ideas and put them to the test of peer debate. The goal is to discuss the relevance of Post-Colonial Studies to Post-Communist Studies and hopefully open an innovative chapter in the academic understanding of the Post-Communist World. The conference is organized around three main underlying leitmotifs.

The first one is the assessment of the impact of colonial and Orientalist thinking on policy-making processes about former subjects of the Russian and Soviet power, both in the international arena and in internal affairs. How do existing prejudices in media, politics and academia contribute to consolidating the idea of post-communist countries as "passive" actors with "limited sovereignty", "subordinated", limited in their possibility to freely choose an international alignment, and of common people in Eastern European countries as "backward", or "second-class Europeans"? How does this affect decisions taken at a European level concerning security crises of the post-Soviet world? What are the recurrent (and competing) images and via what tools are they routinized?

The second underlying theme is the analysis of the issue from a historical perspective. The purpose is to discuss whether colonial thinking and the possible understanding of Eastern Europe as a subaltern, passive entity biases Western views of history in the region. Asking whether there exists a "hierarchy of historical narratives" in the way the history of countries of the former Soviet bloc are perceived by scholars, media and politicians, the section aims to explore if and how these prejudices impact Western receptiveness of historical interpretations and discourses coming from former imperial subjects, making them less effective than competing narratives coming from Russia or the West itself, and to understand how does this impact regional and international relations.

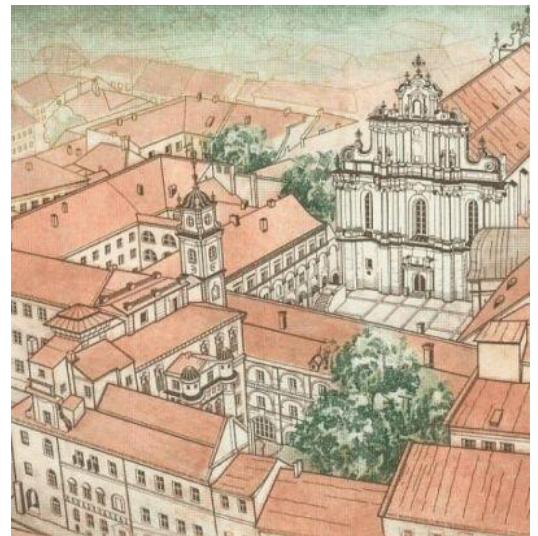
The last leitmotif is the applicability of the concept of Orientalism and Post-Colonial studies to the study of the context in which Russian/Soviet colonial thinking was first developed, i.e. the early Czarist imperial "frontier": the North Caucasus, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Central Asia, broadly understood to include the five "Stans" as well as regions that experienced significant Russian/Soviet influence at different points in their history, such as Mongolia and Xinjiang. To what extent, in what forms, and why do Orientalist stereotypes still bias our understanding of the Asian part of the former Czarist and Soviet sphere, and what is the impact of this on political and academic agendas?

# Conference venue

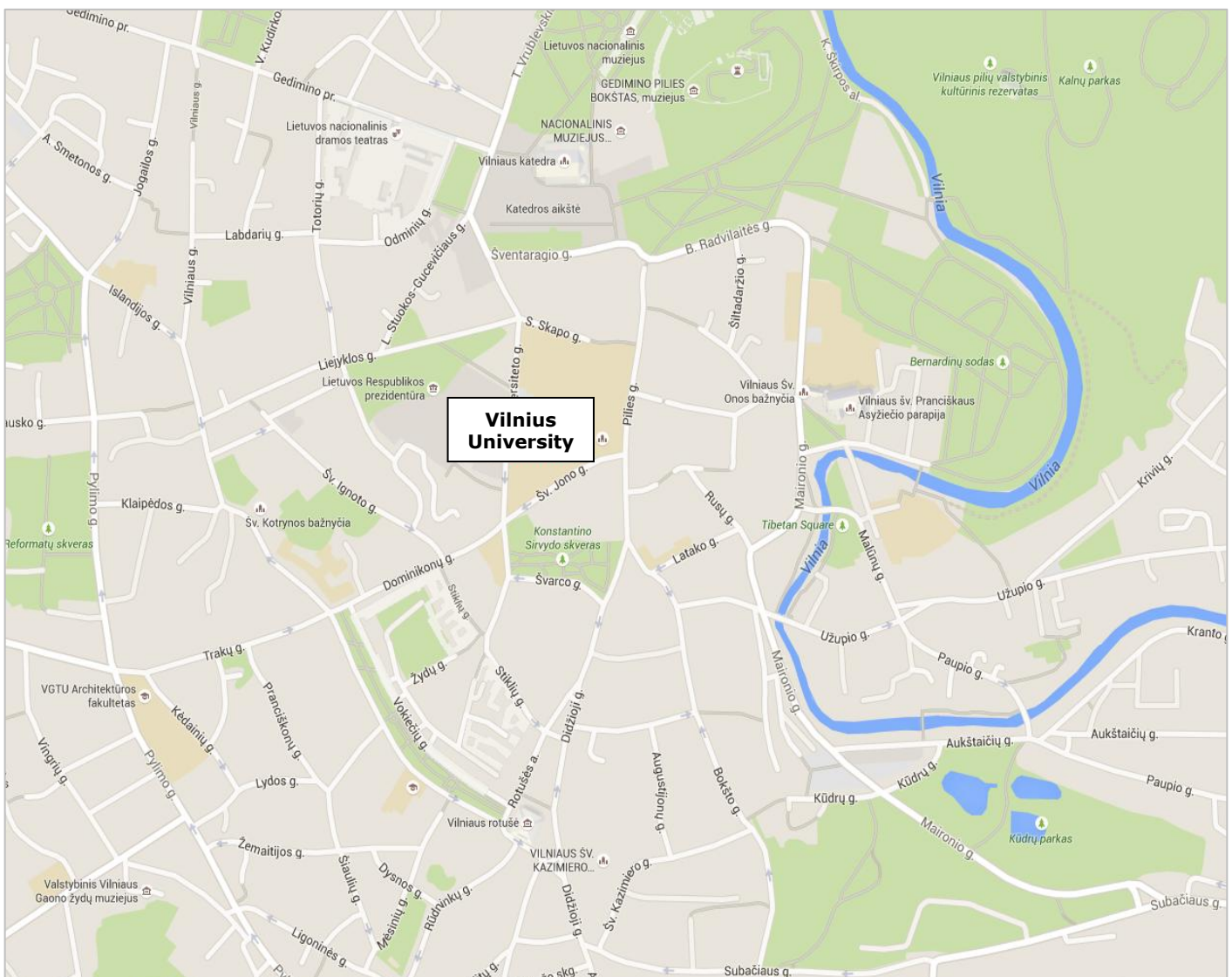
## *How to reach us*

The conference will take place at the main building of Vilnius University, in Universiteto gatvė 3. To reach the conference venue, you can enter from the main entrance on Universiteto gatvė or, also, from Šv. Jono gatvė. An additional entrance exists from Pilies g. through the restaurant "Aula".

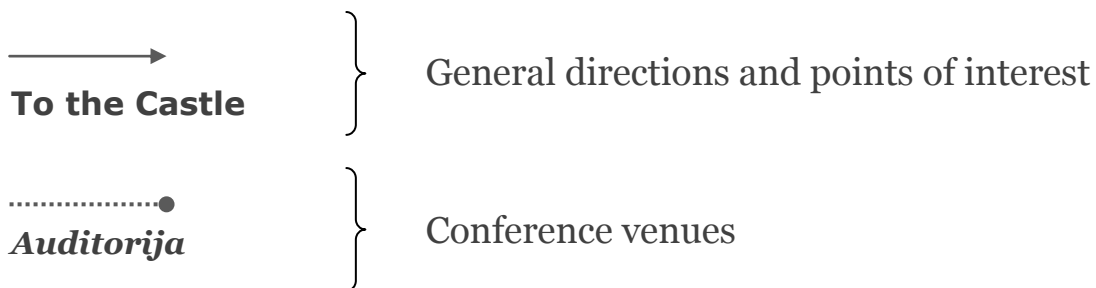
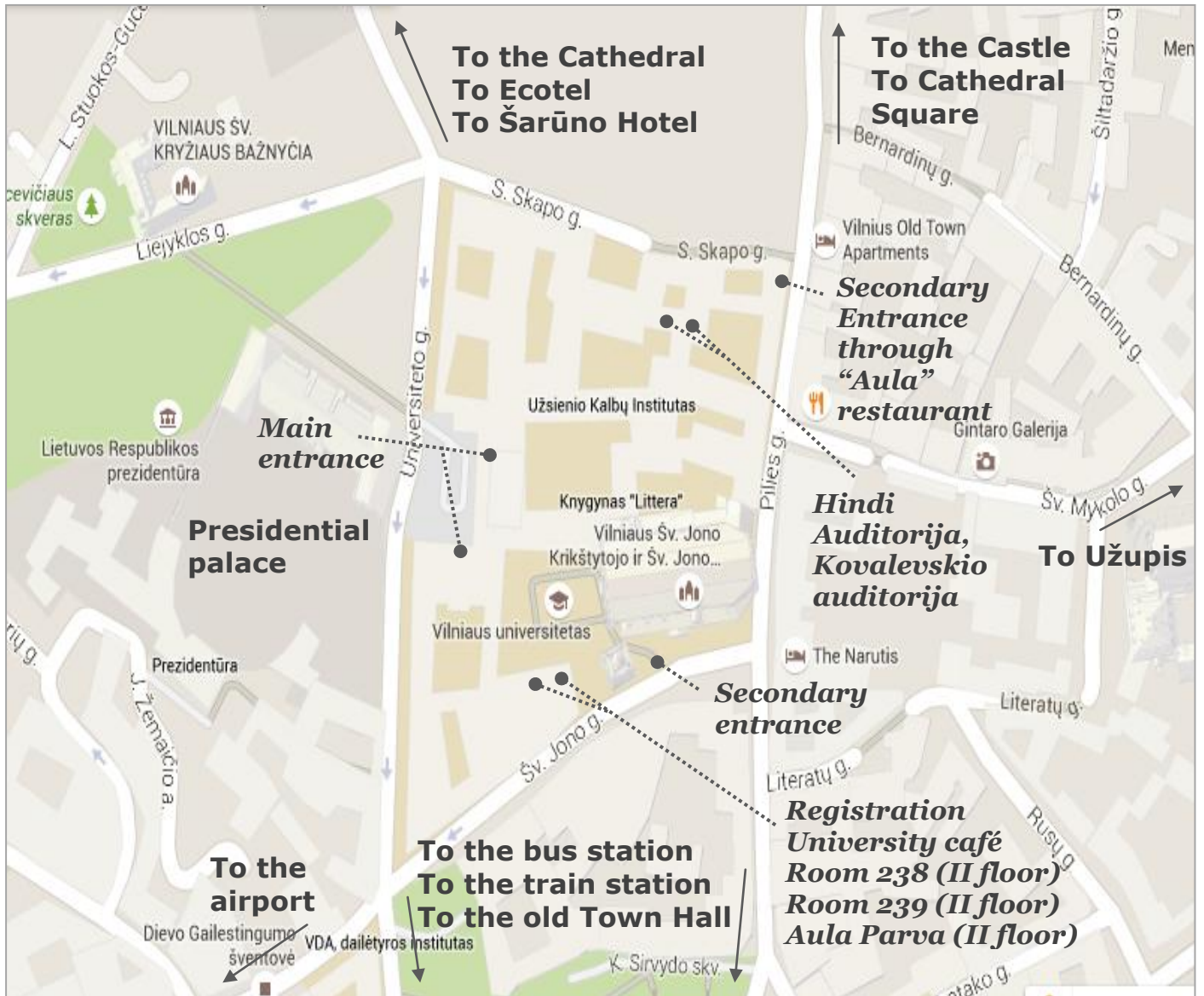
Vilnius University is a 9 min. car ride or a 24 min. walk from the train or bus stations. The University is located 15 min. by car from Vilnius International Airport. If you are travelling by car from Kaunas, you will need to enter Vilnius from the south-west along the E272 road. If you are coming from Riga, you can use the E272 from the north.



## *Location within the Old town*

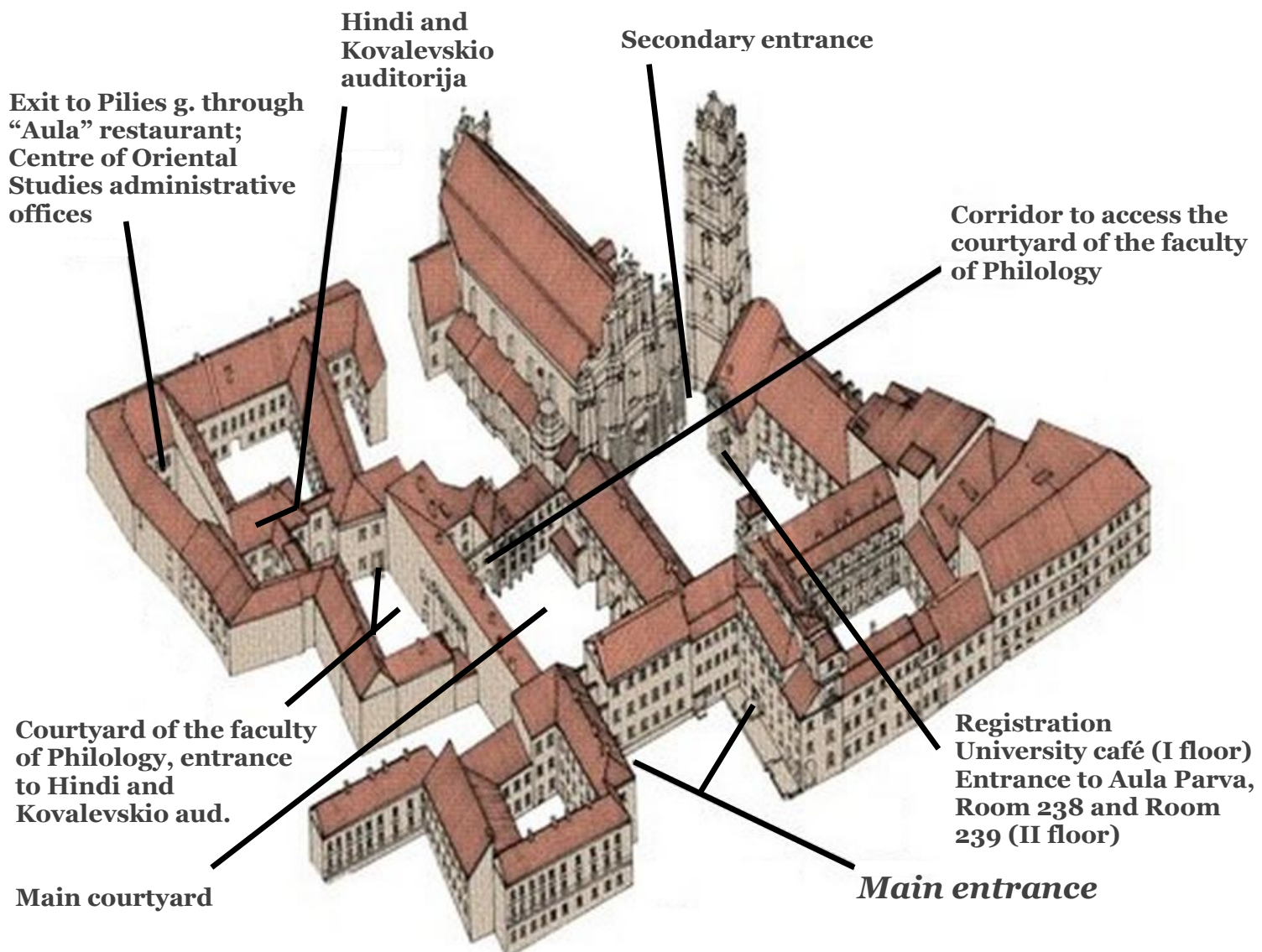


## Location within the University area



## *Location within Vilnius University's main building*

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## **Vilnius University Architectural Ensemble** *Entrance from Universiteto gatvė*

# Conference programme

Thursday, August 27<sup>th</sup>

## Morning programme

08:00 – 10:30  
University café

Registration and welcoming coffee

10:30 – 11:15  
Aula Parva

Welcoming speech from Dr. Valdas Jaskūnas and Rector;  
Technical details from administrative coordinator

11:15 – 12:30  
Aula Parva

**Opening keynote roundtable: “Can small actors be heard? Experiences of former peripheries in the international arena and academia”**

- Dr. Violeta Davoliūtė, Vilnius University;
- Dr. Anton Shekhovtsov, Legatum Institute/University College London
- Farrukh Irnazarov, Central Asian Analytical Network
- Dr. Irina Morozova, IOS, University of Regensburg
- Jaba Devdariani, Austrian Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution

Moderates: Fabio Belafatti, Vilnius University

12:30 – 13:30  
University café

Networking lunch for presenters and keynote speakers

## Afternoon programme

13:30 – 15:05

Seminar  
room 238

### Parallel panel sessions

#### **Ukraine’s choices: between and beyond the traps of imperial thinking**

Moderator: Roman Horbyk, Sodertorn university

- **Dr. Maryna Romanets**, University of Northern British Columbia  
*Russian neo-Imperial Fantasies: Constructing the “Near Orient” of Ukraine’s Political Body.*
- **Dr. Nadia Bureiko**, University of St. Gallen  
*Shaking the frontier: Ukraine moves West?*

Hindi  
auditorija

#### **Eastern Europe and Europeans in public and self-perceptions**

Moderator: Dr. Dariya Orlova, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

- **Ruth McKenna**, PhD candidate, University of Glasgow  
*Central and Eastern Europe in the British Imagination*
- **Dr. Irina Novikova**, University of Latvia  
*Imagining Russia/nness in post-Soviet Latvian media*
- **Philipp Lottholz**, PhD candidate, University of Birmingham/American Univ. of Central Asia, and **Dr. Polina Manolova**, University of Birmingham  
*No escape from ideology? A comparison of political and moral orientations in the former Soviet periphery*

Kovalevskio  
auditorija

#### **Ukrainian cultural spaces and symbols: finding post-colonial identities? (Part I)**

Moderator: Dr. Konstantinas Andrijauskas, Vilnius University

- **Dr. Natalia Koltakova**, Army Academy named after Hetman Petro Sahaydachnyi

*A Cultural Stereotype as a Text of Culture in the Contemporary Ukrainian Literature*

- **Daria Semenova**, PhD candidate, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy  
*Southern and Eastern Soviet periphery as exoticized adventure landscape: how are the potentially disinterested Ukrainian narratives biased by the imperialist discourse stereotypes?*

Seminar  
room 239

### **Colonial and Orientalist narratives in literature and cinema in the former Periphery**

Moderator: Dr. Rasa Baločkaitė, Associate Professor, Vytautas Magnus University

- **Dr. Enis Sulstarova**, University of Tirana  
*Constructing Albanian Communist and Post-Communist Identities Through Literature: Orientalism in the Works of Ismail Kadare*
- **Dr. Rasa Baločkaitė**, Associate Professor, Vytautas Magnus University  
*Colonial Narratives in the Soviet Cinema: "Kidnapping, Caucasian style" (1967)*
- **Katrin Staudinger**, Independent cultural anthropologist  
*Free Nomads, Noble Robbers and Unscrupulous Slave Raiders: The Turkmen Test Case for Orientalism on the Russian Imperial Periphery*

15:05 – 15:35  
University café

Coffee break

15:35 – 16:30  
Aula Parva

### **Plenary lecture: Dr. John Heathershaw, University of Exeter**

*Rising Powers and Post-Western International Relations: a research prospectus for Central Asian Studies*

16:30 – 17:40

### **Parallel panel sessions**

Kovalevskio  
auditorija

### **Ukrainian cultural spaces and symbols: finding post-colonial identities? (Part II)**

Moderator: Dr. Konstantinas Andrijauskas, Vilnius University

- **Dr. Iryna Borysiuk**, Associate Professor, Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University  
*Between Silence and Speaking: Representation of National Identity in the Poetry by Oksana Zabuzhko*
- **Nataliya Bezborodova**, Graduate student, University of Alberta  
*The "New Year's Tree" of the Maidan as a Mediator of Decolonization Discourse in Ukraine*

Seminar  
room 239

### **(Re-)Negotiating colonial and centre-periphery relationships in the former Communist world**

Moderator: Dr. Uku Lember, Tallinn University

- **Dr. Vilius Ivanauskas**, Lithuanian Institute of History  
*Ethnic Particularism in Soviet peripheries: Local intellectuals as the mediators creating Soviet "West", Soviet "Exotic" and Soviet "East"*
- **Estelle Bunout**, PhD candidate, University of Lorraine  
*Recognition as an incentive for revision of possessive conceptions of Eastern Europe in Poland and Germany after 1945? Realizations and limits on the basis of the Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych (PISM) and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP).*

Seminar  
room 238

### **Knowledge regimes, subaltern voices and New Area Studies**

Moderator: Dr. John Heathershaw, University of Exeter



Hindi  
auditorija

- **Dr. Claus Bech Hansen**, University of Bonn  
*Subaltern voices from the post-Soviet periphery: The translation of western epistemic cultures in Central Asia*
- **Dr. Markus Kaiser**, University of Bonn  
*Migration in Eurasia*

**Soviet Asia through the lenses of cinema: orientalising “the East” in the 1920ies and 1930ies**

Moderator: Dr. Rasa Baločkaite, Associate Professor, Vytautas Magnus University

- **Caroline Damiens**, PhD candidate, National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations  
*The Soviet cine-expeditions in the 1920-30s: modernizing/sovietising Siberia Indigenous peoples through film*
- **Dr. Cloé Drieu**, French National Centre for Scientific Research  
*Bolshevik imperialism, nationalist agencies and Socialist realism in Uzbek films: the birth of a new Soviet orientalism (1924-1938)*

17:40 – 18:40  
University café

Networking tea and coffee break, technical details for following day



Hindi  
auditorija

- **Dr. Dariya Orlova**, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy  
*Ukraine as 'Not-Yet-Europe': Self-Orientalism in the Mediatized Discourse of Ukrainian Political Elites*
- **Roman Horbyk**, PhD candidate, Sodertorn university  
*"Ukraine can not": Orientalist discourses in the coverage of Ukraine in British and Russian press before the Ukraine-Russia crisis, 2009 – 2013*
- **Dr. Julia Sushytska**, CREPHAC, University of Strasbourg  
*Europe on the Edges of Europe: Confronting Internalized Oppression*

### **De-territorialization and colonial thinking: migrants and exiles from the former "periphery" (Part II)**

Moderator: Prof. Vytis Čiubrinskas, Vytautas Magnus University/Vilnius University

- **Matan Sandler**, Graduate student, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev  
*"Refusinks"- How a National Myth Conforms to Imperial Discourse*
- **Farrukh Irnazarov**, PhD candidate, University of Groningen  
*Mass Media as a Source of Xenophobia and Violence against "Gastarbeiters" in Russia*
- **Masha Averbuch**, Graduate student, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev  
*The Soviet Conundrum: Imperial Narratives Interchange in Israel Postcolonial Discourse*

Seminar  
room 238

### **From Czarist to (Post-)Soviet Orientalism: forms, problems and critiques**

Moderator: Prof. Adeeb Khalid, Carleton College

- Prof. **Michael Kemper**, University of Amsterdam  
*Soviet Critiques of Soviet Orientalism*
- **Dr. Masha Kirasirova**, New York University Abu Dhabi  
*"The Eastern International": Between Soviet Orientalism and Anti-Colonialism*
- **Dr. Kevork Oskanian**, University of Birmingham  
*Czars, Commissars, and Siloviki: Russian Empire between East and West*

Kovalevskio  
auditorija

### **Orientalizing the *other*: ethnic minorities and "alien" invaders in Ukraine, Georgia and Central Asia**

Moderator: Dr. Konstantinas Andrijauskas, Vilnius University

- **Mehmonsho Sharifov**, PhD candidate, University of Bergen  
*Colonial inheritance of the failed State: self-orientalization or "politics of anti-politics" in Tajikistan*
- **Dr. Konstantinas Andrijauskas**, Vilnius University  
*Between the "Russian World" and "Yellow Peril": (Re-)Presentations of Russia's Non-Slavic Fighters in Eastern Ukraine*
- **Dr. Salome Dundua**, Associate Professor, Tbilisi State University  
*Muslim Georgians and Integration Process: from Czarist Russia's Politics until Today*

13:15 – 14:15  
University café

Networking lunch for presenters and keynote speakers

## Afternoon programme

14:15 – 15:10

Aula Parva

### Plenary lecture: Dr. Nick Megoran, Newcastle University

*Central Asia as Oriental: discourses of danger in policy, the academy, and popular culture*

15:10 – 16:15

Seminar  
room 238

### Parallel panel sessions

#### Colonial thinking and contemporary policies in the Caucasus and beyond

Moderator: Dr. Konstantinas Andrijauskas, Vilnius University

- **Dr. Yordan Lyutskanov**, Associate Professor, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences  
*Balkanism, self-colonisation, economy of gratitude, non-prestigious neighbours: Towards understanding (quasi)colonial experience in the wider Black Sea region as multilateral structure*
- **Danilo Mandić**, PhD candidate, Harvard University  
*Secession within the Periphery: Separatist Movements, the State, and Organized Crime in Serbia and Georgia, 1989-2012*

Aula Parva

### Teleconferenced address

- Prof. Emeritus **Ronald G. Suny**, University of Michigan, University of Chicago  
*The Armenian Genocide and its historical interpretations*

Seminar  
room 239

### Public discussion: Energy strategies in the FSU as a form of imperialization and de-imperialization policy

Moderator: Greta Monika Tučkutė, Centre for Geopolitical Studies

Participants:

- Mikhail Krutikhin, Head, RusEnergy *think-tank*
- Arvydas Sekmokas, former Minister of Energy of Lithuania, member of Vilnius Council, independent energy expert.

16:15 – 16:45

University café

Coffee break

16:45 – 18:20

Seminar  
room 239

### Parallel panel sessions

#### Post-colonial patterns and interpretations in Baltic literature: between literary work and politics

Moderator: Dr. Giedrė Pranaitytė, Vytautas Magnus University

- **Dr. Laura Laurušaitė**, Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore  
*The Burden and Advantage of Internal Colonization: Lithuanian and Latvian Émigré Novels*
- **Dr. Benedikts Kalnačs**, Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art, University of Latvia  
*Representations of Postcolonial/Postimperial Space in Contemporary Baltic Literatures: Competing Narrative Patterns*
- **Dr. Giedrė Pranaitytė**, Vytautas Magnus University  
*Tragic Memories about the Massive Exile of Lithuanians to Siberia in 1941: at the Intersection of Politics, History and Literature*

Seminar  
room 238

### Local actors as agents beyond patronizing attitudes: Eastern Europe, Central Asia

Moderator: Dr. Nick Megoran, Newcastle University

- **Dr. Fabio Indeo**, external research fellow, University of Camerino

Kovalevskio  
auditorija

Hindi  
auditorija

18:20 – 18:30  
University café

*Post-soviet Central Asia: focusing on the regional dimension*

- **Dr. Jens Boysen**, German Historical Institute Warsaw  
*Historical lecturing and political alarmism: Poland's efforts at influencing EU strategic attitudes towards Russia and the post-Soviet space*
- **Vassiliy Lakhonin**, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs  
*The importance of 'listening to people' when studying international aid and development: A case study of the rural aid-recipients in Kyrgyzstan*

### **Mongolia, Xinjiang, China proper: imperial history and colonial stereotypes from the "Far East" to Europe**

Moderator: Dr. Konstantinas Andrijauskas, Vilnius University

- **Lina Bartusevičiūtė**, Graduate student, Shanghai Fudan University  
*Being "ex-Soviet" in China: the difficulties of re-branding Lithuania as an independent political entity*
- **Dr. Bartosz Kowalski**, University of Lodz  
*Creating a Soviet sphere of influence in the Republic of China. Xinjiang under Sheng Shicai 1933-1942*
- **Sachi Leith**, New York University Abu Dhabi  
*Unsettling Nomadism: becoming minor in Galan Tschinag's Die Rückkehr*

### **Conflict of narratives and narratives of conflict: Ukrainian VS Russian perspectives on Euromaidan**

Moderator: Dr. Vilius Ivanauskas, Lithuanian Institute of History

- (Teleconferenced) **Dr. Svitlana Potapenko**, Nat. Academy of Sciences, Ukraine  
*Does Ukraine Have Elites? Russian Narrative vs. Ukrainian History*
- **Liliia Usik**, PhD Candidate, University of Potsdam  
*The Conflict of Narratives in Russian vs. Ukrainian Social Media*
- **Dr. Oksana Myshlovska**, Geneva Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies  
*Taking the grief to the international level: Ukraine and the Russian Federation debates on the ongoing crisis in Ukraine at the Geneva-based human rights protection bodies*

Technical details for the following day

# Saturday, August 29<sup>th</sup>

## Morning programme

08:00 – 09:00  
Floor 2 corridor

Registration for newcomers

09:00 – 09:05  
Aula Parva

Technical details and general announcements

09:05 – 10:00  
Aula Parva

### Plenary lecture: Mykola Ryabchuk, Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

*Re-inventing Eurasia: On the applicability of (post)colonial approaches to the study of (post)communist countries*

10:00 – 11:10

### Parallel panel sessions

Seminar  
room 238

#### Kazakh-Russian Relations: Soviet Visions and post-Soviet Revisions (Part I)

Moderator: Dr. Gabriel McGuire, Nazarbayev University

- **Dr. Gabriel McGuire**, Associate Professor, Nazarbayev University  
*Abai Zholy as Socialist Realism and as National Romance*
- **Christopher Baker**, PhD candidate, Indiana University; Associate Professor, American Univ. of Central Asia  
*At play in the Soviet Library: history, texts and power in the late Soviet era*

Seminar  
room 239

#### Applying Post-colonial approaches to the FSU: useful practice or intellectual *divertissement*? (Part I)

Moderator: Mykola Ryabchuk, Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

- **Giorgia Zino**, Graduate student, University of Bologna  
*Soviet Union as an Internal Colonization Experience? Nation-based internal colonialism in Russian-Lithuanian Relationships*
- **Dr. Sergei I. Zhuk**, Associate Professor, Ball State University  
*Ukrainian Maidan as the Last Anti-Soviet Revolution: Subaltern Studies and Epistemological Dangers of Soviet Nostalgia for Writing Soviet and Post-Soviet History*

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#### Travelogues to and from the Empire's Periphery: orientalization and colonial thinking (Part I)

Moderator: Fabio Belafatti, Vilnius University

- **Anastasia Tserkovna**, PhD candidate, Zhytomyr Ivan Franko State University  
*Multiculturalism as an Artistic Component of Imagological Liminality of the Ethnoimage of Ukraine in English Travel Journals of the Romantic Period*
- **Roman Horbyk**, PhD candidate, Sodertorn university  
*"Heliotropismus geheimer Art": Walter Benjamin's trips to the East and Orientalist confusions of the European left*

11:10 – 11:40  
University café

Coffee break

11:40 – 13:15

### Parallel panel sessions

Seminar  
room 238

#### Kazakh-Russian Relations: Soviet Visions and post-Soviet Revisions (Part II)

Moderator: Dr. Gabriel McGuire, Nazarbayev University

Seminar  
room 239

- **Dr. Dina Sharipova**, Associate Professor, KIMEP University  
*Ethnic Nationalism in Kazakhstan through post-colonial theory*
- **Aray Rakhimzhanova**, Graduate student, University of Roehampton  
*Traditional culture vs Colonial legacy: Case study of the dance Qara Jorğa*

### **Applying Post-colonial approaches to the FSU: useful practice or intellectual *divertissement*? (Part II)**

Moderator: Mykola Ryabchuk, Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

- **Jaroslava Barbieri**, University of Oxford/London School of Economics  
*Ukrainian barricades: the last 'limes Europae'? Euromaidan as a challenge to Europe and Russia's conception of borders*
- **Dr. Uku Lember**, Tallinn University  
*Soviet era Estonian-Russian intermarriages as non-colonial encounters?*
- **Prof. Vladislav Inozemtsev**, Moscow Higher School of Economics/Centre for Post-Industrial Studies  
*Colonies vs. Dependencies: An Invitation to a Discourse*

Hindi  
auditorija

### **Travelogues to and from the Empire's Periphery: orientalizing and colonial thinking (Part II)**

Moderator: Roman Horbyk, Sodertorn university

- **Agnieszka Sadecka**, PhD candidate, University of Tuebingen  
*Orientalising/Orientalised? - a Polish Reporter's Travel to the Former Empire*
- **Prof. Zahid Anwar**, University of Peshawar  
*Afghan depiction in Victorian travelogues during the Great Game*
- **Ibrahim Mirzayev**, Humboldt University, Berlin  
*An Oriental in Occident? Letters of Rashid bek Ahundov from Brussels*

Kovalevskio  
auditorija

### **Constructing an orientalist historical knowledge of Central Asia: comparative perspectives**

Moderated by: Prof. Adeeb Khalid, Carleton College

- **Dr. Svetlana Gorshenina**, University of Lausanne  
*"Natives" and the birth of archeology in Russian Turkestan: transitioning from "invisible" to "subordinate"*
- **Kunduz Niiazova**, Graduate student, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich  
*Russian Academic Thinking on Turkestan and Palestine*
- **Michael Erdman**, PhD candidate, School of Oriental and African Studies  
*Central Asians as the Good Other to the Corrupted Ottomans: An Examination of the Portrayal of Pre-Islamic Central Asia in the Turkish History Thesis*

13:15 – 14:15  
University café

Networking lunch for presenters and keynote speakers

## Afternoon programme

14:15 – 15:10

Aula Parva

### **Plenary lecture: Dr. Andreas Umland, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy**

*Becoming 'Oriental' to Justify Hegemony: The Imperial Purpose of Self-Orientalization in Russian Eurasianism*

15:10 – 16:15

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### **Parallel panel sessions**

#### **Travelogues to and from the Empire's Periphery: orientalization and colonial thinking (Part III)**

Moderator: Roman Horbyk, Sodertorn university

- **Dr. Duccio Colombo**, Associate Professor, University of Palermo  
*Carrying the Red Man's Burden: Pavel Luknickii, or Kipling in the Soviet Pamir*
- **Fabio Belafatti**, Vilnius University  
*A communist orientalizer? Joshua Kunitz's "Dawn over Samarkand" as a travelogue*

Seminar  
room 238

#### **The Rusyn minority: searching for a new, post-colonial position in Ukraine's security equation**

Moderator: TBC

- **Dr. Sándor Földvári**, Debrecen University  
*Ethnic Identity and The "Carpathian Card" — Rusyns in the security policies of Ukraine and Its European Neighbours*
- **Serge Gurbich**, Graduate student, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy  
*Carpathian Rusyns in both east-European and Soviet and post-Soviet discourses*

Seminar  
room 239

#### **Eurasianism and ideologies of the Empire: Russian neo-imperialism and European far-right (Part I)**

Moderator: Dr. Andreas Umland, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

- (Teleconferenced) **Dr. Giovanni Savino**, Sholokhov Moscow State University  
*Russia and Europe: a Self-Image or the "Other"?*
- **Dr. Anton Shekhovtsov**, Legatum Institute/University College London  
*Neo-Eurasianism and the Russian-Ukrainian war*

16:15 – 16:45

University café

Coffee break

16:45 – 18:20

Seminar  
room 239

### **Parallel panel sessions**

#### **Eurasianism and ideologies of the Empire: Russian neo-imperialism and European far-right (Part II)**

Moderator: Dr. Andreas Umland, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

- **Dr. Natalia Kovalchuk**, Ukrainian Catholic University  
*Russian Pan Slavism revisited*
- **Magda Dolinska-Rydzek**, PhD candidate, Justus-Liebig University in Giessen  
*Russian Civilization in the Fight with the Western Antichrist: Elements of the Imperial Discourse in post-Soviet Russia*
- **Konstantyn Fedorenko**, Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation  
*New "Holy Alliance": Russian Reply to European Orientalism*



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**Women in Eastern Europe and Central Asia: between “orientalist” stereotypes and new identities**

Moderator: Dr. Irina Novikova, University of Latvia

- **Ewa Polak**, independent scholar  
*Women, Nation and Anti-Sovietism; Pop-culture in the service of O'zbekchilik*
- (Teleconferenced) **Dr. Feruza Shermatova**, Ataturk-Ala Too university  
*Paradoxes in defining women identity in Kyrgyzstan: veil versus traditional clothing*
- **Rūta Skriptaitė**, graduate student, University College London  
*The misrepresentation of Eastern and South-eastern European women in the popular culture and media as a result of the acceptance of imposition of “the other” paradigm on them*

18:20 – 18:45  
Seminar  
room 239

Conclusive remarks: Fabio Belafatti, Dr. Valdas Jaskūnas

# Conference programme – Schedule view

*Thursday, August 27<sup>th</sup>*

Time	Event and location			
08:00 10:30	Registration and welcoming coffee			
	<i>University café</i>			
10:30 11:15	Welcoming speeches and technical details			
	<i>Aula Parva</i>			
11:15 12:30	<b>Opening keynote roundtable: "Can small actors be heard? Experiences of former peripheries in the international arena and academia"</b>			
	<i>Aula Parva</i>			
12:30 13:30	Networking lunch for presenters and keynote speakers			
	<i>University café</i>			
	<b>Ukraine's choices: between and beyond the traps of imperial thinking</b>  <i>Seminar room 238</i>  Dr. M. Romanets, "Russian neo-Imperial Fantasies: Constructing the "Near Orient" of Ukraine's Political Body"  <b>13:30 15:05</b> Dr. N. Bureiko, "Shaking the frontier: Ukraine moves West?"	<b>Eastern Europe and Europeans in public and self-perceptions</b>  <i>Hindi auditorija</i>  R. McKenna, "Central and Eastern Europe in the British Imagination"  Dr. I. Novikova, "Imagining Russia/nness in post-Soviet Latvian media"  P. Lottholz, Dr. P. Manolova, "No escape from ideology? A comparison of political and moral orientations in the former Soviet periphery"	<b>Ukrainian cultural spaces and symbols: finding post-colonial identities? (Part I)</b>  <i>Kovalevskio aud.</i>  Dr. N. Koltakova, "A Cultural Stereotype as a Text of Culture in the Contemporary Ukrainian Literature"  D. Semenova, "Southern and Eastern Soviet periphery as exoticized adventure landscape: how are the potentially disinterested Ukrainian narratives biased by the imperialist discourse stereotypes?"	<b>Colonial and Orientalist narratives in literature and cinema in the former Periphery</b>  <i>Seminar room 239</i>  Dr. E. Sulstarova, "Constructing Albanian Communist and Post-Communist Identities Through Literature: Orientalism in the Works of Ismail Kadare"  Dr. R. Baločkaitė, "Colonial Narratives in the Soviet Cinema: "Kidnapping, Caucasian style" (1967)"  K. Staudinger, "Free Nomads, Noble Robbers and Unscrupulous Slave Raiders: The Turkmen Test Case for Orientalism on the Russian Imperial Periphery"
15:05 15:35	Coffee break			
	<i>University café</i>			
15:35 16:30	<b>Plenary lecture: Dr. John Heathershaw, University of Exeter, "Rising Powers and Post-Western International Relations: a research prospectus for Central Asian Studies"</b>			
	<i>Aula Parva</i>			
16:30 17:40	<b>Knowledge regimes, subaltern voices and New Area Studies</b>  <i>Seminar room 238</i>	<b>Soviet Asia through the lenses of cinema: orientalising "the East" in the 1920ies and 1930ies</b>  <i>Hindi auditorija</i>	<b>Ukrainian cultural spaces and symbols: finding post-colonial identities? (Part II)</b>  <i>Kovalevskio aud.</i>	<b>(Re-)Negotiating colonial and centre-periphery relationships in the former Communist world</b>  <i>Seminar room 239</i>

Dr. C. Bech Hansen, "Subaltern voices from the post-Soviet periphery: The translation of western epistemic cultures in Central Asia"

Dr. M. Kaiser, "Migration in Eurasia"

C. Damiens, "The Soviet cine-expeditions in the 1920-30s: modernizing/sovietising Siberia Indigenous peoples through film"

Dr. C. Drieu, "Bolshevik imperialism, nationalist agencies and Socialist realism in Uzbek films: the birth of a new Soviet orientalism (1924-1938)"

Dr. I. Borysiuk, "Between Silence and Speaking: Representation of National Identity in the Poetry by Oksana Zabuzhko"

N. Bezborodova, "The "New Year's Tree" of the Maidan as a Mediator of Decolonization Discourse in Ukraine"

Dr. V. Ivanauskas, "Ethnic Particularism in Soviet peripheries: Local intellectuals as the mediators creating Soviet "West", Soviet "Exotic" and Soviet "East""

E. Bunout, "Recognition as an incentive for revision of possessive conceptions of Eastern Europe in Poland and Germany after 1945? Realizations and limits on the basis of the Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych (PISM) and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP)."

17:40 Networking tea and coffee break  
18:40 Technical details for the following day

University café

## Friday, August 28<sup>th</sup>

### Time Event and location

08:00 09:00	Registration for newcomers		Floor 2 corridor
09:00 09:05	Technical details and general announcements		Aula Parva
09:05 10:00	<b>Plenary lecture: Prof. Adeeb Khalid, Carleton College, "The Orient in Soviet Thought, or the Curious Career of a Concept"</b>		Aula Parva
	<b>Constructing new identities and national myths: personality cults and new textbooks</b> <i>Seminar room 238</i>	<b>De-territorialization and colonial thinking: migrants and exiles from the former "periphery" (Part I)</b> <i>Hindi auditorija</i>	<b>Phantom memories: Orientalism and mediated representations of Ukraine (Part I)</b> <i>Seminar room 239</i>
10:00 11:10	Dr. R. Čepaitienė, "Post-Soviet Paternalism: the Formation of the Cult of Personality of Presidents in Former Republics of the USSR, its Functions and Forms of Expression"  R. Beykhanov, "Shaping the Azerbaijani	K. Ordzowiały-Grzegorzcyk, "Images of the Russian Empire. Polish exiles in the Caucasus during the 19th century"  M. Averbuch and M. Sandler, "Uses of Soviet Imperialist Narratives for National Assimilation: the Case of the "Russian"	Dr. Y. Yurchuk, "Narratives of the Second World War: Contesting the "hierarchy of historical narratives" from the East and the West"  N. Bernsand, "Ukraine as a site of Orientalist projections: perceptions of

	National Pantheon in post-Soviet Azerbaijan Textbooks"	Veterans in Israel"	Ukraine-Russia crisis in Sweden"
<b>11:10</b> <b>11:40</b>	Coffee break		<i>University café</i>
	<b>From Czarist to (Post-)Soviet Orientalism: forms, problems and critiques</b> <i>Seminar room 238</i>	<b>De-territorialization and colonial thinking: migrants and exiles from the former "periphery" (Part II)</b> <i>Hindi auditorija</i>	<b>Orientalizing the other: ethnic minorities and "alien" invaders in Ukraine, Georgia and Central Asia</b> <i>Kovalevskio aud.</i>
	Prof. M. Kemper, "Soviet Critiques of Soviet Orientalism"	M. Sandler, "'Refusinks'- How a National Myth Conforms to Imperial Discourse"	M. Sharifov, "Colonial inheritance of the failed State: self-orientalization or "politics of anti-politics" in Tajikistan"
<b>11:40</b> <b>13:15</b>	Dr. M. Kirasirova, "The Eastern International": Between Soviet Orientalism and Anti-Colonialism"	F. Irnazarov, "Mass Media as a Source of Xenophobia and Violence against "Gastarbeiters" in Russia"	Dr. K. Andrijauskas, "Between the "Russian World" and "Yellow Peril": (Re-)Presentations of Russia's Non-Slavic Fighters in Eastern Ukraine"
	Dr. K. Oskanian, "Czars, Commissars, and Siloviki: Russian Empire between East and West"	M. Averbuch, "The Soviet Conundrum: Imperial Narratives Interchange in Israel Postcolonial Discourse"	Dr. S. Dundua, "Muslim Georgians and Integration Process: from Czarist Russia's Politics until Today"
<b>13:15</b> <b>14:15</b>	Networking lunch for presenters and keynote speakers		<i>University café</i>
<b>14:15</b> <b>15:10</b>	<b>Plenary lecture: Dr. Nick Megoran, Newcastle University, "Central Asia as Oriental: discourses of danger in policy, the academy, and popular culture"</b>		<i>Aula Parva</i>
	<b>Colonial thinking and contemporary policies in the Caucasus and beyond</b> <i>Seminar room 238</i>	<b>Teleconferenced address</b>	<b>Public discussion: Energy strategies in the FSU as a form of imperialization and de-imperialization policy</b>
<b>15:10</b> <b>16:15</b>	Dr. Y. Lyutskanov, "Balkanism, self-colonisation, economy of gratitude, non-prestigious neighbours: Towards understanding (quasi)colonial experience in the wider Black Sea region as multilateral structure"	Prof. Emeritus Ronald G. Suny, "The Armenian Genocide and its historical interpretations"  <i>Aula Parva</i>	M. Krutikhin, Head, RusEnergy think-tank A. Sekmokas, former Minister of Energy of Lithuania, independent energy expert.  <i>Seminar room 239</i>
	D. Mandić, "Secession within the Periphery: Separatist Movements, the State, and Organized Crime in Serbia and Georgia, 1989-2012"		
<b>16:15</b> <b>16:45</b>	Coffee break		<i>University café</i>

**Local actors as agents beyond patronizing attitudes: Eastern Europe, Central Asia**

*Seminar room 238*

Dr. F. Indeo, "Post-soviet Central Asia: focusing on the regional dimension"

16:45  
18:20

Dr. J. Boysen, "Historical lecturing and political alarmism: Poland's efforts at influencing EU strategic attitudes towards Russia and the post-Soviet space"

V. Lakhonin, "The importance of 'listening to people' when studying international aid and development: A case study of the rural aid-recipients in Kyrgyzstan"

**Conflict of narratives and narratives of conflict: Ukrainian VS Russian perspectives on Euromaidan**

*Hindi auditorija*

Dr. S. Potapenko, "Does Ukraine Have Elites? Russian Narrative vs. Ukrainian History"

L. Usik, "The Conflict of Narratives in Russian vs. Ukrainian Social Media"

Dr. O. Myshlovska, "Taking the grief to the international level: Ukraine and the Russian Federation debates on the ongoing crisis in Ukraine at the Geneva-based human rights protection bodies"

**Mongolia, Xinjiang, China proper: imperial history and colonial stereotypes from the "Far East" to Europe**

*Kovalevskio aud.*

L. Bartusevičiūtė, "Being "ex-Soviet" in China: the difficulties of re-branding Lithuania as an independent political entity"

Dr. B. Kowalski, "Creating a Soviet sphere of influence in the Republic of China. Xinjiang under Sheng Shicai 1933-1942"

S. Leith, "Unsettling Nomadism: becoming minor in Galan Tschinag's Die Rückkehr"

**Post-colonial patterns and interpretations in Baltic literature: between literary work and politics**

*Seminar room 239*

Dr. L. Laurušaitė, "The Burden and Advantage of Internal Colonization: Lithuanian and Latvian Émigré Novels"

Dr. B. Kalnačs, "Representations of Postcolonial/Postimperial Space in Contemporary Baltic Literatures: Competing Narrative Patterns"

Dr. G. Pranaitytė, "Tragic Memories about the Massive Exile of Lithuanians to Siberia in 1941: at the Intersection of Politics, History and Literature"

18:20  
18:30

Technical details for the following day

*Aula Parva*

## Saturday, August 29<sup>th</sup>

**Time Event and location**

08:00  
09:00

Registration for newcomers

*Floor 2 corridor*

09:00  
09:05

Technical details and general announcements

*Aula Parva*

09:05 **Plenary lecture: Mykola Ryabchuk, Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, "Re-inventing Eurasia: On the applicability of (post)colonial approaches to the study of (post)communist countries"**

*Aula Parva*

10:00  
11:10

**Kazakh-Russian Relations: Soviet Visions and post-Soviet Revisions (Part I)**

*Seminar room 238*

Dr. G. McGuire, "Abai Zholy as Socialist Realism and as National Romance"

**Travelogues to and from the Empire's Periphery: orientalizacion and colonial thinking (Part I)**

*Hindi auditorija*

A. Tserkovna, "Multiculturalism as an Artistic Component of Imagological

**Applying Post-colonial approaches to the FSU: useful practice or intellectual divertissement? (Part I)**

*Seminar room 239*

G. Zino, "Soviet Union as an Internal Colonization Experience? Nation-based

	C. Baker, "At play in the Soviet Library: history, texts and power in the late Soviet era"	<p>Liminality of the Ethnoimage of Ukraine in English Travel Journals of the Romantic Period"</p> <p>R. Horbyk, ""Heliotropismus geheimer Art": Walter Benjamin's trips to the East and Orientalist confusions of the European left"</p>		<p>internal colonialism in Russian-Lithuanian Relationships"</p> <p>Dr. S. I. Zhuk, "Ukrainian Maidan as the Last Anti-Soviet Revolution: Subaltern Studies and Epistemological Dangers of Soviet Nostalgia for Writing Soviet and Post-Soviet History"</p>
<b>11:10</b> <b>11:40</b>	Coffee break			<i>University café</i>
	<b>Kazakh-Russian Relations: Soviet Visions and post-Soviet Revisions (Part II)</b> <i>Seminar room 238</i>	<b>Travelogues to and from the Empire's Periphery: orientalizing and colonial thinking (Part II)</b> <i>Hindi auditorija</i>	<b>Constructing an orientalist historical knowledge of Central Asia: comparative perspectives</b> <i>Kovalevskio auditorija</i>	<b>Applying Post-colonial approaches to the FSU: useful practice or intellectual divertissement? (Part II)</b> <i>Seminar room 239</i>
<b>11:40</b> <b>13:15</b>	<p>Dr. D. Sharipova, "Ethnic Nationalism in Kazakhstan through post-colonial theory"</p> <p>A. Rakhimzhanova, "Traditional culture vs Colonial legacy: Case study of the dance Qara Jorğa"</p>	<p>A. Sadecka, "Orientalising/Orientalised? - a Polish Reporter's Travel to the Former Empire"</p> <p>Prof. Z. Anwar, "Afghan depiction in Victorian travelogues during the Great Game"</p> <p>I. Mirzayev, "An Oriental in Occident? Letters of Rashid bek Ahundov from Brussels"</p>	<p>Dr. S. Gorshenina, ""Natives" and the birth of archeology in Russian Turkestan: transitioning from "invisible" to "subordinate""</p> <p>K. Niiazova, "Russian Academic Thinking on Turkestan and Palestine"</p> <p>M. Erdman, "Central Asians as the Good Other to the Corrupted Ottomans: An Examination of the Portrayal of Pre-Islamic Central Asia in the Turkish History Thesis"</p>	<p>J. Barbieri, "Ukrainian barricades: the last 'limes Europae'? Euromaidan as a challenge to Europe and Russia's conception of borders"</p> <p>Dr. U. Lember, "Soviet era Estonian-Russian intermarriages as non-colonial encounters?"</p> <p>Prof. V. Inozemtsev, "Colonies vs. Dependencies: An Invitation to a Discourse"</p>
<b>13:15</b> <b>14:15</b>	Networking lunch for presenters and keynote speakers			<i>University café</i>
<b>14:15</b> <b>15:10</b>	<b>Plenary lecture: Dr. Andreas Umland, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, "Becoming 'Oriental' to Justify Hegemony: The Imperial Purpose of Self-Orientalization in Russian Eurasianism"</b>			<i>Aula Parva</i>
<b>15:10</b> <b>16:15</b>	<b>The Rusyn minority: searching for a new, post-colonial position in Ukraine's security equation</b> <i>Seminar room 238</i>	<b>Travelogues to and from the Empire's Periphery: orientalizing and colonial thinking (Part III)</b> <i>Hindi auditorija</i>	-	<b>Eurasianism and ideologies of the Empire: Russian neo-imperialism and European far-right (Part I)</b> <i>Seminar room 239</i>
	<p>Dr. S. Földvári, "Ethnic Identity and The "Carpathian Card" — Rusyns in the security policies of Ukraine and Its European Neighbours"</p> <p>S. Gurbich, "Carpathian Rusyns in both east-European and Soviet and post-Soviet</p>	<p>Dr. D. Colombo, "Carrying the Red Man's Burden: Pavel Luknickii, or Kipling in the Soviet Pamir"</p> <p>F. Belafatti, "A communist orientalizer? Joshua Kunitz's "Dawn over Samarkand" as a travelogue"</p>		<p>Dr. G. Savino, Title to be confirmed</p> <p>Dr. A. Shekhovtsov, "Neo-Eurasianism and the Russian-Ukrainian war"</p>

discourses"

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16:15			
16:45	Coffee break		<i>University café</i>
		<b>Women in Eastern Europe and Central Asia: between "orientalist" stereotypes and new identities</b> <i>Hindi auditorija</i>	<b>Eurasianism and ideologies of the Empire: Russian neo-imperialism and European far-right (Part II)</b> <i>Seminar room 239</i>
16:45	-	E. Polak, "Women, Nation and Anti-Sovietism; Pop-culture in the service of O'zbekchilik"	Dr. N. Kovalchuk, "Russian Pan Slavism revisited"
18:20	-	Dr. F. Shermatova, "Paradoxes in defining women identity in Kyrgyzstan: veil versus traditional clothing"	M. Dolinska-Rydzek, "Russian Civilization in the Fight with the Western Antichrist: Elements of the Imperial Discourse in post-Soviet Russia"
		R. Skriptaitė, "The misrepresentation of Eastern and South-eastern European women in the popular culture and media as a result of the acceptance of imposition of "the other" paradigm on them"	K. Fedorenko, "New "Holy Alliance": Russian Reply to European Orientalism"
18:20			
18:45	Conclusive remarks: Fabio Belafatti, Dr. Valdas Jaskūnas		<i>Seminar room 239</i>

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# Abstracts of the presentations

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*The abstracts are presented in alphabetical order by speaker's surname; in case of joint presentations, the abstract is listed taking into account the surname of the first presenter (in the order as they appear in the programme). Surnames starting with language-specific letters (č, š, ...) are listed based on the most similar international ones (c, s, ...)*

Dr. **Konstantinas Andrijauskas**, Vilnius University

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## ***Between the “Russian World” and “Yellow Peril”: (Re-)Presentations of Russia’s Non-Slavic Fighters in Eastern Ukraine***

Ever since one of the so-called Crimean “green men” with characteristically East Asian appearance admitted of belonging to Russia’s regular military forces in March 2014, non-Slavic citizens of Russia and its allies have figured prominently in the military conflict in Eastern Ukraine. Portrayed as natural defenders of the “Russian World” by sympathetic commentators, they have been both specifically highlighted and mocked at by the Ukrainians, thus changing their historical representations of perceived “Slavic unity” with Russians for those of new “Yellow Peril” yet again arriving from Asia to destroy the cradle of Eastern Slavic civilization. During this last year enough accessible data on the topic have emerged, thus demanding their aggregation and analysis. Based on available interviews with non-Slavic militants backing the separatist cause and holding citizenship of Russia or other post-Soviet countries besides Ukraine, this paper attempts to assess their “presentations” of themselves with particular emphasis on the motives for participation in the conflict and the image of their opponents. Similarly, particular Ukrainian representations of these fighters in their social and mass media would be analyzed in order to signify this topic as one of the principal ones in trying to both discredit Moscow’s military involvement, and even more importantly, to break the links with Russian state and even national identities.

Prof. **Zahid Anwar**, University of Peshawar

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## ***Afghan Depiction in Victorian Travelogues During the Great Game***

The tournament of shadows (Bolshaya Igra) or the Great Game was a struggle between British India and Tsarist Russia for political ascendancy in Central Asia. Many authors on both sides wrote about that shadowy war and gave a portrayal of Central Asia and north-western periphery of British India. At the end of a long tussle Central Asia was colonized by Russia and the borders of Afghanistan were demarcated as a result of the 1907 Anglo-Russian Convention benefitting both contending Empires. Arthur Connolly coined the term Great Game and Rudyard Kipling fictionalized it in *Kim* (1901) In comparative perspective one can see discourse on the virtues of the Russian Empire in Dostoevsky’s “A Writer's Diary”. Victorian travelogues carry rich information about the natural and human resources along the Durand line. These writings considerably influenced those who wrote after them about the region. Travelogues are important tool for examining the West’s attitudes towards the Non-Western people. Victorian travelogues made a significant contribution to building the



Orientalist discourse. In this context five travelogues of the Victorian age have been selected starting from the 1830s until the end of the century. These travelogues are 'Cabool, being a personal narrative of a journey to, and residence in that city in the years 1836-39' by Alexander Burnes, 'The expedition into Afghanistan' by James Atkinson, 'Journal of the political mission to Afghanistan in 1857' by Henry Walter Bellew, 'Eighteen years in the Khyber 1879-1898' by Robert Warburton and 'Among the wild tribes of the Afghan Frontier' by T.L. Pannell. The main focus of this research paper is on the book by Henry Walter Bellow, a very prominent oriental scholar, with additional support coming from the rest of the texts mentioned above. The research explores the imagery of the indigenous people of the terrain in British travelogues in the epoch of colonialism in comparative perspective.

**Masha Averbuch**, Graduate student, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

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### ***The Soviet Conundrum: Imperial Narratives Interchange in Israel Postcolonial Discourse***

The postcolonial discourse regarding Israel views the Zionist Entity as a settler colonial project based on western European supremacy. During the seventies, a group of Intellectuals of Jewish Arabic descent created a particular strand of postcolonial critique that focused on the Israeli context and highlighted the role of Western Jewish influence in the Middle East as a colonial force and thus offered a link between the oppressed Palestinian natives and the under-classed Mizrahi Jews based on their shared Arabic identity component. To this day, the "Mizrahi Discourse" is a battlefield of the white Ashkanazi elite and the discriminated Mizrahi public over resources, legitimacy and political collective memory. This glocal postcolonial discourse has not adjusted yet to the great demographic changes that occurred in Israel in the past two decades, the arrival of about a million immigrants from the former USSR. Thus, if regarding the soviet immigrants at all, it classifies them in one of the binary categories already existing. This simplified postcolonial discourse is still based on old axioms that portray ex-subjects of the soviet empire as hegemonic white Europeans while ignoring their complex post-soviet immigrant characteristics; therefore, the old-school Mizrahi radical discourse is not fit to analyze the political reality of the "Jewish" settler society and the fractions it consists of from the nineties onwards. I would like to suggest an up-to date anti-colonial critique in the Zionist context that takes into account the subaltern history of the various soviet immigrants who are mostly from colonized countries such as Ukraine, Moldova and Uzbekistan. I wish to claim that by taking into account the complex Jewish history in the Soviet Empire one would come up with a much more responsible critical outlook of the Israeli-Palestinian settler colonial reality. Until then, the ex-soviet immigrants will remain a non recognizable variable, the piece in the puzzle that just would not fit.

**Masha Averbuch** and **Matan Sandler**, Grad. students, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

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### ***Uses of Soviet Imperialist Narratives for National Assimilation: the Case of the "Russian" Veterans in Israel***

The discourse surrounding the Second World War in Israel revolves around the holocaust. The Israeli national narrative is: "from holocaust to resurrection". The Russian diaspora that reached Israel in large numbers early in the 1990's were very much estranged to that form of collective memory due to the marginal location of the Holocaust in the former USSR collective memory of WWII; furthermore, many of the newcomers took an active role in the fighting

against the axis and lost family members not only in the mass graves but also in the battlefield. The eastern European immigrants that arrived were surprised by the Israeli historical narrative of that period and felt that they were not included in it, just as they were excluded as immigrants in any other sphere of influence. Therefore, the immigrant veterans started using the Soviet narrative of patriotism and fatherland, despite the complex historical relationship they each have with the Soviet central government, in order to gain acceptance in their new homeland. The Soviet narrative was able to supply them with cultural and social legitimacy, which they lacked due to their arrival in old age and being unable to serve in the Israeli military. The Soviet struggle was depicted as a part of the general struggle against antisemitism and the creation of a safe Jewish homeland. In the paper, it is claimed that the classic Soviet narrative of WWII was leveraged in order to gain civic and social status in the hostile and racist political environment of Israel.

**Christopher Baker**, PhD candidate, Indiana University; Associate Professor, American Univ. of Central Asia

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### ***At Play in the Soviet Library: History, Texts and Power in the Late Soviet Era***

Containing 16 volumes and spanning over four thousand pages, The Soviet Historical Encyclopedia was a massive work, one that enfolded the entirety of human history in the ordered pages of a text and that perfectly arranged all of the plural ethnic histories at play in the past of the Soviet State. The Encyclopedia formed a dense and internally consistent library animated by the fantasy and desire of containing unruly histories and geographies within books. The Soviet Historical Encyclopedia reinforced the ethnic order of the Soviet present by redrawing and redesigning a thousand ethnic pasts to reflect it and established an intricate ethnic hierarchy centered on Russian civilization. This was the civilization that had redeemed once resplendent but fallen civilizations, saved others from extinction, and that had formed advanced "peoples" and "cultures" from what would have otherwise remained a primal, vestigial "Siberia." Published over the course of fifteen years, from 1961-1976, the Encyclopedia was one of the last, immense monuments of ethnic, historical scholarship the Soviet state would create before novelists in diverse contexts began to pull all of its carefully crafted pasts apart, a movement that unfolded in Central Asia in the form of a proliferation of historical novels that were heteroglot in the pasts they seized and creatively reassembled.

**Dr. Rasa Balockaitė**, Associate Professor, Vytautas Magnus University

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### ***Colonial Narratives in the Soviet Cinema: "Kidnapping, Caucasian Style" (1967)***

With the raise of Western colonialism and imperialism, Russia suffered from political inferiority, from having no overseas colonies and from being, as empire, incomplete. Even at the peak of its power Russia was lacking its own Orient. Russia's expansion into Siberia, Central Asia and Caucasus had to compensate that lack. After the military conquests during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Caucasus became Russia's equivalent for Orient. The birth of empire coincided with the birth of imperial poetry. The so-called Southern poems by leading Russian writers, i.e. "Prisoner of the Caucasus" by A.Pushkin and "The Hero of Our Time" by M.Lermontov, among others, developed the canonic representation of Caucasus as wild, dangerous, and exotic. This way, Caucasus was "inserted" into popular Russian imagination. Later, the Soviet state inherited, from Tsarist Empire, both the colonial possession and, to a

large extent, the colonial attitudes. Although the concept of both Russian and Soviet colonialism gradually vanished, the Soviet propaganda remained based on the binary dichotomies between politically advanced center and developing peripheries. The Soviet comedy *Kidnaping, Caucasian style* (1967) contains traditional colonial grammar of representation, where Russia is associated with progress, freedom, rationality, individualism, scientific approach, whereas the Caucasus is portrayed as lagging behind, economically underdeveloped, based on clan's rule, patriarchal domination and oppression of women, irrational, violent, prejudiced, dangerous and exotic. Generally, the film follows the same canonic representation of Caucasus that prevailed in Pushkin's and Lermontov's works. By associating Soviet with safe, rational and familiar, and non Soviet as chaotic mixture indigenous prejudice and bourgeois residues, the film helped, to a certain extent, justify the Soviet rule as acceptable and legitimate.

**Jaroslava Barbieri**, University of Oxford/London School of Economics

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### ***Ukrainian Barricades: the Last 'Limes Europae'? Euromaidan as a Challenge to Europe and Russia's Conception of Borders***

I wish to investigate how the evaluative incompatibility between different key-philosophical traditions of the XVIII-XIX centuries over the idea of an Eastern European frontier determines the latter's current geopolitical and jurisdictional arrangement. On the one hand, the Western post-Enlightenment rationality proved incapable of grasping the paradoxes of the langue soviétique and established a continuous relocation of the axiological gap between Western and Eastern Europe, nurturing the stereotypical assumption of a supposedly monolithic Eastern European space. On the other, Russia's contradiction between the idea of Russkij Mir and the Eurasian project considers neighbouring countries as its natural backyard of political, economic, and cultural rightful interest. A) Definition of the role of historical narrative discourse in constructing our perception of borders as the only framework within which the arrangement of political borders as well as any future change can be justified. B) Comparison between the conception of borders pursued by the European Neighbourhood Policy to the East and the current foreign policy led by the Russian Federation. Eastern Europe is considered as the platform on which the clash between Western and Russian expansionary potential takes place. Ukraine is picked as a peculiar case study. C) Outlining of how contingent shifts within a single reality may coerce geopolitical positions, media action, and academic analysis internationally to change their leading narratives. The different positions on Euromaidan show the main gap between a kind of narrative looking at future new complex forms of co-operation and co-existence and one which remains trapped by its conception of history and politics as a perennial zero-sum game.

**Lina Bartusevičiūtė**, Graduate student, Shanghai Fudan University

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### ***Being "Ex-Soviet" in China: the Difficulties of Re-Branding Lithuania as an Independent Political Entity***

In Lithuania, it is widely assumed that we are a "no-name" in China, however that is not the case. We are "post-Soviet", and the shadow of the communist past plays a big role in how bilateral and multilateral communication unfolds between the political elites, in business negotiations as well as people-to-people interactions. Assumptions and preconceptions prevail in China in regard to small post-Soviet countries. We are seen in tandem, since we look the same, sound the same, and even are located just a mere 1000 km away from each other. For

China, Soviet Union was the loser of the Cold War - that is the big picture that matters, small countries being invisible. What does such a narrative imply for a "post-Soviet" country trying to enter China as an individual political entity? Evidently, we are no longer Russia, but not quite Europe yet - so China is attempting to make sense of this group of independent nations by creating a new category and platform: CEEC+1, i.e. creating a new framework for stereotyping. How does such stereotype affect Lithuania's image and how can Lithuania take advantage of this new positioning? China's narrative of what Soviet Union was and Oriental perceptions of small post-Soviet states will be presented shortly, followed by a discursive analysis of what implications it has for today's Lithuania-China relations, and for Lithuanian diaspora in China.

**Fabio Belafatti**, Vilnius University

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### **A Communist Orientalizer? Joshua Kunitz's "Dawn Over Samarkand" as a Travelogue**

Joshua Kunitz's "Dawn over Samarkand: the Rebirth of Central Asia" is an account of the Soviet conquest of Central Asia, the collectivization and technical modernization carried out during the early 30s and, ultimately, an account of the American scholar's travels to the region. Having gained rare access to early-Soviet Central Asia thanks to his communist sympathies, Kunitz depicted a unique portrayal of the rapidly-changing region. This paper argues that Kunitz's discourse about Central Asia is characterized by an irreconcilable contradiction between an ideologically-shaped, anti-imperialist, anti-colonial sub-stratum, and a recurring Orientalist bias that directs Kunitz's writing along lines very similar to those of classical *colonial* Orientalist thinking. Despite his conscious effort to distance himself from what he perceives to be a doomed colonial mentality, and present Bolshevik power (and his own account of events) as a break with a colonial past and an imperial narrative, his "Dawn over Samarkand" shows the typical features of "Western" patronizing thinking and Orientalist view of Muslim peoples. The core argument of the paper is that because of this tension, Kunitz ends up playing the paradoxical role of an anti-imperialist colonialist.

**Niklas Bernsand**, PhD candidate, Lund university

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### **Ukraine as a Site of Orientalist Projections: Perceptions of Ukraine-Russia Crisis in Sweden**

This paper will focus on contextualising the media discourses on Ukraine-Russia crisis in Sweden in postcolonial perspective. As I intend to demonstrate, there is a particular set of discursive positions taken up by the radical left and right, extreme libertarians and "truththerist" media that explicitly or implicitly deny the very possibility of agency to the Ukrainians and suggest Ukraine is hardly more than a battlefield between the West and Russia. In this approach, Ukraine is used as a site of ideological projections or a blank canvas onto which pretty much any interpretation could be projected. The locals, in such conditions, become little more than part of the background, very similarly to how Fanon described the predicament of the colonised in "Black Skin, White Masks". This paper will mostly be based on the Swedish case, but occasionally drawing comparative data from other Western countries and will have to do with media coverage of the developments in and around Ukraine throughout 2014. Methodologically, it will depart from qualitative premises using primarily means of rhetorical and discourse analysis applied to a set of the most relevant cases from

2014. Theoretically, it will rely on Edward Said's conceptualisation of Orientalism and diverse linguistic theories.

**Rafi Beykhanov**, PhD candidate, Tel Aviv University

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### ***Shaping the Azerbaijani National Pantheon in Post-Soviet Azerbaijan Textbooks***

The Soviet Union was the last largest multiethnic state in the world. Its disintegration gave birth to fifteen new independent states; among them Azerbaijan, which declared its independence on August 30, 1991. The founding of the post-Soviet independent Republic of Azerbaijan presented to the new/old communist leaders of post-Soviet Azerbaijan a major challenge of reconstructing a new Azerbaijani national identity. The state education system and the textbooks were two of the main tools by which these leaders tried to meet the challenge. The main objective of this presentation it is to explain how Azerbaijani national pantheon was shaped in post-Soviet Azerbaijan textbooks of the state education system. The creation of collective memory, as part of building a national identity, is more than just shaping the historic narrative in textbooks, but also the construction of a rich national pantheon, composed of a substantial, long list of the nation's grand figures, who are supposed to represent the nation's image, and its unique historic path. In order to reinforce national identity, the Azerbaijani education system has made extensive use of leading figures, which, I choose to call, "the Azerbaijani national pantheon." This national pantheon is an imagined one that exists only in the textbooks, because in fact such a pantheon does not exist in real life. Shaping the National Pantheon in the textbooks is another important part of the national identity building, in many cases, national pantheon completes the historic national narrative. By introducing these heroes and leaders, politicians and statesmen, humanists and scientists from the near and distant past into a list of the nation's greatest, and describing their extraordinary deeds for the sake of the people and the homeland, the shapers of Azerbaijani national identity hoped to create conformity and collective cohesiveness, and to strengthen the joint national sense of self. In the short time that I have, I cannot go over all the figures included in the list of the Azerbaijani national pantheon, since we are talking about hundreds and even thousands of people. In my presentation I will concentrate on images of Azerbaijani leaders and heroes from the communist period. I will try to explain how the new/old communist leaders of post-Soviet Azerbaijan rewrite their role in the Azerbaijani History. Which figures have been deleted from the Azerbaijani national pantheon and why, and what figures have remained and how their "new role" as nation's greatest and their contribution to the molding of Azerbaijani national identity was emphasized in the new history textbooks of the Azerbaijani education system.

**Nataliya Bezborodova**, Graduate student, University of Alberta

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### ***The "New Year's Tree" of the Maidan as a Mediator of Decolonization Discourse in Ukraine***

The "New Year's Tree" is one of the main art objects of the Maidan, Ukrainian antigovernment protest unfolded last winter 2013-2014. It was located in the center of the protest encampment from November 30, 2013, until mid-August 2014. It was erected a week later the protest against EU Agreement's suspension start, right after riot police had attacked a small group of protesters that stayed overnight at the main square of Kyiv. Government justified the police violence on the reason that they could not deprive Kyiv's citizens of their

usual New Year's Tree. A Tree installed by authorities on a city's main square was a tradition of national-scale reminiscent of Soviet-style celebrations. After November 30, 2014, the protesters decorated it with flags, posters and their demands instead of traditional lights. The construction pieces riot police brought in for installing the Tree were used to start building the barricades around the square. The protesters intentionally used "Surzhik", a kind of mixed (macaronic) sociolect of Russian and Ukrainian languages, to name the art object. It serves as a referral to governmental suppression had applied against protestors of previous years during Yanukovich's then-presidency and takes carnivalesque form of respect diminishing toward governmental power. The Tree itself became a marker of decolonization process of the country's disposal from Soviet imperial heritage, and society re-discussion of national, ethnic and political identity symbol. The paper is going to trace the art object meaning and context confounding according to Bakhtin's carnivalesque forms and Bourdieu's social hierarchy distinction concept.

Dr. **Iryna Borysiuk**, Associate Professor, Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University

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### ***Between Silence and Speaking: Representation of National Identity in the Poetry of Oksana Zabuzhko***

The aim of this paper is to show the way of representation of national identity in the poetry of Oksana Zabuzhko, the famous Ukrainian writer. A study of Ukrainian poetry of the last two decades of the XX century reveals the opposition between the existing sots-realistic tradition and the modernist poetry of the 80s generation which—Oksana Zabuzhko belongs to. Accordingly, it is essential to point out two distinct and absolutely different types of poetic discourse: the first is ideological, rhetoric and didactic, the second is based on self-sufficient aesthetic principles not biased in any ideology. Distancing from Soviet imperial myths and narratives and creating a nationally oriented tradition based on forbidden by the Soviet system names and narratives as well as on national myths and shared memories have been a part of the 80s generation's literature strategy. Thereby motives of an acquisition of a language (a word), a sacred / fake word, prophecy, silence, dumbness, a communication gap and an alien language are so important in Zabuzhko's poetry. These motives are connected with reshaping of Ukrainian national identity through the overcoming of the colonial status of Ukrainian culture. Moreover, in Zabuzhko's poetry national and gender identities are interconnected. O. Zabuzhko tries to form a female version of national culture by retelling male narratives from the female point of view. Accordingly, the metaphor of silence in this poetry can be interpreted not only as an impossibility of articulation of national collective memories, but also as a sort of resistance to the language of power.

Dr. **Jens Boysen**, German Historical Institute Warsaw

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### ***Historical Lecturing and Political Alarmism: Poland's Efforts at Influencing EU Strategic Attitudes towards Russia and the Post-Soviet Space***

The latest when achieving NATO and EU membership, Poland jumped the fence between the "passive" post-Socialist countries and the 'real' countries of the West. Today, Western media rarely discuss Polish policies as post-Socialist or as a part of any regional problem. While still clearly outside the power core of EU and NATO (as shown e.g. by the recent Minsk talks), its relentless 'watchdog' attitude has to some degree earned Poland the image with Western leaders of a core normative member. The crisis over Russia's challenging of Ukrainian sovereignty and territorial integrity seems to confirm Polish concerns about a generic lack of

Russian trustworthiness due to an unchanged imperialist attitude. At all moments of crisis in the post-Soviet space, Poland has been in the forefront of a tough Western stance on Russia. To be sure, the reasons for this were then and are today clearly tangible in Russian policies. However, the Russian-claimed 'near abroad' is partially identical with Poland's own historical east (kresy), which makes Warsaw's engagement for its eastern neighbours quite ambiguous: while supporting Ukraine against Russian aggression and Western prejudice, it tends to treat Ukraine as a Polish 'client'. Ever since 1989 – when Poland was the first country to recognise Ukrainian independence – there has been no clearly discernible border in Polish eastern policy between altruism and the quest for an own regional leadership. This agenda is embedded in the representation of a zero-sum situation for the post-Soviet states between Western influence on the one hand and Russian on the other. While this way of representing the issue remained throughout rather identical, actual Russian policies changed repeatedly in such a way as to justify Polish alarmism. As a result, despite considerable pro-Russian (or at least dovish) positions among West European politicians, Russian policies have helped Polish views on the post-Soviet space make their way more into the Western multilateral opinion-shaping process. Moreover, while the crisis has shaken the Visegrad Group, it has fuelled Polish ambitions for leadership among the countries bordering on Russia, notably the Baltic states with whom Poland agrees on the essentially criminal nature of Soviet policies in the region.

**Estelle Bunout**, PhD candidate, University of Lorraine

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***Recognition as an Incentive for Revision of Possessive Conceptions of Eastern Europe in Poland and Germany after 1945? Realizations and Limits on the Basis of the Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych (PISM) and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP)***

After 1918 in Poland and Germany, though with entirely different aftermaths, a particular scientific discourse rose on Eastern Europe, describing it as being unable to manage itself, as being culturally and politically underdeveloped. This justified for a part of the Polish and German political establishment, an intervention in that region, for their own security. At the same time in both countries some "experts" developed an instrumental support of local nationalism, to assure their own agendas. Both scientific discourses were rendered obsolete after 1945 and calls for their revision appeared within both countries and from the Soviet Union. We wish to discuss the paths developed by some "experts" to foster this revision, the steps they took for the revision of their own conceptions. We will analyze the obstacles they faced in the interactions between the scientific community and the political spheres in Western Germany and in the Polish People's Republic. To that end, we will focus on institutions dedicated to that connection: the PISM and the DGAP. The comparison of both societies, experiencing radically different transformations in regard to their relations with Eastern Europe, will expose how nonetheless a similar key incentive for the revision of the colonial conception of Eastern Europe was the need for their own recognition for Poland and Western Germany. The efforts displayed to overturn the previous conceptions are particularly visible before 1972, until the ratification of the Warsaw and Moscow treaties in Western Germany, marking the recognition of the borders in Central Europe.

**Dr. Nadiia Bureiko**, University of St. Gallen

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***Shaking the Frontier: Ukraine Moves West?***

Each state formation uses its territorial boundaries to define group membership, as there is always “the other” behind the frontier of some particular territory. The existence of “the other” facilitates a common sense in the group of “we”, it defines who is in and who stays out. The proposed paper focuses on identity problem in Ukraine constructed on a dichotomy “we – they” in an event-history analysis. Specifically it seeks to answer if the idea of Europe is prevailing to orientalist thinking in Ukraine and if it is able to represent the mobilizing factor in consolidation of Ukrainian nation. Having been torn in-betweenness, will Ukraine find clearly its path to Europe without a membership perspective? The study employs the theory of Neighbourhood Europeanization and shares constructivist perspective, engaging largely the social and cultural aspects, ideas and values. The proposed theoretical concept is backed up by data from the most recent surveys.

Dr. **Rasa Čepaitienė**, Lithuanian Institute of History

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***Post-Soviet Paternalism: the Formation of the Cult of Personality of Presidents in Former Republics of the USSR, its Functions and Forms of Expression***

The policy of „perestroika“ "and" glasnost", initiated by M. Gorbachev, was very welcomed in the societies of Soviet republics and raised a hope of real democratization. However, in most republics, which after the collapse of the USSR became independent states, the qualitative change of the elites did not happen and the Soviet nomenclature maintained its real power and influence. Moreover, former first secretaries of Communist parties, without the patronage of the „Center“, in some of the republics obtained previously undreamed and uncontrolled power and, using the suppression of puny democratization efforts, turned towards the paternalistic authoritarianism. Although these tendencies are most striking in the countries of Central Asia (maybe except Kyrgyzstan), but their signs in different post-Soviet development periods can be observed also in other former Soviet republics (Belarus, Russia, pre-revolution Ukraine and even Lithuania). What reasons caused these deformations of post-Soviet development? Since this issue is sufficiently complicated, in this report will be revealed one of the features or growing signs of authoritarianism in post-Soviet region – the analysis of presidential cult of personality. Why the cult of personality in some countries such as Turkmenistan took extreme forms, and in other – almost did not emerge, despite strong governmental vertical and the concentration of absolute power in the hands of one person? To what extent this form of expression of political paternalism was determined by the local traditions of political culture and mentality of the society? What stylistic forms it acquired? The report will be based on the author's personal experience which was gained traveling in the post-Soviet Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Ukraine, Russia and the analysis of the manifestations of this phenomenon in before mentioned countries' urban public space, exhibitions of the museums, press, web sites, etc.

Dr. **Duccio Colombo**, Associate Professor, University of Palermo

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***Carrying the Red Man's Burden: Pavel Luknickii, or Kipling in the Soviet Pamir***

Writer, traveler and journalist Pavel Luknickii (1900-1972) is best known for two apparently contradictory sides of his activity: he was both an explorer of the Pamir, aiming to conquer the wild mountains to the Soviet motherland, and a researcher of the life and work of the poet Nikolai Gumilev, executed in 1921 for purportedly taking part in a counterrevolutionary



conspiracy. The contradiction can be resolved by taking into account both the peculiarity of Gumilev's work and the typical Soviet approach to the national peripheries. Gumilev, known in his lifetime as "the Russian Kipling", traveled to Africa in an expedition from the Russian Academy of Sciences, and his poetry is filled with exoticism and manly spirit. On the other hand, in a number of literary works dedicated to the sovietization of the Asian republics – one of which is Luknickii's 1947 novel *Nisso* – the activity of the – usually Russian – Soviet envoy bringing the revolution to the peripheries shows all the attributes of a civilizing mission in the tradition of colonial literature. Gumilev (a major influence as well for other Soviet writers, such as Nikolai Tikhonov and Konstantin Simonov), then, is a significant link connecting Soviet literature with a tradition which it would not easily admit to refer to.

**Caroline Damiens**, PhD candidate, National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations

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### **The Soviet Cine-Expeditions in the 1920-30s: Modernizing/Sovietising Siberia Indigenous Peoples through Film**

Through its revolutionary project, USSR posited itself in rupture with the imperialist and colonialist ideology of the West. Nonetheless, the Soviet project shared with the West the same matrix of development and modernization. A Soviet modernizing action was conducted towards its "backward" peoples, amongst which the so-called "small peoples of the North", that is the Indigenous peoples of Siberia, the North and the Far East. This "modernizing mission" was, amongst other things, embodied in the filmic practice of the "cine-expedition" (*kinoekspeditsiia*). Soviet cine-expeditions shared many similarities with the films of the same type shot by western countries in their colonies, be they "external" or "internal" (such as Australia). But they also asserted their difference from western filmic practices. Their goal was not only to film and document primitive societies, but to integrate them to the new state and modernize them. Examining more particularly the expeditionary films of filmmaker Aleksandr Litvinov such as *The Forest People* (*Lesnye ljudi*, 1928), *Through the Wilderness of the Ussuri Territory* (*Po debrjam Ussurijskogo kraja*, 1928) and *Terra incognita* (*Nevedomaja zemlja*, 1930), this paper aims at tackling the issue of orientalist and colonial thinking lying at the root of Soviet cine-expeditions in Indigenous Siberia and Far East in the 1920-30s. Using the broader concept of coloniality, understood as the darker side of modernity, it intends to question the liberation narrative staged in Soviet films.

**Magda Dolinska-Rydzek**, PhD candidate, Justus-Liebig University in Giessen

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### ***Russian Civilization in the Fight with the Western Antichrist: Elements of the Imperial Discourse in Post-Soviet Russia***

The idea of Moscow - the Third Rome should be considered one of the most important Russian ideological conceptions. Inaugurated by Philotheus of Pskov in 16th century, the conception postulated that since the First and the Second Rome have fallen due to the betrayal of the true faith, Moscow, the center of Orthodox civilization, will be the Third and the last Rome – the Kingdom of God on Earth. In 17th century Old Believers, who refused to acknowledge the reforms of Patriarch Nikon, also referred to that idea – according to them the world outside their communities, which abandoned the pravoslavie, is the kingdom of the Antichrist. Consequently, the figure of the Antichrist became the symbol of evil as well as the image of a dangerous enemy. Furthermore, the idea of the Antichrist started to play an important role in the development of Russian culture, especially the 19th century historiosophy. After the fall of the Soviet Union, the notion of the Antichrist appeared in the

official discourse again, mainly to describe the Western world as his “kingdom”. Among many others, such references could be found in the works of Aleksandr Dugin or Metropolitan Ioann, as well as speeches of the prominent journalist Maksim Schevchenko and the professor of MGIMO Olga Nikolaevna Chetverikova. The employment of this notion is characteristic mostly for the discourse employed by religious nationalist, who, referring to the Russian imperial idea, assert the importance of the strong authorities, the Orthodox faith and the territorial expansion. Such a narration not only emphasizes the superiority of the Russian (Orthodox) civilization, but is also based on anti-Western resentments. In my presentation I would like to show how the discourse mentioned above may be an interesting example of the reversal of the Western orientalism criticized by Edward Said – in this case Russia (the East) orientalizes the West and portrays it as the Other, the ultimate enemy. At the same time it employs the religious concept of the Antichrist in the political discourse, which draws back to the imperial narration both of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union.

Dr. Cloé Drieu, French National Centre for Scientific Research

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### ***Bolshevik Imperialism, Nationalist Agencies and Socialist Realism in Uzbek Films: the Birth of a New Soviet Orientalism (1924-1938)***

The paper deals with the film production of Uzbekistan between 1924 and 1937. 1924 marks a political birth, with the ethnic and territorial delimitation of Soviet Uzbekistan, but also a cinematographic birth with the production of the first full-length fiction film ever made in Central Asia (*The Minaret of Death* by V. Viskovskii). 1937 corresponds to a major technical shift with the first talking film (*The Oath* by A. Usol'stev-Garf) but also year of Stalinist terror with a massive wave of arrests, deportations, and executions, among which the first Uzbek filmmakers. In between, the covered period offers valuable insights into the notions and concepts proposed in the framework of the conference: through an analysis of films, the matters of Orientalism and colonial representations can be dealt with (especially between 1924-1928), as well as the one of their “decolonisation” (1928), when the first native actors and native filmmakers (Suleyman Khojaev, Nabi Ganiev) took hold of the camera, a process reinforced with cultural revolution. However, their filmic discourses were rapidly radicalized because of the rise of Stalinist ideology based on a new Great Russianness and accordingly a new civilizing mission. Indeed, the resistance and agencies of the native filmmakers can be perfectly understood, in their films, but also in the everyday life of the Uzbek cinematographic institution. With the Stalinist purges, and the disappearance of the first generation of native filmmakers (1937), Socialist realism applied to the Central Asian cinema can be seen as new form of Orientalism, a dichotomic vision—not based on race but classes.

Dr. Salome Dundua, Associate Professor, Tbilisi State University

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### ***Muslim Georgians and Integration Process: from Czarist Russia's Politics until Today***

Adjara, one of the oldest regions of Georgia, populated with ethnic Georgian but religiously Muslim population was returned to Georgia as a result of Russian victory in the war against Turkey in 1787. Historically, Georgia, which is situated at the East-West crossroad, was traditionally influenced by both regions. Despite the longtime Oriental influence, throughout its history Georgia has been striving for the West. Christian religion was the main attribute for the belonging to the Western civilization. Non-Christians (Muslims) in fact were not considered as Georgians. Although Adjarians were ethnic Georgians, their attribution to the

East culture was the “merit” of the Muslim religion. In the political goals of Tsarist Russia there was not to promote and accelerate the process of integration of Muslim Adjarian population with Orthodox Georgian population and, accordingly, to weaken Orientalist prejudices towards them. The neglected attitude to the religion by Soviet fathers led to the fact that after the adoption of independence, Georgia had a less integrated society. Against this background, according to many Orthodox Georgians Adjarians were still perceived as “Turks”. During the period of independence Georgia managed and largely (but not fully) overcame the negative attitudes towards “Muslim Georgians” as the group culturally connected to East. Except some last accidents two years ago, they do not suffer from clampdown on religious grounds and are not generally alienated by the idea of the Georgian state.

**Michael Erdman**, PhD candidate, School of Oriental and African Studies

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***Central Asians as the Good Other to the Corrupted Ottomans: An Examination of the Portrayal of Pre-Islamic Central Asia in the Turkish History Thesis***

The proposed paper will address images of pre-Islamic Central Asia in Turkish state-sanctioned historical narratives. In 1930, the Turkish state promulgated the Turkish History Thesis, a metanarrative of the history of the Turkish nation from their ethnogenesis in Central Asia 9000 years ago to the foundation of the Republic in 1923. The endeavour was intended to purge anti-Turkish biases from existent narratives, to cut off Turks from the Perso-Arabic heritage of the Ottoman Empire and to instill pride in the accomplishments of the Turkish people. To do this, Turkish scholars relied on the products of a number of European disciplines, including archaeology, anthropology, linguistics, history and biology, and interpreted them in such a way as to incorporate as many of the achievements of human history within the rubric of Turkish history. The result was a unique view of the pre-Islamic past of Central Asia, one that clashed not only with prevailing theses in Europe, but also with the narratives elaborated by Soviet authorities and taught to Central Asians throughout seventy years of Soviet rule. In the paper, I will examine the manner in which the Turkish History Thesis created an ethnically-purist view of the origins of Central Asian culture and history and attributed socio-economic decline to non-Turkic elements. I will thus argue that Turkish Republican historians sought to purge the Perso-Arabic elements from their own history by projecting a mythologized and racialized image onto the ancestors of the modern Central Asians, creating a good Other to the corrupted Ottoman élite.

**Konstantyn Fedorenko**, Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation

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***New “Holy Alliance”: Russian Reply to European Orientalism***

This paper aims at explaining modern foreign policy of Russia as retaliatory towards globalization and Westernization tendencies, viewed in Russia as orientalist and ignoring their own interests and worldview. In the XIX century, Austria, Prussia and Russia have created the “Holy Alliance”, aimed at protecting monarchy and traditional values from democratic movements. Today, in a similar fashion, Russia vocally opposes revolutionary methods of regime change, seeking for their condemnation by the UN. Thereby, Russia aims to conserve the existing social order in its allied illiberal states. We seek deeper explanation of the Russian modern foreign policy than temporary rational interest. We argue that existing trends of globalization, undermining power of the nation state, are viewed by Russia as a threat to

one of their key values – state sovereignty. Moreover, globalization is understood in zero-sum game terms as a process only bringing benefits to the West and as unification “by Western standards”. We prove that the foreign policy of modern Russia is aimed at diminishing its dependence on the West; reverting globalization tendencies by cooperating with European anti-globalists; and building a sphere of influence including both immediate neighbourhood of Russia and its illiberal allies. Finally, we maintain that Russia offers an ideological alternative to liberal democracy, a “grand narrative” based on state sovereignty, traditional values, and re-introduced nationalism. Considering the growing popularity of this alternative among radicals, it is important to understand its potential threat.

Dr. **Sándor Földvári**, Debrecen University

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### ***Ethnic Identity and The “Carpathian Card” – Rusyns in the Security Policies of Ukraine and Its European Neighbours***

The Rusyns represents ethnic minorities, living in contemporary Ukraine, Slovakia, Poland, Rumania, Hungary and Serbia, and descendants of those emigrated from these countries in the late 19 c. reside in Australia, Canada, and The United States. Rusyns constitute officially recognized ethnic minorities in almost every European countries they live in, but not Ukraine. Though inhabitants in Western Ukraine, who identify themselves Rusyn, represent the largest part of The Rusyn worldwide, according to the Ukrainian laws, there no such ethnic minority exists. For the last two decades, Rusyns in Slovakia have elaborated their codified literary language (since it has been missing for centuries, thus Rusyn authors has written in Latin, Church Slavonic, then Russian, a few of them in Ukrainian, and the most in various vernaculars). — The fear in Ukraine has rooted in the history of Transcarpathia: it had not been a part of Ukraine before it became a district of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in results of the World War II. Earlier it formed a part of the Hungarian Kingdom during centuries, and after the First World War it was attached (for two decades, as the history turned) to the newly then shaped Czechoslovakia. — Consequently, efforts by some right-wing political movements in Hungary, which endeavor to reconnect the Carpathian territories to Hungary, are nowadays of extreme risk. Ukraine has already lost and is probably losing some territories in its south and west, where the state control is quite weak over those districts are still (and hopefully remain) parts of the country. West part of Ukraine has been a bit stronger bases of the stability of the Ukrainian State, although full of ambiguities due to Polish and Hungarian history and the recent ethnic composition of the population. Thus destabilizing any part of West Ukraine, even Transcarpathia, may result some sharpening of the threat of a new Cold War. Therefore the Rusyn question must not be only regarded in the frameworks of ethnic minorities and their rights, but in a wider sense of the international diplomacy and peace building.

Dr. **Svetlana Gorshenina**, University of Lausanne

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### ***“Natives” and the Birth of Archeology in Russian Turkestan: Transitioning from “Invisible” to “Subordinate”***

The early Russian and European scholars, explorers or artists interested in the ancient history of Central Asia did not trust local population – the attitude inherited from the pre-colonial era. However they could not conduct any archaeological missions without the “natives”, who, nevertheless, were constantly criticized for their “ignorance”, “lack of taste for beautiful things”, “distortion” of historic data or “vandalism” against archaeological remains. But at the

same time the "natives" were the ones who led Russian researchers to archaeological sites and places of memory, conducted excavations, provided archaeological finds to collectors and to exhibition curators while remaining generally anonymous. Over time, in Turkestan the diffusion of the "taste for History" generated the antiquities market and at the same time stimulated the emergence of indigenous "amateurs" of archaeology who lined up with an epistemological system developed in Europe. This turning point deserves special attention because on the one hand it shows the ambiguity of the process of incorporation of local knowledge into the "colonizers'" scholarship, and on the other hand it highlights how natives appropriated Western approaches towards the cultural heritage, so sceptical in relation to their own Central Asian historic environment.

**Serge Gurbich**, Graduate student, Kyiv-Mohila Academy

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### ***Carpathian Rusyns in both East-European and Soviet and Post-Soviet Discourses***

Arguably, one of the best ways to research the impact of different discourses and their hierarchy is to consider marginal areas whose belonging to different political formations changed repeatedly during the XIX-XX centuries. The author of the report suggests considering a specific region in Ukraine - Carpathian Ruthenia - and the people who inhabit it - the Ruthenians (Rusyns) - as an example of such areas. Unlike other Slavic ethnic groups, Rusyns have never had their own state, they were constantly dependent on other states and have therefore been subject to the influence of various ethno-political discourses. The report considers such aspects of the subject: A) Historical and ethnical background of the problem; B) The Slovak discourse regarding the Ruthenians; C) The Hungarian discourse; D) The Soviet discourse; E) The discourse of the post-Soviet Ukraine; F) Internal Ruthenian discourse. On the basis of research material, the author aims to make conclusion about how and why the "Eastern" discourse has prevailed over the "Western" one in this most western region of Ukraine. Moreover, the author tries to show that some colonial features and characteristics are still inherent to the ways in which the surrounding nations treat this ethnic group. The author tries to find some explanations for the paradoxical situation: in the western region of the country that constantly rebels against the dominance of Russia we can see an ethnical group with quite ambiguous political position, that can be used both for pro-Russian and pro-European (pro-Slovak) separatist movements.

**Dr. Claus Bech Hansen**, University of Bonn

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### ***Subaltern Voices from the Post-Soviet Periphery: The Translation of Western Epistemic Cultures in Central Asia***

During the final decade of the Soviet Union, western and Soviet scholars alike saw in Central Asia a rising threat of a disenfranchised 'colonised' Muslim population with a non-Soviet 'Pan-Turkish' identity, based on 'backward traditions' that stood in stark contrast to the alleged 'modern Soviet' identity in the Slavic regions. Twenty odd years later no pan-Turkic but instead rather strong nation-states, modelled according to the European examples mark the map of the former Soviet periphery. Although European nation-states provided the template for the Central Asian policy-makers, the developments of the post-independence years have shown that the young states develop according to their own particular dynamics, based partly on socio-economic and political and partly on local knowledge regimes, experience and lifeworlds. Despite few exceptions, however, we have little knowledge of these local epistemic

regimes, the post-Soviet lifeways and how they influence the coherence of state, nation and identity. This is not least due to the cardinal mistake that models developed by western epistemic cultures are continuously implemented to analyse and explain local events and developments, producing a biased and skewed picture of the local reality. By contrast, this paper acknowledges that, although western epistemic cultures have been tremendously influential in shaping concepts such as state, nation, gender, religion, ethnicity, etc., these carry very different meanings on the local level among different people and groups in the former Soviet periphery. As a result, the paper uses subaltern voices to show not only how such concepts are understood, changed or opposed in different regions of the post-Soviet Central Asian periphery, but also how these understandings inform and influence state-individual and inter-group relations, which will, ultimately, provide methodological insights to New Area Studies and a less biased and more balanced understanding of the post-Soviet periphery.

**Roman Horbyk**, PhD candidate, Sodertorn university

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### ***“Ukraine Can Not”: Orientalist Discourses in the Coverage of Ukraine in British and Russian Press Before the Ukraine-Russia Crisis, 2009 – 2013***

The coverage of the Ukraine-Russia crisis by Russian mainstream media has become notorious and very often talked of in terms of propaganda and hybrid warfare. In fact, it did not just appear out of the blue; on the contrary, it has been around for a very long time. When we look at it from the vantage point of Orientalist theory, it becomes clear that Russian media employ essentially Orientalist frames inherited from Soviet and Russian imperial journalism and literature. Even more interestingly, comparison of the findings with the Western press suggests that this Orientalist optic has also been traditionally used to deal with Ukraine there, although not in such a blatant way as it is in Russia. This paper presents the discourse analysis of a sample of Russian and British newspapers from 2009 – the year of the so-called “second gas war” and Ukrainian presidential campaign – as well as from later examples (such as scandals related to Euro 2012) to trace the Orientalist framing of Ukraine in the Russian and British press in a comparative perspective and against a background of the coverage of former colonies (such as the coverage of India in the UK). Apart from that, results of corpus linguistics analysis will also be brought forth to form a basis for valid and reliable inferences.

**Dr. Fabio Indeo**, external research fellow, University of Camerino

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### ***Post-Soviet Central Asia: Focusing on the Regional Dimension***

Since 1991 post-Soviet Central Asian states have been successfully engaged in a state building process and in the realization *ex-novo* of national political institutions in order to affirm themselves as independent and sovereign states in the regional scenario. These republics have undertaken different paths in this political transition from a soviet model to the consolidation of their political and economic independence, as well in the promotion of a foreign policy aimed to achieve national interests and to downplay Russian traditional influence in the so-called “near abroad”. After almost a quarter of a century, Central Asian republics have become effective and influent players in the post soviet space and they are able to successfully balance geopolitical interests and goals of external actors involved in the region. The aim of this abstract is to analyze the potential evolution of Central Asian region in the next decade and how Central Asian republics intend to handle existent challenges. The

Russian aggressive policy towards the post soviet space – following tensions with Ukraine and the annexation of Crimea – and the potential condition of instability linked to NATO's withdrawal from Afghanistan represent serious concerns for Central Asian republics, which appear seriously worried about their internal stability and territorial integrity. How could be realistic the perspective that the shared goal to ensure stability in the region could push these republics to develop an “endogenous” regional cooperation, potentially undertaking an exclusive “Central Asian” approach to handle strategic unsolved issues (such as water management, shared borders and minorities rights, threats to the stability linked to Islamic terrorism, drug and weapons traffics)?

**Farrukh Irnazarov**, PhD candidate, University of Groningen

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### ***Mass Media as a Source of Xenophobia and Violence against "Gastarbeiters" in Russia***

People and the media in Russia currently label labor migrants as “gastarbeiter”\*, a term which in recent years started to bear negative connotation and has been mainly used to indicate migrant workers from Central Asia (Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan). While Central Asian migrants are an important source of labor in Russia, stories of racially-motivated violence, killings and discrimination are pervasive. According to Russian NGOs, racial discrimination and xenophobic violence in Russia over the recent years have reached an alarming level. These numbers reveal a dreadful socio-political climate in Russia, particularly for migrants from the former Soviet republics (MEMORIAL and SOVA, 2013). According to the Federal Migration Service (2013), violation of the migration regime is one of the main problems of labor migration. The Russian media actively exploits the image of “migrant-criminal.” However, the Institute of Law Enforcement Studies reports that labor migrants in Russia commit fewer crimes than local citizens (Federal Migration Service, 2013). This study is aimed at understanding of how media reporting influences social behavior of the Russian population against labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. The overarching research question that will be addressed in this project is: What are the causes that serve as impetus for xenophobic attitudes towards labour migrants? To arrive at a valid conclusion, both qualitative and quantitative methods will be used which allow gathering of different kinds of data and triangulation where the weaknesses of a single method are compensated by the counterbalancing strengths of the other.

\* Guest-workers (German term “*Gastarbeiter*”; literally: guest-workers) – slang word denoting a foreigner working on temporary employment. The word was borrowed in the late 1990s from the German language, is widespread in the media in the CIS countries, first in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and then entered the Russian colloquial speech. These workers come primarily from Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan. Also for a guest worker from outside Europe, from China, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia. In contrast to such words as “Gastrolle” (гастроль, concert tour), “Gastprofessor” (invited to read the course at another university), which came to Russian from German, the word “Gastarbeiter”— is not neutral in modern Russian and has a negative connotation.

**Dr. Vilius Ivanauskas**, Lithuanian Institute of History

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### ***Ethnic Particularism in Soviet Peripheries: Local Intellectuals as the Mediators Creating Soviet “West”, Soviet “Exotic” and Soviet “East”***

Three types of ethnic mobilizations are presented in this article. They mostly differ in their relation with the centre: one is a Union-level-centred one, deeply integrated from a cultural

point of view into the All-Union structure; the second is self-centred and more autonomous, while the third one covers building a nation through the close participation in All Unions-level. This paper analyzes how local writers, members of the official cultural establishment, contributed to the development of national ideology in different soviet regions, emphasizing the shift and continuum of ethnic particularism in the post-Stalinist period. By taking the three examples of Lithuanian, Georgia and Kyrgyzstan, this analysis helps understand ethnic particularism in practice, looking at how different regions of the USSR (the Baltics, the Caucasus and Central Asia) implemented the mobilization of national ideology, which was a dynamic process and a result of the combination of A) ethnic particularism promoted by the state, B) different patronage relations in the centre; C) different historical experiences of Georgia, Lithuania, Kyrgyzstan and D) different trajectories of the local elites. There were differences in "ethnic particularism" expressions not only in the cultural content of particular soviet republics, but also in terms of regional hierarchies, elite hierarchies, their participation at the centre and the level of legitimacy to shape and express national ideas, and understanding mutual effect of the central national policy and elite maneuvering while implementing or interpreting those policies. There are some theoretical ideas deepening this perspective and bringing the ideas of national communism. Y. Slezkine acknowledged that the official politics fostered national identity in the Soviet Union, which was combined with the Soviet modernization process. According to him, the national policy of the Soviet Union allowed to strengthen the national identity and also provided additional opportunities for local candidates to promote national values and the national language. R. Suny contributes to the debate by arguing that ethno-national identities were emerged by the soviet state and related with soviet republics. This work evaluates the context of empire, not only highlighting the mobility of various ethnic groups, but also revealing their gravitation to the center. The writers appear as active participant in specific socio-political system, having a number of personal and collective interests, but also being defined by the dominant political, ideological and local contexts. Those three trajectories of ethnic particularism reveal different distances and dependencies of cultural elites from the centre and embodied non-uniform level of cultural autonomy in certain republics (difference of the cases), and show the areas where Orientalism and Occidentalism play their roles describing the relation between Centre and Soviet periphery.

Dr. **Markus Kaiser**, University of Bonn

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### ***Migration in Eurasia***

Eurasia is shaped by migration. Its flows have created different patterns, regimes and even cultures of migration. Every year millions of people are migrating into CIS countries. Others are emigrating. Many are leaving their homes and are trying to integrate into the host country, others circulate between their home country and their "new home", others again leave the country of entry and return back to their "country of origin", or they even migrate on to third countries. Migration, as we see it today, is a complex process with constraints and opportunities for states as well as for migrants. It involves voluntary and involuntary aspects, economic and non-economic issues, constructions and reconstructions between physical and symbolic spaces. This stipulates also new ways of theorizing and researching in the field. Migrants and migratory groups adopt and resist to challenges and expectations by the mobility itself or the receiving society. They perform resilient and innovative strategies of survival. They are resilient in a way by maintaining their culture(s), system(s) of belief, traditions, way of life etc. They are innovative being open for change, being transformers, innovators, entrepreneurs themselves. Adoption, change and/or innovation vs. resistance, continuity and/or resilience have to be seen as part of the migratory agency. The culture of resilience by the maintenance of the core elements of their livelihood has to be



conceptualized in an ever changing world challenging the integrity and cohesion of any, but especially migratory groups. Migrants or migratory groups perform resilience / resilient strategies ranging from resistance, partial refusal, preserving continuities, partial adaptation, partial transformation, to innovation and non-resilient behaviours / strategies. The aim of this paper is to discuss new theoretical approaches, methodologies and empirical research results on immigration, transmigration and re-migration topics on the background of changing Eurasian migration regimes and discourses since the fall of the iron curtain until today.

Dr. **Benedikts Kalnačs**, Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art, University of Latvia

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### ***Representations of Postcolonial/Postimperial Space in Contemporary Baltic Literatures: Competing Narrative Patterns***

The historical development of Baltic literatures is linked to different cultural influences, also due to the fact that these cultures always exist on the crossroads. Recent anti-totalitarian and de-colonization moves around the region have put these issues in a new focus. This paper intends to discuss changes in the present-day self-interpretation of the respective nations as manifested in contemporary Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian literatures. Recent responses to earlier Western and Eastern colonial/totalitarian narratives will be discussed in the light of theoretical methodologies of Postcolonial Studies in the context of attempts at newly created grand narratives vs. manifestations of feelings of subalternity as mutually competing features in contemporary literatures as well as in their local and international reception. The issues of the presence and impact of revolutionary and/or revisionist impulses will be dealt with in the context of case studies which will involve literary works of Inga Ābele, Marius Ivaškevičius, Jaan Tätte, Jaan Undusk and Māra Zālīte.

Prof. **Michael Kemper**, University of Amsterdam

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### ***Soviet Critiques of Soviet Orientalism***

This paper suggests that there was a peculiar Soviet form Orientalism within USSR research on the "Orient"; this Soviet scientific attitude was an awkward continuation of traditional (textual) Orientology with a new emphasis on Soviet support for de-colonization and anti-imperialism. Second, the paper draws attention to the fact that Soviet Orientology developed in phases that occurred after major critiques; and while most of these critiques came from the Party/state leadership, there were also attempts at a reconsideration "from below", by several outstanding Soviet scholars.

Dr. **Masha Kirasirova**, New York University Abu Dhabi

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### ***"The Eastern International": Between Soviet Orientalism and Anti-Colonialism***

This paper traces the formation of "the Eastern International," an intellectual and political project that was first elaborated in 1918 by Konstantin Troianovskii, the future head of the Near East Section of the Third International (Comintern). Based on Troianovskii's early writings including *The East and the Revolution: a New Political Program for Countries of the East – India, Persia, and China* (1918), his Comintern personal file, and other records of the Comintern Eastern Section, I argue that like other early Bolshevik and Comintern

experiments with political organization, the concept "the Eastern International" was informed by ideas about "the East" that had been directly borrowed from nineteenth-century European orientalism and from Russian imperial experience with the administration of a diverse Muslim population. Ultimately, this uneasy combination of imperial orientalism and anti-imperial Marxist Leninist ideology of liberation was institutionalized in 1919-1921 in the form of the Comintern's Eastern Section and of the Communist University of the Toilers of the East (KUTV). Established before the administrative embrace of the "socialism in one country thesis," these institutions continued to structure exchanges between the USSR and the various Soviet "Easts" throughout the interwar period. As such, they also set a foundation for the bureaucratic and administrative culture of later stages of Soviet internationalism of the post-World War II period.

Dr. **Natalia Koltakova**, Army Academy named after Hetman Petro Sahaydachnyi

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### ***A Cultural Stereotype as a Text of Culture in the Contemporary Ukrainian Literature***

A cultural stereotype arises as a boundary phenomenon, combining different fields of activity. The study of cultural stereotypes in Ukrainian as post-Soviet society is complicated not only by the common boundary nature of culture (as defined by Bakhtin), but also by the coexistence of different ideologies and cross-cultural trends. The semantic expanse of a cultural stereotype accommodates ethnic and mental linguistic stereotypes. The uttermost are a clear fact, which represents collective and individual thinking in a modern Ukrainian society. Since Ukrainian national identity is so far in the process of active formation, the stereotype phenomenon appears unstable and capable of modifications. Obviously this is a process of transition from a boundary identity to a more sustainable one. The concepts of Europe, Eastern Europe, East and West, nation and war are capacious representations of cultural stereotypes in the linguistic picture of the world of a modern Ukrainian. The process of expelling Soviet clichés which are undergoing transformations – from hybrid modifications to disappearance or replacement – is significant and hardly painless. The attitude towards the concept of stereotype is likewise a subject of the evaluative reflection. It is a common situation when expelling a stereotype acquires features of a stereotyped behaviour in the proper sense – *comme il faut*. The study of stereotypes is productive in the modern Ukrainian literature as a cultural textual reality, especially concerning the part of it which started its formation during or after the Maidan. Thus, modern Ukrainian society has been changing its attitude towards social and determined poetry. The description of Europe in terms of a cultural stereotype in the works of Yuriy Andrukhovych, the comprehension of post-Soviet clichés and the struggle with them in Serhiy Zhadan's creative work are particularly interesting. One of representative forms of a cultural stereotype is a modern Ukrainian literary discussion (V. Neborak about the creative work of S. Zhadan, the axiological approach to the creative work of Y. Andrukhovych), which helps to reveal not only literary but also social trends of the Ukrainian public opinion. Therefore a stereotype as a text of culture specifies the features of modern Ukrainian thinking in general, and manifests the most important trends and transformations.

Dr. **Natalia Kovalchuk**, Ukrainian Catholic University

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***Russian Pan Slavism Revisited***

The ideas of Russian Pan Slavism are still (or again) present in the narratives of Russian political commentators and official media. Pan Slavic ideology emerged in the 1860s, and dominated in the 1880s, when it had a strong impact on official discourse and served to support and legitimize Russian expansionism. This "ideology of empire, justified in terms of spirituality and the reification of space" (K. Bouveng) underlined Russia's special historical role, as well as moral superiority against the "decadent West". Nowadays political parties and organizations based on Pan Slavic ideology occupy the margins of political life, while their ideas still circulate. At least several crucial points make official Russian rhetoric a direct sequel of Pan Slavism in its most aggressive form. The idea might seem absurd, considering current bloody conflict between closest "relatives", culminating in direct military invasion of Crimea and a war in Donbas, but in the past Pan Slavism also coexisted with brutal anti-Polish and anti-Ukrainian policy. Then, as well as now, the regime was trying, first of all, to preserve existing political system. This kind of strategy proves to be successful so far, since Russian identity is still "quasi imperial" (M. Riabchuk) and as such, is still based on a number of outdated myths. Moreover, Ukraine is in the core of Russian imperialist mythology. It would be interesting and useful, therefore, to analyze official narrative in order to demonstrate how the ideas of Russian Pan Slavism are revived and manipulated in the context of the current policy towards Ukraine.

**Bartosz Kowalski**, PhD candidate, University of Lodz

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### ***Creating a Soviet Sphere of Influence in the Republic of China. Xinjiang under Sheng Shicai 1933-1942***

The paper focuses on the Soviet policy towards the Chinese province of Xinjiang from 1933 to 1942. The Soviet grip on Xinjiang started in the late 1933 with the military intervention of GPU's unmarked troops in the guise of something similar to the "little green men" seen in action in a present-day Crimea. The intervention was carried out on the request of the Xinjiang warlord Sheng Shicai who with the Soviet support ruled the province till early 1940s. In the decade that followed the intervention, Xinjiang de facto became part of a Soviet sphere of influence while de iure still upholding nominal authority of the Chinese central government. I argue that it was Russia's deliberate policy to keep indirect control over the strategic region and its population rather than proceeding to full-fledged incorporation of Xinjiang, as for Moscow this would have been more of a liability than an asset. This paper draws on Chinese historiography as its primary source, as it is mostly based on Chinese published materials, including volumes compiled from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China.

**Vassiliy Lakhonin**, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs

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### ***The Importance of 'Listening to People' when Studying International Aid and Development: A Case Study of the Rural Aid-Recipients in Kyrgyzstan.***

The proposed paper will be based on my Master Thesis titled "Assessing foreign aid: A benchmark analysis of Kyrgyz rural aid-recipients' narratives" for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Academy, Kyrgyzstan. Research on foreign aid is often based on quantitative indices such as the Human Development Index (HDI), Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Qualitative approaches are often oriented toward aid-providers' assessment rather than the experience of aid-recipients. This leaves uncertainties about the critical picture of foreign aid. Foreign aid in the paper will be

assessed qualitatively, drawing from the “Listening project” framework, together with a comprehensive view of literature and insights from scholars concerned with the overlapping disciplines of foreign aid and international development. Furthermore, it will provide an analysis of empirical data on Kyrgyzstan gathered by the means of in-depth interviews, which explicated narratives of rural aid-recipients. The paper aims to argue with the stereotypical image of “passive recipient” and contribute to the Western academic approach on international aid.

Dr. **Laura Laurušaitė**, Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore

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### ***The Burden and Advantage of Internal Colonization: Lithuanian and Latvian Émigré Novels***

During fifty years of Soviet occupation individual consciousness was heavily indoctrinated and – as witnessed in literary narratives – the deeply rooted post-communist heritage is proving to be resilient and durable. It manifests not only externally as skills or habits, but also on the internal level of the world-view, morality and behavioural motivation. Literary works written in contemporary Lithuanian and Latvian emigration displays Eastern European imagery and bears witness to the fact that the post-Soviet mentality – its entrenched forms of consciousness, habits, skills, and ways of acting – is transplanted, along with the (e)migrants, to other countries. It allows discussing the collective post-communist status as an important component of Baltic migrant identity. Politically defined regional attribution Eastern European automatically encompasses the entire repertoire of stereotypical images (impaired self-esteem, status of unqualified labourer, weak morals, etc.). Post-Soviet citizens are not burdened by any values, the brakes of decency or conscience, moral criteria or codes of honour. Writers describe an irresponsible vulgar type of people, who unscrupulously violate the norms of a civilized state and promote impunity (Davainė 2010, Čepaitė 2013, Lācītis 2010, Fomina 2011, Popov, 2013 etc.). On the other hand, living in unfavourable conditions for decades and longing for freedom to act and express themselves, Eastern Europeans became tough and developed controversial and even opposite characteristics, which help to guarantee their survival in a similarly inhospitable environment of emigration. Positive character traits, developed in the Soviet era and constructively applied in emigration include ingenuity and ability to survive every possible situation, as well as endurance and patience.

**Sachi Leith**, New York University Abu Dhabi

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### ***Unsettling Nomadism: Becoming Minor in Galan Tschinag’s Die Rückkehr***

Mongolia is a country not ordinarily conceived of as postcolonial, though its once-colonial relationship to Central Asia and its semi-colonial political relationships with China and Russia since the early 1900s have left indelible marks on its national and cultural identity. Conceiving of Mongolia as a postcolony inflected by multiple histories, shifts understandings of postcolonial studies outside of traditional core/periphery binaries and theories of colonial assimilation, and alters Orientalizing conceptions of Mongolia as exclusively pastoral and nomadic. In this paper I examine the work of Galsan Tschinag, a Tuvan Mongolian shaman and author of thirty books in German. His fictionalized autobiography “Die Rückkehr: Roman meines Lebens” [The Return: Novel of my Life] invokes Mongol, Soviet, Tuvan, and European literary forms to weave together Central Asian and European histories. The text’s hybridization of form and staging of autobiographical truth allows the author to make an oblique commentary on both post-socialist Mongolian politics and contemporary German

policy. By revealing the various traditions that reverberate in his work and observing how they intersect, I argue for a more integrated understanding of Eurasian history by way of the author/narrator's doubling of himself, and through German as a global lingua franca.

Dr. Uku Lember, Tallinn University

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### ***Soviet Era Estonian-Russian Intermarriages as Non-Colonial Encounters?***

In the paper, I ask about the usefulness of colonial paradigm for a comparative perspective on ethnic relations within (and perhaps beyond) the late Soviet Union (1960-70s). I build on my PhD thesis research that was on 90 life-story interviews with inter-married people in Estonia (with "newcomer Russian" and "local Estonian" spouses, b. from 1930s to 1950s, and their children, b. from 1950s to 1970s). Understanding ethnicity in late Soviet Union was famously convoluted between, on the one hand, the emergence of "new historical community of Soviet people" that led to suppression of many peripheral identities, and on the other hand, primordial territorially rooted ethnoses that led to "affirmative actions" (Martin). In relation to Russian migrants, in the Central Asian republics, for example, they were widely seen as agents of modernization and "progress" (Edgar 2007) to which conceptualizing them as colonizers would be fit. Such discourse bears less fruit in the Baltic States as cultural dynamics between "newcomers" and "locals" was much fuzzier – and as Soviet annexation was accompanied with universal citizenship, essential ethnic equality, and socially emancipating policies – however, some post-Soviet scholars have conceptualized the inflow and presence of "Russian newcomers" as colonization. In this paper, I will ask whether and which traits of universal colonial theory make sense for understanding the late Soviet Baltic States in the Estonian example and from the perspective of inter-ethnic relations between "Russian newcomers" and "Estonian locals." I will start from describing the generic situation with Estonian-Russian intermarriages with special attention to gender dynamics and cultural choices in inter-marriages. I will then continue by looking at inter-ethnic contacts in Estonia (and the Baltic States) in a comparative "borderland" perspective of the USSR. Finally, I will make a few comparative remarks on my upcoming research on "east"- "west" marriages in Ukraine from the perspective of imagined civilizational slope.

**Philipp Lottholz**, PhD candidate, University of Birmingham/American Univ. of Central Asia; **Dr. Polina Manolova**, University of Birmingham

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### ***No Escape from Ideology? A Comparison of Political and Moral Orientations in the Former Soviet Periphery***

This paper aims at inquiring how people in the former Soviet periphery make sense of the transformation that they have undergone since the breakdown of Socialism. Drawing on sociological and social psychological perspectives on post-Socialist societies, we develop the concept of the 'imaginary West'. The latter has, to our mind, fundamentally shaped the way in which people came to understand post-Socialist reforms, democratisation and integration into the global economy. By drawing on fieldwork data from Bulgaria and Kyrgyzstan we will show how the 'imaginary West' is a frame of reference through which people identify with Western liberal values, or, on the other hand, adhere to 'non-Western' values, which are seen to appreciate tradition and cultural heritage. Both Bulgaria and Kyrgyzstan lie in the periphery of the EU and the former Soviet Union, respectively, with Bulgaria somewhat at the crossroads between allegiance to its old brethren and the newly embraced path of European integration. The empirical picture seems to suggest that people's ideological and moral

orientation is inevitably embedded in the discourses of the old, imperial 'centres' and perpetuates the binary of 'Western vs. non-Western' values. Furthermore, these orientations also seem to adopt and reproduce the orientalist stereotypes that underpin colonial thinking. We also, however, identify further moral and political positionings that cannot be fitted into this ideological binary. While these certainly provide a way forward in the current debate, it seems questionable whether they develop enough momentum to be framed as viable alternatives.

Dr. **Yordan Lyutskanov**, Associate Professor, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

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***Balkanism, Self-Colonisation, Economy of Gratitude, Non-Prestigious Neighbours: Towards Understanding (quasi)Colonial Experience in the Wider Black Sea Region as Multilateral Structure***

Normally, post-colonial studies view intercultural (international, interpersonal) relations as bilateral or involving two sides (Orientalist knowledge – orientalised natives, for example). The concept of hybridity suggests an alternative vision of how the parties relate to each other ('hybridity' introduces the notions of interpenetration and subversion instead of penetration and opposition), but maintains the duality. An analysis of Bulgarian, Georgian and Russian literary works from the 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> c. could reveal a structure of power relations that is basically multilateral (most probably tri-lateral). In order to adequately interpret the manifestations of this 'actant structure', I intend to use the following concepts: 'Balkanism', 'self-colonisation', 'political economy of gratitude' and 'non-prestigious neighbour'. The former two have actually been introduced to explain South-East and East European phenomena; and I claim the particular adequateness of the latter two (which still are, as far as I am aware, no more than ad hoc conceptualizations of mine) to explain phenomena from these same regions. Important aspects of the quasi-colonial and quasi-Orientalist drama that has involved the Balkans, the Caucasus, Russia and Russia's Western neighbours lie in the following. First, neither was Russia a 'normal' Western colonial power, nor were her Southern, South-Western and Western neighbours 'normal' colonies inhabited by 'Orientals' or savages; and, moreover, both sides were more or less aware of that ambiguity. Second, the essentially modern period of (quasi)colonial relations between the colonial/Orientalist power and the colonised/orientalised had been complicated by pre-modern relations which could and have been conceived in the terms of 'family romances' (that is, Russian colonial experience entailed, or, as we guess, should have entailed, substantial de-familiarisation with the 'objects' of colonisation, at least with a number of them). (While 'normal' colonialism have had, or should have had, similar experience only in the Near East).

**Danilo Mandić**, PhD candidate, Harvard University

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***Secession within the Periphery: Separatist Movements, the State, and Organized Crime in Serbia and Georgia, 1989-2012***

This paper compares the fate of the Kosovo separatist movement against Serbia with the South Ossetia separatist movement in Georgia, arguing that the "international community's" ideological framing of the two sets of conflicts largely determined the difference in outcomes. Specifically, I process-trace host state, separatist movement and organized criminal relations in Serbia and Georgia, 1989-2012. Unlike other regional separatist cases, these two underwent dramatic shifts in this triad. The role of internationally-sanctioned organized crime evolved differently in the two cases, explaining different levels of success for the two

separatist movements, in large part due to the biased ideological framing of key international actors that shaped the triadic relations as they evolved. Namely, organized crime in Serbia evolved from the role of bystander, to divisor et imperator, to tertius gaudens; in contrast, organized crime in Georgia evolved from the role of tertius gaudens, to non-partisan mediator, to bystander (applying Simmel). These differing trajectories – process-traced through three phases – account for the greater success of Kosovo’s separatist movement than South Ossetia’s. Taken as a whole, the trajectory of Kosovar separatism was one of continuous, uninterrupted progress; the trajectory of South Ossetian separatism was one of interrupted progress. The international community’s Orientalist, if not outright colonial, attitude towards organized crime was central to this difference in the two trajectories: whereas it hindered separatist success mid-trajectory in South Ossetia, it was consistently conducive to Kosovo’s success. I conclude with theoretical implications on revising Said’s work to fit the post-Cold War Balkans and Caucasus.

**Dr. Gabriel McGuire**, Associate Professor, Nazarbayev University

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### ***Abai Zholy as Socialist Realism and as National Romance***

The plot of Mukhtar Auezov’s *Abai Zholy* (The Path of Abai) often stands in problematic contrast with the post-Soviet memorialization of the novel as a work of Kazakh nationalism. *Abai Zholy*, first published in 1942 and then revised and republished in 1950, is a novelization of the life of the great 19th century Kazakh essayist and poet Abai Qunanbaiuli. In his scholarly writings, Auezov had already described Abai as a transformational figure in the development of Kazakh literature, and his novel similarly presented Abai as not only a literary innovator but also a political reformist. Abai is shown as both inspired by Russian literature and also as horrified by the harsh and feudalistic behaviour of his father Qunanbai, a wealthy local leader. This conflict reflects both the influence of Socialist Realist literary models, which similarly staged generation conflicts as allegories of political change, and of contemporaneous shifts in Soviet Nationalities policies. While in the 1920s Auezov had openly described literary figures from the 19th century as anti-Colonial, in the 1940s he presented the Russians as progressive figures, implicitly praised Abai for his friendships with Russians, and faulted the indigenous elite as feudalistic exploiters of poor Kazakhs. Despite this, in post-Soviet Kazakhstan the novel is now feted as a canonical work of Kazakh prose fiction.

**Ruth McKenna**, PhD candidate, Glasgow University

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### ***Central and Eastern Europe in the British Imagination***

This paper explores representations of Central and Eastern Europe in the British/Scottish press and the impact of such representations upon popular British perceptions of the post-communist countries. This paper draws upon the findings of a critical discourse analysis of seven British/Scottish newspapers, selected across a three year period. It also engages with the findings of interviews and surveys carried out with the British public. Referring to this data, it is argued that the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are widely represented (and perceived) as transitory; existing in a state of flux between the geographical, but also ideological, ‘East’ or ‘West’. The post-communist states are described as, for example ‘democratising’, ‘liberalising’ or ‘westernising’, with Russia and the - vaguely defined - ‘West’ presented as the opposite ends of such spectra. The paper further explores the qualities afforded to ‘East’ and ‘West’ within media and popular discourse, suggesting such narratives are made sense of with reference to orientalist narratives of ‘backwardness’ and

'subordination'. Ultimately, it is argued that an over-reliance on the Russia-West dichotomy limits understanding of the post-communist states, as such an approach prevents thoughtful and considered engagement with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe as actors in their own right.

**Ibrahim Mirzayev**, Humboldt University, Berlin

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### ***An Oriental in the Occident? Letters of Rashid Bek Akhundov from Brussels***

There is only one perspective that often dominates in discussions about Orientalism and (Post)Colonialism – that of imperial or power centers. But the question of how imperial subalterns or “colonized” people perceived their situation needs to be investigated. The case of Rashid bek Akhundov is a good example of how the Muslim elites saw themselves in the Russian Empire. Rashid bek Akhundov was one of the first (if not the first) Caucasian Muslim who studied in Europe. He was the son of Mirza Fath Ali Akhundov a famous playwright, intellectual and translator at the office of Viceroy of Caucasus. He was born in 1854, twenty years after the conquest of South Caucasus, and knew about the life before the Russian invasion only from his elder relatives. Rashid bek grew up and was socialized in the cosmopolite capital of the Russian Caucasus - Tiflis, a city which was open for influences from Europe, Russia and Near East. With this background Rashid bek went to Brussels to study engineering. Rashid bek’s correspondence with his father is important testimony of how Muslims from the upper classes perceived their place in the Russian Empire and the world. Descriptions of “us” and “them” show that there was not a single identity but several that did not contradict each other. Rashid bek’s letters also show how a Muslim reacted to Orientalism that was surrounding him virtually everywhere: from education system to the press.

**Dr. Oksana Myshlovska**, Geneva Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies

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### ***Taking the Grief to the International Level: Ukraine and the Russian Federation Debates on the Ongoing Crisis in Ukraine at the Geneva-based Human Rights Protection Bodies***

The international human rights protection bodies such as the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and the UN Human Rights Council based in Geneva have become the political platforms where Ukraine and the Russian Federation have exchanged their views about the situation in Crimea and the conflict in eastern Ukraine as well as mutual accusations of increasing racism, xenophobia, extremism and ethnic intolerance in each other’s countries. This paper explores the clash of narratives advanced by Ukraine and the Russian Federation at the Geneva-based human rights protection bodies since the fall of the Yanukovich regime. It assesses the strength and impact of the narratives by studying how they have been perceived and interpreted by the third parties and how they have influenced the final outcomes of international discussions and procedures related to the situation in Ukraine (resolutions, final documents, press releases, action plans, etc.). The paper analyzes the recent reports on Ukraine and the Russian Federation released by the OHCHR and the UN Human Rights Council, the political statements made by both countries and other states on the situation in Ukraine during the high-level segment and other sessions of the Human Rights Council and the OHCHR and other relevant documents. It is also based on interviews with the relevant participants in the UN procedures.



### ***Russian Academic Thinking on Turkestan and Palestine***

In my master's thesis titled "Christianity and Orientalism in Russian Academic Thinking: A Comparison of Expeditions to Turkestan and Palestine in the Beginning of the 20th Century" I am researching Russia's knowledge about its Christian identity in the Orient within its borders and outside them. The main question of my research is the following: how did all this knowledge and expeditions influence Russia's Orientalism or its Christian identity in contrast to its non-Islamic one which was scientifically researched in the Orient? Specifically I am comparing its knowledge on Palestine and Turkestan, which Russia tended to understand as sacral spaces of historic-religious significance. Both regions seem to be explored dynamically by Russia in the late 19th and in the beginning of 20th centuries with the help of scientific-driven expeditions led by czarist professional scholars known as Vostokovedy. Furthermore, it is important for me to examine not only the researchers' personal or expeditions' general czarist intentions but also findings as the result of these expeditions to understand Russia's Orientalism. Here I am concentrating specifically on works of N.P. Kondakov titled "Arkheologicheskoe puteshestvie po Sirii i Palestine" from 1904 where Russian czarist scientist demonstrates his findings on archaeology and history of Christianity in Palestine. As a comparison I am also focusing on V.V. Bartold's works concerning Christianity and Islam practiced in Turkestan. Evidently, both scholars' findings about the Orient and from the Orient left an important legacy on the academic thinking throughout Czarist, Soviet and contemporary Russia.

Dr. Irina Novikova, University of Latvia

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### ***Imagining Russia/nness in Post-Soviet Latvian Media***

Iver B. Neumann in his *Uses of the Other. The 'East' in European Identity Formation* (1999) argues: "Self/other relations have to be understood in their historicity; they are aspects of historically contingent ideas of self, which again are rooted in historically contingent ideas about time and space" (23). Self/other relations belong to the multiple 'acts of composition'(Bhabha) through which the modern nation writes itself and its material borders into a set of discursive boundaries. In this presentation I will talk about the meanings of belonging and otherness in the images of Europe, Russia and Russophone minority and their uses in the post-Soviet identity discourse of Latvian media in the 1990s-2000s. This argument involves the chronologically arranged discussion of their multiple semantic 'tracks' and 'historically contingent ideas' of Asia/nness and Orientalism, West/East and Russia/nness that informed the discursive terrains of nation and citizenship, border and boundary in the post-Soviet Latvian society. The major source of visual material is political cartoons and posters from mainstream Latvian periodicals, with references to the films produced in Latvia and to the publicly streamed views of mainstream political, cultural and financial figures in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

Klaudia Ordzowiały-Grzegorzcyk, PhD candidate, Jagiellonian University

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### ***Images of the Russian Empire: Polish Exiles in the Caucasus during the 19th Century***

The image of the Russian Empire (or empire as a general idea) was constructed by Polish exiles in the Caucasus during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, especially in 1831-1863, when most of them lived there and fought against Imam Shamil's Islamic guerrillas etc. as soldiers in Czarist army. There are some descriptions of the Russian Empire in Polish exiles' poems, diaries, novels etc. They created those images which are *connected to civilizing missions* undertaken by Russians in the Caucasus: (1) Russian Empire as an *administrative and bureaucratic project in the Caucasus* (how it works? what kind of civilizing mission in the Caucasus was presented by imperial soldiers?); (2) *Russian Empire as an idea of a powerful imperial state* included a large disparity in terms of ethnicity and religion in the Caucasus borderland (here: *questions about Orientalist stereotypes* made by Polish exiles and by Russian literature and language patterns); (3) *Russian Empire as a great powerful sphere which protects Europe (and the Caucasus) from Shamil's Islamic state* (movement of jihad in the Caucasus, Czarist military and political activity, civilization war; ideology of Islamic world and Russian culture – how to define the West and the East?); (4) *Russian Empire as an enemy of aboriginal people's freedom, their state rules and national identity* (double colonized subjects: Polish exiles and *Caucasian people*; peace and war created by Czarist politics). Complicated relations between those images will be *jointly and carefully described*. The history of Polish diaspora in the Caucasus during Romantic period is forgotten and undiscovered by Western postcolonial studies of phenomenon of power, freedom and slavery.

Dr. **Dariya Orlova**, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

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### ***Ukraine as 'Not-Yet-Europe': Self-Orientalism in the Mediatized Discourse of Ukrainian Political Elites***

Historically, Europe has been a crucial reference point for Ukrainian society and one of the central signifiers in the national identity discourse. Significance of 'Europe' found an illustrative manifestation during the EuroMaidan protests of late 2013-early 2014. The idea behind initial protests revealed a longing for Europe, which is widely seen as an embodiment of democratic values and practices and a realm of prosperity. Emergence of 'Europe' as a polestar can be traced in Ukrainian public discourse since the declaration of independence in 1991 and especially following the Orange Revolution in 2004. Such notions as 'Europe' and 'European' have turned into signifiers of goodness, progress and high quality. Analysis of Ukrainian political elites' mediatized discourse shows that a Eurocentric perspective has been prevailing in the discourse. Thus, 'Europe' is constructed as a normative model for Ukraine. An object of attraction, 'Europe' is ascribed a number of positive traits, whereas Ukraine is represented through negative auto-stereotypes and constructed as inferior vis-a-vis Europe. The mode of relations between Ukraine and Europe suggests a need to consider it within a conceptual framework of self-Orientalism. Although Ukraine has not been engaged in colonial relations with European countries, its present orientation towards Europe and attraction to Europe may prove to be better understood when considered through the lens of self-Orientalism concept. The proposed paper will employ self-Orientalism concept to explore representations of Ukraine and Europe in the mediatized discourse of Ukrainian political elites and discuss their implications for Ukrainian national identity construction.

Dr. **Kevork Oskanian**, University of Birmingham

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### ***Czars, Commissars, and Siloviki: Russian Empire between East and West***

This paper will widen existing analyses of Russian narratives of empire through the introduction of the concept of 'hybrid exceptionalism', referring to discourses of hierarchy emanating from the country's liminal position between East and West. As an empire 'in between', as both a subject and an object of orientalism, Russia, in its various – Czarist, Soviet, contemporary – guises is posited to have generated narratives of hierarchy by formulating civilizational missions within a distinct sphere of interest. The Czars thus justified their dominion over the Caucasus and Central Asia through recognisably orientalisating discourses and attendant practices, while at the same time maintaining a hierarchical relationship with Western sub-alterns in the Baltics, the Ukraine, and Belorussia through the nurturing of an Orthodox difference from the Catholic/enlightenment West. Many of these imperial narratives and practices were subsequently taken over by the Bolsheviks in adapted form in their mission to build a utopia based on the Western philosophy of Marxism in a geopolitical space simultaneously distinct from their capitalist Western adversaries. In taking over elements of both Czarist and Soviet hybrid exceptionalisms, contemporary Russia tries to sustain its hierarchical world-view through the distorted appropriation of the liberal concepts of economic integration and international law, and the creation of a civilisationally specific geopolitical space, distinct from both the decadent-liberal West and the dangerous irrational/Islamist East. Hierarchical civilising missions have been a defining feature of various Russian world-views for centuries, and are poised to remain so in the absence of a major redefinition of Russian national identity.

**Ewa Polak**, independent scholar

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### ***Women, Nation and Anti-Sovietism: Pop-Culture in the Service of O'zbekchilik***

The disintegration of the Soviet Union and gaining independence by Uzbekistan happened at a time when we could talk about the existing Uzbek national identity and sense of community. However, the project of Uzbek identity to a great extent was firmly rooted in the ideology of the Soviet Union, which played the main role in its development. Thus the concept required overwork and filling with new content. The idea of O'zbekchilik (Uzbekness) is based on reevaluation of the Uzbek nation's history - denial of the previously imposed Soviet narrative. During the Soviet rule, Uzbek nation's history was subordinated to the narrative of the class struggle with the feudal system. Independence of Uzbekistan has brought significant change - the core idea of Oz'bekchilik is based on national independence, which allegedly has always been a goal of Uzbeks. Thus, official narrative claims that actions of Uzbek authorities had led to liberation of Uzbekistan from the Russian influence. Ideological project of independent Uzbekistan is then based on break with the Soviet past as something forcefully imposed. The new historical policy is easily visible in changing of the streets' names, building new monuments while destroying others, and the Museum of Memory of Victims of Soviet Repressions opened in the early 2000s. Cinematography of the period of independence in Uzbekistan is designed to create a new hero who would express the new Uzbek identity in the current social context of independent Uzbekistan. Soviet films showed Uzbek women who dropped their veil or cut off their braids in order to make fashionable perm. Contemporary Uzbek cinema shows the opposite - women who after getting married cease to speak Russian or wear jeans and dress in traditional Uzbek folk costumes, adhering to all local traditions. One of the key elements is to return to the values presented as a typical Uzbek and a clear break with the Soviet way of life. Such reevaluation supports official narratives based on building of a sense of Uzbekness - by breaking with the past presented as colonial rule which nowadays is symbolically rejected.

***Does Ukraine Have Elites? Russian Narrative vs. Ukrainian History***

My field of study covers the history of Ukrainian elite in the transition from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. That was a period of essential transformations experienced by the Ukrainian upper estate – from the Polish rule through the state existence (the Hetmanate) to the Russian incorporation. As a final “beneficiary”, the Russian Empire not only seized the Ukrainian lands, but also (and it is of special importance) appropriated the local intellectual realm. Since then, the history of “Little Russia” was constructed as a typical provincial case on the vast imperial terrain. However, the very consequence of such an approach lays in the dimension of political and social history: all Ukrainian leaders were treated like a priori pro-Russians (Bohdan Khmelnytsky) or pathological traitors (Ivan Mazepa). The numerous stratum of middle and low Ukrainian nobles was simply neglected. Implicitly, it drove at conclusion that Ukraine had never had its own elite. It seems that the present Russian historiography with an exception of prominent works by the St. Petersburg scholar Tatiana Tairova-Yakovleva follows the same path. One still could find there the old-fashioned statements concerning “the eternal friendship between the Ukrainians and Russians” and “the reunion of 1654”. How one can overcome that historiographic stereotype?

***Tragic Memories about the Massive Exile of Lithuanians to Siberia in 1941: at the Intersection of Politics, History and Literature***

This paper is devoted to the comparative analysis of insightful books written by two authors, Dalia Grinkevičiūtė and Valentinas Gustainis, who personally experienced the horror of the massive exile of Lithuanians to Siberia, carried out by the Soviet occupying force in June 14th, 1941. Both of them went through the Gulag system and forced labour camps along with their family members. Willing to understand the negative attitude of contemporary Lithuanian society towards the attempts of the current political elite of the Russian Federation to rewrite history and downplay the atrocities of the Stalinist regime as irrelevant, it is essential to cast an attentive look at these personal memoirs. Here, one can notice an interesting intersection of politics, literature and history which gives a chance to perceive why the majority of Lithuanians as well as the political leadership of the country remain so concerned about what they see as renewed imperial ambitions of Russia in the contemporary world. In addition to that, the paper aims to explain why it has been so essential for the populace of Lithuania to completely remove certain elements of the “mental enslavement” inherited from the Soviet period. The analysis has been carried out on the basis of analytic and comparative research methods, with a strong inclination to a multidisciplinary approach that will start from literary analysis to highlight the significance of literary work as a form of historical narrative, and will look at how such narrative in turn shapes contemporary politics.

***Traditional Culture vs. Colonial Legacy: Case Study of the Dance Qara Jorǵa***

During the last few years, debate has arisen in Kazakhstan about the origin of the dance Qara Jorǵa . Some consider it a Kazakh expression of national identity; others think that the dance

was invented by Kazakhs residing in China and has no relation to the Kazakh folk dances. The reason for this opinion is that during the Soviet period Qara Jorğa was performed only on the stage by professional dance companies. The revival of Qara Jorğa and its popularisation are associated with the repatriation of Kazakhs from China which started as the governmental project in 1992. In 2000s Qara Jorğa evolved as a social dance and through mass participatory flash mobs in 2010-11 it became a national dance form. In my research I contextualise the tensions expressed by professional dancers (the graduates of dance institutions) resistant to accepting Qara Jorğa as Kazakh folk dance in terms of “colonial” past. “Orientalist” nature of the discourse implies that Kazakhstanian educated dancers favour the staged folk dance forms while demeaning the ordinary people practicing Qara Jorğa including the repatriated Kazakhs. Soviet ideology contributed to the development of staged forms in the region. Ismailov, the first collector of Kazakh dances, re-created traditional dances existing before the 1930s applying the rules of “cultural laundering” and sanitization. The latter fact brought the segregation of dance from the lives of ordinary people. I problematize the common perception of concert dance as an evolutionary stage in the Kazakh dance development expressed by Kazakhstanian dance scholars. This presentation also involves a case study of the fieldwork done among Kazakhs of Shoshak village, Xinjiang, China.

Dr. **Maryna Romanets**, University of Northern British Columbia

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### ***Russian Neo-Imperial Fantasies: Constructing the ‘Near Orient’ of Ukraine’s Political Body***

My paper focuses on sexually explicit imagery used in Russian social media as propaganda techniques in the current Russo-Ukrainian war. In these Orientalizing representations, sexuality becomes a site for political construction of the other, since the body, when theorized in postcolonial terms, is always “simultaneously (if conflictually) inscribed in both the economy of pleasure and desire and the economy of discourse, domination and power” (Bhabha). For my analysis, I utilize Russian web-library that hosts, as a resource for paid trolls, thousands of readymade offensive images, which are largely aimed at debasing Ukrainian (and Western) officials, while representing Russian president Putin as an alpha male of the international arena. The website’s repertoire includes, among others, recurrent homosexual and transvestite scenarios, which politicize same-sex sexual relations by bluntly adopting the discursive strategies of colonizers who, “in what was intended as an insult, often labeled colonized men as effeminate or homosexual” (Sands). In addition, in her analysis of the homology between sexual and political dominance in imperial discourses, Krishnaswamy contends that the “goal of feminization is effeminization”—a process in which colonizing men use women/womanhood to delegitimize, discredit, and disempower colonized men. Thus masculinity and sexuality here are turned into a tropological site on which many uneven and contradictory axes of power are simultaneously constituted and contested. It is also noteworthy that Russian distinctly outdated colonial discursive practices, when supplemented with the official rhetoric of restituting Russia as a great power, feared and respected worldwide, state-sanctioned homophobia, and a traditional macho gender ideology, are—quite effectively—instrumental in sustaining public support for aggression against Ukraine.

**Agnieszka Sadecka**, PhD candidate, University of Tuebingen

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### ***Orientalising/Orientalised? - A Polish Reporter’s Travel to the Former Empire***

In this paper two aspects of Orientalism will be explored: one pertaining to the Orientalised construction of Poland in the West's imagery, and two, the Orientalist take on the former Soviet Republics. These two discursive constructions can be found in Ryszard Kapuściński's travel reportage *Imperium* (1993), a reflection on the collapse of the Soviet Union, or in other words, on decolonisation of the Second World. The position of the reporter can be considered from multiple perspectives. He is a Pole, conscious of how his country is Orientalised in the Western perception (Wolff, 1994), but as a former subject of the Soviet Empire, his condition is postcolonial - or rather post-dependent (Gosk, 2010). What complicates his position even more, is that he travels around the peripheries of the former empire, avoiding Moscow or St. Petersburg. He visits the republics of Central Asia, but in spite of his sympathetic approach to individuals, when talking about culture, he often reproduces Orientalist clichés. His perception of Central Asia is thus particularly interesting, as the gaze of an Orientalising Oriental.

**Matan Sandler**, Graduate student, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

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### ***“Refusinks”- How a National Myth Conforms to Imperial Discourse***

One of the greatest ethos concerning the Soviet immigration in Israel is that of the “Refusniks”. The struggle of the “Refusniks” is portrayed as a liberal-nationalist struggle aimed at cracking the Iron Curtain. In the normative collective memory, it is seen until this day in the Cold War context of East versus West, liberalism versus Soviet collectivism. It is a part of the larger ethos of the “Russian dissident”, an important part of Western historiography. The people most recognized within the “Refusniks” movement were young Jewish intellectuals operating in the imperial political hub, mainly in Moscow. Forgotten in the Eurocentrist historiographies is the story of the Georgian “refusniks”, who were actually the forbearers of the struggle. However, today there is hardly any recollection of the role played by the Jewish community in Georgia and the story centers around the Soviet metropole. I would like to argue that this historical narrative suits the subaltern role assigned to the eastern part of the Soviet Empire. If discussed, the Georgian tale is portrayed as an ethnic traditional phenomenon unlike the well-known and remembered narrative that revolves around secular ideological grounds of Western values and human rights. If acknowledged at all, the Georgian narrative is marginalized and separated from the “main” “Refusnik” timeline. Most of the time the Georgian narrative is simply ignored. This historical discursive pattern reflects the colonial logic in which the Caucasus region plays the primitive ethnic role. In my paper I would like to introduce the case and portray the power relations that characterized the Soviet regime, and are still present particularly in the Zionist project and in the Western collective memory of the Cold War at large.

**Dr. Giovanni Savino**, Sholokhov Moscow State University for the Humanities

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### ***Russia and Europe: a Self-Image or the “Other”?***

Russia as self-image (Selbstverständnis) of the Europe, or as the radical “Other”? The dilemma is recurrent in the history of relations between West and East of the European space, with consequences for the political, philosophical and social spheres. Starting with the Napoleon attack to the Russian Empire in 1812, the Contemporary Era saw many times the question of the European model inside the elite. Last two centuries were a reflection of this debate inside Russian society, that had different implications in defining the identities inside and outside of the country, and contributed to the emergence of diverse approaches to the question. In this paper I will to discuss how the conflict between the “Eastern” and the

“Western” (i.e. European) options had determined the European-Russian encounters, from the Decabrists till the current political issues in the Russian Federation. The theme of Europe as the arena for the Russian future is still common, and was actual for the Russian Socialdemocracy during the World War I, as for the Kadets' and Nationalists' programs to enforce the ties with the Entente. In the cultural sphere, Europe was the place where scholars went to improve their works, to study and teach at German and British universities, and to take ideas to import inside the Russian public opinion. Against Europe were proposed other options, from the Slavophile and Pan Slavist ideas till the Neoeurasianism, trying to define a different space (Eastern Europe, the Russian Empire and the USSR themselves, or the Eurasian community from Lisbon to Vladivostok), imbued with Traditionalist values. Today, there is an idealization and a reduction of the idea of Europe inside the Russian public. Europe as the most advanced space for the educations and Democratic values, as the nightmare of same-sex marriage and laicism for the Conservative values. The question posed by Dieter Groh's work in 1961, if Russia and the Occident (i.e. Europe) have common goals and ideals is still actual, and dramatically has a meaning for the elaboration of our continent.

**Daria Semenova**, PhD candidate, Kyiv Mohyla Academy

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***Southern and Eastern Soviet Periphery as Exoticized Adventure Landscape: How Are the Potentially Disinterested Ukrainian Narratives Biased by the Imperialist Discourse Stereotypes?***

Adventure stories, the genre whose formulaic structure was formed in the Western European literatures, are believed to be “the energizing myth of the empire”. After becoming popular for youth/mass reading, the genre was adopted in the literatures of nations without colonial policies to bolster - those themselves colonized and having no state. In these cases, other identity-related functions of the oppositions pertinent to the generic structure become more salient. However, due to the memory of the genre, these narratives still had to either incorporate or revisit the orientalist discourse about the exotic places when making them the topoi of adventure. In the proposed presentation, I shall consider middle-20<sup>th</sup>-c. Ukrainian exotic adventure stories, published both in the Soviet Union (e.g. by M.Trublaini, O.Donchenko) and in the diaspora (by I.Bahryanyy, O.Chaplenko, Gizhytskyy). Many of them consider remote, ‘oriental’ regions of the Russian/Soviet empire as the exotic landscape of adventure. Prominently, even those stories explicitly critical of the empire when it comes to its ruling over the Ukrainian in-group (e.g. I.Bahryanyy's Tyhrolowy), still adopt many features of the empire's colonial discourse towards its Eastern colonies. On the other hand, adventure stories coherent with the Soviet discourse use the imagery of the oriental periphery to create the notion of in-group as wide as the Soviet ‘imagined community’, and to comply to the censorship. Both extreme cases indicate that the imagery of the oriental Other is used for educating the young reader about the in-group, aiming to boost the identity-related self-esteem via inter-group comparison.

**Mehmonsho Sharifov**, PhD candidate, University of Bergen

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***Colonial Inheritance of the Failed State: Self-orientalization or “Politics of Anti-politics” in Tajikistan***

The discourse of this paper is rooted in the context of the military clashes of July 2012 in Khorugh, the capital city of the Mountain Badakhshan Autonomous Region of Tajikistan, that was launched by the central government. In this paper I will argue that colonial thought

(construed by Soviet "red-orientalism"), Enlightenment ideas via Bolshevik interpretations and the colonial structures of domination still remain the main elements of Tajik statehood, which trace back to the Soviet Empire, Tsarist colonial times and even Turkic dynasties of Central Asia. Even though the state's ideologists employ concepts such as 'democracy', 'secularism' and 'liberalism', that structure that we refer to as 'the state' has, under the influence of colonial thought and its deriving activities, become more authoritarian. The local people of Tajikistan are not recognizing what is occurring in their life and, especially, what is happening in the political domain, which they call "bolo" (literally meaning upper or high place). The retreat of 'the state' from the political and social problems of the society is covered by the ideology of the reduction of the role of politics ad absurdum, refusal of any political opposition, creating a clash between national and religious values, between history and culture in order to control them. I will call this kind of process a 'self-orientalized' situation of the state. This self-orientalized situation has brought the country to a point in which the technique of creating 'dark others' becomes the main ideology of 'the state' and the war in Khorugh was part and continuation of that politics. In this paper I will also argue that in the context of Tajikistan and Badakhshan, 'colonial thought' or "orientalisms", which derive from the historically shaped self and other relations between the center ('Tajiks') and periphery ('Pamiris'), are historical maladies that obstruct the activity of the techniques of the "self-truth-power" and world making experiences in the whole of Tajikistan. The one-day war in Khorugh has revealed the existence of such 'colonial thought' promoting differences between 'the center' and 'the periphery', like "chakht", "pomeri", "gans" and others. For instance, the notion of "chakht" (literally meaning 'curve', 'bended' - something which is not right or straight) was developed by the Isma'ili Tajiks of Badakhshan. The meaning of the word, which is rooted in the old religious interpretation concerning the truth, authority and power, has shifted during the Soviet times to the political and cultural domains of the people.

Dr. **Dina Sharipova**, Associate Professor, KIMEP University

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### ***Ethnic Nationalism in Kazakhstan through Post-Colonial Theory***

The issues of nation-building have long been on the agenda of Central Asian scholarship. In Kazakhstan, however, the phenomenon of nationalism has not been explored adequately. This is due in part to the negative perception of nationalism in academia, among the elites, and among ordinary people. The predominantly negative interpretation of nationalism is coloured by chauvinism and xenophobia towards other ethnicities which are themselves rooted in the Soviet past. However, recent trends show that Kazakh nationalism can also be viewed as a positive force in the nation-building process. Why do we observe this shift? The existing works have explained the process of nation-building and Kazakh nationalism primarily as an elite project promoted from above. However, our understanding of nationalism is incomplete if we do not also explore it from below "in terms of the assumptions, hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people, which are not necessarily national and still less nationalist" (Hobsbawm 1991:10). The study of nationalism at the grass-root level and using concepts from post-colonial theory can provide us with important insights into the current nature and manifestations of nationalism in Kazakhstan. In this regard, nationalism is not only the result of elites' projects nor is it only an ideology produced by intellectuals. Rather, nationalism is "a series of social micro-processes of identification that suffuse social and political life and lead ordinary citizens to see themselves [...] as members of [...] the nation" (Billig). Focusing on "national habitus", I will use survey and interviews to identify people's attitudes, perceptions, and everyday performances of nationalism in Kazakhstan.



### ***Neo-Eurasianism and the Russian-Ukrainian War***

Neo-Eurasianism is an ideology developed by Russian fascist Alexander Dugin in the 1990s-2000s on the basis of the Russia-centred re-interpretation of the ideas of French traditionalist René Guénon, Italian fascist Julius Evola, National Bolshevism, European New Right and classical geopolitics. While this ideology is not a dominating narrative in the Russian far right milieu, it has become increasingly popular with some activists who espouse anti-Westernism, Russian expansionism and rejection of liberal democracy. The paper explores two particular trends that involved followers of Dugin's neo-Eurasianism in the context of the Russian political and military aggression against Ukraine. The first trend concerns the activities of the Russian neo-Eurasianist organisations related to promoting pro-Russian separatist initiatives in Ukraine, their training, further indoctrination, as well as participation of Russian neo-Eurasianists in the Russian-Ukrainian war. The second trend concerns neo-Eurasianism as one of the ideological mobilising forces behind the recruitment of EU-based volunteers who went to Eastern Ukraine to support pro-Russian separatists and fight against the Ukrainian military. The paper argues that both Russian and EU-based neo-Eurasianists perceive the Russian-Ukrainian war as a fight against the alleged Western hegemony and, especially, the US. However, the activities of Russian and EU-based neo-Eurasianists are strategically different, as the former mainly defend their imperialistic vision of Russia as Eurasia, while the latter use the war-torn East Ukrainian territories as a training ground for a projected far-right revolution in the EU.

### ***Paradoxes in Defining Women's Identity in Kyrgyzstan: Veil versus Traditional Clothing***

The paper will study dilemmas in culture of female clothing across nomadic culture and Islamic canons in Kyrgyzstan. The Kyrgyz were traditional pastoral nomads until the 20th century. Scientific research of nomadic women remains unsatisfactory. In order to learn the religious and cultural aspects of women's identity in Kyrgyzstan, it is not sufficient to research Islamic background, because even though the Kyrgyz assimilated Islam from the 8th century, they maintained connection to Tengrist traditions as well. Nomadic Kyrgyz women did not wear the veil, their traditional clothes corresponded to Islamic canons. Today the influence of Islam is growing, and more and more women have started to wear the veil since 1991. The amount of women covering themselves is growing even in the secular northern part of Kyrgyzstan, whereas this tendency is deeply developing in traditional Southern Kyrgyzstan. However, being a secular country, Kyrgyzstan neither prohibits nor approves of the veil. Girls who wear it are sometimes prohibited from entering schools, and the topic sparks countrywide discussions every September. President A. Atambaev argues that Kyrgyz women should not lose their nomadic cultural roots connected with clothing, in favour of assimilation to "Arab" practices and culture. Customary Kyrgyz rules define the age, status of women and men. There is always a big debate in society whether Kyrgyz women should wear veil or traditional dress. This paper will deal with complex protests in the context of pros and cons of women's clothing among Muslim communities in Kyrgyzstan. The research will present interviews and questionnaires conducted with women and men on the discussed issue.

***The Misrepresentation of Eastern and South-eastern European Women in the Popular Culture and Media as a Result of the Acceptance of Imposition of “the Other” Paradigm on Them***

Despite the fact that imperialist era, which had begun with the great discoveries in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, is officially long-gone and the West has done its apologising to the countries, which suffered colonial occupation, the paradigm of Western supremacy is still very much alive. The imperialism of nowadays has a more positive associations evoking word development. Thus, from being a brutal occupier the West has turned into a helpful teacher whose duty is to show the Other how to do things the right way. After the collapse of socialist regimes new democracies of East and Southeast Europe were striving to reshape their image in order to part with their socialist past. This paper shall specifically explore the change of the representation of women in popular culture and media of post-socialist countries. Despite the reason behind the acceptance of the new Western-style pop-culture image of escaping the socialist stigma of the Other, the women from post-socialist countries still often find themselves trapped in the misrepresentation and myth paradigm. The essay shall test the hypothesis of whether and to what extent the misrepresentation of Eastern and South-eastern European women in the popular culture and media of the post-socialist states was a result of the acceptance of the imposition of paradigm of the other on them. It shall provide a comparative study, which will include the cases of Bulgaria, Lithuania and Romania.

Katrin Staudinger, independent cultural anthropologist

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***Free Nomads, Noble Robbers and Unscrupulous Slave Raiders: The Turkmen Test Case for Orientalism on the Russian Imperial Periphery***

Turkmenistan and Turkmens are definitely not in the centre of international public attention and mass media coverage: even today information is scarce, and little literature is available in Western languages. However, when using these writings to examine the relevance of Edward Said's *Orientalism* for colonial encounters in a setting, where the Russian Empire is the main colonial power, there are surprising findings. The starting point for this paper is an analysis of representations of Turkmens in 19th century travelogues, published in German in 2012. It is shown how certain stereotypes developed, how they were perpetuated and also how they changed. The information that made its way to print was mainly collected by travellers from Russia, Europe and America and reflects public discourse in European and Russian media of the time. In the reports Turkmens appear consistently as archetypal nomads, raiders and slave traders. Some typical negative features of the passive and fatalistic oriental are replaced by pictures of brave, freedom loving and independent people. Thus some of Edward Said's basic perceptions are challenged as local features of an intricate borderland setting are introduced. The concept of 'frontier Orientalism' might offer a suitable theoretical background to explain processes of othering existing in the border area where European and Russian spheres of interest, Said's Orient and the Turkmen territory, meet.

Dr. Enis Sulstarova, University of Tirana

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***Constructing Albanian Communist and Post-Communist Identities through Literature: Orientalism in the Works of Ismail Kadare***

The communist regime in Albania considered literature to be one of the main ideological vehicles for the formation of the "New Albanian Man". To this aim, a great part of literature in the post-war Albania was devoted to themes of how Albanian people defended their country against foreign invaders and oppressive classes and how they are building the new socialist society in the condition of "imperialist-revisionist siege". By taking as a case study the literary works and political essays of the novelist Ismail Kadare, this paper argues that Kadare, in his depiction of the Turks as archenemy of the Albanian nation, employed the clichés and stereotypes borrowed from the European Orientalist tradition, in which the Turks largely are presented as the barbaric mirror to Europe. Later on, the danger coming from "social-revisionism" of Russian and Chinese communist states is portrayed in the Kadare's novels as the continuation of the "Asiatic threat". The intended effect of the construction of "Oriental Turk" and Oriental Albanian landlords – beys - in Albanian literature was to emphasize the modernity of Albanian socialist society and to culturally justify the lonely road of Albanian communism. In the post-communist essays and interviews, Kadare has situated himself in the role of the main public intellectual of Albania and as a mediator between his country and the West. In this vein, Islamic fundamentalism takes a more prominent role as the newest Oriental menace to Albanian national and European identity.

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### ***Europe on the Edges of Europe: Confronting Internalized Oppression***

Along with the singularly important question of how Orientalist prejudices toward Eastern and Central Europe shape Western and Russian policies and culture, it is crucial to ask about the ways in which these prejudices have been internalized by Eastern and Central Europeans, and what steps these subaltern subjects must take to liberate themselves from the damaging and dangerous thought and behavior patterns. A striking recent instance of liberation from internalized oppression was the Ukrainian Maidan. During the Revolution of Dignity, as it came to be known, those who were not supposed to have agency, or a voice of their own declared themselves as free agents; those who were presumed to be subhuman, became human. In my presentation I will rely on two concepts developed by the famous Georgian philosopher Merab Mamardashvili (1930-1990) to argue that one of the most important ways to confront colonialist prejudices is to support the becoming human of those who are denied humanity. I will elaborate on Mamardashvili's concept of the human being as the effort of becoming human, as well as on his idea that Europe is more readily found on the margins of geopolitical Europe. I will argue that the edges of Europe can serve as vantage points from which deeper understanding of Europe or Russia can be articulated. These two insights can become powerful tools, with which Eastern and Central Europe can confront both external and internalized oppression.

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### ***Multiculturalism as an Artistic Component of Imagological Liminality of the Ethnoimage of Ukraine in English Travel Journals of the Romantic Period***

English travelers of the Romantic Period created the ambivalent image of the Ukrainian ethnic space inhabitants in the context of the colonial traditions in English literature of 19th century. Perception of the Eastern European lands as a new exotic romantic space allowed English author-traveler to review the inhabitants of these lands in a binary paradigm "West" – "East". The novelty of this chronotope made clear identity of its inhabitants problematic within the other European and non-European nations. Borderland status as the cross-cultural feature in

description of the inhabitants of Ukrainian lands (Ukrainians, Polish, Jews etc.) made wider its own meaning. It became a literary image of a border between two different cultural worlds: West – East, European – non-European, metropolis – colony, masculine culture – feminine culture. The bound between “the foreign” and “the hostile” outlines polyculturalism of the Ukrainian-Polish borderlands, its ambivalence because of geopolitical uncertainty. The authors of travel egodocuments (travel journals, memoirs etc.) equated the official status with its cultural identity. Binary nature characteristic of the borderlands’ inhabitants shows up in the changing of narrative style: from the dry language of facts to subjective one. Ethnoimages are generalized in the one paradigm of English literary stereotypes, determine not the nationality as such it is but the artistic trope, the image of Ukrainian identity. The interaction of emotional imagothemes of Russians and Right-Bank Ukrainians in dichotomous contrasting masculine culture – feminine culture, power – weakness, restraint – cheerfulness had the features of clear colonial opposition during the description of the Ukrainian lands by English travelers. The concept of Ukrainian identity was ignored because of the absence of its sovereignty, and the artistic aspect of the national originality of the inhabitants of Ukrainian cultural space in description of the details of their clothes, everyday life and traditions created imagotype of the borderlands and its inhabitants who have the ethnic features of two neighboring nations: Russians and Poles.

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### ***The Conflict of Narratives in Russian vs. Ukrainian Social Media***

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union it is evident that Russian and pro-Russian scholars, politicians, journalists etc. consistently defend the Russian “right” to percept the Post-Soviet republics as subalterns: “smaller brothers”; “extensions of Russian borders” and “historically Russian sphere of interest and influence, unable to develop independently”. Such colonial thinking is being especially accentuated in order to justify the conflicts started by the Russian Federation against other Post-Soviet states. The Russian neo-imperial perception, however, does not correspond with the perception of the former Soviet republics, which defend their right to be active subjects of politics. This difference in perception led to the conflict of narratives, which found its reflection not only in political debates, scientific studies and newspaper articles, but also in social media. Taking Ukraine as an example it is possible to see considerable differences between the Russian and Ukrainian social media reactions on the events in Ukraine (the Orange Revolution, the Euromaidan movement, the annexation of Crimea, the War in Eastern Ukraine etc.). These different reactions base upon two narratives spread in both countries. One narrative in social media reflects the stereotypes of colonial thinking in Russia: the Russian unique right to determine politics on the Post-Soviet space; the superiority of the Russian nation; the perception of the Orange revolution and the Euromaidan movement in Ukraine as caused exceptionally by Western influence; the justification of the annexation of Crimea as a “reunification with the historically Russian territory” and the fomentation of the war in Eastern Ukraine using the traditional cover of supporting the rights of Russian-speakers in other countries. The other narrative in social media represents the position of Ukraine, claiming its right of a sovereign state to choose its own path of development independently; to defend its territorial integrity; to be respected as a subject of politics possessing equal rights with its partners; to develop its own language, cultural and political traditions. The paper tries to answer such questions as how these two different narratives reflect the competing imperial vs. anti-imperial discourses, whether one narrative prevails over the other (and, if the answer is positive, to analyse the reasons for this predominance), and whether the social media merely reflect the narratives or alter, transform and modify them.

***Narratives of the Second World War: Contesting the “Hierarchy of Historical Narratives” from the East and the West***

In the paper I intend to approach the narratives of the Second World War in Ukraine, Russia, and the West (in this case in Germany) from the point of view of the post-colonial criticism. In the events of Euromaidan and in its aftermath it became especially clear that the memory of WWII is more topical than ever. The events in Ukraine when tackled by journalists, area experts, and politicians in Ukraine, Germany and Russia are framed by memory talk. The past was invoked by the demonstrators for mobilisation, the past provided a paradigm for analysis, and the past became the basis for territorial claims when Russia annexed Crimea and fuelled the war in the east of the country. Celebration of the victory in the war in 2015 in Ukraine became a vivid gesture to get rid of the Soviet legacies. On the other hand, Russia constructs the narrative of WWII where the history is to a larger degree “ethnicised”, giving the main role to Russian as an ethnic group in the victory over the Nazi Germany. In Germany, on the other hand, the public discourse of the WWII with the emphasis on guilt often influences the construction of “Putinverstehers” (those who try to understand and to justify Putin’s claims on Ukraine). By scrutinising such a contest of narratives I try to see the dynamics of international relations in relation to transformations in Ukrainian national identity.

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***Ukrainian Maidan as the Last Anti-Soviet Revolution: Subaltern Studies and Epistemological Dangers of Soviet Nostalgia for Writing Soviet and Post-Soviet History***

Using Edward W. Said’s approaches to an analysis of the recent historiography of Soviet and Post-Soviet studies, this paper explores various epistemological interpretations for why many Anglo-American experts in Russian studies and Russian scholars oppose the Ukrainian revolution of 2013-2014 and express their solidarity with the foreign policy of Putin’s regime. In their historical imagination, the Ukrainian Maidan became the real last anti-Soviet revolution, which rejected and destroyed the traditionally accepted Moscow-centered and Russian-focused (in fact the Russian imperialist) approaches to an analysis of the recent political, social, cultural and economic developments in the post-Soviet space. As such, this revolution challenged the non-confrontational, conformist and “emotionally positive” approaches to the analysis of Soviet and post-Soviet society and culture, which have become the most popular theoretical model and have led to the very dangerous epistemological and methodological consequences. Confronted with the “unexpected” Maidan Revolution in Ukraine, which rejected all premises and elements of the pro-Russian and pro-Moscow theoretical model of the recent Soviet/post-Soviet Studies, Anglo-American Sovietologists and historians of Russia/Soviet Union became unwilling to discard their favorable historiographical concepts of conformist late socialist Soviet past, and they preferred to distance themselves from “controversial” Ukrainian developments, denying their historical validity, and associating themselves with the more familiar and predictable developments in post-Soviet Russia. Thus, a particular epistemological choice necessitates a very special political decision.

***The Soviet Union as an Internal Colonization Experience? Nation-based Internal Colonialism in Russian-Lithuanian Relationships***

This article's aim is to verify the applicability of the concept of internal colonialism to Soviet historical experience. Through a critical analysis of prior case studies composing the theoretical universe of internal colonialism, a substantial heterogeneity of models emerged, not least about the basis of the dominant-submissive cleavage. In Soviet context it is assumed that ethno-nationality, class or simply geography are all factors deserving consideration, with the first as the most emphasized in literature. Following the pattern of nation-based internal colonialism, the specific case of relationships between Lithuanians and Russians in the 1944-1965 period is analyzed. Through the close examination of official statistics from State archives, official documents of CPSU, Soviet state and republics, and with the help of secondary sources, the existence of such exploitative relation is assessed. Particular aspects taken into consideration are: the historical circumstances of Lithuania becoming part of USSR and continuity with Czarist empire; the institutional relationships, representativeness and autonomy of Lithuanian decision-making process within the state; the existence of economic dependence from Moscow and cultural division of labor; the migration aspect; education, cultural autonomy, forms of cultural discrimination and orientalism by the core culture. The analysis concludes that theories of internal colonialism can generally be ascribed to the Soviet context, and more precisely to Lithuanian case, to different extent for all the aspects taken in consideration. Therefore, it is argued that there is some room for slackening the exclusive link between colonialism and capitalism, considering the key role of socialist centralization.