


Australasian Association for Communist and Post-Communist Studies 14th Biennial Conference

*31 January - 1 February 2019
Gold Coast, Australia*

PROGRAM


NCRE
NATIONAL CENTRE FOR
RESEARCH ON EUROPE


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AACaPS
Australasian Association for Communist and Post-communist Studies

Welcome note

Dear Participants,

Welcome to the Gold Coast and the 14th Biennial Australasian Association for Communist and Post-communist Studies (AACaPS) conference which has two exceptional keynote speakers, panel with diplomatic representatives and features over 50 papers from scholars and postgraduate students who are coming not only from Australia and New Zealand but also from many other countries in Asia, Europe and North America. In the year making 30 years since the fall of Berlin Wall, we will have an exciting opportunity to engage with leading scholars in the field of communist and post-communist studies from around the world by discussing matters, exchanging lessons learned and sharing ideas on the various aspects and comparing the outcomes of developments in communist and post-communist countries.

We trust that the conference program is stimulating and fully in tune with current affairs in and around the post-communist and communist world. It features presentations dealing with a wide range of issues, from the EU's role in assisting post-communist transition in Central and wider Europe, Russia and its role in global affairs to the communist and post-communist developments in North, Central and South-Eastern Asia.

Our keynote speakers include Professor Stephen Hanson and Professor Viktor Larin who are academics with outstanding international reputation. We are also very happy to welcome H.E. Mr Grigory Logvinov, Ambassador of the Russian Federation to Australia. We kindly call on you to visit the conference website: www.griffith.edu.au/aacaps-2019 for all relevant information.

Last but not least, we would like to thank you all for coming to Griffith University on the Gold Coast to present your latest research and to express our gratitude to our sponsors: Griffith Business School, Griffith Asia Institute and the National Centre for Research on Europe at the University of Canterbury, whose generous financial and logistical support was crucial for the successful organization of this conference.

We hope that you all share our excitement and will enjoy the stimulating discussions, will be able to forge new collaborations and take some time to enjoy many great things Gold Coast has to offer as a prime tourist destination in Australia.

We wish you a very successful conference!

Dr Alexandr Akimov
President, AACaPS
Senior Lecturer,
Department of Accounting, Finance and
Economics
Griffith Business School

Dr Milenko Petrovic
Vice-President, AACaPS
Jean Monnet Chair
Senior Lecturer above the Bar,
National Centre for Research on Europe
University of Canterbury

Acknowledgements

AACaPS Executive Committee

President: Dr Alexandr Akimov, Griffith University

Vice-President: Dr Milenko Petrovic, University of Canterbury

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- Honorary Associate Professor Stephen Fortescue, University of New South Wales
- Emeritus Professor Graeme Gill, University of Sydney
- Emeritus Professor Leslie Holmes, University of Melbourne
- Dr Kirill Nourzhanov, Australian National University
- Adjunct Associate Professor Millicent Vladiv-Glover, Monash University
- Dr Yelena Nikolayevna Zabortseva, University of Sydney

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Conference-co-convenor: Dr Milenko Petrovic, University of Canterbury

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- Professor Eduardo Roca, Griffith University
- Dr Jak Kakhkharov, Griffith University
- Dr Nikolay Murashkin, Griffith University

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- Dr Andreas Chai, Griffith University
- Dr John Fan, Griffith University
- Professor Graeme Gill, University of Sydney
- Professor Leslie Holmes, Griffith University
- Dr Jak Kakhkharov, Griffith University
- Professor Leong Liew, Griffith University
- Dr Nikolay Murashkin, Griffith University
- Dr Kirill Nourzhanov, Australian National University
- Professor Andrew O'Neil, Griffith University
- Dr Milenko Petrovic, University of Canterbury
- Professor Eduardo Roca, Griffith University
- Adjunct Associate Professor Millicent Vladiv-Glover, Monash University
- Professor Christine Smith, Griffith University
- Professor Andrew Worthington, Griffith University

Conference program

Thursday, 31 January 2019

Griffith Business School (G42), Griffith University Gold Coast campus

8.15 – 9.00 am	Registration (G42, Level 4)		
9.00 – 9.15 am	Welcome address		
9.15 – 10.15 am G42, Room 4.23	Keynote presentation: Post-communism and the borders of Europe Professor Stephen E Hanson Lettie Pate Evans Professor of Government, William & Mary		
10.15 – 10.30 am	Morning Tea (G42, Level 3)		
10.30am – 12.15 pm	Session 1A G42, Room 3.04 The troublesome post-communist transition of wider Europe—Can the EU (still) assist?	Session 1B G42, Room 3.05 Values, security and foreign policy in Russia	Session 1C G42, Room 3.09 Economic development in Asia
12.15 – 1.15 pm	Lunch (G42, Level 4)		
1.15 – 2.35 pm	Session 2A G42, Room 3.04 Humanism and nationalism: the post-Yugoslav cultural production in Serbia	Session 2B G42, Room 3.05 Russia's approach to regions of strategic concern	Session 2C G42, Room 3.09 Central Asia and its neighbours
2.40 – 4.00 pm	Session 3A G42, Room 3.04 East and west: Liberalism and political change	Session 3B G42, Room 3.05 Money, energy and economy in Russia and beyond	Session 3C G42, Room 3.09 Dilemmas of identity and security in Central Asia
4.00 – 4.30 pm	Afternoon tea (G42, Level 3)		
4.30 – 6.00 pm G42, Room 4.23	Chair: Professor Andrew O'Neil Panel session 1: Road to Peace and Cooperation in the Korean Peninsula Round table with diplomats and experts		
6.00 – 6.30 pm	AACaPS AGM (G42, Room 3.05)		
7.00 – 7.45 pm	Pre-dinner drinks (optional) Stingray Bar, QT Gold Coast 7 Staghorn Ave, Surfers Paradise		
7.45 pm	Conference dinner (optional) Bazaar Restaurant, QT Gold Coast 7 Staghorn Ave, Surfers Paradise		

Conference program

Friday, 1 February 2019

Griffith Business School (G42), Griffith University Gold Coast campus

8.30 – 9.00 am	Registration (G42, Level 4)		
9.00 – 10.00 am G42, Room 4.23	Keynote presentation: Russia Pacific policy in the 21st century Professor Viktor Larin Russian Academy of Science, Far Eastern Branch		
10.00 – 10.15 am	Morning Tea (G42, Level 3)		
10.15 am – 12.00 pm	Session 4A G42, Room 3.04 China and Russia: Governance, reforms and cooperation	Session 4B G42, Room 3.05 Society and nation- building in Central Asia	Session 4C G42, Room 3.09 Post-communist issues in Eastern Europe
12.00 – 12.45 pm	Lunch (G42, Level 4)		
12.45 – 2.30 pm	Session 5A G42, Room 3.04 Socialism with Chinese characteristics: Between culture and economics	Session 5B G42, Room 3.05 Rural communities and development in Central Asia	Session 5C G42, Room 3.09 30 years of change: Where are we now?
2.30 – 2.45 pm	Afternoon tea (G42, Level 3)		
2.45 – 4.30 pm G42, Room 4.23	Panel session 2 and round table: How communism and post-communism are tracking Emeritus Professor Graeme Gill, Emeritus Professor Leslie Holmes, Dr Gennadi Kazakevich and Professor Richard Pomfret		
4.30 – 4.40 pm	Closing address		

Keynote speaker – Thursday, 31 January

Professor Stephen E Hanson
**Lettie Pate Evans Professor of Government,
William & Mary**

Stephen E. Hanson (Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley, 1991; BA, Harvard, 1985) is Vice Provost for International Affairs, Director of the Wendy and Emery Reves Center for International Studies, and Lettie Pate Evans Professor in the Department of Government at the College of William & Mary. He is the author of *Post-Imperial Democracies: Ideology and Party Formation in Third Republic France, Weimar Germany, and Post-Soviet Russia* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), *Time and Revolution: Marxism and the Design of Soviet Institutions* (University of North Carolina Press, 1997), which received the 1998 Wayne S. Vucinich book award from the Association for Slavic, Eurasian, and Central Asian Studies, and a co-author (with Richard Anderson Jr., M. Steven Fish, and Philip Roeder) of *Postcommunism and the Theory of Democracy* (Princeton University Press, 2001). He is also a co-editor (with Grzegorz Ekiert) of *Capitalism and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe: Assessing the Legacy of Communist Rule* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), a co-author (with Willfried Spohn) of *Postcommunism and the Theory of Democracy* (Princeton University Press, 2001), and the author of numerous journal articles and book chapters examining postcommunist politics in comparative perspective. Professor Hanson served from 2009–2011 as the Vice Provost for Global Affairs, and from 2000–2008 as the Director of the Ellison Center for Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies at the Jackson School of International Studies, at the University of Washington, Seattle. He has been a Visiting Scholar at the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies at Harvard, a Visiting Scholar at the Department of Politics and International Relations at Oxford University, and a Research Scholar at the Kennan Institute at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C.

Post-communism and the borders of Europe

Thirty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the question of how to construct and to legitimate political borders and boundaries is generating intense controversy and conflict throughout every part of Europe. The simultaneous challenges of the Russian annexation of Crimea and invasion of Eastern Ukraine; the refugee crisis generated by war and poverty in the Middle East and North Africa; and growing threats to the internal cohesion of the European Union itself now threaten to overwhelm the core institutions of the post-WWII liberal global order. Is Ken Jowitt's prediction three decades ago that the collapse of communism would ultimately generate a "new world disorder" sadly coming true? Or are there reasons to believe that a more consensual form of border definition will ultimately emerge in today's fractured Europe? Unfortunately, mainstream political scientists have to date paid relatively little attention to the issue of how political elites define and defend particular conceptions of state borders. I will argue here for a neo-Weberian theory of border legitimation which outlines three "ideal-types" of political boundaries: traditional, rational-legal, and charismatic. I will show that the core problem of redefining political boundaries in post-communist Europe can be traced to the unresolved legacies of Leninist "charismatic-rational" definitions of political borders within the Soviet bloc. Understanding the spatial legacies of Leninism, I conclude, is a necessary prerequisite to finding effective long-term solutions to contemporary European border conflicts.

Keynote speaker – Friday, 1 February

Professor Viktor Larin

Russian Academy of Science, Far Eastern Branch

Viktor L. Larin (Ph.D., Leningrad State University, 1991; Candidate of Historical Science, Leningrad Pedagogical Institute, 1981 Diplom, Far East National University, 1974) is Head of Asia Pacific Studies, Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnology of the Peoples of the Far East, Russian Academy of Sciences, Far Eastern Branch (Vladivostok). He is also a corresponding member of Russian Academy of Science. Previously Viktor served as a Director of the Institute for 26 years. He has also taught at Far East National University and held a position of Dean of Oriental Studies Faculty in 1986-1991. He has held visiting fellowships at Fudan University, Japan Institute of International Affairs, Japan Foundation. Professor Larin is a chief editor of 'Russia and the Pacific' journal. He is also Chairman of Russian-Chinese Friendship Society, Primorye territory branch.

Professor Larin was awarded Jubilee Medal in honour of the 60th anniversary of establishment of diplomatic relations between Russia and China - "For outstanding contribution to the development of Sino-Russian relations" (2010), and Honorary Diploma of Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the contribution to the development of Japan-Russia relations (2015).

Professor Larin's research interests are in the area of China history and politics; International relations and security issues in the Pacific region, Russia Foreign Policy in the Pacific region, and Russia bilateral and cross-border relations with North Pacific countries. He is the author of more than 230 publications, including 8 individual and 4 joint books

Russia Pacific Policy in the 21st Century

The presentation focuses on four issues: (1) historical and cultural background of Russia Pacific policy, new geopolitical and geo-economic environment of 2010s that have forced Moscow to modify this policy; (2) the Kremlin goals and interests in the Asia-Pacific; (3) Pacific Russia place and role in this policy; and (4) main trends and special features of Russia relations with East-Asian countries. The author believes that as far as the construction of Greater Eurasia and broad Eurasian partnership has become the Kremlin's general geopolitical goal for the decade ahead, Asia-Pacific and Pacific Asia areas are not anymore among its top geopolitical priorities. However, Pacific Russia development is still among top priorities of Kremlin Pacific politic both in its internal and external interpretation. Although Moscow would like to build its economic strategy in East Asia on the base of diversified relations with all partners in the region, for a number of geopolitical reasons, it has to rely on China.

Panel session 1

Road to Peace and Cooperation in the Korean Peninsula

Chair: Professor Andrew O'Neil,
Griffith University

Andrew O'Neil is Professor of Political Science and Dean (Research) at Griffith University. He was previously Head of the School of Government and International Relations at Griffith (2014-2016) and Director of the Griffith Asia Institute (2010-2014). Prior to entering academia in 2000, Andrew worked as an intelligence analyst with the Australian Government. He has won competitive funding from the Australian Research Council, the Australia-Korea Foundation, the Japan Foundation, the Australia-Japan Foundation, and the Australia-China Council. Andrew has undertaken consultancies for (among others) the Council on Foreign Relations, US Pacific Command, Lowy Institute for International Policy, Korean Institute for National Unification, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, and Australia's Department of Defence. His most recent book is *China's Rise and Australia-Japan-US Relations* (Edward Elgar, 2018, co-edited with Michael Heazle).

His Excellency Mr Grigory S. Logvinov

Ambassador of the Russian Federation to the Commonwealth of Australia

- 1979 Graduated from the Institute of Asian and African Studies of Lomonosov Moscow State University and joined diplomatic service.
- 1980-1983 Assistant attaché, senior assistant attaché of the Embassy of the USSR in China.
- 1983-1987 Attaché, third secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- 1987-1993 Third, second, first secretary of the Embassy of the USSR (then – Russian Federation) in China.
- 1993-1996 Office director for China.
- 1996-2001 Political counsellor of the Embassy of the Russian Federation in the USA.
- 2001-2004 Deputy director general of the Bureau of Pan-Asiatic problems; was directly engaged in construction of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.
- 2004-2008 Permanent envoy of the Russian Federation to the SCO.
- 2008-2016 Ambassador-at-large, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, special envoy for North-East Asia Security; Deputy Head of Russian delegation to the Six Party Talks.
Holds the diplomatic rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.
Speaks Chinese, English and German.
Married. Has two daughters, 1986 and 1989.

Panel session 2 and Round Table

How communism and post-communism are tracking

Chair: Emeritus Professor Graeme Gill

University of Sydney

Graeme Gill is Professor Emeritus at the University of Sydney. He is a long-time student of Soviet and Russian politics and of the politics of authoritarian states more generally. His latest book is *Collective Leadership in Soviet Politics* (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2018). He is a Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia.

Emeritus Professor Leslie Holmes

University of Melbourne

Leslie Holmes has been a Professor of Political Science at the University of Melbourne since 1988, and Professor Emeritus there since 2014. He also teaches every year in Warsaw and Beijing, and sometimes at the International Anti-Corruption Academy in Vienna. He has authored or edited 16 books – including *Post-Communism* (Duke University Press, 1997) and *Advanced Introduction to Organised Crime* (Elgar: 2016) – and his work has been published in 16 languages. He specialises in post-communism, corruption and organised crime. Professor Holmes has been a consultant on corruption to the World Bank, Transparency International and the Swiss government, and has been a Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia since 1995. In 2017, he was given a 'Lifetime Achievement Award' by the Australian Political Studies Association.

Communist and Post-Communist States 30 Years On

While most Communist states collapsed in the period 1989-91, four in Asia and one in Latin America survived. But how have both the Communist and post-communist states been tracking? This paper provides a comparative, broad-brush picture of these countries over the past three decades, analysing them in terms of their economies, politics and societies. It will be demonstrated that the two largest (population-wise) remaining Communist states have fared better economically than many post-communist states. Is this because of the development

sequencing – engaging in major economic reform before attempting serious political reform? Or is that hypothesis too simplistic, and should we factor in the level of development starting points or even culture? And what about the political and social systems – are China and Vietnam so impressive on those fronts? The various comparisons will be analysed in part by reference to the debate on modernisation theory.

Dr Gennadi Kazakevitch

Monash University

Gennadi Kazakevitch has been with the Department of Economics at the Faculty of Business and Economics of Monash University for 25 years. Gennadi's research and teaching interests comprise market structures and competition in high technology industries, microeconomic reforms of public utilities, and comparative studies of economic reforms in the former communist countries. His experience as educationalist includes developing the curriculum and coordinating the international programs in Economics across three campuses in Victoria as well in Malaysia and South Africa.

A Taxonomy of Post-Communist Economies after 30 Years of Reforms

The “romantic” expectation by people, who eagerly supported the post-communist economic reforms in the beginning of transition, was that better sooner than later the market mechanisms and leaving standards of OECD countries will be attained. The reality appeared to be drastically different. An attempt at clustering post-communist economies and comparing them with the existing economic systems outside of the former COMECON was undertaken in 1998, 9-11 years after the beginning of the transformation. The conclusion was that by then the transition was already over, and transitional economies had appeared to correspond to a very wide range of 9 clusters associated with quite different systems – from the OECD countries to the absolutely unfree Burma and North Korea. This paper uses a similar methodology based on the Freedom House data and Cluster Analysis, but also adds GDP per Capita into the mix of variables. The question is, whether any of the post-communist economies have managed to improve, or have they downgraded their standing during the further 20 years.

Professor Richard Pomfret University of Adelaide

Richard Pomfret has been Professor of Economics at the University of Adelaide since 1992 and Jean Monnet Chair on the Economics of European Integration since 2017. Before moving to Adelaide, he was Professor of Economics from 1979 to 1991 at the Johns Hopkins University in Washington, Bologna and Nanjing. He previously worked at Concordia University in Montréal and the Institut für Weltwirtschaft in Kiel. In 1993 he was seconded to the United Nations, serving as

adviser to the governments of newly independent Central Asian countries, and he has also acted as a consultant to the World Bank, UNDP, OECD and Asian Development Bank. He has published over a hundred articles and twenty books, including *The Central Asian Economies since Independence* (Princeton UP, 2006), *The Age of Equality: The twentieth century in economic perspective* (Harvard UP, 2011), *Regionalism in East Asia: Why has it flourished since 2000 and how far will it go?* (World Scientific, 2011), *Public Policy and Professional Sports* (with John K. Wilson - Edward Elgar, 2014) and *The Central Asian Economies in the Twenty-first Century: Paving a new silk road* (Princeton UP, 2019).

Paving a New Silk Road? Is Central Asia facing a Window of Opportunity in the 2020s?

Central Asia has since 1991 been dominated by nation-building and transition from central planning in the 1990s and the resource boom in the 2000s. Since 2014, with the end of the resource boom, governments claim to recognize that economic diversification is necessary. This paper argues that there may be a window of opportunity to re-orient Central Asia from dependence on primary product exports and remittances to more diversified outward-oriented economies. The catalyst could be reintegration into a Eurasian economy being established by rail services between Europe and China, reinforced by China's Belt and Road Initiative. To take advantage of the window of opportunity, domestic change will be necessary. There are hopeful signs in the generational change in leadership in Uzbekistan, and in the establishment of parliamentary democracy and peaceful changeover of elected presidents in the Kyrgyz Republic. The paper analyzes the economic ressurces for further change and the forces resistant to change.

Concurrent sessions

Thursday 31 January 2019

Session 1	10.30am to 12.15pm
Session 1A. The troublesome post-communist transition of wider Europe—Can the EU (still) assist? Session chair: Dr Milenko Petrovic, University of Canterbury, New Zealand	G42, Room 3.04
The EU and the post-communist Western Balkans: democratisation with a very small enlargement carrot Dr Milenko Petrovic, University of Canterbury, New Zealand	Discussant: Emeritus Professor Leslie Holmes, University of Melbourne
Does Russia promote autocracy in its near abroad? Insights from Armenia Dr Nicholas Ross Smith, University of Nottingham, China	Discussant: Emeritus Professor Leslie Holmes, University of Melbourne
A door neither closed nor open': Investigating the underlying factors of the EU's rhetorical entrapment in post-Maidan Ukraine Iana Sabatovych, University of Canterbury, New Zealand	Discussant: Emeritus Professor Leslie Holmes, University of Melbourne
China's relations with the V4 and the EU in the context of the 16+1 cooperation framework Xiwen Wang, University of Canterbury, New Zealand	Discussant: Emeritus Professor Leslie Holmes, University of Melbourne
Session 1B. Values, security and foreign policy in Russia Session chair: Dr Nikolay Murashkin, Griffith University	G42, Room 3.05
The mediating of populism discourse in Russia via YouTube: the case of Alexey Navalny Sofya Glazunova, Queensland University of Technology	Discussant: Emeritus Professor Graeme Gill, University of Sydney
US - Russia relations in the last 30 years: from a rapprochement to a meltdown Dr Victoria V Orlova, Channel One Russia	Discussant: Professor Roger Markwick, University of Newcastle
Legal Continuity and Change: Russia in 30 years after the Fall of the Berlin Wall Dr Anna Taitslin, University of Canberra	Discussant: Dr. Nikolay Murashkin, Griffith University
The Notion of Security in Russia's key strategic foreign policy doctrines and institutions Dr Yelena Nikolayevna Zabortseva, University of Sydney	Discussant: Dr Nikolay Murashkin, Griffith University

Session 1C. Economic development in Asia

G42, Room 3.09

Session chair: Professor Eduardo Roca, Griffith University

Credit Constraints, Innovation and Labour Productivity of Small and Medium Sized Enterprises in ASEAN Countries

Lan Thanh Nguyen, Griffith University

Discussant: Luan Nguyen, Griffith University

Public Debt in Developing Asia: A Help or Hindrance to Growth?

Singgih Gunarsa, Griffith University

Discussant: Dr Lech Keller, National Centre for Research and Development, Poland

Dilemma of post-socialist Vietnam: informal practices and former state workers' livelihoods

Dr Tu Nguyen, Griffith University

Discussant: Singgih Gunarsa, Griffith University

Energy Efficiency in Vietnamese industrial sector: impacts of government involvement, technological level and management level

Luan Nguyen, Griffith University

Discussant: Associate Professor Elena Shadrina, Waseda University, Japan

Session 2

1.15pm to 2.35pm

Session 2A. Humanism and nationalism: the post-Yugoslav cultural production in Serbia

G42, Room 3.04

Session chair: Dr Nina Markovic, Macquarie University

Chekhov's "Boys" in the Zone of War: Goran Radovanović's Film Enclave

Adjunct Associate Professor Millicent Vladiv-Glover, Monash University

Discussant: Dr Anna Taitlin, University of Canberra

The implosion of Yugoslavia as a failed totality in film and text

Nikolai Gladanac, Independent Scholar

Discussant: Adjunct Associate Professor Millicent Vladiv-Glover, Monash University

National mythology in the making of post-communist Serbian identity

Dr Lara Jakica, Monash University

Discussant: Adjunct Associate Professor Millicent Vladiv-Glover, Monash University

Session 2B. Russia's approach to regions of strategic concern G42, Room 3.05
Session chair: Professor Reuel Hanks, Oklahoma State University

Russia and Poland – an inevitable clash over Ukraine? Discussant: Dr Kirill
Paulina Pijacka, Australian National University Nourzhanov, Australian
National University

Russia's Growing Relationship with Iran: Strategic or Tactical? Discussant: Dr Kirill
Ian Parmeter, Australian National University Nourzhanov, Australian
National University

Russia's Stance on Israel and Palestine: Power Politics and Historical Legacy Discussant: Dr Kirill
Anas Iqtait, Australian National University Nourzhanov, Australian
National University

Session 2C. Central Asia and its neighbours G42, Room 3.09
Session chair: Professor Richard Pomfret, University of Adelaide

The contribution of Northeast Asian countries to development in post-Soviet Central Asia: mentoring, pragmatism and geopolitics Discussant: Bakhrom
Dr Nikolay Murashkin, Griffith University Radjabov, University of
Tsukuba

Towards social innovations? Critical analysis of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) supported projects in Armenia and Uzbekistan Discussant: Dilnoza
Bakhrom Radjabov, University of Tsukuba Ubaydullaeva, Australian
National University

Do International Remittances Affect Household Spending? Focus on Wedding Expenditures Discussant: Lan Thanh
Dr Jak Kakhkharov, Griffith University Nguyen, Griffith University

Session 3 2.40pm to 4.00pm

Session 3A. East and West: liberalism, philosophy and political change G42, Room 3.04
Session chair: Adjunct Associate Professor Millicent Vladiv-Gover, Monash University

The Virtue of Hospitality and the Horror of Wasted Lives: Fated to Illiberalism? Discussant:
Professor Raymond Taras, Tulane University, USA Iana Sabatovych, University
of Canterbury, New Zealand

Yugoslavia and Vietnam: Then and Now. Tracking social and political changes through the prism of Australia's immigration trends Discussant: Dr Tu Nguyen,
Dr Nina Markovic, Macquarie University Griffith University
Adam Khaze, Australian National University

The Socialist Market Economy: Philosophical Foundations
Professor Roland Boer, Renmin University of China, Beijing, China

Discussant: Dr Fengshi Wu,
University of Melbourne

Session 3B. Money, energy and economy in Russia and beyond

G42, Room 3.05

Session chair: Dr Gennadi Kazakevitch, Monash University

Could Russia weaponise cryptocurrencies to aid its foreign policy grand strategising?

Dr Nicholas Ross Smith, University of Nottingham, China

Discussant: Dr Nina Markovic, Macquarie University

Political economy of Russian regional public finance: the case of monotowns

Associate Professor Vera Ivanova, Higher School of Economics, Russia

Discussant Honorary Associate Professor Stephen Fortescue, University of New South Wales

Comparative Study of Energy Integration in Eurasian Economic Union and European Union

Associate Professor Elena Shadrina, Waseda University, Japan

Discussant: Dr Yelena Zabortseva, University of Sydney

Session 3C. Dilemmas of identity and security in Central Asia

G42, Room 3.09

Session chair: Ian Parmeter, Australian National University

Sacred Geography and National Identity in Kazakhstan

Dr Kirill Nourzhanov, Australian National University

Discussant: Anas Iqtait, Australian National University

Islamisation in Kazakhstan: Security and the Religious Identitiescape

Professor Reuel Hanks, Oklahoma State University, USA

Discussant: Anas Iqtait, Australian National University

The Fear of Transnational Islamism in Uzbekistan

Azima Akhmatova, Australian National University

Discussant: Anas Iqtait, Australian National University

Friday 1 February 2019

Session 4

10.15am to 12.00pm

Session 4A. China and Russia: Governance, reforms and cooperation

G42, Room 3.04

Session chair: Emeritus Professor Leslie Holmes, University of Melbourne

Dictators and Leadership: Lessons from Stalin and Mao.
Emeritus Professor Graeme Gill, University of Sydney

Discussant: Dr Victoria Orlova, Channel One, Russia

How Closely Aligned Are Russia and China? Measuring Strategic Cooperation in IR

Dr Alexander Korolev, University of New South Wales

Discussant: Dr Nicholas Ross Smith, University of Nottingham, China

Do Restrictions Work? State and Environmental Civil Society in China and Russia

Dr Fengshi Wu, University of Melbourne

Discussant: Honorary Associate Professor Stephen Fortescue, University of NSW

Failures and successes: Soviet and Chinese state-socialist reforms in the face of global capitalism

Professor Roger Markwick, University of Newcastle

Discussant: Sofya Glazunova, Queensland University of Technology

Session 4B. Society and nation-building in Central Asia

G42, Room 3.05

Session chair: Dr Yelena Nikolayevna Zabortseva, University of Sydney

Building Secular States in post-Soviet Central Asia

Dr Emilbek Dzhuraev, The OSCE Academy in Bishkek, Kyrgyz Republic

Discussant: Alina Sadykova, Saemaul Undong of Kyrgyzstan, Kyrgyz Republic

Towards virtual democracy in Uzbekistan: digital governance, online activism and implications for the political system

Dr Shuhrat Baratov, University of Canberra

Discussant: Berikbol Dukeyev, Australian National University

The Soviet past in post-1991 nation building of Kazakhstan

Berikbol Dukeyev, Australian National University

Discussant: Dr Emilbek Dzhuraev, The OSCE Academy in Bishkek, Kyrgyz Republic

Equal Citizenship, Ethnicity, and Language Dilemmas in the Context of the Post-Socialist Reforms in Central Asia

Associate Professor Aziz Ismatov, Nagoya University, Japan

Discussant: Dr Shuhrat Baratov, University of Canberra

Session 4C. Post-communist issues in Eastern Europe

G42, Room 3.09

Session chair: Dr Alexandr Akimov, Griffith University

Identities in Lithuanian Foreign Policy before and after EU accession

Discussant: Dr Lara Jakica,
Monash University

Katarzyna Biersztanska, University of Warsaw, Poland

Why the Cold War had a long hangover but no reincarnation

Discussant: Katarzyna
Biersztanska, University of
Warsaw, Poland

Dr Roderic Pitty, Deakin University

Communist Crimes against Humanity: a short review and an update on the role of EU organizations

Discussant: Professor
Raymond Taras, Tulane
University, USA

Dr Eugen Petcu, Griffith University

Session 5

12.45pm to 2.30pm

Session 5A. Socialism with Chinese characteristics: Between culture and economics

G42, Room 3.04

Session chair: Professor Roland Boer, Renmin University of China, Beijing, China

Symbiosis, Rupture, Conflict, Reconstruction: The Development of the Relationship Between Chinese Socialist Culture and Chinese Traditional Culture

Discussant: Professor
Roland Boer, Renmin
University of China, Beijing,
China

Fan Furong, Northeastern University, China

Agamben's Biopolitics in China

Discussant: Professor
Roland Boer, Renmin
University of China, Beijing,
China

Zhou Dan, Nanchang University, China

Renewing Socialism with Chinese Characteristics in Literature and Art – China Under Xi Jinping's Leadership

Discussant: Professor
Roland Boer, Renmin
University of China, Beijing,
China

Zhang Jingzi, Xi'an Jiaotong University, China

The Concept of Socialist Labour with Chinese Characteristics: Theoretical Foundations and Practical Developments

Discussant: Professor
Roland Boer, Renmin
University of China, Beijing,
China

Hu Yang, Tongji University, China

Session 5B. Rural communities and development in Central Asia

G42, Room 3.05

Session chair: Dr Jak Kakhkharov, Griffith University

Money can't buy me love, but it can buy apples: An analysis of fruit and vegetable demand in Uzbekistan

Dr Alisher Ergashev, Department of Agriculture and Fisheries

Discussant: Dr Jak Kakhkharov, Griffith University

Factors Influencing the Development of Rural Communities in the Kyrgyz Republic: Implementation of Saemaul Undong

Alina Sadykova, Saemaul Undong of Kyrgyzstan, Kyrgyz Republic

Discussant: Azima Akhmatova, Australian National University

Impact of trade costs on agrifood exports in Central Asia

Alfinura Sharafeyeva, University of Adelaide

Discussant: Dr Alisher Ergashev, Department of Agriculture and Fisheries

Internationalization versus securitization: nation-building through higher education in post-Soviet Uzbekistan

Dilnoza Ubaydullaeva, Australian National University

Discussant: Dr Alexandr Akimov, Griffith University

Session 5C. 30 years of change: Where are we now?

G42, Room 3.09

Session chair: Professor Roger Markwick, University of Newcastle

Russia's federal civil service: rational-legal or neo-patrimonial?

Honorary Associate Professor Stephen Fortescue, University of New South Wales

Discussant: Dr Alexander Korolev, University of NSW

Organised Crime in Communist and Post-Communist States'

Emeritus Professor Leslie Holmes, University of Melbourne

Discussant: Paulina Pijacka, Australian National University

Non-traditional security threats in ex-Soviet Central Asia and Russia's security strategy in the region

Dr Yelena Nikolayevna Zabortseva, University of Sydney

Discussant: Associate Professor Aziz Ismatov, Nagoya University, Japan

Poland - 30 years after beginning of the transformation

Dr Lech Keller, National Centre for Research and Development, Poland

Discussant: Associate Professor Vera Ivanova, Higher School of Economics, Russia

End of concurrent sessions

Session 1A

The EU and the post-communist Western Balkans: democratisation with a very small enlargement carrot

Dr Milenko Petrovic

**National Centre for Research on Europe,
University of Canterbury, New Zealand**

While the countries of East Central Europe (ECE) and the three Baltic states relatively successfully achieved the main goals of post-communist democratisation and economic reform by the early 2000s, not least thanks to massive assistance received through the process of their accession to the EU which they also accomplished by 2004, their counterparts from other parts of former communist eastern Europe still struggle to cope with their post-communist reality. Regardless of recent negative democratic trends in some ECE states, particularly in Hungary and Poland, problems related to corruption, respect for the rule of law, freedom of the media and people's living standards in general are significantly bigger in the post-communist Balkan states (including Romania, Bulgaria and Croatia which became EU members in 2007 and 2013, respectively) and in the six east European post-Soviet states included in the EU's 'Eastern Partnership' than in any of their ex-communist counterparts which joined the EU in 2004. Feeling 'sick' of enlargement fatigue after its 'mega enlargement' in 2004/07 and then preoccupied with the (almost simultaneous) emergence of the Global Financial and Eurozone crises the EU has not been able to assist much. Its assistance to dealing with the challenges of post-communism in these two groups of states has become more conditional and has often come in the form of additional requirements and/or restrictions. While it has denied the 'fast(er) track to accession' but continued to tighten the conditions and postpone the opening of accession negotiations for the official and potential candidates for EU membership from the Western Balkans, it has continued to decline to offer the accession opportunity to the countries of the Eastern Partnership.

This panel comprises four papers that look at the main challenges of the troublesome post-communist transition in the two regions of 'wider Europe' and the scope and shortcomings of the EU's approach to the main political and socio-economic problems which the countries of these regions face. The interference and role of two other competing regional powers, Russia and China will also be tackled.

Does Russia promote autocracy in its near abroad? Insights from Armenia

Dr Nicholas Ross Smith

**School of Politics and International
Relations, University of Nottingham,
Ningbo, China**

There is a growing body of literature that argues that Russia, under the stewardship of Vladimir Putin, has emerged as something of an autocracy promoter in the international arena in recent years. The premise of these argument is that after experiencing significant internal vulnerability in the wake of the colour revolutions that occurred in Georgia (2003), Ukraine (2004), and Kyrgyzstan (2005), Russia took concrete steps to promote autocracy in its near abroad as a way of insulating itself from the assumed subversiveness of the external democratic promotion strategies of Western actors (especially the EU and the United States). Armenia never really threatened to join the colour revolution wave and due to significant Russian leverage, abandoned an EU-pathway for a clearly Russian one, which culminated in accession into the Eurasian Economic Union. However, somewhat unexpectedly, Armenia had a "revolution" in 2018 and the ostensibly pro-Russian president Serzh Sargsyan was removed from power. Perhaps this offers a new opportunity for the EU to re-invigorate its democracy promotion in Armenia. However, Russia's penchant for attempting to influence its near abroad will continue to create challenges to the EU's promotion of democracy. Although Russia cannot present as attractive a model of governance as the EU (for ordinary citizens), it is able to compete with the EU

(and other Western donors) over securing the loyalty of elites, which, in the post-Soviet context, is arguably the most important variable as to whether successful or unsuccessful democratization occurs.

*A door neither closed nor open':
Investigating the underlying factors
of the EU's rhetorical entrapment in
post-Maidan Ukraine*

Iana Sabatovych

**National Centre for Research on Europe,
University of Canterbury, New Zealand**

The EU's 'rhetorical entrapment' in Ukraine describes the reasons behind the EU's failed attempts at Ukraine's democratisation in the framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy and Eastern Partnership. From geopolitical perspective, the EU has not been able to exercise its normative pressure in Ukraine extensively, because Russia emerged as an alternative integration power during the 2000s and both Russia and the EU have since encouraged Ukraine to join their integration projects. The respective geopolitical constraint has found reflection in the EU's 'rhetorical' trap. On the one hand, the EU has rhetorically supported the course for democracy promotion in Ukraine, but, on the other hand, it has neither sanctioned the Ukrainian government for violation of EU norms nor provided a membership incentive which could have pushed for democratisation. The solution to the problem seemed to have appeared with Ukraine's Orange revolution that was viewed as an opportunity to release the EU from its 'trap'. Yet as the initial stage of this de-entrapment had passed, the EU returned to its 'enlargement fatigue'. This paper discusses the similarities and differences between the EU's policies towards Ukraine after the Orange and after the Maidan revolutions, yet it also sheds light on the EU's rhetorical entrapment as an under-studied aspect of EU-Ukraine relations.

*China's relations with the V4 and
the EU in the context of the 16+1
cooperation framework*

Xiwen Wang

**National Centre for Research on Europe,
University of Canterbury, New Zealand**

China's 16+1 cooperation framework and Belt and Road initiative has significantly increased its economic presence in the region of East Central Europe over the last several years. They also connect East Central European countries, the Baltic States and the Western Balkans with China closer than they have ever been before. Among these, the Visegrad group (V4) countries of Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic and Slovakia have showed great interest in cooperating with China on economic, cultural and some political affairs. In addition to regular political talks, China's economic relations with the V4 have increased exponentially in comparison to their previous bilateral economic ties. The China – V4 relationship has however started to raise suspicion among EU officials and the political elite and wider public in western EU member states. There are an increasing number of claims that China's strategy is to 'divide and conquer'. This paper aims to examine China's political and economic relations with the V4 countries in the context of the 16+1 cooperation framework from 2012 to 2018. In addition to providing an overview of the evolution of China-V4 relations, the paper discusses the reasons why the V4 countries seek cooperation with China and in what way the EU fails to meet the countries' needs, which indirectly impacts on China-V4 relations.

Session 1B

The mediating of populism discourse in Russia via YouTube: the case of Alexey Navalny

Sofya Glazunova

Digital Media Research Centre,
Queensland University of Technology

Alexey Navalny is a Russian political activist, who regularly organises the anti-government protests. He is the head of an NGO, which produces investigative projects with an anti-elitist rhetoric targeted against corrupted officials. It is mediated through different communication channels, mostly YouTube videos. Consequently, Navalny announced his campaign for the Presidential election in 2018; however, he was banned from the official participation prior actual elections. During his campaign, different commentators attributed to him such ideological constraints as paternalism, nationalism and, indeed, populism. But Navalny does not trip out of the transnational trend of the rise of populism across the globe, though the nature of his populist discourse differs from the Western experience and from the Russian establishment. This paper explores the specificities of populist rhetoric of Alexey Navalny mediated through social YouTube platform during the presidential elections in 2018. The results will allow determining the nature of Russian populism phenomenon and compare it with the Western experience. Moreover, it will help to understand the role of the digital platforms in the mediating of this discourse. I employ a case study approach supplemented by qualitative content analysis of the text transcripts and visual content of videos from the Navalny's YouTube video blog.

US – Russian relations in the last 30 years: from a rapprochement to a meltdown

Dr Victoria Orlova

Channel One Russia

The paper examines essential issues and turning points in the U.S. – Russia relationship in the post-Cold War era. A rapprochement in the relations between countries in the 1990s turned out to be an illusive warming that began to evaporate when acute security issues appeared on the global agenda. The NATO expansion, the war on terror, political turmoil and conflicts in post-Soviet states as well as competing geopolitical ambitions and economic strategies of elites have plunged the U.S. – Russia relationship into turbulence, with a looming threat of political and diplomatic meltdown. The prolonged crisis in U.S. – Russia relations, exacerbated by hostile information campaigns in mass media and reciprocal accusations of meddling in internal and external affairs, has resulted in a severe deterioration of political, diplomatic and economic ties between countries. At the same time, a complex picture of the relationship, reflecting the real geopolitical interplay between the states as well as sophisticated economic strategies of the U.S. and Russia, remains beyond comprehension. Given that the current tensions between the U.S. and Russia can lead to growing uncertainty and instability in the world, it makes sense to explore the reasons and possible outcomes of the U.S. – Russia standoff in the historical context.

*Legal Continuity and Change:
Russia in 30 years after the Fall of
the Berlin Wall*

Dr Anna Taitslin
University of Canberra

Two hundred years ago, a German legal scholar Savigny, referring to a codification project, noted:

“it is impossible to annihilate the impressions and modes of thought of the jurists now living, impossible to change completely the nature of existing legal relations”. He, of course, did not have in mind a revolutionary change. But one may wonder whether even a revolution could completely wipe out all legal institutions and relations. The parallels between the October Revolution and the Perestroika (that led to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Block) have been a stock of the common discourse, at least, since Pelevin’s *Chapaev i Pustota* (1996).

The paper will attempt at a qualitative comparison of the post-revolutionary and the post-Soviet legal change.

*The Notion of Security in Russia’s
key strategic foreign policy doctrines
and institutions*

Dr Yelena Nikolayevna Zabortseva
**Department of Government and
International Relations, University of
Sydney**

In our advanced technological interdependent era, the notion security has significantly expanded its traditional boundaries. This paper analyses to what extent this expansion is reflected upon in Russia’s ideological perception of security in its official strategies. Data on the three key institutional actors in Russian Foreign Policy and National Security is specifically analysed for this purpose: Administration of the President, Russia’s Security Council, and Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Among the key Russian documents, the following ones are researched: Annual Presidential Addresses to the Federal Council, National Security Strategies, Foreign Policy Concepts, and Military concepts. Among the different aspects of non-traditional security, the role of economic interests in official documents is particularly

highlighted. The paper also analyses transformation of the multi-polar world concepts, Eurasianism and the consideration of the Russia’s own role in the world civilization. Finally, the role of the regional institutions (such as CIS, CSTO, SCO) in Russia’s official definitions of security and in its key foreign policy policies is reviewed.

Session 1C

*Credit Constraints, Innovation and
Labour Productivity of Small and
Medium Sized Enterprises in
ASEAN Countries*

Lan Thanh Nguyen
**Griffith Business School, Griffith
University**

Small and medium enterprises (SMEs) are critical segments of the business sector for a nation’s economic growth and development throughout many regions of the global economy. Understanding the sector’s issues has been widely studied over a long period of time across countries and regions. Nonetheless, gaps remain since literature on credit constraints vis-à-vis innovation and productivity has not yet collectively covered the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) region. ASEAN ranks the sixth largest economy in the world and retains the third highest position in Asia, with the annual average growth rate of 5.3% in the period 2007–2015. The foregoing setting— SMEs as engines of economic growth and the economic success of ASEAN—provides a worthwhile laboratory to study the link between credit constraints and their impact on innovation and productivity.

Using data from the World Bank Enterprise Surveys, this study aims to analyse the impact of credit constraints on innovation and productivity of SMEs in the ASEAN region. A two-stage econometric approach with the consideration of endogeneity between credit constraints and firm performance is applied. We find that credit constraints are largely holding back innovation of SMEs. The impacts of credit constraints on productivity are mixed. A significant and negative impact is found for firms in Vietnam, Thailand, Indonesia, and Myanmar. However, we find a significant and positive association between constraints and productivity for those in Lao PDR, Malaysia, and the Philippines. Cambodia also remains the positive sign but insignificant. Policy implications regarding credit-related issues are discussed.

Public Debt in Developing Asia: A Help or Hindrance to Growth?

Singgih Gunarsa

Griffith Business School, Griffith University

Considerable research has sought to identify the causes of economic growth in developing Asian economies, including Communist China and Vietnam, which have driven world growth since the turn of the century. Meanwhile this regional group has experienced a significant rise in public debt in the wake of the Global Financial Crisis. Yet little attention has been paid to the impact public debt has had on Asia's growth, a gap this paper aims to fill. After highlighting key theoretical linkages that suggest some ambiguity about the public debt-growth nexus and surveying previous findings, we find a negative empirical relationship. Specifically, a dynamic panel model implies public debt hinders economic growth in the region, with a 10 per cent increase associated with a 0.03 growth reduction which, due to compounding, is significant going forward. To minimise future fiscal risk arising from higher world interest rates, or from unexpected realisation of contingent liabilities, Asian governments need to ensure additional future public debt is matched by high quality public spending, while strengthening budgetary institutions and practices.

Dilemma of post-socialist Vietnam: informal practices and former state workers' livelihoods

Dr Tu Nguyen

Centre for Governance and Public Policy, Griffith University

This paper explores the nature and dilemma of post-socialism in Vietnam through the experiences of former state workers in Ho Chi Minh City in accessing their pension benefits and their livelihoods after retirement. As economic reform put to rest the socialist state's promises of welfare and employment for life, state workers are left to cope with business' exploitative practices and substandard wages undeserving of decades of hard and heavy work. As these state workers strive to make sense of injustice, which has failed to fulfil the socialist promises of their youth, they find it necessary to adopt informal practices, such as bribing doctors to prove that they are no longer fit for formal employment and then taking irregular work to complement their meagre pension. The local government's decision on their pension in the name of state law is symbolic of institutional inequality and legitimates business' failure to pay them a fair wage. In state workers' accounts, informal practices generate and perpetuate an existential dilemma: workers' ideological socialist foundations are in conflict with their increasingly unstable and precarious life experiences in a post-socialist economy.

Energy Efficiency in Vietnamese industrial sector: impacts of government involvement, technological level and management level

Luan Nguyen
Griffith Business School, Griffith University

Energy efficiency is a significant issue in Vietnamese industrial sector that consumes most of the energy in Vietnam. This article adopts stochastic frontier analysis to evaluate the factors that influence the energy efficiency in tile industry, which is the second largest energy consumer in Vietnamese industrial sector. The empirical results indicate that there are many factors significantly impacting on energy efficiency, include ownership structure, size of the firms, fuel type, labor quality, energy price and import activities. Furthermore, the results emphasize some negative impacts on energy efficiency from government involvement in businesses and backwardness in management, which are very common in developing countries like Vietnam.

Session 2A

Chekhov's "Boys" in the Zone of War: Goran Radovanović's Film "Enclave"

Adjunct Associate Professor Millicent Vladiv-Glover
Monash University

Director Goran Radovanović started his career in the 1980s and made his name first with short quasi-documentaries about the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the 1990s. One of his early movies of "Chickens Election" which was a humorous take on the democratic process penetrating the Serbian village. The theme of the aftermath of the disintegration of Federal Yugoslavia and its consequences for the small Serbian population still living in the former Yugoslav autonomous province of Kosovo is the topic of the 2016 film "Enclave". The paper will show how the director portrays the consequences of the civil wars in the Balkans of the 1990s and how he tries to de-

politicize the hot topic of Serbia's and Kosovo's 'national interests' by focusing on the effects of war on those who have no political agenda: the children on both the Serb and the Albanian side.

The implosion of Yugoslavia as a failed totality in film and text

Nikolai Gladanac
Monash University

Dubravka Ugresic's "Fox" (2018) is a digressive, essayistic hybrid text that combines semi-autobiographical elements with literary allusion and anecdote. A central concern is the relationship between world and text, the myriad ways in which the one already is the other and elusive spark that transmutes life into literature. This theme of traversal is doubled by constant descriptive movement through countries, texts and time. The titular fox serves as the motif, serving as a self-erasing organising principle, it's transgressive cunning augmenting the work's celebration of cosmopolitanism and the sliding, destabilising potentials of literature. Nativist bigotry and the absurdities of bureaucracy and popular culture are satirical targets. This paper will examine "Fox" through Bakhtin's theory of polyphony and Menippean satire. The focus is on the role of the fox in Ugresic's book. Can the emblematic, mythic, predetermined quality of the motif sustain its deconstructive function or does it condemn the book to cross out its own assertion of potentiality and plurality by rendering them a reverent fetish? Does this schematic element restrict what Bakhtin described as "the fundamental property of testing a character's discourse"? (DN 388). In addition, the paper will discuss some aspects of abstract cosmopolitanism versus ethnic isolationism in former Yugoslavia and draw some parallels between them and the current global couplet of populism and political correctness.

National mythology in the making of post-communist Serbian identity”

Dr Lara Jakica

Monash University

This paper explores the cultural discourse of post-communist Yugoslavia and its role in re-defining national identity in Serbia, which was the last country to exit the Federation. Similar to other newly formed states, which focused on re-establishing their new and revived identities through revisions of history and re-discovering ‘roots’ and traditions, the Serbian cultural scene experienced the return of national mythology of medieval Serbia and its heroes. Examples of literary texts, which include popular songs and a return to folkloric tradition of oral poetry, will show how a popular culture ‘revival’ is experienced as a fortress of national identity, which has assumed new value in turbulent post-communist times. The task of this new popular cultural production was not only to re-establish national identity by revisiting the past, but also to annihilate the existing communist sentiment, which was being actively replaced by traditionalist discourse. This paper will offer a closer reading of some texts, which became largely popular amongst the general population and proved to be effective in promoting a popular understanding of a new post-Communist Serbian national identity.

Session 2B

Russian and Poland – an inevitable clash over Ukraine?

Paulina Pijacka

Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies,
Australian National University

Russia is almost unchangeably depicted in Polish politics as a threat. This has worsened since the crisis in Ukraine and Russia’s annexation of Crimea in 2014. According to Polish politicians, these confirmed the revival of Moscow’s imperialist ambitions. In order to counter what it sees as Russian aggression, Poland has requested the US to establish a permanent military base on its soil.

This prompts the following questions: Is the Russian threat to Poland real, or is the Polish government displaying paranoia?

Perhaps there are additional factors in play in the bilateral relationship?

Since the fall of the Soviet Union, Poland has focused on securing its independence and sovereignty. Poland regards this goal as inextricably linked to broader Eastern European independence from Russia, which Russia wants to limit due to its own security concerns. Therefore, given Poland’s major role in Eastern Europe, Polish-Russian relations essentially involve geopolitical rivalry for leadership and even dominance in Eastern Europe.

Given Ukraine’s ambition to leave Russia’s orbit and become an independent part of Eastern Europe, Ukraine is the state where Poland’s interests directly confront Russia’s. This presentation examines how changes in Ukraine and the growing political, trade and migration links between Ukraine and Poland affect Russian-Polish relations. How will this rivalry develop, and how serious is the risk of conflict?

Russia’s Growing Relationship with Iran: Strategic or Tactical?

Ian Parmeter

Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies,
Australian National University

Russian-Iranian bilateral ties have a troubled history, including wars and bitter territorial disputes over centuries. For most of the Cold War Iran was one of the two pillars of US dominance of the Middle East. The 1979 Iranian revolution upended the Washington-Tehran axis but, with Iran’s Islamic rulers pursuing a “neither East nor West” foreign policy, the former Soviet Union scarcely benefitted. Tehran was furious over Moscow’s support for Iraq during the Iraq-Iran war in the 1980s.

Russian-Iranian military cooperation since 2015 to preserve Syria’s Assad regime has invigorated their relationship. But President Putin has a delicate balancing act in maintaining Russia’s improving ties with other Middle East states. In particular, he wants to boost relations with Israel and Saudi Arabia,

which are vehemently opposed to Tehran's growing influence in the Middle East.

This presentation will analyse Russian-Iranian relations in the context of Moscow's broader dealings in the Middle East. It will seek to show where that relationship is headed, whether it will outlast the Syrian civil war, and how it will be affected by US President Trump's apparent determination to confront Iran.

Russia's Stance on Israel and Palestine: Power Politics and Historical Legacy

Anas Iqtait

**Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies,
Australian National University**

Russia has long regarded the establishment of a Palestinian state as an integral part of its global power politics. But in recent years Russian migration to Israel, and Russian President Putin's and Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu's common interest in opposing former US President Obama's Middle East policy, have led to a strengthening of Russian-Israeli ties – including understandings on Russia's military intervention in support of Syria's Assad regime. The election of President Trump, with a new US strategy towards the region, has not so far lessened the strength of Russian-Israeli ties. Thus, Russian-Palestinian relations have undergone a number of transformations that directly relate to Russia's wider regional policy and its involvement in the MEPP.

This presentation will critically analyse the evolution of Russia's foreign policy approaches towards Israel and Palestine, and how Russia balances its interests in both. Additionally, the presentation will encompass Israeli and Palestinian views of Russia's involvement in the Middle East.

Session 2C

The contribution of Northeast Asian countries to development in post-Soviet Central Asia: mentoring, pragmatism and geopolitics

Dr Nikolay Murashkin

Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University

The aftermath of the Cold War witnessed major developments in interregional ties between newly independent Central Asian republics and major Northeast Asian economies of China, Japan and South Korea. Although political, economic and cultural aspects of this new inter-Asian regionalisation have been researched, the aspect of development advice, including the 'export' of developmental models by Northeast Asian developmental states to Central Asian states, still remains overlooked by the existing scholarship. This paper will predominantly focus on Japan's contribution to Central Asia's economic development and make comparisons with Central Asian foreign policies of China and South Korea in that field. It will also attempt to link the aforementioned foreign development advice with the history of development of individual regional infrastructure projects in the New Silk Road.

Towards social innovations? Critical analysis of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) supported projects in Armenia and Uzbekistan

Bakhrom Radjabov

University of Tsukuba, Japan

The study researches and evaluates forty-eight (48) projects labeled as 'social innovations' in/for local governments and communities, introduced by Kolba Lab (Armenia) and UNDP/UNV 'Social Innovation and Volunteerism in Uzbekistan' Project (Uzbekistan) supported by UNDP. Theoretical and empirical analysis is achieved by applying up to date social science theories to theoretically formulate, and empirically apply 'social innovation' concept. Due to the broad area of practical application of the term

'social innovation' making it 'catch-all phrase', theoretical framework of the study is built on critical analysis of theories conferring with selected case studies. To make valuable contribution to scholarly discussion on social innovations, research critically assesses projects supported by UNDP against working criteria of social innovations applied in this study. Research also uncovers and adds new criterion – social capital, yet missing in theoretical and empirical analysis. To contribute to science, this study defines 'social innovation' on micro (local) level as a combination of new social practices in certain social contexts. Based on these accounts, it distinguishes projects that are not going to be social innovations in local governments and communities in Armenia and Uzbekistan.

Do International Remittances Affect Household Spending? Focus on Wedding Expenditures

Dr Jak Kakhkharov
Griffith Business School, Griffith University

We investigate the impact of remittances from labour migrants on household expenditures in Uzbekistan using unique, nationally representative survey data and propensity score matching (PSM). The results provide rare empirical evidence that remittance-receiving households spend greater shares of their income on wedding ceremonies, gifts, and non-food expenditures. Most of these expenditures have the purpose of increasing the households' social status, so they could be classified as manifestations of conspicuous consumption in order to display wealth and income, rather than to cover the consumer's investment needs.

Session 3A

The Virtue of Hospitality and the Horror of Wasted Lives: Fated to Illiberalism?

Professor Raymond Taras
Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, USA

Hospitality is different from conviviality. Rather than characterized by spontaneity, generosity, and craving emotion-laden, hospitality is offered at the owner's home, city, or nation where the proprietor is defined as dominant and controlling. Hospitality establishes the limits of a place and retains authority over it regulating the gift that is being offered. The stranger enters the host's space under conditions determined by her. The law of hospitality is regarded as the law of one's home.

The first part of my paper explains how and why hospitality, as Zygmunt Bauman insisted, must invariably be contingent. In contrast, the unconditional character of hospitality was most sympathetically signaled by Emmanuel Levinas. Part two examines a related argument of Bauman's – his notion of dispensable people, those leading "wasted lives." In this view, illiberalism originates among the unneeded grassroots underclass, the shleppers, Emile Zola's lumpen, the drunkards and washerwomen, who cannot be permitted to partake of hospitality, even inclusion. They are the doubly wretched of the earth suffering the dehumanizing effects of being unwanted, and unneeded.

I examine how much sympathy Bauman had for those condemned to leading Wasted lives. Did he identify them as illiberal, reactionary, xenophobic, hate-filled who rage at the political process? Are they the source of illiberalism, or do politicians playing games of fear stoke illiberal discontent?

Yugoslavia and Vietnam: Then and Now. Tracking social and political changes through the prism of Australia's immigration trends

Dr Nina Markovic

Department Security Studies and Criminology, Macquarie University

Adam Zhaze, Australian National University

This paper will analyse key social, political and economic changes in former Yugoslav space and Vietnam over the past 30 years, using migration trends to Australia from these countries as part of the analytical narrative. Yugoslavia was a socialist country and leader of the Non-Aligned Movement, which in 1989 had 24 million people. Thirty years later, it is a post-conflict area hosting eight separate legal and political entities in transformation, of which one with disputed sovereignty (Kosovo), one with disputed name (Macedonia) and multiple cross-border issues. Vietnam is a large Communist state in Asia with 93 million people (including 23 million stateless), with massive under-development issues but a growing economy. What have these entities had in common at the Cold War's end, and how different is their social and political outlook and development now, 30 years after the Fall of the Berlin Wall?

Australia's immigration history has been closely tied to developments overseas, reflecting broader socio-political changes. In the decade following the Vietnam War's end, Australia accepted its largest ever wave of humanitarian refugees (80,000). In the early 1990s, with the break-up of Yugoslavia causing Europe's biggest humanitarian disaster since the Second World War, the Australian Government introduced a new visa category for families and individuals affected by the Yugoslav wars (refugee protection visas). More than 180,000 Australians claim Vietnamese ancestry while over 250,000 originate from former Yugoslavia. This paper will also examine the current immigration trends to Australia from these geo-political spaces, offering a different perspective regarding the new migration crisis engulfing Europe and Asia.

The Socialist Market Economy: Philosophical Foundations

Professor Roland Boer

Renmin University of China, Beijing, China

In the earlier days of 'the reform and opening up', China shifted from an antiquated planned economy to a socialist market economy. Leaving aside the superficial suggestions that this is a version of 'state capitalism' or indeed capitalism itself (with the attendant conspiracy theories and betrayal narratives), this paper examines some key philosophical foundations of the socialist market economy. I begin with the third volume of Capital, where Marx and Engels deal with ancient Greece. Here were markets, money, commodities, trade and so on, but was it capitalist? Not at all, for the components were arranged quite differently and for a distinct purpose. Second, this means that a 'market economy' does not mean a capitalist market economy. Many market economies have existed throughout history, whether with the Persians, the Greeks and Romans, in the Asian region, and so on. They may be described as military, logistic or slave market economies. Obviously, the potential for different types of market economies opens up the possibility for a socialist market economy. Third, I identify some key components of the Chinese socialist market economy: moving past the private-public distinction; the category of enmeshment in light of Chinese dialectics; and the unfolding of the anti-colonial project, now in terms of the Belt and Road Initiative. Finally, I address various Chinese theories as to its emergence.

Session 3B

Could Russia weaponise cryptocurrencies to aid its foreign policy grand strategising?

Dr Nicholas Ross Smith

University of Nottingham, Ningbo, China

Russia, under the stewardship of Vladimir Putin, has taken a number of steps to try and secure a position as a pole in an emerging multipolar world. One step has been to modernize its military and reassert itself globally (evident in its Syria action), while another step has been to try and hasten the decline of the United States (evident in its BRICS cheerleading). It is argued that the latter step is particularly difficult to achieve because the United States still has a significant power advantage over the rest. Additionally, the United States' hegemonic position is further insulated by having the US dollar as the global reserve currency. However, it is argued that the rise of cryptocurrencies – particularly with their inherent counter-hegemonic properties – challenges the United States' enviable financial position. It is, therefore, theorized that Russia could weaponise cryptocurrencies – either by supporting independent ones or by creating their own – to try and weaken the United States' financial clout in order to hasten its broader decline in international politics.

Political economy of Russian regional public finance: the case of monotowns

Associate Professor Vera Ivanova
Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia

There are more than 300 cities and towns in Russia which have the so-called mono-industry status. They capture about 20% of Russian urban population. Typically, monotowns are settlements in which the majority of working population was employed at one large industrial plant in the Soviet time. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, many such plants started facing difficulties, which lead to high unemployment rates. Therefore, there is a widespread belief among Russian economists and policy makers that the well-being of such

settlements are vulnerable to severe economic risks. Consequently, settlements qualified as monotowns are subsidized by the Federal government. However, the criteria used for giving this status to an urban settlement are neither transparent nor publicly available. We show that, first, despite the common wisdom, real incomes in monotowns are higher than in Russia on average. In other words, being a monotown resident guarantees a real wage premium. Second, using data on the locational pattern of all the Russian manufacturing plants, we show that industrial structure of most monotowns is, in fact, highly diversified. In doing so, we use spatial econometric techniques in order to delineate industrial clusters generated by existence of a common local labour market. We find that many settlements having the formal monotown status, and therefore being subsidized, in fact enjoy strong agglomeration economies due to being in a cluster. These results stress that the current Russian practice of assigning the monotown status seems to largely ignore spatial distribution of industrial activities.

Comparative Study of Energy Integration in Eurasian Economic Union and European Union

Associate Professor Elena Shadrina
School of International Liberal Studies (SILS), Waseda University, Japan

The study offers comparative analysis of common energy market initiatives as they are mastered in the European Union (EU) and projected in the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU). Implemented upon theory of institutions, the analysis demonstrates principal differences between the two cases explaining them as an anticipated outcome predetermined by the dissimilarity of respective institutional environments. Energy integration is being influenced by the factors of institutional complementarity within a respective national economy and institutional compatibility between the economies participating in energy integration. Theoretical framework of the Northian open access orders (OAO) and limited access orders (LAO) possesses explanatory power for the analysis of institutional

complementarity in energy governance in the EU and EAEU member states. The compatibility of energy institutions is being examined upon the theory of varieties of capitalism (VoC), the recent extension of which adds dependent market economies (DME) to initially proposed by Soskice and Hall liberal market economies (LME) and coordinated market economies (CME). The paper outlines the theoretical framework, reviews the inception and evolution of energy integration in EU and EAEU, presents comparative analysis of these two cases of energy integration and speculates on potential format of interaction between European and Eurasian energy markets.

Session 3C

Sacred Geography and National Identity in Kazakhstan

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Following the sudden collapse of the USSR in 1991, Kazakhstan has been struggling to evolve a sense of national belonging that would appeal to its multi-ethnic and multi-confessional populations. It was only in 2017 that the country's president, Nursultan Nazarbaev, acknowledged the importance of geographic manifestations of the national idea which include spaces and places that help reinvent and socialise collective myths of origins, authenticity, the Golden Age and survival. Referring to them as the "scaffolds of our identity", he launched a large-scale project mapping out sacred landscapes and using them to promote the values and meanings the government deems important.

The paper seeks to examine how and why the government of Kazakhstan chooses particular sacred landscapes, both Islamic and pre-Islamic, to be incorporated into the official discourse of national identity – while consigning others to relative obscurity or even oblivion. It will also investigate the counter-narratives of sacred geography espoused by the public intellectuals to resist the imposition of a hegemonic reading of national space.

Islamisation in Kazakhstan: Security and the Religious Identityscape

Professor Reuel Hanks
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The government of Kazakhstan has recently initiated significant policy changes in response to an alleged "rise in fundamentalism" in the country. This paper explores the shift to a more aggressive response to Islamic radicalism in the context of social and cultural identity, Is the rationale behind the move to a more confrontational stance by the Nazarbayev regime justified? How do the security challenges presented by ISIS, Hizb-ut-Tahrir, and other Islamic organizations correlate with the reintegration of Islamic identity into a generalized national identity in Kazakh(stani) society? Finally, a critique of the Western response to Kazakhstan's Islamic security policies is offered in the larger environment of regional security issues and challenges in Central Asia.

The Fear of Transnational Islamism in Uzbekistan

Assistant Professor Azima Akhmatova
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Security issues in post-communist societies have always been the main concern of the governing elites. The designation of political Islamism as an existential threat in the region started after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, and the topic of Islamic radicalism in Central Asia acquired prominence in global news. Since its independence, Uzbekistan faced serious violent threats from non-state actors represented by the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), also known as the Islamic Movement of Turkistan (IMT). The movement's alliances with the Taliban and al-Qaeda in Afghanistan, Pakistani Jihadi groups, and ISIS have made transnational radicalism a predominant security concern for the government of Uzbekistan along with other Central Asian republics.

The paper will attempt to gauge critically the threat posed by transnational terrorism to Uzbekistan's stability. By doing so it will explore whether the IMU remains a major menace to the secular regime of the country. It will further put forward the question of the efficiency of the ways in which the government of Uzbekistan has targeted threats from religious extremism.

Session 4A

Dictators and Leadership: Lessons from Stalin and Mao

Emeritus Professor Graeme Gill
University of Sydney

The accepted wisdom about dictators is that they rule their political systems in an essentially arbitrary and wilful manner. Their leadership colleagues are said to live in constant fear of the dictator, always vulnerable to his will and always looking to defend themselves against him. The leadership is shown as a Hobbesian war of all against all. This paper challenges that notion. It will show why such a view of leadership politics in authoritarian systems is inadequate, and will illustrate this by looking at two of the most egregious dictators of the twentieth century, Joseph Stalin and Mao Zedong.

How Closely Aligned Are Russia and China? Measuring Strategic Cooperation in IR

Dr Alexander Korolev
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Russia's high-profile "turn to the East," the deterioration of Russia-US relations after the Ukraine crisis, and China's "new assertiveness" in the South and East China Seas have led to the perception that China and Russia are now "aligned" in opposition to US-led unipolarity. However, alignment remains an inchoate term that has not been systematically defined in the international relations (IR) literature. Thus, it is difficult to assess the degree to which China and Russia are aligned, as well as the extent to which their strategic cooperation has increased over time.

This paper develops and applies an ordinal set of objective criteria for alignment across military, economic, and diplomatic dimensions. Then, it applies these criteria to measure the degree of strategic cooperation in post-Cold War China-Russia relations. Drawing on multiple Chinese and Russian sources, it demonstrates that China and Russia have now developed strong military relations that are approaching a full-fledged alliance and that cooperation on each of the other two dimensions, while not yet as strong, has steadily increased since the end of the Cold War.

Do Restrictions Work? State and Environmental Civil Society in China and Russia

Dr Fengshi Wu
University of Melbourne

In this paper, we compare the relationship between state and civil society in Russia and China, focusing specifically on environmental groups. China and Russia have much in common, and are significant global environmental actors. Both countries have introduced restrictive laws on international and domestic non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in recent years, placing considerable pressure on activists and curbing the freedom of groups to operate within society and transnationally. There are also limited opportunities for regular NGO participation in policymaking. At the same time however, there are key differences in terms of the origins, implementation and outcomes of the NGO laws, and differences in state official rhetoric on the role of environmental groups in society and micro-level interactions with NGOs. Finally, there is significant variation between sectors due to historic and emerging factors, e.g., whether there used to be any functioning state agencies in the sector. Using fieldwork based materials from both countries, we explore how NGOs interact with the state in the spheres of renewable energy and waste management, to understand what makes authoritarian restrictions work and what helps civil society to grow their strength in resisting state pressure.

Failures and successes: Soviet and Chinese state-socialist reforms in the face of global capitalism

Professor Roger Markwick
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University of Newcastle

The demise of the Soviet Union and the seeming success of China's reforms in the 1980s and 1990s is a study in contrasts. This paper will compare the approaches adopted by the Soviet and Chinese Communist Parties to the reform of state socialism and ask why one ended in collapse and the other in resurgence. In undertaking this comparison, the paper will consider the specific challenges each state faced, international and domestic, in the context of neoliberal capitalism; the intellectual compasses that guided their respective party leaderships; the parts played by domestic social forces in the reforms; and what light all these considerations cast on the role of party and state in reforming state socialism in the late 20th century.

Session 4B

Building Secular States in post-Soviet Central Asia

Dr Emilbek Dzshuraev
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The five Central Asian states were born as Soviet-style secular states. But almost as soon as they became independent, religion emerged as one of the first spheres where soviet-ness began to wither as societies across the region began to reclaim their Muslim identity. In this process, one core concern has been steadily reaffirmed by all these states – the principle of the secular state. But soviet-style secularism is not a viable option in today's Central Asia, and the contours and ingredients of the new secular state that can coexist with the ever-widely spreading practice of Islam are yet to be defined.

This paper offers some critical outlines of the still-under-construction new secular state in Central Asia. It posits that Islam will be ever more politically salient in these countries, and for the governments in Central Asia, which still operate

very much in Soviet-style approaches to managing religion, it is a matter of state-building, or constitutional politics. Besides problematizing secularism, the paper aims to encourage more serious thinking about Islam's political implications, going beyond the superficial Islamist extremism and terrorism-themed perspective, on the one hand, and beyond the laudable anthropological and historical but mostly apolitical approaches, on the other hand.

Towards virtual democracy in Uzbekistan: digital governance, online activism and implications for the political system

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A 'Virtual Reception' enabling the citizens of Uzbekistan to write directly to the office of the head of state is the hallmark of Shavkat Mirziyoyev's presidency. Mirziyoyev announced 2017 as the Year of Dialogue with the People and urged all government offices at central and regional levels to open their own 'virtual receptions' for direct communication with the citizens. The Parliament introduced an online petition platform. Inspired by the unprecedented opportunity to reach out to the government officials, the citizens stormed these online platforms with complaints of socio-economic and even personal nature. A new channel of communication with the government officials resulted in an unprecedented growth in online activism among the people, which has spilled over to social media. A generation of bloggers and social media 'stars' emerged during the last couple of years. Due to the online activism of people coupled with the growing brevity of journalists inspired by the new president's call to 'wake up', the pressure is mounting on the political system. Though the new generation of ministers in the socio-economic sector are reacting to the public demand for change, the Cabinet of Ministers in general, and the President's Administration have so far been acting as if they are immune from the

public pressure. The political parties and the members of the Parliament are lagging behind the momentum. This paper argues that even though it might have started as a populist move by Mirziyoyev, virtual receptions have indeed jolted the society towards online activism, which is in its turn leading to some socio-economic reforms. While it is far from snowballing into anything like the Egyptian or Iranian activism that spilled over from the internet to streets, the online activism in Uzbekistan cannot help morphing into political activism. Unless the parliament is reformed letting political parties represent new political identities and the elections of the provincial mayors are introduced, the online political activism can potentially set a course towards a collision with the old political system.

The Soviet past in post-1991 nation building of Kazakhstan

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The article examines how the process of historical revisionism of the Soviet past in Kazakhstan's official historiography is utilized in the country's post-independence nation building. The focus of the research will be on the ways that the Soviet period and its legacy have been produced, portrayed, evaluated, and analysed in state-led and nationalist narratives. This article argues that history writing of the Soviet past in Kazakhstan is a site of contention between competing political groups and elites inside the governing regime, which leads to patchy and sometimes contradictory production of narratives about the Soviet past. Despite the authoritarian nature of Kazakhstan's political regime, competing interest groups influence to a considerable extent the interpretation of the Soviet past for the purposes of gestating a 'national idea'. The President merely suggests broad approaches to shaping collective memory which leaves a great deal of leeway and autonomy in how the authors of history textbooks deal with specific events during the Soviet period and which trends they highlight or relegate to oblivion. In this context, this thesis will attempt to challenge

previous literature, which has argued that the state is a monolithic, hegemonic and homogeneous institution exercising full and constant control over the entire process of nation building.

Equal Citizenship, Ethnicity, and Language Dilemmas in the Context of the Post-Socialist Reforms in Central Asia

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By 1990, about 285 million people were linked to the USSR by legal bond of citizenship. In the next year, after the Soviet Union ceased to exist, identification of their new citizenship in several former USSR states became enormously complicated. In the post-Soviet Central Asia, citizenship laws theoretically established a liberal approach as they were based on the zero-option principle.

Notwithstanding the same citizenship, the social practices of the independence period in all five newly emerged Central Asian republics demonstrated the prioritization of titular ethnicities over others. Such prioritization was apparent in various sectors, including; education and labor. New language laws became another critical issue. Although language was never considered as a precondition for granting citizenship or naturalization in Central Asia, in practice it served as a legal barrier which prevented minorities from various advantages. It also became a prerequisite for the gradual displacement of other languages (mainly, Russian) from public use or education. The last became additional the reason for the predominantly Russian speaking population to flee Central Asia because of the unclear future perspectives. This panel discusses the main critical aspects of ethnicity, citizenship and language policies in Central Asia and their impact on inter-state relations in the region.

Session 4C

Identities in Lithuanian Foreign Policy before and after EU accession

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Identity is the source of state behaviour in the international environment. The state must know who it is, define its identity to be able to define interests. Designed interests is a result of identification process and this leads to define state foreign policy. Referring to Kalevi J. Holsti constructed methodology on role theory I would like to analyse and present results about identities in Lithuanian Foreign Affairs before and after European Union accession. The research will concern perceptions and ideas of Presidents and Ministers of FA about Lithuanian identification in international relations. For the last 30 years Lithuania has had to define her international identity twice. Firstly, after Soviet Union collapse. Secondly, after accession do the European Union. The study will be conducted in few selected years in which I will search for the answers what is Lithuania and what roles it has in global affairs. The collected data will show which identities were/weren't similar before and after becoming part of European Union. The last question is how politicians see Lithuania in relations to Others and who this Others were/are.

Why the Cold War had a long hangover but no reincarnation

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In the last decade, since the 5-day Georgian war of 2008, various scholars in the West have proclaimed either a 'new Cold War' or a 'return to Cold War', based on the chronic deterioration of diplomatic relations between Russia and the West. The annexation of Crimea by Russia and Ukraine's frozen conflict in the Donbass are often mistaken as evidence of a reincarnated Cold War, not as further signs of what Richard Sakwa called the 'Cold Peace', i.e. the hangover that resulted from how the actual Cold War ended. This paper will explain why the fall of the Berlin Wall constituted the definitive end of the Cold War, which was a

multi-dimensional phenomenon not simply a sign of diplomatic failure. The Cold War was a powerful international structure of global relations which froze human potential in distorted forms. For example, while Stalinist societies purported to have transformed capitalism they did nothing of the sort, being instead what Cheshkov (1996) called 'negative satellites' of global capitalism. The paper will discuss the global implications for capitalism of the demise, not just of Stalinism, but of the international structure that was the Cold War.

Communist Crimes against Humanity: a short review and an update on the role of EU organizations

Dr Eugen Petcu, Griffith University

It is a historical fact that all the Communist regimes have reigned by violence. Millions of people have been murdered in the name of a "better" Communist society by various methods from starvation to deportation and firing squad. Currently numerous people are still been discriminated and tortured by the few remaining Communist regimes in Asia and Central America while "soft" or "crypto" Communist politicians are present world-wide in all governments and left wing oriented parties. The Communist dictatorships have ascended to power as result of a civil war such as the Bolshevik revolution or international conflagrations such as the Second World War, Vietnam and Korean wars. However, there is no difference in terms of power administration or outcomes between Nazism and Communism. The civil and academic societies have debated this issue for a very long time without reaching a consensus due to various reasons, more or less logical. However, while the Nazi leaders have been put on trial and convicted at the famous Nuremberg Trials, the Communist leaders responsible for crimes against humanity have remained unpunished. The current paper will summarize the background of the problem, including the approach to Communist crimes of various EU bodies such as the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, European Parliament, EU Council,

European Commission and the European Court of Human Rights. The Resolution on European Conscience and Totalitarianism adopted by the European Parliament (02.04.2009) as well as the conclusions of international meetings and platforms such as The International Conference on Crimes of the Communist Regimes-Prague, 2010, as well as other scientific scholar works evaluating the Communist regimes such as The Black of Communism by Stephane Courtois and The Passing of an Illusion by Francois Furet, will be reviewed in the context of a need for an International Court for Communist Crimes against Humanity.

Session 5A

Symbiosis, Rupture, Conflict, Reconstruction: The Development of the Relationship between Chinese Socialist Culture and Chinese Traditional Culture

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Chinese traditional culture has received more and more attention. There are many ideas in Chinese traditional culture that coincide with Marxism. The development of Chinese traditional culture is conducive to fostering socialist culture. The development of the relationship between Chinese socialist culture and Chinese traditional culture go through four stages: symbiosis, rupture, conflict and reconstruction. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the early socialist culture criticized the traditional culture, but did not shake the foundation of the traditional culture. During the Cultural Revolution, traditional culture was attacked and abandoned comprehensively. As a consequence of this, there was a rupture of socialist culture and traditional culture. After the economic reform and opening-up, with the Western culture flooded in, great changes took place within Chinese society, and traditional culture recovered gradually, so the tendency of culture diversification became increasingly obvious. The Chinese government focused mainly on the economy and neglected the development of socialist culture. The conflict between socialist culture and traditional culture appears constantly. In recent years, traditional culture has been widely

recognized. People began to learn, understand and revive traditional culture and integrate it into socialist culture to reconstruct socialist culture with Chinese characteristics.

Agamben's Biopolitics in China

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Chinese scholars have taken a keen interest in Agamben's biopolitics. At present, there are mainly two views. One is that Agamben's biopolitics is a critical theory, which is a revelation of various mechanisms of controlling human bodies in contemporary capitalist society. Thus one can penetrate the modern western political pretensions to democracy and freedom and gain the insight into the destruction of life in modern politics. Second, although Agamben's biopolitics shows that the political production of life causes the absence of human life (inhuman state), he engages in an appeal for the people to create new political forms and human life styles. Chinese scholars' interpretations of Agamben's biopolitics reflect three trends of China today. One is the concern of the whole Chinese society about life itself. The rapid social development in China leads to the improvement of people's life consciousness, which requires people to look more deeply into the actual situation and the possibilities of life. People yearn to get rid of some kind of advanced abstract concept about life, seeking the form of the presence of life belonging to oneself. Second, Chinese society's reflection on Western radicalism. This radicalism has spared no effort to criticize capitalism and proposed the creation of community outside capitalist society. Although Agamben has talked in detail about the various mechanisms of governance technology, he insists that human liberation and redemption should happen in this world, which provides Chinese scholars with a perspective to evaluate Western radicalism. Third, Chinese society's reflection on modernity. Agamben associates biopolitics with modernity, that is, biopolitics is the product of modern western utilitarianism.

Agamben not only concentrates on the relationship between life and politics, but expands to the study of the relationship between body and apparatus to reveal the hidden forms of the appropriation of life. Then Chinese scholars re-examine the relationship between modernity and life under the background of the socialist market economy with Chinese characteristics.

Renewing Socialism with Chinese Characteristics in Literature and Art – China Under Xi Jinping’s Leadership

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The theory of socialist literature and art with Chinese characteristics is an integrated theoretical system guided by Marxism, which absorbs the reasonable elements of Chinese traditional culture and western modern culture, combining the practice of socialist construction with Chinese characteristics, and includes the cultural characteristics of the Chinese people. ‘People-centered’ is the basic value orientation of Xi Jinping’s socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era. It runs through all aspects of the governance of China and profoundly affects all fields of ideology and culture. Regarding people-ontology as the logical starting point of literature and art with the support of the function of the socialist system with Chinese characteristics ensures that ‘people-centeredness’ is adhered to in a deep and sustainable fashion in Chinese literature and art. Now in the creative work of some writers and artists, they aim to ‘stay away from politics’, ‘escape from life’ and ‘return to self’, without care for social reality and the guidance of mainstream values. Xi Jinping has stressed the need to combine literature and art with serving the people, the spirit of the times, and Chinese traditional culture, etc. It based on the actual development of contemporary China which shows the fundamental direction of Chinese literature and art development.

The Concept of Socialist Labour with Chinese Characteristics: Theoretical Foundations and Practical Developments

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The principal contradiction of Chinese society has changed: it has become the contradiction between unbalanced and inadequate development and the people’s ever-growing needs for a better life. The better – or good – life does not just meet tangible requirements like basic necessities, but also the intangible requirements like happiness, respect and satisfaction. At the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Xi Jinping emphasised the need to regard labour as a matter of honour and dignity. Speeches such as ‘Work for the China Dream’ and ‘Work for a Better Life’ confer renewed glory on labour. This paper examines three theoretical foundations for the concept of socialist labour with Chinese characteristics: the basis in Marxist historical materialism; the nourishing of respect for labour from ancient Chinese tradition; integration with Chinese core socialist values. In order to apply better the concept of socialist labour with Chinese characteristics to people’s happiness, social development and nation building, it must be divided into three parts: a good life built by labour; a glorious social trend created by labour; and the Chinese dream realised by labour.

Session 5B

Money can't buy me love, but it can buy apples: An analysis of fruit and vegetable demand in Uzbekistan

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Micronutrient deficiency is a global problem and hidden hunger affects far more people than hunger. Being rich in vitamins, fruit and vegetables are wonderful ways to reduce micronutrient deficiency and thus improve health outcomes. In Uzbekistan, although per capita national supply exceeds the recommended amounts by more than two times, individual-level intakes remain inadequate with strong seasonal pattern.

Being the first of its kind, this study therefore sheds light on the factors affecting poor fruit and vegetable consumption in Uzbekistan. The research area includes five districts in Tashkent province, where almost 1,000 people were visited in summer and then in winter. A fixed effects regression model has shown that across all population groups, high income elasticity of fruit and vegetable demand was observed. In adults, food and nutrition knowledge was positively associated with increased intake. Prices were found to have an inverse impact on intake in infants and adult females.

Income elasticity of demand and inverse effect of prices tend to be the strongest in infants, suggesting a high policy priority to this age group. Meanwhile, food and nutrition education may be just as important as lowering the price and improving the availability.

Factors Influencing the Development of Rural Communities in the Kyrgyz Republic:

Implementation of Saemaul Undong

Alina Sadykova

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Nearly 66% of the 6 million Kyrgyzstani people live in remote rural areas. Kyrgyz citizens in these rural areas are among the least well off, in part because they have not adapted to changes following the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Despite efforts by the government to improve quality of life in villages, the Kyrgyz Republic remains one of the poorest republics in Central Asia, with 32% of population below the national poverty line. The State Agency for Local Self-Government and Interethnic Relations under the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic was created to support various programs focused on rural development. The Agency implements state policy on the local level and tries to create conditions for sustainable development in an effort to achieve economic prosperity and strengthen interethnic understanding. One example of such programs was initiated and proposed to the Agency from the Public Association "Saemaul Undong of Kyrgyzstan", a young NGO aimed at supporting local communities in rural areas to overcome the poverty. Thus, in 2010 the Association travelled to the Republic of Korea to learn about the experience of rural development in Korea, namely Saemaul Undong. Based on this experience, the Association has commenced a number of events focused on adaptation of the Korean Saemaul Undong in rural areas of Kyrgyzstan. The approach of the model is suitable for Kyrgyz villages due to its similarity with the Kyrgyz tradition called Ashar method. The Ashar method is deployed when people collectively address local problems through collaborative efforts, which reflect solidarity and unity among local residents. In addition, the model implies the bottom-up approach; in particular every village is independent in their decision-making and effort to develop and improve quality of life in a village. The Ashar method can be combined

support from the state and community leaders in cooperation with members of a village. The model promises to be successful in Kyrgyzstan due to the abovementioned factors. Indeed, impressive accomplishments have been celebrated. However, a majority of villages have taken a passive position on its implementation. This report focuses on the achievements in some villages and problems of community development in the other villages with an emphasis on factors influencing the adaptation and implementation of the Korean model of new community development in pilot villages of Kyrgyzstan, and will summarize the data of the report.

Impact of trade costs on agrifood exports in Central Asia

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This paper analyses the economic impact trade costs had on agrifood exports from the Central Asian region between 2006 and 2015. Trade costs are all costs incurred in getting a product to a final user in foreign country, other than the traditional policy instruments, expressed in time and monetary value of crossing the border. The time to cross international borders, due to underdeveloped infrastructure and weak institutions, increase trade costs of agricultural goods, especially the perishable ones, which results in low competitiveness of the products at the global market. In 2017, the World Bank's Trading across the borders index (an index of trade costs) for Central Asian countries¹ was among the highest in the world. As trade costs reduce, international comparative advantage of production should improve, and, for the Central Asian countries, agriculture may be a big winner. To test this premise, this study aims to explore the composition of trade costs in Central Asian countries as well as estimate their impact on agricultural trade flows, by developing and testing a set of trade cost indicators using an augmented gravity model. The findings of this work will serve as a baseline for the next stage of research – analysing trade facilitation reforms that have to be

undertaken in order to reduce trade costs in the region and boost agrifood exports of the countries.

Internationalization versus securitization: nation-building through higher education in post-Soviet Uzbekistan

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According to the 2014 World Bank study, the tertiary education system in Uzbekistan is one of the least efficient in the world. It can absorb only 10% of applicants, while the interest among fresh school graduates in pursuing higher education is one of the highest in the world. Uzbekistan's higher education lacks liberal admission policy, market-based fees, reputable international faculty members, which can be found in neighbouring Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, even though all of these nations were at the same starting point after the collapse of the Soviet Union. This paper assumes that the explanations for the differences lie in the realms of the nation-building strategies and threat perception at domestic and foreign policies. The paper argues that throughout Karimov's presidency (1991–2016), Uzbekistan treated the higher education system as a platform for 'citizenship education' and excessively utilized the tertiary institutions as an instrument of nation-building. Obsessed with educating citizens about what is good and bad, the politics of higher education got highly securitized. The discursive construction of 'other' and clinically pure image of "self" undermined the tertiary educators as the social institutions. As a result, the higher education institutions of Uzbekistan appear to be a primitive instrument in the hands of the government, compared to the highly internationalized tertiary education system of neighbouring Kazakhstan or Kyrgyzstan. The 'Uzbek model' of economic development with gradualism at its core (rather than 'shock-therapy') coupled with the securitization of society and domestic politics has eventually derailed the higher education reforms.

¹ Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan.

The absence of 'timing' in gradualism and excessive securitization has distorted the vision of the Uzbek leadership about the role of education in nation-building. Furthermore, as one of the many instruments of maintaining national security, higher education reforms (e.g., reformation of teaching and learning, curriculum development, independent research) not only lost their urgency but also became unwelcome among the ruling elite.

Session 5C

Russia's federal civil service: rational-legal or neo-patrimonial?
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University of New South Wales

There have been policy efforts since the collapse of communism to create in Russia a rational-legal, merit-based bureaucracy. It is generally considered those efforts have failed dismally. In the literature the civil service is seen as fundamentally neo-patrimonial, that is, based on personalist links in the pursuit of personal interests, both of the leadership and of bureaucrats themselves. Reform of public administration is one of the key demands of the Kudrin reform strategy.

The neo-patrimonial view of the civil service is tested by looking at the career paths of senior to middle-ranking civil servants, in particular dates of appointment and departure, as well as secondary descriptive data on career and personal links with colleagues. The hypothesis is that if the civil service is neo-patrimonial we would see significant changes in lower-level personnel following a change at higher (minister or deputy minister) level, and that the subjects of those changes could be shown to have previous career or personal links with each other.

Data on senior and mid-level civil servants from five federal ministries, covering the last fifteen years, are analysed. Some comments are offered on the degree to which education, qualifications and work experience are compatible with a rational-legal view of the bureaucracy.

Organised Crime in Communist and Post-communist States'

Emeritus Professor Leslie Holmes
University of Melbourne

In 2014, well-known Russian criminologist Vadim Volkov argued that organised crime (OC) in Russia was a one-generation phenomenon and was now almost extinct. But while the overt gang fights so common in the 1990s – many with substantial 'collateral damage' – are now rare, it is wishful thinking to assume that Russian OC is a thing of the past. Rather, its nature has changed. It is true that there are now but a handful of Russian vory v zakone, but Russian criminals have a marked presence on the internet: along with Ukrainians, they are considered to be major players in cybercrime in various forms. But what of OC elsewhere in the Communist and post-communist world? This paper will briefly outline the development of OC in four post-communist states (Albania; Bulgaria; Russia; Serbia) and two Communist states (China; Vietnam), highlighting both commonalities and differences, and suggesting structural reasons for these. It will also analyse the transnationalisation of crime from these countries, including its impact on Australia, and will argue that the collapse of Communism (in the case of the post-communist states), globalisation, and the technological revolution are among the major factors explaining the apparent growth of OC in and from these countries.

Non-traditional security threats in ex-Soviet Central Asia and Russia's security strategy in the region

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When the USSR collapsed, ex-Soviet Central Asia was widely considered in the West as unknown region. 20 years later, there are not only gaps remaining in the academic knowledge of this region, but new puzzles are contributed due to the new socio-economic, political and ideological transformations these countries have been going through. Little is still widely known about one of the most closed and authoritarian countries in the world- Turkmenistan. While another rich in energy resources country-Kazakhstan followed an open foreign policy strategy, it's future stability, following the rule of its first and the only President N. Nazarbayev, is often questioned. After Russia, Kazakhstan is the largest ex-Soviet country, and its security risks are also explained by the high concentration of multiple international stakes in this culturally and socially volatile state. This paper will review several non-traditional dimensions of security in the region. In addition to energy geopolitics, in particular, religious extremism, crime, illegal migration and human insecurity; political instability, and conflicts over borders//water resources are outlined. Finally, Russia's security strategy in the region is analysed including the role of the regional institutions (such as CSTO and SCO) in the ex-Soviet Central Asia.

Poland - 30 years after beginning of the transformation

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After 30 years of transformation from state to market capitalism, Poland is almost a classical example of what Marxists call a comprador economy, i.e. a country with neo-colonial economy under control of foreign capital, economy without its own technology and know-how and with low quality scientific and educational sector (especially the tertiary institutions). There is some improvement comparing to the darkest years of transformation (early 1990s and early 2000s), when unemployment rate reached over 20%, but there is still in Poland officially almost a million unemployed, even if up to 3 million of Poles left Poland after year 1989 because of lack of jobs, low wages and very bad work conditions. Therefore, it can be said that this transformation was badly mismanaged and this is accepted now even by the present-day, post-Solidarity, right-wing government of Poland.

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