



Transformation Group Newsletter

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THE BASEES POSTGRADUATE CONFERENCE

Valentina was the joint organiser (with Muireann Maguire of Cambridge) of the 2007 BASEES Postgraduate Conference on 'Reactions and Reinventions: Changing Critical Genres in Slavonic and East European Literature, Culture and Politics since 1840'. The conference, cosponsored by the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies and the Faculty of Law, Business and Social Sciences, was held at the Centre for Russian, Central and East European Studies in early December.

The conference brought together research students from a number of UK universities, including St Andrews, Edinburgh, Bath, Cambridge and University College London as well as Glasgow. Two of the papergivers came from outside the UK - Mariya Ivancheva from the Central European University in Budapest, and Felicitas Macgilchrist from the European University Viadrina in Frankfurt/Oder, Germany. Apart from its academic goals, the aim of the conference was to encourage *esprit de corps* among students working on various topics related to Central and Eastern Europe.

a pre-conference round table on 'Re-Imagining the Russian Bear' on 7 December. Among the questions discussed were:

- Where does the border between Eastern and Western Europe lie?
- How is Moscow perceived in the West?
- Does 'Russophobia' exist in the West? Is it 'Russophobia' or 'Putino-mania'?

Papers on the next day looked at a wide range of topics - from media representations of Russia and Vasili Rozanov's theory of art to an analysis of Vaclav Havel's

works. The papers were organised into three panels that covered three broad areas of Eastern and Central European studies - politics, culture and literature:

Panel 1: Back to the Cold War? Russia, Eastern Europe and the West in the 21st Century (chaired by Professor Stephen White, University of Glasgow)

Panel 2: Literary Hybrids: Stylistic Cross-Fertilisation in Russian and Eastern European Literature since

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Above: The BASEES Postgraduate Conference

The conference kicked off with



THE BASEES POSTGRADUATE CONFERENCE

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1840 (chaired by Dr Margaret Tejerizo, University of Glasgow)

Panel 3: Alternative Aesthetics: Approaches to Interpreting Russian and East European Culture through Smell, Taste and Touch (chaired by Dr Andrei Rogatchevskii, University of Glasgow)

ENERGY CONFERENCE

Valentina and Anke were in action again when they organised a two-day workshop on the 'Security of Energy Supply in the New Europe – Challenge for the European Neighbourhood Policy' at the University in late September. The event was hosted by the Department of Politics and generously funded by UACES, the Glasgow-based Centre for Russian, Central and East European Studies (CRCEES), the Scottish Jean Monnet Centre, the Faculty of Law, Business and Social Sciences and the Department of Politics. The aim of the workshop was to foster discussion among a diverse group of scholars working on energy security-related aspects of the EU's policy towards its neighbours; it also sought to explore the scope for a common EU external energy policy and the implications of EU policy for its broader external relations with 'third' countries. The workshop was attended by thirty participants, established scholars and young researchers from eight institutions and of ten different nationalities.

Participants had been encouraged to address issues related to the EU's aim to develop strategic partnerships with neighbouring countries important both for the production and the transit of energy. The three main areas for discussion were (i) the potential for creating strategic energy partnerships with neighbouring states in the East and the South, (ii) the divergent geopolitical interests of Russia and the EU in the 'near abroad' as a serious challenge to the successful implementation of the ENP Action Plans, and (iii) possible scenarios to resolve the EU's energy supply 'dilemma'. Day one of the workshop focused on the EU

perspective while day two focused on the perspectives of neighbouring states. The workshop was organised in four sessions:

1. 'In Pursuit of Energy Security – the EU's Political and Economic Dilemmas'
2. 'The Geopolitics of Energy - Analyses of EU, Member States' and Russian Positions'
3. 'The Eastern Dimension of the EU's Energy Policy'
4. 'The EU's Energy Cooperation with Countries of the Southern Mediterranean and the Caspian Region'.

A number of revised workshop papers will be published in a special issue of the online *Journal of Contemporary European Research* (JCER), forthcoming in May 2008.

Stephen will be organising a conference on 'Rethinking the Colour Revolutions' with David Lane of the University of Cambridge in early May as the second part of a two-centre event, the first part of which will take

place at the end of April in Cambridge. Support has kindly been provided by the *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, in which we hope to publish a selection of the papers, by the Centre for Russian, Central and East European Studies, and the BASEES Research and Development Committee. The programme has more or less been finalised, but we will hope to accommodate as many others as would like to attend at least a part of the proceedings. Fuller details will appear on the CRCEES website.

A smaller but more international conference on the Putin presidency will take place the following week in Naples, on a small island just off the coast. Ken Jowitt of Berkeley and Vladimir Shlapentokh of Michigan State University are among those who will attend, as well as Olga Kryshtanovskaya from Moscow; it is again expected to yield a special issue of the *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*. I'm afraid we are not in a position to consider further applications...



Above: Anke (back row, second from right) and others at the Energy Conference.

FIELD TRIPS

Jane made a ten-day field trip to Beijing in July 2007. This was the final trip for her Leverhulme-funded project on 'NGOs and the making of health policy in China' and publications are now in the pipeline.

Chris was in The Hague on 4 December for a one-day visit to the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia for some interviews to get the 'view from The Hague' for his research in the former Yugoslavia.

Tom was in Beijing in October and November carrying out the second (and

final) fieldwork trip for his PhD. He was based in the Social Policy Research Centre at the China Academy of Social Sciences in the centre of Beijing for a period of four weeks. During this time he conducted interviews with a large number of activists from various Chinese environmental NGOs, and also interviewed journalists and relevant academics. During this time he also attended the 2007 Environmental NGO Sustainable Development Annual Meeting which was hosted by the All-China Environment Federation, a Chinese government-organised NGO. Spending time in China also enabled him to gather a large quantity of written documents relevant to his research.

Daniel was at CASS at the same time, as our photograph confirms.

Bill has meanwhile been carrying out intensive fieldwork for his project on conceptions of legal culture and per-

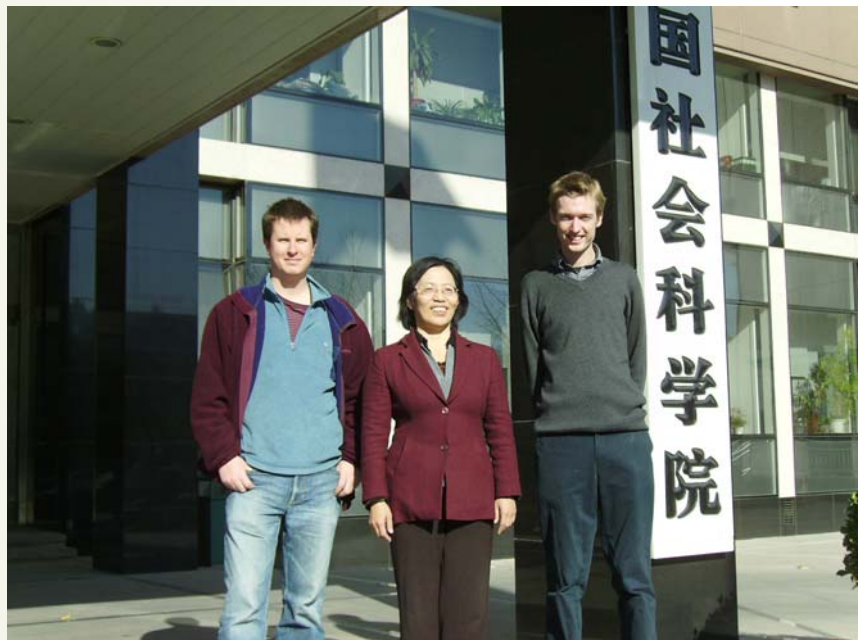
ceptions of legal insiders – with the majority populations + Muslims + 'Euro-migrants' (i.e. circulating round Europe, rather than entering it from outside) across England, Norway, Poland, Bulgaria and Ukraine. The first focus groups have already taken place in England, Norway and Ukraine. He hopes to attend some of the Bulgarian focus groups later in the year, and perhaps the Polish ones after that. There will be 72 altogether!

Anke spent 5 weeks in November-

December 2007 in Brussels, conducting interviews with EU officials and member state diplomats for her PhD thesis.

Stephen was in Russia for two weeks in September for library work and consultation with local colleagues; and in October (for the fourth and final time) as external examiner for the political science programme of the Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences.

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Above: Daniel and Tom with Professor Yang Tuan outside the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing.

PUBLICATIONS

Chris completed 'Explaining the Regeneration of the Croatian Democratic Union in Post-Presidential Authoritarian Croatia: Elites, Legacies and Party Organization', which will appear in *Balkanistica*, vol. 21, 2008, in the spring. And his conference paper 'Bargaining for Justice: The Domestic and International Politics of Croatian State Compliance with the International Criminal Court for the Former Yugoslavia – Article 29(d) and (e) Obligations' appeared this January in *Global Affairs in a Turbulent World: Perspectives and Controversies*, edited by Yannis A. Stivachtis (Atiner, 2008), pp. 129-142.

Stephen brought out two new books, *Developments in Central and East European Politics 4* (coedited with Paul

Lewis and Judy Batt, Palgrave and Duke University Press, 2007) and *Party Politics in New Democracies* (coedited with Paul Webb, Oxford University Press, 2007). He published chapters on 'Communist nostalgia' in David Lane, ed., *The Transformation of State Socialism. System Change, Capitalism or Something Else?* (Palgrave, 2007), on Russian elite perspectives in Jackie Gower and Graham Timmins, eds., *Russia and Europe in the Twenty-First Century: An Uneasy Partnership* (Anthem Press, 2007), and on the 'sovereign periphery of Europe' in an alarmingly pro-Putin collection, L. V. Polyakov, ed., *Pro suverenyyu demokratiyu* (Moscow: Yevropa, 2007). He also published a paper on 'turnout and representation bias' with Ian McAllister in *Political Studies*, October 2007.

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FIELD TRIPS

He was in Russia again at the end of November for the 2 December Duma elections (see photographs), with the financial support of the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland. Unfortunately, it proved impossible to obtain the official observer status he has enjoyed in the past (the whole question of foreign observers became extremely controversial), but he was able to visit a polling station together with our visiting professor Olga Kryshchanovskaya and Paris professor Marie Mendras. There was more effort to mobilise voters than ever before (written invitations, SMS messages and so forth), but the elections themselves were without drama and there was little interest in the television coverage once the exit polls had been reported – they were very close to the final outcome and there were no single-member contests of a kind that might have introduced at least an element of unpredictability.



Above: Slogan reads 'Moscow votes for Putin!'

It was a sad day for students of competitive elections.

The financial support of the Nuffield Foundation meanwhile made it possible to conduct a survey in Ukraine under the auspices of Socis following the end of September parliamentary elections. It will form the basis of Stephen's paper on 'Rethinking the Orange revolution' at the Coloured Revolution Conference in May.

Right: Inside a Moscow polling station



SCOTTISH CENTRE FOR CHINESE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

As many of you will know, the Scottish Centre for Chinese Social Science Research was established in August. Its mission is to promote understanding of contemporary China, develop social science research capacity on China in Scotland, and promote links between researchers in Scotland and China (see www.gla.ac.uk/scssr). It is organising a range of activities. The Centre's seminar series this term sees presentations on a range of current issues, from rural migrants, business and enterprise, banking, and Sino-African relations. Details have been circulated and reminders will be sent out in due course. Glasgow students are now organising a graduate network primarily for students doing social science research in Scottish universities. A launch event for the Centre is planned for late May/early June that will include graduate events. In September, the Centre is also holding a workshop jointly with the University of Technology Sydney's China research group on China's social welfare mix. More information to follow.

GRANTS

The biggest news for Stephen in this respect was the award in early December of a Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship – in effect, a three-year sabbatical in which the University is funded to employ a replacement lecturer, with additional support for conference and travel. No wonder colleagues were openly envious! As he explained to the University Newsletter,

the award starts this October, and it's to examine what has been called 'managed democracy', particularly in contemporary Russia. It's a term sometimes attributed to Vladimir Putin, but used more widely to refer to the strange kind of system that has developed since the end of communist rule. It's hardly democracy, in the sense in which we understand it in the West; but it's not dictatorship either. Rather, it seems to be something in between: there are competitive elections, but the regime itself has never lost them; there are parties, but only one that really matters; there are all kinds of publications, but virtually none that criticize the authorities. Not only that – it's popular, and (if the current elections are any guide) it's likely to extend itself for some time, perhaps indefinitely. The MRF gives me the time to explore this novel phenomenon, and other awards are making it possible to gather the evidence to work with – mostly surveys and interviews. But I'll keep on some of my teaching over the three years – I actually quite enjoy it.

The award is worth almost £700k FEC. Stephen also received a small grant from the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland to observe the December 2007 and March 2008 Russian elections.

CONFERENCES/PRESENTATIONS

Jane made a presentation on 'social policy research' to a British Academy workshop on *Research Strategies for Understanding China in the 21st Century: Some Disciplinary Perspectives* in London on 2 November 2007.

Chris presented papers on 'State Compliance with International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia Article 29(d) and (e) Obligations: A Comparative Exploration of Croatia and Serbia' at the 7th International CISS Millennium Conference, Buçaco, Portugal, on 14-18 June 2007, and on 'Bargaining for Justice: Explaining Croatian Compliance with International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia Article 29 Obligations' at the 5th International Conference on Politics and International Affairs, Athens, Greece, on 25-26 June 2007 (it was published this January).

Valentina presented the fruits of her research in Berlin in a paper on 'Imagining Russia: The Role of Images in Russian-German Relations' as part of a panel on 'EU and Russia Flux Lines: Between Attraction and Repulsion' at the ICCEES Re-

gional European Congress in Berlin in August 2007. The panel was chaired by Anke and also included presentations by two colleagues from the University of Hamburg, Elena Kropatcheva, who also presented her research at the workshop on energy security in Glasgow, and Regina Heller. Former TG member Derek Hutcheson, now of University College Dublin, contributed to the panel with a lively discussion of the three papers. The audience (including a German MFA official) praised the panel for the high quality of the presentations.

Anke was a keynote speaker on 'Kaliningrad's place in EU-Russia relations' at the round table discussion on 'Lessons Learned from EU Enlargement: The Case of Kaliningrad', organised by the Centre for Russian, Central and East European Studies based at the University of Glasgow on 23 October 2007. Anke also presented a paper entitled 'All for one? The EU's Common Foreign Policy towards Russia' at a panel on EU-Russia relations at the UACES Annual Conference: Exchanging Ideas on Europe, at Portsmouth in early September 2007, at which the UACES-BASEES network was for-

mally launched.

Valentina will present a paper entitled '(Un)Reliable energy supplier? Constructing Russia's image in the West' at the forthcoming BASEES annual conference at Cambridge at the end of March within a panel on *Co-operation or Confrontation? 'Eastern' and 'Western' Perspectives on EU-ropes Relations with Russia and the CIS*. The panel is organised as part of the UACES-BASEES network and includes a familiar face, Cristian Collina, who was a visiting researcher in the Department of Politics in 2006.

Stephen spoke on Russian domestic and on Russian foreign and security policy at the annual conference on Politics and Security in the Postcommunist World at St Andrews in November, and presented a paper at the AAASS in New Orleans later the same month on 'East or West? Belarus, Ukraine and their International Orientations'. In December he addressed the annual conference on international affairs of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin

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CONFERENCES/PRESENTATIONS

on 'Russia's Managed Democracy', the proceedings of which are due to appear in the next issue of *Irish Studies in International Affairs*. In January he was at the EU's Institute of Strategic Studies in Paris as part of its 'Russia Task Force' and made a presentation on 'Russia's managed elections'. The Hotel Mercure is very close to the Eiffel Tower, and he was assured his bedroom commanded a splendid view; unfortunately, only of the top few inches.

CONGRATULATIONS

To Katsu, who acquitted himself admirably at his viva in mid-October and is currently making minor corrections with a view to receiving his degree in the summer. He adds that he is also 'available to the academic market and is racking his brains for his next step'.

And to Jane, on her well-deserved promotion to a professorship of Chinese and comparative politics.

And to Derek Hutcheson for becoming a married man in a charming ceremony at the Cathedral that was attended by many present and former TG members!

THE TRANSFORMATION GROUP: WHO WE ARE AND WHAT WE DO

The Transformation Group was established in 2004 as a framework for co-operation among those in the Department of Politics, University of Glasgow, who work wholly or in substantial part on political change in Eastern Europe, the Former USSR and China. It includes staff members of the Department in various capacities, and research students. Its co-convenors are Professor Stephen White and Professor Jane Duckett and its other members and associates are:

Staff: Professor Bill Miller, Dr Sarah Oates.

Graduate Students: Ayse Artun, Valentina Feklyunina, Katsuto Furusawa, Daniel Hammond, Tom Johnson, Ariel Ko, Chris Lamont, Eero Mikenberg, Sam Robertshawe, Anke Schmidt-Felzmann, Alison Swain, Guohui Wang.

Associates and former staff and students: Dr Yulia Korosteleva, Dr Derek Hutcheson, Dr Caroline Hoy.



Dr Sarah Oates (above)
Professor Bill Miller (right)

