



UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies
Working Conference Programme
**Socialism, Capitalism, and the Alternatives:
Lessons from Russia and Eastern Europe**

Monday 14 - Wednesday 16 December 2015

Monday, 14 December 2015

Location: Friends House, 173 Euston Road, London, NW1 2BJ

Ticket 1

12.30 – 15.00:

Opening words: **Jan Kubik** (Director SSEES)

THOMAS PIKETTY (Opening Keynote)

Reflections about Inequality and Capital in the 21st Century

NAOMI KLEIN (Keynote)

Followed by discussion

Chair: **Paul Mason** (Channel 4)

The opening keynote by Thomas Piketty and the keynote by Naomi Klein are co-hosted by the UCL European Institute.



Co-funded by the
Erasmus+ Programme
of the European Union

15.00 – 15.30: Break

15.30 – 17.00:

CHANTAL MOUFFE (Keynote)

In Defence of Left-Wing Populism

Chair: **Jan Kubik**

17.00 – 17.30: Break

Ticket 2

17.30 – 19.00:

LESZEK BALCEROWICZ (Keynote)

Chair: **Anatole Kaletsky** (Financial Times)

Leszek Balcerowicz is sponsored by the Embassy of the Republic of Poland.



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Tuesday, 15 December 2015

Location: UCL Main Quad Pavilion, Gower Street, London, WC1E 6BT

Ticket 3

10.00 – 11.30: Panel A: **Ideas of Political Change**

Panellists:

Tim Beasley-Murray (UCL SSEES)

On the (Im)possibility of an Alternative: Two Trends in the History of Political Ideas

Pete Duncan (UCL SSEES)

Democracy, the State and the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism: A Consideration of Some Ideas of William Morris, V.I. Lenin, Antonio Gramsci, Ralph Miliband, Hilary Wainwright and Slavoj Žižek

Marta Wojciechowska (LSE and UCL SSEES)

Kuroń in the Era of Austerity

Chair: Titus Hjelm (UCL SSEES)

11.30 – 12.00: Break (tea and coffee provided)

12.00 – 13.30: Book panel: **DOROTHEE BOHLE & BÉLA GRESKOVITS** (Keynotes)
will introduce their book *Capitalist Diversity on Europe's Periphery*

Other panellists: **Jacek Zakowski** (*Polityka*, Collegium Civitas)

Slavo Radošević (UCL SSEES)

Daniel Kral (UCL SSEES)

Chair: **Mayfair Yang** (University of California at Santa Barbara)

13.30 – 14.30: Break (lunch provided)

14.30 – 16.00: Panel B: **The Effects of Neo-Liberal Transition in the Balkans and Poland**

Panellists:

Eric Gordy (UCL SSEES)

Under the Radar: Neoliberalism Comes to the Balkans

Ivan Rajković (UCL SSEES)

"We should now gather as Serbs, to become workers again": Labour, Morality and National Redemption in Neoliberal Serbia

Ivor Sokolić (UCL SSEES)



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Twin Transitions: Exploring the Nexus Between Transitional Justice and Post-Communist Transition in Croatia

Katya Kocourek (formerly Economic Intelligence Unit, now Stroz Friedberg Ltd)
Poland's Third Way – A Failed Model?

Chair: Alena Ledeneva (UCL SSEES)

16.00 – 16.30: Break (tea and coffee provided)

16.30 – 17.30: Panel C: **Ideology and Practice in Russia and Ukraine**

Panellists:

Sarah J. Young (UCL SSEES)
What was Socialist about Hard Labour? Re-examining the Rhetoric and Practice of Reforging in the Stalinist Gulag

James Meek (novelist and former Moscow correspondent for *The Guardian*)
Theory Hits the Streets: Witnessing Radical Economic Practice in 1990s Russia and Ukraine

Elisabeth Schimpfössl (UCL SSEES)
Russian Capitalists and their Ideologies of Elitism

Chair: Eric Gordy

Ticket 4

18.00 – 20.00:

Location: UCL Cruciform LT 1, Gower Street, London, WC1E 6BT

Book panel **PAUL MASON** (Keynote)
will introduce his book *PostCapitalism. A Guide to our Future*

Followed by panel discussion with:
RUSLAN DZARASOV (Plekhanov Russian Economics University)
LIAM HALLIGAN (Sunday Telegraph)
MARY DEJEVSKY (The Independent)

Chair: **Anatole Kaletsky**

Followed by wine reception
Location: UCL Main Quad Pavilion, Gower Street, London, WC1E 6BT



UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies

Wednesday, 16 December 2015

Location: UCL Main Quad Pavilion, Gower Street, London, WC1E 6BT

Ticket 5

10.15 – 11.30:

TOMÁŠ SEDLÁČEK (Keynote)

interviewed by **EVAN DAVIS** (BBC *Newsnight*) for a special edition of *Analysis*, BBC Radio 4

Chair: **Peter Zusi** (UCL SSEES)

11.30 – 12.00: Break (tea and coffee provided)

12.00 – 13.30:

Empirical evidence about alternatives

A conversation between:

JAN KUBIK

BÉLA GRESKOVITS

LASZLO BRUSZT (European University Institute Florence)

13.30 – 14.30: Break

14.30 – 16.00: Panel D:

(Re-)Drawing Boundaries in the Postsocialist Space: A Multidisciplinary Approach

Panellists:

Costanza Curro (UCL SSEES)

Public Space in Tbilisi between Modernisation and Democratisation

Licia Cianetti (Canterbury Christ Church University)

Integrating Minorities in Post-Socialist Neo-Liberal Democracies: (Mis)recognition, (Mal)distribution and Displacement in Estonia and Latvia

Anna-Cara Keim (UCL SSEES)

The European Dream – An Alternative?

Kaneshko Sangar (UCL SSEES)

Russia and the West: From 'War on Terror' to Ukraine Crisis

Chair: Michal Murawski (UCL SSEES)

16.00 – 17.00:

Closing Roundtable:

ERIC GORDY

MAYFAIR YANG

PETE DUNCAN

RUSLAN DZARASOV

MITCHELL ORENSTEIN (University of Pennsylvania)

ELISABETH SCHIMPFÖSSL

Chair: **Jan Kubik**

2.12.15



Information on Speakers

Speakers include:

Thomas Piketty (opening keynote), the most influential writer on inequality in the world today.

Piketty's book *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, which came out in 2014, was an overnight success, triggering a large-scale discussion on inequality. *Capital* won the 2014 Financial Times 'Business Book of the Year' Award. No less than 57 translations have been published or are in the pipeline. Piketty's earlier book, *The Economics of Inequality*, appeared in English for the first time in August 2015. He has been appointed as an economic advisor to the Labour Party.

Naomi Klein, one of the world's most high-profile social activists.

Klein's book *No Logo* (2000) heavily influenced the anti-globalisation movement. Both *No Logo* and her later book *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (2007) became international bestsellers, with translations into 28 languages. In recent years her attention has focused on environmental issues, primarily climate change, the subject of her book *This Changes Everything* (2014). Klein is one of the most influential figures on the North American left.

Leszek Balcerowicz implemented in Poland the most far-reaching programme of economic reforms ('shock therapy') of any of the former Soviet bloc states.

Balcerowicz is widely seen as the most successful author of economic transition in the post-Soviet world, heavily influencing economic policies in a range of post-Communist countries other than Poland, including Russia. As deputy prime minister and finance minister of Poland from 1989 to 1991 he implemented the transition to a market economy, arguing that a short-term period of pain would lead to long-term benefit. He served again in the same offices from 1997 to 2000.

Chantal Mouffe, seminal and prolific post-Marxist theorist, major contributor to the theory of culture.

The author or editor of at least 13 books, Mouffe is perhaps best known as co-author with the late Ernesto Laclau of the much-cited *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (1985). More recent works include *The Democratic Paradox* (2000), a contribution to democratic theory; *On the Political* (2005); and *Agonistics: Thinking the World Politically* (2013). Mouffe is Professor of Political Theory at the University of Westminster.

Tomáš Sedláček, philosopher, historian of economic thought, economist and banker.

Sedláček's *Economics of Good and Evil: The Quest for Economic Meaning from the Epic of Gilgamesh to Wall Street* (2009; English translation 2011) argues that economics is ultimately about moral choices. As co-author with David Graeber of *Revolution oder Evolution: Das Ende des Kapitalismus?* (2015) he claims that capitalism, for all its weaknesses, can be reformed. He is chief macroeconomic strategist at the Czech National Bank.

Evan Davis, economist, journalist and TV presenter.

Davis has been BBC economics correspondent and a presenter of the BBC Radio 4 *Today* programme. Now he is the main presenter of BBC 2 *Newsnight* and also presents *Dragons' Den*. His latest book is *Made in Britain: How the Nation Earns its Living* (2011).



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Dorothee Bohle, expert on the varieties of capitalism in post-Communist Europe.

Bohle is co-author (with Béla Greskovits) of *Capitalist Diversity on Europe's Periphery* (2012), which won the 2013 Stein Rokkan Prize for Comparative Social Science Research. She also wrote, among many other works, *Europas Neue Peripherie: Polens Transformation und Transnationale Integration* (2002). She is Professor of Political Science at the Central European University, Budapest.

Béla Greskovits, expert on the political and economic institutions of Eastern Europe.

Greskovits is co-author (with Dorothee Bohle) of *Capitalist Diversity on Europe's Periphery* (above). Currently he is co-principal-investigator on the research project 'The Logic of Civil Society in New Democracies: Hungary, Poland, South Korea and Taiwan'. His *Political Economy of Protest and Patience: East European and Latin American Transformations Compared* (1998) was a trail-blazing contribution to comparative politics and post-communist studies. He is professor in the Departments of International Relations and of Political Science at the Central European University, Budapest.

Jacek Żakowski, one of the most influential journalists in Poland.

Żakowski worked as head of Solidarność press bureau when it was still illegal. He writes now for the leading Polish political weekly *Polityka* and the newspaper *Gazeta Wyborcza*. He also hosts a weekly politics radio programme.

Slavo Radošević, Professor of Industry and Innovation Studies at UCL SSEES with special emphasis on the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

Radošević's research takes a neo-Schumpeterian perspective, exploring issues of economic growth and structural change. His recent books include *Knowledge Based Economy in Central and Eastern Europe: Countries and Industries in a Process of Change* (2006); *Estonia: The New EU Economy – Building a Baltic Miracle?* (2006); and *Challenges for European Innovation Policy: Cohesion and Excellence from a Schumpeterian Perspective* (2011).

Jan Kubik, cultural and political anthropologist, expert on the sociology of protest and post-Communism and Director of UCL SSEES.

Kubik works on the interplay between power and culture, protest politics and social movements, and post-communist transformations. His books include *The Power of Symbols against the Symbols of Power: The Rise of Solidarity and the Fall of State Socialism in Poland* (1994); *Anthropology and Political Science: A Convergent Approach* (with Myron Aronoff, 2012); *Postcommunism from Within: Social Justice, Mobilization, and Hegemony* (co-ed. with Amy Linch, 2013); and *Twenty Years After Communism: The Politics of Memory and Commemoration* (with Michael Bernhard, 2014).

Anatole Kaletsky, one of the most widely-read economic journalists in the world.

Kaletsky wrote for *The Times* of London for more than 20 years and has since written for international journals. His book *Capitalism 4.0: The Birth of a New Economy* (2011) argued that a new, stronger model of capitalism was emerging after the international financial crisis. He is chair of the Institute for New Economic Thinking.



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Paul Mason, economics editor, Channel 4 News, and expert on social transformations.

As economics editor for Channel 4 News and a regular contributor to *The Guardian*, Mason is widely read in Britain. His book *PostCapitalism: A Guide to our Future* (2015) has attracted widespread critical attention. *Why It's Still Kicking Off Everywhere: The New Global Revolutions* (2013) examined protest movements all over the world, from British student occupations to the Arab Spring.

Liam Halligan, economist, journalist and broadcaster.

Halligan was chief economist at Prosperity Capital Management from 2007 to 2013. For 12 years his award-winning economics agenda column has appeared every week in *The Sunday Telegraph*. He has published widely on international economic issues. Together with Lord Skidelsky he wrote the book *Lessons from Attempted Macroeconomic Stabilisations in Russia*.

Mary Dejevsky, a leading London-based political journalist.

Dejevsky covered the collapse of communism as Moscow correspondent for *The Times of London*, and is a former Paris and Washington correspondent for *The Independent*. She is now a columnist at *The Independent* and also writes regularly for *The Guardian*. She is a member of the Valdai Group, established by Russia's president Putin to foster dialogue between Russian and Western experts.

Ruslan Dzarasov, economist and expert on Russian capitalism, post-Keynesianism and Marxism.

Dzarasov is the author of *The Conundrum of Russian Capitalism*, of articles in the *Cambridge Journal of Economics* and *Debatte* and about 30 other scholarly works in English and Russian. He is head of the Department of Political Economy at the Plekhanov Russian University of Economics and is a senior research fellow at the Central Institute of Economics and Mathematics of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

László Bruszt, economic sociologist and activist.

Bruszt participated in the Hungarian labour market reforms in the early 1990s. His books include *Postsocialist Pathways: Transforming Politics and Property in East Central Europe* (with David Stark, 1998); *The Transnationalization of States, Economies and Civil Societies: New Modes of Governance in Europe* (co-editor with Ronald Holzacker, 2009); and *Leveling the Playing Field: Transnational Regulatory Integration and Development* (co-editor with Gerald McDermott, 2014). He is Professor of Political and Social Transformations at the European University Institute, Florence.

Mayfair Yang, Professor of Religious Studies and East Asian Language and Cultural Studies, University of California at Santa Barbara.

Yang is a cultural anthropologist specializing in China. Her research focuses on religiosity, secularisation and the operations of the Communist state. She is currently writing a book entitled *Re-enchanting Modernity: Sovereignty, Ritual Economy, & Indigenous Civil Society in Coastal China*.

Mitchell A. Orenstein, expert on the political economy of Eastern Europe.

Orenstein is Professor of Central and East European Politics in the Slavic Department at the University of Pennsylvania and an associate of the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University. His published work focuses on the political economy and international affairs of Central and Eastern Europe.