

Robert F. Miller, PhD (Harvard)
Senior Fellow, Contemporary China Centre, Department of Anthropology

Email: robert.miller@anu.edu.au

Publications

(1) Books and Monographs:

Editor, *The Transformation of Communist and Post-Communist Systems*. Papers from a workshop on Transformation of the systems, Contemporary China Centre, RSPAS, The Australian National University, 21 March 1997. (Canberra: Transformation of Communist Systems Project, TCSP, RSPAS, ANU and the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia, October 1997), iii + 51 pp.

Russia's Foreign Relations: Recent Developments and Future Prospects (Canberra: Parliamentary Research Service, Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 29 June 1994), Research Paper No. 7 (1994), ii + 24 pp.

Reform in Russia: Prospects for Democratic Institutions and a Market Economy (Canberra: Parliamentary Research Service, Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 29 June 1994), Research Paper No. 6 (1994), ii + 30 pp.

Editor, *The Developments of Civil Society in Communist Systems* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992), iv + 187 pp.

Soviet Foreign Policy Today: Gorbachev and the 'New Political Thinking' (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1991), xiv + 210 pp.

with J.H. Miller and T.H. Rigby, eds., *Gorbachev at the Helm: A New Era in Soviet Politics?* (London, Sydney: Croom Helm, 1987), viii + 251 pp.

with T.H. Rigby (eds), *Religion and Politics in Communist States* (Canberra: Department of Political Science, Institute of Advanced Studies, ANU Occasional Papers, 1986), iii + 141 pp.

with Ferenc Feher (eds), *Khrushchev and the Communist World* (London:Croom Helm, 1984), v + 243 pp.

Editor, *Poland in the Eighties: Social Revolution Against 'Real Socialism'* (Canberra: Department of Political Science, Institute of Advanced Studies, ANU Occasional Papers, 1984), v + 190 pp.

with T.H. Rigby, *The 26th Congress of the CPSU in Current Political Perspective* (Canberra: Department of Political Science, Institute of Advanced Studies, ANU Occasional Papers, 1982), vii + 94 pp.

Federalism as a Safety-Valve: The Yugoslav Case (Canberra: Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations, Australian National University, Occasional Paper 16, 1981), ix + 42 pp.

Tito as Political Leader and External Factors in Yugoslav Political Development (Canberra: Department of Political Science, Institute of Advanced Studies, ANU Occasional Papers, 1977), vi + 79 pp.

with T.H. Rigby, *Political and Administrative Aspects of the Scientific and Technical Revolution in the USSR* (Canberra: Department of Political Science, Institute of Advanced Studies, ANU Occasional Papers, 1976), iii + 115 pp.

Socialism and Agricultural Cooperation: The Soviet and Yugoslav Cases (Canberra: Department of Political Science, Institute of Advanced Studies, ANU Occasional Papers, 1974), iii + 94 pp.

One Hundred Thousand Tractors: the MTS and the Development of Controls in Soviet Agriculture (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1970), xv + 423 pp.

(2) Book Chapters:

'Church-State Relations and Civil Society in Former Communist Countries', in Helen James, ed., *Civil Society, Religion and Global Governance: Paradigms of Power and Persuasion* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 72-84.

'The Paradox of Numbers as Exemplified in the Experience of Post-Yugoslavia', in Bozidar Jaksic (ed.), *Interkulturalnost i tolerancija* (Interculturality and Tolerance) (Belgrade: Izdavacko preduzece "Filip Visnjic", 1999). pp. 139-150.

'The Transformation Process So Far: Is the Cup Half Empty or Half Full?', in Robert F. Miller (ed.), *The Transformation of Communist and Post-Communist Systems*. Papers from a workshop on Transformation of the systems, Contemporary China Centre, RSPAS, The Australian National University, 21 March 1997. (Canberra: Transformation of Communist Systems Project, TCSP, RSPAS, ANU and the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia, October 1997), pp. 1-11.

'Boundaries and Peace: Good Fences, Good Neighbours and Family Feuds', in Bozidar Jaksic (ed.), *Granice—Izazov interkulturalnosti* (Frontiers—The Challenge of Interculturality). (Belgrade: Forum za etnicke odnose, 1997), pp. 145-56.

'The Lessons of Economic and Political Reform in Eastern Europe', in Barrett L. McCormick and Jonathan Unger (eds), *China After Socialism: In the Footsteps of Eastern Europe or East Asia?* (Armonk, N.Y., London: M.E. Sharpe 1996), pp. 73-94.

'Russian Policy Toward Japan', in Peter Shearman (ed.), *Russian Foreign Policy Since 1990*. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995), pp. 135-57.

'The Yugoslav Road to Socialism in Retrospect: Could It Have Worked?', in Peter Groenewegen and Bruce McFarlane (eds), *Socialist Thought in the Post*

Cold War Era. (Sydney: University of Sydney, Centre for the Study of the History of Economic Thought, 1995), pp. 109-118.

'Reforming Russian Agriculture: Privatization in Comparative Perspective', in Amin Saikal and William Maley (eds), *Russia in Search of Its Future*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 66-84.

'Yugoslavia: The End of the Experiment', in Janina Frentzel-Zagorska (ed.), *From a One-Party State to Democracy: Transition in Eastern Europe*. (Amsterdam-Atlanta, Ga: Rodopi, 1993), pp. 197-219.

'Lithuania's Difficult Renaissance', in Algimantas P. Taskunas (ed.), *Lithuania in 1991* (Sandy Bay, Tas.: Lithuanian Studies Society, 1992), pp. 43-58.

'The Soviet Union (Russia)', in Magnus Clarke, Jane Keedle and J. Mohan Malik (eds), *Asian Defence Policies: Great Powers and Regional Powers* (Book 1) (Geelong, Victoria: Deakin University Press, 1992), pp. 69-88.

'Civil society in communist systems: An introduction', in Robert F. Miller (ed.), *The Developments of Civil Society in Communist Systems*. (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992), Chapter 1, pp. 1-10.

'The dilemmas of civil society in Yugoslavia: The burden of nationalism', *ibid.*, Chapter 6, pp. 84-109.

'Concluding essay', *ibid.*, Chapter 8, pp. 130-47.

'The Future of the Soviet Empire: Eastern Europe', in Joan Beaumont (ed.), *The New Europe: East and West*. Proceedings of the 17th National Conference of the Australian Institute of International Affairs. 16-17th March 1991. Geelong, Vic.: AIIA and Deakin University, 1991, pp. 47-56.

'The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: An upsurge of people's power', in Coral Bell (ed.), *Agenda for the Nineties: Australian Choices in Foreign and Defence Policy*. (Sydney: Longman Cheshire, 1991), Chapter 5, pp. 95-124.

with T.H. Rigby, 'Domestic Determinants of Soviet External Policies: Prospects for Change in the 1990s', in Ross Babbage (ed.), *The Soviets in the Pacific in the 1990s*. (Sydney: Brassey's Australia, 1989), Chapter 1, pp. 1-29.

'Afghanistan and Soviet Alliances', in Amin Saikal and William Maley (eds), *The Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Chapter 7, pp. 101-21.

'The Condition of Croatia, 1930-1960', in James Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1988), pp. 340-42.

'Recent Agricultural Policy in Yugoslavia: A Return to the Private Sector?', in Josef C. Brada and Karl-Eugen Wadekin (eds), *Socialist Agriculture in Transition: Organizational Response to Failing Performance*. (Boulder; London: Westview Press, 1988), Chapter 17.

'The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: Genuine Integration at Last?', *ibid.*, Chapter 9, pp. 214-34.

'The Soviet Economy: Problems and Solutions in the Gorbachev View', in R.F. Miller, J.H. Miller and T.H. Rigby (eds), *Gorbachev at the Helm: A New Era in Soviet Politics?* (London; Sydney: Croom Helm, 1987), Chapter 5, pp. 109-35.

'Church and State in Yugoslavia: Exorcising the Spectre of "Clerico-Nationalism"', in R.F. Miller and T.H. Rigby (eds.), *Religion and Politics in Communist States* (Canberra, 1986), Chapter 5, pp. 64-92.

'Worker Self-Management in Yugoslavia: A System Under Stress', in Ed Davis and Russell Lansbury (eds), *Democracy and Control in the Workplace*.(Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1986), Chapter 15, pp. 276-295.

'Die Sowjetische Wissenschafts- und Technologiepolitik der 80er Jahre: Überwindung der Lucke zwischen Forschung und Produktion', in Georg Brunner & Horst Herlemann (eds), *Modernisierungsprobleme in der Sowjetunion* (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 1982), pp. 11-24.

Comment on Vladimir Stipetic 'The Agricultural Economy of Yugoslavia in the 1970s and Prospects for the Early 1980s' in Karl-Eugen Wädekin (ed.), *Current Trends in the Soviet and East European Food Economy* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1982), pp. 333-38.

'Eurocommunism and the Quest for Legitimacy', in T.H. Rigby and Ferenc Feher (eds), *Political Legitimation in Communist States* (London: Macmillan, 1982), pp. 126-45.

'Worker Self-Management in Yugoslavia', in Russell D. Lansbury (ed.), *Democracy in the Work Place* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire Pty Ltd, 1980), Chapter 10.

'Bureaucratic Participation and some Possible Alternatives', in Marian Sawer (ed.), *Socialism and Participation* (APSA Monograph No. 24, 1980), Chapter 10.

'Group Farming Practice in Yugoslavia', in Peter Dorner (ed.), *Cooperative and Commune: Group Farming in the Economic Development of Agriculture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), Chapter 7, pp. 163-98

with Robert C. Stuart and Karl-Eugen Wadekin, 'Some Retrospective Thoughts on the Applicability of the Soviet Model of Collectivization', in Dorner (ed.), *op.cit.*, Chapter 15, pp. 351-57.

'The Scientific-Technical Revolution and the Soviet Administrative Debate', in Paul Cocks, Robert V. Daniels and Nancy V. Heer (eds), *The Dynamics of Soviet Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), Chapter 8, pp. 137-55.

'Continuity and Change in Soviet Agricultural Administration since Stalin', in James R. Millar (ed.), *The Soviet Rural Community* (Champaign-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), Chapter 3, pp. 73-102.

(3) Articles:

'Russia and Europe: National identity, national interest, pragmatism, or delusions of empire?' Department of International Relations, RSPAS, The Australian National University, Working Paper 2006/1. Canberra, ACT, May 2006. Pp. 1-30. ISBN 0 7315 3140 X.

'The Enduring Legacy of Corruption in Serbia-Montenegro', *The South Slav Journal*, Vol. 25, No. 3-4 (97-98) Autumn-Winter 2004, pp. 1-22.

'Dealing With the Communist Past: The Special Case of Yugoslavia', *The South Slav Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 1-2 (87-88) Spring-Summer 2002, pp. 3-27.

'Lithuania & NATO: The Debate Continues', *Lithuanian Papers*, Volume 15 (2001), pp. 9-14.

'here's to a new Croatia', *AQ: A Journal of Contemporary Analysis* (formerly *Australian Quarterly*), Vol. 72, Issue 2 (April-May 2000), pp. 33-34.

'Tudjman's Victory: Croatia, the U.N., NATO and the U.S.', *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (September 1997), pp. 501-14.

'The Peace Process Model of Conflict Resolution: The Dayton Agreements', *Pacific Research*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (November 1996), pp. 10-13.

'Tudjman's Gamble: Croatia In and Around the United Nations', *Pacific Research*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (May 1995), pp. 52-56.

'The collapse of Yugoslavia: different perspectives on a post Cold War catastrophe', Review Article, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (November 1994), pp. 289-93.

'The Slippery Path to Economic Reform in Post-Communist Europe', *Quadrant*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 11 (November 1994), pp. 67-71.

'Lithuania and the New Order in Europe', *Lithuanian Papers*, No. 8 (1994), pp. 5-16.

'Is One Germany Better Than Two? Russo-German Relations, Past, Present and Future', *European Studies Journal*, Vol. X, Nos. 1-2 (1993) (special issue on *United Germany and Europe Towards 1990 and Beyond*, edited by Bernd Hüppauf), pp. 225-44.

'The Outcomes in Former Yugoslavia', *Quadrant*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 10 (October 1993), pp. 63-72.

'The Bosnian Tragedy: Historical Roots and Observations', *National Graduate* (Winter 1993), pp. 10-13.

'What Is Happening in Eastern Europe?', *Quadrant*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 10 (October 1992), pp. 48-55.

'When Constitutions Fail: Efforts at Political and Economic Reform in Yugoslavia on the Road to Total Collapse', *Bulletin of the Australian Society of Legal Philosophy*, Vol. 17, Nos. 58/59 (1992), pp. 89-106.

'Just a Guy Named Joe' (Review article on two books about Stalin), *Quadrant*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 3 (March 1992), pp. 72-75.

'Soviet Union: The implosion of a superpower', *Asia-Pacific Defence Reporter*, Vol. XVIII, No. 6/7 (December 1991-January 1992), 1992 Annual Reference Edition, pp. 49-52.

'The Pitfalls of Economic Reform in Yugoslavia', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (October 1991), pp. 213-22

'The revolution in European communism and the study of socialist systems', *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (July 1990), pp. 52-57.

'The Region: Echoes of Perestroika', *Pacific Defence Reporter*, Vol. XVI, No. 6/7 (December 1989/January 1990), pp. 7-9.

'Developments in Yugoslav Agriculture: Breaking the Ideological Barrier in a Period of General Economic and Political Crisis', *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Fall 1989), pp. 500-33.

'Theoretical and Ideological Issues of Reform in Socialist Systems: Some Yugoslav and Soviet Examples', *Soviet Studies*, Vol. XLI, No. 3 (July 1989), pp. 430-48.

'Without Ideology, What's Left?', *Australian Society* (July 1989), pp. 17-21.

'Social, Economic and Political Dilemmas of Reform in Yugoslavia', *Politics*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (May 1989), pp. 92-107.

'Inside Yugoslavia: "Immiseration", nationalism and the crisis of legitimacy', *Quadrant*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3 (March 1989), pp. 38-41.

'Hidden Text in Soviet Policy', *Pacific Defence Reporter*, Vol XV, No. 6/7 (December 1988/January 1989) 1989 Annual Reference Edition, pp. 14-17.

'Man in a Hurry: What Makes Gorby Run?', *Quadrant*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11 (November 1988), pp. 40-43.

'Gorbachev's "New Thinking"', *Quadrant*, Vol. XXXII, No. 7 (July 1988), pp. 15-19.

'Soviet Union: Seapower as an Instrument of Foreign Policy', *Pacific Defence Reporter*, Vol XV, No. 8 (February 1988), pp. 35-36.

'Will the Next Seventy Years Be "Even Better"?', *Radio Liberty Research* (Munich, West Germany), Bulletin RL 429/87 (30 October 1987), pp. 1-5.

'Church and State in Yugoslavia: Exorcising the Spectre of "Clerico-Nationalism"', *The South Slav Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Summer 1987), pp. 9-29. [An update of chapter in Miller and Rigby (1986)].

'Djelovanje interesnih grupa u federalnim sistemima: neke usporedbe izmedju Australije i Jugoslavije' (in Croatian), *Politicka misao* (Zagreb) Vol. XXIII, No. 1 (1986), pp. 55-72.

'Gosagroprom: bor'ba za effektivnost' sel'skogo khoziaistva prodolzhaetsia', *Obozrenie*, No. 21 (September 1986), pp. 6-9.

- 'Ethnic and Cultural Factors in Yugoslav Political Development', Part II, *The South Slav Journal*, Vol. 8 No. 3-4 (Autumn-Winter 1985), pp. 25-31.
- 'Agrarpolitik von Breshnew bis zu Tschernenko', *Osteuropa*, Vol. 35, No. 6 (June 1985), pp. 405-24.
- 'Ethnic and Cultural Factors in Yugoslav Political Development', *The South Slav Journal*, Vol. 8 No. 1-2 (Spring-Summer 1985), pp. 71-79.
- The Role of the Communist Party in Soviet Research and Development', *Soviet Studies*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 1 (January 1985), pp. 31-59.
- 'Yugoslav Socialism and the "Democratic Alternative"', *Quadrant*, Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 7 and 8 (July-August 1984), pp. 103-09.
- 'Natsionalizm—opium dlia iugoslavskoi intelligentsii', *Obozrenie*, No. 10 (July 1984), pp. 16-19.
- 'Voennoe polozhenie v Pol'she i strany Vostochnoi Evropy', *Obozrenie*, No. 8 (February 1984), pp. 10-13.
- 'The Soviet Economic System: Opportunities and Constraints', *Australian Outlook*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (August 1983), pp. 94-97.
- 'The Politics of Eastern Europe: an Introduction', *World Review*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (June 1983), pp. 6-20.
- 'Agricultural Modernization in the USSR: Backing confidently into the future with sights firmly fixed on the past', *Politics*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (May 1983), pp. 61-72.
- 'Prodovol'stvennaia programma KPSS: perspektivy' (in Russian), *Obozrenie* (Paris), No. 2 (December 1982), pp. 25-27
- 'The 12th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia: The Succession Process Continues', *Australian Outlook*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (December 1982), pp. 11-18.
- 'Gods, Fools, Heroes and Martyrs', *Quadrant* (June 1982), pp. 71-77.
- 'Khrushchev and His Friends', *Quadrant* (April 1981), pp. 29-33.
- 'Tito's Difficult Legacy', *Quadrant* (March 1981), pp. 17-22.
- 'Sozialistische Theorie und sozialer Wandel in Jugoslawiens Landwirtschaft', *Osteuropa*, Vol. 30, No. 10 (October 1980), pp. 1123-38.
- 'Tito's Labyrinth', *New Republic*, Vol. 182, No. 25 (21 June 1980).
- 'Alte und neue Formen der Kooperation für Jugoslawiens Bauern', *Osteuropa*, Vol. 30, No. 6 (June 1980), pp. 517-30.
- 'Soviet Policy on Science and Technology and East-West Relations', *World Review*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (June 1980), pp. 61-76.

'The Politics of Policy Implementation in the USSR: Soviet Policies on Agricultural Integration Under Brezhnev', *Soviet Studies*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2 (April 1980), pp. 171-94.

'Whither the Soviet System?', *Problems of Communism*, Vol. XXIX, No. 2 (March/April 1980), pp. 52-7.

'The Eurocommunists' Search for Legitimacy', *Quadrant* (August 1979), pp. 19-23.

Jugoslawien nach Tito', *Osteuropa* (May 1979), pp. 484-99.

with E. Vance Merrill, 'Yugoslav Central Committee Memberships: What the Figures Show', *Politics* (May 1979), pp. 71-81.

'But Some Animals Are More Equal Than Others', *Quadrant* (January/February 1979), pp. 54-56.

'Worker Self-Management in Yugoslavia: The Current State of Play', *Journal of Industrial Relations* (September 1978), pp. 264-85.

with Carsten Holbraad, 'Eurocommunism and the Balkan Communist Parties', *Current Affairs Bulletin*, Vol. 54, No. 12 (May 1978), pp. 24-34.

'Tito and Yugoslav Socialism', *Current Affairs Bulletin*, Vol. 54, No. 7 (December 1977), pp. 20-31.

The Future of the Soviet Kolkhoz', *Problems of Communism*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (March/April 1976), pp. 34-50.

'Writing About Communism', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. XXI, No. 3 (December 1975), pp. 167-71.

'La Cooperativa nella politica agraria dell'URSS', *Mercurio* (Rome), Vol. XVIII, No. 11 (November 1975), pp. 50-56.

'Soviet Agricultural Policy in the Twenties: The Failure of Agricultural Cooperation', *Soviet Studies*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2 (April 1975), pp. 220-44.

'The New Soviet Science of Administration', *Administrative Science Quarterly* (September 1971), pp. 247-57.

'The Politotdel: A Lesson from the Past', *Slavic Review*, Vol. XXV, No. 3 (September 1966), pp. 475-96.

'A Good Kolkhoz', *Survey*, No. 51 (April 1964), pp. 32-43.