



IEPAS2020

23-25 September 2020

Lisbon | Portugal

7th Annual Conference on Eurasian Politics & Society



Conference Programme
&
Abstract Book

The **Eurasian Politics and Society Conference** is organised with funding raised by registration fees and support of the following partners:

CESRAN International

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The Rest: Journal of Politics and Development

JANUS.NET, e-journal of International Relations

Political Reflection Magazine

Journal of Conflict Transformation and Security

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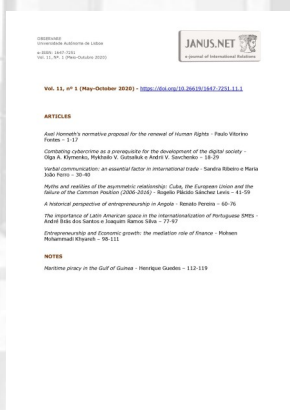
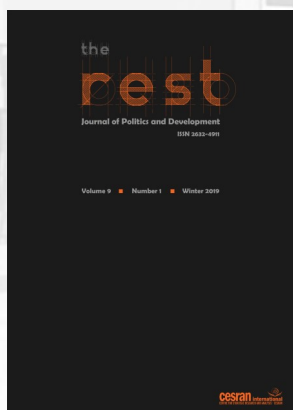
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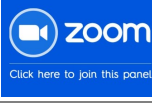





- Assoc. Professor Ozgur Tufekci – CESRAN International, UK
 - Assoc. Professor Rahman Dag – CESRAN International, UK
 - Assoc. Professor Husrev Tabak – CESRAN International, UK
 - Professor Ana Isabel Xavier – OBSERVARE-Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa – UAL
 - Professor Luís Tomé – OBSERVARE-Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa – UAL
 - Dra. Cristina Dias – GAID-Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa – UAL
-

International Scientific Committee*



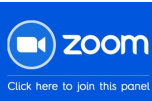



- Prof. Mustafa Aydın – Kadir Has University, Turkey
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- Prof. Alp Ozerdem – George Mason University, USA
- Dr. Paul Richardson – University of Manchester, UK
- Prof. Nazif M. Shahrani – Indiana University, USA
- Dr. Stuart Shields – University of Manchester, UK
- Prof. Oktay F. Tanrisever – Middle East Technical University, Turkey
- Prof. Frances Trix – Indiana University, USA
- Prof. Stefan Wolff – University of Birmingham, UK

* The surnames are listed in alphabetical order.

Day 1 - Wednesday, 23 September 2020

09h30 am	Opening Session José Amado da Silva (UAL's Rector) Ozgur Tufekci (Director of CESRAN Int.) Luis Tomé (Director of OBSERVARE-UAL) Luís Nuno Rodrigues (Director of CEI-IUL)		 <small>Click here to join this panel</small>
10h00 am	Keynote Speech <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Richard Sakwa 		 <small>Click here to join this panel</small>
11h00 am	M01 Panel		 <small>Click here to join this panel</small>
2h30 pm	M02 Panel  <small>Click here to join this panel</small>	M03 Panel	 <small>Click here to join this panel</small>
4h30 pm	M04 Panel  <small>Click here to join this panel</small>	M05 Panel	 <small>Click here to join this panel</small>

Day 2 - Thursday, 24 September 2020

09h00 am	M06 Panel  <small>Click here to join this panel</small>	M07 Panel	 <small>Click here to join this panel</small>
11h00 am	Panel Discussion: Impacts of Covid-19 on Greater Eurasia Moderator: <i>Luís Nuno Rodrigues</i> , Director of Center for International Studies (CEI-ISCTE/IUL) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Andrea Carteny</i> • <i>Bruno Cardoso Reis</i> • <i>Luis Tomé</i> • <i>Mark Meirowitz</i> • <i>Marlene Laruelle</i> 		 <small>Click here to join this panel</small>
2h30 pm	M08 Panel  <small>Click here to join this panel</small>	M09 Panel	 <small>Click here to join this panel</small>
4h30 pm	Book Discussion Panel America in Afghanistan: Foreign Policy and Decision Making From Bush to Obama to Trump By Sharifullah Dorani		 <small>Click here to join this panel</small>

Day 3 - Friday, 25 September 2020

09h00 am	M10 Panel  <small>Click here to join this panel</small>	M11 Panel	 <small>Click here to join this panel</small>
11h00 am	Panel Discussion: NATO's Challenges in View of the Future Strategic Concept Moderator: <i>Helena Carreiras</i> , Director of the Portuguese National Defense Institute <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Huseyin Bagci</i> • <i>Luís Valença Pinto</i> • <i>Maria Raquel Freire</i> • <i>Nuno Severiano Teixeira</i> • <i>Rafael Calduch Cervera</i> 		 <small>Click here to join this panel</small>
1h30 pm	Closing session José Amado da Silva (UAL's Rector) Ozgur Tufekci (Director of CESRAN Int.) Luis Tomé (Director of OBSERVARE-UAL) Luís Nuno Rodrigues (Director of CEI-IUL)		 <small>Click here to join this panel</small>



SOCIAL MEDIA

Decorative orange icons: a heart, a thought bubble, an arrow, an '@' symbol, three stylized figures, an envelope, and a speech bubble.

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The Gate of All Nations or Gate of Xerxes palace is located in the ruins of the ancient city of Persepolis, 70 km northeast of the modern city of Shiraz in the Fars Province of modern Iran.



M01 – Panel: Trans-Regional Relations in Inner and Outer Eurasia

WEDNESDAY // 23 September 2020 // 11:00–13:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant
Ana Monica Fonseca
(CE-ISCITE, Portugal)



PAPERS

Ayla Gol

(CESRAN International, UK // Nottingham University, UK)

Turkey-UK Smart Partnership in the Age of Brexit:
Challenges or Global Opportunities in Eurasia?

Gulsen Seker Aydin

(Ataturk University, Turkey)

The Renewal of Dashed Turkish Hopes in Central Asia

Ramzi Bemdenka

(International Islamic University Malaysia)

Algeria and Russia Relations: Economic Capacities and Cooperation Probabilities

Brindusa Nicoleta Pincu

(Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, Romania)

The Effectiveness of the Regional Economic Integration Process:
An Assessment of the Commonwealth of Independent States Model

Mohammed Hashiru & Ozgur Tufekci

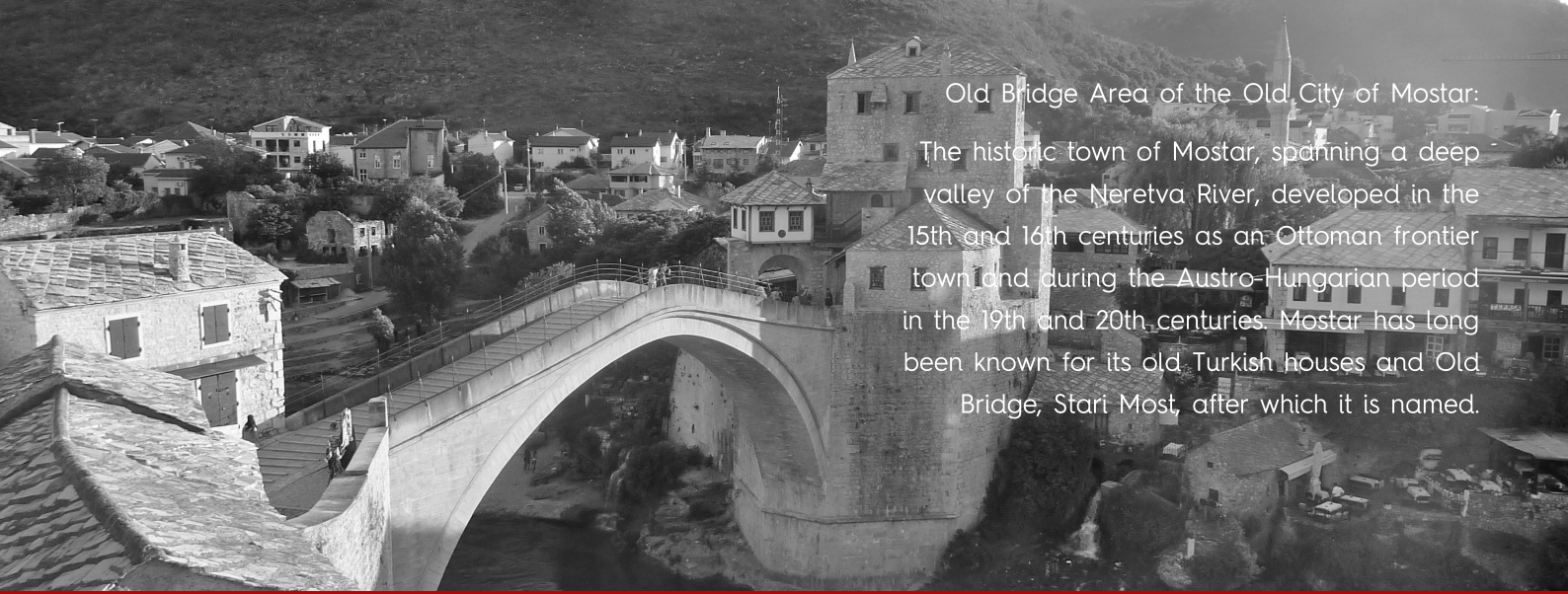
(Karadeniz Technical University, Turkey & CESRAN International, UK)

Hydropolitics of River Nile: Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia in Contention

Sonia Senica

(IPRI-NOVA, Portugal)

Has Putin's Russia Become Predictable?



Old Bridge Area of the Old City of Mostar:
The historic town of Mostar, spanning a deep valley of the Neretva River, developed in the 15th and 16th centuries as an Ottoman frontier town and during the Austro-Hungarian period in the 19th and 20th centuries. Mostar has long been known for its old Turkish houses and Old Bridge, Stari Most, after which it is named.

M02 - Panel: Changing State Structures in Eurasia

WEDNESDAY // 23 September 2020 // 14:30–16:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT
Sharifullah Dorani
(CESRAN International, UK)



PAPERS

Valentyna Opanasiuk
(Sumy State University, Ukraine)
Models and Functions of the State:
How the Political Designs are Changed
with the Introduction of Information and Communication Variables

Yasemin Y. Celikkol
(University of Pennsylvania, USA)
Vertov's Three Songs about Lenin:
Women, Nation-Building and Soviet Modernity

Shegirbayev Ozhet
(Nazarbayev University, Kazakhstan)
Comparative Overlook to the Central Asian "Political Transit" Scenarios

Otabek Akromov
(University of Glasgow, UK)
Comparative Analysis of Internal Legitimation Strategies of Islam Karimov and Shavkat Mirziyoyev:
Change and Continuity

Przemysław Datek
(University of Warsaw, Poland)
Building Regional Power:
The Economic Modernization of Uzbekistan under Mirziyoyev



Padrão dos Descobrimentos (Monument of the Discoveries) is a monument on the northern bank of the Tagus River estuary, in the civil parish of Santa Maria de Belém, Lisbon. The monument celebrates the Portuguese Age of Discovery (or Age of Exploration) during the 15th and 16th centuries.

M03 - Panel: Media in Domestic and Foreign Affairs

WEDNESDAY // 23 September 2020 // 14:30–16:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)



CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Husrev Tabak

(CESRAN International, UK)

PAPERS

Vlasios Vlasidis

(University of Macedonia, Greece)

**Greek-Turkish Relations:
The role of the Media amidst Two Crises**

Ilkim Ozdikmenli Celikoglu

(Dokuz Eylul University, Turkey)

**The Hagia Sophia Case:
A Matter of Domestic or Foreign Policy?**

Liming Liu

(Uppsala University, Sweden)

**Between Marginalised and Abandoned:
Exploration of Digital Refugees in China**

Assem Kalkamanova

(University of Szeged, Hungary)

**Social Media as the Platform for Political Mobilization in Authoritarian Regimes:
Case Study of Kazakhstan**

The Ismailiyya Palace is a historical building that currently serves as the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan.

M04 - Panel: Consolidation and Deterioration of Democracy in Eurasia

WEDNESDAY // 23 September 2020 // 16:30–18:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)



CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Nancy Gomes
(UAL, Portugal)

PAPERS

Zachary Kramer

(Charles University, Czech Republic)

**Stuck in the "Grey Zone":
An fsQCA of Constrained Transition States**

Marina Shentsova

(UNECE, Switzerland)

Evolution of Neoliberal Paradigm in CIS States

Karolina Baraniak

(University of Wrocław, Poland)

**The Politics of Historical Memory about the Victims of the Communist Regime (1945-1989)
in Contemporary Poland**

Dmytro Khutkyy & Kristina Avramchenko

(Malmo University, Sweden & Independent Expert, Ukraine)
Socio-political Impact of Participatory Budgeting in Ukraine

Besmir Radoniqi

(University of Prishtina, Kosovo)

**Consociational Power:
Sharing in Post-independence Kosovo**



M05 - Panel:
Socio-Political Challenges for Established Political Orders

WEDNESDAY // 23 September 2020 // 16:30–18:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Inês Marques Ribeiro

(CEI, Portugal)



PAPERS

Bilge Filiz

(Ankara University, Turkey)

The Reflections of Social Justice from the Broken Mirror

Damirka Mihaljević

(University of Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

The Role of Civil Society in Political Changes of the 21st Century:
Example of B&H and the Arab Spring

Rashed Chowdhury

(Manisa Celal Bayar University, Turkey)

The Pitfalls of Integration: Narrowing Room for Manoeuvre for the Lukashenka Regime in Belarus

Anna Ujlaki

(Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary)

A Republican Political Theory of Migration

Ranjana Kumari Jha

(National Medical Collage, Nepal)

The Socio-economic Effects of COVID-19 on English Learners in Nepal

Samuel Alexey Sorokin

(European University Institute Italy)

The Project of 'Russian Islam': The Construction of an Inclusive Eurasian Cultural Identity

The library of Celsus is an ancient Roman building in Ephesus, Anatolia, now part of Selcuk, Turkey. It was built in honor of Roman Senator Tiberius Julius Celsus Polemaeanus (completed in 135 AD) by Celsus' son, Gaius Julius Aquila.

M06 - Panel: Transnational Religious Fundamentalism in Eurasia

THURSDAY // 24 September 2020 // 09:00–11:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Paula Pereira
(UAL, Portugal)



PAPERS

Giuliano Bifulchi

(University of Rome Tor Vergata, Italy)

The Impact of Jihadist Propaganda in the Russian Language:
Analysis of Kavkazcenter.Com

Marco Marsili

(CEI-IUL, CIEP-UCP, CINAMIL, CIDIUM, Portugal)

Middle East Politics:
Rightful and Legitimate Institutions or Terror Organizations?

Hermínio Joaquim De Matos

(OBSERVARE-UAL and ICPOL-ISCPSI, Portugal)

After all, Rome does Pay to Traitors:
The Return of Foreign Terrorist Fighters to Europe

Maria João Tomás

(OBSERVARE-UAL, Portugal)

“Islamic nationalism” and “Persia nationalism” in Iran

Francisco Jorge Gonçalves & Verónica Martins

(Portuguese Authority for Emergency and Civil Protection, Portugal)

Should Senior Members in the Police and Security Forces be qualified
as Politically Exposed Person?

The Peruvudaiyar Kovil, also known as Brihadeeswara Temple at Thanjavur in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, is a Hindu temple dedicated to Shiva.



M07 - Panel:
Internal and External Rivalries on Eurasian Politics

THURSDAY // 24 September 2020 // 09:00–11:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)



CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Daniel Cardoso
(UAL, Portugal)

PAPERS

Onel Ioan-David

(National University of Political Studies and Public Administration, Romania)

**Balancing in Central Asia:
Russia-China Relations at Regional Level in Realist Perspective**

Selim Yilmaz

(University of Nottingham, UK)

**China's Belt and Road Initiative:
A Neorealist Analysis on State Behaviour**

Tianyi Liu

(University Of Rome Tor Vergata, Italy)

**The Geopolitical View of The European Union and
China's The Belt and Road Initiative**

Andrey Kinyakin

(Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA) /
Universität Potsdam, Germany)

**The "Greater Eurasian Partnership":
Assessing the Integration Potential of Meta-regionalism**



Tuvkhun Monastery is one of Mongolia's oldest Buddhist monasteries and located on the border of Övörkhangi Province and Arkhangai Province in central Mongolia.

Panel Discussion: Impacts of Covid-19 on Greater Eurasia

THURSDAY // 24 September 2020 // 11:00–13:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Luís Nuno Rodrigues

Director of Center for International Studies (CEI-ISCTE/IUL, Portugal)



Andrea Carteny

(The Sapienza University of Rome, Italy)

Bruno Cardoso Reis

(ISCTE-IU, Portugal)

Luis Tomé

(UAL, Portugal)

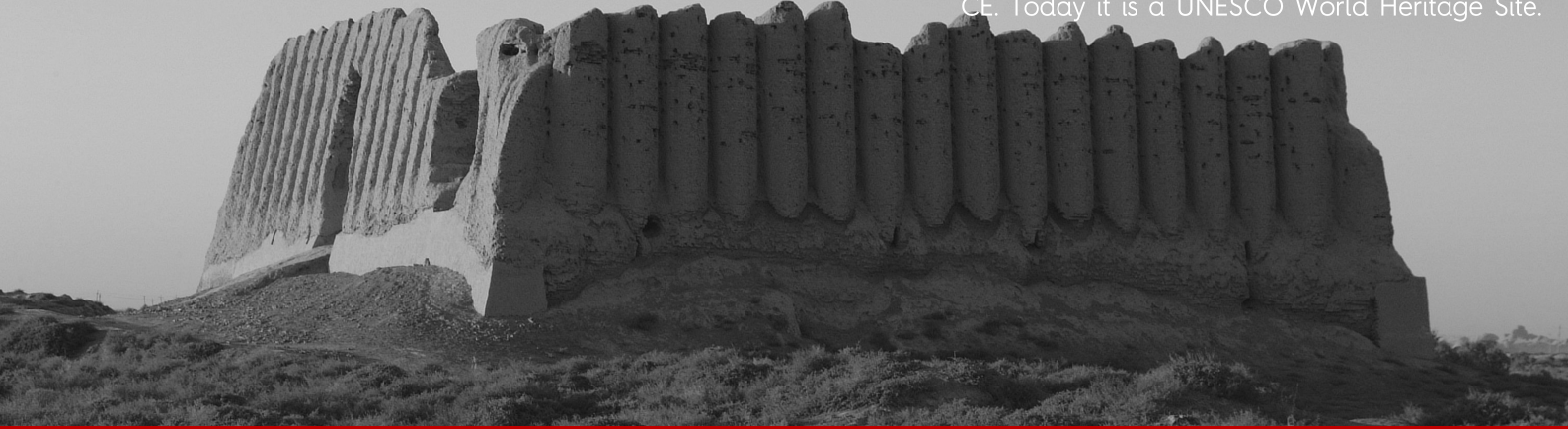
Mark Meirowitz

(SUNY Maritime College, USA)

Marlene Laruelle

(The George Washington University, USA)

Ancient Merv, in modern-day Turkmenistan, is one of the most important cities along the Silk Roads of Central Asia. Founded around the 6th century BCE, it flourished as an administrative, trading, military & religious centre – becoming perhaps the third largest city in the world in the 10th century CE. Today it is a UNESCO World Heritage Site.



M08 – Panel: Great Power Politics in Search for New World Order

THURSDAY // 24 September 2020 // 14:30–16:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Pedro Seabra
(CEI, Portugal)



PAPERS

Pogacian Adrian

(ReThinking Europe)

Great Power Rivalry in Central Asia:
New Strategy, Old Game

Andrew K P Leung

(International Consultants & Investments, Hong Kong)

How will Eurasian Integration of China's Belt
& Road Initiative fare in defending a Multipolar World Order?

Ana Isabel Xavier

(OBSERVARE-UAL, Portugal)

CSTO & EAEU and the Path to a New Eurasia: Return or Retreat?

Paulo Duarte

(OBSERVARE-UAL, Portugal)

Which Regionalism for Central Asia?
The Challenges of China's, the U.S.' and Russia's Integration Projects in Central Asia

Ekrem Ok & Ozgur Tufekci

(Agri Ibrahim Cecen University, Turkey & CESRAN International, UK)

Transformation of Humanitarian Intervention:
A Comparative Perspective, 1945-2020



Sharyn Canyon is an 80 km canyon in Kazakhstan on the Sharyn River, 200 kilometres east of Almaty close to the Chinese border.

M09 - Panel: Enduring Conflicts in Eurasia

THURSDAY // 24 September 2020 // 14:30–16:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Ayla Gol

(CESRAN International, UK // Nottingham University, UK)



PAPERS

Bezen Coskun

(Swp Berlin Centre For Applied Turkish Studies, Germany)

Anatomy of a De Facto State: Abkhazia between Societal and Economic Security

Javadbay Khalilzade

(Kent State University, UK)

Reassessing Georgian South-Ossetia Conflict: The ARIA Framework as a Possible Conflict Resolution

Rahimullah Kakar

(European University of Flensburg, Germany)

An Assessment of the Brussels Conference on Afghanistan:
The Afghan Peace and Reconciliation Puzzle

Ebru Birinci

(Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia)

Change and Continuity in Russian Middle Eastern Policy: Israeli Vector

Matthew Lubin

(Duke University, USA)

Ebussuud Efendi's Cyprus Fatwa and Ottoman Justifications for War

Elena Onu

(The National University of Political Studies and Public Administration (SNSPA), Romania)

Impact of Unresolved Conflicts in Ukraine and Georgia on the Euro-Atlantic or Eurasian Orientation of the Two Countries - Comparative Study



Historic Mosque City of Bagerhat:
Situated in the suburbs of Bagerhat, at the meeting-point of the Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers, this ancient city, formerly known as Khalifatabad, was founded by the Turkish general Ulugh Khan Jahan in the 15th century. The city's infrastructure reveals considerable technical skill and an exceptional number of mosques and early Islamic monuments, many built of brick, can be seen there.

Book Discussion Panel

THURSDAY // 24 September 2020 // 16:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR

Associate Professor Rahman Dag
(CESRAN International, UK)



PARTICIPANT

Dr. Sharifullah Dorani

BOOK TITLE

America in Afghanistan: Foreign Policy and Decision Making From Bush to Obama to Trump

By Sharifullah Dorani



The Temple of All Religions or the Universal Temple is an architectural complex in the Staroye Arakchino Microdistrict of Kazan, Russia.



M10 – Panel: Neighbours of the EU: What is Wrong with it?

FRIDAY // 25 September 2020 // 09:00–11:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Ricardo Sousa
(UAL, Portugal)



PAPERS

Timea Pál

(CEI-IUL, Portugal)

Differentiation in the EU's Relations with its Eastern Neighbours:
What Implications for the Promotion of Labour Standards?

Seray Kilic

(Dokuz Eylul University, Turkey)

Building Resilience in the Neighbourhood:
Securitization on the Agenda

Josif Gjani & Jonida Balla

(University of Tirana, Albania)

The EU after Brexit:
New Options for Differentiated Integration?

Ana Belén Perianes

(University Institute General Gutiérrez Mellado. IUGM-UNED, Spain)

Challenges and Prospects for Future of the EU Relations in Central Asia:
The Special Case of Kazakhstan

Notre-Dame de Paris is a
mediéval Catholic cathedral on the Île
de la Cité in the 4th arrondissement of
Paris.

M11 – Panel: Politics and Developments in Turkey

FRIDAY // 25 September 2020 // 09:00–11:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT
Murat Cemrek
(CESRAN International, UK)



PAPERS

Hüsrev Tabak & Seven Erdogan, & Muharrem Dogan

(CESRAN International, UK & Recep Tayyip Erdogan University, Turkey & Recep Tayyip Erdogan University, Turkey)

Women Politics in Turkey amid Secularist Gender Equality and Gender Justice Contestation

Bilge Filiz

(Ankara University, Turkey)

Neoliberal Transition in Turkey on Social Policies and Lessons for Global South

Mark Meirowitz

(State University of New York (SUNY) Maritime College, USA)

Turkish-US Relations and Turkish Foreign Policy:
Status and Prospects

Buket Ökten Sipahioğlu

(Ankara University, Turkey)

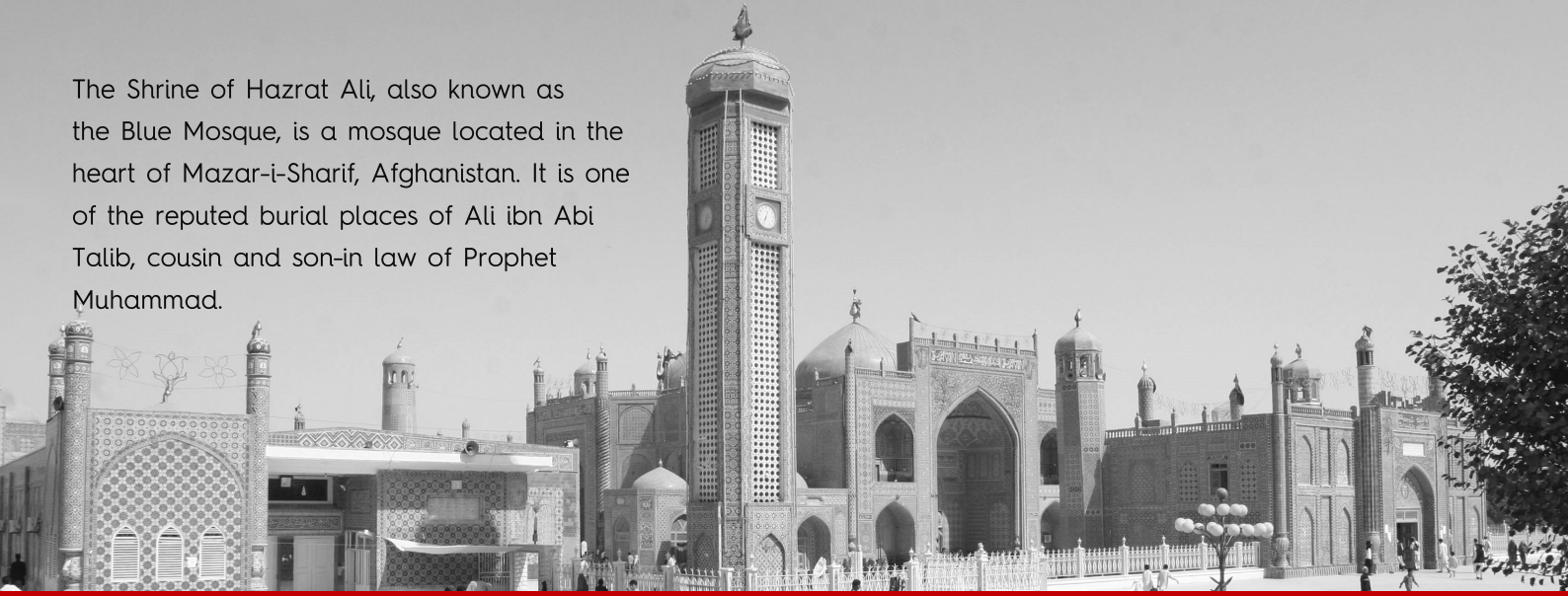
Turkish Migration to Europe: A Diasporic Community

Rahman Dag & Mehmet Ferhat Firat

(CESRAN International, UK & Adiyaman University, Turkey)

Securitization and Desecuritization of Energy Resources:
Insights from Alsace-Lorraine for Cyprus Island

The Shrine of Hazrat Ali, also known as the Blue Mosque, is a mosque located in the heart of Mazar-i-Sharif, Afghanistan. It is one of the reputed burial places of Ali ibn Abi Talib, cousin and son-in law of Prophet Muhammad.



Panel Discussion: NATO's Challenges in View of the Future Strategic Concept

FRIDAY // 25 September 2020 // 11:00–13:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT
Helena Carreiras

(Director of the Portuguese National Defense Institute, Portugal)



Huseyin Bagci

(Middle East Technical University, Turkey)

Luís Valença Pinto

(UAL, Portugal)

Maria Raquel Freire

(The University of Coimbra, Portugal)

Nuno Severiano Teixeira

(NOVA University, Portugal)

Rafael Calduch Cervera

(The Complutense University, Spain)

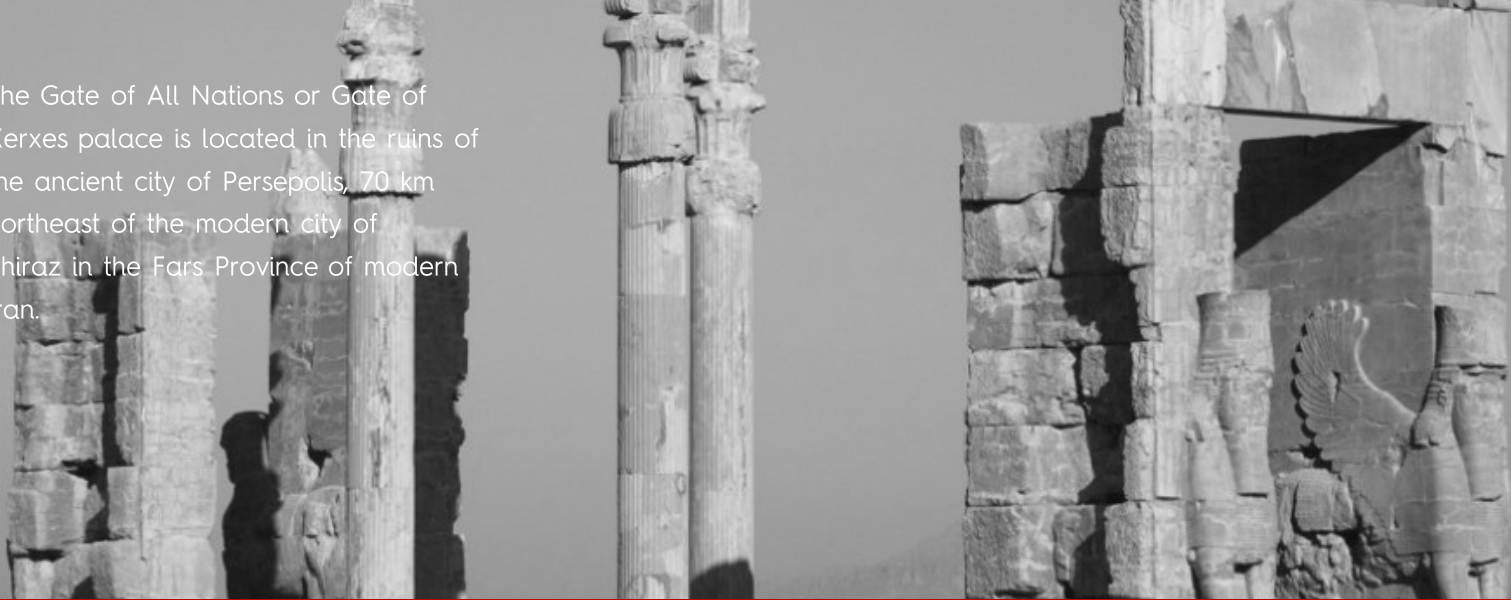
Participant List

Ana Belén Perianes	(University Institute General Gutiérrez Mellado. IUGM-UNED, Spain)
Ana Isabel Xavier	(OBSERVARE-UAL, Portugal)
Andrea Carteny	(The Sapienza University of Rome, Italy)
Andrey Kinyakin	(Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA) / Universität Potsdam, Germany)
Andrew K P Leung	(International Consultants & Investments, Hong Kong)
Anna Ujlaki	(Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary)
Assem Kalkamanova	(University of Szeged, Hungary)
Ayla Gol	(CESRAN International, UK // Nottingham University, UK)
Besmir Radoniqi	(University of Prishtina, Kosovo)
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Bruno Cardoso Reis	(ISCTE-IU, Portugal)
Buket Ökten Sipahioğlu	(Ankara University, Turkey)
Damirka Mihaljević	(Univesity of Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina)
Daniel Cardoso	(UAL, Portugal)
Dmytro Khutkyy	(Malmo University, Sweden)
Ebru Birinci	(Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia & CESRAN International, UK)
Ekrem Ok	(Agri Ibrahim Cecen University, Turkey)
Elena Onu	(The National University of Political Studies and Public Administration (SNSPA), Romania)
Francisco Jorge Gonçalves	(Portuguese Authority for Emergency and Civil Protection, Portugal)
Giuliano Bifulchi	(University of Rome Tor Vergata, Italy)
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Inês Marques Ribeiro	(CEI, Portugal)
Javadbay Khalilzade	(Kent State University, UK)
Jonida Balla	(University of Tirana, Albania)
José Amado da Silva	(UAL's Rector, Portugal)
Josif Gjani	(University of Tirana, Albania)
Karolina Baraniak	(University of Wrocław, Poland)
Kristina Avramchenko	(Independent Expert, Ukraine)
Liming Liu	(Uppsala University, Sweden)

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Luís Valença Pinto	(UAL, Portugal)
Marco Marsili	(CEI-IUL, CIEP-UCP, CINAMIL, CIDIUM, Portugal)
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Muharrem Dogan	(Recep Tayyip Erdogan University, Turkey)
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Otabek Akromov	(University of Glasgow, UK)
Ozgun Tufekci	(CESRAN International, UK)
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Paulo Duarte	(OBSERVARE-UAL, Portugal)
Pedro Seabra	(CEI, Portugal)
Pogacian Adrian	(ReThinking Europe)
Przemysław Dałek	(University of Warsaw, Poland)
Rafael Calduch Cervera	(The Complutense University, Spain)
Rahimullah Kakar	(European University of Flensburg, Germany)
Rahman Dag	(CESRAN International, UK)
Ramzi Bemdenka	(International Islamic University Malaysia)
Ranjana Kumari Jha	(National Medical Collage, Nepal)
Rashed Chowdhury	(Manisa Celal Bayar University, Turkey)
Ricardo Sousa	(UAL, Portugal)
Richard Sakwa	(University of Kent, UK)
Samuel Alexey Sorokin	(European University Institute, Italy)
Selim Yilmaz	(University of Nottingham, UK)
Seray Kilic	(Dokuz Eylul University, Turkey)
Seven Erdogan	(Recep Tayyip Erdogan University, Turkey)
Sharifullah Dorani	(CESRAN International, UK)
Shegirbayev Ozhet	(Nazarbayev University, Kazakhstan)
Sonia Senica	(IPRI-NOVA, Portugal)

Tianyi Liu	(University of Rome Tor Vergata, Italy)
Timea Pál	(CEI-IUL, Portugal)
Valentyna Opanasiuk	(Sumy State University, Ukraine)
Verónica Martins	(Portuguese Authority for Emergency and Civil Protection, Portugal)
Vlasios Vlasidis	(University of Macedonia, Greece)
Yasemin Y. Celikkol	(University of Pennsylvania, USA)
Zachary Kramer	(Charles University, Czech Republic)

The Gate of All Nations or Gate of Xerxes palace is located in the ruins of the ancient city of Persepolis, 70 km northeast of the modern city of Shiraz in the Fars Province of modern Iran.



M01 – Panel: Trans-Regional Relations in Inner and Outer Eurasia

WEDNESDAY // 23 September 2020 // 11:00–13:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Ana Monica Fonseca

(CE-ISCTE, Portugal)



PAPERS

Ayla Gol

(CESRAN International, UK // Nottingham University, UK)

Turkey-UK Smart Partnership in the Age of Brexit:
Challenges or Global Opportunities in Eurasia?

Gulsen Seker Aydin

(Ataturk University, Turkey)

The Renewal of Dashed Turkish Hopes in Central Asia

Ramzi Bemdenka

(International Islamic University Malaysia)

Algeria and Russia Relations: Economic Capacities and Cooperation Probabilities

Brindusa Nicoleta Pincu

(Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, Romania)

The Effectiveness of the Regional Economic Integration Process:
An Assessment of the Commonwealth of Independent States Model

Mohammed Hashiru & Ozgur Tufekci

(Karadeniz Technical University, Turkey & CESRAN International, UK)

Hydropolitics of River Nile: Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia in Contention

Sonia Senica

(IPRI-NOVA, Portugal)

Has Putin's Russia Become Predictable?

Ayla Gol

(CESRAN International, UK // Nottingham University, UK)

Turkey-UK Smart Partnership in the Age of Brexit: Challenges or global opportunities in Eurasia?

Abstract:

This paper argues that new challenges and opportunities are emerging outside of Eurocentric international affairs in a rapidly changing global world of the 21st century. According to Joseph Nye, 21st-century world politics is going through two major power shifts: On the one hand, 'power transition' is a shift of power among states from West to East, and on the other, 'power diffusion' is the movement of power away from states and/or governments (in the East or West), towards more powerful non-governmental organisations. While the technological evolution is typically the driving force of political power diffusions, this paper will focus on the 'power transition', as identified by 'The rise of Asia'. According to Nye, this should really be called the 'The Recovery of Asia', within which Turkey is a major actor. Therefore, the theoretical approach here is based on Nye's definition of 'smart power', which is the ability to use both soft and hard power in a strategic partnership (Nye 2011).

The first part of the paper will explore what Turkey's 'smart power' means for Eurasian politics. While Turkey has always been a major regional actor, the scholars of international relations (IR) never put the emphasis on Turkey as one of the 'emerging powers' among Brazil, Russia, India, and China (BRICs). The second of the paper will analyse whether or not the future of Turkey-UK relations will enter a new era of opportunities, principally shaped by Britain's economic and foreign policy objectives after leaving the EU. In the age of Brexit, the British government is looking to develop bilateral relations with non-EU countries, among which Turkey is identified as 'the Queen of Eurasia'. The paper will conclude by arguing that Turkey is one of the key Eurasian states, with its emerging smart power - intertwined soft and hard power - through its strategic partnership with the UK in global politics.

Keywords: Turkey, Smart Power, Eurasia, Brexit

Gulsen Seker Aydin

(Ataturk University, Turkey)

The Renewal of Dashed Turkish Hopes in Central Asia

Abstract:

This study focuses on Turkish Foreign Policy towards Central Asia. It aims to differentiate between the Turkish foreign policy in the early 1990s and afterwards. It also evaluates the chances for new Turkish Central Asian policy.

The end of the Cold War provided Turkey with new foreign policy opportunities. The emergence of newly independent Turkic and Muslim states of Central Asia was one of these. Initially, this opportunity resulted in euphoria for Turkey. Ankara hoped that it would form close relations with the states in the region, and these states would follow it as a model.

By the middle of the 1990s, these hopes were largely dashed. Some reasons laid the ground for

this frustration. First, the Turkish economy was not strong enough to serve as a model. There was also the dearth of resources to offer to Central Asian republics. Second, Turkey was struggling with the PKK problem, so the Turkish model was not that flawless. Third, there were differences among Central Asian states, and they opted for different trajectories in their multi-dimensional post-Soviet political and economic transformation processes. A uniform Turkish model did not appeal to them. Fourth, the nationalist opposition forces that Turkey supported could not prevail against the authoritarian presidents in Central Asia. Fifth, Russia has restored its influence in the post-Soviet space soon, and Turkey was not able to counteract against Russian influence.

Against the background of these difficulties, Turkey opted for a new pragmatic foreign policy towards the region, starting with the mid-1990s. Ankara focused on strengthening bilateral ties, forging ties, and intensifying cooperation through international organisations including Turkic Council and TURKSOY, utilising soft power tools like student exchange programs and Turkish television programs, helping Central Asian states via institutions like TIKA, and increasing bilateral trade volumes and Turkish companies' involvement in the region.

As a result of this pragmatic policy and some changes in the Central Asian republics, like the more positive stance of the new Uzbek president towards Turkey, Turkish hopes on Central Asia were revived. Central Asia has also recently received more attention within the framework of the Asia Anew Initiative. However, there are still hurdles ahead. Turkey may face difficulties in its relations with the states in the region if the tension in Turkish-Russian relations continues. The problems in Syria and the Turkish economy can also distract resources from Turkey's policy tools in Central Asia. The Gulen factor is also a thorny issue among Turkey and some Central Asian states, including Kyrgyzstan.

Keywords: Turkish Foreign Policy, Central Asia, Russia

Ramzi Bemdenka

(International Islamic University Malaysia)

Algeria and Russia Relations: Economic Capacities and Cooperation Probabilities

Abstract:

Following the end of the Cold war and the collapse of the Soviet Union, little attention has been given to the trans-regional cooperation between Russia and the North African Region. Algeria, for instance, has more in common with the Russian Federation in terms of economic capacities and transition probabilities. The size of the territory, natural resources, water reserves, and agricultural assets are the main characteristics of the commercial capabilities in both countries. Moreover, even the way of transition probability from a planned and pre-planned economy, where everything belongs to the state, to an open market, and economic liberalisation look the same in both countries as they are still straggling in this matter. This study aims to highlight the standard economic potential for both Algeria and Russia, as well as to analyse the cooperation probabilities that can help both nations increasing their economic productivity and facilitate the transition in the type of economy. The study adopts the Trans-Regionalism Approach that focuses

more on economic objectives and cooperation rather than borders connectivity as it was to be in the past. The historical context and data comparison can allow for a better understanding of both economies. As well as, the analysing of data can indicate cooperation probabilities. Therefore, cooperation can be better seen as a feature that can shape the relationship between both countries.

Keywords: Algeria, Russia, Economic Capacities, Cooperation, Trans-Regionalism

Brindusa Nicoleta Pincu

(Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, Romania)

**The Effectiveness of the Regional Economic Integration Process:
An Assessment of the Commonwealth of Independent States Model**

Abstract:

Taking a defensive approach towards the globalization practices and ideology, the Eurasian regionalization follows its own path of development. Regional integration in Eurasia is different from the one in the West. Taking a defensive approach towards the globalization practices and ideology, the Eurasian regionalization follows its own path of development. Regional integration of states is focused on political and economic fortunes, specifically the close cooperation and integration of the states that belong to the same political and geographic space and it underlines the trade and well-being of the participants as well as the four freedoms of movement: the movement of goods and services, labour, finances, and business. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the former Soviet Republics had to adjust to their new realities both in terms of politics and economics. The Russian Federation was only too conscious that any transition to a new type of political and economic relations between these states had to be managed on a new, multilateral basis and thus, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) has been launched in order to start a process of regional (re)integration on a new, post-communist and post-hegemonic era. The establishment of the CIS, along with a set of preferential trade agreements and free trade areas agreements, carried the promise of moving way beyond the stage of a "civilized break-up" and distribution of assets between the republics of the former USSR. This agreement committed its members to the development of cooperation in politics, economics, culture, and education; coordination of foreign policy; and cooperation in the formation and development of "all-European and Eurasian markets". The CIS was the first regional economic integration initiative that survived from the early 90s until the present. Using explanatory graphs and comparative case-studies based on macroeconomics indicators such as Gross Domestic Product, Price Index, Foreign Direct Investments, Regional Trade Balance Structure, and the Human Development Index, this paper will demonstrate the weakness of this regional economic integration project despite the signing of the new Free Trade Area Agreement.

Keywords: Regional Economic Integration, CIS, Eurasia, Regionalization, Free Trade Area

Mohammed Hashiru & Ozgur Tufekci

(Karadeniz Technical University, Turkey & CESRAN International, UK)

Hydropolitics of River Nile: Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia in Contention

Abstract:

Water is progressively becoming a dire issue the international community and individual states are facing. International rivers provide much of the water for human consumption, whereas state cooperation on these waters has become a centre of the debate on water security. As a source of tension between its riparian states, the Nile River is one transboundary river basin that has received much attention, especially in recent times. Due to the unending conflicts surrounding the river, there have been several attempts to create a basin-wide cooperative framework, like the Nile Basin Initiative (NBI) and the Cooperative Framework Agreement (CFA). Following the NBI and the CFA failure to include all the Nile riparian to realise the goals of institutionalised basin-wide cooperation and with the construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) starting in 2011, the future of cooperation among Egypt, Sudan, and Egypt Water is progressively becoming a dire issue the international community and individual states are facing. International rivers provide much of the water for human consumption, whereas state cooperation on these waters has become a centre of the debate on water security. As a source of tension between its riparian states, the Nile River is one transboundary river basin that has received much attention, especially in recent times. Due to the unending conflicts surrounding the river, there have been several attempts to create a basin-wide cooperative framework, like the Nile Basin Initiative (NBI) and the Cooperative Framework Agreement (CFA). Following the NBI and the CFA failure to include all the Nile riparian to realise the goals of institutionalised basin-wide cooperation and the construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) starting in 2011, the future of cooperation among Egypt, Sudan, and Ethiopia becomes blur and uncertain. Whilst Egypt insists the GERD could affect its supply of the river, Ethiopia hopes to have an economic turnaround with the completion of the dam, and Sudan stands between the two. The GERD reignites the already existing hydropolitical conflict in the Nile region that spills over to other states.

This paper shall revisit the history of hydropolitics of the Nile. It shall look at the Nile conflict and cooperation vis-à-vis several agreements. It shall look into the pros and cons of the construction of the GERD. It shall seek to look at the international ramification and the spillover effect of the conflicts on neighbouring countries. This research provides a much-needed analysis of how the Nile nexus has changed hydropolitics discourse in international relations. It will stand out from previous researches on the subject matter because the initiation of the GERD has changed the status quo of the conflict, inviting other stakeholders to the fulcrum of the tension. A search into the database of research in Turkey and beyond reveals that nothing similar to this topic has been done. This means that this paper shall be resourceful for students and academicians interested in the subject matter. Using the realism approach to this nexus, it can be argued that both the outcome of water conflicts and the formation of a water regime in the Nile basin will eventually be determined by the regional distribution of power. The outcome of competition and conflicts over water resources in the Nile basin will continue to be governed by the dominant unequal distribution of power. This study shall use a comparative study approach to reviewing the literature on the subject matter.

First will be an extensive investigation of archival and academic materials. The second will be an

application of theoretical approaches to the Nile conflict. The last will be speculation and projection of possible future occurrence based on the trends of events since the subject matter is an ongoing phenomenon. Though largely qualitative, where necessary quantitative analysis will be resort to. Ethiopia becomes blurry and uncertain. Whilst Egypt insists the GERD could affect its supply of the river, Ethiopia hopes to have an economic turnaround with the completion of the dam, and Sudan stands between the two. The GERD reignites the already existing hydropolitical conflict in the Nile region that spills over to other states.

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Keywords: Hydropolitics, River Nile, Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia

Sonia Senica

(IPRI-NOVA, Portugal)

Has Putin's Russia Become Predictable?

Abstract:

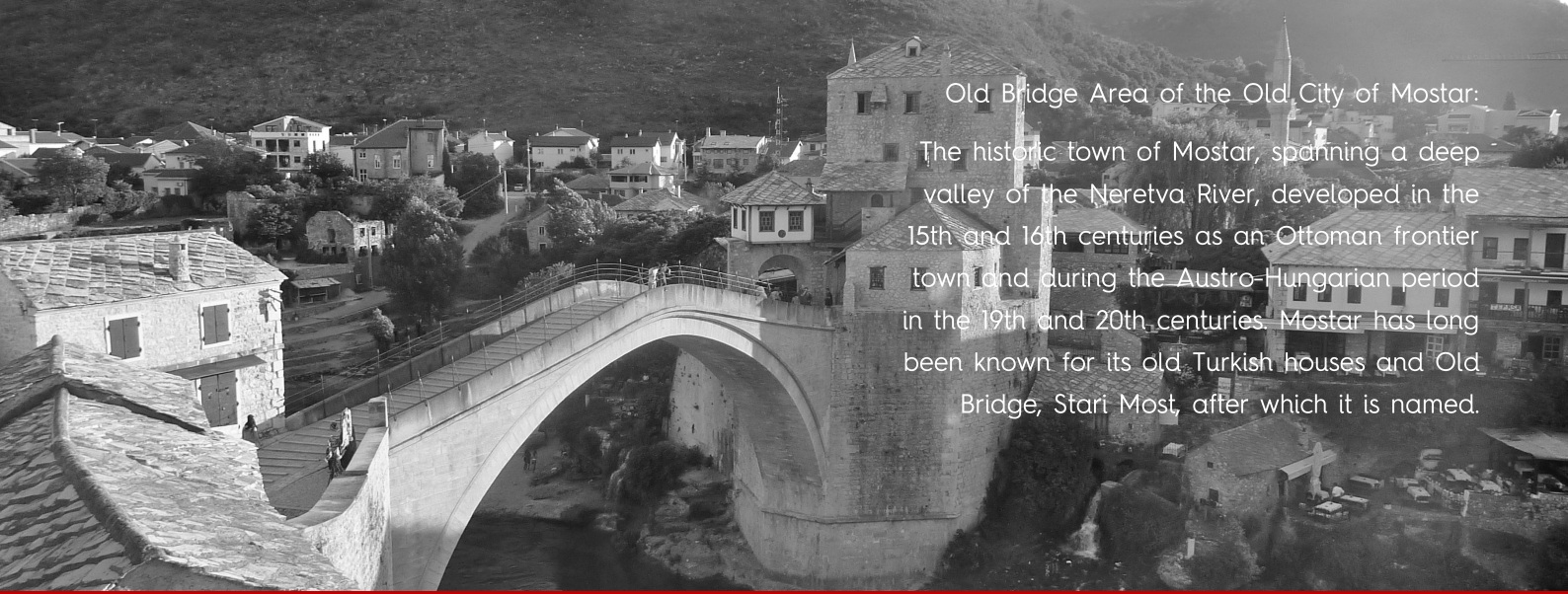
In the aftermath of the celebration of twenty-years in power, President Putin has consolidated his personalized and centralized power conducting Russia's faith with another step towards political perpetuity with a major change in 1993's Russian Constitution. With the recently approved constitutional reforms, after a civil society public consultation, Mr Putin sets the path for an even more vertical and strong political regime, a more conservative society, and an endless top-down leadership. We can now start to ask where the country ends and where the man begins.

Domestically, Russian civil society struggles between hope and needs. Hope in a better economic future and better quality of life and the need to adjust security with rights and freedom. Externally, Mr Putin's Russia continues to project an image of a global power wannabe with some relevant decisions taken with an assertive foreign policy advocating a new international order and always looking over its shoulder trying to find its place between the USA and China.

After twenty years with the same leadership, has Russia become predictable? Furthermore, if so, why haven't the United States and the European Union been able to overcome the present tension in the relationship with Russia? What is the catch still?

With this reflection, we aim to map the major recent events that lead us to the present state of affairs, domestically and externally, presenting three possible considerations that may contribute to understanding Mr Putin's Russia predictability.

Keywords: Russia, Foreign Policy, Regional Power, International Order



Old Bridge Area of the Old City of Mostar:
The historic town of Mostar, spanning a deep valley of the Neretva River, developed in the 15th and 16th centuries as an Ottoman frontier town and during the Austro-Hungarian period in the 19th and 20th centuries. Mostar has long been known for its old Turkish houses and Old Bridge, Stari Most, after which it is named.

M02 - Panel: Changing State Structures in Eurasia

WEDNESDAY // 23 September 2020 // 14:30–16:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT
Sharifullah Dorani
(CESRAN International, UK)



PAPERS

Valentyna Opanasiuk
(Sumy State University, Ukraine)
Models and Functions of the State:
How the Political Designs are Changed
with the Introduction of Information and Communication Variables

Yasemin Y. Celikkol
(University of Pennsylvania, USA)
Vertov's Three Songs about Lenin:
Women, Nation-Building and Soviet Modernity

Shegirbayev Ozhet
(Nazarbayev University, Kazakhstan)
Comparative Overlook to the Central Asian "Political Transit" Scenarios

Otabek Akromov
(University of Glasgow, UK)
Comparative Analysis of Internal Legitimation Strategies of Islam Karimov and Shavkat Mirziyoyev:
Change and Continuity

Przemysław Datek
(University of Warsaw, Poland)
Building Regional Power:
The Economic Modernization of Uzbekistan under Mirziyoyev

Valentyna Opanasiuk

(Sumy State University, Ukraine)

Models and Functions of the State:

How the Political Designs are Changed

with the Introduction of Information and Communication Variables

Abstract:

Existing models of the state are usually based on a key function highlighted in the set of the functions of a modern state. At the same time, global processes, directly, the formation of the information society, imprint on the functional viability of states. This paper explores how information and communication variables affect the political design of the state. The purpose of the research is to show the transformation directions of the functions of the state when the dominant information society variables are introduced into its a basic model. The methods of comparative and institutional analysis, classification, modelling, and generalisation have been used. Initially, the key functions of the most attractive models of the states were identified; a basic model of the state is created. The variables of interest that are entered in the base model are then specified and concretised. Finally, at the last stage of this research, the results were analysed and recommendations were made to optimise the system of functions of the state. The conclusions about the structural modelling of the functions of the state for institutional design formation, their diffusion in the information and communication impacts conditions, information traces of the transformation process of the state functions in the development of promising state policies are proved.

Keywords: State, Functions of the State, Economic Function of the State, Transformation, Open Data Policy

Yasemin Y. Celikkol

(University of Pennsylvania, USA)

Vertov's Three Songs about Lenin:

Women, Nation-Building and Soviet Modernity

Abstract:

Dziga Vertov's *Three Songs About Lenin* is a cinematic propaganda masterpiece. The film was produced in 1933, and it is Vertov's most viewed film, which received more international than domestic acclaim. Orally transmitted folk songs about Lenin from Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan are illustrated with corresponding plots. The three songs are about the October Revolution: about a woman who has unveiled, about electrical and technological developments in the desert, and the illiterate masses who are educated.

In this paper, I focus on the representation of Muslim women in USSR's East, particularly dwelling on what the film posits as transitioning "from slavery to the free and civilized life" of the women that the revolution is credited with liberating. I will analyze the representations of the first song, "My Face was in a Black Prison," juxtaposing it with the history and lived experience of women in Central Asia during the Soviet Union.

Vertov appears to have chosen Central Asian women to demonstrate the greatness of Lenin because he viewed them as “triple emancipated” after sexual, class, and cultural oppression. This resonates with the mission of the unveiling campaign of the Communist Party, which imagined Central Asian women as the potential proletariat, believing that if the Party offered them liberation, they would become loyal transformers of society. Women became symbols for tradition and transformation to a modern proletariat. In 1927, the Communist Party began its campaign for the rapid transformation of Uzbek women’s lives, entitled *Hujum*, to bring them into public life, paid work, education, and membership in the Party, as represented in the first song of Vertov’s *Three Songs About Lenin*, in which unveiling was a potent symbol. However, unlike the smooth and happy transition from tradition to modernity, from veiling to unveiling, the unveiling campaign did not bring about a sudden liberation and empowerment for women. In fact, many women were murdered for unveiling, propelling many others to continue the practice of full body veiling.

Further, this film disregards the suffering and death of the women caused by the hegemonic modernization campaign of the USSR. It is, however, a potent tool of propaganda for Lenin and the idea of communism, because it visually represents women as liberated through the revolution. The power of visual representation as a technique of persuasion, swiftly noted and deployed by Lenin himself at that moment of early cinema, is deployed here in an irrefutable way, because of the documentary-style footage and the authenticity that filming on location transmits. Overall, this film remains a powerful example of how women’s bodies and subjectivities are used as instruments of and for political power and nation-building.

Keywords: Russian Modernization, Gender, Culture, Media, Propaganda

Shegirbayev Ozhet

(Nazarbayev University, Kazakhstan)

Comparative Overlook to the Central Asian "Political Transit" Scenarios

Abstract:

The first country in Central Asia, which faced the “transit” was Tajikistan in 1994 when the civil war started. The second country is Kyrgyzstan in 2005 as a result of the revolt. Turkmenistan became the third in 2006 due to the death of S. Niyazov. In Uzbekistan, the leader changed in 2017, also due to the death of I. Karimov.

Change of leadership in each country of Central Asia had its own unique elements, but in the end, strong power was somehow preserved.

In this regard, Kazakhstan is also unique because the change of the President took place voluntarily, and after it, the extraordinary presidential elections were held in the constitutional order. N. Nazarbayev in accordance with the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On the First President,” retained a special status, which makes the “Kazakhstan version” of “transit” similar to the “Singaporean”. Lee Kuan Yew, after his resignation, was the senior minister in the government of Goh Chok Tong and served as minister-mentor in the government of his son Lee Hsien Loong.

At the same time, N. Nazarbayev, in addition to the status of the First President, retained the post

of lifetime Chairman of the Security Council, which significantly expands the range of his powers and political influence in everyday Kazakhstani life.

Keywords: Central Asia, Political Transition, Kazakhstan

Otabek Akromov

(University of Glasgow, UK)

Comparative Analysis of Internal Legitimation Strategies of Islam Karimov and Shavkat Mirziyoyev: Change and Continuity

Abstract:

This article compares the internal legitimation strategies of the first president of Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov, with those of the incumbent president Shavkat Mirziyoyev. By so doing, it aims to reveal the extent to which the legitimation policies applied by the former have changed or continued during the presidency of the latter. To systemize the analysis, this paper locates the comparison within the framework of Alexander Dukalskis and Johannes Gerschewski's four mechanisms of non-democratic legitimation – indoctrination, passivity, performance, and democratic-procedural. The arguments presented in the article draw upon the main books of Karimov, journal and newspaper articles, and my personal experience gained through university courses I was involved in during my undergraduate studies at the University of World Economy and Diplomacy, Uzbekistan. The comparison finds the following. First, unlike Karimov, who widely used the “kim edigu, kim bo`ldik” (who we were, who we have become) common narrative as a part of the indoctrination mechanism, Mirziyoyev has not resorted to this instrument in his legitimation policy. Second, to preserve his kleptocratic regime Karimov depoliticized the public by applying the passivity mechanism, while Mirziyoyev, on the contrary, started re-politicizing people. Third, during the Karimov era, the mechanism of performance, which ideally should have resulted in providing public goods, took the form of manipulation of statistics in favour of the regime to portray as if the latter was performing well. Like his predecessor, Mirziyoyev focused not so much on providing public goods, as in the process of changing the legacies inherited from Karimov itself. Fourth, the only difference between the ways two presidents used the democratic-procedural mechanism is that Mirziyoyev has merely upgraded the level of democratic-procedural in parliamentary elections, which was totally prohibited during the Karimov regime. However, in the presidential elections, the incumbent president stepped into the shoes of his predecessor. Thus, the paper reveals that if the first two legitimation instruments, widely applied by Karimov, drop out of Mirziyoyev's legitimation toolbox, then the remaining two mechanisms demonstrate the continuity with a minor upgrade.

Keywords: Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov, Shavkat Mirziyoyev, Authoritarian Legitimation

Przemysław Datek

(University of Warsaw, Poland)

Building Regional Power: The Economic Modernization of Uzbekistan under Mirziyoyev

Abstract:

The coming to power by Mirziyoyev changed the previous policy of the Uzbek government. In particular, changes for the economy were significant, such as the country's opening up to international tourism or the abandonment of compulsory participation in the cotton harvest. The main reasons for the economic opening should be considered to be the demographics of Uzbekistan, where about 70% of the population are under 40 years old. Karimov's economic model seems inefficient, as the lack of additional jobs means that young people could be excluded from employment. This means impoverishment of society and, consequently, a tendency to radicalization. This is all the more dangerous because Uzbekistan borders Afghanistan and Uzbek citizens have fought in the ranks of ISIS.

However, the economic openness of Uzbekistan seems to affect not only society but also international relations in the Eurasian region. The previous president of Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov, pursued a policy of balancing between the major powers in the region. For example, he joined the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and leased the land to the US military base. It seems, however, that both Karimov and Mirziyoyev wanted to build Uzbekistan as a regional power. However, their approaches are different. It seems that Karimov continued the post-Soviet policy based on the primacy of power, while Mirziyoyev sees the power coming from the economy and wants to build on it the regional power of Uzbekistan. However, economic openness, in contrast to Karimov's policy, is accompanied by the risk of losing control over economic developments in the country. The question, therefore, remains whether the influence of the most important players in the region – Russia, the USA, Turkey, and China – is being balanced as it was in Karimov's time. The answer to this question and the summary of the economic policy of Mirziyoyev is the main aim of this paper.

The main finding of this paper is that Uzbekistan continues the policy of balancing foreign influence pursued by Karimov. However, as Uzbekistan does not open up key economic sectors, the risk of other countries influencing important political decisions seems to be limited. Moreover, a large part of the resources are engaged from within the state, by Uzbek citizens or are not connected with the capital transfer like know-how assistance.

Research on policies of balancing influence in Central Asian countries seems to be particularly important as other countries in the region base their prosperity in a particular country. For example, Turkmenistan has based its foreign cooperation on China (the PRC). Moreover, research on this is important for future developments, including the wave of privatization of state-owned enterprises, including airlines and petrochemical companies, announced earlier this year.

Keywords: Uzbekistan, Economy, Mirziyoyev, Balancing



Padrão dos Descobrimentos (Monument of the Discoveries) is a monument on the northern bank of the Tagus River estuary, in the civil parish of Santa Maria de Belém, Lisbon. The monument celebrates the Portuguese Age of Discovery (or Age of Exploration) during the 15th and 16th centuries.

M03 - Panel: Media in Domestic and Foreign Affairs

WEDNESDAY // 23 September 2020 // 14:30–16:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Husrev Tabak

(CESRAN International, UK)



PAPERS

Vlasios Vlasidis

(University of Macedonia, Greece)

**Greek-Turkish Relations:
The role of the Media amidst Two Crises**

Ilkim Ozdikmenli Celikoglu

(Dokuz Eylul University, Turkey)

**The Hagia Sophia Case:
A Matter of Domestic or Foreign Policy?**

Liming Liu

(Uppsala University, Sweden)

**Between Marginalised and Abandoned:
Exploration of Digital Refugees in China**

Assem Kalkamanova

(University of Szeged, Hungary)

**Social Media as the Platform for Political Mobilization in Authoritarian Regimes:
Case Study of Kazakhstan**

Vlasios Vlasidis

(University of Macedonia, Greece)

Greek-Turkish Relations: The role of the Media amidst Two Crises

Abstract:

Since the beginning of the refugee crisis in 2015, Greek-Turkish relations have been particularly tense, reaching a climax on February 28, 2020, when Turkey violated the EU-Turkey agreement and opened its borders in the Evros River. The resulting crisis has been a prominent theme in the media of the two states since then, as immigrants and refugees rushed to the border to enter Europe via Greece. Meanwhile, the media had already been occupied with the coverage of the COVID-19 pandemic, which combined with the crisis in Evros, divided media attention in the two countries.

The present work is a product of extensive monitoring of specific Greek and Turkish news outlets from the beginning of the crisis in Evros until the end of the "quarantine" in Greece, comparing the popularity of the two topics in the media daily agenda.

The method used during the research was first to monitor the day-to-day news feed and then analyse the resulting data. The broader objective of this work is to observe the flow of news concerning SARS-COV-2 and the crisis in Evros, to illustrate the substitution of the latter by the outbreak of the virus in the bilateral state dialogue. At the same time, specific events, which lead the news agencies to reach the peak of their coverages in each subject, are noted along with the volume of articles separately in Greek and Turkish, in order to examine the vital points for the respective media on a case-by-case basis.

Keywords: Turkey, Greece, COVID-19, Immigrants/Refugees, Media Attention, Media Coverage

Ilkim Ozdikmenli Celikoglu

(Dokuz Eylul University, Turkey)

The Hagia Sophia Case: A Matter of Domestic or Foreign Policy?

Abstract:

A very recent High Council decision cancelling the 86-years-old cabinet decree that had changed the status of Hagia Sophia from mosque to museum triggered deep political and ideological fault lines in Turkey. That legal and political act regarding the historic Byzantium church is now popular on the national and international agenda. The first Friday prayer on July 24, which hosted 350.000 people according to official figures, turned into a display of popular support for the government. Since then, many debates around the topic have been held, such as the resilience of waqf status of the mosque, whether the Head of Directorate of Religious Affairs insulted Atatürk in his sermon, or whether this change marks a potential revival of the institution of the caliphate.

Erdoğan responded to foreign reactions by defining the decision as a matter of national sovereignty. Yet, he also said that the resurrection of Hagia Sophia was the harbinger of the liberation of Al-Aqsa in Jerusalem and footsteps of Muslims' will to leave hard days behind. As a matter of fact, many commentators, including proponents and opponents of Erdoğan, interpreted this act as a symbol of Turkey's "brave", "assertive," or "neo-Ottomanist" foreign policy.

The study aims to decide if this policy was intended to please the voters and consolidate domestic popularity or to provide Turkey with soft power in the Islamic world and convey a message to both the West and Russia regarding her activism in Syria and Libya. Besides official statements from the government, commentaries in 3 newspapers that are supportive of government policies in different degrees (Yeni Şafak, Sabah, Türkiye) between July and September will be analysed.

Keywords: Hagia Sophia, Erdoğan, Turkish Foreign Policy, Turkish Politics

Liming Liu

(Uppsala University, Sweden)

Between Marginalised and Abandoned: Exploration of Digital Refugees in China

Abstract:

According to the China's national internet development report, China shares approximately 904 million internet users in March 2020; nevertheless, the various socioeconomic and cultural status still challenging Chinese people in access, skills, and usage levels of the internet. The Covid-19 sharply exposed the digital inequality among these levels, especially brought the digital refugees to the surface. They are forced to be abandoned in society because the traditional social routines and daily life have transformed into mediated communication during the pandemic. To explore the digital refugee phenomenon, this study analyses the media coverages selected from different Chinese media agencies about the elders' internet usage during the coronavirus situation. Critical discourse analysis is used to explore the media representation of the digital divide for distinction societal levels and the clarification of inequality reality based on technology in China. Through examining these reports, the results show that, currently, access is the priority issue for the elders, especially the internet infrastructure deficiency areas. During the pandemic, China is using an online "healthy code" as the identification for daily practices. Some older people have limited functional mobile phones cannot achieve the codes, which happened no access to any public transports. In terms of the results, the study argues that digitalised policies and mediated communication break the traditional fair surroundings for digital refugees and emerge the social inequality visibly under China's reality from a digital capital perspective, further, technology is shaping the divide as social reproduction. However, the digital divide still exists in China, and the dilemmas for the digital refugees are suspended not only online but also offline in the real world. Therefore, they are marginalising and abandoning mainstream society through digital inequality.

Keywords: Digital Capital, Digital Inequality, Marginalisation, Social Reproduction

Assem Kalkamanova

(University of Szeged, Hungary)

*Social Media as the Platform for Political Mobilization in Authoritarian Regimes:
Case Study of Kazakhstan*

Abstract:

Oppression of alternative political standpoints and the absence of real opposition are outstanding

features of the authoritarian regimes. That is why social media, with its opportunities for freedom of speech and freedom of association, became an important pathway to voice concerns and claims for the general public. Within the last decade, political mobilisation and participation in such regimes have largely moved from real life into social networks. The Arab Spring events represent the first examples of the phenomena. Information and public communication usually limited by governmental control became available to a more general public. My research question is the role of social media in the rise of the protest movements in Kazakhstan. Based on text mining methods of the textual data of Facebook posts from 2017-2019 of the oppositional movement Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan, I demonstrate that the rhetoric of the opposition is informational, first, and protest calling, second. I detect politicisation of texts and more frequent calls for mobilisation among Kazakhstani bloggers in general. Also, SMM software allows for an in-depth analysis of Youtube statistics of the main oppositional channels. The analysis reveals what aspects of public policies and government are of most interest to the general public. My conclusions on the effect of the opposition movements working through social media provide the only positive glimpses of the growth of civil society in Kazakhstan.

Keywords: Social Media, Authoritarianism, Social Movements, Contentious Politics

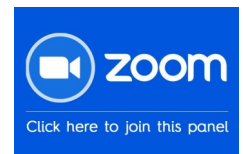
The Ismailiyya Palace is a historical building that currently serves as the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan.

M04 - Panel: Consolidation and Deterioration of Democracy in Eurasia

WEDNESDAY // 23 September 2020 // 16:30–18:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Nancy Gomes
(UAL, Portugal)



PAPERS

Zachary Kramer

(Charles University, Czech Republic)

Stuck in the "Grey Zone":
An fsQCA of Constrained Transition States

Marina Shentsova

(UNECE, Switzerland)

Evolution of Neoliberal Paradigm in CIS States

Karolina Baraniak

(University of Wrocław, Poland)

The Politics of Historical Memory about the Victims of the Communist Regime (1945-1989)
in Contemporary Poland

Dmytro Khutkyy & Kristina Avramchenko

(Malmo University, Sweden & Independent Expert, Ukraine)
Socio-political Impact of Participatory Budgeting in Ukraine

Besmir Radoniqi

(University of Prishtina, Kosovo)

Consociational Power:
Sharing in Post-independence Kosovo

Zachary Kramer

(Charles University, Czech Republic)

Stuck in the "Grey Zone":

An fsQCA of Constrained Transition States

Abstract:

The dominant transition discourse explaining democratic and authoritarian post-communist transition outcomes in terms of national institutional differences has neglected the large number of semi-democracies, which vary in institutional development. This study investigates lower-middle to middle-income semi-democracy as a distinct but under-researched outcome among a significant group of transition states, including Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia, Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, North Macedonia, Albania, and Serbia. The histories of conflict in this group suggest that institutional conditions' effect on transition processes may be conditioned on other factors. To test this hypothesis, the study uses a fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analysis design incorporating institutional development indices, historical institutional legacies, and energy export status, along with unresolved conflict, trade dependency on regional power, and popular overthrows of government. It finds that these countries fit three conjunctions of conditions: lack of institutional development, unresolved conflict and trade dependency on a regional power (Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Moldova), lack of institutional development, and the popular overthrow of the government (Albania, Kyrgyzstan), and institutional development, unresolved conflict and the popular overthrow of the government (Georgia, Armenia, Serbia), with Ukraine showing elements of all three patterns. Overall, results suggest that realist conditions have constrained transition processes in the semi-democratic group and produced different outcomes than institutional conditions alone would predict.

Keywords: QCA, Realism, Conflict, Dependence, Transition

Marina Shentsova

(UNECE, Switzerland)

Evolution of Neoliberal Paradigm in CIS States

Abstract:

The neoliberal idea began to be embodied in the CIS countries with different deviations. In a number of countries, it is clear how democracy is moving forward. The above countries, such as Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan, and Georgia, have shown the complexity of the emergence of a neoliberal state. Others, in particular Belarus and Russia, are recognised in the world community as autocratic. This is due to the fact that the leadership of one President over a long period implies the creation of a bureaucratic apparatus and the operation of all state power from one angle. To prevent the consolidation of power in one hand, it has to be replaced through an electoral system.

For this purpose, the institute of elections has been invented, through which the replacement of power is guaranteed. The Institute of neoliberalism presupposes, in contrast, the restriction of power in order to promote the development of the state. In this case, the restriction of power only helps

those areas that need independent activity. Without contributing to progress in the economy, it is impossible to achieve success for the whole society and the state itself. That is why it is necessary to give an opportunity to all participants of market relations to determine the direction and mode of activity. Because of this, the theory of neo-liberalism rejects totalitarian state regimes.

Some regions, due to their remote geographical position, find it difficult to access markets and develop trade sectors. As noted by several authors, the main stumbling block is not the conditions for conducting economic activities of countries, but the inertia of their political leaders. For the development of neoliberalism, such type of state is needed that will not interfere with the activities of economic entities. It will create a basis for their growth and strengthening their positions in the international arena. At the same time, no one will expect that the state will provide support in the social, humanitarian, or pension sphere. However, it will provide a legal and political basis for their development and further independent existence.

The talk, in this case, is about the total autonomy of individuals and legal entities, citizens, and other economic entities from the decisions of the state on economic tasks. The regulation of subject activity is due to their trade operations and mutual settlements with other entities, states, and financial corporations. In this case, there should not be a situation with default, inflation, and violation of the activities of market participants. Each of their steps to complete transactions, exchange, production, and distribution of goods will be balanced by the system of the global economy. It will become the basis for the model of the world system that will most favourably serve all participants in world politics. Authors such as Foucault and Keynes talked about the need to limit the role of the state only to some extent since its complete removal will lead to the loss of control over the economy and population. Of course, in this case, if we take as a basis the policy of non-interference, then it is more suited to the state with the existing democratic system.

Keywords: Neoliberal Paradigm, CIS States, Authoritarianism, Democracy

Karolina Baraniak

(University of Wrocław, Poland)

**The Politics of Historical Memory about the Victims of the Communist Regime (1945-1989)
in Contemporary Poland**

Abstract:

This paper aims to show how contemporary Polish authorities create and supervise historical, collective memory relating to the difficult communist past by filing lawsuits against culprits, celebrating anniversaries of events related to the communist regime, cooperation with non-governmental organisations, creating new memorials and spaces of memory or social dialogue. The issues of the victims of upper regime, considered in several aspects, also seem worth attention: in the attitude of the selected regime to the civilian population, especially to that part of the society that opposed the orders introduced by individual rulers or did not meet the criteria set by those in power; in the relativity of the concepts of victim and perpetrator in relation to the regime under consideration and the current politics of historical memory of Poland. It also seems necessary to answer some of the questions that have arisen in connection with the subject matter -

what decided about the formation and duration of certain forms of authoritarian power in Poland? Why have these individuals become inconvenient for the representatives of the former authorities? Who should be considered a victim, and who for the perpetrator of crimes committed during the communist regime?

Keywords: Poland, Politics of Memory, Communism, Soviet Union, Law

Dmytro Khutkyy & Kristina Avramchenko

(Malmo University, Sweden & Independent Expert, Ukraine)

Socio-political Impact of Participatory Budgeting in Ukraine

Abstract:

The model of participatory budgeting is spreading around the globe. Its core idea is that members of a local community decide where to allocate public funds while authorities implement this. Literature assumes that this brings numerous benefits: from a higher quality of life to more vibrant community life and a more efficient citizens-authorities relation. In Ukraine, within three years, over 150 communities have already introduced some form of participatory budgeting, which allows assessing its impact. Therefore, this inquiry aims to evaluate the sociopolitical impact of participatory budgeting on local communities and self-government in Ukraine. Primary data comprises budget-related legal regulations of 136 communities, formal answers to freedom information requests provided by local authorities of 141 communities, self-reported statistics of two e-voting platforms, and transcripts of 23 expert interviews with public officials and civic activists of nine communities. Of the overall realised sample, nine communities were chosen for case studies using a contrast sample: within three clusters defined by population size, they represent the maximum, minimum, and median participation rates in voting for participatory budgeting projects. Further, an array of mixed methods was applied: statistical analysis of data provided by local authorities and obtained from e-voting platforms, as well as content-analysis of legal regulations and expert interviews. The findings show that some individual communities demonstrate evidence of a significant impact of participatory budgeting. It raises the quality of life in relation to security, utilities, social security, public health, public transport, public space, ecology, leisure, sports, education, and civic engagement. Regarding its impact on local residents, it raises civic activism, civic education, empowerment, inclusiveness, and social cohesion. Concerning its impact on local authorities, it improves the skills of public officials, the interaction between citizens and authorities, the quality of democracy, the quality and efficiency of local self-government.

Keywords: Participatory Budgeting, E-participation, Digital Democracy, Electronic Democracy

Besmir Radoniqi

(University of Prishtina, Kosovo)

Consociational Power: Sharing in Post-independence Kosovo

Abstract:

Armed conflicts have traditionally generated societies divided along ethnic, linguistic, religious, as

well as racial lines, and vice versa. From the second half of the twentieth century, power - sharing between warring groups has increasingly been implemented as a mechanism for preventing or terminating conflicts in deeply divided societies. Power-sharing has become the international community's preferred solution in almost all cases where it has intervened to cease the conflict. The article indicates that deeply divided societies implement various forms of power-sharing, ranging from those more liberal to the most rigid ones. It examines how a number of factors, such as the social context, the nature of cleavages, the severity of the conflict between warring groups, the (non)existence of moderate political leaders, third states influence like in cases where the international community has intervened, as well as the balance of power in the international arena determine the form of power - sharing chosen or imposed to be implemented in a deeply divided society. Through accommodating the rights, freedoms, and interests of Kosovo's non-majority communities, granting them guaranteed representation in public institutions, and decentralization along ethnic lines through creating new municipalities where communities constitute a majority, as well as granting them expanded powers, the Comprehensive Settlement for the Final Status of Kosovo has installed in Kosovo a model of consociational power - sharing between Kosovo Albanians majority, on the one hand, and non-majority communities, on the other hand. The study highlights how the endeavours of proponents to make Kosovo's independence internationally acceptable have determined the consociational form of power - sharing imposed to be implemented in post-independence Kosovo. Likewise, the article argues that the consociational democracy in post-independence Kosovo is a consequence of the political context generated from the period of international administration of Kosovo and a transitional form of power - sharing imposed by UNMIK with the 2001 Constitutional Framework, as well as of the failure to find a solution acceptable from both sides, Kosovo and Serbia, during the Vienna Negotiations and to build mutual trust between Kosovo Albanian majority and Serb minority. The study concludes that consociationalism in post-independence Kosovo has produced mixed results and could rather be considered more corporate than a liberal form of power-sharing, but yet it is not very rigid like in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Nevertheless, power - sharing has not totally halted the internal contestation of the independence of Kosovo by the Serb community. In particular, the Kosovo Serb political elites have continuously taken advantage of extensive accommodation of Serb community rights and interests, their guaranteed representation in public institutions, the right of veto in parliament, as well as ethnic decentralization provided with the Ahtisaari Plan, while keeping on to challenge the independence of Kosovo from within. Serbia's strong indirect intervention through local Serb politicians and parallel structures has consistently hindered the amalgamation of ethnic divisions in Kosovo.

Keywords: Power-sharing, Consociationalism, Kosovo, Ahtisaari Plan



M05 - Panel:
Socio-Political Challenges for Established Political Orders

WEDNESDAY // 23 September 2020 // 16:30–18:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Inês Marques Ribeiro
(CEI, Portugal)



PAPERS

Bilge Filiz

(Ankara University, Turkey)

The Reflections of Social Justice from the Broken Mirror

Damirka Mihaljević

(University of Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

The Role of Civil Society in Political Changes of the 21st Century:
Example of B&H and the Arab Spring

Rashed Chowdhury

(Manisa Celal Bayar University, Turkey)

The Pitfalls of Integration: Narrowing Room for Manoeuvre for the Lukashenka Regime in Belarus

Anna Ujlaki

(Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary)

A Republican Political Theory of Migration

Ranjana Kumari Jha

(National Medical Collage, Nepal)

The Socio-economic Effects of COVID-19 on English Learners in Nepal

Samuel Alexey Sorokin

(European University Institute Italy)

The Project of 'Russian Islam': The Construction of an Inclusive Eurasian Cultural Identity

Bilge Filiz

(Ankara University, Turkey)

The Reflections of Social Justice from the Broken Mirror

Abstract:

Social justice has recently been back to the agenda in Eurasian politics since 2019, declared as a year of street protests. The questions of how to reduce social and economic inequalities, how to achieve social justice, how to redistribute, how to prevent institutionalised oppression have already been on the front burner. However, during the COVID-19 crisis, it became one of the most topical political and economic issues because the demand for the Eurasian society for social justice has been much more visible. Many parts of Eurasia are standing against economic and social injustices, and the discussion on the rebirth of history is recently deepened. This article provides an overview of theoretical clarifications on the idea of social justice and secondly analyses the posters/placards utilised in the street protests in France, Iraq, and Indonesia. Regardless of the disparate characteristics of the societies of Europe, the Middle East, and the Far East, this research reflects that today's existent demand on social justice in these countries has one-point common, which is the demand for the removal of institutionalised structured oppression. This research explains this argument by utilising the metaphor of the broken mirror. After the 1980s, the rise of neoliberalism and the imposition of western liberal ideas broke the mirror of social justice into so many small and tiny pieces. Since then, different ideologies try to collect the pieces of the mirror together- at least some parts of it- in order to show some reflections and to exhibit some images of social justice. However, it seems that social justice will not clearly appear in the existent mirror unless the rules are conditioned to be defined by and for the most powerful ones. Therefore, today's world witness that there is a need for a new type of mirror to reflect today's perception of society on social justice, and it will most probably be built by global society, itself on the way opened by Young (1990) through converting focus from redistribution to institutionalised structured oppression.

Keywords: Social Justice, Neoliberalism, Street Protests, Eurasian Politics, COVID-19

Damirka Mihaljević

(Univesity of Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

The Role of Civil Society in Political Changes of the 21st Century: Example of B&H and the Arab Spring

Abstract:

The claim that a developed civil society encourages democracy has a long tradition based on important propositions of earlier philosophers such as John Locke, Charles de Montesquieu, and Alexis de Tocqueville, as well as present-day thinkers such as Ralf Dahrendorf, John Keane, and Jürgen Habermas. The proposition suggests the irreplaceable role of civil society in changing how political elites function and in providing a political system controlled by citizens. It is only in this way that the democratisation process can start developing from the grassroots and that is why civil society is a key element of political emancipation. The development of civil society indicates the degree to which a particular political community is modernised and it is on this criterion that

the distinction between transition and consolidated states becomes clear. The space of collective action beyond the state control in B&H has not developed even remotely enough for the capacity of the influential factor of political reforms. This democratic deficit was affected by the limited modernisation of the former system, which did not open the potential for such an attribution. As an important aspect of modernisation, civil society began to develop only under the influence of international actors, not as a result of internal developments. In a political context dominated by the values related to ethnic identity, it is not realistic to expect the rational values of civil society to be supported. The ideals of nationalism are achieved by uniting members while weakening the individual's personal autonomy and his/her other affiliations.

In contrast, an autonomous civil society is grown on individualisation and strengthening of individual identities that engage in all aspects of social activity. In this way, civil society contributes to the pluralism of interests and opinions on various issues and problems. The opposite of civil society in terms of values is a community that reinforces collective identities of "our conscience and our values," thereby implying that all interests are subordinated to one basic interest. The underdevelopment of civil society results in the prevalence of an approach that solves vital social problems using political means, "just like in the former regime."

Keywords: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Civil Society, Democracy, Democratisation, Value

Rashed Chowdhury

(Manisa Celal Bayar University, Turkey)

The Pitfalls of Integration:

Narrowing Room for Manoeuvre for the Lukashenka Regime in Belarus

Abstract:

Since 1994, Belarus has been under the rule of President Aliaksandr Lukashenka (also spelt Alexander Lukashenko). Through a 1996 referendum, Lukashenka acquired dictatorial powers, gaining the ability to appoint and dismiss judges and appoint certain members of the upper house of parliament. Now coming to the end of his fifth term in office, Lukashenka is due to stand for reelection yet again in the summer of 2020. For much of his time in office, Lukashenka has positioned himself as an ally and close friend of Russia and has pursued a course of integration with Belarus's eastern neighbour. This integration policy has resulted in Belarus joining the so-called Union State in 1997, grouping Belarus and Russia in a yet-to-be-realised supra-state with a common parliament and government as a common currency. Many of these designs for integration have not been implemented in real life over the 23 years that this union has existed on paper. In some ways, the Eurasian Economic Union (created in 2015 and grouping Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Russia) is a much more effective entity than the Union State. Belarusian and Russian political scientists largely tend to believe that Lukashenka's willingness to pursue integration with Russia on paper has been determined by Russia's willingness to subsidise the Belarusian state by providing it with hydrocarbons at preferential prices.

However, the concept of the Union State made a sudden reappearance in early 2020, when the then-Prime Minister of Russia, Dmitry Medvedev, led negotiations with Belarus aimed at forcing the

latter to sign 31 “road maps” that were supposed to finally lead to the implementation of the “Union State” concept. One of these packages would involve a shared government. Although such a provision can indeed be found in the treaty signed by Lukashenka in 1997, Russia’s desire to implement it in 2020 was perceived by Lukashenka as an existential threat. There is a consensus among both supporters and opponents of Lukashenka in Belarus that any sort of confederal relationship between Belarus and Russia risks turning Belarus into an outright part of Russia (involving the loss of sovereignty) at worst, or transforming Belarus into a Russian puppet state at best. Lukashenka thus refused to cooperate, resulting in a reduction in Russian oil supplies and Belarus turning to unconventional suppliers such as the United States for relief.

Using Belarusian and Russian primary sources (such as transcripts of speeches by Aliaksandr Lukashenka, Dmitry Medvedev, and President Vladimir Putin of Russia), this paper will examine the reasons for the sudden upsurge of interest on the part of Russia for integration with Belarus. It concludes that Moscow is motivated both by domestic factors (finding a role for Putin after his fourth term as president ends in 2024) and foreign-policy considerations (tying Belarus more closely to Russia in order to ensure it does not go on a separate path like Ukraine). The Russian gambit to up the stakes in the integration game has largely turned out to be unsuccessful, encouraging Belarus to rethink integration.

Keywords: Belarus, Russia, Integration, Geopolitics, Hydrocarbons, Trade

Anna Ujlaki

(Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary)

A Republican Political Theory of Migration

Abstract:

Although migration is intertwined with human existence, normative issues of the topic have come into the fore only in the last few decades. However, most of the political theory of migration is about the issue of immigration, and the latest criticism often reveals that the mainstream of the literature is biased by methodological nationalist assumptions. In the proposed paper, I attempt to show that contemporary republican political theory has valuable potential to discuss issues of migration in a way that partly overcomes methodological nationalism and that regards a wider spectrum of topics as issues of migration, and therefore, republicanism is worth to include in a systematic account of the political theory of migration. I identify four elements of neorepublicanism, which is elaborated most systematically by Philip Pettit, that political theory of migration could use to its advantage. Among them, the most important is; obviously, the republican idea of freedom as non-domination, the other virtues of republicanism (opposed to the liberal approach) in this respect are republicanism’s focus on injustice rather than justice, its radicalism, and, as Pettit puts it, the possibility of wider consensus. In my presentation, after showing how contemporary literature already used these republican notions, I would like to demonstrate on three ideal types of migrant figures (on the case of immigrants, guest workers, and refugees) what normative implications this republican account has on their cases, and in what respect do their situations differ. I would like to argue that the republican approach not only eligible for ascertain the ways in which these migrants (or even potential migrants or second and third generations of migrant families) suffer

from injustice, but also that it highlights that different migrant figures are confronted with different characteristic problems. In each case of the ideal types, I attempt to demonstrate that the republican ideal requires to provide (or, at least, facilitate) an adequate status; hence domination can be occurring in quite different ways in the case of an immigrant, a guest worker, or a refugee. Concluding, in the presentation, I would not like to claim that the political theory of migration should be either 'liberal' or 'republican'. Rather, I attempt to highlight the potential of republicanism to broaden the scope of the political theory of migration and to raise the need to differentiate between types of domination that challenge migrant figures.

Keywords: Migration, Political Theory, Republicanism, Status

Ranjana Kumari Jha

(National Medical Collage, Nepal)

The Socio-economic Effects of COVID-19 on English Learners in Nepal

Abstract:

The COVID - 19 pandemic is, first and foremost, a health crisis. It is a new virus because no previous vaccines are matching for the process of preventing it (Ghebreyesus, 2020). The COVID - 19 has progressed to affect in every sector, including socio-economic. In socio-economic sector effects, Nicola (2020) points out that the COVID - 19 pandemic has sparked fears of an impending economic crisis and recession. Socio-economic impact of COVID - 19 social distancing, self - isolation, and travel restrictions have to lead to a reduced workforce across all economic sectors and caused many jobs to be lost. The implication of strict social distancing and quarantine is frustrating people with boredom, lack of supplies in educating information, and socio-economic disruption. The lockdown has affected the socio-economic aspects of peoples' lives, causing financial loss, health insecurity, and social distancing. Recent evidence suggests that individuals who are quarantined and kept in isolation are significantly distressed because of anxiety, anger, confusion, and post-traumatic stress symptoms (Brooks et al., 2020).

This paper presents a study designed to address how the COVID - 19 affects socio-economic on English learners in Nepal. For this purpose, a sample of 50 students (25 from each class 10) and 4 teachers (2 from each) was selected from (two community schools) of Parsa district, Birgunj, Nepal. Data was collected through an online questionnaire and interview schedule.

Findings revealed that most students responded that they sell fruits on the way because of losing their father's job. Moreover, push their parents to help them to maintain hands and mouth problems. Almost all the teachers opined that learners faced much more scarcity so they divert towards social evils activities. Additionally, the presenter will use video, audio recording, and shows responded profiles with figures and concludes with pedagogical implications.

Keywords: Forecasting, Analytical Patterns, Women in Business, Eurasia's Future Trajectory, Eurasia's Geopolitics Security

Samuel Alexey Sorokin

(European University Institute Italy)

The Project of 'Russian Islam': The Construction of an Inclusive Eurasian Cultural Identity

Abstract:

At the centre of my research stands the analysis of the transformation of Islam in Russia into a new constituent of the country's social, domestic, and increasingly foreign policies between 1993 and 2017. As part of my PhD research dissertation "Post-Soviet Russian identity discourse and the role of Islam" (supervised by Prof. Alexander Etkind), I would like to propose a paper, which explores the intellectual attempts of relevant political actors, scholars, and theologians, to design a coherent "Russian Islam". This project of religious domestication consists in interpreting the 1300-year-old history of Islam in Russia as a fundamental cornerstone of the nation's multi-ethnic and plurireligious Eurasian cultural identity, alongside Russian Orthodoxy.

Against the background of contemporary alienation between Russia and the cultural West, and, not least, as a counter-discourse to actual European debates on the possibilities of harmonizing political Islam with the secular state, Russian scholars present historiography of Christian-Muslim peaceful coexistence, mutual transformation, and enrichment. This Eurasian identity of two beginnings, Islam and Russian Orthodoxy is crucial for the state to fill the ideological vacuum left after the fall of the Soviet Union, and is a fundamental part of the general post-secular conservative tilt in society and politics. The narrative of a unique Eurasian civilizational heritage allows creating a unifying conservative ideology, which contrasts neoliberal and secular viewpoints dominant in Western societies. Hence, Islam moved from being the preeminent threat to Russia's statehood during the movement of separatism in the 1990s and early 2000s to becoming a potential partner in the ideological stand-off against a renounced occidental epistemological interpretation of culture, identity, and modernity.

Apart from doing historical justice by de-marginalizing Islam and recognizing it as a continuous transformative force in the nation's history and contemporary society, the project of identifying an allegedly autarchic Russian Islam serves several purposes. Firstly, political decision-makers and societal authorities perceive Islam's integration into the national debate on post-Soviet identity as a form of prophylaxis against the influence of radical Islamist thoughts and theological currents of the larger Islamic world (Ummah), as well as against domestic secessionist and nationalist movements, particularly in the North Caucasus. Secondly, it aims at offering a new ideology, which would allow Russian Muslims to identify with the post-Soviet state, thereby legitimizing the political regime in place as the guarantor of Muslims' religious and ethnocultural life.

I argue that this ecumenical approach, arousing considerable suspicion within conservative fractions of the Russian Orthodox Church, nationalist ideologists, and Muslim intellectuals alike, recalibrated Russia's historiographic narrative consensus and profoundly transformed the debates on national identity. However, the effort of merging the heterogeneous Muslim experiences within alternating Russian political systems into one grand narrative of Eurasian peaceful coexistence overlaps with regional historical memory and competing for ethnonational identity construction projects (such as Adygean, Avar, Tatar-Turkic or Vainakh discourses on cultural autonomy).

Keywords: Eurasianism, Alternative Modernities, Islam, Identity Construction

M06 - Panel:
Transnational Religious Fundamentalism in Eurasia

THURSDAY // 24 September 2020 // 09:00–11:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Paula Pereira
(UAL, Portugal)



PAPERS

Giuliano Bifulchi

(University of Rome Tor Vergata, Italy)

The Impact of Jihadist Propaganda in the Russian Language:
Analysis of Kavkazcenter.Com

Marco Marsili

(CEI-IUL, CIEP-UCP, CINAMIL, CIDIUM, Portugal)

Middle East Politics:
Rightful and Legitimate Institutions or Terror Organizations?

Hermínio Joaquim De Matos

(OBSERVARE-UAL and ICPOL-ISCPSI, Portugal)

After all, Rome does Pay to Traitors:
The Return of Foreign Terrorist Fighters to Europe

Maria João Tomás

(OBSERVARE-UAL, Portugal)

“Islamic nationalism” and “Persia nationalism” in Iran

Francisco Jorge Gonçalves & Verónica Martins

(Portuguese Authority for Emergency and Civil Protection, Portugal)

Should Senior Members in the Police and Security Forces be qualified
as Politically Exposed Person?

Giuliano Bifulchi

(University of Rome Tor Vergata, Italy)

**The Impact of Jihadist Propaganda in the Russian Language:
Analysis of Kavkazcenter.Com**

Abstract:

Since the fall of the Soviet Union, the Russian Federation has experienced waves of violent attacks and terrorism. After the First Chechen War (1994 - 1996), the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria, and soon later, the North Caucasus became a jihadist hotspot in the south of Russia, forcing the Kremlin in being engaged in a prolonged confrontation with local militant groups and terrorist organisations. Terrorist propaganda has been an essential element of recruiting among the young generations in the North Caucasian Muslim community, which since the fall of the Soviet Union, has experienced the rise of Salafism and political Islam. During the Second Chechen War (1999 - 2009) Internet played a vital role in promoting terrorist ideologies. Kavkazcenter.com has emerged as one of the main terrorist websites in the Russian language in support of Imarat Kavkaz (Caucasus Emirate) and regional terrorist organisations. Firstly, this paper examines academic literature, experts' analysis, and NGOs' reports regarding terrorist activities and jihadist propaganda in the Russian language to delineate general trends and terrorist strategic communications' influence in the North Caucasus. Secondly, the research focuses on the website Kavkazcenter.com analysing its structure, ideologies, and connection with the Arab-Muslim world and the international terrorist network. Finally, this investigation intends to describe the jihadist propaganda in the Russian language of the website Kavkazcenter.com whose activity represents a serious threat not only for the Russian national security but also for the entire post-Soviet space and the European Union itself where North Caucasian migrants and refugees live.

Keywords: Jihadist Propaganda, Kavkazcenter.Com, Russia, North Caucasus, Imarat Kavkaz, Terrorism

Marco Marsili

(CEI-IUL, CIEP-UCP, CINAMIL, CIDIUM, Portugal)

**Middle East Politics:
Rightful and Legitimate Institutions or Terror Organizations?**

Abstract:

Is it reasonable to label State institutions as "terrorist organisations"? This study aims to establish if a political party represented in a national parliament - or even a State or a Government as a whole - can be considered a "terror organisation", and therefore proscribed as such. Through the analysis of some cases stories, this research assesses the legitimacy - or the lawfulness - of some political institutions in the Middle East. The essay scrutinises, inter alia, the case of Hezbollah ("Party of Allah" or "Party of God"), a radical Islamic Shiite organisation based in Lebanon, and the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), a Sunni movement based in Gaza, both backed by the Government of Tehran - Iran as a whole is also taken into account. To have a broader framework in the region, this analysis also touches on Turkey, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Afghanistan

under Taliban rule.

Keywords: Iran, Hezbollah, Hamas, Palestine, United States, European Union

Hermínio Joaquim De Matos

(OBSERVARE-UAL and ICPOL-ISCPST, Portugal)

**After all, Rome does Pay to Traitors:
The Return of Foreign Terrorist Fighters to Europe**

Abstract:

After the alleged proclaimed annihilation of Daesh on Syrian and Iraqi territory, the return of foreign terrorist fighters to the European Member States certainly poses a serious security threat. It follows from the dilemma, for some member States a certainty, between the possibility of these, taking into account the "life cycle of foreign terrorist fighters", to be able, on the one hand, to pursue activities related to terrorism and jihadi violence - in particular, of recruitment, radicalisation, and new cells formation - and, on the other, the advantage (in theory) that once they are away from these radical and violent activities (and beliefs) may constitute themselves as a reference instrument, either in the prevention of radicalisation of new members or in building narratives that nullify the radical and violent impetus of Jihadism in Europe.

The problem, however, is that for some, this return cannot be made without foreign fighters being judged for treason (beyond the crime of terrorism), according to the laws of each country. They, therefore, advocate that when they have integrated the ranks of Daesh, they committed this crime and should therefore be judged in this condition - that of traitors.

We intend to analyse the advantages and disadvantages, in security terms, of the return of foreign terrorist fighters - without forgetting the case of women and children (wives and children, widows or orphans) who still in refugee or detention camps in Syria.

In terms of counterterrorism performance and effectiveness, the role that these foreign terrorist fighters and their direct relatives may play, irrespective of their return in the condition of freedom or under the surveillance and/or custody of the Member State, is the basis of our analysis. Using case studies, we try to demonstrate that the possibility of "(re)converting" these FTF and using them as human intelligence sources (HUMINT) can also be a valuable auxiliary in counterterrorism. Paradoxically, in both cases, their status, in this dialectical terrorism/counterterrorism issue, will remain as "traitors".

Keywords: Terrorism, Counterterrorism, DAESH, Syria, Foreign Fighters

Maria João Tomás

(OBSERVARE-UAL, Portugal)

"Islamic nationalism" and "Persia nationalism" in Iran

Abstract:

The recent assassination of Qasam Soleimani, the major Iranian general of the IRGC - Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps- and commander of Quds Force, sparked riots all over Iran. Some of

the protesters raised against the USA and others demanded the end of the Ayatollahs' regime.

These two movements reflect the current Iranian society: the "Islamic nationalism" supporting the Ayatollah's regime and the "Persia nationalism" of the opposition. In this presentation, I will try to explain how they appeared, their goals, and how they have divided the society in Iran, even before the Islamic Revolution.

The historical, religious, and cultural heritage play here an important role because they are used as political instruments. The Persian legacy, which is pre-existent of the conquer of the Arabs and sequent Islamization, is a symbol of a pride identity. The religion of Ancient Persia, Zoroastrianism, which represents a minority of the population, is used as a contestation of the Islamic values of the regime. In fact, some of the Zoroaster's calendar festivities remain in practice, although the Ayatollahs put more and more restraints and conditions. However, year after year, they were getting more people and became more popular.

Despite the close of some fire-temples and subsequent transformation into mosques, Zoroastrianism is a representative example of how Persian nationalists are using their heritage and culture as a symbol of resistance against the Islamic theocratic regime.

On the other side, the "Islamic nationalism", defending the Ayatollahs, consider "Persian nationalism" as Jahiliyyah, the pre-Islamic era, which is considered haram, or illicit. They argue that Persian nationalists are in favour of foreign influence, especially from the USA, remember the 2,500 -year celebration of the Persian Empire by Shah Reza Pahlavi in Persepolis, and the "westernisation" of Iran during this period. They claim that this movement wants Iran to be subservient of external interference, like in the time of Shah.

The public support of Trump to the son of Reza Pahlavi rises this fear. In this presentation, I will try to explain the current situation in Iran, analysing these two nationalists' movements that use religion, history, and culture to justify their arguments.

Last but not least, try to understand that despite this political struggle, Iran patriotism will prevail over Islamic or Persian nationalisms.

Keywords: Nationalism, Iran, Religion, Persia, Islam

Francisco Jorge Gonçalves & Verónica Martins

(Portuguese Authority for Emergency and Civil Protection, Portugal)

**Should Senior Members in the Police and Security Forces be qualified
as Politically Exposed Person?**

Abstract:

Especially after 9/11, the combat of Money Laundering (ML) regarding terrorist financing was a goal pressed by numerous governments around the world. For that matter, it is assumed that certain individuals, because they were entrusted with prominent public functions, present a higher risk for potential involvement in corruption connected to their position and the type of influence they may hold: therefore, the designation as «Politically Exposed Person» (PEP). Furthermore, the qualification as PPE does not grant special privileges; on the contrary, it functions as a special

restriction towards financial and banking institutions, forced to uphold more demanding procedures. Moreover, several studies have shown that banks and other institutions often struggle to avoid aiding illicit capital flows originating from PEP into secret accounts (Palmer, 2009).

The Directive n.º 2015/849 (fifth anti-money laundering), amended by the Directive (EU) 2018/843 of 30 May 2018, is the culmination of the European Union's action regarding anti-money laundering and terrorist financing, but since the first anti-money laundering directive, only High-Ranking Officers in the Armed Forces (and not Senior members of Police and Security Forces) are qualified as PPE. True, historically, certain mediatize cases regarding money laundering involved High Ranking Officers in the Armed Forces (e.g., General Sani Abacha in Nigeria). Likewise, in certain countries, it is High-Ranking Officers in the Armed Forces who occupy senior positions in the Police and Security Forces. However, senior members in the Police and Security Forces, mostly led by civilians, are also entrusted with prominent public functions.

Our research question is formulated as follows: should senior members of Police and Security Forces be qualified as Politically Exposed Person? Senior members of the Police Forces and Secret Services are among the top 10 job roles with the greatest perceived risk of involvement in money laundering, illicit payments, terrorism financing, as included on the Dow Jones Watchlist (2010). Moreover, The Financial Action Task Force (FATF) has produced several reports regarding the financing of terrorism, including the financing of recruitment for terrorism purposes (FATF, 2018), stressing the need to act urgently to strengthen global counter-terrorist financing, that is more ingenious and complex.

To emphasize the importance of our research, Vlademiro Montesinos, who was the Director of National Intelligence under President Alberto Fujimori, and was sentenced for embezzlement, bribery, terrorism financing, would not be qualified as PEP according to the Directive n.º 2015/849.

To answer our research question starting from a definition of Senior Members in the Police and Security Forces (it includes Secret Services), it is important to compare different legislations (a sample of 6 countries) regarding the combat of ML for terrorism purposes. It comprises countries of South America, Europe, and Asia, regarding the qualification (or not) of senior members of the Police and Security Forces as PEP. In addition to the analysis of different countries' legislation, the consultation of various secondary sources – books and specialised articles on money laundering and terrorism financing will provide us with a complement of information.

Our key findings show us that most countries do not qualify senior members of the Police and Security Forces as PEP, which may represent a security breach regarding anti-money laundering for terrorism purposes.

Keywords: Politically Exposed Person, Anti-money Laundering, Police and Security Forces, Terrorism Finance, High-Ranking Officers



The Peruvudaiyar Kovil, also known as Brihadeeswara Temple at Thanjavur in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, is a Hindu temple dedicated to Shiva.

**M07 - Panel:
Internal and External Rivalries on Eurasian Politics**

THURSDAY // 24 September 2020 // 09:00–11:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)



CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Daniel Cardoso
(UAL, Portugal)

PAPERS

Onel Ioan-David

(National University of Political Studies and Public Administration, Romania)

**Balancing in Central Asia:
Russia-China Relations at Regional Level in Realist Perspective**

Selim Yilmaz

(University of Nottingham, UK)

**China's Belt and Road Initiative:
A Neorealist Analysis on State Behaviour**

Tianyi Liu

(University Of Rome Tor Vergata, Italy)

**The Geopolitical View of The European Union and
China's The Belt and Road Initiative**

Andrey Kinyakin

(Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA) /
Universität Potsdam, Germany)

**The "Greater Eurasian Partnership":
Assessing the Integration Potential of Meta-regionalism**

Onel Ioan-David

(National University of Political Studies and Public Administration, Romania)

Balancing in Central Asia:

Russia-China Relations at Regional Level in Realist Perspective

Abstract:

After the fall of the Soviet Union, Central Asia became one of the arenas in which Russia and China interacted, the two states having both convergent and divergent interests in the region. Russia regards Central Asia as its “strategic backyard”, and seeks to maintain its influence over the political and military spheres, but also to preserve its access to energy resources. At the same time, China has been developing a stronger presence in the regional economic field, as well as more and more influence in the energy domain.

In this context, the paper aims to analyse the Russia-China relations at the regional level of Central Asia, between 2001 and 2019, from a Realist perspective, in order to identify how these can be explained. The relevance of the paper is given by presenting a different approach on a rather common topic, Russia-China relations, but focused on Central Asia, a region less enquired than others. The main research questions used in this paper are:

- (Q1) How can the relations between Russia and China be explained at the level of Central Asia, in the 2001-2019 period?;
- (Q2) What are the factors which prompted the relations between Russia and China in every stage, during the 2001-2019 period?

The time frame selected for the analysis spans between 2001, due to the implications generated by the 9/11 terrorist attacks upon Central Asia and the ensuing increased military interventionism of the US in the region, events which exerted an important influence on the regional politics and also on the Russia-China relations in the region, and 2019, which was chosen due to the relative stability of the economical-political environment during this year, both in the regional context of Central Asia and at the system level, in contrast with the dynamic processes started in 2020. The research conducted in this paper is based on official sources and secondary literature, employing quantitative methods, such as data analysis in a comparative approach, and qualitative methods, such as document analysis.

The paper identifies three periods in which either cooperation or competition was more dominant in the relations between the two states, at the Central Asian level: (I) 2001-2005: military and political cooperation against the prolonged US presence in the region; (II) 2006-2010: competition for energy resources; (III) 2010-2019: cooperation in “co-hegemony” over the region. Further, the paper argues that the first two periods can be explained through the concept of the balance of power, in the political and, respectively, energy domains, while the third period, through the concert of power in a realist perspective (condominium).

Keywords: Balance of power; Central Asia, competition, the concert of power, cooperation, Russia - China relations

Selim Yilmaz

(University of Nottingham, UK)

China's Belt and Road Initiative: A Neorealist Analysis on State Behaviour

Abstract:

China's establishment of the BRI in 2013 and its significant growth was believed to have challenged the existing world order since it covers over land and sea infrastructure projects around the world, especially Asia, Europe, and Africa. This paper then aims to examine China's neighbouring states' attitude towards the BRI and their behaviours in reaction to it, with the case study examples of Pakistan and India. As historical rival states, there are problems regarding territorial, political, and even religious conflicts existing between Pakistan and India. Using the perspectives of the theory of neorealism, power, and the strategic behaviours of both countries will be the main aspects to focus on. Pakistan, as an in-land neighbour of China, was found to bandwagon with the PRC government, while also fearing the US government's impact on the domestic economy. Moreover, Pakistani governmental leaders also revealed China being more benefited in the CPEC (China-Pakistan Economic Corridor) cooperation than Pakistan. India, as another great power in Asia with the US standing behind, launched a number of trade projects to decrease the influence of the BRI and was found to balance and buck-pass with China. Findings are concluded through an empirical evaluation and an analysis of states' reactions to China's BRI.

Keywords: China, Sino-Pakistan, Sino-Indian, Neorealism, State Behaviour

Tianyi Liu

(University Of Rome Tor Vergata, Italy)

**The Geopolitical View of The European Union and
China's The Belt and Road Initiative**

Abstract:

With the deepening of globalisation, the European Union and China have both entered a reforming stage. Through the Belt and Road Initiative, China has transformed the traditional static geopolitical forces into a dynamic scale political game. The traditional geopolitical competition is changed into a geopolitical view of realising the interests of all countries through mutual cooperation. Through the continuous expansion of China's belt of friends in Europe along the Belt and Road, the EU's focus on the Belt and Road has been increased. Eurasia is the core and key area of global geopolitics. Most of the marginal areas are located in the geospatial environment of Eurasia. To a certain extent, infrastructure connectivity has become the main content of the EU-China Belt and Road cooperation. The EU and China, as the largest organisation of developed countries and the world's largest developing country, facing problems as the cognition differences and strategic conflicts in the "Belt and Road" process are inevitable, and at the same time, the cooperation between EU and China also has a global impact. So this requires examining the point of integration of EU policy with China's Belt and Road Initiative from a geopolitical view. The way it is promoting new types of great power relations and jointly ensuring geopolitical security.

Keywords: Geopolitics, Geoeconomics, EU, China, The Belt and Road initiative, Game Theory

Andrey Kinyakin

(Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA) /
Universität Potsdam, Germany)

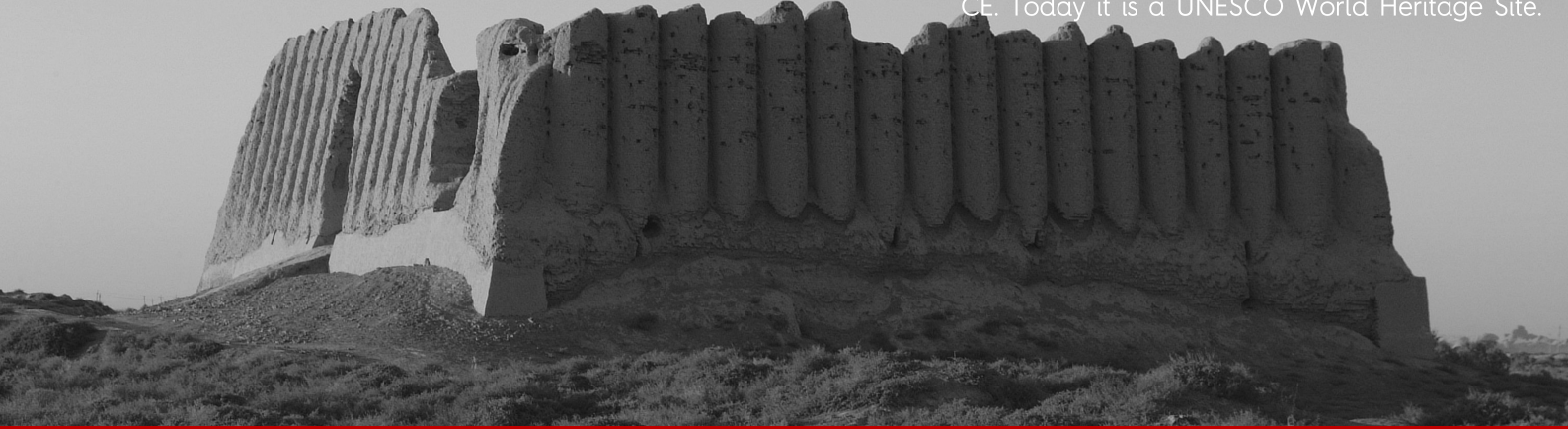
The "Greater Eurasian Partnership":
Assessing the Integration Potential of Meta-regionalism

Abstract:

One of the newest trends in contemporary regionalism-building is the active process of "integration of integrations" - strengthening cooperation between existing integration structures. It stipulates the emergence of the new type of regionalism - so-called meta-regionalism. Its main features are the supra-regional character of action as well as providing the connectivity between different integration blocks in various spheres. One of the recent examples is the "Greater Eurasian Partnership" (or Extensive Eurasian Partnership) - an ambitious project, economic and political tool of promoting of the so-called idea of the "the Greater Eurasia", aimed at bridging cooperation between the existing integration structures within Eurasia as well as other regions - Europe and Asia. Among them the Russia-led Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), Chinese "Belt and Road" Initiative (BRI), Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), ASEAN as well as the European Union (EU). Although from the theoretical perspective, the "Greater Eurasian Partnership" has the certain potential of development as meta-regionalism, its practical implementation is rather disputable, given not only the scale of such a project but also the existing bulk of limits and deterrents (economic, political, socio-cultural), making the process the creation of such a supra-regional integration structure rather complicate. Notwithstanding, it is important both from theoretical and empirical perspective to assess the integration potential of the "Greater Eurasian Partnership" based on special methodology, which combines different sets of specific indicators and use of methods of comparative and correlation analysis enabling multi-dimensional research. This proves to be helpful not only for analysing the "Greater Eurasian Partnership" from the perspective of pros and cons and its practical feasibility in general but also the assessment of other meta-regionalism projects, which can turn up in the future not only in Eurasia but also in other regions in the world.

Keywords: Eurasia, regional integration, Russia, China, Eurasian Economic Union, Belt and Road Initiative

Ancient Merv, in modern-day Turkmenistan, is one of the most important cities along the Silk Roads of Central Asia. Founded around the 6th century BCE, it flourished as an administrative, trading, military & religious centre – becoming perhaps the third largest city in the world in the 10th century CE. Today it is a UNESCO World Heritage Site.



M08 – Panel: Great Power Politics in Search for New World Order

THURSDAY // 24 September 2020 // 14:30–16:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Pedro Seabra
(CEI, Portugal)



PAPERS

Pogacian Adrian

(ReThinking Europe)

Great Power Rivalry in Central Asia:
New Strategy, Old Game

Andrew K P Leung

(International Consultants & Investments, Hong Kong)

How will Eurasian Integration of China's Belt
& Road Initiative fare in defending a Multipolar World Order?

Ana Isabel Xavier

(OBSERVARE-UAL, Portugal)

CSTO & EAEU and the Path to a New Eurasia: Return or Retreat?

Paulo Duarte

(OBSERVARE-UAL, Portugal)

Which Regionalism for Central Asia?
The Challenges of China's, the U.S.' and Russia's Integration Projects in Central Asia

Ekrem Ok & Ozgur Tufekci

(Agri Ibrahim Cecen University, Turkey & CESRAN International, UK)

Transformation of Humanitarian Intervention:
A Comparative Perspective, 1945-2020

Pogacian Adrian

(ReThinking Europe)

**Great Power Rivalry in Central Asia:
New Strategy, Old Game**

Abstract:

After the collapse of the Soviet empire in 1991, Central Asia has been an area subjected to the geopolitical rivalries of great powers – mostly within a formula that includes the U.S., EU, Russia, and China. While Russia’s and China’s presence in the region has frequently been viewed as a “neighbours’ right”, the U.S. and EU presence has had a dual effect: on the one hand, regional states viewed it as friendly and hoped it would translate into political and economic assistance. On the other hand, Russia and China have become increasingly concerned over the presence of their geopolitical rivals in their backyard. In this geopolitical game, what about Central Asia?

Keywords: Great Power, Rivalry, Geopolitics, Strategies

Andrew K P Leung

(International Consultants & Investments, Hong Kong)

**How will Eurasian Integration of China's Belt
& Road Initiative fare in defending a Multipolar World Order?**

Abstract:

In the face of “America First” unipolarity, China advances its Belt and Road Initiative in defence of a multipolar world in concert with Russia’s Eurasian Economic Union and the latter’s footprints in Western Europe, Central Asia, the Middle East, Africa, South America, and the Arctic, without forming an obsolete geopolitical Bloc reminiscent of the Cold War. This has come about as the world’s tectonic plates are shifting. As rising Eurasian “continental powers”, China and Russia are challenging the dominance of US-led Western “maritime powers”. The developing world, accounting for 60% of the world economy and a key driver of global growth, represents the “Rise of the Rest”. Driven by intertwined, interconnected, inter-dependent, and digitised global production and value chains, in which China is practitioner par excellence, the world can no longer be easily bifurcated as the United States seeks to isolate, exclude and contain a rising China, branded its strategic rival. On the other hand, notwithstanding rising clout, China struggles with worsening perceptions of its economic and geopolitical ambitions. Its Belt and Road Initiative faces accusations of a “debt trap”. Perceived domestic authoritarianism and lack of tolerance of dissent continue to tarnish China’s global image. An all-out US pushback is raging against China in trade, technology, military, and ideology, encompassing Xinjiang, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. Geopolitically, many countries do not wish to choose a side and increasingly adopt a hedging strategy. At the same time, as the Trump administration has withdrawn from the Paris Agreement, the impact of Climate Change threatens many countries’ ability to attain Sustainable Development Goals. How China responds to these external and domestic challenges will affect the stability and shape of the world order for decades to come.

Keywords: Belt and Road, Continental and Maritime Powers, Age of Connectivity, Rise of the Rest

Ana Isabel Xavier

(OBSERVARE-UAL, Portugal)

CSTO & EAEU and the Path to a New Eurasia: Return or Retreat?

Abstract:

When we go depth into the analysis of the Collective Security Treaty Organisation (CSTO) and the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) founding pillars, three questions easily come up in our minds: are we moving to a new Eurasian world with principles, interests, and an agenda that appears to contest the western liberal order as we know it? Is it Russia, with its relatively weak economy and many social problems, the model that many will want to follow and compete for the shift in the balance of power in the immersion of new tensions? Is Eurasia, led by Russia, rising to counter the hegemony of the US and the west, led by EU and NATO apparent declining? Indeed, this presentation aims to explore the extent and credibility of those temptations, questioning if there is a return or a retreat of new Eurasia, where Russia's engagement surely makes us rethink east, and west approaches both for economic and security integration acquis.

Keywords: : Eurasia, EU, NATO, CSTO, EAEU

Paulo Duarte

(OBSERVARE-UAL, Portugal)

Which Regionalism for Central Asia?

The Challenges of China's, the U.S.' and Russia's Integration Projects in Central Asia

Abstract:

Globally speaking, Central Asia is a comparatively less mediatised and more remote area. Nonetheless, since the end of 2013, Mackinder's heartland has been regaining academic and media visibility, largely as a result of the Chinese initiative to convert this space of the post-Soviet space into the keystone of the Silk Road Economic Belt. Indeed, Xi Jinping's speech in September 2013, during his visit to Kazakhstan, symbolises a new era in Chinese foreign policy quite marked by a proximity regionalism—which, in turn, turned the international gaze to the Central Asian countries that had emerged from the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. This new and promising context for Central Asian regionalism increases the value of any study on the subject. Furthermore, it served as a motivation for the author of this article to revisit the research he carried out in Central Asia in 2011 and 2012 (before the Silk Road Economic Belt was launched), complementing it with current developments. Based on a qualitative methodology, this article argues that the New Silk Road is, in itself, an ambiguous concept that encompasses different views on Central Asian regionalism according to the interests of each country. The conceptual lenses used here derive from the securitisation theory of the Copenhagen School, especially the word "securitise." In particular, the article sets out to examine the ways in which Beijing, Washington, and Moscow perceive the importance of the region and therefore develop their regionalism strategies. This gives rise to the following research question: how does each actor securitise its interests in Central Asia? Anticipating the main conclusions, I argue that among the various projects that coexist in Central Asia, it is China that seems to offer the most promising proposal for regional integration. To

answer the proposed research question, the first section will discuss the Chinese regionalism project, called Belt and Road Initiative. The second section will analyse the U.S. regional integration project, known as U.S. New Silk Road. Finally, the third section will assess the performance of the Eurasian Economic Union. In conclusion, I will highlight the main section will assess the performance of the Eurasian Economic Union. In conclusion, I will underscore the main findings, identify future avenues for research, and make policy-oriented recommendations.

Keywords: Regionalism, China, Russia, Central Asia, Belt and Road initiative

Ekrem Ok & Ozgur Tufekci

(Agri Ibrahim Cecen University, Turkey & CESRAN International, UK)

Transformation of Humanitarian Intervention:

A Comparative Perspective, 1945-2020

Abstract:

One of the leading controversies of last decades is the question of “What is to be done when a state is unwilling or unable to halt a humanitarian crisis within its territory” or “what if a country creates such a crisis”. To understand better, with a metaphor, “Should we intervene if a bandit tries to kill our neighbour’s kids and their father’s unable to stop the bandit?” or with the Archibugi (2004: 3)’s metaphor, “Should we intervene if our neighbour’s husband beats up his wife?”. The concept of the Humanitarian Intervention emerged from this concern, and it implies that a military intervention to internal affairs of a country which have a group of people suffering from human right violation, by third-party country or a group of countries or an international organization with or without aforementioned states’ consent. It is noteworthy that after the Cold War, there was an increasing willingness amongst academics, states, and non-governmental organizations to address humanitarian events. Academics, States, and International organizations began to breach the wall of non-interference and attach less importance to the concept of national sovereignty. The sanctity of national sovereignty was reduced, and the opinion that humanitarian violations are a “responsibility to protect” by all states was gained more attention. For example, “great powers”, rising powers, international organizations were more interested in humanitarian crises with an increasing willingness. The permanent members of UNSC were less inclined to veto resolutions about humanitarian military intervention (O’Hanlon & Singer, 2004). After the cold war, interventions mainly rely on manpower and not just limited the provide security.

However, is this transformation still valid today? Or are we witnessing a new transformation in the HI? If it happens, this transformation is towards a new one or old one (pre-1990)? Today, we can see interventions that faster and more effective or that more cautious and reluctant? Do interveners still rely on manpower and intent to solve problems apart from military issues or solve issues only with airstrike? Do the permanent members of the UNSC still less inclined to veto resolutions about humanitarian military intervention? A study will be conducted to examine whether there is a new transformation in HI the post-Cold War era regarding the interest of states, decision-making processes, willingness to engage, and application methods. If there is, the direction (to old one -pre-1990- or a new one) and the dynamics of this transformation will be examined. The cases selected between 1945-2020 will be analysed to get answers using comparative analysis,

quantitative, and qualitative research methods. Moreover, it will also try to make a projection on what kind of a picture regarding HI will wait for us in the future. This paper will explain how to handle the above questions and how to conduct this study.

Keywords: Humanitarian Intervention, Transformation of HI, National Sovereignty, Human Rights, Non-Interference



Sharyn Canyon is an 80 km canyon in Kazakhstan on the Sharyn River, 200 kilometres east of Almaty close to the Chinese border.

M09 - Panel: Enduring Conflicts in Eurasia

THURSDAY // 24 September 2020 // 14:30–16:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Ayla Gol

(CESRAN International, UK // Nottingham University, UK)



PAPERS

Bezen Coskun

(Swp Berlin Centre For Applied Turkish Studies, Germany)

Anatomy of a De Facto State: Abkhazia between Societal and Economic Security

Javadbay Khalilzade

(Kent State University, UK)

Reassessing Georgian South-Ossetia Conflict: The ARIA Framework as a Possible Conflict Resolution

Rahimullah Kakar

(European University of Flensburg in Germany)

An Assessment of the Brussels Conference on Afghanistan:
The Afghan Peace and Reconciliation Puzzle

Ebru Birinci

(Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia)

Change and Continuity in Russian Middle Eastern Policy: Israeli Vector

Matthew Lubin

(Duke University, USA)

Ebussuud Efendi's Cyprus Fatwa and Ottoman Justifications for War

Elena Onu

(The National University of Political Studies and Public Administration (SNSPA), Romania)

Impact of Unresolved Conflicts in Ukraine and Georgia on the Euro-Atlantic or Eurasian Orientation of the Two Countries - Comparative Study

Bezen Coskun

(Swp Berlin Centre For Applied Turkish Studies, Germany)

Anatomy of a De Facto State: Abkhazia between Societal and Economic Security

Abstract:

Abkhazia, one of the Former Soviet Autonomous Republics, is situated in the north-west of Georgia. The area of the country is 8,600 km², and its capital is Sukhumi. (Abkhazians call it Sukhum). The land is surrounded by the Black Sea to the south-west and the Caucasus Mountains and Russia to the north-east. Thanks to its long coastal line and outstanding climate and subtropical flora, Abkhazia was often described as the Soviet Riviera. Currently, Abkhazia is a de facto independent republic, which is only recognised by Russia, Syria, Nicaragua, Venezuela, and Nauru. Thus, except for these five states, Abkhazia is formally a part of Georgia. The so-called Abkhazia conflict started after the dissolution of the Soviet Union when Georgia seceded Abkhazia. 1992-93 wars were the peak of the conflict. Abkhaz people won the war against Georgia, and in 1999 Abkhazia adopted the 'Act of State Independence'. However, it took around 10 years for Russia to recognise Abkhazia's statehood. In 2008, after the Georgian-Russian war, Moscow recognised Abkhazia as an independent state and provided border security for Abkhazia to prevent cross border attacks from Georgia. On the other hand, in response to Russian support to Abkhazia, Georgia accused Russia of occupying Abkhazia. With the strategic partnership agreement signed between Russia and Abkhazia in 2014, Georgia further accused Russia of seeking to annex Abkhazia. Even though we have not witnessed any serious armed conflict since 1993, Abkhazia is one of the conflicting issues of the Caucasus region. In this context, the aim of this paper is to investigate the origins of the conflict. For the analysis, the Copenhagen School's economic and societal security approaches will be applied. Copenhagen School of security studies proposes to analyse security by looking systematically at "the security of what might be called 'sectors' (economic, military, etc.) and draw out the particularities regarding what are the main objects defended, who typically acts in this sector, and not least, what dynamics of security and insecurity are characteristic of this sector." In this perspective, issues such as the fear for the survival of culture, community, nation, and so on, are addressed under the societal security sector. Societal security focuses on the nation as a security unit. Societal security is defined by Wæver as "the defense of identity against a perceived threat, or more precisely, the defense of a community against a perceived threat to its identity." Societal threats are mostly appeared as the form of changes in language policy, educational and cultural policies, and attacks against lifestyles. Thus, societal security is chosen as the best conceptual framework to analyse the roots of ethno-political conflict between Abkhazians and Georgians.

Keywords: Abkhazia, Georgia, Conflict, Conflict Resolution

Javadbay Khalilzade

(Kent State University, UK)

Reassessing Georgian South-Ossetia Conflict: The ARIA Framework as a Possible Conflict Resolution

Abstract:

This paper analyzes the Georgia South Ossetia conflict and examines the ARIA framework as a

possible conflict resolution strategy. The ARIA framework contains four stages of interactive strategy to transform the approaches of conflicting parties and reach a mutual understanding of the conflict, in order to overcome challenges in a way that each side gains. The Georgia South Ossetia conflict emerged between Georgians and Ossetians over the nationalistic discourse and manipulations of the politicians' that resulted in deep polarization between the two nations. Although there are ongoing negotiations between conflicting parties, progress has not been made to resolve the conflict. This analysis presents that the employment of the ARIA framework could contribute to confidence-building and offer a positive step toward resolving the conflict.

Keywords: The Georgia South Ossetia Conflict, the ARIA Framework, Nationalism, Conflict Resolution.

Rahimullah Kakar

(European University of Flensburg, Germany)

An Assessment of the Brussels Conference on Afghanistan: The Afghan Peace and Reconciliation Puzzle

Abstract:

The Afghan peace and reconciliation process has remained a puzzle. On many occasions, particularly since 2010, some unsuccessful efforts were made. The paper discussed that 2010-11 peace efforts were more part of the US/ISAF war strategy, and the reintegration program called the "Afghan Peace and Reintegration Program" APRP was military oriented and remain unsuccessful. In the post-Brussels conference 2016, the intra-Afghan consensus coupled with the regional consensus and the transformation of the peace process by the US/ISAF-led coalition and the Afghan government from a war-oriented strategy to a political-oriented solution, and a strong political and financial commitment by the EU and participants to the conference contributed to facilitating the way for the launch of peace and reconciliation process in Afghanistan.

Keywords: Peace and Conflict, EU, Regional Consensus, Peace Puzzle

Ebru Birinci

(Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia)

Change and Continuity in Russian Middle Eastern Policy: Israeli Vector

Abstract:

Since the beginning of its military operation in Syria in 2015, Russia has been one of the major players in the Middle East, which is able to alter the facts on the ground immediately. Russian involvement in Syria signaled a landmark not only in Syrian and Middle Eastern politics but also in the Russian foreign policy course, once it is the first military operation led by Russia beyond former Soviet territories and set off assertive Russian engagement in the region. The Middle East turned to be the ground where Russia had sought to consolidate its position before the Western alliance, as western sanctions following the Ukrainian crisis were to leave Russia in isolation. Relations with the

West have long been one of the most decisive factors, forming Russian foreign policy in the region, in line with the overall significance of the West in Russian foreign policymaking. Nevertheless, since its involvement in the Syrian civil war, Russia has gained more leverage in the region through diplomatic and military means, beyond its aims to stand against Western coercion. Developing its direct bilateral pragmatic relations with regional actors increased the radius of Russian action both in the region and world politics.

The assertive Russian Middle Eastern policy raised interests in IR studies due to the ambiguity stemming from the changing international system and its consequences. This factor of change can be observed not only in world politics but also in individual foreign policies, like the Russian. Understanding the incentives of the Russian political course in the region requires comprehension of the changing and long-standing components of it. Israel, as the closest Western ally in the region, plays a critical role in this respect. This paper focuses on the Israeli vector of Russian foreign policy in the Middle East and the evolution of the bilateral relations in changing world order. Russian-Israeli relations are instrumental for the understanding of change and continuity in the Russian Middle Eastern policy due to the fact that they have long been subordinated to relations with the West during the Cold War and post-Cold War period and yet witnessing a growing dialogue and cooperation for last two decades. Analysis of Russian-Israeli relations requires the use of both constructivist and realist approaches with regards to long-lasting status-seeking/enhancing policy of Russia in its global affairs on the one hand and Russian national interests in the region in security, economical and strategical level on the other.

Keywords: Russian Foreign Policy, The Middle East, Israel, Change, Continuity

Matthew Lubin

(Duke University, USA)

Ebussuud Efendi's Cyprus Fatwa and Ottoman Justifications for War

Abstract:

Some written Ottoman justifications for war in the period 1300-1718 were based upon purely intra-Ottoman concerns; others were based upon more universalistic, or at least international grounds. I propose to compare the fetva of the şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi, permitting an invasion of Cyprus on the grounds of şeriye, with similar fetvas from other Ottoman campaigns. I shall focus on the language of the fetvas, but also the context of authority that gave the fetvas their weight, and reconsider questions of their intended audience, as well.

Keywords: Ebussuud, Ottoman Law, Law of War, Cyprus

Elena Onu

(The National University of Political Studies and Public Administration (SNSPA), Romania)

Impact of Unresolved Conflicts in Ukraine and Georgia on the Euro-Atlantic or Eurasian Orientation of the Two Countries - Comparative Study

Abstract:

The last decade has undergone major political, economic and social changes in the two countries which have led, internally, to the intensification of secessionist tendencies, but also externally, to the volatility of relations between the European Union and NATO, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other part.

Did such events raise questions whether these changes reflect a true divergence between the two countries, or are they simply the result of the interests of national elites?

The paper also places a special emphasis on highlighting how, in the context of the proximity of the Euro-Atlantic structures of the two states, the pro-Russian secessionist elements have militated in support of Eurasian values.

The research is based on the theory of regional security complexes (RSCT / Barry Buzan), the theory of "links and levers" (Steven Lewitsky and Lucan A. Way) and the analysis of the speech of statements by EU, Russia, NATO, Georgian and Ukrainian officials.

Keywords: Unresolved Conflicts, Ukraine, Georgia, Euro-Atlantic Integration, Eurasia

The Temple of All Religions or the Universal Temple is an architectural complex in the Staroye Arakchino Microdistrict of Kazan, Russia.



M10 - Panel: Neighbours of the EU: What is Wrong with it?

FRIDAY // 25 September 2020 // 09:00–11:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Ricardo Sousa
(UAL, Portugal)



PAPERS

Timea Pál

(CEI-IUL, Portugal)

Differentiation in the EU's Relations with its Eastern Neighbours:
What Implications for the Promotion of Labour Standards?

Seray Kilic

(Dokuz Eylul University, Turkey)

Building Resilience in the Neighbourhood:
Securitization on the Agenda

Josif Gjani & Jonida Balla

(University of Tirana, Albania)

The EU after Brexit:
New Options for Differentiated Integration?

Ana Belén Perianes

(University Institute General Gutiérrez Mellado. IUGM-UNED, Spain)

Challenges and Prospects for Future of the EU Relations in Central Asia:
The Special Case of Kazakhstan

Timea Pál

(CEI-IUL, Portugal)

**Differentiation in the EU's Relations with its Eastern Neighbours:
What Implications for the Promotion of Labour Standards?**

Abstract:

This paper examines different patterns of political and economic integration that have emerged between the European Union (EU) and its neighbouring eastern countries, and the prospects and limitations these pose for the promotion of labour standards in the region. Long-sought efforts of the EU to promote labour standards through its foreign policy acquired additional intensity in the framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy. Notwithstanding a common formulation at its outset in 2004, differentiation in EU strategy, on the one hand, and variations across neighbouring countries, on the other, led to significant heterogeneity in the EU's political and market-based labour governance approaches in the eastern neighbourhood. While the EU signed Association Agreements with Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine in 2014 that mandates approximation with EU labour directives, its relations with Armenia and Azerbaijan are still based on Partnership and Cooperation Agreements (PCAs) that contain much weaker provisions in this regard. Beyond this political level, there is also significant variation in the exposures of individual neighbouring countries to market-based pressures by EU lead firms and consumers to adhere to international labour standards. While Azerbaijan, Moldova, and Ukraine export primarily to the EU and rely on trade in consumer-products where sustainability pressures are prominent, trade relations of Armenia and Georgia are much less dependent on the EU and Belarus trades predominantly with other Commonwealth of Independent (CIS) States. Upon a closer examination of these political and economic divergences, implications on labour standards will be explored through the comparative analysis of the fundamental labour rights and some aspects of working conditions in the six eastern neighbouring countries.

Keywords: Eastern Neighbourhood, European Union, Partnership and Cooperation Agreement, Trade, Labour

Seray Kilic

(Dokuz Eylul University, Turkey)

**Building Resilience in the Neighbourhood:
Securitization on the Agenda**

Abstract:

On 1 April 2015, Johannes Hahn, the EU-Commissioner for European Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations, described the EU's neighbourhood as a 'ring of fire' with violent conflicts, uncontrolled migration, organized crime, terrorism, and energy stoppages as pressing problems. His depiction was more than a simple articulation of what was happening in the near abroad then. In fact, Commissioner Hahn's statement was an ostensible acknowledgement of a failure on the EU-side as the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) was launched to create a 'ring of friends' a decade ago. Beyond that, Commissioner Hahn's statement implied the EU's

growing emphasis on the security and stability of its neighbourhood. The EU's desire to bring the legacy of its stabilising and transformative intentions to its Southern neighbours echoed in the 2016 Global Strategy on the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy (EUGS), which set 'resilience building' among the priorities of the EU's foreign and security policy. Seminal contributions show that the EU has clearly adopted a securitizing perspective towards its Southern neighbours since the unfolding of the conflicts and civil wars in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. This paper aims to scrutinize whether the EU's transformative ambitions revealed in the resilience-building aim of the EUGS serves to the persistence of this securitization. In pursuit of this aim, the paper borrows from the two strands of securitization theory: securitization as speech act and securitization as practice. In line with theoretical approaches employed, the paper analyses both the discourse and the policies/actions of the EU towards its Southern neighbours. The analysis proves the existence of such persistence. The paper concludes that the strengthening of the internal-external security nexus -mainly in the migration policies- in the post-2011 period unravels the resilience-securitization nexus and this nexus is increasingly dominating the EU's approach towards its Southern neighbours.

Keywords: European Union, CFSP, Resilience-building, Securitization, EU Global Strategy

Josif Gjani & Jonida Balla

(University of Tirana, Albania)

The EU after Brexit: New Options for Differentiated Integration?

Abstract:

The paper will describe and explain the EU integration process in the Western Balkans through the Europeanization and democratic conditionality concepts and paradigms. In the last twenty years, the EU has used different enlargement strategies and at different speeds. Regarding Western Balkans, the European Commission has always been convinced of the European integration of the region. Also, the countries and their governments have expressed their desire and have shown a commitment to this aim. Among other instruments and conditions, the financial assistance instrument remains one of the most powerful incentives for the development and integration of these countries. In the paper, both Europeanization and democratic conditionality will be analysed through the Instrument for Pre Accession (IPA I & II). This it will be done by giving a clear picture of the phases of the integration process of the Western Balkans countries beginning from the 2000s.

Keywords: EU Financial Assistance, IPA, Western Balkans, European Integration

Ana Belén Perianes

(University Institute General Gutiérrez Mellado. IUGM-UNED, Spain)

**Challenges and Prospects for Future of the EU Relations in Central Asia:
The Special Case of Kazakhstan**

Abstract:

This paper aims to analyse the challenges and prospects for the future EU relations in Central Asia, particularly the special case of Kazakhstan.

In the next years, the EU-Central Asia relations will depend on the interests and developments in both regions and other external factors, like the Chinese or Russian roles in Central Asia.

On the part of the EU, Central Asia has traditionally had a lower priority for its policies given the greater interests and more urgent developments in its immediate neighbourhood, but although this region is not a priority of the EU external affairs, it has become an important niche topic for the Union. The lack of cohesion, the heterogeneity of the EU Member States, and their external engagement priorities will be on the basic factors determining its role towards this region.

Furthermore, for the Central Asian part, despite positive trends in the five countries (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan), gaps in the economic development, trade vectors, external political and economic engagements, development rate of societies, the state of the rule of law, as well as other factors could alienate some countries from others.

With regard to the EU-Central Asia relations, it should be noted that the 2019 EU Strategy on Central Asia sets out a comprehensive approach to Central Asia, but this Strategy does not propose new instruments that could significantly alter the relations between all or some of Central Asian countries with the EU.

The study will analyse why Kazakhstan is especially relevant in the EU relations towards Central Asia. Some key facts explain the more advanced relations between the EU and Kazakhstan: For instance, EU trade and investment are concentrated mainly in Kazakhstan, particularly in the country's oil sector. In addition, the strengthening of dialogue between the EU and Central Asia has led to a new generation of enhanced partnership and cooperation agreements (EPCAs), which elevate relations to a new level, especially in Kazakhstan. In this sense, the EU's bilateral trade relations with Kazakhstan are developed by an EPCA (signed in 2015). Moreover, EU cooperation with Kazakhstan includes other forms of instruments and programmes.

The author will use primary and secondary sources to design and develop this research paper. On the one hand, primary sources will relate to documentary resources, legal documents, official strategies, and political statements. Secondary sources will be related to articles, policy briefs, op-eds, and reports from both EU and Central Asian sources (for instance, the Centre for European Security Studies, OSCE Academy in Bishkek, the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, the China Briefing, and Voices on Central Asia or the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies).

The present study will try to make recommendations for improvement and to identify lines for future research.

Keywords: Eurasia, EU, Central Asia, Kazakhstan, External Relations, Diplomacy

Notre-Dame de Paris is a
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Paris.

M11 – Panel: Politics and Developments in Turkey

FRIDAY // 25 September 2020 // 09:00–11:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Murat Cemrek

(CESRAN International, UK)



PAPERS

Hüsrev Tabak & Seven Erdogan, & Muharrem Dogan

(CESRAN International, UK & Recep Tayyip Erdogan University, Turkey & Recep Tayyip Erdogan University, Turkey)

Women Politics in Turkey amid Secularist Gender Equality and Gender Justice Contestation

Bilge Filiz

(Ankara University, Turkey)

Neoliberal Transition in Turkey on Social Policies and Lessons for Global South

Mark Meirowitz

(State University of New York (SUNY) Maritime College, USA)

Turkish-US Relations and Turkish Foreign Policy:
Status and Prospects

Buket Ökten Sipahioğlu

(Ankara University, Turkey)

Turkish Migration to Europe: A Diasporic Community

Rahman Dag & Mehmet Ferhat Firat

(CESRAN International, UK & Adiyaman University, Turkey)

Securitization and Desecuritization of Energy Resources:
Insights from Alsace-Lorraine for Cyprus Island

Hüsrev Tabak & Seven Erdogan, & Muharrem Dogan

(CESRAN International, UK & Recep Tayyip Erdogan University, Turkey & Recep Tayyip Erdogan University, Turkey)

Women Politics in Turkey amid Secularist Gender Equality and Gender Justice Contestation

Abstract:

This paper problematizes thinking norm localization as a process leading to the creation of a single localized norm and argues that multiple local norms may arise out of localization during norm reception/diffusion. This is empirically examined in the paper in the example of the surfacing of two contestant norms during the reception of the global gender equality norm in Turkey, namely secularist gender equality and gender justice. The paper concludes with a discussion on the implications of multiple localizations for both the norm diffusion research and the global reception of global gender equality.

Keywords: Localization, norm contestation, gender equality, gender justice, Turkey

Bilge Filiz

(Ankara University, Turkey)

Neoliberal Transition in Turkey on Social Policies and Lessons for Global South

Abstract:

The logic behind the neoliberal transition started in the 1980s fits perfectly to Turkish socioeconomic structure as the public responsibility has never been underlined by any social groups; there was no dominant social pressure to act against it. With the systematic slogans such as 'there is no alternative', the neoliberal logic became ingrained into the mind of society easily due to the historical legacy of lack of culture on claiming social rights. In such an environment, in order to satisfy the social needs, the charity acts have been promoted through prioritising the norms of Muslim solidarity culture. The neoliberal transition on social policies follows the institutional path of flexibilisation of the labour market and social security mechanisms. Besides other international actors, the EU plays a significant role in this transformation. Flexible labour contracts and flexible working hours leach into the Turkish labour market with several legislative acts and strategy documents by asserting the EU as a legitimiser. All these transformations are designed to benefit employers. The employees are exposed to the exploitative labour market, where several types of security-related to the labour market are needed. However, the institutional path in Turkey indicates that only policies for employment security and skill reproduction security are promoted within the flexible social protection mechanisms. The main tool on this promotion is designed as active social policies by means of change in mentality and behaviour of the individuals to be more active, more individualistic, self-sufficient, and self-responsible. The work first ideology has become highly dominant in all kinds of social policies, including social assistance. The employability turns out to be a prerequisite and an indispensable condition to claim any kind of social right. This article analyses how the neoliberal transformation on social policy in Turkey has been implemented and what kind of lessons can be taken from a country that has converted a welfare state to a workfare state, which degraded social policies to social cash transfers.

Keywords: Neoliberal Transition, Turkey, Social Policies, Global South, Social Cash Transfers

Mark Meirowitz

(State University of New York (SUNY) Maritime College, USA)

**Turkish-US Relations and Turkish Foreign Policy:
Status and Prospects**

Abstract:

Turkish-US relations are in turmoil. Additional uncertainty has been engendered by the impending US national elections in November 2020. Internationally, Turkey has been involved in conflicts in Syria, Libya, and the Eastern Mediterranean, among others. On the US domestic political side, Turkey has faced strident bi-partisan criticism and pressure from the US Congress, including the passage of Congressional resolutions regarding Turkey's intervention in Syria, with respect to Armenia, including Congress' proposing the imposition of sanctions against Turkey. The US and Turkey are at a critical crossroads, with the potential of a fundamental long-term rift in bilateral US-Turkish relations, primarily caused by US Congressional actions. The result of the national presidential election in the US in November 2020 will be critical to Turkish-US relations. Turkey acquired the Russian S-400 system, which in turn led to Turkey's being terminated from the US F-35 stealth fighter program. President Donald Trump sought to defend Turkey both in Congress and in the context of NATO and prevented the imposition of sanctions against Turkey in response to the acquisition of the S-400 system. The question is whether the US will provide Turkey with the Patriots as a substitute for activating the S-400 system. Internationally, the conflict in Syria continues. Turkey reached an agreement with Libya on the delimitation of its maritime boundaries and has supported the Government of National Accord in Libya, which has been fighting against the opposition forces of General Hiftar, supported by Russian mercenaries, the UAE, and Egypt. The Turkish agreement with Libya has, in turn, affected the States which are exploring for natural gas in the Eastern Mediterranean, including Israel, Greece and the Republic of Cyprus (and other parties), and which formed the Eastern Med Gas Forum, isolating Turkey in its quest for much-needed energy resources. I will discuss the impact of linkages between domestic US politics and Turkey-US bilateral relations, as well as the state of Turkey's international and regional relations as we approach the pivotal US presidential election in November 2020.

Keywords: Turkey, US ForeignPolicy, Libya, Syria, International Relations

Buket Ökten Sipahioğlu

(Ankara University, Turkey)

Turkish Migration to Europe: A Diasporic Community

Abstract:

Migration is always a newsworthy subject since the movement of people in the World never stops. Although the reason is mostly economic and political, there are also religion-related aspects of the migration. Turkey is one of the most popular migration areas in the world with a long migratory history, even before the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Up to the Ottoman State Empire period, Turkish people moved to Anatolia, where they will stay after that, and even after this huge movement, settlement efforts continued. After World War II, one of the biggest migration movements from Turkey was to European countries. European Countries, which were industrially

collapsed, needed work power and many Turkish workers filled this gap, not knowing this movement will change their life and affect the relations between European countries and Turkey. One of the most important steps taken in Turkey recently is the usage of the term 'Turkish diaspora', meaning the Turkish population abroad, outside of Turkey. Turkish diaspora in the world reaches more than 6 million, majority living in Europe. Nevertheless, the Turkish diaspora fails to realise its power, although it could have been politically much more powerful. This paper aims to highlight the political importance of this very important and unnoticed potential for Turkey. This paper tries to answer the question of how Turkey- a Eurasian Country- could use its diaspora as a lobbying power in foreign politics. A Main assumption of the paper is that even though Turkey has a substantial population worldwide, it has no powerful lobby in the world. The current political party in Turkey, JDP, handles diasporic policy seriously even though there are still much more to do. Having an effective lobby power will also straighten Turkish foreign policy, especially about Turkey-European Union relations. Also, Turkey would strengthen its position about problematical political issues like the Armenian problem. This paper concludes with suggestions like empowering NGOs in Europe, recall Euro-Turks from Europe to educate "diasporic" institutions in Europe as well as merge with Turkey. Also, new commissions or ministries about migration could be established in Turkey in order to raise awareness and build new policies about the Turkish diaspora. Surely one of the most important steps to be taken is to establish Turkish cultural centers worldwide in order to introduce Turkish language and culture as well as history to the young Turkish diaspora. In this way, the new Turkish origin generation (4th and 5th generation) born and raised in Europe can get to know Turkey better. Political representation of young Euro-Turks in European politics is also an important aspect of the lobbying strategy.

Keywords: Diaspora, Migration, Turkey, Europe, Eurasia, Lobbying.

Rahman Dag & Mehmet Ferhat Firat

(CESRAN International, UK & Adiyaman University, Turkey)

Securitization and Desecuritization of Energy Resources: Insights from Alsace-Lorraine for Cyprus Island

Abstract:

Energy resources since the industrial revolution have been paramount for both developing and developed countries. Therefore, the urgent need for and control over energy resources in order to have an advantage against rivalries have become a significant part of national security. From the late 18th century to the early 20th century, coal and gasoline were major energy resources to make machines operational, and throughout the 20th century till present previous energy resources have been gradually replaced by fossil fuels, oil, and gas. While transformation is happening, dependency on energy resources in the fields ranging from house warming to jet fuels dramatically increased. Having adequate energy resources, in this sense, provides industrially and economically strategic advantages for a country, so military or political struggles over energy resources have been a salient issue in international relations. This paper seeks to examine the struggle over energy resources under the light of the Alsace-Lorraine case and compare the results with the Cyprus case. In doing so, securitization studies facilitate theoretical ground on how

energy resources are securitized, which leads to a country to take extreme cautions, including armed conflict and on how energy resources are de-securitized, which leads to changes in foreign policies from conflict to cooperation.

Keywords: Securitization, De-securitization, Energy Resources, Alsace-Lorraine, Cyprus Issue, Germany-France, Turkey-Greece



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