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12-15 September 2023

Lisbon | Portugal

10th Annual Conference on International Studies

Conference Programme & Abstract Book

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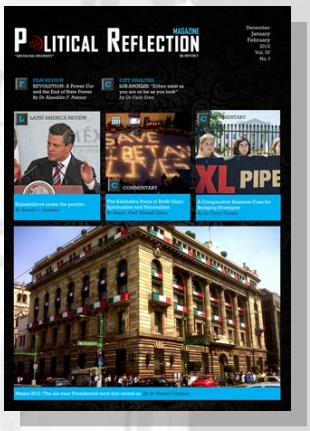

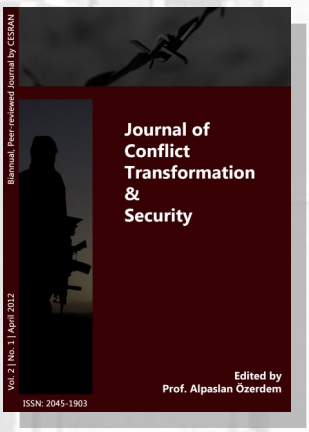

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- Assoc. Professor Ozgur Tufekci – CESRAN International, UK
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- Professor Oktay F. Tanrısever – Middle East Technical University, Turkey
- Professor Frances Trix – Indiana University, USA
- Professor Stefan Wolff – University of Birmingham, UK

* The surnames are listed in alphabetical order

Day 1 - Tuesday, 12 September 2023			
09h00 - 09h30	**Registration: In Auditorium 1**		
09h30 - 10h00	**Welcome Speeches:** **Ken Booth** (Hon. Presidant of CESRAN Int.) **Luis Tomé** (Director of OBSERVARE-UAL) **Ozgur Tufekci** (Director of CESRAN Int.)	JOIN NOW	zoom
10h00 - 11h00	**Keynote Speech (In Auditorium 1- Zoom Link 1)** ***Communicating Responsibly between Adversaries in Nuclear Crises*** **Professor Nicholas Wheeler** (University of Birmingham) **Moderation: Professor Özgür Tüfekçi**	JOIN NOW	zoom
11h00 - 11h30	**Coffee Break**		
11h30 - 13h30	**Panel 01**	JOIN NOW	zoom
13h30 - 14h30	**Lunch Break**		
14h30 - 15h30	**In Conversation (In Auditorium 1- Zoom Link 1)** **Professor Sandra Dias Fernandes** (University of Minho) will be in conversation with **Professor Stefan Wolff** (University of Birmingham) about ***Russia-Ukraine War***.	JOIN NOW	zoom
15h30 - 17h30	**Panel 02**	JOIN NOW	zoom
15h30 - 17h30	**Panel 03**	JOIN NOW	zoom
17h30 - 18h00	**Coffee Break**		
18h00 - 19h30	**Panel 04**	JOIN NOW	zoom
Day 2 - Wednesday, 13 September 2023			
09h30 - 11h30	**Panel 05**	JOIN NOW	zoom
11h30 - 13h00	**Lunch Break**		
13h00 - 15h00	**Panel 06**	JOIN NOW	zoom
15h00 - 15h30	**Coffee Break**		
15h30 - 17h30	**Panel 07**	JOIN NOW	zoom
15h30 - 17h30	**Panel 08**	JOIN NOW	zoom
Day 3 - Thursday, 14 September 2023			
09h00 - 11h00	**Panel 09**	JOIN NOW	zoom
11h00 - 13h00	**Panel 10**	JOIN NOW	zoom
14h00 - 16h00	**Panel 11**	JOIN NOW	zoom
16h00 - 17h00	**Book Discussion**	JOIN NOW	zoom
16h45 - 17h15	**Closing session:** **Ken Booth** (Hon. Presidant of CESRAN Int.) **Luis Tomé** (Director of OBSERVARE-UAL) **Ozgur Tufekci** (Director of CESRAN Int.)	JOIN NOW	zoom

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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.

Panel 01 - Hybrid – In Auditorium 1- Zoom Link 1
International System Change and Middle East Politics

TUESDAY // 12 September 2023 // 11:30 - 13:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Associate Professor Rahman Dag

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PAPERS

The Gulf Moment: An Emergent Region in an Uncertain Order in the Middle East
Corina Lozovan

Geopolitical Contexts Between Brazil, the United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran: The Case of Ships Retained at the Port of Paranaguá
Professor Carlos Augusto Dos Santos Nascimento Martins

The Accords Before Abraham's
Marta Pereira

China as a Middle East Regional Power
Assistant Professor Vítor Ramon Fernandes

Examining the Five Factors of Securitization in the Decline of Afghanistan as Nation-State
Ihsanullah Omarkhail

Management of Statelessness in the Middle East
Professor Nergis Canefe

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.

In Conversation

Hybrid – In Auditorium 1- Zoom Link 1

TUESDAY // 12 September 2023 // 14:30 - 15:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

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Professor Sandra Dias Fernandes will be in conversation with **Professor Stefan Wolff** about **Russia-Ukraine War**.

Professor Sandra Dias Fernandes

(University of Minho)

Professor Stefan Wolff

(University of Birmingham)

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.

Panel 02 – Hybrid – In Room 90- Zoom Link 2
Gender, Religion and Politics

TUESDAY // 12 September 2023 // 15:30 - 17:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Professor Luisa Godinho

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PAPERS

The Position of Islamic Armed Groups towards International and Humanitarian Organizations: Content Analysis of "Al-Somood" and "Voice of Khorasan" Magazines **(Online)**
Associate Professor Zineb Benaoudeh and Marwan Shehadeh

At Home Among Strangers, a Stranger Among His Own or What is It like to Be a Muslim Woman in a Secular, Post-soviet Country Striving for So Called Modern-Civilised Society? **(Face-to-Face)**
Umidakhon Narimanova

30 Years of Mercosur – An Analysis of the Regional Integration Project: Fragmentation and Latin Identity in the Encounter Between Lusoamerica and Hispanoamerica **(Face-to-Face)**
Professor Carlos Augusto Dos Santos Nascimento Martins

Social Rights and The Decolonial Process in the Context of the South American Cone: Latin America and Africa, In-Between **(Face-to-Face)**
Professor Carlos Augusto Dos Santos Nascimento Martins

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

Panel 03 – Hybrid – In Auditorium 1- Zoom Link 1
Nationalism and the Politics of Identity

TUESDAY // 12 September 2023 // 15:30 - 17:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

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CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Professor Murat Çemrek

PAPERS

Chega! in the European Context:
Similarities and Differences to Other Nationalist-Populist Movements
Assistant Professor Paulo Miguel Madeira and Katielle Silva

Portugal in the Arctic in the 21st Century at the Intersection of Maritime and Human Securities in the North Atlantic and Arctic Oceans
Scenario Thinking (2023-2035)
Céline Rodrigues

Levers of influence of Turkey in the Construction of the Identity of the De Facto States in the Black Sea Area
Associate Professor Elena Onu

Torn between the Lines of Border:
The Pakhtuns of Pakistan and Afghanistan in Search of Identity
Assistant Professor Priyanka Dutta Chowdhury

Wither the Homeland: Central Asians as Russian Citizens
Marintha Miles

The Russian Orthodox Holy Trinity Cathedral in Karakol, Kyrgyzstan

Panel 04 – Hybrid – In Auditorium 1- Zoom Link 1

Energy Diplomacy and Security Policies

TUESDAY // 12 September 2023 // 18:00 - 19:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Dr Marco Marsili

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PAPERS

Energy Diplomacy versus Market Rules. The Trans-Caspian Gas Pipeline Saga
Senior Lecturer Carlo Frappi

Overlap and Competition? The EU's and NATO's Role in Securing the Offshore Energy Infrastructure in Europe during the War in Ukraine
Assistant Professor Roxana Andrei and Dimitar Atanasov

The Relevance of Energy for EU-Kazakhstan Bilateral Relations: From Energy Security to Trade in Times of Uncertainty
Associate Professor Ana Belén Perianes

The Psycho Political Meaning of Russia's Constant Phobia Security in International Relations
Iancu Miruna Mădălina and Moldovan Bogdaa

The Iranian nuclear deal (JPCOA)
The state-of-the-art and its implications between Diplomacy and Public Security
Senior Lecturer Farian Sabahi

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.

Panel 05 – Hybrid - In Auditorium 1- Zoom Link 1

Geopolitical Rivalry in Eurasia

WEDNESDAY // 13 September 2023 // 09:30 - 11:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Associate Professor Ozgur Tufekci

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PAPERS

Chinese-Russian Approaches to Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO): A Comparative Analysis **(Online)**
Roshan Taj Humayun

International Agenda in the "Crooked Mirror" of I. Stalin's Gulag in the 1930s: From "The Workers' Solidarity" to the Pro-Fascist Camp Revolt **(Online)**
Oksana Ermolaeva

The Stalemate of Peace Negotiation: Status Ambiguity of Karabakh **(Online)**
Assistan Professor Orkhan Valiyev

Defining peace: An Analysis of the Content of the European Union, Brazil, and China Discourses on the Ukrainian War **(Face-to-Face)**
Luis Gouveia Junior

The Context of Social Harmony in Xi's China: Ideological and Systemic Interpretations in Xinjiang **(Face-to-Face)**
Assistant Professor Sadia Rahman and Assistant Professor Müge Yüce

Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons: Case study of South Asia **(Face-to-Face)**
Syeda Saiqa Bukhari

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

Panel 06 – Hybrid – In Auditorium 1- Zoom Link 1

Power Politics in Emerging International System

WEDNESDAY // 13 September 2023 // 13:00 - 15:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Professor Daniel Cardoso

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PAPERS

Exploring the EU's Engagement in Latin America:
Challenges and Opportunities Amidst US-China Competition
Professor Florencia Rubiolo

Latin America's Trade Amidst the Post-globalization:
A New Opportunity Towards Its De-Primarization
Senior Lecturer Valeria Puga-Alvarez

Reconsidering Isolationism:
An Analytical Tool for Examining Contemporary Foreign Policy Crises
Michal Bula

Nuclear Non-Proliferation:
Issues and Steps for the 21st Century
Senior Lecturer Ioana Constantin-Bercean

Role of Game Theory on International Relation to Analyse Iran-USA Relation
Professor Saeed Seyed Agha Banihashemi

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.

Panel 07 – Hybrid – In Room 90- Zoom Link 2

Eastern Europe at the Centre Again?

WEDNESDAY // 13 September 2023 // 15:30 - 17:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Professor Sónia Sénica

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PAPERS

The Influence of the EU on
the Bosnia-Herzegovina's Safe and Secure Environment
Paulo Zagalo

Multi-Track EU Enlargement in The First Year of War:
The Bosnian and Georgian Cases
Pedro Cunha da Silva

Air Power in Humanitarian Interventions:
A Comparison of Pre-and post-Kosovo Cases
Ekrem Ok and Associate Professor Ozgur Tufekci

Exploring Students' International Mobility in Kazakhstan
in the Context of the Russia-Ukraine War
Ainur Almukhambetova

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

Panel 08 – Hybrid – In Auditorium 1 - Zoom Link 1

"Atlantic-Pacific": Geopolitical and Security Ties between Europe and Asia-Pacific

WEDNESDAY // 13 September 2023 // 15:30 - 17:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Professor Luis Tome

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PAPERS

A Pact Between Two Doves?
An analysis of EU-Japan security cooperation in the Indo-Pacific **(Online)**
Tijs ter Haar

China's Role in a Multipolar World **(Online)**
Professor Andrew K P Leung

Global Integration Special Purpose Vehicle as Tool of Interregional Cooperation:
Pros and Cons **(Online)**
Professor Andrey Kinyakin

The Parliamentary Assembly of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the Consolidation of Article 2 of the Washington Treaty (1949) **(Face-to-Face)**
Nadia Loureiro

China's Orwellian Society in the making:
the Security Dimension of the Digital Silk Road **(Face-to-Face)**
Assistant Professor Paulo Afonso B. Duarte, António Tavares, Nasim Mosavi, and Fernando Amorim

Panel 09 - Online

EU Defence Policy after Russia-Ukraine War

THURSDAY // 14 September 2023 // 09:00 - 11:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Professor Sandra Dias Fernandes

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PAPERS

EU's Relations with Eastern Partnership Countries during the Russia-Ukraine War
Associate Professor Nevra Esentürk

A Study of the British Security Disembedding Mechanism from a Comparative Political Perspective: Centering on the Bosnia War and the Russian-Ukrainian War
Yuhong Li and Luyu Mao

Russia's Soft Power Out of Balance: How to Regain Influence in Eastern Europe in Times of War
Dr. Adrian Pogacian

Institutional Inertia and Change: Explaining the Czech and Portuguese Engagement in European Defense Market Integration
Professor Thomas Weiss, Professor Sandra Dias Fernandes, Professor M. Pisklová

Eastern European Postcolonial Resistance: Analysing Public Diplomacy Strategies of Female Leaders on Twitter during the Russo-Ukrainian War
Amber Brittain-Hale

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

Panel 10 - Online

International System Change and Middle East Politics

THURSDAY // 14 September 2023 // 11:00 - 13:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Associate Professor Rahman Dag

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PAPERS

Paradiplomacy as a Challenge or Opportunity for Diplomacy: Lessons from Türkiye

Associate Professor Emrah Atar and Associate Professor Seven Erdoğan

A New Dimension in Cyprus Problem: Energy

Dr. Mehmet Ferhat Fırat

Turkish Foreign Policy after the May 2023 Elections

Professor Mark Meirowitz

Crossroads as the Venue for the Turkish Foreign Policy

Professor Murat Çemrek

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 11

Global Governance on Global Issues (Online)

THURSDAY // 14 September 2023 // 14:00 - 16:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Professor Ana Isabel Xavier

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PAPERS

Climate Change: A Global Governance Challenge, Requiring Local Specific Responses – The Challenge of Formulating a Successful Response at the Appropriate Governance Level
Lecturer Christian Ploberger

Success Criteria for the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations
Mehmet Şirin Oğurlu

Cultural Heritage in Times of Armed Conflicts,
From Security to Strategy
Eva Portel

The Urgent Need to Redefine Peace
A Case Study Among Gypsies in Iraq
Sarah Edgcumbe

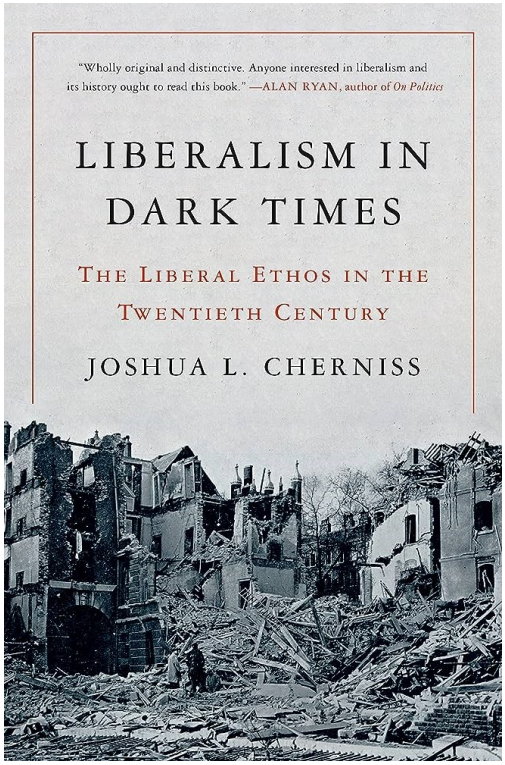
The Human Security - Maritime Security Causal Link:
The Case of the Gulf of Guinea
Lecturer António Alexandre

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 (Online)

THURSDAY // 14 September 2023 // 16:00 - 17:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)



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Liberalism in Dark Times:
The Liberal Ethos in the Twentieth Century

Associate Professor Joshua L. Cherniss

Moderation: Associate Professor Rahman DAG

(The code is **DRK23. The code** gives attendees the opportunity to buy *Liberalism in Dark Times* (either in Hardback or in Paperback) on the website (https://press.princeton.edu/) with a 30% discount. The direct link to the book is this one: https://press.princeton.edu/books/paperback/9780691220932/liberalism-in-dark-times)

Participant List			
Adrian Pogacian	Dr	ReThinking Europe CESRAN International	Romania United Kingdom
Amber Brittain-Hale	PhD Student	Pepperdine University	USA
Ana Belén Perianes	Associate Professor	University Institute General Gutiérrez Mellado. IUGM-UNED	Spain
Ana Isabel Xavier	Associate Professor	OBSERVARE-UAL	Portugal
Andrey Kinyakin	Associate Professor	Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA) / Universität Potsdam	Germany
Andrew K P Leung	Professor	International Consultants & Investments, Hong Kong	China
António Alexandre	Lecturer	OBSERVARE-UAL	Portugal
António Tavares	Professor	Universidade Lusófona	Portugal
Carlo Frappi	Senior Lecturer	Ca' Foscari University	Italy
Carlos Augusto Dos Santos Nascimento Martins	Professor	Instituto Superior do Litoral do Paraná - ISULPAR	Brazil
Céline Rodrigues	PhD Student	Universidade Nova de Lisboa	Portugal
Christian Ploberger	Lecturer	Rajamangala University of Technology Tawan-Ok, Bangkok	Thailand
Corina Lozovan	PhD Student	Universidade Católica Portuguesa (Catholic University of Portugal)	Portugal
Daniel Cardoso	Professor	OBSERVARE-UAL	Portugal
Dimitar Atanasov		CEI-ISCTE (Centre for International Studies - University Institute of Lisbon)	Portugal
Ekrem Ok	Lecturer	Agri Ibrahim Cecen University CESRAN International	Türkiye United Kingdom
Elena Onu	Associate Professor	The National University of Political Studies and Public Administration (SNSPA)	Romania
Emrah Atar	Associate Professor	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan University CESRAN International	Türkiye United Kingdom
Eva Portel	PhD Student	Sciences Po Bordeaux	France
Farian Sabahi	Senior Lecturer	Insubria University	Italy
Fernando Amorim	Assistant Professor	UAL	Portugal
Florencia Rubiolo	Professor	CONICET & Universidad Blas Pascal and OBSERVARE	Portugal
Iancu Miruna Mădălina	Lecturer	Dimitrie Cantemir University of Târgu Mureș	Romania
Ihsanullah Omarkhail	PhD Student	Zhejiang University	Afghanistan

Ioana Constantin-Bercean	Senior Lecturer	"Ion I.C. Brătianu" Institute of Political Science and International Relations	Romania
Joshua L. Cherniss	Associate Professor	Georgetown University	USA
Katielle Silva	Dr	OBSERVARE-UAL	Portugal
Ken Booth	Professor	CESRAN International	United Kingdom
Luis Tomé	Professor	OBSERVARE-UAL	Portugal
Luisa Godinho	Professor	OBSERVARE-UAL	Portugal
Luis Gouveia Junior	PhD Student	University of Coimbra	Portugal
Luyu Mao	PhD Student	Nanjing University	China
Miroslava Pisklová	Researcher	The Slovak Foreign Policy Association	Slovakia
Marco Marsili	Dr	CEI-IUL, CIEP-UCP, CINAMIL, CIDIUM	Portugal
Marintha Miles	Lecturer	George Mason University/ George Washington University	USA
Mark Meirowitz	Professor	SUNY Maritime College	USA
Marwan Shehadeh	Dr	Medicine Sans Frontier	
Marta Pereira	PhD Student	ISCSP University of Lisbon	Portugal
Mehmet Ferhat Firat	Dr	Adiyaman University	Türkiye
Mehmet Şirin Oğurlu	MA Student	Zonguldak Bulent Ecevit University	Türkiye
Michal Bula	PhD Student	Charles University	Czech Republic
Moldovan Bogdaa		Dimitrie Cantemir University of Târgu Mureș	Romania
Murat Cemrek	Professor	Necmettin Erbakan University	Türkiye
Müge Yüce	Assistant Professor	Atatürk University	Türkiye
Nadia Loureiro	PhD Student	FACSH, Nova University	Portugal
Nasim Mosavi		University of Minho	Portugal
Nergis Canefe	Professor	York University CESRAN International	Canada United Kingdom
Nevra Esentürk	Associate Professor	Yalova University	Türkiye
Nicholas Wheeler	Professor	University of Birmingham	United Kingdom
Oksana Ermolaeva	Reader	EuropeNow e-journal (research editor)	Spain
Orkhan Valiyev	Assistant Professor	Khazar University CESRAN International	Azerbaijan United Kingdom
Ozgur Tufekci	Associate Professor	CESRAN International Karadeniz Technical University	United Kingdom Türkiye

Paulo Afonso B. Duarte	Assistant Professor	OBSERVARE-UAL	Portugal
Paulo Miguel Madeira	Assistant Professor	OBSERVARE-UAL	Portugal
Paulo Zagalo	PhD Student	Academia Militar; Instituto Universitário Militar	Portugal
Pedro Cunha da Silva	PhD Student	NOVA University of Lisbon	Portugal
Priyanka Dutta Chowdhury	Assistant Professor	Kalna College	India
Rahman Dag	Associate Professor	CESRAN International Zonguldak Bülent Ecevit University	United Kingdom Türkiye
Roshan Taj Humayun	PhD Student	Istanbul Sbahattin Zaim University	Türkiye
Roxana Andrei	Assistant Professor	CEI-ISCTE - University Institute of Lisbon	Portugal
Sadia Rahman	Assistant Professor	Atatürk University	Türkiye
Saeed Seyed Agha Banihashemi	Professor	School of International Relations	Iran
Sandra Dias Fernandes	Professor	University of Minho	Portugal
Sarah Edgcumbe	PhD Student	University of St Andrews	United Kingdom
Seven Erdoğan	Associate Professor	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan University	Türkiye
Sonia Senica	Assistant Professor	IPRI-NOVA	Portugal
Stefan Wolff	Professor	University of Birmingham	United Kingdom
Syeda Saiqa Bukhari	PhD Student	University of Vienna	Austria
Thomas Weiss	Professor	City University of New York	USA
Tijs ter Haar	MA Student	KU Leuven	Belgium
Umidakhon Narimanova	PhD Student	The Academy of Public Administration under the President of Republic of Uzbekistan	Uzbekistan
Valeria Puga-Alvarez	Senior Lecturer	Pontifical Catholic University of Ecuador (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador -PUCE)	Ecuador
Vítor Ramon Fernandes	Assistant Professor	Universidade Lusíada de Lisboa	Portugal
Yuhong Li	PhD Student	Nanjing University	China
Zineb Benaoudeh	Associate Professor	Algeria 3 University	Algeria

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.

Panel 01 - Hybrid – In Auditorium 1- Zoom Link 1
International System Change and Middle East Politics

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PAPERS

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The Gulf Moment:
An Emergent Region in an Uncertain Order in the Middle East

Corina Lozovan

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Abstract:

The Middle East is a region often seen through conflict or religious lenses, haunted by sectarianism divisions. Even the notion of the Middle East itself can be contested and reconsidered in the current geopolitical reconfigurations. In this regard, the analysis fails to consider the recent changes swiftly occurring in different areas of the region, with a new order emerging by defying the old power competition. With this in mind, the paper intends to examine the emerging configuration by looking at the emergence of the Gulf region, through Saudi Arabia's influence and rise, in the framework of Israel's geopolitical alignment with some Arab countries and Iran's instability and thus, a threat to the region.

The first part will provide an analysis of how the external environment is affecting the region. Despite the volatility in the present state of the international order, the Arab states are demonstrating a willingness to work without a superpower patron, but with several alliances. The second argument is that, by taking that into consideration, today's Middle East is becoming more internally multipolar with the power shifting towards the Gulf, which requires new lenses to understand the future configuration that is evolving. Finally, contrary to the views of many in the West, people in the region are increasingly optimistic and support transformational modernisation programmes, which impacts the new order.

Keywords: Middle East, Gulf Region, New Order, Competition

Geopolitical Contexts Between Brazil, The United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran: The Case of Ships Retained at the Port of Paranaguá

Professor Carlos Augusto Dos Santos Nascimento Martins

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Abstract:

His research aims to analyse the Brazil participation in the economic embargoes imposed unilaterally by the United States of America against the Islamic Republic of Iran. It seeks to understand the expected behaviour of Brazil in its international relations, notably in the last historic block after 2018 when the current Brazilian government inaugurates what analysts call "automatic alignment" with the US government elected in 2016. The research aims to understand how Brazil's alignment may influence its international relations with other global actors, notably partners in the European community. and the countries of the Middle East.

Keywords: Brazil, United States, Iran, Economic Embargoes, International Trade, Regional Interests

The Accords Before Abraham's

Marta Pereira

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Abstract:

By September 2020 the world was surprised by the White House's announcement of the normalization treaties between Israel and two Gulf Monarchies, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates. It is imperative, nonetheless, to not consider the Abraham Accords as a normalization moment isolated from the framework of the relations between Israel and the Arab and Muslim states. It is important to remember the past peace treaties with Israel, namely the 1979 Peace Treaty with Egypt and the 1994 Peace Treaty with Jordan. Given that these agreements already existed, the innovation of the Abraham Accords in terms of international and regional relations is called into question.

Therefore, the research question that will guide this paper is the following: How is the 2020 Abraham Accords an innovation compared with the Peace Treaties celebrated between Israel and Egypt in 1979 and with Jordan in 1994? The main goal of this investigation work is to understand the differences between the Abraham Accords and the cited Peace Treaties at the sociohistorical level and at the impact on International Relations according to the Theory of the Balance of Threat and the Theory of the Alliance, both by Stephen Walt. The main argument of this paper is that it is understood that the Abraham Accords are of a different nature from the 1979 Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel and from the 1994 Peace Treaty between Israel and Jordan as the sociohistorical, geopolitical and geostrategic contexts were essentially distinct, as it is perceived by applying the Theory of the Balance of Threat and the Theory of the Alliance, both by Stephen Walt. Therefore, the impacts on the regional and international relations of each treaty were distinct.

To achieve these goals this study will follow this methodology. Firstly, it is considered a positivist study. Also, as there will be a validation of the theoretical frameworks that will be used, this study is deductive. It will agglomerate in itself two types of investigations: it will be descriptive and explicative investigations. It is mainly a comparative study, as the 1979 and 1994 Peace Treaties with Israel will be compared with the Abraham Accords. This study will also use the processual and diachronic historical method to study the before and after of the Peace Treaties and the Accords. Every data will be submitted through discourse analysis.

One of the main conclusions of this article is that both the 1979 and the 1994 Peace Treaties were celebrated after not being victorious in the wars against Israel and they needed peace with the Jewish state to recover. Therefore, these Peace Treaties were seen as an alliance, specifically, a positive balancing with Israel. On the other hand, the Abraham Accords came not from a context of war, as the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain never fought Israel, but from a context of perceiving a common threat, Iran. Consequently, they allied with Israel on a positive and negative balancing alliance.

Keywords: Abraham Accords, Peace Treaties, Middle East, Israel, Jordan, Egypt

China as a Middle East Regional Power

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Abstract:

At a time when the U.S. still seems to be reducing its presence in the Middle East China is clearly taking the opposite direction. However, China has had a long-standing interest in the region. Firstly, to try to isolate Taiwan given that the latter had been able to establish close relations with some of the countries in the Arabian Peninsula until the late 1980s. Then, during the Iraq-Iran war between 1980 and 1988, China supplied weaponry to both countries. Presently, the Chinese government maintains friendly diplomatic relations with most, if not all, of the countries in the region, most notably, Saudi Arabia and Iran, but also Israel and many others. It has also showed concern over the Palestinian cause and to be in favour of a Palestinian state. All this despite existing tensions and divergences among many of those countries. China has also been able to maintain good diplomatic and trading relations with Iran—a permanent member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization since 2021—and to somewhat take advantage of Iran's international isolation. Moreover, China recently mediated and agreement between Saudi Arabia and Iran for a normalisation of diplomatic relations. Much of that may be driven by its energy needs, both in terms of natural gas and oil, that goes back to the 1990s and accelerated since Xi Jinping came to power in 2013. However, it goes well beyond that. In addition to investment interests China is presently one of the main trading partners of several countries in the Middle East—many of them members of the Gulf Cooperation Council— much of it in connection with the Belt and Road initiative. Significantly, unlike the U.S. China does not attempt to interfere in those countries' domestic affairs and political regimes, which also facilitates the establishment of cooperating relations between all those countries. China clearly seems determined to become the major power in the region. This article addresses the implications of all this for Middle East politics but also for the stability of the region and the international system.

Keywords: China, Middle East, Regional Power, Energy, Saudi Arabia, Iran

Examining the Five Factors of Securitization in the Decline of Afghanistan as Nation-State

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Abstract:

This article examines the five factors of securitization that are threatening Afghanistan such as social cohesion, non-state armed groups, political inclusivity, economic meltdown, and global climate change. The mentioned factors will be under the analysis of the paper along with the interviews of the Taliban officials. The authors also argue that such factors will contribute to the decline of Afghanistan as a nation-state unless the Taliban change their policies. The authors also argue that Taliban policy has not changed. This will allow insurgents, mainly Islamic State, to recruit Afghans. The article uses qualitative sources to analyse state-level securitization in Afghanistan.

Keywords: Security, Social, Climate Change, Afghanistan, Taliban

Management of Statelessness in the Middle East

Professor Nergis Canefe

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Abstract:

This paper examines strategies employed in situ in select countries in Jordan and Lebanon, where there have been millions of dispossessed and stateless people since WWII. The region is also marked by a long history of normalization of such displacements. The project will offer a critical intervention vis-à-vis the production of knowledge on statelessness and forced migration nexus emanating from the regional landscape of nationhood. It will question the validity of established legal approaches to human rights and humanitarian law applied to situations of mass dispossession. The key objectives of the project are:

1) To determine the ways contemporary forms of statelessness differ from the classical idea of statelessness originating from the succession of states in the immediate post-WWII period with specific emphasis on the post-imperial age of migration in the MENA.

2) To analyse the implications of the exclusive emphasis on citizenship acquisition in terms of international law's application to statelessness as evidenced by the 1954 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons and the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness;

3) To provide a critique of the streamlined approach to the eradication of statelessness by International bodies such as the UNHCR and deliver an alternative approach based on the practices of constitutional protections and derivative applications of human rights in the selected hubs of statelessness in the MENA, including the Syrian crisis

4) To interrogate whether the current construction of statelessness is adequate to deal with the historical phenomenon of statelessness at a regional scale and identify the results of confining statelessness merely to a legal status/condition, which in turn contributes to the reproduction of statelessness as a multi-generational form of injustice.

Statelessness is a quasi-legal category, and its current forms defy the traditional citizen/stateless binary exemplified by Hannah Arendt's work. Citizenship policies categorically reflect the desire to achieve a perfect fit between the inhabitant population and the national legal rights framework despite the need for a continual shift from jus sanguinis to jus soli membership. The existence of millions of non-status, temporary, stateless, and borderland populations; population flows across postcolonial border formations, and the exponential growth of global formal and informal labour markets characterized by immigrant labour economies largely built on precarity constitute the new faces of statelessness. Historically, however, statelessness typically occurred due to inequitable laws, transfer of territory between countries, new border regimes, civil war, flawed or discriminatory administrative practices, lack of birth registration, or outright withdrawal of citizenship rights.

Keywords: Statelessness, Forced Migration, Governance, International Law

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.

Panel 02 – Hybrid – In Room 90- Zoom Link 2
Gender, Religion and Politics

TUESDAY // 12 September 2023 // 15:30 - 17:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Professor Luisa Godinho

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PAPERS

The Position of Islamic Armed Groups towards International and Humanitarian Organizations: Content Analysis of "Al-Somood" and "Voice of Khorasan" Magazines **(Online)**
Associate Professor Zineb Benaoudeh and Marwan Shehadeh

At Home Among Strangers, a Stranger Among His Own or What is It like to Be a Muslim Woman in a Secular, Post-soviet Country Striving for So Called Modern-Civilised Society? **(Face-to-Face)**
Umidakhon Narimanova

30 Years of Mercosur – An Analysis of the Regional Integration Project: Fragmentation and Latin Identity in the Encounter Between Lusoamerica and Hispanoamerica **(Face-to-Face)**
Professor Carlos Augusto Dos Santos Nascimento Martins

Social Rights and The Decolonial Process in the Context of the South American Cone: Latin America and Africa, In-Between **(Face-to-Face)**
Professor Carlos Augusto Dos Santos Nascimento Martins

The Position of Islamic Armed Groups towards International and Humanitarian Organizations: Content Analysis of "Al-Somood" and "Voice of Khorasan" Magazines

Associate Professor Zineb Benaoudeh and Marwan Shehadeh

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Abstract:

This descriptive analytical study comes; To reveal the position of armed Islamic groups towards international and humanitarian organizations, by analysing the content of articles that dealt with the subject, in the magazines "Al-Sumoud", issued by the Afghan Taliban movement, and "Voice of Khorasan", issued by the "Islamic State" organization - Khorasan Province, which were They were issued in Arabic.

This study seeks to achieve a set of goals, the most important of which are: identifying the difference between international and international humanitarian organizations, as well as identifying the position of the Afghan Taliban movement and the branch of the "Islamic State" organization in Afghanistan regarding international and humanitarian organizations, and international relations in the ideology of armed Islamic groups, not to mention The position of these groups towards the United Nations and international humanitarian organizations in general and the International Committee of the Red Cross in particular is to spare workers in international and international humanitarian organizations the risks of being kidnapped and killed.

The study concluded that the position of the armed Islamic groups varies with regard to the international humanitarian organizations and depends on the nature of the activity and the work that they carry out. When the position of those groups towards the international organizations, led by the United Nations, is the same, which is that they do not recognize them, refuse to deal with them, and target them in their military operations.

Keywords: The Position, Armed Groups, International Organizations, and International Humanitarian Organizations

At Home Among Strangers, a Stranger Among His Own or What is It like to Be a Muslim Woman in a Secular, Post-soviet Country Striving for So Called Modern-Civilised Society?

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Abstract:

Globally TV and social media became an extremely very powerful tool in influencing and manipulating people and their minds, not to mention shaping their views particularly on everything. The West heavily promotes Islam as a source of evilness, the imminent menace to civilisation, democracy and freedom whereas Muslims are perceived as terrorists. This is done purposefully to distract people from obvious hazard, problems they are to face.

The West promotes Islam as a source of terrorism and Muslims as terrorists that harm society and all bad come from them. Islam is a religion of peace. The holy book Quran promotes humanistic values without separating people from one another. There is a wrong verdict that Islam is about forcing people to accept religion. Islam is very liberal, respectful towards people's choice and freedom, it enjoins on people to be responsible for their choices.

We live in a society where people have varied views and opinions, and it is natural, but what is unnatural is that these views are most of the time falsely shaped by the media. Sadly, there are "ignorant" "educated" people with their strong views, regardless they are lack of knowledge or proper understanding about Islam, have false perceptions and thinking that Islam is about compelling, torture, disrespect, intolerance to non-Muslims. Their misinterpretations are done sometimes intentionally, sometimes unconsciously again due to insufficient knowledge, although a certain percentage of that people are so called educated, considered civilised and successful in a secular society. Paradox, these people are statistically Muslims, they consider themselves as ones, but nine out of ten of these people never read the Quran in their own languages, not mentioning in Arabic, but still they have strong "understanding" shaped by the Soviet regime (it's dreadful legacy) and modern media that Islam is degradation and ignorance, whereas people who practise it are a big threat to the society, particularly females wearing scarves whose number is booming drastically. By blindly following so called modernisation which is just about westernisation and secularisation to become so called civilised societies nations are destroying and chopping of their cultural roots heritage and beliefs.

In the article the author explores the matter of Islamophobia by trying to find answers to the following questions: Why are educated people in Central Asia particularly in Uzbekistan regardless of being (considered) Muslims are against women wearing scarves and promote it as oppression and ignorance? And the second: Is the booming number of covered females in Uzbekistan about faith or simply a fad trend?

Keywords: Women, Education, Islamophobia, Secularism, Modernisation

30 Years of Mercosur – An Analysis of the Regional Integration Project: Fragmentation and Latin Identity in the Encounter Between Lusoamerica and Hispanoamerica

Professor Carlos Augusto Dos Santos Nascimento Martins

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Abstract:

This article presents about the characteristics of the integration discourse and its partners in the American continent in a study with more related claims as indemnity barriers between the, identified in the Latin American context Mercosur Mercosul and Hispanic-American neighbours heirs Viceroyalty of the Silver known here as Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay. It is not by chance that the essay is presented from the perspective of "an analysis", given that the theme allows for different approaches from different perspectives. The quest to understand what forms the heads of the State of Mercury and mobilize towards a position in favour of regionals such as the United States, here geopolitics distinguished by the extra-related relationship between regional China and the European Union. The Conceptual Basis of the Sociological Discourse Applied to the Debate on Regional Integration through the Formation and Strengthening of the Economic Bloc (Mercosur), comprising the Analysis of How the Global Geopo Study influences the construction of textsliths at the regional level. The theme will be an integrative objective in its manifestation as different epistemic possibilities for understanding the element in its manifestation in terms of discourse.

Keywords: Regional Integration, Latin Identity, Lusoamerica, Hispanoamerica

Social Rights and The Decolonial Process in the Context of the South American Cone: Latin America and Africa, In-Between

Professor Carlos Augusto Dos Santos Nascimento Martins

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Abstract:

The present research aims to analyse the effects of the decolonial process in State policies and its reflections on Social Rights, identities and interests related to the descendants of peoples introduced in the American Continent due to the mercantile process of enslavement of people that took place in the South Atlantic between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. Such public policies resulted in a deliberate silence that is still felt today regarding the denial of social and political rights arising from the Independence processes in the Americas for peoples descended from the African diaspora. The complex association of factors allowed the formatting of a false perception regarding the origins and identity of the Brazilian and Argentine peoples, the myth of racial democracy. Among the nations of the South American Cone, Brazil is the country with the largest contingent of descendants of African forcibly introduced into its territory belonging to the white peoples of Europe and the denial and subalternation of the African heritage and of a Brazilian national identity at the same time Latin American, which purposely sought to ignore the collective identities of Latinity, but at the same time seeks to exercise a leadership role and geopolitical protagonism over is it over there.

Keywords: Diaspora, Colonial, Decolonization, Decolonial, Iberism

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

Panel 03 – Hybrid – In Auditorium 1- Zoom Link 1
Nationalism and the Politics of Identity

TUESDAY // 12 September 2023 // 15:30 - 17:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

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CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Professor Murat Çemrek

PAPERS

Chega! in the European Context:
Similarities and Differences to Other Nationalist-Populist Movements
Assistant Professor Paulo Miguel Madeira and Katielle Silva

Portugal in the Arctic in the 21st Century at the Intersection of Maritime and Human Securities in the North Atlantic and Arctic Oceans. Scenario Thinking (2023-2035)
Céline Rodrigues

Levers of influence of Turkey in the construction of the identity of the de facto states in the Black Sea area
Associate Professor Elena Onu

Torn between the Lines of Border:
The Pakhtuns of Pakistan and Afghanistan in Search of Identity
Assistant Professor Priyanka Dutta Chowdhury

Wither the Homeland: Central Asians as Russian Citizens
Marintha Miles

Chega! in the European Context: Similarities and Differences to Other Nationalist-Populist Movements

Assistant Professor Paulo Miguel Madeira and Katielle Silva

UAL / OBSERVARE

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Abstract:

The relevance of the contemporary nationalist-populist right is a recent phenomenon in Portugal, having emerged later than in many other European countries, where parties of this type have been assuming relevance since the end of the 20th century. However, the most recent electoral results and polls have shown that the affirmation of this political-electoral trend has been fast, and its electoral representativeness is expected to continue increasing.

The reasons underlying the growth of these parties in the political-party spectrum are multidimensional and have been the subject of empirical analysis in several geographic studies in the last decade (Rodriguez-Pose et al., 2023; Dijkstra, Poelman, and Rodriguez-Pose, 2019; McCann, 2019; Gordon, 2018; Guilluy, 2014). These readings have shown an articulation between the spatialization of the electoral results won by these nationalist-populist movements and the characteristics of the territories that somehow correlate with aspects of their respective political-electoral discourses. Among the reasons that most motivate voters for the discourse of these parties is the construction of a locally and regionally harmful perception of the processes associated with the political economy of neoliberal globalization, namely the great freedom of investment and international trade, and also the growth and visibility of immigration. Additionally, the territories with higher nationalist-populist vote tend to concentrate voters that share common sociodemographic features, which allows a generic characterization of the voters in these parties or movements.

In this framework, this paper aims to analyse the territorialization of the votes obtained by the Chega! in the 2019 legislative elections, the 2021 presidential elections (candidacy of its leader, André Ventura) and the 2022 legislative elections in Portugal. It will also analyse similarities to other European countries, where "forgotten" rural regions and regions in prolonged socioeconomic decline, associated mainly with deindustrialization processes, have been important sources of the electoral base of nationalist right movements, along with the flourishing of

cultural and identity anxiety phenomena of some voter segments.

Methodologically, a comparative mapping analysis of the municipal electoral results of Chega! in those three elections was carried out, complemented by the calculation of correlations of the legislative results with a set of socio-demographic, economic and political indicators, from which a multivariate linear regression model was produced for the electoral results of the 2019 legislative elections.

The results suggest that, in Portugal, the new voters of the nationalist right are overrepresented in social groups belonging to the lower-middle class, with instruction levels corresponding to the 3rd cycle of basic education or secondary education. The electoral results of Chega!, analysed in more detail for the 2019 legislative elections (Madeira, Silva and Malheiros, 2021), point to voter adherence factors partly similar to those of other European countries, but with some specificities. The results suggest, for example, that the territorialization of the Chega! vote in the 2019 legislative elections revealed a counterintuitive spatial pattern, with a higher representation in the South of Portugal, historical terrain of the left.

Keywords: Nationalist Right, Populism, Radicalism, Geography of Discontent, Portugal, Europe

Portugal in the Arctic in the 21st Century at the Intersection of Maritime and Human Securities in the North Atlantic and Arctic Oceans. Scenario Thinking (2023-2035)

Céline Rodrigues

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Abstract:

The project of the doctoral research is presented in the following pages in which the importance of nature in International Relations is underlined, with its nexus to the oceans and security, as explained in the theoretical framework named Trinity. A triangle that shows the interconnection of topics in the 21st century and that have impact on Portugal´s vision towards North. The North Atlantic and the Arctic shall be added to the worries of sovereignty and security as well as understanding that the pole north is of relevance in the decades to come for the country. Portugal has a wide continental shelf that will be at risk when analysing the trends and regional prospective analysis. That is why in the context of Portugal it is necessary to prepare for the changes that are happening North as a consequence of climate changes. Its maritime area shall be secured, and the country can effectively be a co-producer of maritime security, as mentioned in the National Strategy for the Sea 2021-2030, if it understands the impacts in the Arctic region/ocean as well as the new relevance of the Arctic that replaces Portugal, Madeira and Azores in geopolitics.

The scenario thinking aims to show the relevance of the Arctic region for Portugal and how changes and challenges are placing the maritime country in another regional context. Only by being aware of the different scenarios, can Portugal be prepared for the challenges of the 21st century in the Atlantic that are moving from South to North. Movements that include the presence of the Federation of Russia and the Republic of China.

Keywords: Artic,Atlantic, Human Security, Maritime Security, Oceans, Portugal

Levers of influence of Turkey in the construction of the identity of the de facto states in the Black Sea area

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Abstract:

Analysing the current geopolitical context generated by the start of the illegal invasion of the Russian Federation in Ukraine and against the background of the increasingly defined positions of the authorities of the separatist republics in the Black Sea area, the present article aims to establish the methods and levers exercised by Ankara in the construction of the identity of the separatist republics in the Black Sea area, in general, and those from Ukraine, in particular.

In this sense, based on the theory of the regional security complex, on the statements made by high-ranking officials and key decision-makers at the international and regional level, the paper seeks to formulate a possible answer to the question of whether the steps undertaken by Turkey were aimed both at its assertion as an important regional political actor as well as consolidating his position in the region, something increasingly well outlined especially after the attack launched by Turkey's "friend", Vladimir Putin, in Ukraine which gave President Recep Erdogan the opportunity to play the role of a mediator between the belligerents.

Keywords: Turkey, Ukraine, De Facto States, Black Sea Area

Torn between the Lines of Border: The Pakhtuns of Pakistan and Afghanistan in Search of Identity

Assistant Professor Priyanka Dutta Chowdhury

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Abstract:

A globalized connected world, calling loud for a composite culture, was still not able to erase the pain of a desired nationalism based on cultural identity. In South Asian region, the random drawing of the boundaries without taking the ethnic aspect into consideration have always challenged the very basis of existence of certain groups. The urge to reunify with the fellow brothers on both sides of the border have always called for a chaos and schism in the countries of this region.

Sometimes this became a tool to bargain with the state and find a favourable position in the power structure on the basis of cultural identity. In Pakistan and Afghanistan, the Pakhtuns who are divided across the border of the two countries, from the inception of creation of Pakistan have posed various challenges and hampered the growth of a consolidated nation. The Pakhtuns or Pashtuns of both Pakistan and Afghanistan have a strong cultural affinity which blurs their physical distancing and calls for a nationalism based on this ethnic affiliation. Both the sides wanted to create Pakhtunistan unifying all the Pakhtuns of the region. For long, this group have denied accepting the Durand line separating the two. This was an area of concern especially for the Pakhtuns of Pakistan torn between the decision either to join Afghanistan, create a nation of their own or be a part of Pakistan. This ethnic issue became a bone of contention between the two countries. Later, though well absorbed and recognized in the

respective countries, they have fought for their identity and claimed for a dominant position in the politics of the nations. Because of the porous borders often influx of refugees was seen especially during Afghan Wars and later many extremists' groups were born from them especially the Taliban. In the recent string of events, when the Taliban, who are mostly Pakhtuns ethnically, came in power in Afghanistan, a wave of sympathy arose in Pakistan. This gave a strengthening position to the religious Pakhtuns across the border. It is to be noted here that a fragmented Pakhtun identity between the religious and seculars were clearly visible, voicing for their place in the political hierarchy of the country with a vision distinct from each other especially in Pakistan.

In this context the paper tries to evaluate the reasons for this cultural turmoil between the countries and this ethnic group. It also aims to analyse the concept of how the identity politics still holds its relevance in the contemporary world. Additionally, the recent trend of fragmented identity points towards instrumentalization of this ethnic groups, who are engaged in the bargaining process with the state for a robust position in the power structure. In the end, the paper aims to deduct from the theoretical conditions of identity politics, whether this is a primordial or a situational tool to have a visibility in the power structure of the contemporary world.

Keywords: Cultural Identity, Identity Politics, Instrumentalization of Identity Pakhtuns, Power Structure

Wither the Homeland: Central Asians as Russian Citizens

Marintha Miles

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Abstract:

Migration to Russia from Central Asia has been researched, analysed, and instrumentalized as development projects since the collapse of the Soviet Union. This has resulted in a body of academic articles, books, and conference talks across disciplines; as well as innumerable developmental reports and programs by country development, international, and non-governmental organizations. The underlying current of this large body of research and literature is that outflow migration from Central Asia-and inflow migration to Russia, is a problem. The problemization of migration has created a lens focused on the hardships and burdens Central Asian labour migrants and sending countries face. While this a legitimate view of migration, it is not the only view of the migration field. The large numbers of Central Asian migrants to Russia who gain citizenship or long-time residency status with all the social protections of Russian society are understudied. In this paper I examine Russian migration data from 1992-2022, and linguistic use of 'homeland' and how Central Asian migrants discuss 'home' and citizenship in social media. I further explore the evolving transnational positionality of ethnic Central Asians anchored in Russia, and their understanding of 'home.'

Keywords: Migration, Russia, Tajikistan, Central Asia

The Russian Orthodox Holy Trinity Cathedral in Karakol, Kyrgyzstan

Panel 04 – Hybrid – In Auditorium 1- Zoom Link 1

Energy Diplomacy and Security Policies

TUESDAY // 12 September 2023 // 18:00 - 19:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Dr Marco Marsili

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PAPERS

Energy Diplomacy versus Market Rules. The Trans-Caspian Gas Pipeline Saga
Senior Lecturer Carlo Frappi

Overlap and Competition? The EU's and NATO's Role in Securing the Offshore Energy Infrastructure in Europe during the War in Ukraine
Assistant Professor Roxana Andrei and Dimitar Atanasov

The Relevance of Energy for EU-Kazakhstan Bilateral Relations: From Energy Security to Trade in Times of Uncertainty
Associate Professor Ana Belén Perianes

The Psycho Political Meaning of Russia's constant phobia security in International Relations
Iancu Miruna Mădălina and Moldovan Bogdaa

The Iranian nuclear deal (JPCOA)
The state-of-the-art and its implications between Diplomacy and Public Security
Senior Lecturer Farian Sabahi

Energy Diplomacy versus Market Rules
The Trans-Caspian Gas Pipeline Saga

Senior Lecturer Carlo Frappi

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Abstract:

One of the clearest effects of the war in Ukraine has been to bring about a new balance between the energy market and diplomacy. As a matter of fact, the war brought about the end of the illusion that the primary responsibility for managing relations with the hydrocarbon supplier countries could be left to the market. As a consequence, the need to balance the pure market logic has resulted in energy diplomacy regaining its lost role, especially in the European context. Still, when looking at individual energy projects in the Eurasian scenario, the balance between market logic and diplomatic needs is still uncertain. And the former still seems to prevail over the latter.

On this backdrop, the present policy analysis proposal focuses on an old-fashioned infrastructure project – namely, the Trans-Caspian Gas Pipeline, designed to transport gas from Turkmenistan to western markets – whose non-realization has traditionally been affected by the clash between market logic and diplomatic needs. In particular, it aims at framing the 'state of the art' of the project in the current energy scenario, analysing its chances for success as a result of the muting diplomatic environment.

Keywords: Energy Diplomacy, Market Rules, Natural Gas, Caspian Sea

Overlap and competition? The EU's and NATO's Role in Securing the Offshore Energy Infrastructure in Europe during the War in Ukraine

Assistant Professor Roxana Andrei and Dimitar Atanasov

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Abstract:

The war in Ukraine and the simultaneous energy crisis have radically altered, since 2022, the energy security dynamics in Europe, as the European Union's (EU) physical integrity has been challenged by an ample military conflict at its borders, while the security of natural gas supplies has been severely impacted by import reductions and full interruptions from Russia. The return to pipeline geopolitics culminated on 27 September 2022, when the Russian-operated Nord Stream 1 and 2 pipelines were affected by two explosions in their offshore section under the Baltic Sea.

The resilience of offshore infrastructure is crucial, as the majority of oil and gas production in Europe takes place offshore, with currently around 193 installations in European waters, most of them located in the North Sea-Atlantic region, followed by the Mediterranean Sea, the Black Sea and the Baltic Sea.

These four key maritime areas of the EU constitute nevertheless current hotspots in terms of geopolitical security and safety. The Black Sea represents a highly disputed region in the context of the war in Ukraine, with military activity and intense undersea mining, possibly posing risks for the safety of offshore explorations; the Mediterranean Sea has become a contested area of jurisdiction over the right to own and exploit natural gas, opposing the EU, on behalf of the Republic of Cyprus, to Turkey, which claims ownership of the gas deposits in the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of Cyprus; the North Sea-Atlantic region has seen an increased presence of Russian military vessels in 2022-2023; the Baltic Sea, in addition to the Nord Stream pipelines incident, raises questions about the security environment given the legitimate presence of Russian navy in the area.

As a consequence, benign trade competition in the field of oil and gas has acquired a new defence and security dimension: the safety of offshore infrastructure under a new generation of threats and vulnerabilities. Energy and in particular natural gas have become (geo)politicised and even militarised at unprecedented levels.

Therefore, the research aims to identify the existing end emerging threats, risks and vulnerabilities to the offshore critical energy infrastructure operating in the current context, in both conventional and hybrid form. It looks into how energy security features on the political agenda of the EU and NATO, investigating the dissonances between the intensely (geo)politicised narratives of the two major institutional actors versus still cooperative practices on the ground, as still reflected in the EU-Russia gas trade in 2022-2023.

Energy security has already been included in NATO's Strategic Concept in 2010 and further cemented on the Alliance's political agenda through its new 2022 Strategic concept. Although a military alliance, NATO has been claiming its role, in a very similar tone to the EU, in enhancing the energy security in Europe. We thus question how the war in Ukraine shifted the EU's and NATO's role as energy security providers in Europe, looking at functional overlaps and even potential competition between the two major actors both claiming a leading role as defenders of European energy security.

Keywords: Defence, Energy Security, EU; Geopolitics, NATO, Ukraine War

The Relevance of Energy for EU-Kazakhstan Bilateral Relations: From Energy Security to Trade in Times of Uncertainty

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Abstract:

The goal of this paper is to analyse the relevance of key topics such as energy including energy security or trade for EU-Kazakhstan relations in times of uncertainty in the framework of the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

EU´s-Kazakhstan bilateral relations are particularly intense when comparing the EU´s existing ones with other Central Asian States: Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. The first ones are developed by an EPCA in force since March 2020, with concrete cooperation in the field of energy.

The EU´s energy insecurity is one of the most important structural challenges that the EU Member States face to achieve their national and common interests and this fact has traditionally been used by Russia as a geopolitical advantage in their bilateral relations. In this sense, Central Asian geostrategic added value is significantly related to the important and valuable natural resources in the region representing one of the huge last frontiers of the world for geological prospecting and study. Accordingly, smooth bilateral relations with Kazakhstan are key for the EU´s need of energy security and diversification, among other interests.

It is noteworthy that the EU is Kazakhstan´s first trade partner (30% of its external trade in 2021) and its first foreign investor (48% of total (gross) foreign direct investment flows in 2021). Kazakhstan is a key oil and gas supplier to the EU, accounting the 6% of the EU´s oil demand in 2021.

For its part, Kazakhstan follows a multi-vector foreign policy in this increasingly multipolar system because of its need to diversity and balance diplomatic relations. This fact is key to improving its bargaining power in terms of national and international interests.

Different idiosyncrasies and interests, the changing and uncertain geopolitical context and other foreign actors willing to achieve their own geopolitical interests

fostering their influence efforts in this region through the use of hard and soft power are key in the study of the EU-Kazakhstan partnerships.

The EU will only remain as one of Kazakhstan´s many possible partners and must be realistic about what is able and not to achieve not only in Kazakhstan but also in the other Central Asian States in the coming decade. Flexibility ensuring consistency of its policies will be essential for the EU to adapt to the regional, national and local political environment.

Key questions will be addressed in this paper, such as for instance: in which terms has Central Asia become a playing field for a number of foreign actors (being the case of China, the US, the EU, Türkiye, Russia, India or Iran, etc.)?; how has Kazakhstan´s foreign policy dealt with this geopolitical landscape?; how does its energy insecurity influence the EU´s external affairs, particularly referring to Kazakhstan?; how has Russia benefited from the EU´s energy insecurity in terms of geopolitical gains? or, how has the Russian invasion to Ukraine influenced the EU´s energy security policies and Kazakhstan´s external relations and with what implications?, among others.

Keywords: Central Asia, EU, Kazakhstan, Energy

The Psycho Political Meaning of Russia's Constant Phobia Security in International Relations

Lecturer Iancu Miruna Mădălina and Moldovan Bogdaa

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Abstract:

The present interdisciplinary research attempt proposes, by appealing to the usage of a diachronic and hermeneutical grid, to highlight the manner in which Russia in its different forms of state evolution has been dominated by a significant and real state of insecurity with regards to its foreign and military policy. Within such a referential optics, we intend to punctually present, without claiming to be exhaustive, the psychological dimension of a constant paradigm of phobia-security that dominates and characterizes Russia's main decisions and actions implemented in the external register. Thus, in order to reveal the nodal vein of the paper, the present research attempt has both a psycho political as well as a historical approach. In other words, we will appeal at the historical background in order to emphasize the fundamental events that emphasized this pathological state of insecurity specific for Russia's foreign and military dimension, and at the same time we will try to identify and analyse the psychological causes that are responsible for this permanent and constate state. Integrally, our primary purpose it's to highlight the psychological meaning of Russia' s constant phobia-security in its external sphere and also that of security assured through territory, through the process of soviet hegemony and domination and ultimately through strategic glacis.

Keywords: Phobia Security, Strategic Glacis, Psycho Political, Historical Russia

The Iranian nuclear deal (JPCOA). The state-of-the-art and its implications between Diplomacy and Public Security.

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Abstract:

The Iranian nuclear deal (JCPOA, Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action) was signed in Vienna on 14 July 2015 between the team of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the P5+1, meaning the five permanent members of the UNSC (China, France, Russia, UK, US) plus Germany. On the US side, the Iranian nuclear deal had the approval of the Obama administration. However, the Congress never ratified this agreement. Though the AIEA certified Iran's compliance several times, in May 2018 the Trump administration withdrew from the JCPOA, pledging Washington was seeking a better deal which would include restrictions to the Iranian ballistic programme. However, the US President left office without trying to negotiate a new deal with Tehran. Exactly a year after the US withdrawal from the JCPOA, Iran started enriching uranium again. In the meanwhile, scared by US secondary sanctions, European companies withdrew from the Iranian markets. Therefore, in the four years of President Trump in the White House, the rial lost 80% of its value. On the occasion of the conference in Lisbon, the focus will be on the state-of-the-art and on its implications between diplomacy and public security.

Keywords: Iran, JCPOA, Nuclear deal, US

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.

Panel 05 – Hybrid - In Auditorium 1- Zoom Link 1

Geopolitical Rivalry in Eurasia

WEDNESDAY // 13 September 2023 // 09:30 - 11:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Associate Professor Ozgur Tufekci

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PAPERS

Chinese-Russian Approaches to Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO): A Comparative Analysis **(Online)**
Roshan Taj Humayun

International Agenda in the "Crooked Mirror" of I. Stalin's Gulag in the 1930s: From "The Workers' Solidarity" to the Pro-Fascist Camp Revolt **(Online)**
Oksana Ermolaeva

The Stalemate of Peace Negotiation: Status Ambiguity of Karabakh **(Online)**
Assistan Professor Orkhan Valiyev

Defining peace: An Analysis of the Content of the European Union, Brazil, and China Discourses on the Ukrainian War **(Face-to-Face)**
Luis Gouveia Junior

The Context of Social Harmony in Xi's China: Ideological and Systemic Interpretations in Xinjiang **(Face-to-Face)**
Assistant Professor Sadia Rahman and Assistant Professor Müge Yüce

Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons: Case study of South Asia **(Face-to-Face)**
Syeda Saiqa Bukhari

Chinese-Russian Approaches to Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO): A Comparative Analysis

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Abstract:

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is unique in at least three aspects. In an increasingly interconnected world, the SCO represents an alternative to West-led institutions, a driver of regional integration and a platform for Russian-Chinese negotiations. As its primary initiator, China needs the SCO to penetrate the region economically through collaborative framework. For Russia, which has co-led the organization, the SCO is a well-established format to maintain its traditional sphere of influence, but also to engage CARs to ensure a steady supply of energy through its pipeline network. The research paper comparatively analyses the Russian-Chinese approaches in the SCO. Pragmatically, the regional powers have used the SCO as a platform to balance and coordinate their interests in the region, but the profound differences in approach and perspective could risk the organization degenerating into a symbolic representation. In contrast, the research study suggests that intrinsically differences exit but they do not prevent the main leading states from being promising regional partners. Taking the facts into consideration, the bigwigs of SCO, have played a positive role in broadening the organization mandate from ensuring security to coordinating and intensifying regional integration. Nevertheless, the success of the SCO heavenly depends on the role it will be given in the respective foreign policy strategies of its main engines, China and Russia.

Keywords: Regional Integration, Foreign Policy, Regional Powers, Political Stability

International Agenda in the "Crooked Mirror" of I. Stalin's Gulag in the 1930s: From "The Workers' Solidarity" to the Pro-Fascist Camp Revolt

Reader Oksana Ermolaeva

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Abstract:

The true tragedy of Russian history lies in the fact that numerous inherent features of the Soviet system have been resurrected on a massive—if unarticulated—scale in present-day Russia. In particular, a number of practices, related to the Soviet penitentiary, have become everyday Russian reality. For example, propaganda campaigns, connected to the rehabilitation and re-integration of prisoners into society through heroic acts and deeds important for society. Almost one hundred years later, some colourful characters with a criminal past were turned into heroes and were rewarded from the Russian president and his coterie; but not only. The specific geographical division of labour characteristic of the modern Russian penitentiary system and the physical organization of prison-camp space go back to the 1930s and 1940s (Pallot, 2022). Moreover, as it happened in the Soviet era, the current Russian penitentiary system also promptly reacts to the Russian as well as international affairs. Recent occurrences of the prisoner revolt attempts in Russian colonies following E. Prigozhin's Wagner march towards Moscow is the most vivid manifestation of it. Thus, study of the ways the Soviet Gulag prisoners perceived and reacted to the international agenda are important for a better understanding of the current entanglements between the Russian state and its penitentiary practices.

The current paper is devoted to the exploration of how the international events and the international agenda were (ab) used in and impacted the forced labour context of the I. Stalin's Gulag. For that, it takes a particular Soviet forced labour enterprise – the White-Sea Canal and the Camp of the NKVD (1933 –1941). Soviet propagandists in the camps, following the instructions of the Cultural-Educative Section of the Gulag, attempted to integrate the international agenda into their ideological efforts targeted at the prisoners, armed guards, and the hired staff alike. Not only to ensure their loyalty, but also to distract them from deplorable living and working conditions. Sometimes, as will be demonstrated in the paper, on the basis of the analysis of the camp press, memoirs, and previously unused archival documents from the 1930s their efforts had an opposite effect.

First, the paper discusses how the camp press cultivated a heightened interest in world events and foreign cultures. For example, in 1936 the readers of the local Gulag enterprise, the BBK, closely followed, in a series of articles in the camp newspaper, the trial of Haywood Patterson that had been going on since 1931 in the USA. Incidentally, despite the ongoing political trials in the USSR, such subjects rubbed shoulders with local, often petty incidents, like fish theft at a camp subsection or a fight between prison guards.

Then, it explores study courses for the camp NKVD officers and the guards used in the second half of the 1930s. Providing a close reading of the syllabi and the reports from the study groups, it analyses the changes within the programs in relation to the growing isolation of the USSR and the increasing emergence of the Nazi Germany threat and the ways international developments in Europe and in the world were perceived by the camps' population.

Finally, it analyses an instance of the rebellion in the BBLag juvenile colony in December 1937. The uniqueness of this mass rebellion, numbering almost 300 delinquents, apart from the fact that it occurred, and lasted for some time, was that it was cast specifically under the Nazi slogans. The paper analyses the investigative materials on the revolt and argues, that the Soviet propaganda, albeit in a distorted form, secured a steady flow of the information into the Soviet forced labour camps about the international occurrences. However, it never worked the way it was intended, triggering denial and resistance on the part of the prisoners and even the hired staff.

Keywords: Forced Labour Camps, Soviet Propaganda, International Events, Prisoners' Revolt

The Stalemate of Peace Negotiation: Status Ambiguity of Karabakh

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Abstract:

The political emergence of modernity was based on specific concepts. The concept of Status was one of them. From the modern political and legal perspective status was grounded on national principles. National principles were constructed to guarantee the legitimation of modern sovereignty. In the case of Azerbaijan, modernist institutions, and concepts came through colonialism. So, the modern political establishment of the South Caucasus was defined by Gulustan and Turkmenchay treaties respectively in 1813 and 1828. Moreover, colonialism laid the foundations of status problems among the nations of the region.

During the Soviet time, Russian presence in the region evolved and was institutionalized, and the political status of Karabakh was defined by Soviet Moscow. And then, Nagorno-Karabakh (NK) emerged as the Soviet-created administrative division political establishment within Azerbaijan territory intended to facilitate the Soviet authority in Azerbaijan. During the Soviet period, Armenians were given status within the context of NK by Moscow.

On the eve of the dissolution of the USSR NK administrative division would become the core of the long-lasted conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. NK administrative division which guaranteed status for Armenians would not work after the USSR. And the status request of Armenians became the main point of the conflict. From that perspective war between the two countries was inevitable.

After the 44-Day War, the political establishment of Karabakh which was founded during the Soviet period as NK changed. It can be said that NK administrative division will not come back. However, due to the ongoing negotiation process, the status issue became one of the problematic points of the peace negotiations. Furthermore, in this sense, it can be said that due to the colonialism traces in both peoples' memory and long-lasted conflict/war signing the treaty will not be effortless. And the respective peace treaty will be significant to the region's political establishment in the 21st century. So again, to get a solution both sides will have to understand that to define the status of Karabakh will have to be based and referenced on the 44-Day War reality. Since, after the 44-Day War Karabakh became the internal issue of Azerbaijan. This paper aims to justify that for a peace treaty both sides should accept a new political reality on the ground.

Keywords: Karabakh, Status, 44-Days War, Peace Treaty

Defining Peace:

An Analysis of the Content of the European Union, Brazil, and China discourses on the Ukrainian war

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Abstract:

Many international actors have defended the necessity to reestablish peace, since the Ukrainian invasion by Russian troops, in 2022. However, the processes proposed to end this conflict and the meaning attributed to the idea of peace are not always consensual. Albeit they share a rhetorical defense of peace, the leaders of the European Union, Brazil, and China have, at some point, mutually accused each other of fueling the Ukrainian War. As crucial actors for future peace agreements, comprehending their proposals and perspectives on peace become pivotal. On this behalf, this article proposes a theoretical debate concerning the meaning of peace according to International Relations theories and Peace and Conflict Studies. This conceptual discussion offers theoretical tools to analyze the different official discourses. Thus, this study proceeds with a content analysis of official speeches proffered by Ursula Von der Leyen, president of the European Commission, Lula, the president of Brazil, and Xi Jinping, the Chinese president. I gathered most of the data from discourses proclaimed at international summits and, in the case of China, from the state-owned media "Global Times." Then, the software "Sketch Engine" allowed me to identify word recurrence and its modifiers. The analysis embraces the period from January 2022, before the Russian army crossed the Ukrainian border, until June 2023. The relational content analysis found that the discourses of the three leaders indicate distinct approaches to conflict resolution.

The results indicate that Ursula Von der Leyen mentions peace fewer times than her Brazilian and Chinese counterparts. However, Von der Leyen cites more "Ukraine," while the Chinese official statements mention the West routinely. Comparing the three leaders' discourses with International Relations theory, "peace" refers chiefly to an absence of war, as Johan Galtung conceptualizes "negative peace." The

European leader also gives primacy to how economic interdependence can push Russia to stop the war, a perspective closer to neoliberal IR theory. Meanwhile, Lula frequently mentions the Portuguese verb "conversar" (to talk) with the idea of bringing together opposite leaders—his allegations dialogue with Johan Galtung's approach to peace as solving conflicts through innovative and harmonious ways. In the Chinese part, Xi Jinping reinforces a rejection of bellicose behaviors without a clear proposal to conflict resolution. This study concludes that the three leaders have divergent perspectives and approaches to conflict resolution. This divergence may harm a common approach to solving the conflict in Ukraine.

Keywords: Ukrainian War, Peace Studies, European Union, China, Brazil

The Context of Social Harmony in Xi's China: Ideological and Systemic Interpretations in Xinjiang

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Abstract:

Social harmony is a desirable healthy state of relationships among citizens/ communities. As with several social concepts, social harmony also attracts several other elements when it comes to interpretation and policy proposition. Evident in a wide variety of literature, the meaning of harmony varies considerably across cultures/communities, including political regimes, influenced by a multitude of factors--historical, political, and social contexts. China's interpretation of harmony (He Weigui) does have distinctive ideological value. The concept of social harmony rooted in Confucianism is deeply ingrained, emphasizing the importance of social relationships and obligations that individuals owe to their families, communities, and society. In 2006 the notion of a harmonious society (hexie shehui 和谐社会) was introduced by Hu Jintao during the 16th Plenary session of the Communist Party of China's (CPC) Central Committee meeting. Hu's idea of a harmonious society encompassed a broad range of principles, including democracy, the rule of law, fairness and justice, and stability, but with a distinct interpretation that differed from the Western perspective. In other words, the concept of a harmonious society, as proposed by Hu Jintao, was in contrast to the Western interpretation of the term. Theoretically, to foster social harmony, a government implements 'citizen-based governance' to mitigate antagonism between different strata/communities in society and promote inclusion. This paper argues otherwise, i.e., in China, social harmony is intricately linked with social control and conformity, in contrast to diversity and the mechanism of inclusion. The Social Harmony, devised by the Chinese State, exclusively contradicts social cohesion. Besides, China denominates social harmony by focusing on two key factors— 'economic prosperity' and 'political stability' and not social cohesion and inclusiveness. With the CPC's core belief of substituting rights to practice faith by overlaying prosperity and enforced unilateral political thoughts, policies of mass detention and assertive assimilation of the Uyghur ethnic minority in Xinjiang gained systemic justification. Thus, based on

an ethnographic study of the Uyghur diaspora in Turkey, the paper attempts to measure China's interpretations and methods of social harmony. The data collected from the samples (Uyghur community in Turkey) is utilized to investigate the correlates of multiculturalism and (assertive) assimilation—the two competing interethnic ideologies for how an ethnically diverse society should function. Furthermore, the discussion will ensure the underpinning of CPC's ethnic policies in Xinjiang and analyse the implementation of the effective system—by examining the laws and regulations, enforcement of these laws and the responsiveness of the law enforcement agencies (including large security apparatus, i.e., police).

Keywords: CPC, Social Harmony, Political Stability, Uyghur, Xinjiang, Assertive Assimilation

Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons: Case study of South Asia

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Abstract:

South Asia has always been regarded as a region of instability and insecurity because of unresolved disputes perpetuating mutual hostility between India and Pakistan. Nuclearization of South Asia brought a level of strategic balance and stability in the subcontinent, foreclosing the possibility of full-fledged war and brightening the prospects of uneasy peace, between two arch rivals. After the overt nuclearization of South Asia, the subject of nuclear proliferation has returned to the forefront of global politics. This research project aims to analyse how India and Pakistan perceive the humanitarian aspect of use nuclear weapons including effects on human health, the environment, food security, migration and economy, as well as the risks and likelihood of authorized, unauthorized or accidental detonation of nuclear weapons. War between nuclear armed states is not only possible, but has already repeatedly happened, e.g. on the Indian Subcontinent (between India and Pakistan). As both shared geographical proximity and belief in effectiveness of nuclear deterrence. in order to maintain deterrence, both are indulged in unending nuclear arm race. The logic that nuclear weapons provide security is a fundamental error. Because: deterrence requires credibility. This means the readiness to use these weapons. To inflict mass destruction and unimaginable human suffering. India and Pakistan are increasing their arsenals, modernizing their weapons, developing "more useable" warheads. At the same time, international agreements are terminated. The multilateral disarmament system is eroding. All on the assumption that nuclear weapons provide security, because - in the end - they will never be used. The researcher is collecting data by both primary (structured interviews) and secondary sources. Researcher will conduct her analysis by using comparative political method and thematic analysis.

Keywords: South Asia, Nuclearization, Arms Control, Non-proliferation, Multilateral Disarmament System

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

Panel 06 – Hybrid – In Auditorium 1- Zoom Link 1

Power Politics in Emerging International System

WEDNESDAY // 13 September 2023 // 13:00 - 15:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

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Professor Sónia Sénica

PAPERS

Exploring the EU's Engagement in Latin America:
Challenges and Opportunities Amidst US-China Competition
Professor Florencia Rubiolo

Latin America's Trade Amidst the Post-globalization:
A New Opportunity Towards Its De-Primarization
Senior Lecturer Valeria Puga-Alvarez

Reconsidering Isolationism:
An Analytical Tool for Examining Contemporary Foreign Policy Crises
Michal Bula

Nuclear Non-Proliferation: Issues and Steps for the 21st Century
Senior Lecturer Ioana Constantin-Bercean

Role of Game Theory on International Relation to Analyse Iran-USA Relation
Professor Saeed Seyed Agha Banihashemi

Exploring the EU's Engagement in Latin America: Challenges and Opportunities Amidst US-China Competition

Professor Florencia Rubiolo

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Abstract:

After an eight-year impasse, the European Union-CELAC Summit of Heads of State is scheduled to resume in July in Brussels. The event will take place amidst the backdrop of the ongoing war in Ukraine, which has resulted in inevitable economic repercussions, particularly for Europe. Furthermore, the competition between China and the United States has intensified, impacting various regions globally.

The renewed impetus given to relations with the Latin American region, seems to be a response to the changing environment in the Euro Asiatic scenario, as well as the increasing China/USA tensions, which leave Europe in a more vulnerable role as a result of the shifts in the global balance of power. This has raised concerns in Europe about the negative consequences of concentration and economic dependence on scarce partners for strategic natural resources.

Although Latin America and Europe have deep and longstanding links, bilateral relations remained secondary in the last decades for leaders on both sides of the Atlantic. The exception being the historic signing of the Mercosur-EU trade deal, which has stagnated since 2019. In parallel, the Chinese presence multiplied, becoming the region's second main trade partner, and the main lender for infrastructure projects. The mutual interests of China in securing natural resources and Latin American countries in diversifying their trade partners have fostered a complementary relationship, resulting in a substantial increase in trade volume. In 2022, it reached a staggering $463 billion, which is three times higher than the figures recorded in 2010.

At the same time, the United States remains the region's main economic partner, as well as the cornerstone strategic and political one. But China's growing presence is generating a greater U.S. response, with increasing bilateral political rapprochement. Moreover, South America's immense potential in supplying natural resources, particularly for the energy transition, has emerged as a fresh battleground for American and Chinese corporations vying to lead the advancement of green technologies.

Hence, Latin America has become a disputed terrain for China and the United States, with Europe experiencing a diminishing presence in the region over the past two decades. The purpose of this work is to analyze the European Union's approach to economic engagement in Latin America, particularly South America, and the challenges and opportunities it faces considering competition from the United States and China. To address this question, we will focus on the bilateral and multilateral trade evolution and agreements, the investment flows and projects, and the political initiatives regarding the southern part of the region.

Our main argument is that Europe and South America would mutually gain from diversification in an increasingly polarized world. By reducing dependence and fostering dynamic interregional cooperation, they can enhance their autonomy. Furthermore, Europe's growing requirement for reliable and diverse suppliers of raw materials, particularly energy and minerals, positions South America as a natural partner to bolster its competitiveness in energy and technology transition.

Keywords: Geopolitical Rivalry, EU, China, US, Latin America

Latin America's Trade Amidst the Post-globalization: A New Opportunity Towards Its De-Primarization?

Senior Lecturer Valeria Puga-Alvarez

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Abstract:

Historically, the Latin American economic and trade structures have been based on the exports of raw materials. Meanwhile, other regions have transited to an industrialized economic model or to a knowledge-based paradigm, Latin America has devised limited efforts to overcome its primarized matrix, except for Argentina and Brazil that moderately trespassed the industrialization threshold. This commodity -dependence, that claimed to be a static comparative advantage at the globalization's onset, has had scarce tangible benefits for the development of the region.

Globalization is a multidimensional concept, but in trading terms, it was embodied but the Bretton-Woods order, particularly by the free-trade model. This neoliberal paradigm and its promise of less tariffs more gains had subtle convenient results for the Latin America's development, rather this order contributed to the preservation of the current asymmetrical international trade. The rise of novel powerful economic actors such as the BRICS, by fundamentally of China, and their proposal of a new economic order has signified a realignment of states' positions towards and against the establishment, and towards and against the new and old hegemonic forces. This new historical stage, still on the making, has been called by some authors as post-globalization. A definition that will be provided along this article. Might be this scenario an opportunity for the deprimarization of Latin American economies?

From an International Political Economy perspective and by applying data analysis and process-tracing methods, this brief research attempts to understand the international factors that have contributed to the prevalence of the Latin-American commodity-dependence and which of them might be potentially overcome as a result of the new hegemonic competition. Accordingly, it is concluded that a two-pace regional strategy to dispute knowledge transfer and innovation norms at international level is a key piece to underpin the Latin America's likelihood to break with the commodities trap.

Keywords: Latin America, Post-globalization, International Trade, Deprimarization, Human Development

Reconsidering Isolationism: An Analytical Tool for Examining Contemporary Foreign Policy Crises

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Abstract:

In the context of the 21st century international system, characterized by interdependence and the impact of globalization, the relevance of traditional concepts like isolationism is questioned. This study seeks to explore the presence of isolationist elements within the current foreign policy of the United States, and to evaluate the degree of isolationism across different presidential administrations. To address these inquiries, it is imperative to establish a precise and operational definition of isolationism that can serve as an analytical tool, avoiding the broad categorizations employed by historians throughout history. Despite the continued use of the term, a comprehensive analytical framework for isolationism has yet to be devised. This paper responds to this gap by proposing a novel conceptualization of isolationism and introducing a methodological framework that enables its application as an effective analytical tool for both historical periods and contemporary international politics.

In this study, isolationism is regarded as one potential response employed by presidents and other key decision-makers in addressing sudden foreign policy issues (crises). This response is characterised by non-engagement and non-interventionism in an area of the international system in which the given state has the capacity to act, and – in the case of a threat to the narrowest possible definition of national vital interest (a direct threat to citizens and state security) – by a willingness to unilateral intervention within the limits of so-called minimal realism. The framework applies a set of selection criteria to the International Crisis Behavior database, allowing for the identification of instances in which U.S. administrations pursued isolationist actions within specific crises. By calculating the ratio between the total number of foreign policy crises occurring during each administration's tenure and the number of crises where an isolationist response was chosen, the level of isolationism for individual administrations can be determined. This facilitates a comparative analysis of isolationism across different administrations from the early 20th century to the present day.

The primary objective of this paper is to elucidate the proposed framework and present the new conceptualization of isolationism, aiming to contribute to a deeper understanding of this phenomenon in foreign policy analysis.

Keywords: Isolationism, Foreign Policy, Responses to Crises, International Crisis Behavior Project

Nuclear Non-Proliferation: Issues and Steps for the 21st Century

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Abstract:

The international community must choose how to address the continuing challenges posed by nuclear proliferation. Roughly speaking, there are three main strategies available for tackling these challenges. The first of these is the "management" strategy, which relies upon arms control as its main instrument, including the international non-proliferation regime built around the 1968 Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). The second is the "abolition" strategy, which sees the control of nuclear proliferation as a step down the road towards complete nuclear disarmament, an approach that emphasizes the commitment to that end contained in Article VI of the NPT. The third is the "nullification" strategy that advocates military counter-measures, such as missile defence systems, to cancel out the capabilities and threats that arise from proliferation. This article examines the prospects of the three traditional approaches to non-proliferation: management, abolition, and nullification. It analyses the key successes and failures of each approach and assesses their current support. The article also considers the prospects for mixed strategies that combine elements of more than one of these three approaches. In particular, the potential for cooperation between the respective arguments of missile defence advocates, who espouse a variant of the nullification strategy, and disarmament activists, who strive for abolition, will be assessed.

Keywords: Nuclear Nonproliferation, Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, Nuclear Realism, Nuclear Diplomacy, Nuclear Taboo

Role of Game Theory on International Relation to Analyse Iran-USA Relations

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Abstract:

Game theory provides a valuable framework for understanding and predicting the complex dynamics of international relations. By analyzing the strategic choices and interactions of different actors, game theory helps shed light on the possible outcomes and implications of their decisions. In the context of Iran and Azerbaijan relations, game theory can offer insights into the potential trajectory of their relationship. This article explores the application of game theory in predicting the relation between Iran and Azerbaijan, delving into historical background, analyzing the actors involved, examining various game theory models, identifying influencing factors, exploring potential scenarios, and highlighting power dynamics. By utilizing game theory, we can gain a deeper understanding of the dynamics between Iran and Azerbaijan and their future implications.

Keywords: Game Theory, International Relation, Iran, 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.

Panel 07 – Hybrid – In Room 90- Zoom Link 2

Eastern Europe at the Centre Again?

WEDNESDAY // 13 September 2023 // 15:30 - 17:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Professor Sónia Sénica

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PAPERS

The Influence of the EU on
the Bosnia-Herzegovina's Safe and Secure Environment
Paulo Zagalo

Multi-Track EU Enlargement in The First Year of War:
The Bosnian and Georgian Cases
Pedro Cunha da Silva

Air Power in Humanitarian Interventions:
A Comparison of Pre-and post-Kosovo Cases
Ekrem Ok and Associate Professor Ozgur Tufekci

Exploring Students' International Mobility in Kazakhstan
in the Context of the Russia-Ukraine War
Ainur Almukhambetova

The Influence of the EU on the Bosnia-Herzegovina's Safe and Secure Environment

Paulo Zagalo

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Abstract:

The EU objectives are to improve peace, freedom, security, and justice across borders. However, without regional stabilization in the Balkans, the EU's goals could be challenged. Our argument is that attitudes of Bosnian politicians could jeopardize the Dayton Agreement's fulfilment.

This research analysis the relevance of the impact of EU neighbouring countries and candidate countries like Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) on stability and economic growth on that part of Europe. A change in the attitude can directly affect the region's stability.

The EU's options for resolving the conflict in BiH are examined, arguing that if the EU provides inexorable conditions for the Dayton Agreement's continued implementation, its importance in addressing potential conflicts will increase.

Keywords: European Union, Bosnia-Herzegovina, EU Global Strategy, Integrated Approach, Common Security and Defence Policy

Multi-Track EU Enlargement in The First Year of War: The Bosnian and Georgian Cases

Pedro Cunha da Silva

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Abstract:

This paper purports to analyse the European Union's accession candidacies from Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereinafter "Bosnia") and Georgia. The first framework will observe, in a brief overview, the events during the first year of the Russian invasion of Ukraine (or its intensification) regarding the enlargement process. Afterwards, the accession process stages will be described, as well as where each potential candidate and candidate lies.

The main section will refer to several official EU documents and an illustration that displays the European Commission's (hereinafter "Commission") assessments of the compromises related to the acquis communautaire. The Conclusions of the December European Council meeting - and Bosnia's recent candidate status - will then feed into the final remarks and the achievable objectives for both Bosnia and Georgia.

Keywords: European Union, Enlargement, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia

AirPower in Humanitarian Interventions: A Comparison of Pre-and post-Kosovo Cases

Lecturer Ekrem Of and Associate Professor Ozgur Tufekci

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Abstract:

One of the leading controversies of the 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" (Hehir, 2010). Alternatively, "What is to be done if a country itself is responsible for creating such a crisis?" To clarify more precisely with an analogy, "Should we intervene if a criminal attempt to harm our neighbour's family and their father's unable to stop the violence and protect his family?" or with the Archibugi's (2004) metaphor, "Should we intervene if our neighbour's husband beats up his wife?". The concept of Humanitarian Intervention emerged from this concern and implies a military intervention by a third-party country, a group of countries, or an international organization to internal affairs of a country with a group of people suffering from human rights violations either with or without the target states' consent. In practice, interveners have no standard criteria for deciding whether to intervene. They may choose to intervene in one state experiencing human rights abuses while ignoring another state undergoing similar circumstances. Besides humanitarian motives, strategic and political factors significantly influence a state's decision to intervene. However, once the decision to intervene is made, it is equally crucial for interveners to determine how and to what extent they will intervene. Although Airpower was a complementary power of manpower in humanitarian interventions, an examination of recent interventions shows us a notable shift that today, Airpower has become the primary application method and an integral part of humanitarian interventions. However, what led to this transition? How did the primary application methods of Humanitarian Interventions change? Furthermore, considering future interventions, what techniques might be used in future humanitarian interventions? In this study, we argue that the effective utilization of airpower in previous cases enables airpower to become one of the main application methods of humanitarian interventions. Moreover, future interventions will increasingly rely on rising advanced technologies, including drones, unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), and unmanned combat aerial vehicles (UCAVs). These vehicles will both reduce the error margin of airpower and make airpower a vital part of humanitarian interventions. It would be unreasonable to expect states to intervene with land forces.

Keywords: Humanitarian Intervention, Airpower, National Sovereignty, Human Rights

Exploring Students' International Mobility in Kazakhstan in the Context of the Russia-Ukraine War

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Abstract:

Growing students' mobility is one of the most prominent trends in higher education globally. There were 5 million international students in 2019, and within this population, STEM students present the largest group (OECD, 2019). Although the pandemic has disrupted this trend, it is predicted that more students will seek higher education opportunities outside their home countries in the following years (de Wit & Altbach, 2021).

For many students from post-Soviet countries, including Kazakhstan, Russia was among the most popular destinations (Heyneman & Skinner, 2014). According to Chankseliani (2018), more than 70 % of Kazakhstani mobile students pursued higher education in Russian universities, mainly in STEM fields. The complex geopolitical situation caused by the Russia-Ukraine war seems to have profoundly changed the established models of international mobility in the region, but it is unclear to what extent. Given that majority of talented STEM students from Kazakhstan used to choose Russian technical universities before the war, it is important to understand what factors determine STEM students' decisions in current reality.

The purpose of this study is to explore the STEM students' intentions to pursue international mobility, paying attention to the changes which might have been caused by the Russia-Ukraine war. The study intends to answer the following research questions:

RQ1. How do the STEM students' intentions to pursue international mobility changed due to the Russia-Ukraine war conflict?

RQ2. Which factors determine the mobility decisions of STEM students in the context of current geopolitical realities?

RQ3. What are the university administrators' views on how STEM students' mobility patterns have changed due to the Russia-Ukraine war?

Keywords: Student Mobility, Central Asia, STEM Students, Russia-Ukraine War

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

Panel 08 – Hybrid – In Auditorium 1 - Zoom Link 1

"Atlantic-Pacific": Geopolitical and Security Ties between Europe and Asia-Pacific

WEDNESDAY // 13 September 2023 // 15:30–17:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Professor Luis Tome

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PAPERS

A Pact Between Two Doves?
An analysis of EU-Japan security cooperation in the Indo-Pacific **(Online)**
Tijs ter Haar

China's Role in a Multipolar World **(Online)**
Professor Andrew K P Leung

Global Integration Special Purpose Vehicle as Tool of Interregional Cooperation:
Pros and Cons **(Online)**
Professor Andrey Kinyakin

The Parliamentary Assembly of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the Consolidation of Article 2 of the Washington Treaty (1949) **(Face-to-Face)**
Nadia Loureiro

China's Orwellian Society in the making:
the Security Dimension of the Digital Silk Road **(Face-to-Face)**
Assistant Professor Paulo Afonso B. Duarte, António Tavares, Nasim Mosavi, and Fernando Amorim

A Pact Between Two Doves?
An Analysis of EU-Japan Security Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific

Tijs ter Haar

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Abstract:

In 2021, the European Union (EU) published its first official strategy towards the Indo-Pacific region. In recent years, the Indo-Pacific region has steadily grown into a focal point of international relations for various reasons, increasingly attracting attention from actors around the globe. The Indo-Pacific is vital to the global economy, is home to the majority of the world's population, and hosts several major global powers, such as Japan, India, and China. However, stability in the region is fragile, as it is the stage for multiple pressing issues in international relations and sees actors from both inside and outside the region vie for influence. This thesis analyses the Indo-Pacific region from a geopolitical perspective, looking specifically at security cooperation between the EU and Japan. It aims to shed light on the role and place of Japan in the EU's Indo-Pacific strategy. Analysing the history of the EU-Japan relationship and the geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific region and applying Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT) to understand the region's security dynamics, this thesis shows that the EU and Japan have found ways to cooperate on shared security objectives in the Indo-Pacific, which mainly revolve around maintaining stability and reinforcing an open, free, and rules-based order in the region. As much of the existent scholarship on EU-Japan security cooperation was conducted before the publication of the EU's Indo-Pacific strategy, this thesis provides an up-to-date analysis by looking specifically at the Indo-Pacific context whilst keeping in mind the most recent developments in the security profiles of the EU and Japan respectively, and in their relationship.

Keywords: Indo-Pacific, European Union, Japan, Regional Security, China, Geopolitics

China's Role in a Multipolar World

Professor Andrew K P Leung

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Abstract:

America's double-standards hegemony underpinned by its military and the dollar is waning. The world is quickly transiting towards multi-polarity where the 'Global South" are better able to exert their respective sovereignty. The BRICS Group and Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) are attracting many more applicants. There is a strong undercurrent for "de-dollarization" to un-fang the mighty dollar. The Conference Board finds that by 2035, developing countries will account for 61% of global economy based on purchasing power parity. As the world's second largest economy, the largest trader and manufacturer deeply imbedded in the global supply and value chains, China has become the largest trading partner for 128 countries compared with 58 for the United States. It is driving a global momentum towards "Asianization" where the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) accounts for a third of the world's population and economy.

Nano-semiconductor-chips aside, the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) finds that China is leading in 37 of the 44 critical technologies, including those driving the 21-century Fourth Industrial Revolution, producing five times as much high-impact research as the United States. Excluding international students, Chinese STEM PhD graduates would outnumber their U.S. counterparts more than three-to-one by 2025, according to George Town University's CSET (Center for Security and Emerging Technology). China is reforming its Belt and Road Initiative which empowers peoples in the developing world through capacity-building and infrastructural connectivity. It is preparing for domestic reforms seeking admission to the Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP).

Its Global Development Initiative (GDI) and Global Security Initiative (GSI) seek to resolve inherent conflicts and turmoils holding back progress towards a more peaceful and prosperous world in line with the UN Sustainable Development Goals. Its electric cars industry, soon becoming the world's largest, is set to contribute towards mitigating global carbon emissions. Its outbound tourists, reaching 166 million in 2019, are beginning to return after the pandemics, deepening people-to-people exchanges between China and the rest of the world. China is a "civilization state" dating back millennia, where the Middle Kingdom deeply connected with distant lands especially during the Tang, Song, and Ming dynasties. With its consistent foreign policy of mutual respect for differences, non-confrontation, adherence to the UN Charter of national sovereignty, and win-win cooperation instead of military coercion, with priority for development based on trade and investments, China is, in a way, moving back to the Future, building a more multi-polar world of peace, stability and prosperity.

Keywords: Multipolarity, Global South, Fourth Industrial Revolution, Asianization, Belt and Road, RCEP, CPTPP

Global Integration Special Purpose Vehicle as Tool of Interregional Cooperation: Pros and Cons

Professor Andrey Kinyakin

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Abstract:

Regional integration is one of the most significant and sustainable processes within global economics and politics over almost a century. Originally aimed at fostering economic and political cooperation between spatially close entities (mainly national states) nowadays it is getting more complex. The reasons are not only enhancing global interdependence but also emergence of new "integration poles" as well as active development of interregional integration cooperation in form of so -called interregionalisms - megaintegration projects, aimed at providing connectivity not only between regional but also extra-regional actors.

One of the key components of this cooperation is employment of so-called global integration special purpose vehicles (SPV) - institutionalised/non-institutionalised integration cooperation tools aimed at pursuing geostrategic goals.

The "pioneer" turns out to be the Chinese "Belt and Road" Initiative (BRI), which from the very beginning tends not only to bolster the national economy by bridging cooperation with various regional and extra-regional actors but also to serve both geoeconomic (getting access to mineral resources or infrastructure) an geopolitical (getting reputation benefits and enhancing influence in general) interests of China.

The active implementation of the BRI and more specifically the achieved results stipulate intensification of multidimensional integration competition between global actors as well as development of new global integration SPVs. The most remarkable cases are "Build Back Better World" initiative by the Group of Seven (G7) and the European (the EU) "Global Getaway" strategy (both put on track in 2021).

The enhancing trend of development of global integration SPVs makes it worth not only analysing a global integration SPV as a tool of interregional integration cooperation as well as comparing the existing practices but also making in-depth analysis of prospects of interregionalism as form of regional integration within contemporary global economic and political processes. For achieving that goal, the specifically elaborated research methodology, encompassing multidimensional comparative analysis, SWOT-analysis as well as simulation modelling based on scenario planning can be employed. It provides important insights helping to prove the research hypothesis of regional integration in fact getting more interregional and the global integration SPVs playing a crucial role in this process.

Keywords: Regional integration, Interregionalism, integration SPV, BRI, Global Getaway

The Parliamentary Assembly of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the consolidation of Article 2 of the Washington Treaty (1949)

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Abstract:

Article 2 of the Treaty establishing the Atlantic Alliance, the Treaty of Washington, provides that "The Parties shall contribute to the development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, fostering better understanding of the principles on which they are founded and helping to create conditions conducive to stability and well-being. The Parties shall endeavour to eliminate any opposition between their respective international economic policies and shall encourage economic collaboration between each Party and any or all of them".

Despite being a founding treaty, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) is a collective defence organisation between its Member States, and, throughout its 74 years of existence, no further steps have been taken towards greater integration, despite the sharing of common values.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation Parliamentary Assembly (NATOPA), although not formally part of the NATO structure, is an International Parliamentary Organisation (IPO) that brings together members of parliament from the states belonging to the North Atlantic Alliance, including associates. Its objective has always been to achieve consultative status, and, throughout its years of existence, it has offered important strategic contributions to NATO's action, which function as a gauge of public opinion and also as a means of communication that helps parliamentarians learn about the opinions and concerns of their counterparts in other countries. This allows parliamentarians to adequately reflect Alliance interests and considerations in their national debates.

Keywords: NATO, NATOPA, Collective Defence, Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty

China's Orwellian Society in the making: The Security Dimension of the Digital Silk Road

Assistant Professor Paulo Afonso B. Duarte, António Tavares, Nasim Mosavi, and Fernando Amorim

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Abstract:

This article aims to analyse the security dimensions of the most recent corridor of China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI): the Digital Silk Road (DSR). Launched in 2015, the DSR can be seen as a complementary and crucial tool that together with China's Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road aims at helping China to best achieve momentum in world affairs. Now, while overwhelmingly addressing the land and maritime components of the BRI, literature tends however to neglect the increasing importance of the DSR. Based on this gap, we expect to improve knowledge on the dual use - that is both for civil and military purposes - that the DSR comprises. In this sense, we argue that the traditional liberal-oriented view of digital corridors no longer seems to be accurate to accompany the realpolitik inherent to states' hybrid strategies. Therefore, we claim that Netpolitik is best complemented by Digitalpolitik in assessing the contours of China's Orwellian society in the making, which is at the origin of our research question: How does the Digital Silk Road contribute to implement an omnipresent state of surveillance in China and increasingly abroad? Our time frame of analysis spans from the launching of the DSR in 2015 until its most recent developments at the time of writing.

Keywords: Digital Silk Road, Digitalpolitik, Netpolitik, China, Security

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

Panel 09 - Online

EU Defence Policy after Russia-Ukraine War

THURSDAY // 14 September 2023 // 09:00 - 11:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Professor Sandra Dias Fernandes

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PAPERS

EU's Relations with Eastern Partnership Countries during the Russia-Ukraine War
Associate Professor Nevra Esentürk

A Study of the British Security Disembedding Mechanism from a Comparative Political Perspective: Centering on the Bosnia War and the Russian-Ukrainian War
Yuhong Li and Luyu Mao

Russia's Soft Power Out of Balance:
How to Regain Influence in Eastern Europe in Times of War
Dr. Adrian Pogacian

Institutional Inertia and Change:
Explaining the Czech and Portuguese Engagement in European Defense Market Integration
Professor Thomas Weiss, Professor Sandra Dias Fernandes, Professor M. Pisklová

Eastern European Postcolonial Resistance: Analysing Public Diplomacy Strategies of Female Leaders on Twitter during the Russo-Ukrainian War **(Online)**
Amber Brittain-Hale

EU's Relations with Eastern Partnership Countries during the Russia-Ukraine War

Associate Professor Nevra Esentürk

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Abstract:

Russia-Ukraine war has had immediate repercussions on EU's foreign, security and defence policies as well as its neighbourhood policy. The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) was initiated in 2004 with the main concern "to avoid drawing new dividing lines in Europe and to promote stability and prosperity within and beyond the new borders of the Union" (COM, 2003: 4). The ENP was reformed in the aftermath of the Arab Uprisings and developments in the East arising from assertive Russian foreign policy and protracted conflicts. In this study, the evolving relations between the EU and Eastern partnership countries are examined in light of the changing dynamics come out by the Russia—Ukraine war. It is argued that the EU has reshaped its ENP in response to geopolitical realities; and demands to be more actively engaged with the eastern partners, developing bilateral relations and regional cooperation and connectivity, inclusive and flexible Eastern partnership perspective.

Keywords: EU, Eastern Partnership Countries, Russia-Ukraine War

A Study of the British Security Disembedding Mechanism from a Comparative Political Perspective: Centering on the Bosnia War and the Russian-Ukrainian War

Yuhong Li and Luyu Mao

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Abstract:

Globalization has led to an increasingly interconnected international community and transmitted risks to every corner of the world through the chain of globalization. Security risks arising from international conflicts seem inescapable. Some countries have begun to build their capacity to deal with the globalization of security risks. They establish disembedding security mechanisms that transcend spatial or temporal boundaries and promote security cooperation with countries or regions that are not geographically close.

This paper proposes four hypotheses of the phenomenon of "risks and security disembedding" in the post-Cold War international society and uses them to explain The United Kingdom's behaviour in the Bosnian War and the Russo-Ukrainian War. In the Bosnian War, confident in its own security and focused on maintaining European stability, The UK has therefore chosen to be cautious in its use of force in international frameworks such as the EU and to maintain a very limited intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina's affairs. In contrast, the failure of the EU and NATO's security mechanism in the Russo-Ukrainian war heightened Britain's anxiety, and the volatile international situation led it to show a strong tendency towards security disembedding, choosing to conclude security communities with extra-territorial states.

Analysis suggests that security mechanisms are also the starting point of conflict, and that countries will rely more on disembedding mechanisms to counteract the global security risks. The current mechanism of security disembedding occurs as a result of the global proliferation of security perceptions as a symbolic token and the recognition of an expert system of security mechanisms formed by states with similar security perceptions.

Keywords: Security Mechanisms, Disembedding, Bosnian War, Russo-Ukrainian War

Russia's Soft Power Out of Balance: How to Regain Influence in Eastern Europe in Times of War

Lecturer Adrian Pogacian

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Abstract:

V. Putin turned the instruments of soft power into a zero-sum game, with winners and losers, thus continuing the (as a whole) realist tradition of Russian politics. It transformed a specific instrument of nonviolence into an element of hard power, thereby manipulating the fundamental resources of promoting Russia's image in the world. Moreover, this combination of soft-hard power is used to achieve goals and control in Eastern European space, which represents, the area of Moscow's privileged interests. Using these two concepts of power simultaneously, it is very difficult to identify when and which of them the Kremlin uses. Moscow uses soft power not for to avoid hard power methods, but to pave the way for their further use. As we can see, Russian political leaders have difficulty accepting and using new concepts (not just soft power), especially those born and developed in the West.

In the great game for power, but also survival, in the international arena, the struggle for cultural influence is becoming more and more intense; various authors support the fact that governments must not only actively support the competitiveness of different branches of national culture but, above all, not forget the main goal, that of creating an objective and favourable image for the country. The dissemination of cultural heritage in foreign countries (friendly or not), the promotion of foreign language learning, the expansion of cultural exchanges, represent one of the most important priorities of the state and an integral part of its foreign policy strategy.

For its part, Russia never really fit into the global order that the Western powers tried to build in the years following the end of the Cold War. Instead, Moscow resents its decline and reduced influence after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The invasion of Ukraine is just the latest expression of this discontent, which is prompting Russia to work with China to undermine US global leadership and try to shake up Europe, where Russian power still matters both economically and military.

Keywords: Eastern Europe, Power, Russia, Vladimir Putin, World Order, War

Institutional Inertia and Change:

Explaining the Czech and Portuguese Engagement in European Defence Market Integration

Prof. T. Weiss, Prof. Sandra Dias Fernandes, and Prof. M. Pisklová

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Abstract:

The Permanent Structured Cooperation in Defence (PESCO) and the European Defence Fund (EDF) constitute another attempt to consolidate the European defence market. In this article, we explain the different engagements of Czechia and Portugal in the two initiatives until 2021 through the evolution and reform of the domestic institutions governing their defence industrial policies. We trace how the institutions were established, how they contributed to the national position on PESCO and EDF and how the two countries' defence industries became involved. The article shows how the different institutionalisation of the defence sector allowed Portugal and its companies to participate more than their Czech counterparts. We contribute to historical institutionalist scholarship by evidencing the critical role of ideas in promoting and preventing policy change. We also offer an insight into the practice of European defence co-operation and identify processes that challenge further integration.

Keywords: Czechia, Defense Industry, Institutionalism, PESCO, Portugal

Eastern European Postcolonial Resistance: Analysing Public Diplomacy Strategies of Female Leaders on Twitter during the Russo-Ukrainian War

Amber Brittain-Hale

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Abstract:

This paper examines the Eastern European postcolonial resistance to Russia in a whole-of-society approach, focusing on social movements and their impact on the international system. Specifically, the study analyses the public diplomacy strategies employed by female leaders from Eastern European countries on Twitter during the Russo-Ukrainian War of 2022-2023. By incorporating the ideas of Eastern European resistance and postcolonial narratives, the research assesses the clarity, coherence, and effectiveness of their messaging in reaching diverse audiences with varying cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

The study utilizes the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC)-22 dictionary to measure the messages' alignment with key stakeholders' linguistic dimensions and priorities. The findings shed light on successful public diplomacy strategies, linguistic patterns, and messaging tactics employed by female leaders from Eastern Europe. Moreover, they explore the impact of these strategies on foreign policy outcomes in times of crisis, specifically in the context of the Russo-Ukrainian War.

The results not only provide valuable insights into leadership communication during conflicts but also emphasize the role of social media platforms like Twitter in the realm of infopolitik and public diplomacy. By examining the relevance of messages communicated by female Eastern European leaders on Twitter, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of their efforts in resisting Russian influence and amplifying their postcolonial narratives. The study's focus on the Eastern European context highlights the significance of whole-of-society resistance movements and their potential to shape international dynamics.

By foregrounding the argument in this manner, readers gain a comprehensive understanding of the paper's focal points and recognize the importance of the study's findings in illuminating the public diplomacy strategies employed by female Eastern European leaders on Twitter during the Russo-Ukrainian War and their alignment with key stakeholders' linguistic dimensions and priorities.

Keywords: Eastern European, Postcolonial Resistance, Public Diplomacy Strategies, Female Leaders, Twitter, Russo-Ukrainian War

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

Panel 10 - Online

International System Change and Middle East Politics

THURSDAY // 14 September 2023 // 11:00 - 13:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Associate Professor Rahman Dag

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PAPERS

Paradiplomacy as a Challenge or Opportunity for Diplomacy: Lessons from Türkiye

Associate Professor Emrah Atar and Associate Professor Seven Erdoğan

A New Dimension in Cyprus Problem: Energy

Dr. Mehmet Ferhat Fırat

Turkish Foreign Policy after the May 2023 Elections

Professor Mark Meirowitz

Crossroads as the Venue for the Turkish Foreign Policy

Professor Murat Çemrek

Paradiplomacy as a Challenge or Opportunity for Diplomacy: Lessons from Türkiye

Assistant Professor Emrah ATAR and Assistant Prof. Seven ERDOĞAN

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emrah.atar@erdogan.edu.tr & seven.erdogan@erdogan.edu.tr

Abstract:

The term "paradiplomacy" describes the operations carried out by subnational actors such as regional governments, municipalities, non-governmental organisations or other local authorities in the area of political science, public administration and international relations. Interactions with foreign governments, international organizations, and other non-governmental entities may be part of these activities, which are frequently geared at advancing the interests of the subnational body in the target. The intensification of the concurrently operating processes of globalization, regionalization and digitalization has resulted in a growing decentralization of power and authority away from national governments and towards subnational groups and also posed a change pressure over diplomacy with the emergence of paradiplomacy. Thus, it is no more possible to have a comprehensive understanding of diplomacy solely by relying upon the traditional state-centric models and approaches. It is also vital to consider the paradiplomatic activities of the sub-national actors to have a better understanding of state diplomacies.

Paradiplomacy is performing a progressively significant character in determining the political climate around the world, and this trend is likely to persist. When viewed in this direction, paradiplomacy also observes its place in a broad framework in Türkiye. The ability of subnational actors to establish various partnerships on the international ground is one of the concerns that organizations face in this context. International partnerships to be established also mean the internationalization of subnational actors.

The vast majority of the paradiplomacy literature has so far based on the analyses on the paradiplomatic actors and their activities. On the other hand, the attitude adopted by the central states in the face of paradiplomacy is one of the recent and less researched trends in diplomacy literature. However, it is inevitable for the central government to develop an attitude towards paradiplomacy and to take action to safeguard that the paradiplomacy takes place within acceptable limits

for state diplomacy. As a result, the main purpose and research question of this study is to discuss the political challenges, opportunities and expectations that paradiplomacy poses and faces, through the example of Türkiye.

In the study, the example of Türkiye will be empirically covered. At the point of this research, the existing attitude of the central government towards paradiplomacy will be revealed and suggestions will be made about how this attitude ought to be adjusted to receive the maximum benefit from paradiplomacy. The research is constructed on a literature review and qualitative research method and analysis. In the qualitative research part of the project, in-depth interviews with representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Türkiye and the Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, whose role is increasing in the conduct of diplomacy in Türkiye's unique presidential system, were used to scrutinize the behaviour and attitude of the central government regarding paradiplomacy. The interviews were conducted face-to-face or online with 12 representatives in total. In addition, the views of academicians and experts conducting research on diplomacy and paradiplomacy in Türkiye were taken. After the data were gathered, a manual analysis was carried out with the help of the Nvivo program. In addition, researchers will use grounded theory as they aim to analyse the acquired data systematically with the comparative analysis method to discover new theories about paradiplomacy.

As the data collection process of the study continues, detailed information about the results will be presented to the audience at the conference time.

Keywords: Diplomacy, Paradiplomacy, Sub-national Actors, Türkiye

A New Dimension in Cyprus Problem: Energy

Mehmet Ferhat Fırat

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Abstract:

The sharing, supply and use of energy resources has always been an element of conflict, as has been experienced in many cases throughout history. Considering the increasing dependence of societies on energy today, it is inevitable to experience disagreements over each newly discovered resource. The increasing power struggle in the Eastern Mediterranean with the energy resources discovered in recent years has gained a new dimension for the countries claiming rights over Cyprus. It is possible to say that the securitization of gas reserves off the coast of Cyprus (which has already been securitized region for many years) has gained a new dimension and shaped the Problem. Given that Turkey, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), Greece and the Greek Administration of Southern Cyprus (GASC) have a similar outlook in terms of energy resources, the natural gas resources discovered offshore Cyprus in recent years have definitely increased the disputes between these neighbouring countries. The Cyprus problem, which has been going on for decades, has expanded in dimension with these discoveries. Therefore, this study aims to analyse the conflicts intensified by energy discoveries in the Turkey-Cyprus-Greece triangle. Developments such as unilateral EEZ announcements, drilling operations and alliance clusters that increase tensions between the parties after natural gas discoveries will be analysed by conducting a process analysis.

Keywords: Cyprus Problem, Securitization, Energy, Turkey-TRNC and Greece-GASC Relations

Turkish Foreign Policy after the May 2023 Elections

Professor Mark Meirowitz

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Abstract:

The May 2023 elections had momentous impact in Turkey. I will analyse the impact of the elections on Turkish foreign policy with particular emphasis on Turkish-US Relations, Turkish-Israel Relations, the situation in a Syria as well as Turkey's regional and global prospects and challenges. Now that President Erdogan has been elected to a 5-year term what are the likely approaches for Turkish foreign policy towards allies and adversaries in the future. I will of course also discuss the relationship between Turkey and Russia as well as the impact of the Ukraine war and Turkey's relations with NATO. The influence of China will also be discussed.

Keywords: Turkey, Turkish Foreign Policy, Ukraine, Russia, NATO

Crossroads as the Venue for the Turkish Foreign Policy

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Abstract:

Turkey is celebrating its centennial Republic this year. However, Turkish Foreign Policy (TFP) could be aged much longer with its many public institutions dating back to the late Ottoman Era let alone Turkish Republic has not only been born on the ashes of the Ottoman but has inherited 95 percent of its military and foreign ministry bureaucrats. Besides Huntington's conceptualization of Turkey as a "torn country" with Mexico in his Clash of Civilizations Turkey has been geographically located as a bridge between Europe and Asia and their ideological connotations. Thus, it is an old cliche to depict TFP at the crossroads especially in the turbulent times questioning the Turkish alliance with the West since Turkey has long received its importance thanks to its long border with the Soviets. Following the Justice and Development Party's advent to government in 2002, shortly after that the discussions of shift of axis have come forth about the TFP likening Kuhn's paradigm shift. Turkey's recent rapprochement with Russia has kept such discussions flame burning. This paper aims to put forward that TFP's location at the crossroads is ontological necessity rather than epistemological definition fostered through ideological inclinations. Thus, rather than Kuhnian paradigm shift Edward Said's Out of Place metaphor is more explanatory in explaining TFP at the crossroads for a century.

Keywords: Turkish Foreign Policy, Paradigm Shift, Out of Place Metaphor, Eurasia

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 11

Global Governance on Global Issues (Online)

THURSDAY // 14 September 2023 // 14:00 - 16:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Professor Ana Isabel Xavier

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PAPERS

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Lecturer Christian Ploberger

Success Criteria for the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations
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Lecturer António Alexandre

Climate Change: A Global Governance Challenge, Requiring Local Specific Responses – The Challenge of Formulating a Successful Response at the Appropriate Governance Level

Lecturer Christian Ploberger

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Abstract:

While Climate Change is a global phenomenon, the impact it generates is local specific. Take for example the issue of sea-level rise. While we can identify a general process of sea-level rise, many localities are facing stronger impacts than other (Island Nation, costal megacities). Or take the issue of temperature increase, as some areas will experience more heatwaves or longer and more intensive periods of droughts. Consequently, a critical issue is how to address those local climate change impacts through local responses while at the same time formulating global governance strategies as a response to a global phenomenon? After all, even as some localities may response faster to climate change impacts because of the threat this impact pose, such local specific responses alone will not be enough to address climate change as global phenomenon. Hence, at what level, local, regional or global should be strategies formulated to address climate change represent a key issue. One may argue that a combination of responses at all three level may offer a successful response, though this would raise the issue of how to integrate all three levels into one strategy. A challenge best described by: how to reach unity within diversity?

Keywords: Climate Change, Regionalism, Global Governance, Risk Management

Success Criteria for the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations

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Abstract:

United Nations peacekeeping operations are forces tasked to give an end to conflicts or take precautions to prevent possible conflicts from occurring. Even though their fundamental objectives differ according to the conflicts those they are involved in, they may basically be considered as giving an end to the conflicts and protecting the civilians in conflict zones. To that end, diverse purposes or criteria could be expressed, such as disarming, demobilizing, and trying to end their hostilities. It can be stated that the actions towards these vary in terms of success and failure, related to the mandate of the operation and capacity of the peacekeepers deployed in conflict zones. With this respect, it can be stated that the mandate and capacity should have an effective and strong volume in conjunction with the objectives of the conflict.

Keywords: The United Nations, Peacekeeping, Conflict, Success and Failure, Criterion

Cultural Heritage in Times of Armed Conflicts, From Security to Strategy

Eva Portel

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Abstract:

The large-scale campaign of destructions of cultural heritage by ISIS in Syria and Iraq starting in 2014 has renewed the academic debate on the role of buildings and artifacts during armed conflicts. This paper presents the evolution of academic thought on the role of heritage in times of war, from heritage as a victim of violence, to heritage as a security threat and concluding with heritage as a strategic resource in wartime.

The first conception of heritage in times of armed conflict stems from the law literature, which considers cultural property as a victim of armed violence and aims to curb violence towards buildings and artifacts by regulating behaviours (Gerstenblith 2006; Sandholtz 2007). Damage authors, either presented as criminals or bloodthirsty madmen, are therefore demonized (Leloup 2021).

The second conception of heritage is influenced by identity-driven conflicts emerging in the 1990's. In this view, heritage destructions undermine the cohesion and stability of affected communities, exacerbate tensions and perpetuate cycles of violence. Thus, they constitute a security threat, as highlighted by Resolutions 2199 and 2347 adopted by the UN Security Council. More precisely, they constitute a threat to human security as modern conflicts are based on cultural, religious, and ethnic divisions and target human communities (Berg Christensen 2022). As a consequence, the heritage-security nexus as a research agenda deals not only with issues of security in conflicts between the West and Islamic fundamentalism but also other geopolitical tensions and manifestations of power (Frederik Rosén 2022).

The third conception of heritage tries to understand how destructions fit into the conflict dynamics. Based on the several uses of strategy identified by Jordan et al. (Jordan et al. 2016), I created a typology presenting different configurations of heritage destructions. It includes retaliation, coercion (including compellence and terrorism), military engagement, military conquest, and posturing.

Studying the role of cultural heritage in an armed conflict allows to investigate an object that has traditionally been excluded from the discipline of war studies. On a

theoretical level, this presentation aims to emphasize the relevance of strategic studies in providing theoretical tools of analysis for heritage destructions. On a practical level, it sheds a new light on a complex process. Recognizing heritage as a victim necessitates concerted efforts to protect and preserve these sites. Viewing cultural heritage destruction as a security threat highlights the interconnectedness of cultural, religious, and ethnic tensions in modern conflicts. Understanding heritage as a strategy reveals the complex dynamics at play, where destruction is used as a tool to achieve various military and political objectives.

The conclusion extrapolates the findings to other cases as we find similar occurrences in other contexts of armed conflict (notably, the Russian invasion of Ukraine exemplifies a widespread campaign to target heritage for destruction and reappropriation).

Keywords: Cultural Heritage, War, Security, Strategy

The Urgent Need to Redefine Peace
A Case Study Among Gypsies in Iraq

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Abstract:

For one social group in particular, structural violence in "post conflict" Iraq and the Kurdish Region of Iraq (KRI) collides with long-standing stigmatisation to prevent social cohesion, poverty alleviation, and meaningful peace. Internationally, very little is known about the Gypsies of Iraq and the KRI. This academic, humanitarian, and development-based neglect does not however negate the violence, persecution, discrimination, and disproportionate poverty experienced by the Iraqi and Kurdish Gypsy population during previous conflicts and contemporary "peace".

Within a (neo)liberal landscape facilitated and reinforced by (neo)liberal peacebuilding, non-literacy and abject poverty are pathologized. I was repeatedly told during my fieldwork in the KRI that Gypsies are "lazy", "not interested in education", "they like the way they live", "they do not want to change – they could integrate if they wanted to, they just choose not to." The Gypsies however, told a different story – one characterised by disproportionate structural violence which exacerbates their perceived status as "other" and reinforces their position at the bottom of the hierarchy of citizenship. Structural violence prevents educational attainment, colludes with discrimination in the labour market, and taints everyday interactions between Gypsies and non-Gypsies. It cannot be escaped as it colours and shapes every aspect of everyday life.

Based upon my semi-ethnographic research with a Kurdish Gypsy community in the KRI, alongside data collected remotely from Gypsies in Federal Iraq, this paper will argue the need for peace to be redefined in order to better recognise structural violence. By using empirical data to demonstrate the harmful effects of such insidious forms of violence, I will highlight how for marginalised, and particularly stigmatised groups such as Gypsies in Iraq, liberal peacebuilding has underpinned and entrenched both poverty and discrimination, which in turn has negatively affected social cohesion. The deconstruction and redefinition of normative "peace" would not only benefit Iraqi and Kurdish Gypsies, but stigmatised and marginalised groups in conflict-affected environments globally.

Keywords: Peace, Violence, Structural Violence, Iraq, Kurdistan, Gypsies

The Human Security - Maritime Security Causal Link: The Case of the Gulf of Guinea

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Abstract:

Kenneth Waltz said in the late 1970s that, given the anarchic order in place, security was the highest goal of states, and they could only pursue other goals once their survival was assured. Security was therefore a very narrow concept, centred on states.

However, with the end of the Cold War there was an opening in the way security was interpreted. Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde are among the main theorists who questioned the primacy of the state in the conceptualization of security. And the fact is that the extension of security to fields beyond the political and military has led to the concepts of human security and maritime security emerging in the lexicon of international relations, the first focusing on people's needs and the latter on preventive measures created to respond to illegal activities at or from the sea.

This article focuses on human insecurity in the Gulf of Guinea and the subsequent impact on maritime security in the region. The findings show that the growing scarcity of fish stocks could jeopardize the safety of coastal populations and affect the region's maritime security.

Keywords: Gulf of Guinea, Fish Stocks, Human Security, Maritime Security

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