

CESRAN2024

1-3 October 2024

Venice | Italy

11

th Annual Conference on International Studies

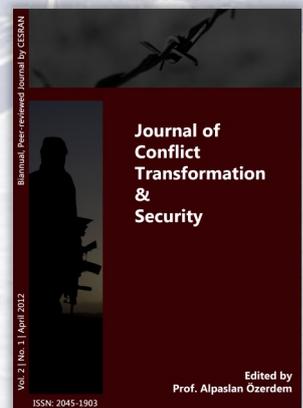
Conference Programme and Abstract Book

The Annual Conference on International Studies
is organised with funding raised by registration fees and support of
the following partners:

CESRAN International
Ca' Foscari University of Venice, Italy
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The Rest: Journal of Politics and Development
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Journal of Conflict Transformation and Security



IVANE JAVAKHISHVILI
TBILISI STATE UNIVERSITY



This event is supported by
the Department of Philosophy and Cultural Heritage of Cà Foscari University of Venice.

Organising Committee

- Professor Ken Booth – CESRAN International
- Assoc. Professor Ozgur Tufekci – CESRAN International
- Assoc. Professor Rahman Dag – CESRAN International & Marmara University, Türkiye
- Professor Carlo Frappi – Ca' Foscari University of Venice, Italy
- Professor Marco Marsili – Ca' Foscari University of Venice, Italy
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- Professor Oktay F. Tanrisever – Middle East Technical University, Türkiye
- Professor Frances Trix – Indiana University, USA
- Professor Stefan Wolff – University of Birmingham, UK

** The surnames are listed in alphabetical order.*



DIRECTOR OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S PRIVATE OFFICE
LE DIRECTEUR DU CABINET DU SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL

DC(2024)0062

29 April 2024

Dear Professor Marsili,

Thank you very much for the invitation that you have extended to the NATO Secretary General to participate in the 11th Edition of the Annual Conference on International Studies to be held in Venice on 1 October 2024.

Due to a prior commitment, the Secretary General will not be able attend to this event. Let me convey to you that NATO highly values contributions like the Annual Conference on International Studies organized annually by your Institution, and is very grateful for its continuous effort to promote discussions on topics that are high on NATO's agenda.

Today, more than ever before, the International community needs to stay united, and continue to discuss and assess the potential far-reaching consequences that the present security environment may bring to our political decisions, our societies, and ultimately, our values.

I wish you all the best for this timely endeavour.

Yours sincerely,



First Deputy Director, PO

p.p Stian Jenssen

Professor Marco Marsili
Department of Philosophy and Cultural Heritage
Cà Foscari University of Venice
Marco.marsili@unive.it

Day 1 - Tuesday, 1 October 2024			
09h00 - 09h30	Registration	Venue: Aula Magna Silvio Trentin*	
09h30 - 10h00	Welcome Speeches: Marco Marsili (Ca' Foscari University) Ozgur Tufekci (CESRAN International)	Venue: Aula Magna Silvio Trentin*	
10h00 - 10h45	Keynote Speech by Luis Tome World Order "with Chinese Characteristics" A World Safe for Autocracy Moderation: Ozgur Tufekci	Venue: Aula Magna Silvio Trentin*	
10h45 - 11h15	Break		
11h15 - 12h00	Keynote Speech by Jana Puglierin Europe in a Changing World Order Moderation: Rahman Dag	Venue: Aula Magna Silvio Trentin*	
12h00 - 13h00			
13h00 - 14h30	<i>In Conversation</i> Ken Booth will be in conversation with Jana Puglierin	Venue: Aula Magna Silvio Trentin*	
14h30 - 15h00	Break		
15h00 - 16h30	Panel 01	Venue: Aula Magna Silvio Trentin*	
16h30 - 18h00	Panel 02	Venue: Aula Magna Silvio Trentin*	
Day 2 - Wednesday, 2 October 2024			
09h00 - 10h30	Panel 03 // Panel 04 // Panel 05 // Panel 06	Venue: Phil. and Cultural Heritage**	
10h30 - 11h00	Break		
11h00 - 12h30	Panel 07 // Panel 08 // Panel 09	Venue: Phil. and Cultural Heritage**	
12h30 - 13h30			
13h30 - 15h00	Panel 10 // Panel 11 // Panel 12	Venue: Phil. and Cultural Heritage**	
15h00 - 15h30	Break		
15h30 - 17h00	Panel 13 // Panel 14 // Panel 15	Venue: Phil. and Cultural Heritage**	
Day 3 - Thursday, 3 October 2024			
09h00 - 10h30	Panel 16 // Panel 17 // Panel 18 // Panel 19	Venue: Phil. and Cultural Heritage**	
10h30 - 11h00	Break		
11h00 - 12h30	Panel 20 // Panel 21 // Panel 22	Venue: Phil. and Cultural Heritage**	
12h30 - 13h30			
13h30 - 15h00	Panel 23 // Panel 24 // Panel 25	Venue: Phil. and Cultural Heritage**	
15h30 - 16h30	Book Discussion	Online	

* **Venue:** Aula Magna Silvio Trentin at Ca' Dolfin (info on the room and the building here: <https://www.unive.it/pag/31150/> **Map:** <https://apps.unive.it/mappe/sede/990037>). **Address:** First floor, Dorsoduro 3825/e, Calle Saoneria

** **Venue:** Department of Philosophy and Cultural Heritage (DFBC) (info on the Dept. Building here <https://www.unive.it/pag/28077> **Map:** <https://apps.unive.it/mappe/sede/990044>). **Address:** Malcanton Marcorà, Dorsoduro 3484/D, Calle Contarini **Rooms:** Biral Room, Mazzariol Room, Valent Room



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The Patriarchal Cathedral Basilica of
Saint Mark - Venice



Keynote Speech 1

Venue: Aula Magna Silvio Trentin

TUESDAY // 01 October 2024 // 10:00 - 10:45 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)



World Order "with Chinese Characteristics" A World Safe for Autocracy

Luís Tomé

Moderation
Özgür Tüfekçi

The Ca' Foscari Palace



Keynote Speech 2

Venue: Aula Magna Silvio Trentin

TUESDAY // 01 October 2024 // 11:15 - 12:00 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)



Europe in a Changing World Order

Jana Puglierin

Moderation

Rahman Dağ

Doge's Palace - Venice



In Conversation

Hybrid – Venue: *Aula Magna Silvio Trentin*

TUESDAY // 01 October 2024 // 13:00 - 14:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)



Jana Puglierin

(European Council on Foreign Relations)

will be in conversation with

Ken Booth

(CESRAN International)



Padrão dos Descobrimentos
(Monument of the Discoveries)

Panel 01 // Hybrid // Venue: Aula Magna Silvio Trentin

The Role of Character Assassination in International Conflict

TUESDAY // 01 October 2024 // 15:00 - 16:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Eric Shiraev

George Mason University



Conceptualizing Character Assassination in the Context of International Relations

Andrew Armstrong

George Mason University

From Mark Antony to Modern Politics:

The Endurance and Evolution of Character Assassination

Martijn Icks

University of Amsterdam

From Emasculation to Demonization:

Strategies of Character Attacks in International Affairs

Eric Shiraev

George Mason University

Reputational Attacks in the Context of Global Knowledge Warfare

Holger Mölder & Eric Shiraev

Tallinn University of Technology & George Mason University



Potala Palace: Lhasa, Tibet

Panel 02 // Hybrid // Venue: Aula Magna Silvio Trentin

Humanitarian Intervention and Norm Changing in Regional and International Politics

TUESDAY // 01 October 2024 // 16:30 - 18:00 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Sujata Ashwarya

Jamia Millia Islamia



Humanitarian Intervention and Responsibility to Protect:
Perspectives from the MERCOSUR Region

Segah Tekin & Zehra Korkmaz Kökdere

Necmettin Erbakan University

Sovereignty:

Mirror of R2P: Humanitarian Intervention as the Last Resort

Aradhana Misra & Shweta Mishra

Ambalika Institute of Management and Technology

Revisiting Criteria for Humanitarian Interventions in Academic Research

Ekrem Ok

CESRAN International & Agri Ibrahim Cecen University

Challenging US Water Weaponization:

Why There Is No Water Taboo?

Eliška Pohnerová

Charles University, Prague



Panel 03 // Hybrid // Venue: Biral Room
Regional Powers' Involvement in the Conflict Zones

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Constantin-Bercean Ioana

*"Ion I.C. Brătianu" Institute of
Political Science and International Relations*



Understanding Turkish Foreign Policy Tools
through the Prism of the Second Nagorno-Karabakh War

Samuele Carlo Ayrton Abrami & Simona Scotti

Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore & Topchubashov Centre

What and How to Do with the Turkish Foreign Policy:
A Search for Theoretical Basis Through In-betweenness

Murat Çemrek

Necmettin Erbakan University

Unveiling the Strategic Transformation under Erdoğan's Rule:
A Two-Decade Analysis of Turkey's Foreign Policy Trajectory

Chiara Boldrini & Riccardo Gasco

University of Bologna

Examining Political Parties' Perspectives on Foreign Policy through Their Election Manifesto:
2023 General Elections in Türkiye

İbrahim Yılmaz

Samsun University

The Influence of Regional Organizations on Humanitarian Intervention:
Libya Military Intervention

Zehra Korkmaz Kökdere

Necmettin Erbakan University

Blue Mosque: İstanbul

Panel 04 // Hybrid // Venue: Mazzariol Room

Türkiye'nin Ulusal ve Uluslararası Siyaseti (in Turkish)

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Taner Zorbay

Middle East Technical University



Türkiye and OECD Region Comparison in Terms of Compliance with the Paris Climate Agreement: Emission and Renewable Energy Level Estimation with ANFIS

Abdullah Zübeyr Şekerci

İstanbul Rumeli University (Online)

Investigation of Changes in the Approaches of Radical Religious Groups Towards Politics in Türkiye: The Case of Hezbollah and Akıncılar

Tugay Taşçı

Aksaray University (Online)

Public Service Delivery and Mega Projects in Türkiye

Rabia Büyükpınar

Zonguldak Bülent Ecevit University

Yükselen Güçlerin Büyük Spor Organizasyonlarına Katılımı:
Türkiye Örneği

Fevzi Kırbaşoğlu & Özgür Tüfekçi

Karadeniz Technical University & Karadeniz Technical University-CESRAN International (Online)



Panel 05 // Online

Impact of Russia-Ukraine War on Post-Soviet Hinterland

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Tomasz Marcinkowski

Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski (Online)



Disinformation as a Tool in the Fight of Special Services Against Organized

Andrzej Skwarski

Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski (Online)

Russian Propaganda and Disinformation Narratives in the National Parliamentary Election Campaign in Poland in 2023

Juliusz Sikorski

Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski (Online)

Poles Towards Ukrainian Refugees in the Context of the Russian-Ukrainian War

Łukasz Budzyński

Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski (Online)

Russo-Georgia Conflict

Giorgi Kekeliani

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (Online)

The Freedom of Expression: Challenges for Judges in Virtual Reality

Patrycja J. Suwaj

Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski (Online)



The Peruvudaiyar Kovil,
India

Panel 06 // Hybrid // Venue: Valent Room
Climate Change and Developing International Norms

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Aşkın İnci Sökmen Alaca

Istanbul Arel University



Codification and Implementation of Climate Change Policies
and the Business Environment in Uzbekistan

Ibrahim Mazlum

Marmara University (Online)

From "Climate Club" to "Carbon Border Adjustment":
Reshaping the Global Climate Governance System

Kongwen Guan & Yiliang Zhao & Fangyuan Chang

Beihang University

Challenges to Advancement:

Examining Japan's Stagnant Climate Change Strategy After the 2015 Paris Agreement

Meltem Ince Yenilmez

Izmir Democracy University (Online)

Climate Change and the Role of International Organizations: Pakistan's Perspective

Safia Arif Khan

Independent Scholar

Human Rights-based Approach to Climate Change and Landmine Problem in Azerbaijan
after the Second Karabakh War

Najiba Mustafayeva

Ibn Haldun University



Panel 07 // Hybrid // Venue: Biral Room
Patterns of New World Order?

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 11:00 - 12:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Salome Dundua

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University



Ten Reasons Why 2024 Marks an Inflexion Point Upending the Global Order

Andrew K P Leung

Andrew Leung International Consultants & Investments (Online)

China's Rise as A Maritime Power: Interests and International Security Impacts

Daniel Cardoso

Autónoma University of Lisbon (Online)

Uncertainty in Bloc Geopolitics

Carlos Leone

Open University, Lisbon

Post-Westphalian Technopolar World Trajectory: Can Governments Navigate through AI Challenges, Prospects and Ethics of Neo-Geopolitical Actors?

Aswini-Kumar

National Chengchi University

How International Organizations Influence Ocean Governance?

A Case Study of High Seas Biodiversity Governance

Chi-Ting Tsai

National Taiwan University

Revisiting Oppenheimer's Legacy: Nuclear Deviance in the 21st Century

Constantin-Bercean Ioana

"Ion I.C. Brătianu" Institute of Political Science and International Relations

Sharyn Canyon, Kazakhstan

Panel 08 // Hybrid // Venue: Mazzariol Room
Re-Positioning the EU in Emerging World Order

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 11:00 - 12:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Marco Marsili

Ca' Foscari University



The European Union at the Crossroads: Between EDI and Common Foreign Policy

Michael Selis

World Complexity Science Academy (Online)

Parliamentary Diplomacy and Multilevel Governance

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE)

Nádia Loureiro

Universidade Nova de Lisboa (Online)

Securing Europe:

Safeguarding of the Baltics as A Starting Point for A More Cohesive Defence Approach

Anna Zaccaro

University of Rostock

The European Union as a Global Norm-Shaper on Artificial Intelligence

Ana Brandão

CICP / Universidade do Minho



Panel 09 // Hybrid // Venue: Valent Room

Turning Points in Russian Foreign Policy and Russia-Ukraine War

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 11:00 - 12:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Murat Çemrek

Necmettin Erbakan University



Regional (non) - Cooperation in the Former Soviet Area Post-2022

Iryna Lukianova

University of Zurich

Border Trafficking as a Political Weapon:

The Case of the Russian North-Western Border

Oksana Ermolaeva

Complutense University, Madrid, Spain

The Psychology of Deterrence

How Effective is the Madman Theory in the Ukraine Russia War

Aşkın İnci Sökmen Alaca

İstanbul Arel University

The Religious Factors and Actors in the Russia-Ukraine War

Sergei Mudrov

Institute of Political Science of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (Online)

The Analysis of The Nagorno Karabagh In The Light of Conflictology

Ali Hazer Deniz

TERAM (Online)

Noire-Dame de Paris

Panel 10 // Hybrid // Venue: Biral Room

Social Movements in Action: Changing Nature of National and International Politics

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 13:30 - 15:00 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Salome Dundua

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University



Understanding Urban Movements: Comparative Analysis of Berlin and Tbilisi

Lika Kvinchia

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Student Protests in Georgia: A Comparative Study with International Student Movements

Khatia Imerlishvili

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

How Power, Protest, and Participation Works in Developing Democracy:
The Case of Urban Movement in Batumi, Georgia

Tamar Karaia

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Social Inequality as A Starting Point for Conflict
in the Context of Agrarian Policy of the State on the Example of Shida Kartli

Maka Gogilashvili

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

The Strategy Peculiarities in the Protest for Saving Urban Fabric in Tbilisi

Salome Dundua

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Illiberal Democracy or Russian Dream?
Mainstreaming Euroscepticism and Far-right Politics in Georgia

Sandro Tabatadze

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

The Shrine of Hazrat Ali, also known as the Blue Mosque, is a mosque located in the heart of Mazar-i-Sharif, Afghanistan.



Panel 11 // Hybrid // Venue: Mazzariol Room
Evolving Nature of Religious and Ethnic Conflicts in World Politics

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 13:30 - 15:00 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Fernando Jorge Cardoso

Autónoma University of Lisbon



Insurgency in Cabo Delgado: On the Nature of the Conflict

Fernando Jorge Cardoso

Autónoma University of Lisbon

Joining the "Right Side" of the War: Transnational Diaspora Fighters and Victorious Rebels

Ahmet Yusuf Özdemir

Ibn Haldun University

Religious Conflicts in the Georgian Socio-Political Environment

Nika Gigauri

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Comparative Analysis of Conflict Resolution and Mediation Cases in the Balkans

Amella Bashoviq

South East European University (Online)

Brazilian Messianic Judaism: Appropriation of Judaism by neo-Pentecostal Religious Identity Movements and Its Influence on International Relations between Brazil and Israel

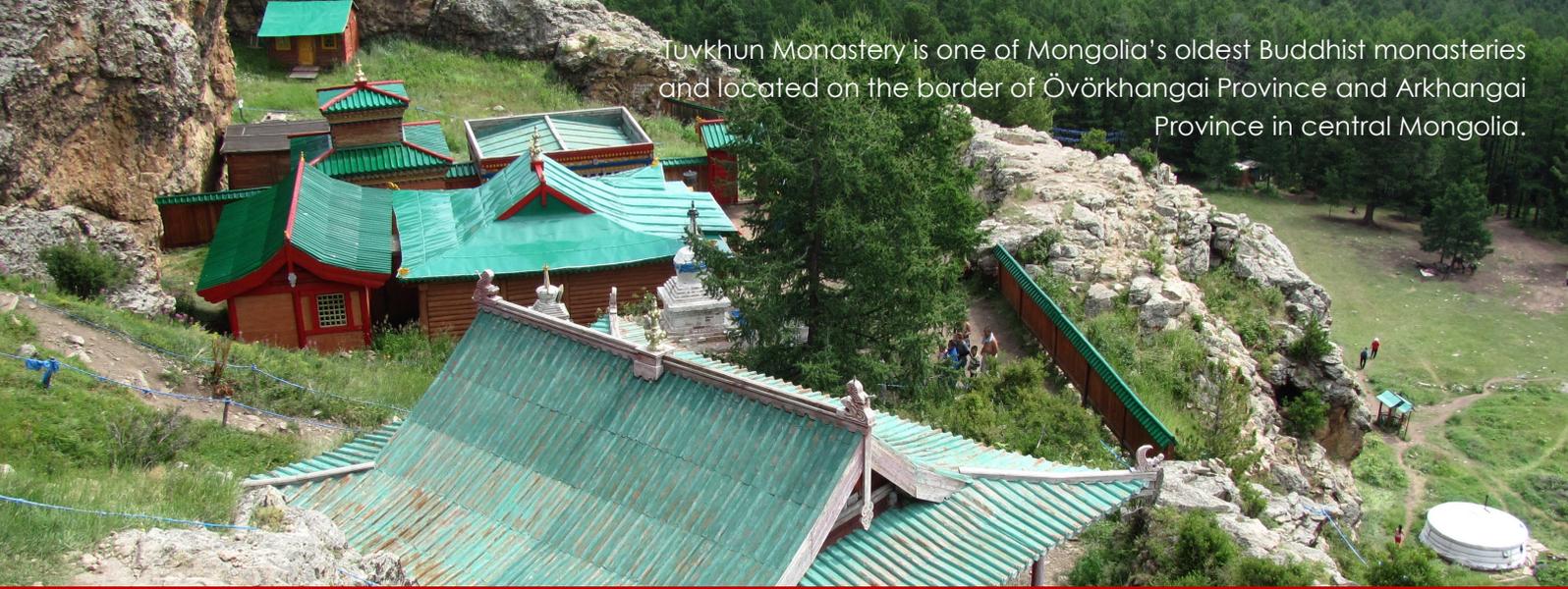
Carlos Martins

Universidade Autônoma De Lisboa

Holy See's Global Mission: A Reflection from the East by Reviewing Post-Vatican II Concordats

Thomas Ching Wei – Tu

National Chengchi University



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

Panel 12 // Hybrid // Venue: Valent Room

Coping with Common Challenges: Transnational Environmental Security

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 13:30 - 15:00 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

María Antónia Pires de Almeida

Universidade do Minho



The Planetary Limits of the Global Commons in the Age of the Anthropocene

Brigida Brito

Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa (Online)

Climate Change as a Non-Traditional Security Threat:
Regional Cooperation in South Asia

Muhammad Arif Khan

Federal Urdu University of Arts, Sciences & Technology

Water Sustainability in the Iberian Peninsula

María Antónia Pires de Almeida

Universidade do Minho

Impact and Resiliency in the COVID-19 Era: Household Food Security in Laos

Siriporn Jantanasakulwong

Ubon Ratchathani University

The Biopolitics of Global Reproductive Justice

Jane Marcus-Delgado

City University of New York College of Staten Island

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 13 // Online

Heading to Where? Questioning the Existence or Policies of NATO

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 15:30 - 17:00 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Andrew K P Leung

Andrew Leung International Consultants & Investments (Online)



The NATO Southern Flank: The Need for A New Vision?

Luís Bernardino

Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa (Online)

A Discourse and Action Analysis of NATO's Security Perception in the Context of Changing Strategic Concepts

Ümran Gözel & Ismail Erkam Sula

Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University (Online)

Unprotected Sovereignty:

The Kakhovka Dam Crisis and NATO's Missing R2P Framework

Amber Brittain-Hale

BrainStates Inc (Online)

The EU as a Defence Actor and the NATO-EU Cooperation, Especially in Hybrid Warfare with Russia:

A New Strategic Responsibility for an EU-led NATO?

Maurizio Geri

Ca' Foscari/George Mason University (Online)



Panel 14 // Hybrid // Venue: Mazzariol Room
Multi-Polar Regionalism as New World Order?

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 15:30 - 17:00 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Sandro Tabatadze

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University



Turkish-American Relations: Status, Prospects and Future Challenges

Mark Meiowitz

State University of New York (SUNY) Maritime College & CESRAN International (Online)

Empty Shell Regionalism?

The Prospects for the Eurasian Economic Union
within the New Geopolitics and Geoeconomics in Eurasia

Andrey Kinyakin

Centro Universitário Integrado

Historical Legacies and Contemporary Geopolitics in Northeast Asia:
Implications for Regional Security

Carla Melo

Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa (Online)

Testing Major Theories of International Relations on Regionalism of Central Asia

Yaşar Sarı

Ibn Haldun University

Japan's Foreign Policy towards the US and China: An Ontological Security Perspective

Rasha El Baz

NewGiza University



Panel 15 // Hybrid // Venue: Valent Room
Challenges in Contemporary Societies

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 15:30 - 17:00 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Marco Marsili

Ca' Foscari University



Minori Stranieri non Accompagnati: Ricerca di Sistemi Operativi Efficienti

Cinzia Valente

University of Modena and Reggio Emilia (Online)

Europe in the Spitzenkandidaten' Campaigns

Patrizia Santoro & Rossana Sampugnaro & Hans-jörg Trezz

Università degli studi di Catania & Università degli studi di Catania & Scuola Normale Superiore di Firenze

Estetica della Moltitudine e Potere:

Dalla Resistenza alla Rappresentanza Politica nell'Era dei Movimenti Radicali

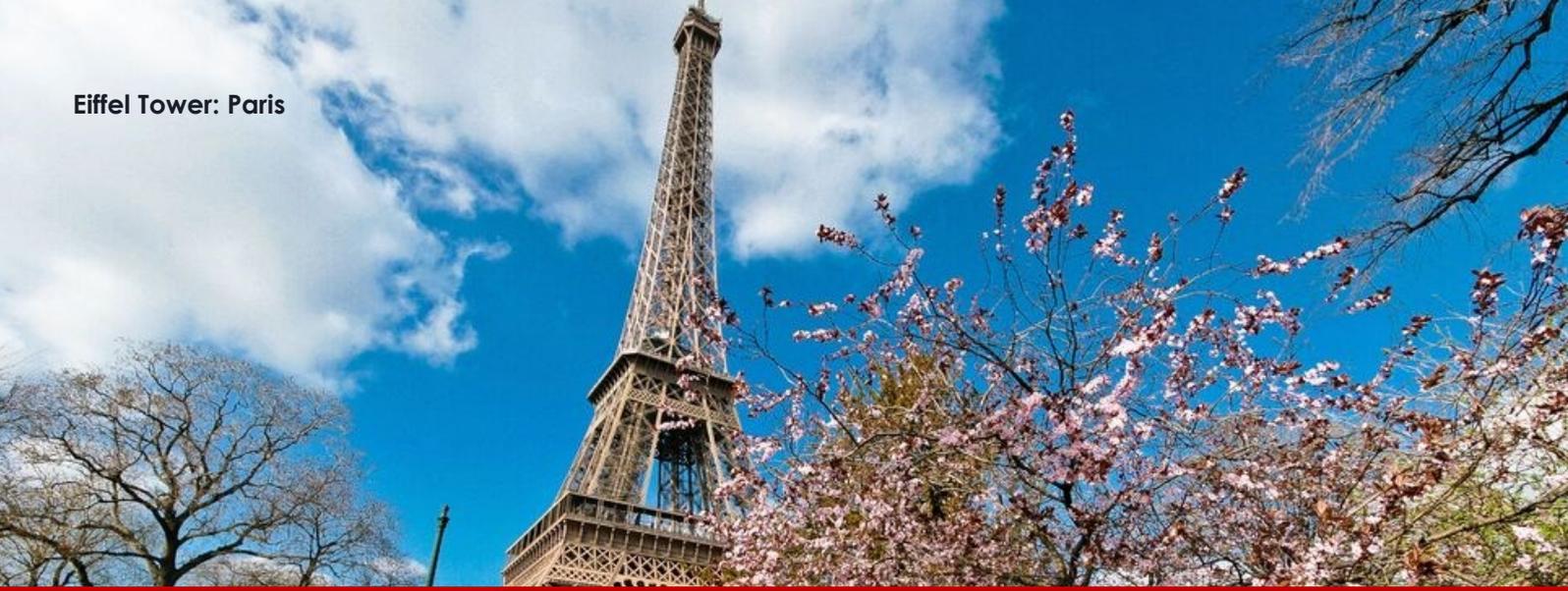
Mafalda Carvalho Cardoso

University of the Basque Country UPV/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, EHU (Online)

The "Green Revolution" for Environmental Security in Agro-Ecological Urbanism

Lucia Chieffallo & Annunziata Palermo & Gaetano Tucci

University of Calabria (Online)



Panel 16 // Hybrid // Venue: Biral Room
Reshaping the Middle East After Israel-Gazza War

THURSDAY // 03 October 2024 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Salome Dundua

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University



From Prague to the Middle East:

Understanding Czech Diplomacy in Turbulent Times of Israel-Hamas War

Eva Taterova

Institute of Contemporary History of Czech Academy of Sciences

Regime Durability and Regional Order: The Specific Case of Iran-Hezbollah Relations

Vitor Fernandes

Lusíada University, CEJEIA and AUL/OBSERVARE

The Yemeni Civil War: Territorial Partition as the Path to Peace

Riddhi Likhe

George Washington University (Online)

The Impact of Regional Conflicts on Global Stability:

A Case Study of the Israel-Palestine Conflict

Roshan Taj Humayun

Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University (Online)

The opposition of Iran's Islamic Theocracy: The case of Pahlavi's Monarchical Movement

Maria João Tomás

ISCTE-IUL, OBSERVARE (Online)



Panel 17 // Online

The European Union in the Face of Contemporary Challenges and Threats

THURSDAY // 03 October 2024 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Aleksandra Szczerba

The Jacob of Paradies University (Online)



“Union of Equality” or rather “Equality in Crisis”?

A Critical Analysis of the Latest Development of EU Anti-discriminatory Law

Aleksandra Szczerba

Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski/Team Europe Direct (Online)

The Future of the European Union in the Time of Crisis:

A Multi-Variant Analysis

Zbigniew Czachór

Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski (Online)

The Community Method of Cohesion Policy Management
and the Autonomy of Member States

Jacek Jaśkiewicz

Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski (Online)

The European Union Amidst Change Due to the Pandemic and the War in Ukraine

Tomasz Marcinkowski

Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski (Online)

Machu Picchu: Peru



Panel 18 // Hybrid // Venue: Mazzariol Room

China's Political, Economic and Social Enforcements in World Politics

THURSDAY // 03 October 2024 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Kongwen Guan

Beihang University



Tilting the Scales:

Economic Penetration of China within the European Neighbourhood Policy

Stan Adrian Daniel & Stan Brindusa Nicoleta,

Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, Romania

China's Perspectives on Central Asia:

Analysing the Evolution of Bilateral Relations through Political Discourse

Patrícia Marrafa

Iscite-Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (Online)

Maintaining the Status Quo over Taiwan in the Face of a Rising China

Arthur Wong

University of Cambridge (Online)

Impact of Trieste Port on China-Italy Geo-economic Relations

Tianyi Liu

Jilin International Studies University

Soft Power with Hard Cash:

The Role of Seaport Diplomacy in the Reemergence of the Pax Sinica

Paulo Duarte & Madeleine Costa

CEAD-Universidade Lusófona & University of Minho (Online)

The Great Wall of China: China

Panel 19 // Hybrid // Venue: Valent Room

Great Power Politics and Rivalries Between the US and China

THURSDAY // 03 October 2024 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Chi-Ting Tsai

National Taiwan University



Walking A Tightrope: How US-China Competition Influences Balance and Legal Developments of the South China Sea

Hsiao-chuan Liao

National Taiwan University

Offensive Realism and Cognitive Warfare:
An Analysis of U.S. Global Strategy in the Information Age

Jiayue Li & Fu Le

Lingnan University & Shenzhen University

Adapting to Power Shifts: China's Rise and Maritime Middle Powers' Strategies

Lisha Chen

Lingnan University

Middle Powers in the Persian Gulf: Evolving Identity, Status Pursuit, and Strategic Influence

Sujata Ashwarya

Jamia Millia Islamia

Is it Possible to Come to an Agreement on the South China Sea without India?

Dilek Karadeniz Topal & Özgür Tüfekçi

Karadeniz Technical University & CESRAN International (Online)

The Acropolis: Athens, Greece



Panel 20 // Hybrid // Venue: Biral Room
Identity Politics in International Conflicts

THURSDAY // 03 October 2024 // 11:00 - 12:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Yaşar Sari

Ibn Haldun University



Between Freedom and Identity: The Case of Gagauzian Turks

Taner Zorbay

Middle East Technical University

Economic Discrimination of Women in Professional Tennis

Mariia Maslova

Saint Petersburg State University

Nationhood and Anthems:

Georgia and East-Central Europe in Comparative Perspectives

Zviad Abashidze & Nino Samkharadze

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Institutional Theory, Social Structures, and Equilibrium Cycles:

Electoral Engineering and Party System Fragmentation in Chile

Kenneth Bunker

Universidad San Sebastián

"Refugees from our bad":

Exploring Narratives of Refugee Women in Greece, Survivors of Gendered Based Violence

Konstantinos Kolovos

EPAPSY, Panteio University of Social and Political Science

The Brandenburg Gate: Berlin



Panel 21 // Hybrid // Venue: Mazzariol Room

Historical Roots Shading Lights to the Emerging World Order

THURSDAY // 03 October 2024 // 11:00 - 12:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Mujib Alam

Jamia Millia Islamia



Reframing Isolationism

Analysis of Foreign Policy Crises from the Interwar Period

Michal Bula

Charles University

Spies in a Barrel: When to Reel in Espionage

Afiq bin Oslan

Max Planck Institute for Tax Law and Public Finance

Decolonisation and National Identity:

Challenges and Opportunities for Pakistan

Junaid Amjad

Riphah Institute of Public Policy

On the Ashes of the USSR: Nationality in Evolution

Michele Del Balso

Università degli Studi del Molise (Online)



Panel 22 // Hybrid // Venue: Valent Room

Relations between National Education and International Politics

THURSDAY // 03 October 2024 // 11:00 - 12:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Marco Marsili

Ca' Foscari University



Tbilisi Public Higher Education Institutions, as Developing Organizations:
Students' Assessments

Teona Tabuashvili

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Building Green Businesses from the Beginning: Transatlantic Knowledge Sharing of Arctic and Non-Arctic Rural Community Development Strategies

Sonja Bickford & Ruth Claire Black

Oregon Institute of Technology

Reimagining International Studies:

Educating for Global Citizenship through Evidence-Based Engagement

Pedro Silva Baptista

University of Minho

Irregular Immigration Among Kurdish University Graduates: A Case Study of KRG 2014-2024

Harem Hasan Ahmed Baban

University of Raparin

The Role of History Textbooks in Shaping National Identity and Ontological Security in Kazakhstan

Nurlan Muminov

Al-Farabi Kazakh National University



Panel 23 // Hybrid // Venue: Biral Room
Energy Issues in World Politics

THURSDAY // 03 October 2024 // 13:30 - 15:00 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Sujata Ashwarya

Jamia Millia Islamia



*Kazakhstan as the Hub for EU-China Connectivity:
Prospects and Challenges*

Tiago Botelho dos Santos & Diogo Borges

CCCM and CEHSCTE (Online)

Bridging Troubled Waters:

Mediation Insights from the US-Brokered Israel-Lebanon Maritime Accord

Sujata Ashwarya

Jamia Millia Islamia

The Impact of Energy Security on Inter-Relations

Between the Gulf Cooperation Council Countries: A Comparative Study

Haila Al-Mekaimi

Kuwait University (Online)

Europe's Energy Shift to the United States

since the Ukraine War, and Other Alternatives for Gas Supply

Josep Errea Gil

Complutense University of Madrid - Topchubashov Center

The Great Pyramid of Giza: Egypt



Panel 24 // Hybrid // Venue: Mazzariol Room

Emerging Power's Challenges to the Embedded Liberal International Order

THURSDAY // 03 October 2024 // 13:30 - 15:00 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Vitor Fernandes

Lusáda University, CEJEIA and AUL/OBSERVARE



India and Türkiye's Approaches to the Liberal International Order in the 21st Century:
An Analysis of Continuity and Change

Mujib Alam

Jamia Millia Islamia

Interconnected-ness via Regional Organization to the International Politics

Rahman Dag

CESRAN International & Marmara University

The Development of Brazil's Oil Industry and the Politicisation of Petrobras

Zehra Aksu & Özgür Tüfekçi

Kadir Has University & Karadeniz Technical University & CESRAN International (Online)

Basilica de la Sagrada Familia
Barcelona, Spain

Panel 25 // Hybrid // Venue: Valent Room

Rising Global Security Challenges in International Politics

THURSDAY // 03 October 2024 // 13:30 - 15:00 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Eva Taterova

Institute of Contemporary History of Czech Academy of Sciences



International Migration and Increasing Welfare and Equality
in Urban-Rural Health in Larestan Region, Iran

Majid-Hojjati & Maryam Fozuni

Islamic Azad University & Larestan University of Medical Sciences (Online)

Immigration and Human Security

Shereen Nadim

AAST

Media Portrayal and Policies: A Study of Nepali Women Migrants

Binita Nepali & Shristi Tamrakar

Tribhuvan University (Online)

Migration Governance:

Assessing Economic Opportunities of Women Migrants from the Sending Countries
Perspectives

Shristi Tamrakar & Binita Nepali

Tribhuvan University (Online)

Rising Human Security Threats in Asia and Challenge of Migration for Europe

Qamar Cheema

National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad and Sanober Institute

Inequality: A Core Aspect of Human Security

Christian Ploberger

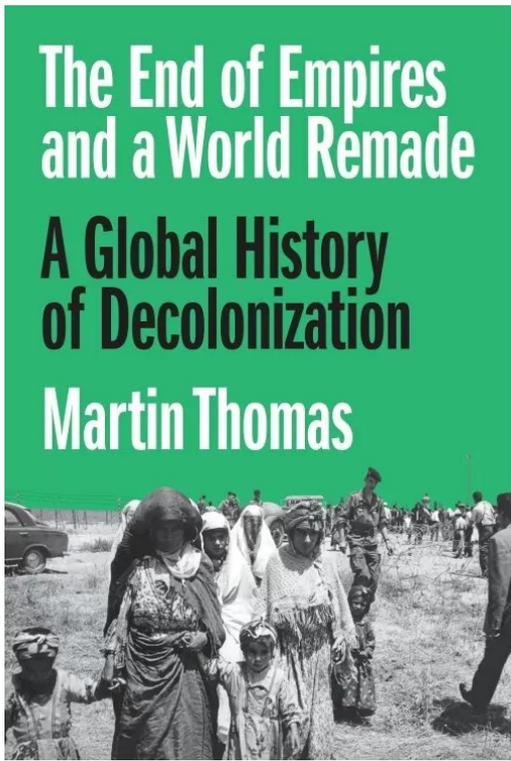
Rajamangala University of Technology Tawan-Ok (Online)



Historic Mosque City of Bagerhat

Book Discussion (Online)

THURSDAY // 03 October 2024 // 15:30 - 16:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)



***The End of Empires and a World Remade:
A Global History of Decolonization***

Martin Thomas

**Moderation:
*Associate Professor Rahman DAG***

Participant List

1.	Abdullah Zübeyr Şekerci	PhD Student	İstanbul Rumeli University	Türkiye
2.	Afiq bin Oslan	Assistant Professor	Max Planck Institute for Tax Law and Public Finance	Germany
3.	Ahmet Yusuf Özdemir	Assistant Professor	Ibn Haldun University	Türkiye
4.	Aleksandra Szczerba	Professor	Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski/Team Europe Direct	Poland
5.	Ali Hazer Deniz	Dr.	TERAM	Türkiye
6.	Amber Brittain-Hale	Lecturer	BrainStates Inc	USA
7.	Amella Bashoviq	PhD Student	South East European University	North Macedonia
8.	Ana Brandão	Assistant Professor	CICP-University of Minho	Portugal
9.	Ana Isabel Xavier	Professor	OBSERVARE-Autónoma University of Lisbon	Portugal
10.	Andrew K P Leung	Professor	Andrew Leung International Consultants & Investments	Hong Kong
11.	Andrey Kinyakin	Professor	Centro Universitário Integrado	Brazil
12.	Andrzej Skwarski	Dr.	Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski/Team Europe Direct	Poland
13.	Anna Zaccaro	PhD Student	University of Rostock	Germany
14.	Annunziata Palermo	Associate Professor	University of Calabria	Italy
15.	Aradhana Misra	Lecturer	Ambalika Institute of Management and Technology	India
16.	Arthur Wong	MA Student	University of Cambridge	United Kingdom
17.	Aswini-Kumar	PhD Student	National Chengchi University	Taiwan (R.O.C.)
18.	Aşkın İnci Sökmen Alaca	Professor	İstanbul Arel University	Türkiye
19.	Binita Nepali	Lecturer	Tribhuvan University	Nepal
20.	Brigida Brito	Associate Professor	Autónoma University of Lisbon / OBSERVARE	Portugal
21.	Carla Melo	PhD Student	Autónoma University of Lisbon	Portugal
22.	Carlo Frappi	Professor	Ca' Foscari University of Venice	Italy
23.	Carlos Leone	Professor	Open University, Lisbon	Portugal
24.	Carlos Matins	PhD Student	Autónoma University of Lisbon	Portugal
25.	Chiara Boldrini	PhD Student	University of Bologna	Italy
26.	Chi-Ting Tsai	Associate Professor	National Taiwan University	Taiwan (R.O.C.)
27.	Christian Ploberger	Lecturer	Rajamangala University of Technology Tawan-OK	Thailand
28.	Cinzia Valente	Assistant Professor	University of Modena and Reggio Emilia	Italy
29.	Constantin-Bercean Ioana	Senior Lecturer	"Ion I.C. Brătianu" Institute of Political Science and International Relations	Romania
30.	Daniel Cardoso	Associate Professor	Autónoma University of Lisbon	Portugal
31.	Dilek Karadeniz Topal	PhD Student	Karadeniz Technical University	Türkiye
32.	Diogo Borges	PhD Student	CCCM and CEI-ISCTE	Portugal
33.	Ekrem Ok	Lecturer	Cesran Int. & Agri Ibrahim Cecen University	Türkiye
34.	Eliška Pohnerová	PhD Student	Charles University	Czechia
35.	Eric Shiraev	Professor	George Mason University	USA

36.	Eva Taterova	Assistant Professor	Institute of Contemporary History of Czech Academy of Sciences	Czechia
37.	Fangyuan Chang	Professor	Beihang University	China
38.	Fernando Jorge Cardoso	Professor	Autónoma University of Lisbon	Portugal
39.	Fevzi Kirbaşođlu	PhD Student	Karadeniz Technical University	Türkiye
40.	Fu Le	Dr.	Shenzhen University	China
41.	Gaetano Tucci	PhD Student	University of Calabria	Italy
42.	Giorgi Kekeliani	Lecturer	Tbilisi State University	Georgia
43.	Haila Al-Mekaimi	Professor	Kuwait University	Kuwait
44.	Hans-jörg Trenz	Professor	Scuola Normale Superiore di Firenze	Italy
45.	Harem Hasan Ahmed Baban	Assistant Professor	University of Raparin	Iraq
46.	Holger Mölder	Professor	Tallinn University of Technology	Estonia
47.	Hsiao-chuan Liao	Associate Professor	National Taiwan University	Taiwan
48.	Ibrahim Mazlum	Assistant Professor	Marmara University	Türkiye
49.	Iryna Lukianova	PhD Student	University of Zurich	Switzerland
50.	İbrahim Yılmaz	Assistant Professor	Samsun University	Türkiye
51.	İsmail Erkam Sula	Associate Professor	Ankara Yildirim Beyazit University	Türkiye
52.	Jacek Jaśkiewicz	Dr.	Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski/Team Europe Direct	Poland
53.	Jana Puglierin	Dr.	European Council on Foreign Relations	Germany
54.	Jane Marcus-Delgado	Professor	City University of New York College of Staten Island	USA
55.	Jiayue Li	PhD Student	Lingnan University	Hong Kong
56.	Josep Errea Gil	MA Student	Complutense University of Madrid & Topchubashov Center	Spain
57.	Juliusz Sikorski	Dr.	Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski/Team Europe Direct	Poland
58.	Junaid Amjad	Lecturer	Riphah Institute of Public Policy	Pakistan
59.	Ken Booth	Professor	CESRAN International	Türkiye
60.	Kenneth Bunker	Associate Professor	Universidad San Sebastián	Chile
61.	Khatia Imerlishvili	PhD Student	Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University	Georgia
62.	Kongwen Guan	Associate Professor	Beihang University	China
63.	Konstantinos Kolovos	Lecturer	EPAPSY, Panteio University of Social and Political Science	Greece
64.	Lika Kvinchia	PhD Student	Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University	Georgia
65.	Lisha Chen	PhD Student	Lingnan University	Hong Kong
66.	Lucia Chieffallo	Lecturer	University of Calabria	Italy
67.	Luís Bernardino	Professor	Autónoma University of Lisbon	Portugal
68.	Luis Tome	Professor	Autónoma University of Lisbon	Portugal
69.	Łukasz Budzyński	Dr.	Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski/Team Europe Direct	Poland
70.	Madeleine Costa	MA Student	University of Minho	Portugal
71.	Majid-Hojjati	Lecturer	Islamic Azad University	Iran
72.	Maka Gogilashvili	PhD Student	Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University	Georgia

73.	Marco Marsili	Professor	Ca' Foscari University of Venice	Italy
74.	Maria Antónia Pires de Almeida	Professor	Universidade do Minho	Portugal
75.	Maria João Tomás	Associate Professor	ISCTE-IUL, OBSERVARE	Portugal
76.	Mariia Maslova	MA Student	Saint Petersburg State University	Russia
77.	Mark Meirowitz	Professor	State Univ of New York (SUNY) Maritime College	USA
78.	Martijn Icks	Assistant Professor	University of Amsterdam	Netherlands
79.	Martin Thomas	Professor	University of Exeter	United Kingdom
80.	Maryam Fozuni	Researcher	Larestan University of Medical Sciences	Iran
81.	Maurizio Geri	EU Marie Curie Postdoc Fellow	Ca' Foscari/George Mason University	Italy/USA
82.	Mehmet Ferhat Firat	Dr.	Adiyaman University	Türkiye
83.	Meltem Ince Yenilmez	Professor	Izmir Democracy University	Türkiye
84.	Michael Selis	Researcher	World Complexity Science Academy	Brazil
85.	Michal Bula	PhD Student	Charles University	Czechia
86.	Michele Del Balso	MA Student	Università degli Studi del Molise	Italy
87.	Muhammad Arif Khan	Assistant Professor	Federal Urdu Univeristy of Arts, Sciences & Technology	Pakistan
88.	Mujib Alam	Professor	Jamia Millia Islamia	India
89.	Murat Çemrek	Professor	Necmettin Erbakan University	Türkiye
90.	Nádia Loureiro	PhD Student	Universidade Nova de Lisboa	Portugal
91.	Najiba Mustafayeva	Assistant Professor	Ibn Haldun University	Türkiye
92.	Nika Gigauri	PhD Student	Tbilisi State University	Georgia
93.	Nino Samkharadze	PhD Student	Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University	Georgia
94.	Nurlan Muminov	Senior Lecturer	Al-Farabi Kazakh National University	Kazakhstan
95.	Oksana Ermolaeva	Professor	Complutense University	Spain
96.	Özgür Tüfekçi	Associate Professor	CESRAN International Karadeniz Technical University	Türkiye
97.	Patrícia Marrafa	PhD Student	Iscte-Instituto Universitário de Lisboa	Portugal
98.	Patrycja J. Suwaj	Professor	The Jacob of Paradies University	Poland
99.	Patrizia Santoro	Lecturer	Università degli studi di Catania	Italy
100.	Paulo Duarte	Assistant Professor	CEAD-Universidade Lusofona	Portugal
101.	Pedro Silva Baptista	PhD Student	University of Minho	Portugal
102.	Qamar Cheema	Dr.- Executive Director	Sanober Institute	Pakistan
103.	Rabia Büyükpınar	Lecturer	Zonguldak Bülent Ecevit University	Türkiye
104.	Rahman Dağ	Associate Professor	CESRAN International Marmara University	Türkiye
105.	Rasha El Baz	Assistant Professor	NewGiza University (NGU)	Egypt
106.	Riccardo Gasco	PhD Student	University of Bologna	Italy
107.	Riddhi Likhe	MA Student	George Washington University	USA
108.	Roshan Taj Humayun	PhD Student	Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University	Türkiye
109.	Rossana Sampugnaro	Associate Professor	Università degli studi di Catania	Italy
110.	Ruth Claire Black	Dr.	Oregon Institute of Technology	USA
111.	Safia Arif Khan	Assistant Professor	Independent Scholar	Pakistan

112.	Salome Dundua	Associate Professor	Tbilisi State University	Georgia
113.	Samuele Carlo Ayrton Abrami	PhD Student	Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore	Italy
114.	Sandro Tabatadze	Assistant Professor	Tbilisi State University	Georgia
115.	Segah Tekin	Associate Professor	Necmettin Erbakan University	Türkiye
116.	Sergei Mudrov	Associate Professor	Institute of Political Science of the Slovak Academy of Sciences	Slovakia
117.	Shereen Nadim	MA Student	AAST	Egypt
118.	Shristi Tamrakar	MA Student	Tribhuvan University	Nepal
119.	Shweta Mishra	Dr	Ambalika Institute of Management and Technology	India
120.	Simona Scotti	Research Fellow	Topchubashov Center	Azerbaijan
121.	Siriporn Jantanasakulwong	Senior Lecturer	Ubon Ratchathani University	Thailand
122.	Sonja Bickford	Associate Professor	Oregon Institute of Technology	USA
123.	Stan Adrian Daniel	Lecturer	Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca	Romania
124.	Stan Brindusa Nicoleta	Lecturer	Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca	Romania
125.	Sujata Ashwarya	Professor	Jamia Millia Islamia	India
126.	Tamar Karaia	Associate Professor	Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University	Georgia
127.	Taner Zorbay	Lecturer	Middle East Technical University	Türkiye
128.	Teona Tabuashvili	PhD Student	Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University	Georgia
129.	Thomas ChingWei - Tu	PhD Student	National Chengchi University	Taiwan
130.	Tiago Botelho dos Santos	PhD Student	CCCM and CEI-ISCTE	Portugal
131.	Tianyi Liu	Lecturer	Jilin International Studies University	China
132.	Tomasz Marcinkowski	Dr.	Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski/Team Europe Direct	Poland
133.	Tugay Taşçı	MA Student	Aksaray University	Türkiye
134.	Ümran Gözel	MA Student	Ankara Yildirim Beyazit University	Türkiye
135.	Vitor Fernandes	Assistant Professor	Lusíada University, CEJEIA and AUL/OBSERVARE	Portugal
136.	Yaşar Sarı	Professor	Ibn Haldun University	Türkiye
137.	Yiliang Zhao	Professor	Beihang University	China
138.	Zbigniew Czachór	Professor	Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski/Team Europe Direct	Poland
139.	Zehra Aksu	Lecturer	Kadir Has University	Türkiye
140.	Zehra Korkmaz Kökdere	Research Assistant	Necmettin Erbakan University	Türkiye
141.	Zviad Abashidze	Associate Professor	Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University	Georgia



Padrão dos Descobrimentos
(Monument of the Discoveries)

Panel 01 // Hybrid // Venue: Aula Magna Silvio Trentin

The Role of Character Assassination in International Conflict

TUESDAY // 01 October 2024 // 15:00 - 16:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Eric Shiraev

George Mason University



Conceptualizing Character Assassination in the Context of International Relations

Andrew Armstrong

George Mason University

From Mark Antony to Modern Politics:

The Endurance and Evolution of Character Assassination

Martijn Icks

University of Amsterdam

From Emasculation to Demonization:

Strategies of Character Attacks in International Affairs

Eric Shiraev

George Mason University

Reputational Attacks in the Context of Global Knowledge Warfare

Holger Mölder & Eric Shiraev

Tallinn University of Technology & George Mason University

Conceptualizing Character Assassination in the Context of International Relations

Andrew Armstrong

George Mason University

aamrstr8@gmu.edu

Abstract:

This paper will focus on the question why character assassination is relevant in international conflicts and international relations in general. At least three interconnected reasons can be studied to explain reputational attacks in foreign policy. The first reason is domestic. Scorning or degrading foreign leaders can unify the domestic populace against a perceived external threat, thereby rallying support for the government's policies or military actions. The second reason is international. Worldwide, damaging a foreign leader's reputation can weaken their diplomatic stance, sowing doubts about their competence or morality. The third reason is related to identity. Character attacks serve to reinforce the identity of the attacker, such as a politician, journalist, or nation, acting as a form of political self-affirmation or ideological expression. The paper will assess how these character attacks shape public perception and their psychological effects on individuals and society. It aims to provide insights into the methods and consequences of such attacks in today's highly connected and media-driven world. The paper also discusses how understanding character attacks can aid foreign-policy analysis, diplomats, and decision-makers.

Keywords: Character Assassination, Reputational Attacks, Diplomacy, Information Warfare

**From Mark Antony to Modern Politics:
The Endurance and Evolution of Character Assassination**

Martijn Icks

University of Amsterdam

m.icks@uva.nl

Abstract:

This paper will explore character assassination from a historical perspective, using cases from Roman history to draw parallels with contemporary examples. The focus will be on Mark Antony, a prominent leader and military commander, and how Roman propaganda emasculated him by depicting his loss of political power, military prowess, Roman identity, and virtue to the Egyptian queen Cleopatra. This early documented case highlighted Antony's perceived personal weakness and loss of masculinity against a foreign power. The portrayal served to diminish Antony's legacy, presenting him as a cautionary tale of a man led astray by a cunning woman. This strategy was used by Antony's rival Octavian to shape elite opinion and secure political power by reducing his legitimacy in the eyes of the Roman populace. The paper aims to provide a deeper understanding of how character assassination tactics have evolved while retaining core strategies over time.

Keywords: Character Assassination, Reputational Attacks, Historical Analogies, Diplomacy, Hybrid Warfare, Global Knowledge Warfare

**From Emasculation to Demonization:
Strategies of Character Attacks in International Affairs**

Eric Shiraev

George Mason University

eric.shiraev@gmail.com

Abstract:

The paper will explore the key reasons for character attacks in international relations, as described in the first paper, and draw from the historical cases presented in the second paper. The CARP model, previously applied to domestic politics, elucidates the motives behind launching character attacks: (1) to mobilize supporters; (2) to prevent defections from one's own camp; and (3) to sway the undecided. This model can be empirically tested in the context of international relations through case studies. At least four interconnected strategies are used in character attacks in international contexts: Emasculation: Accusing a male leader of being too "feminine" in the face of foreign threats. Masculinization: Accusing a leader, usually a female, of exhibiting masculine, risky, and unreasonably hostile actions. Demonization: Portraying a leader as irrational, senseless, mentally ill, or evil in the eyes of public opinion. Denigration: Using mockery, ridicule, and name-calling to insult a leader. The presentation will assess whether and how these character attacks have shaped public perception and their psychological effects on diplomacy and foreign policy.

Keywords: Character Attacks, Psychological Warfare, Foreign Policy, Reputation

Reputational Attacks in the Context of Global Knowledge Warfare

Holger Molder & Eric Shiraev

Tallinn University of Technology and George Mason University

holger.molder@taltech.ee and eric.shiraev@gmail.com

Abstract:

Global Knowledge Warfare (GKW) is a new concept of cognitive warfare that describes the transformation of knowledge and the creation of new realities in both historical and contemporary political contexts. The primary goal of GKW is to gain substantial advantages over strategic opponents through accessing information, manipulating it, and actively distorting facts, often referring to conspiracy theories. GKW involves accessing information, manipulating it, and actively distorting facts. Reputational attacks on political leaders, both past and present, have become commonplace in GKW. This paper will assess the impact of these reputational attacks, particularly in the context of the strategic rivalry among the West, China, Russia, and other countries observing from the sidelines to see who emerges victorious in this warfare.

Keywords: Global Knowledge Warfare, Strategic Attacks, Reputational Attacks, Strategic Rivalry



Potala Palace: Lhasa, Tibet

Panel 02 // Hybrid // Venue: Aula Magna Silvio Trentin

Humanitarian Intervention and Norm Changing in Regional and International Politics

TUESDAY // 01 October 2024 // 16:30 - 18:00 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Sujata Ashwarya

Jamia Millia Islamia



Humanitarian Intervention and Responsibility to Protect:
Perspectives from the MERCOSUR Region

Segah Tekin & Zehra Korkmaz Kökdere

Necmettin Erbakan University

Sovereignty:

Mirror of R2P: Humanitarian Intervention as the Last Resort

Aradhana Misra & Shweta Mishra

Ambalika Institute of Management and Technology

Revisiting Criteria for Humanitarian Interventions in Academic Research

Ekrem Ok

CESRAN International & Agri Ibrahim Cecen University

Challenging US Water Weaponization:

Why There Is No Water Taboo?

Eliška Pohnerová

Charles University, Prague

Humanitarian Intervention and Responsibility to Protect: Perspectives from the MERCOSUR Region

Segah Tekin & Zehra Korkmaz Kökdere

Necmettin Erbakan University

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Abstract:

Human rights promotion in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) has long been championed by the Organization of American States system. However, while the democratization wave starting from the 1980s has contributed to the redefinition of human rights at regional and national levels based on the broad notion of social justice, the increasing pace of regionalism has rendered it possible for the region's countries to discuss and develop multilateral human rights policies. The emergence of new priorities in the realm of human rights in the LAC region mainly focused on regional issues such as eliminating the income gap, the rights of indigenous populations, and increasing political representation. Nevertheless, international and interstate conflicts of the post-Cold War period, the global discussion on humanitarian intervention, and the developing norm of responsibility to protect demanded that LAC countries define their approaches on these topics. MERCOSUR countries Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina have shared their stances with the international community alongside many other LAC countries.

Within this context, this paper explores similarities and contradictions in the approaches of MERCOSUR countries toward the idea of humanitarian intervention in international relations to discuss the possibility of the emergence of a regional approach. The paper claims that three significant reasons lie behind the shared hesitation of these South American countries toward military humanitarian intervention and their preference to focus on contributing to the debate on responsibility to protect instead. The first one is their colonial past, which resulted in a strong emphasis on autonomy in their legal and political traditions. The second one is the notorious history of United States (U.S.) military interventionism in Latin America and the Caribbean. Moreover thirdly, the legacy of domestic military intervention and human rights violations overshadows the goal of reaching humanitarian solutions through military means. The paper concludes that contemporary relations

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with the U.S. and differing foreign policy goals hamper the reach of a MERCOSUR-wide consensus on humanitarian intervention for these countries. Emerging conflicts in the international arena also cause fluctuations in their prioritization of non-military means for humanitarian protection over non-military means.

Keywords: Brazil, Argentina, Humanitarian Intervention, Responsibility to Protect, MERCOSUR

The study is based on research funded by Necmettin Erbakan University, Coordinatorship of Scientific Research Projects (no. 23SBA36001, Project Name: Human Rights Approach of Regional Organizations in Latin America and the Caribbean)

Sovereignty: Mirror of R2P: Humanitarian Intervention as the Last Resort

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Abstract:

Sovereignty is the power that a country has to control its government. In contrast, responsibility to protect (R2P) is the consensus reached at the United Nations General Assembly at the 2005 global summit that every country has the responsibility to protect its citizens from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. If a government fails to discharge its responsibility, it should be the responsibility of the world organisations to ensure that human beings are protected from the four human atrocities. The premise is that a government which cannot protect its citizens is on the verge of losing its control to protect its citizens. Or the government may be promoting such practices as was the case of the emergence of Hitler in Germany or the case of Saddam Hussain. Therefore, in this paper, we argue that whenever the government fails, world organisations should intervene whether the intervention is on humanitarian grounds. However, the danger still looms if the group is formed against a particular country. So, in order to decide whether or not humanitarian intervention is necessary, some fundamental borders need to be drawn. Using instances from 2010 to 2023, we contend that the policies and support networks are insufficient in certain situations, and the international organizations were unable to stop human rights violations. Organizations now have an increased obligation to employ contemporary strategies, such as educating citizens about self-defence and dismantling governments that don't seem to be able to carry out their duties.

Keywords: Sovereignty, Responsibility to Protect, Humanitarian Intervention, Contemporary Strategies

Revisiting Criteria for Humanitarian Interventions in Academic Research

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Abstract:

Following the end of the Cold War, the structure of the international system has evolved from interstate disputes to intrastate conflicts. For various reasons - humanitarian concerns, the *raison d'état* of the intervener, and the potential risk to international peace and security - some of these intrastate conflicts have been intervened in by single states, groups of states, or international organisations. These interventions were reflected in academic research as Humanitarian Intervention. However, as with all other social science concepts, one of the biggest challenges for scholars studying humanitarian intervention is the lack of consensus on its definition and criteria. An intervention may be considered humanitarian in one study, while the same intervention may not be regarded as such in another study. However, it is crucial to have a meticulous definition and criteria to determine whether an intervention is humanitarian. While some academics propose rigorous criteria, others prefer to use criteria derived from the Just War Theory: Just Cause, Proportionality, Last Resort, and Public Declaration by Lawful Authority. Nonetheless, these criteria present challenges in academic research. The first challenge is the difficulty of finding cases that fulfill all these criteria. Another challenge is that these criteria serve more as guidelines for states on how and when to intervene, rather than criteria for identifying a case as humanitarian. With these criteria, it is difficult to identify a case, particularly before the end of the Cold War. This study aims to introduce the five criteria developed to assist scholars working on Humanitarian Intervention for case selection.

Keywords: Humanitarian Intervention, International Security, Just War, Humanitarian Crises, Human Rights

Challenging US Water Weaponization: Why There is No Water Taboo?

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Abstract:

Water is granted legal protection under international customary law, making it eligible for normative safeguards. Such safeguards may be perceived to encompass traits that are akin to taboos. Nevertheless, this perspective contradicts the empirical evidence of states' utilisation of water as a weapon and rather silent norm advocacy in foreign policy. The article investigates US advocacy of the prohibitory norm on water weaponization in three different conflicts: the Russo-Ukrainian War, Israel-Hamas War and the Yemeni Civil War. The article claims that water norms are by nature more related to humanitarian crisis prevention than a stigmatised practice, as in the case of CBRN weapons. Moreover, they are bent for allies and sharpened for enemies, reflecting diplomatic needs rather than the salience of abhorrence.

Keywords: Water Weaponization, Water Taboo, International Humanitarian Law, Norm Advocacy, Nuclear Taboo



Panel 03 // Hybrid // Venue: Biral Room
Regional Powers' Involvement in the Conflict Zones

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Constantin-Bercean Ioana

*"Ion I.C. Brătianu" Institute of
Political Science and International Relations*



Understanding Turkish Foreign Policy Tools
through the Prism of the Second Nagorno-Karabakh War

Samuele Carlo Ayrton Abrami & Simona Scotti

Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore & Topchubashov Centre

What and How to Do with the Turkish Foreign Policy:
A Search for Theoretical Basis Through In-betweenness

Murat Çemrek

Necmettin Erbakan University

Unveiling the Strategic Transformation under Erdoğan's Rule:
A Two-Decade Analysis of Turkey's Foreign Policy Trajectory

Chiara Boldrini & Riccardo Gasco

University of Bologna

Examining Political Parties' Perspectives on Foreign Policy through Their Election Manifesto:
2023 General Elections in Türkiye

İbrahim Yılmaz

Samsun University

The Influence of Regional Organizations on Humanitarian Intervention:
Libya Military Intervention

Zehra Korkmaz Kökdere

Necmettin Erbakan University

Understanding Turkish Foreign Policy Tools through the Prism of the Second Nagorno-Karabakh War

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Abstract:

In opposition to the cautious approach adopted during the First Nagorno-Karabakh War, when the conflict erupted again in 2020, Türkiye played a much more direct and assertive role, to the point of actively contributing to shifting the balance in favour of Azerbaijan (Yavuz & Huseynov, 2020). While the literature about Turkish relations with Azerbaijan and its involvement in the South Caucasus has been mostly focused on either its historical, cultural, and social roots or on economic aspects, it has overlooked the intermingle between the domestic and systemic variables explaining the Turkish foreign policy in the area (Yavuz & Gunter, 2022).

The recent closure of the joint Turkish-Russian Monitoring Centre, which brought an end to the Turkish military presence in the region, provides a momentum to query the future directions of the Turkish agenda in the South Caucasus. Therefore, this paper aims at detecting those elements that not only allow us to understand Türkiye's role in relation to the causes of the conflict, but also to use this case for tracing potential future scenarios within the broader context of regional-international politics. This becomes even more essential in times when the Russian invasion of Ukraine has outlined two trends. On the one hand, Russian expansionism has posed new threats in terms of military, economic, and energy security. On the other hand, this has also provided new spaces of manoeuvre for emerging powers in a multipolar world order, which has been particularly significant in the Russian near abroad. As such, like in many conflictual realms, Türkiye has proposed itself as both a game-changer and balancing actor through different tools. To address these complex issues through a multilevel analysis, this paper relies on the theory of Neoclassical Realism (NCR), which recognizes the importance of domestic-level variables while maintaining the prominence of systemic elements (Lobell et al., 2016).

Methodologically, the paper operated through Process Tracing (PT) to combine pre-selected variables and semi-structured interviews with different experts. Throughout this approach, the objective is to trace the mechanisms between trigger factors (stimuli), intervening variables (decision-making and domestic politics), and final outcomes (foreign policy behaviour) in order to address the elements of continuity and changes in Türkiye's approach to the area. Indeed, Türkiye's involvement is considered in light of the main features of its "new" foreign policy: quest for strategic autonomy; capacity to balance between traditional alliances in the West and new "marriages of convenience" in the East with Russia, Iran and China; use of proxies; economic necessities and military ambitions as a middle regional power. Second, the Turkish foreign policy behaviour is analysed through a domestic angle, where recent institutional changes evolved into new mechanisms of decision making that depend on another thin equilibrium between a new nativist-nationalist rhetoric, regime survival strategies and fragile economic credentials. Overall, analysing Türkiye's role in the South Caucasus can offer new explanatory metrics to understand evolving regional realities and security challenges as well as the sustainability of certain state policies vis-a-vis an uncertain balance of power.

Keywords: South Caucasus, Turkish Foreign Policy, Nagorno-Karabakh War, Regional Security

What and How to Do with the Turkish Foreign Policy: A Search for Theoretical Basis Through In-betweenness

Murat Çemrek

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Abstract:

Foreign policy could be tagged as the least detrimental field for any government since any nation is thoroughly contained within its national borders surrounded by mine fields and wires making them deal with domestic politics and daily issues at best. However, foreign policy might simultaneously turn into the Achilles' heel if any fatal decision, like visa issues or open-door policy for immigrants not necessarily to declare war, affects ordinary people directly and negatively turning any government's position into a vulnerable situation. There has been a rising trend to develop a theoretical basis for Turkish Foreign Policy (TFP) for some time since earlier conceptualizations such as a bridge country between the East and West has lost its explanatory power in a globalizing world any further. Theory is to develop lenses through comprehending among the repeating frequencies that is why theorists are known as the popstars of the scientific realm. Thus, depending on the multidimensional structure of both foreign policy in general and TFP in particular the IR students need theory development for an aspiring middle power both a NATO member but does not hesitate to flirt with the alliance enemies of Russia and China. Turkey even speaks loudly about its desire to become a member from the Shanghai Cooperation Organization let alone to cite its more than half a century orientation for the European Union? Thus, in-betweenness would be a new basis to develop a theoretical basis for the TFP.

Keywords: Turkish Foreign Policy, Alliances, the West, the East, Bridge

Unveiling the Strategic Transformation under Erdoğan's Rule: A Two-Decade Analysis of Turkey's Foreign Policy Trajectory

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Abstract:

What drives Turkish coercive foreign policy? Turkey is arguably one of the most peculiar contesting actors, which benefits the most from the liberal international order. We argue that Turkey achieves such benefits by combining soft and hard power in its coercive posture in foreign policy. Why and how to explain such a combination remains an under-explored topic in the literature. To address this gap, we look at Turkish foreign policy in two specific events, Libya in 2019 and Ukraine in 2022, across three dimensions: the international system, regional power dynamics, and domestic politics. Entailing three dimensions of analysis allows us to grasp the multifaceted dynamics under which Turkey decides to implement its coercive foreign policy. Our methods include qualitative interviews with Turkish policymakers, government officials, diplomats, and army officers. We find that Turkey intervenes in scenarios where its NATO allies are weaker and can't exercise an impactful influence, and such liberty, combined with the loosened multipolarity of the international system, grants Ankara the ability to integrate soft and hard power means of coercion. The paper makes a number of contributions, mainly in proposing a novel, three-tiered model of analysis of foreign policy and coercion through which we are able to explain why and how Turkey adopts a soft or hard coercive power. Additionally, it provides a thorough analysis of Turkish coercive power and foreign policy approaches in the Middle East and Caucasian regions.

Keywords: Foreign Policy, Turkey, Intervention, Multipolarity, Coercion

Examining Political Parties' Perspectives on Foreign Policy through Their Election Manifesto: 2023 General Elections in Türkiye

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Abstract:

The election manifesto, published by political parties before a general election, provides quite important information about what the countries' domestic and foreign policies might be like. In Türkiye, the attitudes of political parties towards foreign policy are important to voters. Political parties in Türkiye state in general terms their approach to foreign policy in their general election manifesto. In this study, the election manifesto of the political parties that won seats in the parliament in the 2023 Parliamentary General Elections will be analyzed and the approaches of these political parties toward foreign policy will be examined. Through foreign policy statements in the election manifesto, the theoretical perspective of political parties and the way how they perceive international relations will also be analyzed.

Keywords: Political party manifesto, foreign policy, international relation theories,

The Influence of Regional Organizations on Humanitarian Intervention: Libya Military Intervention

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Abstract:

Humanitarian intervention has been a subject of intense debate in international relations, particularly since the United Nations (UN) establishment. The concept of humanitarian intervention has evolved into the 'responsibility to protect' (R2P), a key principle that the UN employs to halt human rights abuses globally and advance democratic values in states where such abuses are prevalent within their borders. Although humanitarian intervention is primarily on the agenda of the UN and should be authorized and conducted by the United Nations Security Council, distinct political actors also play a role in cases of intervention. For instance, humanitarian interventions in Rwanda or Bosnia-Herzegovina during the post-Cold War era were coordinated by different international and regional organizations to end state-inflicted suffering and protect civilians' fundamental rights to life.

Within this framework, this study aims to investigate in-depth the involvement of various stakeholders in humanitarian intervention. The study focuses on the 2011 Libyan intervention since Muammar Qaddafi, the governor of Libya, extensively violated the human rights of its citizens to legitimate his power. Libya's military intervention is a significant case as it was the first instance that occurred under the principle of R2P, affirmed by the UN Security Council through Resolution 1674. The Libyan intervention represents a relatively recent and distinctive development compared to earlier interventions like those in Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq. Therefore, this study will delve into the principal leading forces behind the 2011 intervention in Libya and explore the historical evolution of the intervention briefly. It aims to understand how various international actors, particularly regional actors, under the leading role of the UN, engaged in different discourses during this critical period. The study will specifically examine the stances of the NATO, the African Union, the European Union, and the League of Arab States during and after the Libyan crisis. This investigation provides insights into how international cooperation

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and discourse shape humanitarian interventions, particularly in complex and contentious geopolitical contexts such as Libya in 2011.

Keywords: Humanitarian Intervention, Regional Organizations, Responsibility to Protect, Libya Intervention, United Nations

* This study generated from my M.A. thesis titled "REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION: ASSESSING THEIR ROLE IN LIBYA"

Blue Mosque: İstanbul

Panel 04 // Hybrid // Venue: Mazzariol Room

Türkiye'nin Ulusal ve Uluslararası Siyaseti (in Turkish)

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Taner Zorbay

Middle East Technical University



Türkiye and OECD Region Comparison in Terms of Compliance with the Paris Climate Agreement: Emission and Renewable Energy Level Estimation with ANFIS

Abdullah Zübeyr Şekerci

İstanbul Rumeli University (Online)

Investigation of Changes in the Approaches of Radical Religious Groups Towards Politics in Türkiye: The Case of Hezbollah and Akıncılar

Tugay Taşçı

Aksaray University (Online)

Public Service Delivery and Mega Projects in Türkiye

Rabia Büyükpınar

Zonguldak Bülent Ecevit University

Yükselen Güçlerin Büyük Spor Organizasyonlarına Katılımı:
Türkiye Örneği

Fevzi Kırbaşoğlu & Özgür Tüfekçi

Karadeniz Technical University & Karadeniz Technical University-CESRAN International (Online)

Türkiye and OECD Region Comparison in Terms of Compliance with the Paris Climate Agreement: Emission and Renewable Energy Level Estimation with ANFIS

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Abstract:

The extraordinary increase in ground temperature and the resulting global warming is one of today's major problems and is far from sustainable. Agreements such as the 2009-Kyoto Protocol and the 2016-Paris Climate Agreement, in which many countries are participants, have announced measures to overcome this problem and imposed obligations on member countries. To date, progress has been made far behind the desired target worldwide. Our study associates this situation with protocols that impose the same obligation on each country, even if the countries' economic conditions or emission levels differ. In this context, Turkey and other OECD region members are first considered, and their CO₂ emission levels, and renewable energy resource (RES) levels are examined. Then, 2024-27-30 is estimated for these parameters with the adaptive network-based fuzzy inference system (ANFIS). The same estimation is also made for the USA, China, India, and Africa for regional comparison. As a result, it is observed that the RES orientation that Turkey has determined as a national strategy will be proportionally higher than other countries and regions in the future. The future emission reduction and RES increase in the OECD Region, the USA, and China, which have very high current emissions, are estimated to be much lower than expected. According to these results, it can be said that international protocols imposing obligations according to countries' capacities will produce more efficient results.

Keywords: RES, Emission, ANFIS, Forecasting, Türkiye, OECD

Investigation of Changes in the Approaches of Radical Religious Groups Towards Politics in Turkey: The Case of Hezbollah and Akıncılar

Tugay Taşçı

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Abstract:

Change is a process that occurs in human nature, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously. Modernism has made the concept of change more radical and faster and has formed the basis of an incomparable differentiation in history. The processes of change that started in the Ottoman period continued in a more radical manner during the republican period. Of course, change could not change everyone, and some social groups resisted the change, albeit temporarily, and created marginal groups. The common feature of these groups is their opposition to existing systems and orders. However, although the change was resisted, these groups also had their share of change over time and saw this change as progress or maturation. Hezbollah and Akıncılar organization, which was in radical discourse and actions in Turkey for a while, became politicized with the change of social, political and economic resources in the context of Resource Mobilization Theory after the 2002 elections, despite their apolitical attitude from time to time. This study deals with the reasons behind the differentiation experienced by these Islamic groups, which are distant from the current order and political systems in Turkey, as a result of the changes and transformations they have undergone over time. The aim of this study is to reveal and analyse the factors underlying the change experienced by these groups

Keywords: Apolitical, Radical Islamism, Change

Public Service Delivery and Mega Projects in Turkey

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Abstract:

Mega projects, which are large-scale public investments, are among the most important service areas affected by changes in public service delivery and financing methods. Mega projects, which have a great impact on the state budget and generally cost at least more than 1 billion dollars or more, have been produced with alternative service delivery methods such as build-operate-transfer and public-private cooperation. These alternative ways of public service delivery have been results of the neo-liberalization of world economy since the 1980s, by altering the way of the mega projects directly financed from the state budget. The lack of sufficient technological opportunities and knowledge, as well as capital, in the public sector has been significantly effective in this change. During this period, national and international companies have begun to be involved in public service provision as an important actor. In this period when a multi-actor management process is being entered into, the state has moved away from being the direct and sole actor providing public services and has begun to assume a coordinating role that determines priorities and targets to a large extent. Turkey is among the countries affected by all these developments by adopting neoliberal economic policies in the post-1980 period. The aim of this study is to investigate the core question of whether the mega projects that are generated by build-operate-transfer do actually create a public benefit or not. At this point, the Eurasia Tunnel, which was put into service in 2016, will be examined between 2017 and 2023 and the payments made by the state within the scope of the project will be discussed. Contradicting arguments between the state is making a loss and making a profit will be answered through numerical data.

Keywords: Mega Projects, Neo-liberalism, Turkey, Eurasia Tunnel

Yükselen Güçlerin Büyük Spor Organizasyonlarına Katılımı: Türkiye Örneği

Fevzi Kırbaşođlu & Özgür Tüfekçi

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Abstract:

Ekonomik kapasiteleri, nüfus yoğunlukları ve askeri güç unsurlarıyla öne çıkan yükselen güçler, kamu diplomasisi aracılığıyla yumuşak güç enstrümanlarını kullanarak uluslararası kamuoyunu etkileyebilmektedir. Bu bağlamda, Olimpiyat Oyunları ve diğer büyük spor organizasyonları, kamu diplomasisi uygulamalarının etkili bir aracı olarak kullanılmaktadır. Bu çalışma, Soğuk Savaş sonrası küresel yönetim mekanizmalarında söz sahibi olmak isteyen yükselen güçlerin, büyük spor organizasyonlarına yaklaşımını Türkiye örneği üzerinden incelemektedir. Çalışmanın amacı, yükselen güç Türkiye'nin büyük spor organizasyonlarına yönelik yaklaşımını kamu diplomasisi ve yumuşak güç bağlamında analiz etmek ve bu yaklaşımın ülkenin küresel arenadaki etki ve prestijine olan etkilerini değerlendirmektir.

Çalışmanın temel varsayımları şunlardır:

- Yükselen güçler, küresel arenada daha fazla etki ve prestij kazanmak için kamu diplomasisi araçlarından faydalanmaktadır.
- Büyük spor organizasyonları, yükselen güçlerin kamu diplomasisi faaliyetleri için önemli bir araç işlevi görmektedir.
- Türkiye, kamu diplomasisi uygulamalarına önem veren ve uluslararası spor faaliyetlerine aktif katılım gösteren ülkelerden biridir.

Çalışmada karma yöntem kullanılmaktadır. İlk olarak, literatür taraması yapılarak yükselen güçlerin kavramsal çerçevesi ve özellikleri incelenmektedir. Ardından, Türkiye'nin yükselen bir güç olup olmadığını belirlemek için doküman incelemesi sonucunda elde edilen çeşitli kriterler değerlendirilmektedir. Son olarak, Türkiye'nin 2000 yılından itibaren katıldığı ve ev sahipliği yaptığı büyük spor organizasyonlarına, bu organizasyonlarda elde ettiği başarılarla ve bu alanlardaki konumuna ilişkin veriler toplanmakta ve analiz edilmektedir. Çalışmanın sonuçları, Türkiye'nin büyük spor organizasyonlarına katılarak ve ev sahipliği yaparak etkili bir kamu diplomasisi

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uyguladığını göstermektedir. 2000 yılından bu yana Türkiye'nin ev sahipliği yaptığı önemli spor etkinlikleri arasında 2005 UEFA Şampiyonlar Ligi Finali, 2009 UEFA Kupası Finali, 2010 FIBA Dünya Basketbol Şampiyonası, 2011 Avrupa Gençlik Olimpik Oyunları, 2012 IAAF Dünya Salon Atletizm Şampiyonası, 2013 FIFA U-20 Dünya Kupası, 2017 Avrupa Basketbol Şampiyonası, 2019 UEFA Süper Kupa Finali, 2020 ve 2021 Formula 1 Türkiye Grand Prix'si ile 2023 Şampiyonlar Ligi finali yer almaktadır. Bu organizasyonlar sayesinde Türkiye'nin ekonomik ve teknolojik gelişimi küresel arenada daha görünür hale gelmiş, tanınırlığı ve prestiji artmıştır. Örneğin, 2010 FIBA Dünya Basketbol Şampiyonası'nın Türkiye'ye ekonomik katkısının yaklaşık 300 milyon dolar olduğu ve bu organizasyon süresince Türkiye'yi ziyaret eden turist sayısında % 10'luk bir artış gözlemlendiği tahmin edilmektedir. Benzer şekilde, 2019 UEFA Süper Kupa Finali'nin İstanbul'da düzenlenmesi, şehrin spor turizmi potansiyelini artırmış ve yaklaşık 50 milyon euroluk ekonomik katkı sağlamıştır. Türkiye'nin büyük spor organizasyonlarına verdiği önem, çeşitli adaylık süreçleriyle de kendini göstermektedir. 2020 ve 2024 Avrupa Futbol Şampiyonası adaylıklarının başarısızlıkla sonuçlanmasına rağmen, bu girişimler ülkenin spor diplomasisindeki kararlılığını yansıtmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, Türkiye'nin 2027 Avrupa Oyunlarını tek başına düzenleme hakkını kazanması, 2032 Avrupa Futbol Şampiyonası için İtalya ile ortak ev sahipliği yapacak olması ve 2036 Olimpiyat ve Paralimpik Oyunları için resmi adaylığını sunması, spor alanındaki uluslararası etkinliğini artırma çabalarının somut göstergeleridir. Bu bulgular, büyük spor organizasyonlarının yükselen güçlerin kamu diplomasisi stratejilerinde elzem bir rol oynadığını ve ülkelerin yumuşak güç kapasitelerini artırmada etkili bir vasıta olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Türkiye örneği, bu organizasyonların yükselen güçler için sadece sportif bir etkinlik olmaktan öte, küresel imajlarını şekillendirmek, ekonomik kalkınmayı teşvik etmek ve kültürel etkileşimi artırmak için stratejik bir araç olduğunu göstermektedir. Nitekim, Brand Finance'ın Yumuşak Güç Endeksi'ne göre, Türkiye 2024 yılında 193 ülke arasında 25. sırada yer almıştır. Bu yükselişte, büyük spor organizasyonlarının ev sahipliğinin önemli bir payı olduğu düşünülmektedir.

Keywords: Yükselen Güçler, Büyük Spor Organizasyonları, Yumuşak Güç, Türkiye



Panel 05 // Online

Impact of Russia-Ukraine War on Post-Soviet Hinterland

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Tomasz Marcinkowski

Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski (Online)



Disinformation as a Tool in the Fight of Special Services Against Organized

Andrzej Skwarski

Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski (Online)

Russian Propaganda and Disinformation Narratives in the National Parliamentary Election Campaign in Poland in 2023

Juliusz Sikorski

Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski (Online)

Poles Towards Ukrainian Refugees in the Context of the Russian-Ukrainian War

Łukasz Budzyński

Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski (Online)

Russo-Georgia Conflict

Giorgi Kekeliani

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (Online)

The Freedom of Expression: Challenges for Judges in Virtual Reality

Patrycja J. Suwaj

Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski (Online)

Disinformation as a Tool in the Fight of Special Services Against Organized Crime

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Abstract:

The methods used by criminal groups require the use of constantly new ways of fighting them by the secret services. Disinformation, especially during operational and reconnaissance activities, is a tool for effectively discovering ways of making profits and committing crimes. Very often, this is a response to disinformation content directed by criminals in order to confuse officers investigating organized crime groups. Modern technological solutions, especially in the field of information processing and transmission, support the activities of special services as well as criminals. Professionalism and meticulous preparation of actions taken to fight organized crime are a tool for effective combat. The special services are particularly prepared to use disinformation operations due to the training system of service officers and the powers they have.

Keywords: Operational and Reconnaissance Activities, Disinformation, Special Services

Russian Propaganda and Disinformation Narratives in the National Parliamentary Election Campaign in Poland in 2023

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Abstract:

Russian propaganda and disinformation activities related to elections are tools used to destabilize the political systems of democratic states and undermine their stability. Democratic countries, which value the freedom of public debate and freedom of speech, are particularly susceptible to information manipulation. In recent Polish history, there have been numerous instances of Russian interference in the country's internal affairs. An example is the so-called wiretapping scandal, which seemingly contributed to the electoral defeat of the then-ruling party. Polish society was already deeply divided over the "Smolensk tragedy" of 2010. Currently, political polarization, along with the eight years of populist party rule and the resulting democratic recession in Poland, hinders rational debate.

This situation arises from both internal and external factors that propagate surprisingly convergent narratives. We find similarities between populist narratives in Russia and Poland, such as the need to defend the state, the traditional family model, and Christian values against European decadence, secularism, moral relativism, and multiculturalism. The COVID-19 pandemic and economic fluctuations have further fuelled the radicalization of social sentiments. Opponents of liberal democracy argue that a modern authoritarian political system can provide more stable growth. These overlapping crises make Polish society alarmingly susceptible to Russian disinformation narratives, despite generally supporting the victim in the case of Russia's aggression against Ukraine. The study of Russian disinformation narratives in the 2023 national parliamentary election campaign in Poland is based on a multifaceted analysis. A mixed-methods approach was employed, combining both quantitative and qualitative methods to gain a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon.

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This includes content analysis, social network analysis, case studies, and secondary data analysis. The integration of these methods enabled a thorough understanding of Russian disinformation narratives in the context of the parliamentary elections in Poland and their impact on the country's political stability.

Keywords: Propaganda, Disinformation, Elections, Poland, Russian Federation

Poles Towards Ukrainian Refugees in the Context of the Russian-Ukrainian War Crime

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Abstract:

The paper characterises the attitudes of Poles towards Ukrainian citizens in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war that began in February 2014. The dynamics of these attitudes were discussed in relation to the change in the form of war from hybrid to open armed conflict. It was assumed that the sense of threat among Poles resulting from the perception of Russian-Ukrainian war influences attitudes towards Ukrainian refugees.

Keywords: Immigration, Refugees, Inclusive Society

Russo-Georgia Conflict

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Abstract:

The conflict between Georgia and the Russian Federation has been the number one foreign policy concern for Georgia since 90's. After two wars between the Russian Federation and Georgia, in 90's and then in 2008, the situation between the two countries still remains dire, as the massive human rights violations and militarization take place on the two occupied territories of Georgia - Abkhazia and Tskhinvali regions. Since the two wars up to 500 thousand refugees and IDPs are deprived of their right to property and right to safe and dignified return to their homes. The conflict itself has two dimensions - the Russo-Georgia conflict, which is the major element of the relation between the two countries and ethnic tensions between ethnic Georgians, Abkhazians and Ossetians living on the Samachablo territory. The objective of the conference paper is to 1) understand why the two wars broke out between Georgia and the Russian federation; 2) clarify the role of ethnic minorities in the aforementioned conflict; 3) explain Georgia's contemporary conflict resolution policy. In the conference paper, the researcher will focus on the outlines of the modern Russian foreign policy in major geopolitical context and explain the reason for two wars between Georgia and the Russian federation. Finally, detailed research will be presented on Georgia's number one foreign policy priority, which is conflict resolution policy. The research is vital for understanding the trends in modern day conflicts that involve major international actors, like the Russian federation. It also gives more sense and context, explaining Russia's policy towards Ukraine in 2014 and 2022.

Keywords: Russia, Georgia, Conflict, Property Rights, Ethnic Minorities

The Freedom of Expression: Challenges for Judges in Virtual Reality

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Abstract:

The rapid expansion of virtual reality (VR) technology and the pervasive influence of social media present new and complex challenges for judicial interpretation of freedom of expression. As judges engage with VR and social media, they must navigate the delicate balance between their roles as impartial adjudicators and their personal rights to freedom of expression. This paper explores the evolving nature of freedom of expression in virtual environments, focusing on how judges' use of social media may impact public perception of their neutrality and the application of traditional legal frameworks in this new digital landscape. Key issues include the regulation of harmful content, the protection of personal rights within immersive experiences, and the ethical considerations surrounding judges' online presence. By analyzing recent case law, judicial guidelines, and emerging legal theories, this paper aims to provide a comprehensive overview of the dilemmas posed by VR and social media, offering insights into how judges and courts can maintain public trust while adapting to these technological advancements.

The discussion is framed by key documents, including the UN Basic Principles on the Independence of the Judiciary, the Bangalore Principles of Judicial Conduct, the Report of the Venice Commission on the Freedom of Expression of Judges, Opinion No. 25 (2022) of the Consultative Council of European Judges (CCJE), the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. These frameworks highlight the tensions between judges' personal freedoms and their professional obligations to maintain impartiality and public confidence in the judiciary.

Keywords: EU, Freedom of speech principle, Judges, Social media



The Peruvudaiyar Kovil,
India

Panel 06 // Hybrid // Venue: Valent Room
Climate Change and Developing International Norms

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Aşkın İnci Sökmen Alaca

Istanbul Arel University



Codification and Implementation of Climate Change Policies
and the Business Environment in Uzbekistan

Ibrahim Mazlum

Marmara University (Online)

From "Climate Club" to "Carbon Border Adjustment":
Reshaping the Global Climate Governance System

Kongwen Guan & Yiliang Zhao & Fangyuan Chang

Beihang University

Challenges to Advancement:

Examining Japan's Stagnant Climate Change Strategy After the 2015 Paris Agreement

Meltem Ince Yenilmez

Izmir Democracy University (Online)

Climate Change and the Role of International Organizations: Pakistan's Perspective

Safia Arif Khan

Independent Scholar

Human Rights-based Approach to Climate Change and Landmine Problem in Azerbaijan
after the Second Karabakh War

Najiba Mustafayeva

Ibn Haldun University

Codification and Implementation of Climate Change Policies and the Business Environment in Uzbekistan

Ibrahim Mazlum

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Abstract:

Uzbekistan is one of the most vulnerable countries to climate change although the country's contribution to global emissions is only around 0.3 %. The main threats posed by the climate change are the risk of drought, water scarcity, land degradation and agricultural problems, among others. Uzbekistan ratified Paris Climate Agreement on October 2, 2018, and issued laws and initiated specific policies such as the Strategy for Transition of the Republic of Uzbekistan to a Green Economy for 2019-2030, Law on the Use of Renewable Energy Sources and Agricultural Development Strategy for 2020-2030. The governmental agencies and institutions recognize the importance of formulating effective climate policies; however, there are certain difficulties, as well as achievements, on the implementation of these policies. This paper examines the impact of the codification and implementation of climate change policies on the business environment in Uzbekistan. Based on an ongoing study under the EU H2020-MSCA-RISE project entitled "Legal Cultures and Business Environments in Central Asia", the primary research questions of the paper are: "How do national norms, laws, institutions and rules (written or unwritten) related to the codification of climate change policies interact with, affect and shape the business environment in Uzbekistan? What are the achievements and current/potential gaps in the implementation of these policies from the business perspective?" Based on the research questions, the paper analyzes a number of variables and actors. These are 1) national laws and regulations on climate change mitigation and adaptation; 2) domestic political, economic and social actors, institutions and their role in the codification of the climate change policies; 3) informal norms and unwritten rules/dynamics regarding the codification and implementation of climate change policies; and 4) the role and impact of business actors (including business associations) in the codification and implementation phases of the climate change policies in the country. The data for the study is currently being collected through semi-structured interviews with a number of key actors, including the lawmakers, governmental officials, business associations, companies, civil society organizations,

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experts and academics. What is measured during the interviews are the perceptions and views of these actors regarding the climate change mitigation and adaptation; achievements and difficulties of the business actors in complying the climate laws and policies, capacities of the implementing agencies in monitoring and auditing business actors in their compliance to national laws and policies, and expectations of business actors from the administrative authorities. Interviews with some of the above actors were conducted in the beginning of 2024. The final round of the interviews will be concluded in August 2024. After their completion, their primary results will be presented in this paper.

Keywords: Uzbekistan, Climate Change, Codification, Implementation, Business Environment

From “Climate Club” to “Carbon Border Adjustment”: Reshaping the Global Climate Governance System

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Abstract:

The “Climate Club” and “Carbon Border Adjustment” are solutions proposed by developed countries to deal with the ineffectiveness of global climate governance in the post-pandemic era. The “Climate Club” is based on the climate governance consensus of member states, and it operates through exclusive compensation for club members and punitive measures for non-club members. As a special carbon tariff tool, “carbon border adjustment” modifies the carbon emission reduction costs of domestic production as well as international imports through carbon-pricing, which is also regarded as a specific policy instrument of “climate club”. The “Climate Club” and “Carbon Border Adjustment” have certain commonalities and differences in terms of policy objectives, policy types, policy tools, and policy diffusion, and have an important impact on the existing global governance system. The effectiveness of multilateral climate governance cooperation has triggered competition for climate leadership, exacerbating fragmented changes as well as complex trends in governance and leading to further decomposition and reset of governance authority.

It also changed the bilateral climate diplomacy and global governance through unilateralism approach, giving rise to the compatibility dilemma between international trade and global climate governance. As the world’s largest emitter of greenhouse gases, China is under pressure from the “Climate Club” and “Carbon Border Regulation”, but acts as an indispensable partner of cooperation at the same time. “Chinese Value” of global climate governance is based on the combination of “Community with a Shared Future for Mankind” and the “three global initiatives”; China adheres to the multilateral cooperation mechanism and the “common but differentiated principle” under the framework of the UNFCCC, resists unilateralism and protectionism, and advocates a fair and just carbon neutral order to

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effectively promote the reform and improvement of the global governance system on climate change, and accordingly accelerates the establishment of the domestic carbon market and improves the optimization and upgrading of the industrial structure.

Keywords: Carbon Border Adjustment, Climate Club, Carbon Tariffs, Global Climate Governance, Climate Diplomacy of China

Challenges to Advancement: Examining Japan's Stagnant Climate Change Strategy After the 2015 Paris Agreement

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Abstract:

Since the 2015 Paris Agreement, Japan's climate change policy has mostly remained the same due to numerous structural, societal, and political challenges. Concerns and initiatives related to climate change are met with indifference in Japan by the public, corporate sector, media, business community, and environmental sociologists. This paper investigates this trend. Japan's limited participation in the global climate movement in 2019 was a sign of the nation's general lack of interest in the problem. Severe climate legislation has not been pursued by the central government, which would like to prioritize coal-fired plants. Strong business groups such as Keidanren have been against carbon pricing and a carbon tax. Except for a few concerned journalists, the media has largely ignored climate issues. In contrast to the more sanguine perspectives found in other countries, surveys reveal that a substantial proportion of Japanese citizens consider climate change initiatives as threats to their standard of living.

Change is possible because of the commitments made by local governments in Tokyo, Kyoto, and Yokohama to achieve net zero carbon emissions by 2050. These local officials oppose the federal government's 2030 carbon reduction targets while endorsing the move to renewable energy sources. In these areas, Japanese environmental sociologists have made significant strides, focusing in particular on local issues like pollution, environmental deterioration, and public participation. All the same, in contrast to their overseas peers and other Japanese environmental experts, they have mostly disregarded global issues like climate change. They have shown less interest in these issues since it is so difficult to pin the blame for climate change and to identify offenders and victims.

However, the global climate problem offers Japanese environmental sociologists a greater opportunity to make a difference, so they should address this global issue. In

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conclusion, industrial resistance, government reluctance, and public cynicism about climate legislation all contribute to Japan's lack of action on climate change policy. Redoubling the efforts of environmental sociologists and local governments could be crucial to overcoming these challenges and advancing Japan's climate pledges.

Keywords: Climate Change Policy, Japan, Environmental Sociology, Paris Agreement

Climate Change and the Role of International Organizations: Pakistan's Perspective

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Abstract:

Climate change represents a critical global challenge with far-reaching consequences, particularly for countries situated in the Global South, such as Pakistan. This research probes into the multifaceted issue of climate change impacts in Pakistan and examines its engagement within international organizations (IOs) to address these challenges. Pakistan is highly vulnerable to global warming. Increasing temperatures, erratic rainfall patterns, and the melting of glaciers in the Himalayas pose immediate threats to water resources, agriculture, and food security. Additionally, rising sea levels threaten the coastal areas of the country. These difficulties are made worse by Pakistan's vulnerability to climate-related calamities like droughts and floods. Pakistan takes an active position in a number of global bodies and agreements pertaining to adaptation and mitigation of climate change. It pledged to lower the release of greenhouse gases and increase resilience when it signed the Paris Agreement. Pakistan is also a member of IOs like the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and engages in regional initiatives aimed at addressing climate-related issues. This research highlights the challenges Pakistan faces in navigating the complex landscape of international climate governance, including securing funding for adaptation projects and ensuring equitable representation within IOs. It also explores opportunities for Pakistan to leverage its unique position as a climate-vulnerable nation to advocate for Global South interests, demand climate justice, and foster south-south cooperation in climate action. Understanding the climate change impacts in Pakistan and its engagement with international organizations provides a critical lens through which to examine the broader discourse on Global South perspectives and participation in IOs. Pakistan's experiences, challenges, and contributions in addressing climate change offer valuable insights into the broader dynamics of international governance and the urgent need for inclusive and equitable climate solutions. Pakistan's vulnerability to climate change is driven by a

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combination of factors, including exposure to climate hazards, high poverty levels, weak governance, and reliance on agriculture. However, the government has taken important steps to address these challenges through the development of a national climate change policy, investment in adaptation and mitigation measures, and raising awareness among the public. Despite the obstacles of limited funding, weak governance, and public apathy, with international cooperation and increased financial support, Pakistan has the potential to become more resilient to the impacts of climate change and secure a sustainable future.

Keywords: Climate Change, International Organizations, Pakistan, Response

Human Rights-based Approach to Climate Change and Landmine Problem in Azerbaijan after the Second Karabakh War

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Abstract:

This research explores the evolving intersection of human rights and international climate change law, emphasizing the imperative of a human rights-based approach to protect vulnerable communities living in disaster risk areas and restore environmental justice. It traces the historical trajectory from the initial omission of human rights in climate agreements to the pivotal recent resolutions of the UN Human Rights Council and UN General Assembly, which established the right to a safe, clean, healthy, and sustainable environment as a fundamental human right. Focusing on the forthcoming COP29 in Baku, the author highlights the urgent need to address anthropogenic interference, particularly in the context of Azerbaijan's landmine contamination following the Second Karabakh War. It argues that integrating human rights considerations into climate policies is essential for mitigating environmental degradation and ensuring equitable solutions. Furthermore, the paper examines the emerging human rights-based climate change litigation trend, citing landmark cases such as Verein KlimaSeniorinnen Schweiz and Others v. Switzerland in the European Court of Human Rights. It anticipates the potential impact of the International Court of Justice's forthcoming Advisory Opinion on state responsibility for climate change, emphasizing the need for a focus on vulnerable communities, including those affected by war. In conclusion, this research advocates for a holistic approach that integrates human rights, climate justice, and post-conflict reconstruction efforts. It underscores the significance of COP29 as a platform to address these interconnected challenges and calls for a robust legal framework to protect both human rights and the environment in the face of climate change.

Keywords: Climate change, Human rights, Landmine contamination, Azerbaijan



Panel 07 // Hybrid // Venue: Biral Room
Patterns of New World Order?

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 11:00 - 12:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Salome Dundua

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University



Ten Reasons Why 2024 Marks an Inflexion Point Upending the Global Order

Andrew K P Leung

Andrew Leung International Consultants & Investments (Online)

China's Rise as A Maritime Power: Interests and International Security Impacts

Daniel Cardoso

Autónoma University of Lisbon (Online)

Uncertainty in Bloc Geopolitics

Carlos Leone

Open University, Lisbon

Post-Westphalian Technopolar World Trajectory: Can Governments Navigate through AI Challenges, Prospects and Ethics of Neo-Geopolitical Actors?

Aswini-Kumar

National Chengchi University

How International Organizations Influence Ocean Governance?

A Case Study of High Seas Biodiversity Governance

Chi-Ting Tsai

National Taiwan University

Revisiting Oppenheimer's Legacy: Nuclear Deviance in the 21st Century

Constantin-Bercean Ioana

"Ion I.C. Brătianu" Institute of Political Science and International Relations

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Ten Reasons Why 2024 Marks an Inflexion Point Upending the Global Order

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Abstract:

There are ten reasons why 2024 marks an inflexion point potentially transforming the world order. *First*, against a resilient Russia, Ukrainian fighters and ammunition are in short supply, notwithstanding President Biden's \$13.8 billion weapons pledge. Pressure is building up to seek a less ideal settlement, even at the cost of consolidating Russia's geopolitical influence. *Second*, as Israel presses ahead with military cleansing in Rafah, the deepening humanitarian crisis has brought widespread condemnation of Israel's revengeful recalcitrance. Three-quarters of UN member states now recognise Palestine as a state, joined by more Western countries including Norway, Ireland and Spain. A "two-state solution" for lasting peace is gaining traction, potentially changing the Middle East's geopolitical landscape following the historic Saudi Arabia-Iran rapprochement. *Third*, as forewarned by the late foreign policy doyen Zbigniew Brzezinski, US national interests are being threatened by an "anti-hegemonic" coalition of Russia, China and Iran, (not forgetting North Korea), united not by ideology but by contemporary US-induced grievances. *Fourth*, against increasingly meddlesome U.S. hegemony, the Global South is beginning to exert their respective sovereignty. More and more developing nations are joining the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) group and the SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization) in Eurasia. Most nations want to maintain good relations with the United States but seek more elbow room to avoid being forced to take sides. *Fifth*, regardless of United States' nano-semiconductor-chip stranglehold, China is becoming a "scientific superpower". It now contributes around 40% of the world's AI research papers, compared with some 10% for America and 15% for the EU and Britain combined. Its *Chang'e-6* robotic spacecraft has historically brought back samples from the never-before-reached far side of the Moon, further intensifying US rivalry. *Sixth*, with far superior price-quality ratio, China is becoming the new Detroit for electric vehicles (EVs), notwithstanding the West's massive tariffs. This threatens to decimate other nations'

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automobile industries, absent a win-win solution. *Seventh*, against massive domestic and external headwinds, all eyes are on how China's long-awaited five-yearly Third Plenum (15-18 July) will steer China towards its ambition of becoming a moderately well-off nation by 2035. *Eighth*, 2024 is the ultimate "global election year", involving at least 64 countries (plus the European Union), representing 49% of the world's population. Disgruntled with respective national malaise, radical nationalistic parties are rearing their heads in various European nations. This is likely to upend international relations including mobility of peoples and commerce. *Ninth*, with the Fourth and Fifth Industrial Revolutions, the borderless Digital Age is moving fast and furious, transforming how people live, how businesses are conducted, how wars are fought and how nations defend themselves. *Tenth*, last but not least, Climate Change with extreme weather conditions is becoming up close and personal, turbo-charging the global embrace of green energies and green economies and validating the famous dictum of late Saudi Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources Sheik Yamani that like the Age of Stone, the Age of Oil is coming to its end, but not for lack of oil.

Keywords: Global Order, Rising Powers, Digital Age, Technology, Arising Populism

**China's Rise as A Maritime Power:
Interests and International Security Impacts**

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Abstract:

Under Xi Jinping (2013-), China has shown increasing ambition to become a maritime power. Besides featuring official documents, this goal has been put into practice with concrete actions, namely the New Maritime Silk Road of the 21st century launched in 2013. This paper analyses China's maritime strategy under Xi, tracing its foundations, identifying the main actors involved, and evaluating the interests behind it. While Chinese authorities have insisted that their strategy is mostly economic, seeking to advance the country's position in globalization processes, there are various signs that show that security also plays an important role, namely the strengthening of naval capabilities, the installation of naval bases abroad, and the conduction of naval exercises, among others. Departing from the assumption that economic and security interests are linked, the paper assesses how this relationship plays out specifically in the realm of China's maritime strategy. It also evaluates the impacts of this strategy on maritime security both regionally and globally, looking specifically at global supply chains, strategic infrastructure such as ports, and sea lanes.

Keywords: China, Maritime Security, Economics, Strategy, Ports, Sea Lanes

Uncertainty in Bloc Geopolitics

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Abstract:

It is remarkable the significant number of instances of uncertainty that are embedded in recently celebrated normality, ranging from environmental concerns to geopolitical clashes. And yet, despite its considerable intellectual tradition dating at least to 1921's works of Knight and Keynes, the downplay of specific focus on uncertainty as a variant of risk assessment is an unmistakable reality. Drawing from that tradition's most recent works, such as those of Martins and Keys & King, this paper argues that existential risk is particularly suited to develop uncertainty estimations because of (a) the nature of many of its problems and (b) the tentative state of articulation of the knowledge available to us on such risks. In the specific issue of geopolitical risk that has become a hot topic in the news agenda in recent years, we are confronted with constant misrepresentations of the past that are intended to frame our present woes and to define alternatives to future pathways. This paper takes issue with instances of this such as "Cold War II", "Thucydides trap", and "Malacca dilemma", all of which have in common the misrepresentation of the past that is supposed to legitimize the relevance of those so-called realities. The deterministic and frequently apocalyptic tone of those lines of argumentation is effective in public discourse, but its scientific merits are at least questionable. Geopolitical uncertainty cannot be measured in quantitative risk assessments, it requires uncertainty estimates of a qualitative kind. This, in turn, points to the necessity of reviewing the terms of the problems, e.g. to understand that «blocs» are indeed of growing relevance in international politics but they are not the same of the past and that in fact the very term does not mean the same as it did in the period of the Cold War. The argument here is that both in political and ethical terms (in power relations and in value systems), the persistence and/or the resurface of keywords in geopolitics does not entail the permanence of their past meaning and/or scope.

Keywords: Uncertainty, Blocs, Geopolitics, History

**Post-Westphalian Technopolar World Trajectory:
Can Governments Navigate Through AI Challenges, Prospects and Ethics of Neo-
Geopolitical Actors?**

Aswini-Kumar

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Abstract:

Technology is the foundational block of modern state power. The post-WW-II international order was built on possession or dispossession of nuclear technology, among allies and adversaries. However, the omnipresence of data and its harvest to advance developmental activities, both economic and military, seems to be putting tech titans with the new oil called computing power and AI, on the driver's seat to shape the 21st century global order, shaping a new geopolitical dimension. Digital domain under their profound influence, merging the technology into people's daily life with algorithms, controlling information and opportunities via social media thus, shaping people's thoughts and perceptions, technology companies ultimately, with more potential, pose new competition for states. Significantly, challenge the fundamental framework, – core of Westphalia state system, the primary geopolitical actor, the nation state, unaltered for centuries which once reserved sovereignty. The emergence of a “technopolar” order entails technology corporations wielding power comparable to nation-states and influencing the geopolitical dynamics. AI evolution renders development and opportunity for the few but many would face redundancy, especially white collars. Moore's once predicted the computing power of chip with an axis of time, but the AI progression traveling in the rocket speed. Taking this trend beyond the cognization. This quintillion speed of evolution poses more hurdles near impossible for governments to formulate framework for effective governance. In the era of tech-polar world order where the balance of power would be driven by the technology titans, governments face the challenge of efficiently governing their domestic technology companies let alone global governance. Unlike climate change or nuclear nonproliferation, which could have been contained within a deterrent shell for decades, AI threats are visible right away as they disperse.

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Governments and policy makers are much aware of its speed of permeation. AI technology itself don't pose harm, but the unethical usage of its tools, applications and its exponential evolution which should be regulated. However, both developed and developing governments face the dilemma of the duality advantage of technology companies, their dominance over the digital realm, and their provision of vital digital infrastructure for economic advancement. The question lingers, particularly for major technology powers, about what to do and how to formulate. So, this study primarily will scrutinize the governance challenges, prospects and ethics posed by technology firms and the government efforts to mitigate the risk posing by AI; analysis the role of non-state players in defining the new world order, what opportunities and risks does the emergence of a new international order present to international actors? the methodology adopted is qualitative approach, exploratory, descriptive and secondary data collection. The study asserts that incorporating tech corporations in governance models might be crucial when navigating the complexities of a technopolar world. Eventually, the course of each economic, social, and political destiny will be determined by how tech titans exercise power and engage with governments. If tech titans and governments struggle to coalesce on data privacy governance, the ethical and secure application of AI, the world will face enormous risk and upheaval.

Keywords: AI and Geopolitics, AI and Governance, Non-state Actors, Technopolar-World Order

How International Organizations Influence Ocean Governance? A Case Study of High Seas Biodiversity Governance

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Abstract:

Ocean governance has always been a sphere in international society which requires collaborative governance involving actors beyond states. In particular, past researches have indicated that international ocean governance is greatly influenced by territorial disputes, differences in the composition of marine industries, uneven distribution of transnational governance, science and policy gap, and the distribution of marine ecosystems. These multiple political, institutional, economic, and scientific factors cannot be addressed solely through global-level international organizations. Hence, effective coordination of various global, regional and poly-centric international organizations is necessary to tackle diverse scales of ocean governance. In 2023, the United Nations successfully concluded negotiations of the Agreement on the Conservation and Sustainable Use of Marine Biological Diversity of Areas beyond National Jurisdiction ("BBNJ Agreement") for countries to sign and ratify. This agreement addresses four complex and challenging issues in High Sea biodiversity governance: marine genetic resources, marine protected areas, environmental impact assessments, and capacity building. It will create legal and political competing relationships with existing global and regional international organizations relevant to ocean governance. Therefore, the effectiveness of the BBNJ agreement will depend on how it manages interactions with other international organizations.

The arrangements of the BBNJ agreement highly align with the contemporary international environmental governance emphasis on stakeholder participation. For example, the provisions related to Area-based Management Tools (ABMTs) grant stakeholders right to participate in the proposal and public consultation processes of ABMTs. The BBNJ agreement also places significant importance on the status of various levels and types of international organizations in BBNJ decision-making

processes. However, the relevant literature on BBNJ does not discuss how the opinions of different international organizations can be adequately considered during the actual governance and decision-making processes. The main research purpose of this article is to explore whether the input from various stakeholders into this "black box" can enter a relatively equitable communication environment institutionally, allowing the governance of high seas biodiversity to achieve sustainable outcomes. This article adopts the classical stakeholder theory proposed by Mitchell, Agle, and Wood in 1997, which defines the characteristics of stakeholders using the framework of "power," "legitimacy," and "urgency." Similarly, this article applies the framework proposed by the theory to the BBNJ governance to explore the potential dynamic relationships among different international organizations in BBNJ's various decision-making processes.

The article preliminarily presents three findings: First, although the BBNJ agreement adopts a highly inclusive stakeholder process, it does not provide sufficient incentives for different international organizations to adjust their policy positions. Second, different international organizations are inadequately represented in the BBNJ Conference of Parties or its Scientific and Technical Bodies, which means that even fisheries organizations may not be adequately considered in the BBNJ scientific bodies' decision-making process. Third, since there is limited practice in global high seas biodiversity governance, which necessitates the involvement of more international organizations, including the use of soft law, to address gaps in natural resource management. However, the BBNJ agreement does not provide clear legitimacy, which may result in unsustainable governance results for high seas biodiversity.

Keywords: Ocean Governance, BBNJ Agreement, High Sea Biodiversity, Stakeholder

Revisiting Oppenheimer's Legacy: Nuclear Deviance in the 21st Century

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Abstract:

The film *Oppenheimer*, about the physicist who spearheaded the 'Manhattan Project', came to the attention of the public at a timely moment. After two decades during which many people thought the nuclear weapons genie had been tamed, the risks seem graver than ever and the public, at least for the time being, is engaged. Russian President Vladimir Putin, having launched his war against Ukraine, also has threatened to actually use nuclear weapons against states that might intervene in the conflict. Putin and the film have provoked a new debate with endless permutations. This work aims to bring to the attention of theoreticians and practitioners the problem of nuclear capabilities, from a new perspective, that of the deviation in the behaviour of nuclear states or those with ambitions of this kind.

Whereas the analysis of deviance is an established element in the study of domestic societies, it seems conspicuously absent from International Relations, that is, the study of the international society of states. Sociologists have defined deviance as behaviour that violates social norms and thus attracts disapproval and sanctions if detected. This is a teachable moment for both, decision makers and people, who must comprehend the enduring danger of the nuclear weapons. The theoretical part of this research provides a perspective on the behaviour of all the nine states possessing nuclear capabilities, and the empirical approach offers a case study, on Russia, in the context of the suspension or withdrawal from all agreements and treaties on nuclear control.

Keywords: Nuclear Deviance, Nuclear Non-proliferation, Nuclear Diplomacy, International Relations, Great Powers

Sharyn Canyon, Kazakhstan

Panel 08 // Hybrid // Venue: Mazzariol Room
Re-Positioning the EU in Emerging World Order

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 11:00 - 12:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Marco Marsili

Ca' Foscari University



The European Union at the Crossroads: Between EDI and Common Foreign Policy

Michael Selis

World Complexity Science Academy (Online)

Parliamentary Diplomacy and Multilevel Governance

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE)

Nádia Loureiro

Universidade Nova de Lisboa (Online)

Securing Europe:

Safeguarding of the Baltics as A Starting Point for A More Cohesive Defence Approach

Anna Zaccaro

University of Rostock

The European Union as a Global Norm-Shaper on Artificial Intelligence

Ana Brandão

CICP / Universidade do Minho

The European Union at the Crossroads: Between EDI and Common Foreign Policy

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Abstract:

Recently, many European leaders have reiterated the need to implement the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), which is considered, along with the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), one of the weakest pillars of the European integration process. The “revival” of this issue is due to the international unrest we are witnessing, especially with reference to the war in Ukraine. I write “revival” because, as has often been the case in the history of European integration, common defence has also been characterized by moments of great momentum contrasted with others of deep depression. We can think of the European Defence Community (EDC) in the 1950s or the “reactivation” of the Western European Union (WEU) in 1983-84 and how much disappointment they generated: the former because of the French Parliament's decision to reject the project in 1954 and the latter because of the failure of the Europeans in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995). The following report seeks to shed light on the causes and historical complexities that have prevented and still prevent Europeans from building their own common foreign and defence policy, always keeping in mind the socio-political differences between past and current eras.

Keywords: European Defence Identity, European Common Foreign Policy, Transatlantic Bridge, Global Player, Future Scenarios

Parliamentary Diplomacy and Multilevel Governance The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE)

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Abstract:

Foreign policy has traditionally been conducted by the representatives of states, i.e., governments. However, with the end of the Cold War, new actors began to emerge in diplomacy, including parliaments, which began to establish relations based on what is known as parliamentary diplomacy.

Multi-level relations between parliaments have made it possible to broaden the horizon of parliaments' international relations, which go beyond bilateral relations and constitutionally prescribed functions, such as scrutinising governments. In general, parliamentary relations at various levels can help to balance executive and parliamentary powers, democratise the international system and make parliamentary control of governance at various levels more effective. Among these levels are the International Parliamentary Organisations, made up of delegations representing national parliaments.

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), founded in 1949, is made up of representatives of the parliaments of the member countries of the Council of Europe. This international parliamentary organisation plays a crucial role in promoting democratic values, human rights, and the rule of law among European countries. This essay thus aims to address the advantage of the external action of parliaments in international relations and in facilitating international negotiation, especially with participation in these International Parliamentary Organisations, using the PACE as a case study.

Keywords: Multilevel Governance, Parliament, Parliamentary Diplomacy, PACE

**Securing Europe:
Safeguarding of the Baltics as A Starting Point for A More Cohesive Defence
Approach**

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Abstract:

The geographical positioning of Central and Eastern Europe and the Baltic States has historically made them contested territories, embroiled at the crossroads of conflicting spheres of influence. Over the past 150 years, this pattern has persisted, notably marked by the emergence of Germany and Russia as major powers. Despite a period of seeming marginalization following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the expansion of liberal order mechanisms in the former communist bloc, recent decades have witnessed a resurgence of geopolitical tensions, particularly in response to Western initiatives. This resurgence, underscored by Russia's assertive actions, challenges the narrative of a closed chapter in European history, raising questions about the security landscape of the region amidst shifting geopolitical dynamics. This paper delves into the evolving security threats facing Europe, with a specific focus on the Baltic states and their vulnerability to potential Russian aggression. It critiques the inadequacy of Europe's defence capabilities, which necessitates heavy reliance on NATO resources. By examining Russia's motivations, including historical perceptions of natural belonging, geographical proximity, and opposition to American influence, the paper underscores the imperative for the European Union to bolster its defence capabilities. It advocates for a strategic shift towards greater self-reliance to mitigate the risks of overdependence on external actors, such as the United States.

Keywords: Baltic Sea Region, Suwalki Gap, Sweden, NATO, security, Future Scenarios, Securing Europe

The European Union as a Global Norm-Shaper on Artificial Intelligence

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Abstract:

Artificial intelligence has become a salient issue as a powerful technology with implications that transcend borders and need to be addressed globally. The European Union's narrative as an international actor is characterized by the ambition of global leadership, as a promoter of a global order, and as a shaper of global rules based on principles and values. This chapter focuses on the EU narrative on artificial intelligence. Using the theoretical framework of international actorness, combined with the concepts of normative power and norm-shaper, this chapter answers the research question: How does the European Union's narrative on artificial intelligence position itself as an international actor? The analysis is supported by a mixed approach, using deduction and induction as complementary strategies of inquiry, through a qualitative thematic analysis of European Commission documents to identify, analyse, and report meaningful patterns within the data. The main finding is that the EU positions itself as a normative power with a declared ambition of global leadership by shaping global norms and standards based on a human-centric, sustainable, secure, inclusive, and trustworthy approach to AI.

Keywords: Artificial Intelligence, European Union, International Actorness, Normative Leadership



Panel 09 // Hybrid // Venue: Valent Room

Turning Points in Russian Foreign Policy and Russia-Ukraine War

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 11:00 - 12:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Murat Çemrek

Necmettin Erbakan University



Regional (non) - Cooperation in the Former Soviet Area Post-2022

Iryna Lukianova

University of Zurich

Border Trafficking as a Political Weapon:

The Case of the Russian North-Western Border

Oksana Ermolaeva

Complutense University, Madrid, Spain

The Psychology of Deterrence

How Effective is the Madman Theory in the Ukraine Russia War

Aşkın İnci Sökmen Alaca

İstanbul Arel University

The Religious Factors and Actors in the Russia-Ukraine War

Sergei Mudrov

Institute of Political Science of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (Online)

The Analysis of The Nagorno Karabagh In The Light of Conflictology

Ali Hazer Deniz

TERAM (Online)

Regional (non) - Cooperation in the Former Soviet Area Post-2022

Iryna Lukianova

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Abstract:

This paper examines the significant effects of Russia's revisionist policies in the former Soviet area, focusing on how these policies have reshaped security cooperation at both multilateral and bilateral levels. The first part of the paper provides a comprehensive evaluation of current security organizations that include the majority of the region's countries, illustrating the pivotal role of Russia in shaping the security dynamics within this area. The second part delves into an analysis at the dyadic level, exploring the nuances of security cooperation between Russia and selected countries. The invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 served as a critical moment that compelled nations throughout the former Soviet Union to reconsider their geopolitical alignments and foreign policy approaches. Through a blend of quantitative and qualitative methodologies, the paper reveals a diversified range of geopolitical responses among these states, with some moving closer to Russia, others seeking greater distance, with majority of states having found themselves compelled to completely reassess their relationships with Moscow and outsource security sources.

Keywords: War, Ukraine, Russia, Post-Soviet area, UNGA Voting

Border Trafficking as a Political Weapon: The Case of the Russian North-Western Border

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Abstract:

Today, European border areas are still at the forefront of an “East vs. West” divide, aggravated by the political hostilities and borders still cause much anxiety in interstate relations on the continent. Recent instances of the migration crisis at the border of Russia with Finland demonstrate, how illegal transborder trafficking can be used by the governments with the political goals. In Finland's official circles, it was claimed that the flow of the illegal migrants from Asia and other countries at the Finnish border in winter 2023-2024 was a result of conscious Russian governmental efforts and soon the border was sealed from the Finnish side. This was not the first instance of such a crisis. A hybrid warfare interpretation of the Finnish “Arctic route episode” in 2015-2016, when yet again asylum seekers traveling to Northern Norway and Finland through the Russian Federation caused the Finnish government to feel its security was threatened. Confusion, created at the border during these incidents and their resonance in international geopolitics and interstate relations proved once again that the concept of border control was ephemeral and that important lessons can be learned from history. The making of modern Europe requires a critical understanding of past border regimes, cross border practices, and transnational diplomatic and environmental entanglements

The current paper adopts a comparative historical perspective (the time frame the 19th - beginning of the 21st centuries) and investigates the historical practices of Russia to use the (il)legal transborder trafficking for political goals. In particular, it looks upon the Russian borders with Finland, and the Baltic states. It considers such instances, as regulating the korobeinki trade and the smuggling in the territory of the Great Duchy of Finland and the Baltic states in the 19th – beginning of the 20 centuries to augment failing Russification; to support and to organize smuggling to Finland and to the Baltics in the early Soviet years as a disguise for espionage; the

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Soviet attempts to administer illegal trafficking at the end of the 1920s – beginning of the 1930s and the reasons for closing it. It investigates the “unintended consequences” of creating a “politicized contraband” corridors and looks for an explanation of why eventually it turned out to be ineffective. The paper dwells upon the administered semi-legal trafficking of “transparent” borders of the 1990s and ends up with the discussion of the most recent Russian state's incidents of political uses of an illegal migration. The paper is based on the archival sources, official documents, and the press.

Keywords: Transborder Trafficking, Political Use, Russia, Northwestern Borders, History

The Psychology of Deterrence How Effective is the Madman Theory in the Ukraine Russia War

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Abstract:

Political psychology is a branch of science that tries to explain international security issues through psychological approaches. Among its fields of study is the madman theory used in the deterrence of nuclear weapons. This approach, developed in the US under President Richard Nixon, emphasizes that the leader may start a war in which he may make unpredictable decisions on nuclear weapons, and thus, the enemy should act cautiously based on his psychological state. Since the start of the Ukraine war, Russian leader Vladimir Putin has brought his military to the level of using nuclear weapons. He has introduced new nuclear-based weapon systems. But as the war enters its third round, Ukraine has not given up the fight. Poland has announced its readiness to deploy nuclear weapons. France showed its active involvement in the war by sending its troops. NATO chief says they are ready to make Ukraine a member. Not wanting to lose the psychological upper hand to Russia, Ukraine and the West are showing that they do not take Putin's madman image seriously. The main argument of the paper will focus on why this theoretical approach does not work on Russia.

Keywords: Political Psychology, Deterrence, Mad Man Theory, Russia, Ukraine

The Religious Factors and Actors in the Russia-Ukraine War

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Abstract:

With the outbreak of the full-scale Russia-Ukraine war on 24 February, 2022, the Churches in both states as well as many European countries could hardly stay aside. Indeed, Churches, when seen as social institutions and civil society actors, realise their importance in certain moral and ethical contributions to the development of societies, and in the provisions of practical help to people in need. The outbreak of a full-scale war could not avoid impacting on the Churches' perspectives, especially the ones located in the war zone, or the ones dealing with a great number of refugees in the EU states. Most Christian organisations recognise the evil character of war, especially if this is a war of aggression; however, even in case of the Russia-Ukraine war not all of them have been ready (and willing) to identify clearly the aggressor state, or to take sides. Noting the Churches' perspectives on ethical and moral issues, I shall analyse in this paper how (1) the religious factor has manifested itself in the Russia-Ukraine war, in view of the earlier split in global Orthodoxy, and (2) how the Orthodox Churches in Russia and Ukraine have reacted and responded to the military hostilities between Moscow and Kiev.

Keywords: Russia, Ukraine, War, Orthodox Churches, Religion

The Analysis of the Nagorno Karabagh in the Light of Conflictology

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Abstract:

In general, the regional conflicts can be searched and analysed under the four titles which indicate the various phase and components. The structure, the dynamics, the classification and the settlement of the regional conflicts enable researchers to examine the sources of the Nagorno Karabagh conflict. Ethnic hostilities can be pointed out as the key factor. Collapsing of Soviet Union triggered and caused many conflicts in Post-Soviet Space. The Nagorno Karabakh was a typical model or example of a frozen conflict in the Post-Soviet Space. Furthermore, from the starting point to escalation and de-escalation period, The Nagorno-Karabakh comprise many contributors and hidden parties caused the longteivity of the conflict. The starting point can be defined as a conflict between local Armenians and Republic of Azerbaijan in the Nagorno Karabakh region which is in Azarbaijanian territories were recognised as Azerbaijanian land by International law. The Nagorno-Karabakh region is an internationally recognized integral part of the Republic of Azerbaijan and Azerbaijan was admitted to the United Nations as a sovereign and independent state with the Nagorno-Karabakh region within its borders. Analysis in the light of international law, it is underlined that UN, the Council of Europe and the OSCE have not recognised a right to secession for Nagorno-Karabakh and these institutions have repeatedly underlined the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict has a long history and deep roots. The external factors make the de-escalation period slower to end the conflict.

Keywords: The Nagorno-Karabakh, Conflicts, Frozen conflict model, Conflictology

Noire-Dame de Paris

Panel 10 // Hybrid // Venue: Biral Room

Social Movements in Action: Changing Nature of National and International Politics

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 13:30 - 15:00 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Salome Dundua

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University



Understanding Urban Movements: Comparative Analysis of Berlin and Tbilisi

Lika Kvinchia

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Student Protests in Georgia: A Comparative Study with International Student Movements

Khatia Imerlishvili

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

How Power, Protest, and Participation Works in Developing Democracy:
The Case of Urban Movement in Batumi, Georgia

Tamar Karaia

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Social Inequality as A Starting Point for Conflict
in the Context of Agrarian Policy of the State on the Example of Shida Kartli

Maka Gogilashvili

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

The Strategy Peculiarities in the Protest for Saving Urban Fabric in Tbilisi

Salome Dundua

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Illiberal Democracy or Russian Dream?
Mainstreaming Euroscepticism and Far-right Politics in Georgia

Sandro Tabatadze

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Understanding Urban Movements: Comparative Analysis of Berlin and Tbilisi

Lika Kvinchia

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Abstract:

Nowadays, it is impossible to study the society and political situation of any country without analysing the social movements in it. The political events that follow the country's history are mostly related to the activation of resistance movements. It can be said that social movements are important actors in the modern world, where together with governmental and non-governmental entities, they influence the process of shaping the political agenda. In contemporary political and social analysis, understanding social movements is crucial. Urban movements, particularly in cities like Berlin and Tbilisi, highlight significant urban policy issues through protest and activism. While existing studies primarily describe urban protests and analyse their outcomes, this research offers a novel approach by focusing on the groups involved in these movements and the challenges they face. This comparative study aims to explore the constituent groups of urban movements in Berlin and Tbilisi, examining their roles in the formation and transformation of these movements. It seeks to identify the factors that shape intra-group identities and analyse their structures and challenges, revealing both common and distinct elements that bind these groups and influence their future prospects. Using qualitative methods, particularly in-depth interviews with key actors from both cities, the research will gather detailed insights into the individual experiences and characteristics of each group. This approach allows for a comprehensive understanding of the origin, development, and dynamics of urban movement groups. The theoretical framework is based on the theory of new social movements, which emphasizes the role of identity in social movements and focuses on motivators beyond economic factors, such as politics, ideology, and culture. This study not only contributes to a deeper understanding of urban movements in Berlin and Tbilisi but also provides valuable lessons for future social movements by highlighting the importance of intra-group identity in their success and development.

Keywords: Urban Movements, Social Movements, Social Activism, Intragroup Identity

**Student Protests in Georgia:
A Comparative Study with International Student Movements**

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Abstract:

Current and previous academic studies confirm that the importance of student protest movements has increased dramatically since the 1960s. Although the era of student revolutions may have ended half a century ago, students are still active in politics and are often a major force in political movements aimed at social change around the world. Therefore, it can be said that student movements play a very important role in the modern world, influencing both university life and, in many cases, current affairs in their countries. "Student movements serve to bring about change; they are the voice of young people trying to change the world." Historically, student activism has been a crucial force for social change in times of crisis. Students around the world have been at the forefront of movements fighting for democracy and human rights. The emergence of student protest movements is related to various reasons, and the study of these reasons is of great importance and significance in any academic society. As researchers point out, students can join together for a number of reasons, such as institutional, broader socio-political, or generational reasons. Student protests can be triggered by different factors and circumstances, be they social, political, or economic. Therefore, it is necessary to scientifically investigate these reasons and outline the relationship between the mentioned variables.

Accordingly, the aim of this research paper is to outline the types and phases of the emergence of student protest movements using the examples of Georgia from 2016-2022 (specifically, "Auditorium 115" and the "May Student Movement"). The article will discuss how the aforementioned movements emerged, what their main demands were, and what forms of protest they used in the initial phase. At the same time, I will examine how the demands of the student movements were met by the university and various authorities and what the results of their protest activities

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were. The second phase of the research involves conducting a comparative study. This means that the Georgian experience will be compared with modern international examples of student protest movements. In this part of the study, modern protest movements in different countries are discussed, and their common and distinctive features in relation to Georgian student movements are analysed. This work enables us to examine in a comparative context how identical the demands, types of protest, and forms of expression of the student movements examined are. Therefore, this research is crucial for academic study as it enriches discussions on democracy, activism, and how institutions respond to societal changes. A qualitative research method was used to conduct the research, based on non-probability sampling, namely purposive sampling. The secondary source analysis method will be used in the research, where secondary sources such as research papers, articles, statements, and interviews will be studied and analysed. In addition, another method of qualitative research, the in-depth interview, will be used to collect primary data. I will directly examine the positions of the members of the Georgian student movements in relation to the research topic.

Keywords: Student Movement, Student Protest, Student Activism, Youth Protest

How Power, Protest, and Participation Works in Developing Democracy: The Case of Urban Movement in Batumi, Georgia

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Abstract:

Urban civic activism in Georgia went through an interesting path. After the collapse of the Soviet Union and regaining independence, the state was disrupted, and citizens attempted to be independently oriented in this space. With uncontrolled interventions in the urban space, many cultural heritage monuments and social areas have been sacrificed. However, there was no time or will to include this topic in the social-political agenda. Analysing social movement cases in Georgia, scholars link its development to the forming of state institutions. One of the best examples of this type of movement is a civic initiative to save urban fabric in Batumi, the administrative centre of the Ajarian autonomous republic in Georgia. The Batumi case selection is based on the central government's interest in modernizing the city and turning it into a tourist destination.

This aspect allows us to analyse the centre-autonomy relationship as an essential factor of democracy development. Being involved in the urban movements in Batumi, activists can be applied both at the local, autonomous republic and at the central policy levels. In addition, Batumi is the administrative centre of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara; therefore, in the conditions of the declared autonomy of the local government, it was expected that the opportunities for citizens' involvement would be more influential. In addition to applying various standard and creative strategies, movement members also used legally defined forms of citizen participation. Furthermore, analysing protest and urban movements in Georgia is fascinating to study the cases because, in addition to valuable conclusions, they give us general information about the actions developed in the country.

The research based on the case of the Batumi protest movement aims to analyse how participatory strategies and cooperation with policymakers influence the

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success of the movements in a developing democracy like Georgia and how traditional centralized policy resists them by using tricks of procedural democracy. The main research questions can be formulated as follows: What is the primary determinant of the opening of the governmental bodies for cooperation? How do the activists' participatory strategies influence the urban movement's outcome?

Keywords: Civic Activism, Participation, Georgia, Strategy, Power

Social Inequality as A Starting Point for Conflict in the Context of Agrarian Policy of the State on the Example of Shida Kartli

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Abstract:

The agrarian sector in Georgia faces many problems and challenges. Land, as the most important resource of agriculture and its unequal distribution among owners, often becomes cause for social inequality and concomitant conflicts, as it is associated with material well-being, better living conditions, and when the state or large landlords take away land from farmer, conflicts begin, and strategic mistrust arises. Negative attitudes in which it is much easier to blame the other party for own failures, troubles, and incompetency are characterized by a tendency to reduce empathy, which means that the other party is perceived so differently by the first party that the feeling of compassion between them is lost. The absence of relationship between the parties is the beginning of misunderstandings. Within the presented paper, I tried to present the problems existing in this regard in Shida Kartli region and made focus on the circumstances that impede the development of the field. The study outlined those antagonistic attitudes formed between large and small landowners, including feelings of inequality that is caused due to lack of opportunity, and unequal resources, lack of knowledge and experience, often lead to conflict and tension and further hinder the development of the system. The study revealed that only effective and realistic initiatives implemented by government structures can increase the productivity of the sector.

Keywords: Agro-Politics, Social Inequality, Farmer, States, Conflict

The Strategy Peculiarities in the Protest for Saving Urban Fabric in Tbilisi

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Abstract:

After gaining its independence in 1991, Georgia faced significant challenges on all levels, like all other post-communist countries. Therefore, against this background, care for urban historical and cultural heritage and ecological health was less visible on the agenda. As a result of the Rose Revolution of 2003, various reforms were carried out. After strengthening state institutions, the re-urbanization of cities was gradually included on the agenda. At the same time, growing urbanization resulted in an acute shortage of green space and an uprising of the urban grassroots movements in Georgia. Our study aims to analyse the methods used during the selected activist movements and provide an answer to the following question: How did the chosen strategy influence the results of the movements? During the selection of research cases, emphasis was placed on the movements in the urban centre of Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia. Three cases were selected: Save Gudiashvili Square, Defend Vake Park, and No to Panorama Tbilisi! Several factors determined their selection. First, these movements are characterized by a certain periodicity. The activists involved are the same but have different roles. All three are cases well covered by the media and characterized by high public involvement. At the same time, all of them were driven by different trajectories, and the results were also different, making the comparative analysis more attractive. Our research is mainly focused on using political process theory, according to which the political process mainly determines the outcomes of movements. To respond to the research goals, we have combined the following qualitative research methods: We used the case study strategy and analysed the secondary sources (vast Western literature on social movements and movements developed in Georgia), as the decisions, statutes, treaties, agreements, or memoranda made at the central and local self-government levels related explicitly to the research issue. Also, articles, interviews, and announcements published around the issue in the highest-rated online media in Georgia from 2009 to 2018, as well as the posts, comments, and reviews on

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various Facebook and Twitter pages, were analysed. The primary data came from thirty-eight semi-structured interviews conducted to recover the protest cycles during the research process fully. Eighteen women and eighteen men aged 20 to 60 have been interviewed (all had attained higher education). They were selected based on their engagement, functions, and attitudes: movement organizers, representatives of civil society organizations and opposition political parties, “rank-and-file” activists (periodically involved in different activities), and investors. As a result, by triangulation of multiple methods – analysing primary and secondary sources and interviews of involved actors –we argue that the strategy of the movements played an important role, while not crucial, in the studied civic activism.

Keywords: Civic Activism, Georgia, Urban space, Strategy

Illiberal Democracy or Russian Dream? Mainstreaming Euroscepticism and Far-right Politics in Georgia

Sandro Tabatadze

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Abstract:

The 2022 invasion of Ukraine by Russia significantly impacted the global economic and political landscape. The European Union experienced an influx of migrants and the presence of military armaments on its continent, as well as multiple imposed sanctions on Russia. In February 2022, Ukraine applied to become a candidate state of the European Union, followed by similar steps from Moldova and Georgia, the other two countries in the associated trio. Despite international reports indicating that Georgia was leading among the associated trio, only Ukraine and Moldova obtained EU candidate status in 2022. The point is that after the 2022 Russia-Ukraine war, the Georgian government's stance shifted. While expressing solidarity with Ukraine verbally, representatives of the ruling party, Georgian Dream, stated that they would not join the imposition of sanctions on Russia, as it was not in the interests of Georgia. Additionally, government representatives accused some high-ranking officials of Ukraine of interfering in internal affairs and supporting the Georgian opposition. Concurrently, the rhetoric of the far-right and Euroscepticism strengthened at the level of the political elite, and the ruling Georgian Dream began to adopt Russian-style authoritarian positions.

This study aims to analyse the growing influence of far-right and Eurosceptic positions in modern Georgia, focusing on the impact of Russian soft power. The research question is: Why and how have Eurosceptic and far-right rhetoric and policies gained strength in Georgia? To address this question, the study used descriptive and instrumental case study methods, content analysis of official statements, and expert interviews. After analysing and interpreting data using the concept of illiberal democracy, several main conclusions can be drawn. First, the ruling team justified the democratic backsliding based on the conspiracy of the "Global War Party" as the most influential secret organization that had an impact on

the West and pushed Georgia to become the second front in the Russia-Ukraine war. Second, the political elite-led anti-Western and Eurosceptic rhetoric has intensified. They have presented Russia and the West as equally imperialistic, created an image of Europe as dying, unprincipled, and deceitful, and presented Georgia as an honest and oppressed partner. Thirdly, the government started pursuing far-right politics with the concepts of "land, language, and faith," which was manifested in the initiation of strong law and order and anti-LGBTQ policies. Lastly, while passing the Russian-like Foreign Agents Act and demonizing NGOs, the authorities have encouraged physical and psychological pressure on citizens and politicians with pro-Western opposition views by local criminal and violent groups.

Keywords: Euroscepticism, Far Right, Illiberal Democracy, Georgia, Soft Power, Russia

The Shrine of Hazrat Ali, also known as the Blue Mosque, is a mosque located in the heart of Mazar-i-Sharif, Afghanistan.



Panel 11 // Hybrid // Venue: Mazzariol Room
Evolving Nature of Religious and Ethnic Conflicts in World Politics

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 13:30 - 15:00 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Fernando Jorge Cardoso

Autónoma University of Lisbon



Insurgency in Cabo Delgado: On the Nature of the Conflict

Fernando Jorge Cardoso

Autónoma University of Lisbon

Joining the "Right Side" of the War: Transnational Diaspora Fighters and Victorious Rebels

Ahmet Yusuf Özdemir

Ibn Haldun University

Religious Conflicts in the Georgian Socio-Political Environment

Nika Gigauri

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Comparative Analysis of Conflict Resolution and Mediation Cases in the Balkans

Amella Bashoviq

South East European University (Online)

Brazilian Messianic Judaism: Appropriation of Judaism by neo-Pentecostal Religious Identity Movements and Its Influence on International Relations between Brazil and Israel

Carlos Martins

Universidade Autônoma De Lisboa

Holy See's Global Mission: A Reflection from the East by Reviewing Post-Vatican II Concordats

Thomas Ching Wei – Tu

National Chengchi University

Insurgency in Cabo Delgado: On the Nature of the Conflict

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Abstract:

Seven years after the start of a violent war in Cabo Delgado, divergent narratives about the conflict continue to persist. This article argues that the armed insurgency in Cabo Delgado can be well traced, and its *raison d'être* should not be mixed up or dissolved within a series of other conflicts which coexist.

This war is caused by an attempt to impose a sectarian view of Islam, the one of DAESH and their alike, which was alien to Mozambique. The war was not launched against Christians or animists, it was rather launched against Muslims (more than 90% of the population in the areas affected), branded as apostates. This war is moved by DAESH ideology and their local followers. These include Mozambicans who were radicalised in Saudi and UAE madrassas and mosques since mid 1980s. After returning, the Islamic Council of Mozambique sent them to Northwest Cabo Delgado for their radicalism. Later, they migrated to the Northeast, joined by miners expelled from ruby fields in Montepuez and incorporated extremists who were "dormant" in South Tanzania. The insurgents called themselves Ansar al Sunna, were rebranded by DAESH as the Islamic State in Mozambique but are known in Mozambican as "mashababos"– the result of joining the Bantu plural "ma" with "shababos", a corruptive designation of al Shabab (Arab for youth).

This is the war. But as it coexists with other factors (conflicts and interests), some of them will be brought into the analysis, for their interconnection with the war. One factor is the existence of popular resentment against government and traders, due to exploitation practices, land grab, absence of investment in infrastructure and public services and lack of job opportunities. Suffice to say that this kind of factor is not unique to Cabo Delgado, it exists in many other peaceful parts of the country. A second factor derives from a network of interests, linked with the discovery of huge gas reserves in the Northeast of the Province, inland and offshore. This brought

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“resource curse” conspiracy theorists which wrongly argue that the gas is the main reason of the war. A third one is the influence of drug trafficking, namely heroin and methamphetamines, commanded by Pakistanis’ drug mafias, linked to locals, which used Cabo Delgado ports within their transportation networks. But as traffickers prefer a calm corruption environment, they began to move South since the war initiated. A fourth factor is vested and conflicting interests of third countries. It is the case of Tanzania – that has its own problems with radical Muslims and that possesses also huge natural gas reserves. It is also the case of Rwanda – having military units in Cabo Delgado and is directly involved in other neighbouring and not so neighbouring conflicts, such as in DRC (opposing Tanzania) and the CAR. Sometimes the “danger” of secessionist intentions is voiced but that is a highly improbable scenario as it will be argued.

Keywords: Mozambique, Cabo Delgado, War, Jihadism

**Joining the “Right Side” of the War:
Transnational Diaspora Fighters and Victorious Rebels**

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Abstract:

This article argues for a shift in the paradigm when analysing transnational war volunteering, commonly known as foreign fighting, that will adopt the analytical tools of transnational methodology. Instead of overemphasizing the roles of criminal and security aspects or individual motivational factors, this methodology will transform the debate from actor to action. Individuals voluntarily deciding to travel abroad and crossing (sometimes multiple) borders to reach a conflict zone is, in its basic form, a movement, mobility, migration, or (for those who stay behind) immobility. Diaspora communities are the essential driving forces for creating transnational social spaces, and they help overcome the trap of methodological nationalism in the social sciences. This article introduces the theoretical discussion of transnationalism within civil wars and ethnic conflicts. By comparatively analysing conflicts in Kosovo (1999), Karabakh (1988-1994), and Abkhazia (1992-1993), this article answers the questions of how transnational diaspora volunteers mobilize, travel, and adapt to the war zones. The wars examined in this study represent mobilizations around micro-level ethnopolitical conflicts where historically established diaspora networks play active roles. This research shows that traveling is intertwined and related to the social and structural mechanisms of both countries of citizenship/residence and the country neighbouring the war zone. Additionally, despite joining the call for “homeland,” cultural and political adaptation to the civil war situation was not swift in some cases.

Keywords: Foreign Fighters, Diaspora, Rebellion, Transnationalism

Religious Conflicts in the Georgian Socio-Political Environment

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Abstract:

Among the fundamental human rights, freedom of religion stands as a cornerstone. Without it, a democratic state cannot truly thrive. Georgia, an ethnically, culturally, and religiously diverse country, has a rich history where people of different faiths have lived and coexisted peacefully for centuries. Modern Georgia legally embraces secularism, ensuring complete freedom of belief and confession (USCIRF, 2024). However, despite these legal provisions, violations of the mentioned constitutional norms remain frequent, often manifesting in the form of religious conflicts. In this context, it is noteworthy to consider religious conflicts in various regions of Georgia. For instance, between 2010 and 2012, there was religious polarization in the village of Nigvzian, involving local Muslims and the Christian Orthodox population. Similarly, in 2014, a confrontation occurred between Jehovah's Witnesses and orthodox Christians in the city of Terjola (Gegeshidze, 2019). Additionally, the construction of a new mosque in Batumi, Adjara, sparked tensions. Another hotspot for religious conflicts is the municipality of Adigeni, where such conflicts occurred in 2013, 2016 and 2024.

Despite the peaceful coexistence of citizens in religiously diverse settlements, tensions arise when representatives of religious minorities demand public expression and enforcement of their beliefs. This often triggers protests from the religiously dominant group (Tsagareishvili, 2015). Investigating the underlying factors that specifically contribute to religious disobedience in Georgia remains an intriguing area of study. In accordance with the Association Agreement with the European Union, particularly since Georgia Granted candidate status of European Union membership, as well as in alignment with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights, the Georgian state has assumed the responsibility to implement effective measures ensuring religious freedom. These measures include investigating incidents thoroughly and imposing

penalties on wrongdoers. Consequently, it becomes crucial to assess the extent to which the state fulfils its obligations. The mentioned study is based on the theory of local civilizations, which regards religion as one of the primary markers of national identity, representing cultural unity and local civilization. According to Arnold Toynbee (Toynbee, 2006), in this context, religion does not solely refer to religious dogmatics; rather, it serves as the central system that shapes the nation from a socio-cultural perspective. This theoretical framework is relevant to this research because, despite the legal establishment of ideas such as religious equality and corporate nationalism, modern Georgia still experiences religious distinctions: the dichotomy of "us" and "them". These distinctions often lead to religious conflicts among Georgian citizens. The study utilizes qualitative social science research methods, specifically document analysis, in-depth interviews, and expert surveys. Ultimately, the purpose of the study is to identify the factors that contribute to religious conflicts in Georgia. Additionally, the study aims to evaluate the effectiveness of the state's response in resolving these conflicts.

Keywords: Religious Majority, Religious Minorities, Conflict, Democracy

Comparative Analysis of Conflict Resolution and Mediation Cases in the Balkans

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Abstract:

The Balkans have been a historical hotspot for conflict, with numerous disputes arising from ethnic, political, and territorial tensions. This study provides a comprehensive comparative analysis of conflict resolution and mediation cases within this region, focusing on both similar and distinct conflicts. By examining the North Macedonia-Greece and Kosovo-Serbia disputes alongside the Bosnia and Herzegovina-Croatia and Slovenia conflicts and contrasting them with the distinct North Macedonia-Greece and Serbia-Montenegro disputes, as well as Kosovo-Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina conflicts, this research aims to uncover deeper insights into the dynamics of conflict resolution and mediation in the Balkans.

The analysis is structured around three primary objectives:

1. Evaluation of similarities and distinctions. This section systematically evaluates the similarities and distinctions among the selected cases in terms of conflict resolution strategies and mediation processes. Key aspects include the nature of the conflicts, the stakeholders involved, the roles of international organizations (such as the EU and UN), and the outcomes achieved. The comparison highlights the unique and common elements that influenced the resolution processes in these cases.
2. Identification of common patterns, challenges, and lessons learned. By identifying recurring patterns and challenges across different cases, this study seeks to draw lessons from past experiences. The research identifies commonalities in the root causes of conflicts, the mediation techniques employed, and the barriers to effective resolution. This section also explores the role of cultural, historical, and geopolitical factors in shaping the mediation processes and outcomes.
3. Discussion of implications for future conflict resolution efforts. The final section

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discusses the broader implications of the findings for future conflict resolution efforts in the Balkans and beyond. It offers recommendations for policymakers, mediators, and international organizations on improving mediation strategies and fostering sustainable peace. The discussion emphasizes the importance of adaptive approaches tailored to the specific contexts of each conflict, as well as the need for sustained international engagement and support.

The comparative analysis reveals that while each conflict in the Balkans has its unique characteristics, there are also significant overlaps in the challenges faced and the strategies that have been effective. For instance, the North Macedonia-Greece name dispute and the Kosovo-Serbia dialogue highlight the critical role of international mediation and the importance of addressing underlying historical grievances. Conversely, the distinct cases of Serbia-Montenegro and the internal conflicts within Bosnia and Herzegovina underscore the complexities of post-conflict state-building and the need for inclusive political processes. Overall, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of conflict resolution and mediation in the Balkans, offering valuable insights for policy makers, practitioners and scholars. By drawing on a wide range of case studies, it provides a nuanced perspective on how different factors converge to influence the outcomes of mediation efforts. The findings underscore the necessity of context-specific strategies and the potential for applying lessons learned in the Balkans to other conflict-prone regions around the world.

Keywords: Conflicts, Disputes, Mediation, Balkans, Similarities and Distinctions

**Brazilian Messianic Judaism: Appropriation of Judaism
by neo-Pentecostal Religious Identity Movements and Its Influence
on International Relations between Brazil and Israel**

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Abstract:

The research aims to study a socio-cultural and identity phenomenon that seeks to link the religious current of Brazilian Protestant Christianity called neo-Pentecostal to Jewish traditions and the historical movements of world Zionism that led to the creation of the State of Israel. Recognizing that Brazil is one of the countries with the largest population descending from the Jewish diaspora, notably from Iberian or Sephardic Judaism from the 15th and 16th centuries, the study's general objective is to contribute to the debate on International Relations regarding the formation of a Brazilian neo-Jewish-syncretic thought, based on the rescue and/or appropriation of historical elements linked to the Jewish tradition and political movements of the State of Israel. Among the specific objectives, we highlight the need for International Relations to understand the formation of contemporary cultural identities based on fragmented elements of the religious historical past.

Cultural elements must be observed such as the rise of a political segment identified as the conservative right linked to a discourse that, as a rule, distorts the concept of the State of Israel, putting in its place the ancient biblical kingdom of Israel, with the ultimate purpose or end of the practice of religious proselytism linked to the theology of prosperity. In the mimetic search of the neo-conservative sectors of Brazilian society, there is an attempt to enforce Christian mythology with the creation of a divine kingdom of Christianity. An animism or supernatural belief that gives religions in general an ideological character. Brazilian Messianic Judaism is the result of historical construction based on the Jewish origins of a significant part of the Brazilian people, or are we facing a mass phenomenon whose inspiration lies in the catechistic will of neoconservative religious sectors in Brazil inspired by movements already existing in the United States of America, in the State of Israel

and in other regions of the world where the Christian faith meets the Jewish faith? The Brazilian neo-Pentecostal movement rises at the dawn of the 21st century, gaining space in politics and life in society, influenced by relations between Brazil and Israel. Even in organized crime, narco-Pentecostals emerge with a strong appeal to the thought of messianic Christianity. In this sense, Viviane Costa's research resulted in the publication entitled "evangelical drug dealers" which focuses on the phenomenon of the co-optation of religious discourse by criminals dedicated to drug trafficking in Rio de Janeiro communities. From this meeting of factors, not uncommon in the history of humanity, God's traffickers and communities emerged, such as the Israel complex, in the State of Rio de Janeiro, in an evident allusion to the State of Israel, which in turn represents in the worldview of many followers of Messianic Judaism. Brazilian the resurgence of the mythological Kingdom of Israel, thus replicating a feeling seen since the emergence of the original Jewish messianism that sought the establishment of a society of righteous people from the city of Jerusalem, in the ancient Kingdom of Israel.

Keywords: Neoconservadorism, Religion, Policy, Mimicry, Messianic

Holy See's Global Mission: A Reflection from the East by Reviewing Post-Vatican II Concordats Thomas Ching Wei – Tu

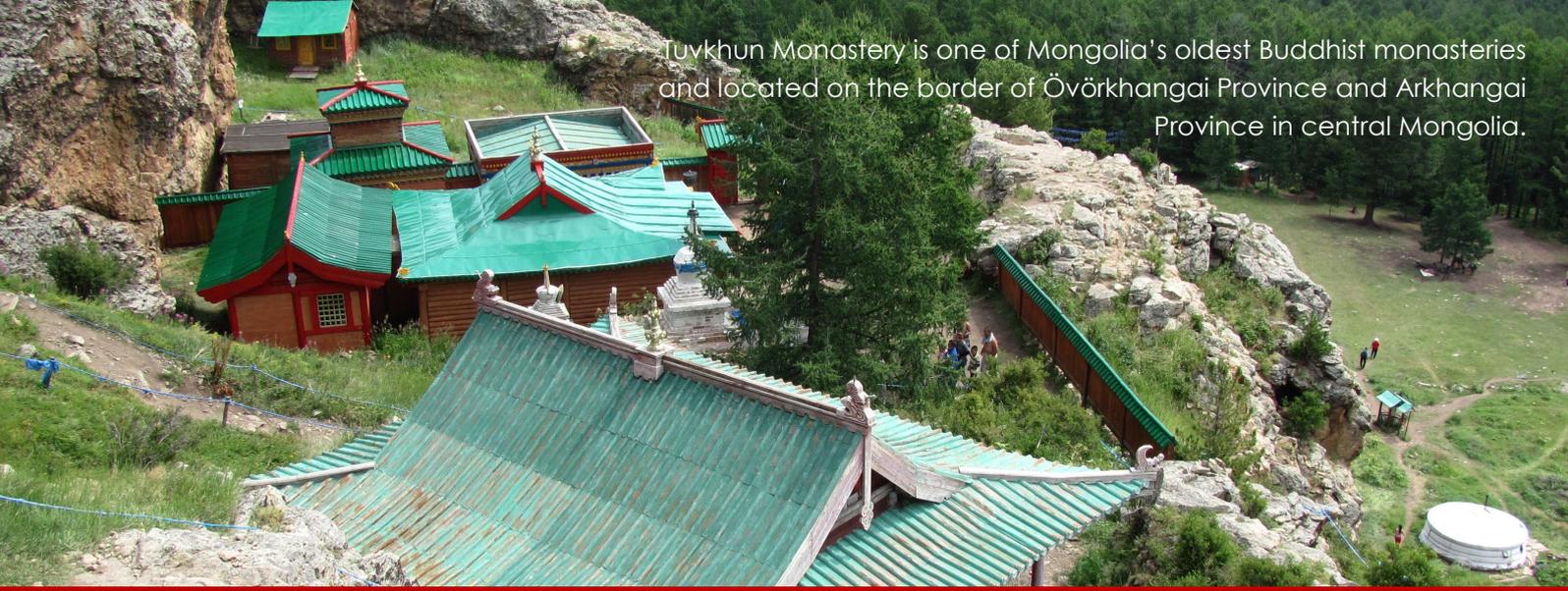
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Abstract:

The Second Ecumenical Council (Vatican II) revealed a dramatic change within the Catholic Church, which brought her to modernize and tailor to diverse cultures. Following localization, the Church is open to the local language in liturgy and merges the domestic existing cultural traditions. However, Vatican II has not changed the nature and existing purpose of the Holy See, which is evangelization or so-called Mission. The Holy See, by its Westphalian entity, the Vatican City State, was resurrected in 1929 after 60 years of the Roman Question. After Vatican II in the late 1970s, the Vatican worked even harder in international affairs, especially on negotiating and signing concordats with countries, compared with the period of the Papal State between 800 and 1880, to guarantee and maintain the Church's legal status by constantly booming new concordats. The modern concordats, too, have become the global carriers of the Church's mission. From 1965 to 2023, the Holy See concluded 192 concordats, with the other 73 entered into force before Vatican II, for a total of 265 concordats currently in effect. The large number of concordats protected the Church's rights and penetrated Catholic social teachings and values into a country's legal system. These efforts, perhaps, also led to the collapse of Western communism. Currently, among 13 concordats in the Asian region, two were concluded with Communist countries: the People's Republic of China and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Will it lead to another domino effect on Asian communism reformation? In order to explain the indications, the study aims to provide an interpretation by reviewing the prototype of Post-Vatican II concordats in close to the nature of the Holy See's international behavior.

Keywords: Holy See, Concordat, Second Ecumenical Council, Sino-Vatican Relations, Holy See-Vietnam Relations

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



Panel 12 // Hybrid // Venue: Valent Room

Coping with Common Challenges: Transnational Environmental Security

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 13:30 - 15:00 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

María Antónia Pires de Almeida

Universidade do Minho



The Planetary Limits of the Global Commons in the Age of the Anthropocene

Brigida Brito

Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa (Online)

Climate Change as a Non-Traditional Security Threat:

Regional Cooperation in South Asia

Muhammad Arif Khan

Federal Urdu University of Arts, Sciences & Technology

Water Sustainability in the Iberian Peninsula

María Antónia Pires de Almeida

Universidade do Minho

Impact and Resiliency in the COVID-19 Era: Household Food Security in Laos

Siriporn Jantanasakulwong

Ubon Ratchathani University

The Biopolitics of Global Reproductive Justice

Jane Marcus-Delgado

City University of New York College of Staten Island

The Planetary Limits of the Global Commons in the Age of the Anthropocene

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Abstract:

The human capacity to dominate and transform the planet is now unquestionable, and the influence of the Anthropocene is widely recognised. There are many areas in which the era of human domination over nature has resulted in planetary limits. Examples include polluting emissions and its contribution to climate change, ocean acidification and the transformation of ecosystems that represent natural carbon sinks. The recognition that there are areas of extreme importance to the planetary balance that do not depend on the jurisdiction of any State has favoured the need to establish partnership agreements and international cooperation for its harmonious regulation. These areas, known as global commons, require different treatment from supranational natural systems because they are not directly dependent on the national decision of any single state. These systems are interconnected and interdependent and are considered as shared resources and of common responsibility. For the purpose of this analysis, as common global goods that confront the planetary limits, even though there may be others, there is the atmosphere, as it is the supranational area that retains the polluting gases that, through anthropogenic means, contribute to the multiplication of extreme climatic events with a strong socio-environmental impact. In this context, the tropical storms, floods and prolonged droughts that are the result of high-impact climatic events are analysed. The planetary limits of the global commons are analysed on the basis of micro-realities, with a particular focus on Small Island Developing States, where there is evidence of ecosystem transformation, risk of loss of biodiversity and endemism, but also community impact. These are problems that, rather than a local response, require the adoption of global and collective actions that are methodologically close to international partnership and co-operation.

Keywords: Global Commons, Climate Change, Anthropocene, SIDS

Climate Change as a Non-Traditional Security Threat: Regional Cooperation in South Asia

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Abstract:

Climate change is increasingly recognized as a non-traditional security threat with extensive repercussions for global stability and human security overall. South Asia is a region, highly vulnerable to the effects of climate change, including sea-level rise, agricultural disruptions, extreme weather events and water scarcity. This abstract explores the imperative for regional cooperation in South Asia to address climate change as a non-traditional security threat, examining the challenges, opportunities, and pathways for collaborative action. It is an undeniable fact that the impacts of climate change go beyond national borders, exacerbating existing vulnerabilities and intensifying socio-economic disparities within and among countries in South Asian region. Despite the shared vulnerabilities and interconnected nature of climate change impacts, regional cooperation in South Asia has been hindered by geopolitical tensions, opposing national interests and bitter memories. The Copenhagen school framework identified five general categories i.e. military, economic, environmental, societal and political security. The Copenhagen school, therefore, focused on the multi-sectorial approach that moved away from traditionalist conception of security. Moving forward, enhancing regional cooperation on climate change in South Asia requires political will, institutional capacity-building, and inclusive dialogue among governments, civil society organizations, and other stakeholders. Multilateral frameworks, such as South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), could serve as platforms for collaboration, knowledge-sharing, and joint action on climate change adaptation, mitigation, and resilience-building efforts. This abstract invites further exploration and dialogue on the nexus between climate change, non-traditional security threats, and regional cooperation in South Asia, highlighting the urgent need for collective action to address shared challenges and promote sustainable development in the face of a changing climate.

Keywords: Climate Change, Non-Traditional Security Threat, South Asia, Regional Cooperation

Water Sustainability in the Iberian Peninsula

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Abstract:

Over the last five years there has been extreme drought in Mediterranean countries, particularly in the South of Spain and Portugal. Due to climate change, the regular water cycle of rainy winters and dry summers has been altered. In some regions there were a few years when rain did not fall at all, causing dams to reach levels never observed before. On March 2024, two of Algarve's dams were fourteen percent of their capacity. Underground aquifers are also diminishing and becoming salty. Andalusia and Catalonia have similar problems and their main cities are already reducing private consumption of water.

Drought periods have always been a feature of the Mediterranean region, but water shortage has grown exponentially since intensive agriculture was introduced in the South of Spain and Portugal. Greenhouses covered in plastics for fruits and vegetables have reached thousands of hectares in Almeria and may be observed from space. The same practice is growing in Southwest Alentejo and Vicentine Coast Natural Park, completely ignoring the law that protects natural parks. Even with this winter's rain, the dam that irrigates those properties is currently at 30 percent of its capacity. And resorts are being built with golf courses that shall consume even more water. Inland, super intensive olive groves are being irrigated all year round, as well as using chemicals, technology and seasonal, precarious and illegal workers from Asia. This is part of an international trend based on extensive scale investments and capital-intensive enterprises who practice "neoextractivism" with a production intensive approach to development, or a "development illusion". This new socio-territorial model practiced in the Global South is linked to monoculture, which eliminates other forms of production, damaging local and regional economies and driving people away.

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In monoculture systems, water and land are all mobilized for the same product, wasting soils. Who is responsible for the damage? How are central and local governments addressing the water shortage problem? What are the proposals and solutions? Several ONGs are working to raise awareness and confronting authorities. And plans are being made to supply water to regions in severe and chronic drought. As the source of Portugal's major rivers is in Spain, their flow has shared management, through a dam system. With research on legislation, international treaties, and current negotiations, as well as content analysis of the press and social media, this paper aims to identify and describe the major issues on the table regarding water management in Spain and Portugal, where this new type of use for rural areas, with intensive agriculture and tourism as main investments, poses extreme challenges for the environment.

Keywords: Water, Drought, Dams, Extractivism, Superintensive Agriculture, South

Impact and Resiliency in the COVID-19 Era: Household Food Security in Laos

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Abstract:

This research aims to study the impact of and adaptations to food security, social issues, economics, and the environment for children in vulnerable families in Laos following the COVID-19 pandemic, with the goal of identifying sustainable adaptations and precise solutions. Data was collected through meetings and in-depth interviews in local communities in two areas: Phon Thong district, Champassak province, and Lakhonphe district, Salavan province in Lao PDR. The findings of the study indicate that the COVID-19 pandemic significantly affected the economy, though the impact on food insecurity was not severe. Nevertheless, challenges remain regarding access to quality food. Community integration and schools can play a pivotal role in addressing household food insecurity through initiatives such as lunch programs for children, which receive partial assistance from the state. These programs enhance the quality of food available to children, and community collaboration can mitigate the adverse effects of household food insecurity on children. Policy recommendations include: 1) The government should support economic stimulus measures, develop border trade, and promote local markets to generate income for the community. 2) The government should encourage communities to form groups to enhance community food security. Food security encompasses not only access to sufficient food sources but also food safety, addressing issues such as chemical contaminants in food, global warming, and biodiversity. Policy implementation should involve cooperation among government agencies, civil society, and international organizations to support and promote the creation of food sustainability.

Keywords: Food Security, Policy Network, Food Culture, Community Empowerment, Vulnerable

The Biopolitics of Global Reproductive Justice

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Abstract:

Reproductive justice ranks among the most divisive and contentious issues in the global public sphere. Despite an international trend toward the legal right to abortion, access to sexual and reproductive health care remains inconsistent, inequitable, and politically vulnerable in much of the world. In areas ranging from Europe to Latin America, legislative and judicial decisions have largely favoured increased liberalization, yet the backlash against the voluntary termination of pregnancy continues to expand. There are numerous explanations for the persistence of abortion politics, but the rise of populist, anti-gender politicians espousing pro-natalist ideologies serves as a primary catalyst for the polemical debate. This paper seeks to offer a comparative perspective on the political barriers to abortion access, giving a range of country-based examples. It focuses on six cases – Argentina, Colombia, Ireland, Poland, Spain, and the United States – that have faced recent constitutional challenges to abortion rights. The research asserts that constitutionality generally prohibits the banning or criminalizing of abortion, making it a “negative right” (the right not to be punished). But it fails to guarantee that a person with an unwanted pregnancy can actually terminate it. As such, abortion is available *de jure* but not *de facto*. By abdicating its role in ensuring abortion access, the state creates a space for conservative stakeholders to attack its availability and provision. This study addresses the legal, political and social circumstances that affect reproductive health services in these countries. It further examines the politics within international organizations — European Parliament, Organization of American States, United Nations – that are positioned to assist (and often hinder) abortion justice.

Keywords: Abortion, Reproductive Rights, Constitutionality, Human Rights

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 13 // Hybrid // Venue: Biral Room

Heading to Where? Questioning the Existence or Policies of NATO

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 15:30 - 17:00 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Andrew K P Leung

Andrew Leung International Consultants & Investments (Online)



The NATO Southern Flank: The Need for A New Vision?

Luís Bernardino

Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa (Online)

A Discourse and Action Analysis of NATO's Security Perception in the Context of Changing Strategic Concepts

Ümran Gözel & Ismail Erkam Sula

Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University (Online)

Unprotected Sovereignty:

The Kakhovka Dam Crisis and NATO's Missing R2P Framework

Amber Brittain-Hale

BrainStates Inc (Online)

The EU as a Defence Actor and the NATO-EU Cooperation, Especially in Hybrid Warfare with Russia:

A New Strategic Responsibility for an EU-led NATO?

Maurizio Geri

Ca' Foscari/George Mason University (Online)

The NATO Southern Flank: The Need for A New Vision?

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Abstract:

At a time when NATO and the world are facing enormous security challenges and when the globalization of regional conflict is increasing, an analysis of NATO's role in present and future conflicts seems to us to make sense. In this context, when we have the political-strategic framework of NATO's Madrid Strategic Concept (2022) and new decisions from the Washington NATO Summit (2024), does it make sense to reflect on the global character of the Alliance and to know if it makes sense to talk about NATO's Southern Flank? This work, based on documentary analysis and personal experience, points to a new form of geopolitical approach to the organization, indicating the need to adapt and update concepts that seem to be inappropriate to NATO's role in global security and in particular related with the southern neighbourhood.

Keywords: NATO, Defence, Security, Southern Flank, Globalization

A Discourse and Action Analysis of NATO's Security Perception in the Context of Changing Strategic Concepts

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Abstract:

After the end of the Cold War period, the necessity of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was being questioned. Is it necessary or not? As a result of this inquiry, NATO has expanded its security concept to include new objectives and dynamics. This paper aims to analyze NATO's discourse and actions in the context of its changing strategic concepts. The central question of this research is: to what extent do NATO's practices align with the evolving context of its changing Strategic Concepts? The application of the content analysis method is proposed as an answer to this research question. It argues that after the Cold War period ended, NATO's primary function was defense-oriented or not. As a result of this research, no matter how much they expand their security concepts, the only absolute function of NATO is to defend its allies from any military threat. This research contributes to the literature by examining the documents, namely Secretary General's Annual Reports and Strategic Concepts Documents, published by NATO. This research limits itself to publications by NATO between 1999 to 2022 period. This research posits that strategic concepts have not changed much while seemingly "changing" and the threat perceptions are still primarily "military".

Keywords: Content Analysis, Strategic Concepts, Defense, NATO's Security Perception, NATO's Threat Perception

**Unprotected Sovereignty:
The Kakhovka Dam Crisis and NATO's Missing R2P Framework**

Amber Brittain-Hale

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Abstract:

It is proposed to conduct a focused analysis of the Kakhovka Dam crisis in Ukraine, examining the severe consequences one year after its destruction on June 6, 2023. The dam's destruction, which resulted in significant ecocide and a profound human toll, underscores the failure to protect critical infrastructure. The proposed study will reveal the catastrophic impact, encompassing economic devastation, loss of human lives, extensive environmental damage, and the obliteration of cultural heritage. The analysis will explore the potential role of NATO under the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) framework for states with pending membership. Although NATO does not have an explicit R2P doctrine enshrined in its founding treaty or strategic concepts, it has been viewed as a potential actor in operationalizing R2P interventions. Given that the dam was known to be a target and was mined, a more proactive and coordinated approach might have mitigated the disaster. The proposal argues for considering preventive measures in conflict-prone regions for nations aspiring to join NATO, leveraging NATO's capabilities within the broader context of R2P principles. Situated within the geopolitical context of Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine, the proposed study will underscore the tension between the sacred principle of sovereignty and the necessity of intervention under R2P. As Ukraine ascended toward NATO membership, the crisis illustrated how R2P could safeguard human security and prevent atrocities, even when full membership had not been attained. Looking into the Kakhovka Dam crisis, the proposal stresses increased collaboration among international organizations to ensure collective peace and stability in an ever-changing global environment. It emphasizes the importance of a robust and adaptable framework to prevent future crises while balancing national sovereignty and humanitarian intervention.

Keywords: Ukraine, Sovereignty, NATO, R2P

The EU as a Defence Actor and the NATO-EU Cooperation, Especially in Hybrid Warfare with Russia: A New Strategic Responsibility for an EU-led NATO?

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Abstract:

This article critically examines the process of the EU as a defence actor, its cooperation with NATO, especially in its defence against hybrid warfare, and how the EU needs a new 'strategic responsibility' for an EU-led NATO in front of an increasing hybridization of war by Russia. Since the beginning of the European Community in the 1950s, the idea of a 'defence union' re-emerged regularly in the history of the European continent. However, the presence of NATO made that idea unnecessary and unrealistic, if not even a tabu for the European Community that has always seen itself as a peaceful actor. The EU has a history of common defence and security policies since 1999, and NATO and the EU have cooperated for decades but today this seems not enough. Since the Russian war against Ukraine, and the increased use of hybridization of warfare by Russia, the EU has been forced to rethink the need to 'defend itself by itself', even if is unable to have a full 'strategic autonomy. This article argues that Europe must look to a new 'strategic responsibility, for a stronger and more focused common defence, based on a bigger contribution inside the Transatlantic Alliance. From a 'European pillar of NATO', the EU should go towards a 'Europe-led NATO', in a complementary, not overlapping way, with a stronger cooperation with and within NATO, especially in the hybrid warfare tools.

Keywords: EU Common Defence, EU-NATO Cooperation, Hybrid Warfare, Russia



Panel 14 // Hybrid // Venue: Mazzariol Room
Multi-Polar Regionalism as New World Order?

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 15:30 - 17:00 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Sandro Tabatadze

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University



Turkish-American Relations: Status, Prospects and Future Challenges

Mark Meirowitz

State University of New York (SUNY) Maritime College & CESRAN International (Online)

Empty Shell Regionalism?

The Prospects for the Eurasian Economic Union
within the New Geopolitics and Geoeconomics in Eurasia

Andrey Kinyakin

Centro Universitário Integrado

Historical Legacies and Contemporary Geopolitics in Northeast Asia:
Implications for Regional Security

Carla Melo

Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa (Online)

Testing Major Theories of International Relations on Regionalism of Central Asia

Yaşar Sarı

Ibn Haldun University

Japan's Foreign Policy towards the US and China: An Ontological Security Perspective

Rasha El Baz

NewGiza University

**Turkish-American Relations:
Status, Prospects and Future Challenges**

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Abstract:

I will discuss the current status, prospects and challenges surrounding Turkish Foreign Policy and Turkish-US Relations in particular. Turkey's foreign policy has largely been dictated by domestic politics considerations both within Turkey (in terms of local elections and future prospects for the AKP) and in the United States (in terms of the US Congress and its approval of armaments for Turkey). Turkish-US relations have largely been transactional focusing piece by piece on different issues as they develop rather than constructing a cohesive and coherent policy that would have ongoing efficacy. As of this writing a major bilateral meeting between Presidents Biden and Erdogan was cancelled. It is hard to predict the future trajectory of the relationship between Turkey and the US especially because the US has a presidential election scheduled for November 2024.

Keywords: Turkey, Foreign Policy, United States, International Relations, NATO

“Empty Shell Regionalism”? The Prospects for the Eurasian Economic Union within the New Geopolitics and Geoeconomics in Eurasia

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Abstract:

The current decade is marked by formidable shifts in global geopolitics and geoeconomics. They are mainly stipulated by significant surge of risks for system of international relations as well as sustainable global political and economic development in general. One of the most remarkable is undoubtedly the outbreak of war in Ukraine, which in respect of macro-region of Eurasia has not only severe impacts on the character of interactions between different regional and extra-regional actors (mainly between Russia and the Western countries), but also heavily influenced the regional integration processes as well as functioning of regional integration structures (regionalisms). Concerning the latter, it is worth foremost mentioning the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), which at the present is undergoing a significant "stress-test" amidst the remarkable strengthening of negative factors. Among them are not only external - the war-driven western sanctions imposed on Russia - the main driving force within the EAEU or disruption of cooperation with some counterparts (like abolishment of created in 2019 FTA with Singapore) but also internal - rising contradictions between the EAEU member-states amidst not only formation of malevolent geopolitical environment but also waning economic efficiency and insufficient in-depth integration dynamics (for instance, failing attempts to create joint financial and energy markets).

All this results in the deterioration of image of the EAEU as the effective subregional (within post-Soviet space) integration structure putting the huge question mark on its prospects as sustainable regionalism in the mid- and long-term amidst rising attractiveness of alternative projects (from the Chinese "Belt and Road Initiative" to the EU "Global Getaway" strategy) and significant enhancement of "existential" risks. Among the latter the major one is consecutive politicization of the EAEU leading to further diminishment of its economic relevance and thus resulting in the eventual

losing of integration dynamics. It can contribute to significant decline of attractiveness of Eurasian project both for the existing EAEU member-states (for instance, Kazakhstan or Armenia) as well as potential newcomers (like Uzbekistan). The enhancement of this risk can be stipulated by the potential economic downturn in the Russian economy as a result of action of the imposed western sanctions as well as further entrenchment of geopolitical confrontation with the West (the USA, the EU), leading to emergence of substantial specific risks of both the economic (harsh western secondary sanctions against all EAEU member-states) as well as political (increasing Russian irredentism and enhancement of conflicting identities within the EAEU) origin. As a result, it can put the EAEU on the brink of total disintegration as subregional integration structure, which turns out to be the most pessimistic scenario for the Eurasian integration project. But the basic (the most probable) anticipates inertial development/gradual stagnation and degradation with a partial disintegration within mid-/long-term perspective amidst the lack of essential integration dynamics. As a result, the EAEU can turn into formal paper integration structure or "empty shell regionalism", thus proving the relevance of "post-Soviet integration path-dependence" for the Russia-led integration projects.

Keywords: Geopolitics, Eurasian integration, Eurasian Economic Union, Russia, China

Historical Legacies and Contemporary Geopolitics in Northeast Asia: Implications for Regional Security

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Abstract:

Through the conceptualization of Northeast Asia as a region, either by the perspective of borders or by the regional security complex, it is possible to understand the uniqueness of the region throughout different moments in contemporary history. Simultaneously, if one adds the deep presence of historical legacies into the equation, understanding Northeast Asia and its dynamics becomes even more complex and complicated to conceptualize exclusively through the classic theories of International Relations. History and Geopolitics are heavily intertwined in the region and so, to present a comprehensive analysis of the region and its security nexus, the author wishes to answer the question of how much unsolved historical legacies have shaped contemporary geopolitics in Northeast Asia.

Keywords: Northeast Asia, History, Security, Geopolitics, International Politics

Testing Major Theories of International Relations on Regionalism of Central Asia

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Abstract:

The study of regionalism in international relations is paramount for understanding the dynamics of state behavior and cooperation after the Cold War. Central Asia, with its unique geopolitical position and complex economic and security challenges, serves as an intriguing case study to test the applicability of major theoretical frameworks in international relations—realism, liberalism, and constructivism. This paper aims to evaluate how these theories explain security and economic interaction in the region, assess their theoretical relevance, and analyze regional-specific security and economic policies, including energy and transportation projects. Through a comparative analysis of primary and secondary sources, complemented by case studies of significant events, such as impacts of War in Ukraine to Central Asia as a region, Belt and Road Initiative, Global Gateway and pipeline systems, this study seeks to provide insights into the intricate economic and security landscape of Central Asia through holistic perspective. While acknowledging the limitations of individual theories, this research advocates for a combined approach to better understand the multifaceted nature of regional dynamics in this critical region.

This study adopts a comparative analytical approach, drawing on primary and secondary sources to assess security-economic led regional issues in Central Asia through the lens of realism, liberalism, and constructivism. By examining the power dynamics, geopolitical significance, collective perceptions, identities, and economic cooperation among Central Asian states, this research aims to shed light on their relations with the actors, such as the United States, China, Russia and Türkiye within the regional and international context. The comparative analysis of security and economic issues will highlight the strengths and limitations of each theoretical perspective on regionalism in Central Asia, offering insights into the complex interplay of factors shaping regional dynamics in the region. The research will also

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incorporate qualitative data analysis techniques to identify patterns and trends in regional-specific security policies. For this paper, it will be interviews conducted interviews with policymakers, scholars, and experts on Central Asian regionalism. The main research questions of this research papers are: How do the main theories of international relations explain the regionalism in Central Asia?, what role do major external powers (e.g., Russia, China, the US) play in the regionalism of Central Asia?, and what are the main drivers and inhibitors of regional cooperation among Central Asian states? To answer these questions, it will be applied select specific security and economic issues of regional cooperation or conflict in Central Asia (e.g., the formation of regional organizations and specific disputes and collaboration areas). In conclusion, this paper underscores the importance of testing major schools of international relations on regional issues and interaction in Central Asia. By testing the main theories of international relations on the regionalism of Central Asia, the main findings of the study is to provide a nuanced understanding of how these theories apply in a complex and dynamic regional context. This comprehensive analysis would contribute to both theoretical knowledge and practical policy-making regarding regionalism in Central Asia. While no single theory can fully capture the complexity of the region's political and economic landscape, a combined approach allows for a more nuanced analysis and contributes to informed regionalism efforts in this vital region.

Keywords: Regionalism, Central Asia, Regional Dynamics, IR Theories, Case Studies, Issue Areas

**Japan's Foreign Policy towards the US and China:
An Ontological Security Perspective**

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Abstract:

This paper explores Japan's foreign policy towards the United States and China through the lens of ontological security. It examines how Japan's national identity and historical narratives shape its diplomatic strategies and interactions with these major powers. By analyzing key policy shifts and public discourses, the study highlights Japan's efforts to maintain a stable sense of self amidst regional tensions and global uncertainties. The findings suggest that ontological security considerations significantly influence Japan's balancing act between fostering strong alliances with the US and managing complex relations with China. This perspective provides a nuanced understanding of Japan's foreign policy dynamics in the evolving geopolitical landscape.

Keywords: Ontological Security, National Identity, Diplomatic Strategy, Geopolitics, Regional Tensions, International Relations



Panel 15 // Hybrid // Venue: Valent Room
Challenges in Contemporary Societies

WEDNESDAY // 02 October 2024 // 15:30 - 17:00 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Marco Marsili

Ca' Foscari University



Minori Stranieri non Accompagnati: Ricerca di Sistemi Operativi Efficienti

Cinzia Valente

University of Modena and Reggio Emilia (Online)

Europe in the Spitzenkandidaten' Campaigns

Patrizia Santoro & Rossana Sampugnaro & Hans-jörg Trezz

Università degli studi di Catania & Università degli studi di Catania & Scuola Normale Superiore di Firenze

Estetica della Moltitudine e Potere:

Dalla Resistenza alla Rappresentanza Politica nell'Era dei Movimenti Radicali

Mafalda Carvalho Cardoso

University of the Basque Country UPV/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, EHU (Online)

The "Green Revolution" for Environmental Security in Agro-Ecological Urbanism

Lucia Chieffallo & Annunziata Palermo & Gaetano Tucci

University of Calabria (Online)

Minori Stranieri non Accompagnati: Ricerca di Sistemi Operativi Efficienti

Cinzia Valente

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Abstract:

Il fenomeno migratorio, spesso condizionato da eventi politici o gravi condizioni economico-sociali, ha determinato negli ultimi decenni l'ingresso, sul territorio nazionale ed europeo, di un incrementato numero di minori stranieri privi di una figura adulta di riferimento. Dal punto di vista giuridico tale fenomeno risulta complesso richiedendo il coordinamento di regole appartenenti a diverse aree; le esigenze di tutela della vulnerabilità propria della minore età si devono coordinare con quelle relative alla condizione di straniero e con l'assenza di un soggetto capace di assicurarne assistenza morale, materiale e legale. L'analisi del panorama europeo evidenzia come la tutela dei diritti fondamentali e l'esigenza di disciplinare flussi migratori rappresentano centri di interesse in potenziale contrasto il cui bilanciamento è ambito di confronto sia in ragione delle lacune normative esistenti sia dei problemi di effettiva attuazione delle, talvolta insufficienti, regole esistenti (si pensi ad esempio alle modalità dell'accoglienza o alle procedure di accertamento dell'età). Il presente contributo ha lo scopo di proporre una ricostruzione della frammentaria disciplina europea e statale al fine di valutare l'efficacia dei rimedi adottati dai paesi ospitanti, a tutela delle esigenze di inclusione ed integrazione del minore; non trascurabili le specificità legate all'età dei migranti che sempre più spesso sono vicini alla maggiore età e necessitano di percorsi di inserimento specifici e duraturi. L'analisi comparativa delle soluzioni adottate nei sistemi nazionali europei indagati avrà lo scopo di delineare linee di convergenza o divergenza degli ordinamenti ed individuare linee guida efficienti.

Keywords: Unaccompanied Children, Regulation, Inclusion, Soft Law - EU and National Law

Europe in the Spitzenkandidaten' Campaigns

Patrizia Santoro & Rossana Sampugnaro & Hans-jörg Trenz

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Abstract:

The EU, faced with a crisis of legitimacy and the need to counteract a decline in voter turnout, decided to introduce the figure of the Spitzenkandidat - the leading candidate of the European party - in 2014, in accordance with the Treaties. The stated aim is to increase interest in the European elections and, consequently, voter turnout, by personalising and developing European campaigns around the politician elected as President of the European Commission. After a promising start in 2014 and the election of Juncker to head the Commission, the next round revealed the weakness of the mechanism designed to guarantee the election of the Spitzenkandidat of the European party with the most votes. What will happen in 2024? Can the Spitzenkandidaten still be seen as a means of strengthening the EU? What is their role in the latest European campaign? The research aims to capture the specificity of the campaigns of the 10 Spitzenkandidaten by monitoring social media and websites. The research is exploratory in nature and uses content analysis of the posts published on the main social profiles (X, facebook, instagram) in the period between 6 May and 6 June 2024. Our approach allows us to observe the models of political communication from the perspective of both the styles of communication, the themes and, finally, the visual dimension of the campaigns. In particular, the analysis allows us to analyse the representation of Europe that emerges from the politicians' speeches and that seems to be strongly divided with regard to the concept of borders, the theme of identities, values and inclusion. The candidates' agendas highlight the centrality of certain issues such as immigration, energy policy and climate change. Unlike in the past, politics as an area of confrontation between political orientations and ideologies in the traditional sense remains marginal, marking a discontinuity with more recent European elections.

Keywords: Election Campaign, Spitzenkandidaten, European Party, Social Media

**Estetica della Moltitudine e Potere:
Dalla Resistenza alla Rappresentanza Politica nell'Era dei Movimenti Radicali**

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Abstract:

Nell'esercizio della loro funzione democratica, le persone affermano la loro esistenza attraverso la resistenza, chiedendo riconoscimento e articolando la loro voce politica attraverso la comunicazione delle idee. Intendiamo analizzare l'estetica della moltitudine come "macchina comune", "intelletto generale", alludendo al corpo disciplinato, alla sua relazione con la biopolitica e al movimento della moltitudine come risultato dei movimenti multipli delle singolarità che trasformano la resistenza in potere. Vogliamo dare un nome a questo evento in cui "decidiamo tutti insieme". Analizzando qualitativamente l'evoluzione e la composizione del partito Chega con rappresentanza parlamentare, lo collochiamo sull'asse ideologico dell'estrema destra. Vogliamo identificare le elezioni legislative del 2019 come un punto di svolta nella composizione del sistema politico-partitico, in cui i risultati elettorali hanno promosso la rinascita di movimenti sociali estremisti neonazisti come il Gruppo 1143, combinando simbolicamente il ritorno delle idee di estrema destra nell'agenda politica portoghese. Anche nelle ultime elezioni legislative del 2024, un nuovo partito di destra radicale, chiamato ADN, ha acquisito una maggiore dimensione comparativa, approfittando del momento politico conservatore portoghese per affermarsi nell'arena lusofona ed europea. L'ADN si candida al Parlamento europeo con un leader di lista che è un ex membro della sinistra radicale. I cittadini sono riluttanti, passivi di fronte a questi fenomeni o ne sono consapevoli e partecipi? La domanda è come avviene questa presa di coscienza da parte delle singolarità multiple, il momento in cui si genera questo nuovo corpo multitudinario. La relazione tra soggettività e corpo è porosa, con zone di sovrapposizione e di differenza. Al corpo si sovrappongono determinazioni materiali, simboliche e sociologiche. È quindi il mezzo primario di relazione politica, in quanto restituisce la soggettività alla sua dimensione esposta, sessuata, plurale. La dimensione esposta, sessuata, plurale, delinea un'ontologia dell'attaccamento e

della dipendenza che manda in frantumi l'illusione di un sé sovrano, neutro, indipendente, autosufficiente. Dal radicamento dei corpi e dal riconoscimento della condizione condivisa di vulnerabilità all'altro, si apre la possibilità di una politica che riconosce l'alterità come inevitabile. In quanto singolarità incarnate, i soggetti sono presenti sulla scena pubblica con i loro corpi, il che li mette in costante esposizione all'alterità. La natura dell'azione collettiva e delle lotte di protesta richiede che essi siano visti e ascoltati. Così, dalla rappresentanza parlamentare, ai micro-partiti e ai movimenti sociali, idee come il rifiuto dell'immigrazione, il mancato riconoscimento delle minoranze vengono messe in gioco, disegnando con i loro discorsi una polarizzazione sociale che separa questo corpo multitudinario dal pericolo esterno, o il popolo dai politici corrotti. Riconosciamo l'uso di strumenti per prevenire e neutralizzare l'avanzata di questi gruppi antidemocratici attraverso l'azione collettiva. L'azione collettiva è un'operazione con una funzione democratica che può essere performativa. L'azione collettiva è una forma di lotta per il potere, che sfida le dimensioni incipienti e potenti delle nozioni prevalenti del politico.

Keywords: Potere, Resistenza, Rappresentanza Politica, L'azione Collettiva, Movimenti Radicali, Contesto Portoghese

The “Green Revolution” for Environmental Security in Agro-Ecological Urbanism

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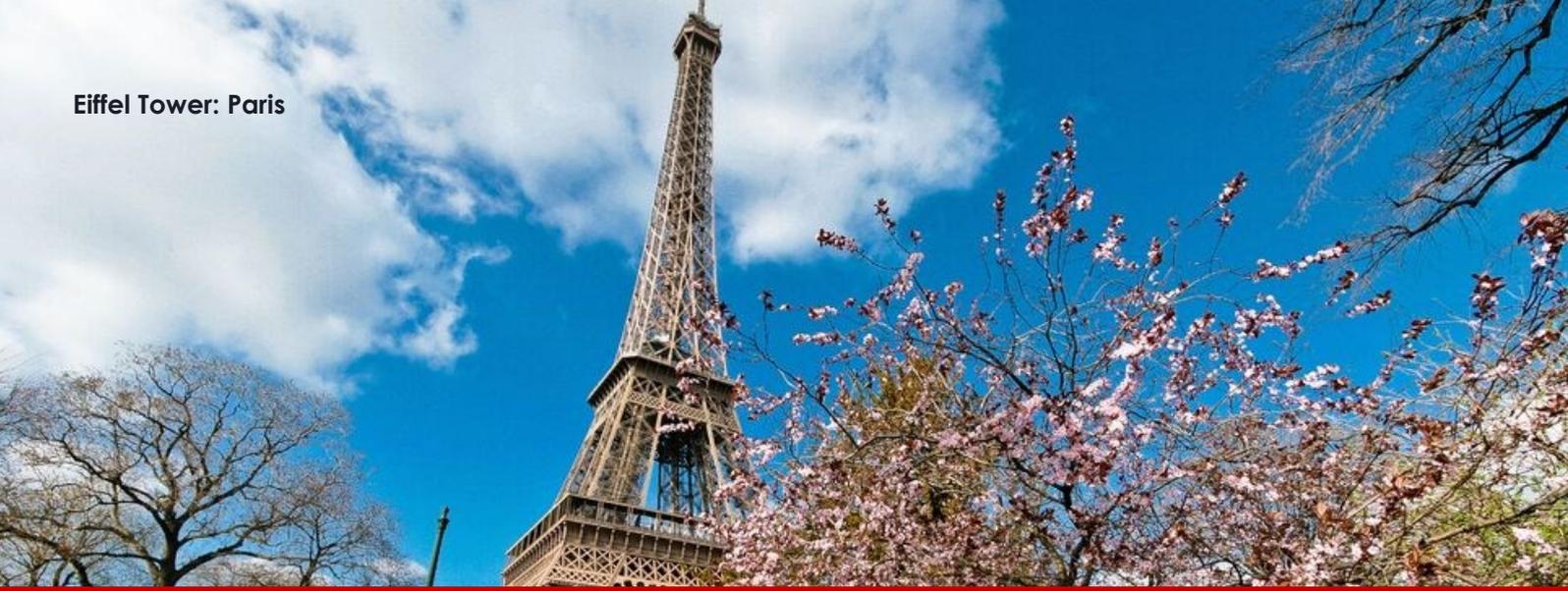
Abstract:

Agro-ecology represents a sustainable production model capable of responding to the challenge of climate change. In fact, agro-ecological practices allow the recovery or restoration of ecosystem services and degraded sites, responding to current climate and food challenges, as they contribute to the regulation of the local climate, the better use of water, waste and local resources. Even recognizing these issues, many recent studies have highlighted the need to implement a new “green revolution” to find an answer to the diversified needs related to the rapid increase in the world population. In fact, to this end, over time different solutions have been put forward aimed at increasing agricultural production. However, they have implied a series of negative effects, which, to date, make the need to guarantee the environmental security of the territories more evident than ever, favouring the integration between the green revolution and the ecological transition. This issue represents a key model for environmental, economic, and social sustainability, as also recognized by the Italian National Recovery and Resilience Plan, which dedicates one of its missions to it. On the basis of these findings, referring to agricultural productivity, it is increasingly important to rationalize water and soil consumptions, making local resource management processes more efficient in light of the effects of ongoing climate change. These issues directly affect urban and territorial planning activities that concern the competitive growth of rural contexts. In particular, the activities conducted by the authors in this research sector are aimed at spreading the agro-ecological approach in specific contexts of interest by implementing practices that can be defined as “agro-ecological urban planning”. Specifically, the research focuses on medium and low population density centres with a predominantly rural vocation. The hypothesis underlying the research is that the implementation of the principles of agro-ecological urbanism can contribute not only to re-establishing environmental balances and securing

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territories from extreme climatic events, but is also capable of supporting pre-existing production functions, enhancing the ecosystem services that they offer at the territorial scale. To this end, a methodological framework is proposed aimed at analytically supporting the ecological practices of rural land management through the evaluation of local climate sensitivity. Specifically, the methodology, implemented in a GIS environment, considers climate data relating to temperature and precipitation recorded by official thermo-pluviometric stations to develop some of the indices recommended by the Expert Team on Climate Change Detection and Indices and adopts specific spatial interpolation techniques to deduce continuous mapping of the indices considered on the territory. These results are compared for planning purposes with other thematic maps such as Corine Land Cover, plan tools, exposure maps. The overall results favour access to specialist information and allow the development of integrated knowledge preparatory to the implementation of the principles of agro-ecology in the urban planning sector. Based on the results obtained from the application of the methodological framework in a rural context located in the central area of the Calabria Region (southern Italy), the main conclusions of the document operationally respond to the issues raised by climate change and the socio-ecological transition declared at the beginning.

Keywords: Planning, Agro-Ecology, Green Revolution, Climate Change



Panel 16 // Hybrid // Venue: Biral Room
Reshaping the Middle East After Israel-Gazza War

THURSDAY // 03 October 2024 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Salome Dundua

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University



From Prague to the Middle East:

Understanding Czech Diplomacy in Turbulent Times of Israel-Hamas War

Eva Taterova

Institute of Contemporary History of Czech Academy of Sciences

Regime Durability and Regional Order: The Specific Case of Iran-Hezbollah Relations

Vitor Fernandes

Lusíada University, CEJEIA and AUL/OBSERVARE

The Yemeni Civil War: Territorial Partition as the Path to Peace

Riddhi Likhe

George Washington University (Online)

The Impact of Regional Conflicts on Global Stability:

A Case Study of the Israel-Palestine Conflict

Roshan Taj Humayun

Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University (Online)

The opposition of Iran's Islamic Theocracy: The case of Pahlavi's Monarchical Movement

Maria João Tomás

ISCTE-IUL, OBSERVARE (Online)

**From Prague to the Middle East:
Understanding Czech Diplomacy in Turbulent Times of Israel-Hamas War**

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Institute of Contemporary History of Czech Academy of Sciences

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Abstract:

Despite the substantial geographic distance, Czech diplomacy has maintained a vigilant and proactive stance regarding the political and security dynamics of the Middle East. This engagement has intensified in light of the recent Israel-Hamas conflict that erupted in October 2023. The Czech Republic, while maintaining amicable relations with several Arab nations such as Syria—where it was the last EU country to keep its embassy open during the civil war—has distinguished itself as a staunch supporter of Israel. Czech Prime Minister Petr Fiala has notably referred to his country as the "voice of Israel in Europe," a unique position within the European Union, where a majority of member states have adopted more pro-Palestinian stances, as evidenced by the recent official recognition of Palestinian statehood by Ireland, Spain, Norway, and Slovenia. This paper delves into the historical and contemporary factors that have shaped the Czech Republic's extraordinary support for Israel in the past three decades. It will explore the deep-rooted historical connections, diplomatic strategies, and geopolitical considerations that underpin this distinctive foreign policy stance. By examining the evolution of Czech-Israeli relations, the study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the motivations and implications of Czech diplomacy in the context of the Middle East conflict. This analysis will not only highlight the historical ties and strategic interests that have driven Czech support for Israel but also offer insights into how these relationships influence the broader European Union's foreign policy landscape regarding the Middle East. By bridging past and present linkages, it aims to offer a nuanced narrative that explains the Czech Republic's unique and steadfast support for Israel amidst the evolving dynamics of Middle Eastern geopolitics.

Keywords: Czech Republic, Israel, Hamas, Middle East, Diplomacy

Regime Durability and Regional Order: The Specific Case of Iran-Hezbollah Relations

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Abstract:

The conflict in Gaza between Israel and Hamas has increased interest in Iran and its traditional allies in the region. Of those allies, the Lebanese Hezbollah is one of the most — if not the most — well-known and powerful Islamist movements. Relations between Iran and Hezbollah are often presented as a religious alliance. This results from the Shi'a affiliation of both parties, which is evidence of their shared religious identity. Both believe that they are preparing the ground for the return of the long-awaited al Mahdi, that is, the twelfth Shi'a Imam that is now in occultation. Significantly, Hezbollah's ideological connection with Iran and its political ideals transcend the national boundaries. Both perceive the international system as an arena of war—a world divided between the forces of good and evil. They both see themselves as fighters in support of the oppressed against oppressors, namely the Shi'a minority within the Muslim world. Nonetheless, there are also other security concerns. These relate primarily to the hostile relationship between Iran and the United States since the Islamic Revolution in 1979, as well as to Israel's persistent calls urging action against Iran, namely Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu warning world leaders that Iran is on the verge of possessing nuclear weapons. Not to mention the most recent events concerning both countries. Because of this situation, Iran has often been subjected to international sanctions, which have led its military equipment to age and become severely depleted. To compensate for the lack of conventional military power, Iran has been sponsoring sub-state actors such as Hezbollah to gain an ability to project influence through its allies. In fact, Hezbollah is also often considered to be an Iranian proxy, which may well result from the fact that Iran's financial and military assistance to Hezbollah has been critical for Iran to pursue its strategy. Indeed, Hezbollah offers Iran the ability to extend its influence into the Levant and to threaten Israel and US interests when needed, and in case of an attempt at regime change in Iran. Hezbollah's importance for Iran was

obvious on several past occasions, namely in the Syrian civil war through its ability to push back the Islamic State of Syria and Iraq (ISIS), as more recently in the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza. As part of the so-called "Axis of Resistance"—with other state and non-state actors beyond Hezbollah, such as Syria and Hamas—Iran's alliances have proved quite effective in pushing back the threat to Iran's regional presence and actively confront Israel and US policy in the region. This paper examines the development of Hezbollah, as a viable fighting force under Iran's patronage and its growing capabilities for Iran to face security threats, but also the ability to project power in the region despite its military limitations while preserving its political regime.

Keywords: Iran, Hezbollah, Israel, United States of America, Regional Order

**The Yemeni Civil War:
Territorial Partition as the Path to Peace**

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Abstract:

The Yemeni Civil war is a conflict that bears crucial regional significance due to its destabilizing effect on the Middle East, with the country also being home to one of the world's worst humanitarian disasters. The conflict is characterized by a complex web of regional rivalries, sectarian tensions, and international interventions. This research paper offers a comprehensive assessment of the conflict by outlining its background, key actors and main conflict drivers, and hence proposes a theoretically, historically and contextually informed strategy for resolution- the peaceful territorial partition of Yemen into the historical entities of North Yemen and South Yemen. The paper outlines short term, medium term and long term priorities that the ideal territorial partition plan would focus on, including and accounting for relevant primary, secondary and tertiary actors. The paper aims to showcase that through a nuanced understanding of Yemen's demographic dynamics and history, a roadmap to ending the conflict focused on territorial partition can be charted out in collaboration with regional actors and the international community, hence leading to stable Yemens that can heal from the humanitarian catastrophe caused by the conflict.

Keywords: Yemen, Partition, Peace, Middle East, Security, Humanitarian Crisis

The Impact of Regional Conflicts on Global Stability: A Case Study of the Israel-Palestine Conflict

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Abstract:

The research paper investigates the impact of regional conflicts on global stability through an in-depth case study of the Israel-Palestine conflict. The Israel-Palestine conflict, rooted in early 20th-century disputes over land, national identity and sovereignty, remains one of the most enduring and complex regional conflicts. The study explores how the conflict influences regional stability in the Middle East, impacts the geopolitical strategies of global powers and shapes international economic and security dynamics. Key findings highlight the conflict's role in forming and fracturing regional alliances, contributing to proxy wars and affecting relations between global powers such as the United States and Russia. Economically, the conflict drives donor dependency in Palestinian territories and influences trade dynamics, especially in light of previous normalization agreements between Israel and several Arab states. Security concerns are paramount, with the conflict fuelling global terrorism, exacerbating regional arms races and prompting significant military engagements. On the diplomatic front, the conflict has prompted numerous international peace initiatives and legal interventions, impacting global diplomatic strategies and international law. The humanitarian implications are profound, with widespread displacement and significant human rights concerns, particularly in Gaza. This paper concludes that the Israel-Palestine conflict, by intertwining regional and global dimensions, exemplifies how regional conflicts can substantially undermine global stability. Understanding this interplay is crucial for formulating effective international policies aimed at conflict resolution and global peace.

Keywords: Israel-Palestine Conflict, Geopolitical Strategies, Global Powers, Economic and Security Dynamics, Conflict Resolution, Regional and Global Stability

**The opposition of Iran's Islamic Theocracy:
The case of Pahlavi's Monarchical Movement**

Maria João Tomás

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Abstract:

This paper is about the rising opposition to the Ayatollah's regime, especially the monarchical movement that claims the return of Pahlavi's house into power. Iran's involvement in the Gaza War and the support given to Russia in Ukraine have been raising the opposition against the Ayatollah's regime, that don't want to be part of conflicts they don't share. The possibility of escalation of the Gaza war and confrontation with Israel, like what happened on the 13th of April, preoccupies the younger that don't want to be mobilized. Besides, the proximity of the monarchical movement with Israel harder the task, as well as the complicity with the republican wing in the USA. Additionally, there are more reasons for discontentment. The repression of the government against women after the death of Masha Amina and the compulsory use of the Iranian veil which is contrary to the principles of secularism of the monarchical movement. The controversial possibility of the son of Khamenei succeeding his father represents a contra sense to the republican values that prevailed in the Iranian Revolution that deposed the Pahlavi's monarchy. Besides the Monarchical Movement being very strong in Iran, they have gross support inside diaspora communities, especially in the USA, and great proximity with Trump which has already given public support to the return of Pahlavi's family. The presential elections in November and the possibility of Trump's win gave a more enthusiastic strength to the movement.

Keywords: Iran's Islamic Theocracy, Monarchical Movement, Pahlavi's, Khamenei, Trump, Masha Amina

Taj Mahal: Agra, India



Panel 17 // Online

The European Union in the Face of Contemporary Challenges and Threats

THURSDAY // 03 October 2024 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Aleksandra Szczerba

The Jacob of Paradies University (Online)



“Union of Equality” or rather “Equality in Crisis”?

A Critical Analysis of the Latest Development of EU Anti-discriminatory Law

Aleksandra Szczerba

Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski/Team Europe Direct (Online)

The Future of the European Union in the Time of Crisis:

A Multi-Variant Analysis

Zbigniew Czachór

Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski (Online)

The Community Method of Cohesion Policy Management
and the Autonomy of Member States

Jacek Jaśkiewicz

Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski (Online)

The European Union Amidst Change Due to the Pandemic and the War in Ukraine

Tomasz Marcinkowski

Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski (Online)

**“Union of Equality” or Rather “Equality in Crisis”?
A Critical Analysis of the Latest Development of EU Anti-discriminatory Law**

Aleksandra Szczerba

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Abstract:

Recently there has been a remarkable dynamic in the development of EU equal treatment legislation. The EU has succeeded in adopting directives that had long been awaiting approval by its legislature (e.g. women on-board directive) as well as new Commission's proposals (pay transparency directive and gender-based violence directive). This development undoubtedly enhances the protection against violation of the right to equal treatment in the EU law, particularly based on gender. Nevertheless, it also reveals the discrepancy between the Member States as to the understanding of the notion of equality and preferred instruments for its realization. The purpose of this article is a critical analysis of the development of EU anti-discrimination law and an attempt to assess if it might be considered as revolution or should be rather construed as a mean of last resort to respond to the need of reality marked by crises of gender equality.

Keywords: Crisis, Anti-Discriminatory Legislation, EU Equality Principle, Gender Mainstreaming

**The Future of the European Union in the Time of Crisis:
A Multi-Variant Analysis**

Zbigniew Czachór

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Abstract:

At the start of any examination of the probable directions of change in the European Union, we can distinguish the position which involves the disintegration of the system and even an end of European integration. It may happen that all possibilities for continuation become exhausted due to endogenous and/or exogenous causes, either with respect to the Union, the Member States, the EU institutions and other actors in European integration, or independent from them. This approach makes it possible to develop several forecast models concerning atomisation of the EU and its gradual, or even rapid, loss of influence, as well as the internal and external impacts of such variants on the position and role of the European Union.

Keywords: European Integration, EU Institutions, Integration Theories

The Community Method of Cohesion Policy Management and the Autonomy of Member States

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Abstract:

Cohesion policy is one of the most important EU public policies, covering a complex of legal regulations, instruments, and activities aimed at the development and prosperity of EU Member States and its regions. The model for the governance of the EU cohesion policy is set by Article 298 TFUE, referring to the notion of "good administration" or "good governance". The essence of this model is political, social and economic management on the basis of communicative, deliberative relations between administrative bodies and citizens. This is of fundamental importance for the civil functioning of the state and law, and for the pluralistic social order created by all citizens. This idea of good governance is expressed in the dominant method of managing EU cohesion policy - the method of shared management. This approach, resulting from systemic assumptions and expressed in the principles of partnership and efficiency, leads to this way of managing and administering development policy that is mixed - integrative on the one hand, and subsidiary on the other. The shared management is characterized also by the fact that EU law does not strictly regulate implementation of cohesion policy on the national territories, leaving the Member States with autonomy in shaping the national management and control system of this policy. This freedom, called institutional or procedural autonomy in the doctrine, applies to the legal and institutional frameworks in the national and regional area. However, this autonomy is limited. At the EU level, functioning regulations, which are binding for the Member States in the formation of the national cohesion policy system. The aim of this paper is to discuss the scope and the limits of national autonomy.

Keywords: EU Cohesion Policy, Institutional Autonomy, Member States

The European Union Amidst Change Due to the Pandemic and the War in Ukraine

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Abstract:

Crisis situations have been integral to the history of European integration. The very process of unifying European countries was, to some extent, a response to the crises of two world wars that originated on our continent. However, previous crises have predominantly been systemic, political, or economic in nature. It appears that the pandemic, associated with biological threats, along with the climate crisis and the conflict in Ukraine, transcends these traditional frameworks. Each of these crises impacts the economy, politics, and the institutional functioning of the European Union. They pose significant challenges to European solidarity and test the efficacy of European institutions when the lives and health of Europeans are at risk. This speech will analyse the EU institutions' responses to the pandemic and the ongoing conflict in Ukraine, aiming to explore how these challenges are reshaping the functioning of the EU. The analysis of institutional, legal and political changes will indicate current and future vectors of the European integration process.

Keywords: European Integration, Crisis, Pandemic, War, European Union

Machu Picchu: Peru

Panel 18 // Hybrid // Venue: Mazzariol Room

China's Political, Economic and Social Enforcements in World Politics

THURSDAY // 03 October 2024 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Kongwen Guan

Beihang University



Tilting the Scales:

Economic Penetration of China within the European Neighbourhood Policy

Stan Adrian Daniel & Stan Brindusa Nicoleta,

Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, Romania

China's Perspectives on Central Asia:

Analysing the Evolution of Bilateral Relations through Political Discourse

Patrícia Marrafa

Iscite-Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (Online)

Maintaining the Status Quo over Taiwan in the Face of a Rising China

Arthur Wong

University of Cambridge (Online)

Impact of Trieste Port on China-Italy Geo-economic Relations

Tianyi Liu

Jilin International Studies University

Soft Power with Hard Cash:

The Role of Seaport Diplomacy in the Reemergence of the Pax Sinica

Paulo Duarte & Madeleine Costa

CEAD-Universidade Lusófona & University of Minho (Online)

Tilting the Scales: Economic Penetration of China within the European Neighbourhood Policy

Stan Adrian Daniel & Stan Brindusa Nicoleta

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Abstract:

The geo-economical relationship between the European Union and China stands as a pivotal axis in contemporary global affairs, marked by deep interdependence, strategic rivalry, and a search for common ground on transnational challenges. This study examines the multifaceted nature of the EU-China economic interface, scrutinizing trade dynamics, investment flows, technological competition, and the broader geopolitical implications. With an emphasis on the post-2020 landscape, we explore how asymmetries in market access and reciprocal economic treatment have incited trade protections and regulatory scrutiny. The EU-China Comprehensive Agreement on Investment is discussed as a focal point for future economic engagement, provided it addresses the outstanding issues of market access, regulatory fairness, and labour standards alignments.

The EU has been grappling with the challenge of balancing the economic benefits derived from Chinese investments against the need to safeguard national security and protect sensitive industries. This extends to apprehensions over potential cyber espionage, compromised data integrity, and the loss of technological sovereignty. Such concerns have motivated the EU to implement a framework for investment screening and to consider a collective approach to regulating high-risk vendors in 5G networks. Amidst significant economic engagement, marked by robust trade exchanges and substantial Chinese foreign direct investment in Europe, there are heightened concerns in the realms of investment screening, cybersecurity, supply chain vulnerabilities, and strategic sector control. Moreover, the paper explores the deepening economic ties between China and countries within the European Neighbourhood Policy, assessing the strategic implications for the European Union and the broader region. As China extends its global reach through initiatives like the Belt and Road Initiative, its economic footprint within the ENP has expanded

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significantly, prompting a reassessment of EU strategies in its own vicinity. A central aspect of China's economic penetration within the ENP is the "16+1" mechanism, which is used to deepen economic ties with Central and Eastern European countries. This initiative appears to target areas of strategic importance, such as infrastructure and high-tech industries, with the potential consequence of undermining EU policy cohesion. The paper employs a mixed-methods approach, integrating quantitative data, policy analysis, and qualitative case studies to offer insights into both the current state and future prospects of EU-China economic relations. Using graphs on trade and FDI flows with qualitative analysis of policy documents, scholarly articles and case studies from countries like Serbia and Hungary we will demonstrate that China secures its dominant position in EU's vicinity in much faster pace than the EU itself, strengthening its normative posture using economic means. This multifaceted perspective allows for a granular understanding of the competitive and cooperative elements that define the EU-China relationship. The findings emphasize the complexity of the EU-China economic security nexus.

Keywords: ENP, Economic-Security Nexus, BRI, "16+1" Mechanism

China's Perspectives on Central Asia: Analysing the Evolution of Bilateral Relations through Political Discourse

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Abstract:

Over the last decades Central Asia has registered an increase on its geopolitical, geoeconomic as well as strategic importance at a global level, ever since the country's engulfing this region gained their independence with the fall of the Soviet Union. Since then, the region has been a point of interests for major regional and global powers, including Russia, The United States and China, making the region a complex zone of interplay of cooperation and competition in their intersection. From these three regions, the one who has spiked more interest recently, has been China, however it would be naive to consider the country as a “newcomer” to the region of Central Asia, since after the Soviet Union's collapse, China has substantially strengthened its bilateral relations with Central Asian countries. Which can be registered on China's active participation in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), its growing interest in Central Asian energy resources and markets, and the various activities of implementation of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Taking this into consideration, the present study aims to explore the developing relationship between China and Central Asia by examining the subtleties of this relationship through the prism of political discourse. For this end, we conducted an analysis of the Chinese White papers from 2012 to 2022 with mentions to Central Asia, and the discourses of President Xi Jinping delivered towards the countries of Central Asia, also ranging from 2012 to 2022. The goals are to understand China's strategic goals, policy priorities, and perceptions of Central Asia by methodically examining these primary sources, as well as gather insightful information about China's security, diplomatic, and economic ties in the region. To achieve this, we formulated the following research questions: What are the key themes in the political discourses of President Xi Jinping concerning Central Asia from 2012 to 2022? and how do these themes reflect China's broader geopolitical and economic objectives in the region? Our initial findings offer insights into China's strategic thinking as well as the larger dynamics of international relations in Central Asia and beyond.

Keywords: China, Central Asia, Discourse Analysis, International Relations, Foreign Policy

Maintaining the Status Quo over Taiwan in the Face of a Rising China

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Abstract:

This study assesses the feasibility of the 'deterrence by punishment' approach as a substitute for the traditional 'deterrence by denial' strategy against the backdrop of China's growing influence in Asia-Pacific. In aiming to evaluate the viability of the emerging approach to maintaining the peaceful status quo, it sets forth a threefold research question. First, to what extent is the US involved in cross-Strait relations? I argue that the cross-Taiwan-Strait relations should be scrutinised within a wider strategic framework of Sino-American competition, thereby framing it as a cross-Pacific relation. Secondly, when will China be capable of anti-access and area denial in Asia-Pacific and therefore replace the US in this area? Allison's Thucydides Trap suggests that conflict often occurs when there is a fear-driven response to shifts in the balance of great power. Thirdly, as a result of the previous arguments, is the 'deterrence by punishment' approach more effective in facilitating peace progress than the 'deterrence by denial' approach? To answer the first research question, I conduct archival research and interview retired officials from both the US and Taiwan for the latest and most insightful information to examine the US involvement in the cross-Strait relations.

In this respect, due consideration must be accorded to the dynamics of Sino-American competition. To answer the second question, I examine the historical context of emerging powers and analyse the case study of the naval power shift between the US and China to identify the critical timing of crossing. The changing dynamics of the military balance elevate the risk of conflict in the medium term, aligning with the former chief of the U.S. Indo-Pacific Command Philip Davidson's prediction of a potential Chinese attack by 2027. In tandem, an updated Thucydides's Trap Case File spanning the past three decades will be completed to integrate contemporary military factors. To answer the third question, anchored in

the conceptual framework of neo-realism, this study critically highlights the need for an alternative deterrence approach. In line with Taiwan's Overall Defense Concept and asymmetric warfare, I aim to assess the feasibility of the 'deterrence by punishment' approach (Montgomery, 2020) as a substitute for the traditional 'deterrence by denial' strategy (Synder, 1959) in response to China's growing influence in Asia-Pacific. Empirically, this development can be observed through the changes in arms sales (Wong and Ismay, 2022). Whilst the logic of deterrence by punishment is intuitively appealing, both theory and history demonstrate that the threat of punishment fails to deter if not accompanied by assurances that those military capabilities will not be employed to harm the other side. In this regard, both threats and assurances must be credible for effective deterrence. Therefore, this study concludes that Taiwan should bolster its security measures through the 'deterrence by punishment' approach while refraining from reinstating a clear alliance commitment or formal diplomatic relations with the US. Likewise, Taiwan should also avoid signalling to Beijing that abstaining from an attack would permanently forego the possibility of reunification, to shore up peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait.

Keywords: Taiwan, Sino-American Competition, International Security, Indo-Pacific Strategy, Deterrence by Punishment, Geopolitics

Impact of Trieste Port on China-Italy Geo-economic Relations

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Abstract:

The key role of the Port of Trieste in Sino-Italian geo-economic relations and its impact on the prospects of future Sino-Italian cooperation are examined. The strategic position and significance of the Port of Trieste within both the Italian economy and global trade, is placed on its geographical and historical advantages as a crucial hub facilitating trade between Europe and Asia. Furthermore, a comprehensive exploration delves into the multifaceted geo-economic relationship between China and Italy, unveiling the evolution from mere trade collaboration to encompassing technological advancements and cultural exchanges. Particularly in light of China's economic ascent and globalization, China-Italy relations encounter novel opportunities for development alongside challenges that must be adeptly addressed when expanding cooperation. This research offers a fresh perspective for comprehending current international political and economic dynamics while providing insights to anticipate global economic trends.

Keywords: Port of Trieste, China-Italy Relations, Geoeconomics, International Trade

**Soft Power with Hard Cash:
The Role of Seaport Diplomacy in the Reemergence of the Pax Sinica**

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Abstract:

Although there are a significant number of studies analyzing the land, maritime and even digital corridors of the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), the existing literature fails to investigate the role of seaport diplomacy in the implementation of Pax Sinica. On the other hand, studies on Chinese soft power are often associated with China's search for identity in International Relations, which has not taken into account an aspect neglected by the West but valued by China in projecting an image of a benign and responsible actor on the international stage. This is a soft power that China makes a point of associating with strong economic diplomacy, and which proves to be an indispensable instrument in the materialization of Pax Sinica. In view of the above, this dissertation aims to answer the following research question: How does the soft power associated with Chinese port diplomacy contribute to the re-emergence of Pax Sinica? We have chosen to focus our analysis on the period from the inauguration of the FRC in October 2013 to the celebration of its 10th anniversary on September 8, 2023, since a decade of existence seems a considerable time to take stock of the effectiveness of Chinese seaport diplomacy. The methodology, which is essentially qualitative, involves the use of primary sources (such as official speeches by political leaders and news agencies such as Xinhua) and secondary (the most respected authors on the subject). By way of conclusion, it is possible to anticipate that it is becoming increasingly difficult to reverse the dependence installed by the Pax Sinica in countries that are often economically fragile, and which therefore end up seeing their decision-making autonomy mortgaged to China. Although the new made-in-China order does not augur positive developments, except for China itself, it is, in any case, the horizon that is gradually emerging in the face of the relative decline of the established power, which is seeing its power continually weakened.

Keywords: China, Seaport Diplomacy, Hard Cash, Maritime Silk Road, Soft Power

The Great Wall of China: China

Panel 19 // Hybrid // Venue: Valent Room

Great Power Politics and Rivalries Between the US and China

THURSDAY // 03 October 2024 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Chi-Ting Tsai

National Taiwan University



Walking A Tightrope: How US-China Competition Influences Balance and Legal Developments of the South China Sea

Hsiao-chuan Liao

National Taiwan University

Offensive Realism and Cognitive Warfare:
An Analysis of U.S. Global Strategy in the Information Age

Jiayue Li & Fu Le

Lingnan University & Shenzhen University

Adapting to Power Shifts: China's Rise and Maritime Middle Powers' Strategies

Lisha Chen

Lingnan University

Middle Powers in the Persian Gulf: Evolving Identity, Status Pursuit, and Strategic Influence

Sujata Ashwarya

Jamia Millia Islamia

Is it Possible to Come to an Agreement on the South China Sea without India?

Dilek Karadeniz Topal & Özgür Tüfekçi

Karadeniz Technical University & CESRAN International (Online)

Walking A Tightrope: How US-China Competition Influences Balance and Legal Developments of the South China Sea

Hsiao-chuan Liao

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Abstract:

After the end of the Cold War, the security situation in the South China Sea was predicted to be optimistic, especially following the accession of Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, and Cambodia to ASEAN and the signing of the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (DOC). However, the development of resource management and conflict prevention mechanisms in the South China Sea has not been as mature as expected. While the East China Sea has established multiple bilateral fisheries and joint development agreements, the South China Sea lacks similar agreements. The conflict prevention mechanisms in the South China Sea mainly rely on non-legally binding documents such as the DOC and other regional security dialogue mechanisms, making the situation more akin to a "battle of the sexes" game, where both parties avoid conflict while pursuing their respective interests. The strategic competition between the US and China has significantly impacted the two Seas. The US's intervention is considered a key factor for the peace and conflict.

In the East China Sea, the US maintains a strong security promise by military existence, while in the South China Sea, the US emphasizes multilateralism and cooperation with allies. Joint statements from the US, ASEAN, and their allies have repeatedly emphasized the security concern in the South China Sea, signaling the importance of international law. It seems these actions may irritate China and escalate tension in the area. However, the situation of South China Sea maintains the framework of "battle of the sexes" game. China and ASEAN have made progresses in legal negotiations on their own such as Code of Conduct (COC). China tries to use the COC negotiations to establish an order in the South China Sea that excludes extra-regional countries. Furthermore, the US's strategy also leads to China's adoption of different grey-zone strategies on the two Seas. In the East China

Sea, more conflictual and directional means of grey-zone strategy is adopted in order to assert the sovereignty over Diaoyu islands. In the South China sea, China adopts more non-military and in-directional grey-zone strategy in order to slightly change the balance of South China Sea. Overall, this article analyzes the security development in the South China Sea through the approach of game theory and argues that of South China Sea is from "prisoner dilemma" to a "battle of the sexes" game. This development is contributed to the US's and China's purposely strategies and strategic competition. The results of the development, however, contribute to a slowly but developing legal and institutional activities in the South China Sea, and repeatedly strengthen the framework of the game of battle of the sexes.

Keywords: South China Sea, Legal Development, US-China Competition, China's Grey Zone Strategy, Game of Battle of Sexes

**Offensive Realism and Cognitive Warfare:
An Analysis of U.S. Global Strategy in the Information Age**

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Abstract:

Strategic competition has redefined great power relations. The US, like other great powers, are pursuing advantages over rival states in power and influence. One area of strategic competition concerns great powers' abilities to shape the global narratives and information. Cognitive warfare is a strategy to achieve these goals. With the rapid development of information technology, cognitive tactics have become a key means for countries to compete to influence the international stage. This tactic has played a crucial role in shaping international public opinion, influencing the formulation and implementation of policies, and in intervening in major countries elections. The purpose of this study is to analyze how the United States positions cognitive warfare in its grand strategy and how it offensively uses cognitive warfare to shape international outcomes. This study highlights the importance that the United States attaches to technology and information warfare in its national strategy, aiming to enhance the United States' global influence in great power competition. It relies on offensive realism theory to explore how the United States integrates cognitive warfare into its strategies for great power competition. The study will analyze official documents released by the U.S. government and other relevant policy literature. In addition, the study evaluates the technological and tactical innovations adopted by the United States in the field of cognitive warfare and their actual applications.

Keywords: Offensive Realism, Cognitive Warfare, Information Power, Great Power Competition

**Adapting to Power Shifts:
China's Rise and Maritime Middle Powers' Strategies**

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Abstract:

According to realist approaches in international relations theory, especially structural realism, states are forced to pursue balancing against rising powers due to anarchy. This entails both balancing the rising powers and economic decoupling from the latter due to concerns that interdependence entails vulnerability. However, this study argues that middle powers in the Asia Pacific region have pursued a combined strategy of balancing and economic cooperation to respond to the China threat. Maritime middle powers are more likely to adopt balancing against China than small continental countries due to their material capabilities and maritime security. However, this has not motivated them to seek economic decoupling from China. Instead, they seek to reap gains from China's ascent through continued economic cooperation. Gains from cooperation enhance their aggregate power and enable their more effective long-term balancing against China. Therefore, maritime middle powers' economic cooperation with a rising China has no contradiction with their balancing measures as both serve the same end objective of maximizing national security and survival. This perspective explains why maritime middle powers in the region pursue such a combined approach in response to China's rise, instead of pursuing pure balancing as predicted by structural realism. Therefore, this study clarifies how maritime middle powers actually respond to China's rise and provides new insight on state strategies for power shifts.

Keywords: Power Shifts, China's Rise, Hedging Theory, Balancing, Middle Powers' China Policies, Structural Realism

Middle Powers in the Persian Gulf: Evolving Identity, Status Pursuit, and Strategic Influence

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Abstract:

The concept of 'middle powers' in international relations literature is typically characterized by their strategic position, behaviour, or identity within the global system. Traditionally, middle powers are identified based on material capabilities reflecting their hierarchy in the international system. They are distinguished from superpowers through their diplomatic behaviour, often engaging in 'niche' diplomacy due to limited resources which necessitate prioritization to achieve desired outcomes. Moreover, these states may self-identify as middle powers. This paper presents a unified definition of middle powers as states that not only possess material capabilities and the intent to exert influence but also deploy unique "resources of power" that offer them a comparative advantage. These include employing "soft" strategies like "religious influence" and "funding ability" to impact global affairs, especially evident in the Persian Gulf. In the Persian Gulf, GCC states such as Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and Qatar utilize their substantial oil and gas reserves to influence other regions despite their smaller sizes and populations. Their foreign policies became more assertive post-Arab Spring, using their material wealth to extend influence during regional instability and in conflicts, evident through military engagements in Yemen, Bahrain, and Syria.

These engagements, often in collaboration with or supported by the U.S., highlight their reliance on external powers for military projection, an aspect that does not undermine but rather complements their strategic pursuit of status through soft power avenues. Status theory suggests that a state's international standing is not only defined by material capabilities but also through social interactions. These GCC states actively socialize their status by aligning with religious leadership aspirations and investing globally. Their involvement in international coalitions like I2U2 and BRICS further illustrates the strategic use of soft power to surpass regional

powers like Egypt, which primarily rely on military strength. This study contributes by redefining middle powers, using examples such as Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and Qatar, which adopt innovative strategies like leveraging financial capabilities and participating in international groups to broaden their influence. It underscores the importance of these states in diversifying partnerships and enhancing their power position through strategic alliances with countries like India, Brazil, and Russia. As they actively seek status, this reveals a multifaceted approach to their international relations, going beyond the dominant narrative of their growing ties with China.

Keywords: Middle Powers, Resources of Power, Funding Ability, Religious Influence, Status Pursuit, Strategic Influence

Is it Possible to Come to an Agreement on the South China Sea without India?

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Abstract:

South China Sea (SCS) is a strategic region where many states want to establish sovereignty due to its significant qualities. This sea connects the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, shortening the route and reducing the cost of merchant ships. As a result of the shortening of the route and the reduce in transportation costs, many states preferred the SCS to carry out their commercial activities. In this way, 1/3 of the world's maritime trade takes place through this route. The natural resources and fish diversity of the SCS, as well as the labour and food support provided by this diversity, have increased the importance of the region and caused states to turn to the region. China, Taiwan, Malaysia, Brunei, the Philippines, Indonesia, Singapore, Vietnam, Cambodia and Thailand, which have coasts on the South China Sea, wanted to benefit from the strategic qualities of the region, but the sovereignty claims put forward by these states conflicted with each other. This situation has caused many disputes to arise in the SCS.

States located in the SCS region put forward various claims to the region on historical and/or legal reasons. Among the states in the SCS, China has the most claim to the region. China claims that 90% of the region belongs to itself with the "nine-dash line" and bases this claim only on historical sources. Taiwan has also put forward similar claims to the region as China. Vietnam based its claims on the activities it carried out in the region during the Nguyen Dynasty (17th-18th centuries), Malaysia based its claims on the map published in 1979, the Philippines based its claims on historical and legal grounds, and Brunei and Indonesia based its claims on UNCLOS. However, these claims conflicted with each other and led to disputes in the SCS region. China has access to important resources that will support its development through the South China Sea, supports its security and can deploy its nuclear submarine force in this sea. For these reasons, China claims 90% sovereignty over the South China Sea and has disputes with all states bordering the

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South China Sea. States that want to gain sovereignty in the SCS against China cooperate with India in order to balance China and support India to increase its presence in the SCS. India, on the other hand, is increasing its activities in the SCS and signing one-to-one agreements with the regional states in order to balance China and ensure its own interests. China is disturbed by India's presence in the SCS and is increasing the harshness of its policies in the region. This situation causes the regional dispute to be carried to an advanced level. In this framework, this paper aims to answer the question of "Is it possible to resolve the SCS dispute in the absence of India?" and it focuses on the India's impact on the region.

Keywords: South China Sea, India, China

The Acropolis: Athens, Greece



Panel 20 // Hybrid // Venue: Biral Room
Identity Politics in International Conflicts

THURSDAY // 03 October 2024 // 11:00 - 12:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Yaşar Sari

Ibn Haldun University



Between Freedom and Identity: The Case of Gagauzian Turks

Taner Zorbay

Middle East Technical University

Economic Discrimination of Women in Professional Tennis

Mariia Maslova

Saint Petersburg State University

Nationhood and Anthems:

Georgia and East-Central Europe in Comparative Perspectives

Zviad Abashidze & Nino Samkharadze

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Institutional Theory, Social Structures, and Equilibrium Cycles:

Electoral Engineering and Party System Fragmentation in Chile

Kenneth Bunker

Universidad San Sebastián

"Refugees from our bad":

Exploring Narratives of Refugee Women in Greece, Survivors of Gendered Based Violence

Konstantinos Kolovos

EPAPSY, Panteio University of Social and Political Science

Between Freedom and Identity: The Case of Gagauzian Turks

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Abstract:

Since their presence in Europe, Gagauzian Turks have been struggling for their freedom and identity. Both their Turkish origin and Orthodox Christian faith had become matter of conflict and survival against their neighbours and the regional states or empires till the end of the Cold War. Collapse of the USSR and three-year independence have created happy days, yet Gagauzian Turks had no choice but becoming an autonomous region with special privileges under Moldavian state. Today, the Gagauzian region stuck between three-fold influence, namely Russia, Moldavia and Türkiye. All three capitals want their policies and political as well as cultural agenda to be supported. Speaking an Altaic version of Turkish, worshipping in Orthodox way of Christianity, these people face a struggle for survival and preserving their identity as well. The Turkish background makes the relations with Türkiye based on culture and this increased Turkish cultural presence and institutionalisation in recent years. Moldovan and Russian authorities, however, care more about their level of political and economic control over the Gagauz. This paper aims to understand the limits of freedom and identity of the Gagauzian Turks while feeling stuck in this triangled relationship. This becomes more critical especially when the youth of the Gagauz feel more tense for being forced to act either side of the conflict. The European identity, values, and way of life, on the other hand bring in another difficulty in this scene. To examine all these, our paper starts with a historical background of Gagauzian land. After giving some details of Turkish and Christian cultural identity, our paper evaluates current conditions of these identities. Following this, we talk about current relations with Moldavian government as well as Russian and Turkish governments. This will be an attempt of a better understanding for the problematic relationship in regards of politics and culture. After giving more details on current problems of Gagauzian Turks, this paper ends with an overall evaluation and an optimistic projection for both life and freedom of Gagauzian Turks. Leading to new research areas and bringing in more focus on Gagauzian Turks will be an asset hopefully for the writer of this paper.

Keywords: Gagauzian Turks, Orthodox Christianity, Identity, Freedom, Geopolitics, European Values

Economic Discrimination of Woman in Professional Tennis

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Abstract:

Numerous academic works discuss and validate the presence of gender-based wage disparities across different sectors, yet there is limited research addressing this issue within the realm of professional tennis. This research delves into the emergence of wage gaps among the highest-earning tennis players when competing at the same level in WTA and ATP tournaments. Upon scrutinizing the data, it was found that even median values reveal a wage differential, with the regression model underscoring a distinct correlation between an athlete's gender and their earnings. Nonetheless, additional variables also play a role in determining wages, thereby adjusting the final outcome. This underscores the necessity of taking a comprehensive approach to combatting gender-based economic discrimination, highlighting the imperative need to challenge prevailing perceptions of masculinity and femininity and reassess how labour is evaluated in order to address this multifaceted issue effectively.

Keywords: Pay Gap, WTA, ATP, Data Driven, Gender Discrimination, Professional Tennis

**Nationhood and Anthems:
Georgia and East-Central Europe in Comparative Perspectives**

Zviad Abashidze & Nino Samkharadze

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Abstract:

In the current paper, we aim to analyse the national revival and national identity formation process in broad East-Central Europe and Georgia (as part of such a "broad" region) from the perspectives of the National Anthem. "National anthem" as a phenomenon of symbol of collective national legitimation and perception of "nation as a community of equal brothers (in the sense of Benedict Anderson) played a significant role in the process of imagination of "nation." "National Anthems" became one of the bases of emotional inspirations of national self-understanding, dignity, and pride, which became the main way of expressing national symbols textually and musically. It is possible to say that "national anthems" became symbolic godfathers of modern nations. Generally speaking, the formation of national identity in broad East-Central Europe (including Georgia) was under the condition of their membership in big Empires that gave them emancipatory character from the beginning Anthems through the Central and Eastern Europe have demonstrated certain pattern of nationhood and nation building process. Crafting anthems in the CEE countries can be characterized as the process of spilling over the influences from the West to the Eastwards. While Polish anthem was inspired by French Marseillaise, Ukraine reflected the Polish spirit in its key national folk music.

In a search of Georgia's nation-building history, Georgian anthems' history shows a set of interesting intersections with the CEE Europe states and the highlights its uniqueness at the same time. While anthems of most of the CEE states have been developing under the influence of each other, the case of Georgia's anthems differentiates Georgia in set of dimension, while anthems in the CEE countries were symbols of the national liberation movements, but in Georgia the anthem was a

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part of state building after creating the first republic in 1918 as a result of dissolution of the Russian Empire.

A comparative approach will be used in order to explore the following issues: what are the markers of Europeanness depicted in the process of crafting anthems and also in the content of anthems themselves. The paper is mostly based on Miroslav Hroch's theoretical approach to the national questions in Eastern Europe, which gives us the possibility to understand the nation formation process in our interesting region, where the intellectual and societal levels played a decisive roles in the process of nation-crafting and imagination, unlike of Western Europe, where the Political institutions and centralized State played the decisive role in nation formation over the socio-cultural aspects.

Keywords: National Anthems, Georgia, Central and Eastern Europe, Identity, National Revival

Institutional Theory, Social Structures, and Equilibrium Cycles: Electoral Engineering and Party System Fragmentation in Chile

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Abstract:

The determinants of party system fragmentation have been thoroughly explored in established democracies. Yet, important questions remain unanswered in developing polities. For example, neither the institutionalist nor interactive theories seem to be able to neatly explain why and when some parties are born, and others fade away in Latin America. Bunker and Negretto (2023) suggest that the theories only work once the stability of electoral regimes is taken into account. Cheibub et al. (2022) suggests that fragmentation still occurs regardless of major institutional change or social movements. This study looks at the case of Chile to further examine questions stemming from the Duvergerian agenda in new democracies. It presents a unique dataset comprised of 5,195 electoral competitions to explore patterns of fragmentation at the district level. It proposes three hypotheses. The first (baseline) is that the number of parties is a function of the number of seats distributed in an electoral unit. The second hypothesis is that fragmentation is determined in a top-down fashion, in which the number of parties at the legislative level takes precedence over the number of parties at the local level. The third hypothesis is that party system size is determined not only by electoral rules, but also by the level of the election.

Keywords: Electoral Design, Institutional Theory, Equilibrium Cycles, Duvergerian Agenda, Social Structures

**“Refugees from our bad”:
Exploring Narratives of Refugee Women in Greece, Survivors of Gendered Based
Violence**

Konstantinos Kolovos

EPAPSY, Panteio University of Social and Political Science

Abstract:

This paper focuses on risk narratives of refugee women GBV survivors, who were trapped in Greece in their attempt to reach another European country. My attention is to understand the constructed -by themselves- narrative scenarios in their attempt to articulate their painful experiences, through speech or by staying silent. My main purpose is to understand the process of coping with ongoing cumulative traumas, while trauma carriers themselves live in temporariness, waiting for the next step, unable to plan their near future. Most commonly, survival difficulties in host societies, framed by Greek and EU policies have a catalytic impact over the future of refugees. The women's reactions are not only examined after their tumultuous journey, when they arrive in shock in Greece, but I explore the traumatic phases that can extend long after their arrival. Therefore, a key element of this ethnographic research is the trajectory that each refugee traces upon her arrival in the host country, in this case Greece. Special focus is placed on the narrative strategies developed by my interlocutors struggling to come to terms with intense traumas that could hardly be phrased and communicated, arising from their experience of forced migration, but also from the everyday invisible borders that they should cross in their road for recovery and integration. Peer support groups and community based protection services could act as therapeutic, when with respect to the temporality that it is being performed, depending on the empathy of the listener, the location that takes place and the spatiotemporal distance from the traumatic event. Moreover, I try to investigate to what extent the expressed trauma (death witnessing, detention, border crossing, torture, rape) affects the identity of our narrators.

Keywords: Trauma, Forced migration, Expatriation, Women narratives

The Brandenburg Gate: Berlin



Panel 21 // Hybrid // Venue: Mazzariol Room

Historical Roots Shading Lights to the Emerging World Order

THURSDAY // 03 October 2024 // 11:00 - 12:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Mujib Alam

Jamia Millia Islamia



Reframing Isolationism

Analysis of Foreign Policy Crises from the Interwar Period

Michal Bula

Charles University

Spies in a Barrel: When to Reel in Espionage

Afiq bin Oslan

Max Planck Institute for Tax Law and Public Finance

Decolonisation and National Identity:

Challenges and Opportunities for Pakistan

Junaid Amjad

Riphah Institute of Public Policy

On the Ashes of the USSR: Nationality in Evolution

Michele Del Balso

Università degli Studi del Molise (Online)

Reframing Isolationism Analysis of Foreign Policy Crises from the Interwar Period

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Abstract:

Although the term "isolationism" is currently widely used in both political and academic discussions of US foreign policy, where it is often referred to as a genuine political alternative, its descriptive and analytical possibilities are significantly limited by qualitative timbre, non-specificity and vagueness. Thus, the term is basically unusable within the academic creation. This article responds with an innovative analysis that examines the presence of isolationist elements in the United States' responses to various foreign policy crises during the interwar period (traditionally referred to as the golden age of American isolationism). Through a set of selection criteria (based on data from the International Crisis Behaviour and various archival sources), the analytical framework evaluates the specific comparable level of isolationism of all US administrations from the interwar era, regardless of standard historical interpretations of the period. The aim of the paper is to reinterpret both the usual simplified historical account of the given era, as well as the interpretation of researchers completely rejecting isolationism, and to demonstrate the usefulness of isolationism in contemporary historical international relations analysis.

Keywords: US Isolationism, US Foreign Policy, Foreign Policy Crises, International Crisis Behaviour Project

Spies in a Barrel: When to Reel in Espionage

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Abstract:

How do secrets affect international order? To answer this question, we present a formal model of domestic response to espionage. In the model, the state can learn about a foreign agent's activities from choices made in preceding periods. Foreign agents can moderate these actions to suppress the likelihood that they are discovered. States will only intervene when espionage exceeds a tacitly agreed threshold, and excesses emerge when agents cannot be incentivized to moderate their activity. An executive's choice to deter produces countervailing incentives between the intelligence community's preferences and the executive's audience cost. We find that egregious punishment of spies, blowback from an executive's domestic audience, and intelligence leaks can make avoiding escalation less likely. For certain combinations of model parameters, we find that intelligence leaks can also make avoiding escalation more likely. We analyse these findings in the context of historical and popular accounts of covert activities that were revealed to the public. We conclude with suggestions for other application areas and next steps to expand the model.

Keywords: Intelligence, Foreign Policy, Security, Political Economy, Game Theory

Decolonisation and National Identity: Challenges and Opportunities for Pakistan

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Abstract:

This study investigates Pakistan's complex challenges and opportunities in building a unifying national identity during its decolonisation process. Pakistan, a country with a diverse population of ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds, has struggled to define its national identity since achieving independence from British colonial rule in 1947. This research aims to understand the complex nation-building process and identity formation by examining the interaction between historical legacies and contemporary aspirations. The study employs a research approach incorporating political and historical events to investigate major elements impacting Pakistan's quest for national identity. These include the consequences of partition, Islam's role in statecraft, regional and ethnic diversity, and ideological disputes between Islamists and secularists. The research also explores the impact of postcolonial political dynamics and constitution on Pakistan's national identity discourse. The study examines the impact of Pakistan's independent movements, Jinnah's leadership, and governmental decisions on the level of unity or division within Pakistani society. Furthermore, it examines the possibilities for advancing a broader and more diverse sense of national identity through the deliberate active participation of citizens and cooperation with other countries. It emphasises that this process is characterised by considerable problems and the potential to establish a solid and inclusive national identity. The results emphasise the significance of the constitution, regional discrepancies, and ideological divisions to establish a unified and enduring national identity. The primary objective of this research is to offer a comprehensive and detailed comprehension of Pakistan's process of decolonisation in the context of establishing its national identity. The findings of this study can provide valuable knowledge to policymakers, scholars, and stakeholders involved in the nation-building process. The study sheds light on Pakistan's distinct experiences, adding to the broader discussion of decolonisation and identity development. It highlights the crucial importance of historical context, political dynamics, and inclusive constitution in fostering national unity and the ability to make independent decisions.

Keywords: Decolonisation, Pakistan, National Identity, Constitution, Islamists, Secularists

On the Ashes of the USSR: Nationality in Evolution

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Abstract:

Just over thirty years after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Russian Federation has started a process that aims to reaffirm Moscow on the international scene as a world power, no longer regional as the United States would like, and this through the acquisition of a new influence on areas of its natural interest such as the Black Sea and all of Eurasia. This work aims to give a general overview of the Kremlin's policy in the post-Soviet area after 1991 to understand the events relating to the Ukrainian crisis and in other former Soviet areas such as Chechnya, Abkhazia and South Ossetia. After the Orange Revolution of 2004-2005 in Ukraine, political life had not undergone radical changes, as called for on the streets. A small circle of oligarchs continued to enrich themselves and exploit their country's resources without ensuring real growth for the lower classes. The Russian-Ukrainian conflict that began with the Maidan revolution has continued over time without definitive solutions that satisfied the parties involved. Euromaidan was a series of pro-European demonstrations that began in Ukraine on the night between 21 and 22 November 2013 which led to the collapse of the pro-Russian regime and Ukraine's rapprochement with Europe. Since February 2022, after the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the situation has degenerated, posing maximum risks to global stability. Following the Euromaidan, which resulted in the Ukrainian revolution of February 2014 which led to the flight and dismissal of the Ukrainian president Viktor Yanukovich (which took place on 22 February 2014), some pro-Russian protests began to take place in Crimea and these events were followed by the official dispatch of the Russian Armed Forces in Crimea. On March 16, after a referendum deemed invalid by the United Nations General Assembly, Russia annexed the peninsula to the Federation. In the past we have witnessed moments of tension in Chechnya, Abkhazia and South Ossetia, where the Russian army intervened directly to quell the revolts and welcome the fleeing populations into Greater Russia. Furthermore, Transnistria was the battleground between Russia and Moldova in the

early 1990s, until its complete or partial solution: a de facto frozen conflict was reached after the agreements to suspend the conflict. Through the study of an extensive bibliography involving authors and members of the pro-Russian and pro-Western military forces, the study of the major Russian and Western philosophers and intellectuals, I'll try to reconstruct the tumultuous past to understand the present conflict in Ukraine and the future. Furthermore, the future scenarios of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict will be analysed, establishing the only possible perspectives such as: 1) Defeat of Russia and removal of Putin. 2) Surrender of Ukraine and possible occupation of further former Soviet territories by Russia, with the risk of further escalation leading to an extended conflict with NATO towards World War III.

Keywords: Ukraine, Russia, Transnistria, USA, Hybrid Warfare, Cecenia



Panel 22 // Hybrid // Venue: Valent Room

Relations between National Education and International Politics

THURSDAY // 03 October 2024 // 11:00 - 12:30 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Marco Marsili

Ca' Foscari University



Tbilisi Public Higher Education Institutions, as Developing Organizations:
Students' Assessments

Teona Tabuashvili

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Building Green Businesses from the Beginning: Transatlantic Knowledge Sharing of Arctic and Non-Arctic Rural Community Development Strategies

Sonja Bickford & Ruth Claire Black

Oregon Institute of Technology

Reimagining International Studies:

Educating for Global Citizenship through Evidence-Based Engagement

Pedro Silva Baptista

University of Minho

Irregular Immigration Among Kurdish University Graduates: A Case Study of KRG 2014-2024

Harem Hasan Ahmed Baban

University of Raparin

The Role of History Textbooks in Shaping National Identity and Ontological Security in Kazakhstan

Nurlan Muminov

Al-Farabi Kazakh National University

Tbilisi Public Higher Education Institutions, as Developing Organizations: Students' Assessments

Teona Tabuashvili

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Abstract:

Higher education institutions (HEIs) are one of the most important institutions of our society. Here are shaping the great concepts, ideas, knowledge, which ensure the development of the society (Austin & Jones, 2016). The area of universities action is quite wide thematically; They have many buildings, laboratories; Serve numerous students. Therefore, they are quite big organizations with rules, structure, employees and customers, which is very challenging for them. This study discusses the HEIs as developing organizations from the perspective of the students. It aims to present how students, which are customers of HEIs, perceive the administrative work and some rules in the universities. In the research participated students of all stages of higher education: Bachelor, Master and PhD students. I conducted 3 focus groups and 7 in-depth interviews with the students at the public universities in Tbilisi. Many of them had the experience of studying in 2 or 3 universities, which makes their evaluations also comparing. I also interviewed 2 Austrian Experts, which have experience of working in East-European and Former Soviet Union countries. Some legal documents are also analysed, e.g. the law of Georgia on higher education and different regulations in the universities. The study showed that the public universities are quite hierarchical structurally, which raises the level of the bureaucracy. Some important issues for the students are: The bad infrastructure, which influences their first impressions, but they do not consider this as a main criterion when evaluating the universities; The poor quality of service, the Students remember many cases of rudeness and redirection from the side of the administrative staff; Less readiness for innovations, which especially is reflected in technological novelties; Different types of rules, which sometimes are seen as senseless from the side of the students. One unexpected finding for me was the satisfaction of the students with closed curricular. Despite of the less possibility of choosing the desirable subjects and lecturers, permanent groups make them feel

much comfortable. Generally, the public universities make the impression of bureaucratic, obsolete systems on the students. The experts see the influence of Georgia's soviet experience in the problems of the HEIs. They indicate lack of trusting in the employees. This raises the number of rules in the organization, which on the one hand makes it less flexible and on the other hand demotivates the employees and this reflects on the quality of service. The study shows that the public universities are on the lower stage of development of an organization, namely in the differentiation phase. This is expressed with the high level of bureaucracy, less orientation towards customers and the coordination types between different structural divisions.

Keywords: Higher Education Institution, Organizational Development, Differentiation Phase, Customer Orientation, Bureaucracy

Building Green Businesses from the Beginning: Transatlantic Knowledge Sharing of Arctic and Non-Arctic Rural Community Development Strategies

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Abstract:

Local issues are global issues. This collaboration between US and Finnish institutions aims to understand and share experiences and insights around global education opportunities for students in rural regions and to build program offerings with collaborative expertise in entrepreneurial sustainability. Recent experience indicates that students in Finland and the US prefer short term travel, and faculty-led travel was specifically requested by some students. As part of the project collaboration, creation of several cross institutional collaborative workshops and lectures have been offered both online and in-person as part of a 3-week faculty led travel class offered by Oregon Tech. The Oregon Tech class involves travel to several countries and visits to partner communities, institutions, and businesses during which students from ten majors in two cross-disciplinary courses seek to understand sustainability in rural Oregon by learning lessons and best practices from the countries visited including Finland, Estonia, Sweden and Iceland. The project also illustrates how faculty learn from each other, local businesses and organizations and the local community. The significance of this project lies in the lessons shared and learned. These insights and best practices are then shared again by the participants with interested parties to develop new ventures, protocols and business practices that incorporate the idea of sustainability into business plans from the start. Innovative opportunities and practices bring in new people and ideas to a community, but the disregard or lack of knowledge around green practices as a core element of business creation can lead to long term community decline. This together with the impact of out-migration from rural communities worldwide creates a need for sustainable innovative, entrepreneurial ventures and ideas. Collaboration across international borders provides critical connections and a supportive international dialog to share best practices and innovative concepts. Creating a variety of pathways for understanding and sharing key best practices for sustainable entrepreneurship and supporting rural

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economic development via seminars, press releases, and academic conference presentations is then incorporated into developing opportunities for green business thinking and process development. Long-term impacts will be seen as organizations implement green business decision making, communication, and sustainable development practices. Methodology: Project methodology is a collaborative brainstorming approach based on past work, current student and faculty qualitative and quantitative survey data collected pre and post the summer travel class trip, as well as document reviews and analysis of experimental global course offerings at and between the partner institutions. Assumptions: Assumptions include some student knowledge and prior course work in all quadrants of the below Venn diagram. However, not all of the below concepts are taught in-depth within the travel course. This may impact the depth and breadth of the lessons learned and may also result in some elements being under or over weighted within the discussions and other methodology.

Keywords: Global Education, Entrepreneurship, Sustainability, Transatlantic, Rural, Arctic

**Reimagining International Studies:
Educating for Global Citizenship through Evidence-Based Engagement**

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Abstract:

Traditional international studies have often focused on theoretical frameworks, leaving a gap between knowledge and action. This paper proposes a reconceptualization, placing international studies education as a foundation for fostering international civic engagement. It explores how this shift influences the "what" and "how" of teaching. The paper delves into the crucial relationship between theory and evidence, examining the merits of different evidence types (quantitative, qualitative, etc.) and how they contribute to building robust knowledge for informed global citizenship. By analysing these questions, the paper aims to bridge the theory-practice divide, empowering students to become active participants in shaping an interconnected world.

Keywords: International Studies, Education, Research agenda, Theoretical and Methodological Approaches

Irregular Immigration Among Kurdish University Graduates: A Case Study of KRG 2014-2024

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Abstract:

Over the past teen years, the number of irregular immigration graduate among Kurdish University graduate in Kurdistan Region-Iraq increasing dramatically. Particularly during ISIS crisis that emerged in Iraq and existing war in Kurdish cities borders that later driven by several reasons including political, social and economic and factors of crisis in higher education system. This study aims to demonstrate the multifaceted reasons behind this type of immigration and its impacts on both the individuals, region and countries they immigrate illegally. This study attempts to examine and analyses deep interpretation of motivation that affected Kurdish graduates which select irregular way to move abroad rather than permitted immigration. Lastly, this paper answering several questions ‘such as what were the reasons for the Kurdish university graduates to immigrate irregular? Why Kurdish university graduates select irregular immigration and not familiar with law of immigration? Political Instability Political instability in Iraq since collapsing Saddam Regime 2003 and later conflicts within the Iraqi central government and KRG during this period. Furthermore, lack of reform, political corruption the failure of opposition parties to change the power, corruption and ineffective governance, neighbor countries' intervention could make further destabilize the region, lead to youth and graduates lose hope for future life in Iraqi Kurdistan. One of the essential economic reasons for irregular immigration among Kurdish graduates is the economic crisis of KRG because due to lack of other economical sources this region depend on selling oil that affected by global oil prices. In addition, budget disagreements between the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) and the central Iraqi caused delayed salaries and volatility. Lastly, High unemployment rates, especially among youth and graduates' lose confidence to stay in this region especially the ministry of finance and social affairs have not introduced any social payment law for unemployment since the establishing of KRG 1992. Due to lack of reform and none

updated of Kurdistan Universities departments and programs, graduated could not be able to connect with the public, private sectors. In other meaning Certificate inflation and worthlessness particularly for humanity and social science graduates can be seen, obviously. Decreasing irregular immigration requires several solutions and reform. The KRG and Iraqi should provide job creation, and developing living conditions to reduce irregular immigration. Establishing a strong administrative system, reducing corruption are essential steps in reestablishing trust and stability. Therefore, Active crisis management requires wide-ranging strategies of reform by Iraqi government and KRG, particularly developing agricultural and industrial sectors to provide opportunity to work in these sectors. Additionally, international assistance by European NGO could establish small projects and fund cultural-educational projects to eliminate irregular immigration in KRG. By applying these measures, KRG would better retain its graduate's population and harness their potential for region development.

Keywords: Immigration, Irregular Immigration, Iraq, KRG

The Role of History Textbooks in Shaping National Identity and Ontological Security in Kazakhstan

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Abstract:

After Georgia (in 2008) and Ukraine (in 2014) lost part of their territory in wars with Russia, the often-disturbing speeches by Russian statesmen, especially Putin, about the historicity of Kazakhstan's statehood and territory have challenged state identity and raised concerns about ontological security in Kazakhstan. The challenges arising from the denial of recognition of the historicity of sovereign Kazakh statehood by Russia, a significant external other, have had profound implications for the country's self-identity and collective sense of ontological security. In response to Russia's denial of the historicity of sovereign Kazakh statehood, Kazakhstan has initiated various programs to manage anxiety. One crucial step in addressing this issue was the introduction of the "Bolshaqqa Bagdar: Rukhani Zhangyru [The Course towards the Future: Modernisation of National Identity]" program by former President N.A. Nazarbayev in 2017. This program aimed to preserve national identity, broaden national consciousness, and revive historical memory. Examining national history textbooks in secondary schools becomes crucial in understanding the construction of the national biography and its impact on identity and ontological security. This study investigates the central biographical narratives employed in these textbooks, using qualitative content analysis and in-depth interviews. By analyzing textbooks and curricula, the research aims to identify core narratives shaping the national biography and contributing to ontological security. Overall, this research seeks to shed light on the role of textbooks in constructing the national biography of Kazakhstan, fostering national identity, and ensuring ontological security. The paper argues that biographical narratives play an important role in governing collective anxiety.

Keywords: Identity, Ontological Security, History Textbooks, Biographical Narrative, Anxiety, Kazakhstan



Panel 23 // Hybrid // Venue: Biral Room
Energy Issues in World Politics

THURSDAY // 03 October 2024 // 13:30 - 15:00 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Sujata Ashwarya

Jamia Millia Islamia



*Kazakhstan as the Hub for EU-China Connectivity:
Prospects and Challenges*

Tiago Botelho dos Santos & Diogo Borges

CCCM and CEHSCTE (Online)

Bridging Troubled Waters:

Mediation Insights from the US-Brokered Israel-Lebanon Maritime Accord

Sujata Ashwarya

Jamia Millia Islamia

The Impact of Energy Security on Inter-Relations

Between the Gulf Cooperation Council Countries: A Comparative Study

Haila Al-Mekaimi

Kuwait University (Online)

Europe's Energy Shift to the United States

since the Ukraine War, and Other Alternatives for Gas Supply

Josep Errea Gil

Complutense University of Madrid - Topchubashov Center

Kazakhstan as the Hub for EU-China Connectivity: Prospects and Challenges

Tiago Botelho dos Santos & Diogo Borges

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Abstract:

Recently, during the Global Gateway Investors Forum for EU-Central Asia Transport Connectivity, Central Asia's role as a continental transmodal transport hub was highlighted as crucial. Being at the same time the biggest country and the most developed nation within Central Asia, Kazakhstan occupies a pivotal role in the EU-China connectivity. This role can be observed, for instance, in its strategic location in the middle of the current China-Europe Railway Express (CERE) that positions Kazakhstan as both a geostrategic and geopolitical node for China-EU relations. Adding to this, Kazakhstan is one of the biggest recipients for Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) projects and positions itself as an appealing candidate for Global Gateway related investments. We argue that the Kazakh strategic adaptability for encompassing multidimensional connectivity projects and its geostrategic location in the heartland of Asia, grants it the role of an interregional connector, turning it an important case study for the future Eurasian connectivity. This study aims to understand how Kazakhstan's strategic adaptability allows the competing strategies of the Global Gateway and the BRI to coexist within the same territorial borders, complementing each other in the goal of achieving interregional EU-China connectivity, while simultaneously transforming Kazakhstan into a regional hub.

Keywords: Kazakhstan, China, Europe, Connectivity, BRI

**Bridging Troubled Waters:
Mediation Insights from the US-Brokered Israel-Lebanon Maritime Accord**

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Abstract:

In October 2022, Israel and Lebanon, two nations without formal diplomatic relations and technically at war, reached a historic accord to resolve their long-standing maritime boundary dispute with the mediation of the United States. This dispute centred on an 860-square-kilometer area in the eastern Mediterranean Sea, rich in natural gas deposits, and arose from overlapping claims based on differing interpretations of international maritime law and exclusive economic zones (EEZs). The conflict intensified following the 2010 Israel-Cyprus EEZ delimitation and Lebanon's subsequent claims near Israel's Karish gas field. The US-led mediation efforts were crucial in addressing this conflict, which was complicated by the involvement of Hezbollah, a Lebanese political and militant group. Tensions escalated in June 2022 when Israel deployed a production vessel near Karish, prompting intensified US mediation to avert a broader conflict. The successful mediation resulted in the establishment of 'Line 23' as the maritime boundary between the two states, marking a significant departure from their previous maximalist positions. This agreement delineated the disputed area, allowing Lebanon to explore and potentially exploit natural gas in the Qana field while granting Israel control over the Karish. Total (France) and Eni (Italy), developers of Qana, were tasked with compensating Israel for its share of royalties since a small portion of the field extended into Israel's EEZ. This arrangement incentivized both nations to compromise for economic gains and facilitated international investments in regional gas exploration and extraction. This resolution is notable as the first achieved through indirect negotiations between nations without formal diplomatic ties. The agreement comprises separate accords between each state and the US, delineating an EEZ with both Lebanon and Israel simultaneously sending new boundary coordinates to the United Nations. This approach established a provisional maritime separation line and a permanent maritime boundary.

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Mediation, recognized in Article 33 of the UN Charter as an alternative means of international dispute settlement, has a high success rate. However, the Israel-Lebanon case is uniquely the only successful example in maritime boundary disputes. This study acknowledges the complexity of the issue and employs multiple theoretical frameworks to understand four critical factors contributing to the success of mediation in the Israel-Lebanon maritime accord: First, both Israel and Lebanon trusted the United States as an impartial mediator, facilitated by over a decade of diplomatic engagement. Trust is essential in mediation as it promotes open communication, reduces suspicions, and encourages concessions. Secondly, the need for Israel to monetize Karish and for Lebanon to begin exploration provided the impetus for a swift settlement. Economic interests, as highlighted by liberal theories, were pivotal in driving the diplomatic resolution. Both parties moderated their earlier claims, demonstrating the importance of flexibility and pragmatism in conflict resolution. This aligns with negotiation theory, which emphasizes adjusting positions for mutually beneficial outcomes. Prioritizing absolute gains, which benefit all parties, over relative gains, which focus on comparative advantage, allowed both countries to achieve their respective objectives. This shift from a zero-sum perspective to a cooperative approach is crucial for sustainable, long-term resolutions in international disputes.

Keywords: Israel-Lebanon Maritime Accord, Mediation, Trust, Economic Interests, Adjusting Positions, Absolute Gains

The Impact of Energy Security on Inter- Relations Between the Gulf Cooperation Council Countries: A Comparative Study

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Abstract:

The concept of energy security in the Arabian Gulf region refers to the ability to meet the energy needs of countries in the region without interruption, in a way that guarantees the economic, social and political stability of these countries. The concept of energy security in the Arabian Gulf includes several aspects: Ensuring strategic supplies: This relates to ensuring the continuous availability of oil and gas to producing and consuming countries in the region and beyond, to avoid any disturbances in the global market and to ensure price stability. Energy diversification means this diversification of energy sources and reliance on energy sources. Diverse energy, such as renewable energy, to reduce total dependence on oil and gas and provide future economic opportunities. Strengthening energy independence: This includes developing national capabilities in the energy sectors, including developing the infrastructure and technologies necessary to extract and refine oil and gas and generate renewable energy. Achieving environmental sustainability: related to This requires achieving a balance between meeting energy needs, protecting the environment, and reducing harmful emissions. Regional and international cooperation Energy security also consists of enhancing cooperation between countries in the region and other countries in the field of energy, whether in exchanging knowledge and technology or in developing joint projects for generating and transmitting energy. This paper adopts a comparative methodology between Gulf countries to measure their ability to confront energy security in light of climate change. This paper reaches the most prominent conclusions, which are that the varying capabilities of the Gulf countries in achieving energy security in the future will play a major role in reshaping the inter-relations between the Gulf countries.

Keywords: Energy Security, Gulf Countries, Energy Diversification, Energy Supply, Energy Independence, Environmental Sustainability

Europe's Energy Shift to the United States since the Ukraine War, and Other Alternatives for Gas Supply

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Abstract:

This research analyzes the new direction of European gas policy since the Ukrainian War, highlighting how the new world political reality forced the European Union to seek new gas suppliers, among which the United States stands out. The emergence of USA as an alternative to Russian gas was not only an act of solidarity on the part of Washington, but also a decision made on the basis of a strong geopolitical component. The Biden Administration perceived two major benefits in the possibility of being the new main supplier of gas to Europe; 1) to make Russia lose geopolitical weight in Europe, and 2) to gain geopolitical weight in Europe. Therefore, it is worth analyzing the current role of the United States in the EU's energy mix and, of course, the future outlook for its role. Consequently, it will be necessary to analyze whether there is a risk of the European Union developing an energy dependence on the United States, as has already happened with Russia. In any case, it will also be necessary to analyze the possibility of the European Union acquiring gas from other regions, either because of the need to seek alternative supplies to avoid developing a dependence on the United States, or because of the possibility that the United States may not be able to maintain its current role over time, forcing the EU to look for new gas suppliers. Consequently, the possibility of adding new players to the European energy mix will also be considered, studying the case of the Eastern Mediterranean and South Caucasus countries, which, given the circumstances, could help Brussels to diversify gas supplies. In recent years, the Eastern Mediterranean has made great advances in its energy sector, with Cyprus, Israel and Egypt standing out. Although these countries are at different stages in the exploitation of gas fields, the fact is that all of them have interesting gas reserves under their soils, which, given the circumstances, could have Europe as a final destination, due to their geographic proximity. In the case of the Caucasus, the truth is that Azerbaijan stands as the only country in the region with large

hydrocarbon reserves, although for these to reach Western Europe it needs Georgia as a transit point. Since 2020, Azerbaijan has been supplying gas to the European Union, but it has certainly been since the beginning of the war in Ukraine that the Caucasian country has gained notable importance. Moreover, the establishment of energy relations with the Caucasus not only implies a new supply route, but also the possibility of being able to import from Central Asia. In summary, the research seeks to contribute to the knowledge of European energy relations, focusing on the geopolitical struggle of the United States and Russia to establish themselves as gas suppliers to Europe since the war in Ukraine. On the other hand, it is also worth analyzing the possibility of the European Union importing gas from other regions, such as the South Caucasus and the Eastern Mediterranean, thus trying to get out of the geopolitical game of the great powers.

Keywords: Geopolitics, Gas, United States, European Union, East Mediterranean, Southern Caucasus

The Great Pyramid of Giza: Egypt



Panel 24 // Hybrid // Venue: Mazzariol Room

Emerging Power's Challenges to the Embedded Liberal International Order

THURSDAY // 03 October 2024 // 13:30 - 15:00 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Vitor Fernandes

Lusáda University, CEJEIA and AUL/OBSERVARE



India and Türkiye's Approaches to the Liberal International Order in the 21st Century:
An Analysis of Continuity and Change

Mujib Alam

Jamia Millia Islamia

Interconnected-ness via Regional Organization to the International Politics

Rahman Dag

CESRAN International & Marmara University

The Development of Brazil's Oil Industry and the Politicisation of Petrobras

Zehra Aksu & Özgür Tüfekçi

Kadir Has University & Karadeniz Technical University & CESRAN International (Online)

India and Türkiye's Approaches to the Liberal International Order in the 21st Century: An Analysis of Continuity and Change

Mujib ALAM

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Abstract:

This paper examines India's and Türkiye's approaches to the US-led Liberal International Order (LIO) in the twenty-first century, focusing on three critical elements: security order, economic order, and the rules-based institutional order. India and Türkiye, as rising powers with significant regional and global influence, bring distinct perspectives to the LIO shaped by their historical circumstances, geopolitical goals, and domestic objectives. This comparative analysis aims to assess the extent to which their foreign policy behaviours exhibit continuity or change concerning these three LIO aspects.

In terms of the security order, the study explores India's and Türkiye's strategic alignments, defence policies, and participation in international security frameworks. India has largely adhered to its doctrine of strategic autonomy, engaging in multilateral security initiatives while maintaining an independent stance. Its participation in groups such as the Quad and its commitment to UN peacekeeping missions exemplify this balance. Conversely, Türkiye's security policy reflects a more complex trajectory. Its traditional NATO alignment is increasingly juxtaposed with assertive regional interventions and growing partnerships with non-Western powers like Russia and China. This dual approach highlights a shift in Türkiye's stance within the global security architecture, raising questions about its long-term commitments to the LIO's security norms. The paper examines Türkiye's and India's trade policies and their approaches to market liberalization and global participation regarding the economic components of the LIO. It delves into their economic strategies, highlighting how their economic growth and trade policies align with or diverge from liberal economic norms. India's economic policy has shown strong alignment with the principles of the LIO, particularly through market reforms and active participation in global trade negotiations. However, recent protectionist trends and

an emphasis on self-reliance (Atmanirbhar Bharat) indicate a nuanced shift. Conversely, Türkiye has embraced economic liberalization through customs unions with the European Union and extensive trade networks. Yet, economic volatility and domestic political pressures have occasionally led to protective measures, reflecting an ambivalent engagement with the LIO's economic norms. Regarding the LIO's rules-based institutional order, the study evaluates how Türkiye and India engage with and approach important international institutions such as the United Nations and the World Trade Organization (WTO). It scrutinizes both countries' approaches to and adherence to global governance norms. India has consistently advocated for reforms in institutions like the UN to better represent emerging economies while simultaneously upholding the existing rules-based framework. Despite Türkiye's official commitments to renowned institutions such as the United Nations and NATO, its stance has increasingly challenged their policies and decisions, particularly those of the UN's Security Council, often driven by national interests and regional ambitions. This paper concludes that India and Türkiye both show continuity and change in their approaches to the LIO. India favours an incremental and reformist approach, while Türkiye adopts a more dynamic and sometimes disruptive stance. Understanding these nuanced positions is crucial for comprehending the evolving dynamics of the LIO in the 21st century and the roles of rising powers within it.

Keywords: Liberal International Order, India, Türkiye, International Security Order, Economic Order, Rules-Based Institutional Order

International Security Provision by International Systems and Regional Institutions

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Abstract:

International systems based on their central powers have a unique way of international security provision in terms of social, economic, and political scopes. Leading power(s) are mostly powerful enough to enforce or willingly make accepted a certain way of doing politics, how to conduct economic relations and vernacular style of social attitudes. In this way, states seek external security within an established order. To make a solid argument, three embedded international systems in 20th century (Multi-Bi-Uni Polarity) will be analyzed in this manner and come up with a blueprint to apply in the newly emerging international system, most called returning to the multi-polarity or multi-polar cold war. This paper will argue that regionalism is currently a major feature of international politics and seems to be a new form of international politics for states. Starting with the EU and ASEAN right after WW II, regional institutions have gained importance relying on economic, social, and political common interests. They have been gradually preferred by states to get the utmost security provision in international politics. The paper's original contribution to the international security literature will be combining security provision with both international systems and regional institutions. In other words, states can get utmost security in all realms by being a member of certain regional institutions at the same time and benefit from the interconnectedness of the regional institutions at international level. This way of examination will come up with a new concept defining current international system as "Institutional Multi-Polarity".

Keywords: International System, Security Provision, International Security, Regionalism, Regional Interconnectedness

The Development of Brazil's Oil Industry and the Politicisation of Petrobras

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Abstract:

Brazil is one of the leading nations in the global energy sector, largely due to its significant oil reserves located beneath the salt layer in the depths of the Atlantic Ocean. Represented primarily by *Petróleo Brasileiro S.A. (Petrobras)*, the Brazilian oil industry has undergone substantial transformations since the company's establishment in 1953. In 2006, pre-salt reserves containing large quantities of recoverable oil were discovered off the coast of Brazil. This discovery not only increased Brazil's oil production but also brought about more comprehensive studies in sustainability, economic stability, and environmental management. Initially founded to achieve self-sufficiency in Brazil's oil production and to end the country's dependence on foreign oil companies, Petrobras has gradually become a major player in the global oil market. The discoveries in 2006 further strengthened the company's role both nationally and internationally. Another significant development that bolstered Petrobras' role was the enactment of the "Pre-Salt Law" in 2010. This legislation aimed to create a more competitive environment by facilitating foreign investment and reducing Petrobras' monopoly, allowing international oil companies to participate in Brazil's oil sector. However, instead of fostering competition, the Pre-Salt Law enhanced Petrobras' effectiveness. Petrobras has become a political actor directly influencing Brazil's political and socio-economic spheres, including the appointment of politicians to executive positions within the company. The 2014 Lava Jato (Operation Car Wash) scandal, considered the largest corruption case in the country's history, was a significant development that exposed the extent of Petrobras's politicisation. The scandals of 2014 also highlighted the difficulties in balancing national interests with economic efficiency. The revelations of corruption involving company executives, government officials, and business leaders led to significant legal and financial consequences for the company. This not only damaged investor confidence but also had an impact on the Brazilian economy. The primary aim of this paper is to analyse the

development, current challenges, and future prospects of Brazil's oil industry lens of the state oil company Petrobras. The paper, it seeks to answer the question of what role Petrobras has played in Brazil's economic development. The study examines the historical context of Petrobras's establishment, its transformation into a global oil giant, the challenges it has faced, including corruption scandals, and the impact of these on Brazil's economy and society. The dynamics of Brazil's oil sector are analysed in the context of challenges and opportunities, using both qualitative and quantitative research methods, drawing on various sources, including official reports, academic literature, and economic analyses.

Keywords: Brazil, Oil, Petrobras, Politicisation

Basilica de la Sagrada Familia
Barcelona, Spain

Panel 25 // Hybrid // Venue: Valent Room

Rising Global Security Challenges in International Politics

THURSDAY // 03 October 2024 // 13:30 - 15:00 // (Venice, GMT +02:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Eva Taterova

Institute of Contemporary History of Czech Academy of Sciences



International Migration and Increasing Welfare and Equality
in Urban-Rural Health in Larestan Region, Iran

Majid-Hojjati & Maryam Fozuni

Islamic Azad University & Larestan University of Medical Sciences (Online)

Immigration and Human Security

Shereen Nadim

AAST

Media Portrayal and Policies: A Study of Nepali Women Migrants

Binita Nepali & Shristi Tamrakar

Tribhuvan University (Online)

Migration Governance:

Assessing Economic Opportunities of Women Migrants from the Sending Countries
Perspectives

Shristi Tamrakar & Binita Nepali

Tribhuvan University (Online)

Rising Human Security Threats in Asia and Challenge of Migration for Europe

Qamar Cheema

National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad and Sanober Institute

Inequality: A Core Aspect of Human Security

Christian Ploberger

Rajamangala University of Technology Tawan-Ok (Online)

International Migration and Increasing Welfare and Equality in Urban-Rural Health in Larestan Region, the South of Iran

Majid-Hojjati & Maryam Fozuni

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Abstract:

The migration of men from the south of Iran, especially the Larestan region, to the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf for work and economic activities has had considerable positive effects on their birthplace which is unique across the country. The present study investigates the contributions of international emigrants in the provision of health infrastructure for healthcare in Larestan region. These developmental measures taken by emigrants have reduced the development gap between the villages and cities. This can be seen as a developmental process whereby cities and villages compete to increase their welfare facilities. Furthermore, migrants' extensive participation has been a powerful lever for Larestani officials in bargaining with the Ministry of Health in order to obtain more funds and facilities. These negotiations have led to the allocation of government funds to deprived cities and villages that do not have emigrants in Arab countries, and thus the development of health in all regions of Larestan will be more balanced. Infrastructures due to the generosity of emigrants and the acquisition of appropriate budgets have led to the achievement of desired conditions in the field of PHC indicators such as Under Fiver and Maternal Mortality, despite some unfavourable conditions such as high presence of refugees from Afghanistan, arid climate and being away from the capital. We have used the Mix Method in our data collection. We needed to utilize existing statistics and secondary data (quantitative method) as well as in-depth and structured interviews with our personal observations of Larestan health facilities (qualitative method).

Keywords: International Migration, Iran, Infrastructural Development, Health Development

Immigration and Human Security

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Abstract:

Immigration is a human activity which has many drivers, even if they are positive or negative drivers, the result is immigrant one starts new life in a new place. We can't ignore that people who immigrate 'legislative' migration with their money, kids, and work, they are more comfortable than people who migrate under pressure of war, economic collapse, or occupation, or other people who have to make asylum papers too stay away from their home land. The participant points in all these lines are gathered in one title called "Human security". People naturally aspire to feel secure , the family security affects kids in their early life , and financial security affects man in all his life span. Now we will analyze the reasons behind human security, and its direct relation to immigration. Migration is a kind of life changing, and sometimes, it's a sudden change. Also sometimes it's a scheduled, or previous strategy. The most premier indicator for migration is instability due to lack of safety. All people are searching and working for peace, but when peace is absent; the most prominent solution is migration to another place which is more safe and away from war, economic instability, or political one. Migration was provided many times in Cinema, especially the great trilogy of "The God father". The story of the immigrant child Vitto Corleone was related to human security insecurity , despite it not being a political war , it was a Mafia sovereign over the small cities of Sicily, Italy. The Don killed Antonio Andolini and his older son , then killed his widow , and tried to chase Vittorio, the younger son who was later Don Vitto Corleone.

Keywords: Immigration, Insecurity, Economic Instability, War

Media Portrayal and Policies: A Study of Nepali Women Migrants

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Abstract:

Of those who migrate nationally and internationally, women make up almost half of the global feminization of migration. Women now make up roughly one-quarter of all migrants from Nepal, and their number is growing. Women are now granted labour permits at a rate of 9.5% in 2021–2022, up from 4% in 2008–2009. The number is even higher considering the cross-border migration to India, which has an open border with Nepal. However, because of the stringent laws put in place by the Nepali government under the pretext of "protecting" women from the dangers involved while migrating, women migrants from Nepal are not benefiting from labour mobility in the same ways as other migrants. The government of Nepal has imposed several restrictions on women's ability to travel abroad, including requirements for parental approval, age-based limitations, and a lengthy list of documentation requirements. This study assumes that the way that women migrants are depicted in the media has an impact on Nepal's migration rules. Media narratives that often depict women as victims of exploitation, sex work, and other negative experiences have a significant impact on restrictive policies regarding female mobility and migration. Prejudices are reinforced by these depictions. Thus, this qualitative study looks at how various Nepali media outlets cover stories about female migrant workers and how this coverage influences public opinion and government policy. To assess the coverage of female migrant workers in the media, news pieces from both state-owned and privately-owned media will be divided into several themes and storylines. It investigates how gender, social background, and geopolitical setting intersect in these representations and how they influence policy choices. By promoting more open and neutral media coverage, the results seek to further knowledge of the connection between policymaking and media representation. The study is useful for examining women's migration from the Global South since it provides information that is transferable to other areas with comparable dynamics.

Keywords: Women Migrants, Nepal, Media Representation, Restrictive Policies

**Migration Governance:
Assessing Economic Opportunities of Women Migrants
from the Sending Countries Perspectives**

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Abstract:

Migration-related regulatory frameworks and financial burdens significantly impact emigrants from sending countries, especially women. The challenges women migrants face in obtaining visas and the economic strain of migration costs have broader implications for financial opportunities. This study examines the migration governance of visa policies and the costs related to migration, thus affecting the economic prospects available to female emigrants from sending countries. This paper focuses on understanding the interplay between migration policies, economic opportunities, and gender.

This qualitative study includes sample case studies: Nepal from South Asia, the Philippines from Southeast Asia, and Nigeria from Africa. These countries have been chosen for their distinct geographical locations and similar experiences managing large emigrant populations, including significant numbers of female migrants. The previous research has been made mostly from the perspectives of receiving countries and thus has been unable to provide critical insights from sending countries. The research methodologies include secondary sources. The research articles, journals, books, websites, excerpts, and policies related to migrations to Nepal, the Philippines, and Nigeria are reviewed. Based on the findings, the study is useful in recommending evidence-based migration policies by comparing and contrasting the best practices in migration governance that can be adopted or adapted to improve economic outcomes for women migrants.

Keywords: Migration Governance, Female Migrants, Visa Policies, Cost of Migration, Economy

Rising Human Security Threats in Asia and Challenge of Migration for Europe

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Abstract:

Global strategic focus shifts to Asia as great powers want to write future global history in Asia. Peace and security must be refocused from Traditional Security to Non-Traditional Security. The concept of Human Security needs to be reconceptualized as human security is the sovereignty of individuals. Human security is in danger in Asia because resources need to be diverted to emerging challenges like rising population, absence of access to health care, malnutrition, rising inflation, unstable governments, environmental challenges, challenges of access to food, famine, hunger, growing child labor, and many other challenges. These challenges motivate youth to illegally migrate to Europe and other Western world looking unstable governments at home . More Women and children are migrating to Europe from south Asia. Because of rising human security challenges in Asia, there will be four major risks to Europe. These are Political Security, Societal Security, Economic Security, and Environmental Security.

Keywords: Traditional Security, Non-Traditional Security, Human Security, Societal security, Environmental Security, Economic Security

Inequality: A Core Aspect of Human Security

Christian Ploberger

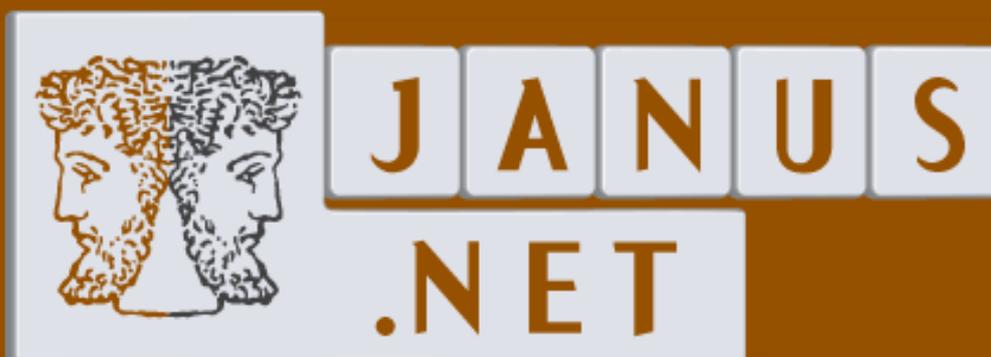
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Abstract:

Inequality comes in various forms and represents a crucial challenge for people, communities, and societies. This represents a considerable challenge when one aims to apply a specific framework to cover the various aspects of inequality. While inequality represents a global challenge, the primary responsibility lies within national jurisdictions to address it. While it is a challenge to identify an approach to cover the different aspects of inequality, the United Nations concept of Human Security offers a comprehensive framework for addressing the various aspects of inequality. It is based on a broad perspective in addressing inequality from different angles including a focus on income distribution, ensuring access to public goods and services, and providing health to the lesser-well-off section of society. Human Security's five core principles – people-centred / comprehensive / context specific / prevention-oriented / protection and empowerment – fit well in addressing the various features of inequalities. As such it aims for equality in development, for providing an equal opportunity of development for all peoples and for addressing their needs. While Human Security emphasises a people-centred approach to development it also stresses state responsibility.

Keywords: Inequality, Human Security, State, Changing Concept of Security



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