

CESRAN2025

1-5 July 2025

Lisbon | Portugal

12th Annual Conference on International Studies

Conference Programme
&
Abstract Book

The Annual Conference on International Studies

is organised with funding raised by registration fees and support of the following partners:

- ◆ CESRAN International
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-
- ◆ *The Rest: Journal of Politics and Development*
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 - ◆ *Novus Orbis: Journal of Politics and International Relations*
 - ◆ *Journal of Conflict Transformation and Security*



IVANE JAVAKHISHVILI
TBILISI STATE UNIVERSITY



Università
Ca' Foscari
Venezia



Research Center
in Political Science



Universidad
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- Assoc. Professor Özgür Tüfekçi – CESRAN International & Karadeniz Technical University, Türkiye
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- Professor Tomasz Marcinkowski – The Jacob of Paradies University, Poland

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- Professor Frances Trix – Indiana University, USA
- Professor Ana Isabel Xavier – OBSERVARE - Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa, Portugal
- Professor Stefan Wolff – University of Birmingham, UK

* The surnames are listed in alphabetical order.

Day 1 - Tuesday, 1 July 2025

10h00 - 10h30	Registration	Venue: <i>In Auditorium 1</i>	
10h30 - 12h00	Keynote Speeches: Professor Richard Hu (University of Macau) & Professor Luis Tome (Universidade Autonoma De Lisboa) Title: The Trump Administration 2.0 and the Transformation of the World Order Moderation: Associate Professor Özgür Tüfekçi (Cesran International)	Venue: <i>In Auditorium 1</i>	
12h00 - 13h30	<i>Break</i>		
13h30 - 15h00	Panel 01	Venue: <i>In Auditorium 1</i>	
15h00 - 15h30	<i>Break</i>		
15h30 - 17h00	Panel 02	Venue: <i>In Auditorium 1</i>	

Day 2 - Wednesday, 2 July 2025

09h00 - 10h30	Panel 03	Venue: <i>In Auditorium 1</i>	
10h30 - 11h00	<i>Break</i>		
11h00 - 12h30	Panel 04	Venue: <i>In Auditorium 1</i>	
12h30 - 14h00	<i>Break</i>		
14h00 - 15h30	Panel 05	Venue: <i>In Auditorium 1</i>	
15h30 - 16h00	<i>Break</i>		
16h00 - 17h30	Panel 06	Venue: <i>In Auditorium 1</i>	

Day 3 - Thursday, 3 July 2025

09h00 - 10h30	Panel 07	Venue: <i>In Auditorium 1</i>	
09h00 - 10h30	Panel 08	Venue: <i>Room 90</i>	
10h30 - 11h00	<i>Break</i>		
11h00 - 12h30	Panel 09	Venue: <i>In Auditorium 1</i>	
12h30 - 14h00	<i>Break</i>		
14h00 - 15h30	Panel 10	Venue: <i>In Auditorium 1</i>	
15h30 - 16h00	<i>Break</i>		
16h00 - 17h30	Panel 11	Venue: <i>In Auditorium 1</i>	

Day 4 - Friday, 4 July 2025

09h00 - 10h30	Panel 12	Venue: <i>Online</i>	
10h30 - 11h00	<i>Break</i>		
11h00 - 12h30	Panel 13	Venue: <i>Online</i>	
12h30 - 14h00	<i>Break</i>		
14h00 - 15h30	Panel 14	Venue: <i>Online</i>	
15h30 - 16h00	<i>Break</i>		
16h00 - 17h30	Panel 15	Venue: <i>Online</i>	

Day 5 - Saturday, 5 July 2025

10h00 - 11h30	Panel 16	Venue: <i>Online</i>	
11h30 - 12h00	<i>Break</i>		
12h00 - 13h30	Panel 17	Venue: <i>Online</i>	

12th Annual Conference on International Studies

CESRAN2025

Participant Information Pack

A. Session times are in **GMT+1 (Lisbon)** time zone.

B. Sessions will be face-to-face from the first day (July 1, 2025) to the third day (July 3, 2025), but can also be joined online via the provided Zoom links.

C. Sessions on the 4th (04.07.2025) and 5th (05.07.2025) days will be held online only, and all participants can join the sessions via the provided Zoom links.

D. Zoom Links for Sessions will be sent to the participants before the conference.

E. Session Guidelines:

- Each presenter will be given 10 to 15 minutes, depending on the number of presenters on a panel.
- Session chairs will strictly limit presentations to the maximum allotted speaking time.
- After the presentations are completed within an hour, the remaining 30 minutes will be dedicated to a group Q&A discussion.
- To ask a question to the presenters during the Q&A, please use the "Raise Hand" button for online attendance, and the chair will call on you to speak.
- Presenters can screen share their PowerPoint presentation in Zoom meetings (<https://support.zoom.us/hc/en-us/articles/203395347-Screen-sharing-a-PowerPoint-presentation>)
- Please do not forget to MUTE your microphone when not speaking.
- You can join Zoom from a PC, Mac, Linux, iOS, or Android
- Presenters should join the Meeting Room 5 minutes before the session time, and Chairs should join the Meeting Room 10 minutes before the Session time for the necessary technical arrangements.
- When you need assistance, contact us through the conference email

F. Social Media Tags:

Please use the hashtag #cesran2025 for all social media platforms.

G. Certificate of Paper Presentations:

The certificates will be sent to online participants via email after the conference and will be handed to physical attendees by the moderators right after the panel completes.



SOCIAL MEDIA

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www.cesran.org

X / Twitter: @CESRANevent

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Youtube: CESRAN International

The Jerónimos Monastery or Hieronymites Monastery is a former monastery of the Order of Saint Jerome near the Tagus river in the parish of Belém, in the Lisbon Municipality, Portugal.



Keynote Speech In Auditorium 1

TUESDAY // 1 July 2025 // 10:30–12:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

Keynote Speeches

Professor Richard Hu
(University of Macau)

Professor Luis Tome
(Universidade Autonoma De Lisboa)

Title:

The Trump Administration 2.0 and the Transformation of the World Order

Moderation:

Associate Professor Özgür Tüfekçi
(Cesran International)

One of Lisbon's most emblematic squares is Praça do Comércio. Better known by locals as Terreiro do Paço, since it was once where the paço, or palace, used to stand before the earthquake in 1755, it is one of the largest squares in Europe.



Panel 01 // Venue: Auditorium 1
Re-defining Cores of Changing International System

TUESDAY // 1 July 2025 // 13:30–15:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Marco Marsili

Ca' Foscari University of Venice (In Person)

Israel-Gaza War and International Systemic Change

Rahman Dag

Marmara University (In Person)

The Adaptation of Land Forces to the New Multipolar Order

Ricardo Vieira

Universidade da Beira Interior (In Person)

UNRWA and the War in Gaza: A Case for Reaffirming the Importance of Classical Humanitarianism and Upholding International Humanitarian Law

Daniela Nascimento & José Manuel Pureza

Universidade de Coimbra (In Person)

Lithium Geopolitics and The Curse of Natural Resources: The Case of Africa

Oğuzhan Bal & Ece Günen

Karadeniz Technical University & Çankırı Karatekin University (In Person)

Superpositions of Power: Gulf States as Mediators in a Transitioning Order

Corina Lozovan

Universidade Católica Portuguesa (In Person)



Padrão dos Descobrimentos
(Monument of the Discoveries)

Panel 02 // Venue: Auditorium 1
National Policies and International Implications

TUESDAY // 1 July 2025 // 15:30–17:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Taner Zorbay

Middle East Technical University (In Person)

**Local Diplomacy Activities Related to the Environment:
The Case of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality**

Kübra Özdemir

Karadeniz Technical University (In Person)

Reasserting the Actors in Governance

Rabia Büyükpınar

Zonguldak Bulent Ecevit University (In Person)

Overtourism as an International Problem in the Iberian Peninsula and Italy

Maria Antónia Pires de Almeida

CICP, University of Minho (In Person)

**Foreign Policy of an Urban Slum:
Navigating State, Market and Everything in Between**

Smriti Chauhan

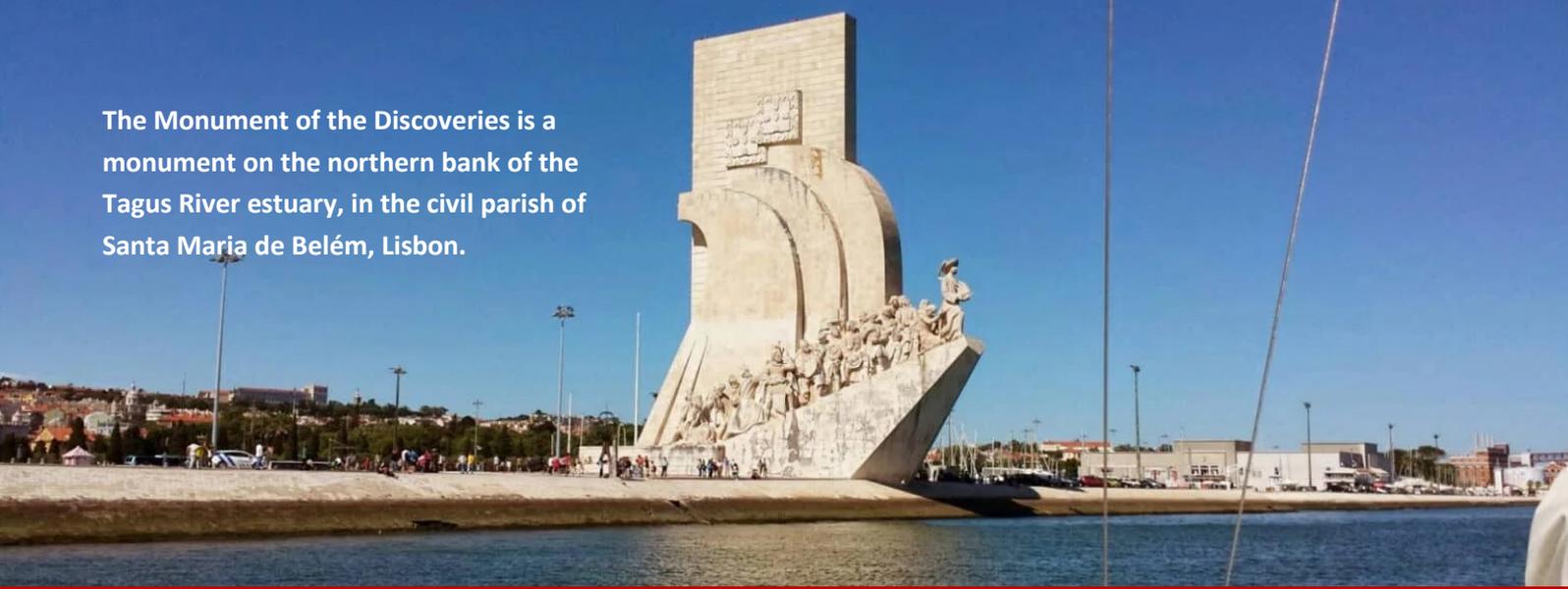
Jawaharlal Nehru University (In Person)

**The Impacts of Climate Change on Pakistan:
Challenges and Pathways to Resilience**

Safia Arif - Khan

Independent Scholar (In Person)

The Monument of the Discoveries is a monument on the northern bank of the Tagus River estuary, in the civil parish of Santa Maria de Belém, Lisbon.



Panel 03 // Venue: Auditorium 1
Liberal Degradation, Media and Changing Nature of World Politics

WEDNESDAY // 2 July 2025 // 09:00–10:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Maria Antónia Pires de Almeida

CICP, University of Minho (In Person)

Putin and Habib: Religion, Sports, and Russian Public Diplomacy

Taner Zorbay

Middle East Technical University (In Person)

**The Role of Digital Delivery of Higher Education
in Public Policy for the Resocialization of Convicts**

Sophiko Tabatadze

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (In Person)

The Battle Field as a Media Spectacle in the Russia-Ukraine War

Manana Shamilishvili, Eka Tkhlava and Inga Shamilishvili

*Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Caucasus International University and Batumi,
Shota Rustaveli State University (In Person)*

Georgia: Between Digital Democracy and Digital Authoritarianism

Sandro Tabatadze

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (In Person)

Saint George's Castle, is a historic castle in the Portuguese capital of Lisbon, located in the freguesia of Santa Maria Maior.



Panel 04 // Venue: Auditorium 1

Regionalization of Gender Politics

WEDNESDAY // 2 July 2025 // 11:00 - 12:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Sónia Sénica

OBSERVARE-UAL and IPRI-Nova (In Person)

The Gendered Impact of Conflict and the Role of Women in Post-Conflict Peacebuilding in Somalia

Gözde Söğütlü

Istanbul University (In Person)

Normative Inconsistency of Istanbul Convention

Saliha Mazlum & Rahman Dağ

Zonguldak Bulent Ecevit University & Marmara University (In Person)

How Long to Stay? When to Return? Gendered Labor Migration from Georgia

Ia Iashvili & Pikria Jinjikhadze

Tbilisi State University & Akaki Tsereteli State University (In Person)

Challenges for Women Employed in Georgian Agriculture

Maka Gogilashvili

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (In Person)



The Cathedral of Saint Mary Major often called Lisbon Cathedral or simply the Sé (Sé de Lisboa), is a Roman Catholic cathedral located in Lisbon, Portugal.

Panel 05 // Venue: Auditorium 1

Social Dynamics in National and International Contexts

WEDNESDAY // 2 July 2025 // 14:00 - 15:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Ia Iashvili

Tbilisi State University *(In Person)*

Europarties and Their Evaluation of the Political Crisis in Georgia

Lado Grdzelishvili

Tbilisi State University & Ilia State University *(In Person)*

Social Movement Against HPP: Case of Rioni Valley Movement

Salome Dundua

Tbilisi State University *(In Person)*

The Resilience of Rebel-Era Hierarchies:

Rwanda's RPF and the Governance of Health Post 1994

Buyisile Ntaka

Corvinus University of Budapest *(In Person)*

The Role of Civil Activists as a Non-state Actors in Eastern Europe and the Balkans

Nino Edilashvili

University of Wroclaw *(In Person)*

**Peculiarities of Political Leaders' Image Formation
on Social Media During Pre-Election Campaigns**

Mariami Prangishvili

Tbilisi State University *(In Person)*



Panel 06 // Venue: Auditorium 1
Normative Nature in World Politics

WEDNESDAY // 2 July 2025 // 16:00 - 17:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Salome Dundua

Tbilisi State University *(In Person)*

China-Lusophone Diplomacy

Francisco Leandro

University of Macau *(In Person)*

**Greek and Jewish Schools from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic (1908-1938)
in the Context of International Relations**

Köksal Özyaşar & Dilek Barlas

Koç University *(In Person)*

'A Special Kind of No': A Politics of Refusal in Global Politics

Claire Timperley

Victoria University of Wellington *(In Person)*

Gaza Under Hamas: State Building and Question of Legitimacy

Mohammad Shafiq Sultan

University of Delhi *(In Person)*

**Cultural Diplomacy and Economic Impact:
Assessing Yunus Emre Institutes as Soft Power Instruments**

Muharrem Bayrak & Özgür Tüfekçi

Karadeniz Technical University *(In Person)*

17th-century baroque church turned into modern-day mausoleum for tombs of national celebrities.

Panel 07 // Venue: Auditorium 1

Transnational Mobility in National and International Context

THURSDAY // 3 July 2025 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Brígida Brito

OBSERVARE-UAL & IPRI-Nova (In Person)

Epistemic Injustice and Visa Rejections in the Context of Academic Mobility and Global Knowledge Production: Experiences of Turkish Scholars

Ayca Arkilic & Ebru Turhan

Victoria University of Wellington & Turkish-German University (In Person)

Intra-organizational Communication as A Means of Achieving Organizational Goal Comparative Analysis of Public and Private Universities in Georgia

Teona Tabuashvili

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (In Person)

Social and Environmental Impact of Italian Museums: Best Practices and Benchmarking

Nicola Urbino

Vanvitelli University (In Person)

Geopolitics of Islamic Banking in Russia

Giuliano Bifulchi

SpecialEurasia (In Person)

17th-century baroque church turned into modern-day mausoleum for tombs of national celebrities.

Panel 08 // Venue: Room 90

Inherited Conflicts in World Politics

THURSDAY // 3 July 2025 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Marco Marsili

Ca' Foscari University of Venice (In Person)

Beyond the Gift of the Nile:

Desalination as An Alternative Water Source in Egypt

Rashed Daher

ELTE Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest (In Person)

The Crisis in Relations between France and Algeria:

Origins and Consequences

Karim Belgacem

Essca Lyon, (In Person)

Morocco's Foreign Policy Toward Spain in Light of the 2021 Crisis

Ahmed El Mehdi El Jouad

Mohammed 5 University (In Person)

**The Dynamics of India-Pakistan Relations and Their Impacts
on Regional Cooperation in South Asia**

Muhammad Arif-Khan & Khushboo Farid

Federal Urdu University of Arts, Sci & Technology (In Person)

Russian Foreign Policy towards the Balkans:

Power Projection and Discourse Building amid the Crisis in Ukraine

Shariq Aziz

Jamia Millia Islamia University (In Person)

**Regional Conflicts and Crisis Management: The Case of the Karabakh Conflict and Post-
Conflict Resolution from a Diplomatic and Legal Perspective**

Sabina Mammadova

Sabah Groups (In Person)



Ruined Gothic church
destroyed by an earthquake in
1755, with an evocative
roofless nave & museum.

Panel 09 // Venue: Auditorium 1
Emerging Powers in Multi-Polar Regionalism

THURSDAY // 3 July 2025 // 11:00 - 12:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Fernando Jorge Cardoso

OBSERVARE-UAL & CEI-Iscte/IUL *(In Person)*

**ASEAN and Regional Autonomy in an Era of Weaponised Interdependence:
Assessing the Future of Regional Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific**

Vignesh Ram Guruswamy

Manipal Academy of Higher Education *(In Person)*

**The Intersection between Foreign Policy and Defense Policy in Post-2002 Angola:
The International Projection of a Rising African Power**

Nathaly Xavier Schutz

Unipampa/UAL *(In Person)*

(UN)Practicing Peace through Geopolitics

Sandra Fernandes & David Silva Ferreira

CICP-University of Minho *(In Person)*

**Trump and Milei and the Theory of Peripheral Realism:
Losses and Gains of the Extrategic Game of Geopolitics**

Carlos Augusto Martins

Universidade Autonoma De Lisboa *(In Person)*

**Regional Security Architectures in the Absence of Global Consensus:
The Case of NATO and the Quad**

Simran Walia

Manohar Parrikar Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses (MP-IDSA) *(In Person)*

Afghans in the 'Driver's Seat':

2016 Peace Agreement Between Hezb-i-Islami and the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan

Mujib Abid

University of Melbourne *(In Person)*

Santa Justa Lift

Cast-iron elevator with filigree details, built in 1902 to connect lower streets with Carmo Square.



Panel 10 // Venue: Auditorium 1

Rethinking Security, Economic and Military Alliances in World Politics

THURSDAY // 3 July 2025 // 14:00 - 15:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Maria Antónia Pires de Almeida

CICP, University of Minho (In Person)

NATO's Southern Flank: The Need for A New Strategy

Luis Bernardino

Universidade Autonoma De Lisboa (In Person)

**New Challenges for Transatlantic Security:
AI-Based Threats against Critical Infrastructure**

Taha Kalaycı

Cukurova University (In Person)

EU Enlargement and Geopolitical Imperatives: Türkiye and Ukraine

Sylvia Tiryaki

Bratislava International School of Liberal Arts (BISLA) (In Person)

Quo Vadis West? European Union and the USA Amidst Normative Transatlantic Tensions and the Shifting of the Global International Order

Alberto Cunha

OBSERVARE-UAL (In Person)

Learning from COVID-19: The EU Collective Securitisation of An Invisible Enemy

Ricardo-Pereira

Dublin City University (In Person)

Resilience and Ethnic Minorities in Georgia

Zviad Abashidze

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (In Person)



Basilica of Estrela

Ornate, Baroque, 18th-century church with twin bell towers, housing Queen Maria I's tomb.

Panel 11 // Venue: Auditorium 1 Economic Reconfigurations in World Politics

THURSDAY // 3 July 2025 // 16:00 - 17:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Luis Bernardino

Universidade Autonoma De Lisboa (In Person)

Trade Diplomacy and Economic Statecraft:

How do Modern Infrastructure Initiatives Shape Inter-State Competition?

Stefano Mazzola

Independent Researcher (In Person)

New Corridor Wars: Trade and Energy

Mehmet Ferhat Firat

Adiyaman University (In Person)

How Eurasian "Corridorization" is Shaping a Multipolar Order in South Caucasus

Yeghia Tashjian

Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs (In Person)

Evaluating Eco-Efficiency and ESG Performance Towards Net Zero Emissions:

Evidence from TSMC's Value Chain

Wen-Chi Yang

National Chengchi University (NCCU) (In Person)

From Infant to Indispensable Industry

An evolution of Taiwan semiconductor industry and Lesson for India's Semiconductor Mission

Aswini Kumar

National Chengchi University (In Person)



Panel 12 // Online

European Security in the Context of Contemporary Crises and Challenges

FRIDAY // 4 July 2025 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Aleksandra Szczerba

Jacob of Paradies University (Online)

The Social Consequences of Climate Change as a Challenge to Ecological Security and NATO Stability

Oliwia Radkiewicz

Jacob of Paradies University (Online)

Lifelong Learning as a Resource and Tool for Solving EU Structural Problems

Marcin Rafał Szott

Jacob of Paradies University (Online)

European Union Assistance to Ukraine in the Field of Public Health Amidst the War

Tomasz Marcinkowski

Jacob of Paradies University (Online)

Engines of Change: The Council's Presidencies and the Equality Legislation

Aleksandra Szczerba

Jacob of Paradies University (Online)



National Palace of Pena

The Pena Palace is a Romanticist castle in São Pedro de Penaferrim, in the municipality of Sintra, on the Portuguese Riviera.

Panel 13 // Online

New Challenges in International Security

FRIDAY // 4 July 2025 // 11:00 - 12:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Andrew K P Leung

Andrew Leung International Consultants (Online)

Parliamentary Diplomacy as a Strategy for Resolving Ontological Insecurity in Small States: The Case of Portugal

Nádia Loureiro

Universidade Nova de Lisboa (Online)

Strategic Resource Nationalism: The Role of Rare Earth Materials in Geopolitical Rivalries and Economic Security - The European Union Perspective

Upasna Mishra

Jadavpur University (Online)

The Economic and Social Effects of Canada's Humanitarian Policy and Refugee Resettlement: A Comprehensive Analysis of Host Communities

Ruohan He

University of Hong Kong (Online)

The EU's Strategic Securitization of Electricity Infrastructure and Critical Raw Materials

Francesco Ancona

ENTSO-E (Online)

Dignity, Responsibility, and Reciprocity: A Framework for Non-International Armed Conflicts

Samuel Jesus

University of Azores & University of Évora (Online)

Strategic Rivalry or Cooperative Leadership? A Comparative Analysis of the Roles of Russia and China in BRICS Plus and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization

Roshan Taj Humayun

Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University (Online)

Belém Tower, officially the Tower of Saint Vincent is a 16th-century fortification located in Lisbon that served as a point of embarkation and disembarkation for Portuguese explorers and as a ceremonial gateway to Lisbon. This tower symbolizes Portugal's maritime and colonial power in early modern Europe.



Panel 14 // Online

Influence of Regional Conflicts in World Politics

FRIDAY // 4 July 2025 // 14:00 - 15:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Christian Ploberger

CBIS, Rajamangala University of Technology Tawan-Ok (Online)

Prospects for Turkish-US Relations in the Trump Administration

Mark Meirowitz

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

Arctic Route Incidents: Changing Interpretations and Historical Predecessors

Oksana Ermolaeva

Complutense University (Online)

Turkey's Arguing Its EU Membership Bid:

A Civilizational Discourse Under Functional and Critical Tendencies

Aslı Ege

Marmara University (Online)

Serbian Foreign Policy in the Western Balkans:

Supporting Separatism and Secessionism in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Harun Nuhanović

Center for Geopolitical Research (GEOPOL) (Online)

Comparative Analysis of the European Union's Environmental Policies towards the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea

Fevzi Kırbaşoğlu & Özgür Tüfekçi

Karadeniz Technical University & CESRAN International (Online)

Theopolitics of the Russian Federation in the Black Sea Region and Moscow's Desire to Form an Axis of Orthodox Countries

Elena Onu

National School of Political and Administrative Studies SNSPA (Online)

Panel 15 // Online

Politics, Energy and Trade in Power Politics

FRIDAY // 4 July 2025 // 16:00 - 17:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Marco Marsili

Ca' Foscari University of Venice (Online)

The Role of BRICS in Supporting Emerging Powers at the Global Level Promises and Challenges

Christian Ploberger

CBIS, Rajamangala University of Technology Tawan-Ok (Online)

How the Fractured Global Order could be better Managed through Reform of the UN Security Council

Andrew K P Leung

Andrew Leung International Consultants (Online)

Great Power Rivalry in South Asia: The Role of the United States and China in the India-Pakistan Conflict

Rasha El Baz

New Giza University (Online)

India in a Changing Global Order: Geopolitical Challenges and Strategic Interests in the Indo-Myanmar Borderlands

Manashi Parashar

Assam Don Bosco University (Online)

The Rise of Africa: A Marshall Plan for Progress in Education

Pedro Silva Baptista

University of Minho (Online)

Violation of International Law and the '(Il)legitimacy' of Global Governance

Afsah Qazi

Air University (Online)



Basilica of Estrela

Ornate, Baroque, 18th-century church with twin bell towers, housing Queen Maria I's tomb.

Panel 16 // Online

New Nationalist Implications in Power Politics

SATURDAY // 5 July 2025 // 10:00 - 11:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Ioana Constantin-Bercean

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

Debating Nationalism in the South Caucasus in the Context of Integrated Nationalism

Orkhan Valiyev

Khazar University & CESRAN International (Online)

The Role of the Public Broadcaster

in Raising Public Awareness of International Political Processes on the case of Georgia

Tinatini Matcharashvili

Tbilisi State University (Online)

Political and Social Movements in Albania in the First Years of Transition

During the Period 1990 – 1997

Fatjona Qurku

University of Tirana (Online)

An Overview of Pakistan's Politics between the Military and the Mosque

Soochi Pathak & Nahid Hasan

Guru Ghasidas Vishwavidyalaya (Online)

The Influence of the Anglican Church on State Formation

Giorgi Pareshishvili

Caucasus International University (Online)

Analysis and variations of South American migration policies and flows in the Trump era

Giulia Patrizi

Università di Roma "La Sapienza" (Online)



Panel 17 // Online

Adaptation of Warfare Instruments to the Evolving World Politics

SATURDAY // 5 July 2025 // 12:00 - 13:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Orkhan Valiyev

Khazar University & CESRAN International (Online)

The Identification of Proxy Sources as Instruments of Cognitive Warfare

Juliusz Sikorski

Jacob of Paradies University (Online)

Hybrid Warfare and Emotional Strategies in Multilateral Diplomacy

Amella Bashoviq

South East European University (Online)

Building EU Defense Capabilities for Energy-tech Hybrid Warfare from Russia and China

Maurizio Geri

GMU (Online)

Assessing the IDF's Strategic Readiness for Tunnel Warfare in Gaza

Atesh Angelici

Leiden University (Online)

Nuclear Deterrence: A Grand Old Concept with a Bright Future

Ioana Constantin-Bercean

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

Sanctions as Economic Weapons:

Political Competition and the Resilience of Targeted States

Mridani Pandey

University of Allahabad (Online)

Participant List

1.	Afsah Qazi	Assistant Professor	Air University	Pakistan
2.	Ahmed El Mehdi EL Jouad	PhD Student	Mohammed 5 University	Morocco
3.	Alberto Cunha	Lecturer	HWR Berlin / IPRI	Portugal
4.	Aleksandra Szczerba	Professor	Jacob of Paradies University	Poland
5.	Amella Bashoviq	PhD Student	South East European University	Kosovo
6.	Ana Isabel Xavier	Professor	OBSERVARE Autónoma University of Lisbon	Portugal
7.	Andrew K P Leung	Professor	Andrew Leung International Consultants	China
8.	Aslı Ege	Associate Professor	Marmara University	Türkiye
9.	Aswini Kumar	PhD Student	National Chengchi University	Taiwan
10.	Atesh Angelici	MA Student	Leiden University	Netherlands
11.	Ayca Arkilic	Senior Lecturer	Victoria University of Wellington	New Zealand
12.	Brígida Brito	Associate Professor	OBSERVARE-UAL & IPRI-Nova	Portugal
13.	Buyisile Ntaka	PhD Student	Corvinus University of Budapest	Hungary
14.	Carlos Augusto Martins	PhD Student	Autónoma University of Lisbon	Brazil
15.	Christian Ploberger	Lecturer	Rajamangala University of Technology Tawan-Ok	Thailand
16.	Claire Timperley	Senior Lecturer	Victoria University of Wellington	New Zealand
17.	Corina Lozovan	PhD Student	Universidade Católica Portuguesa	Portugal
18.	Daniela Nascimento	Associate Professor	Universidade de Coimbra	Portugal
19.	David Silva Ferreira	Research Assistant	Centro de Estudos Internacionais, ISCTE - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa	Portugal
20.	Dilek Barlas	Professor	Koç University	Türkiye
21.	Dumilde Sangola	MA Student	Universidade de Atlántico	Spain
22.	Ebru Turhan	Associate Professor	Turkish-German University	Türkiye
23.	Ece Günen	PhD Student	Cankiri Karatekin University	Türkiye
24.	Eka Tkhilava	Professor	Caucasus International University	Georgia
25.	Elena Onu	Assistant Professor	National School of Political and Administrative Studies SNSPA	Romania

26.	Fatjona Qurku	PhD Student	University of Tirana	Albania
27.	Ferudun Yilmaz	Professor	Bursa Uludağ University	Türkiye
28.	Fernando Jorge Cardoso	Professor	OBSERVARE-UAL & CEI-Iscte/IUL	Portugal
29.	Fevzi Kirbaşoğlu	PhD Student	Karadeniz Technical University CESRAN International	Türkiye
30.	Francesco Ancona	MA Student	ENTSO-E	Italy
31.	Francisco Leandro	Professor	University of Macau	China
32.	Francisco Manuel Albuquerque de Vilhena Rocha dos Santos	Reader	Autónoma University of Lisbon	Portugal
33.	Giorgi Pareshishvili	Assistant Professor	Caucasus International University	Georgia
34.	Giulia Patrizi	MA Student	Università di Roma "La Sapienza"	Italy
35.	Giuliano Bifulchi	Lecturer	SpecialEurasia	Italy
36.	Gözde Söğütlü	PhD Student	İstanbul University	Türkiye
37.	Harun Nuhanović	MA Student	Center for Geopolitical Research (GEOPOL)	Bosnia and Herzegovina
38.	Ia Iashvili	Associate Professor	Tbilisi State University	Georgia
39.	Inga Shamilishvili	Professor	Shota Rustaveli State University	Georgia
40.	Ioana Constantin-Bercean	Lecturer	"Ion I.C. Brătianu" Institute of Political Science and International Relations	Romania
41.	José Manuel Pureza	Professor	Universidade de Coimbra	Portugal
42.	Juliusz Sikorski	Assistant Professor	Jacob of Paradies University	Poland
43.	Karim Belgacem	Professor	ESSCA LYON	France
44.	Ken Booth	Professor	CESRAN International	Türkiye
45.	Khushboo Farid	Lecturer	Federal Urdu University of Arts, Sci & Technology	Pakistan
46.	Köksal Özyaşar	Professor	Koç University	Türkiye
47.	Kübra Özdemir	PhD Student	Karadeniz Technical University	Türkiye
48.	Lado Grdzlishvili	PhD Student	Tbilisi State University, Ilia State University	Georgia
49.	Luis Bernardino	Assistant Professor	OBSERVARE Autónoma University of Lisbon	Portugal
50.	Luis Tome	Professor	OBSERVARE Autónoma University of Lisbon	Portugal
51.	Maka Gogilashvili	PhD Student	Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University	Georgia

52.	Manana Shamilishvili	Professor	Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University	Georgia
53.	Manashi Parashar	Assistant Professor	Assam Don Bosco University	India
54.	Marcin Rafał Szott	Assistant Professor	Jacob of Paradies University	Poland
55.	Marco Marsili	Professor	Ca' Foscari University of Venice	Italy
56.	Maria Antónia Pires de Almeida	Professor	CICP, University of Minho	Portugal
57.	Mariami Prangishvili	MA Student	Tbilisi State University	Georgia
58.	Mark Meirowitz	Professor	State University of New York (SUNY) Maritime College	USA
59.	Maurizio Geri	Reader	GMU	Italy
60.	Mehmet Ferhat Firat	Assistant Professor	Adıyaman University	Türkiye
61.	Mohammad Shafiq Sultan	PhD Student	University of Delhi	India
62.	Mridani Pandey	PhD Student	University of Allahabad	India
63.	Muhammad Arif Khan	Associate Professor	Federal Urdu University of Arts, Sci & Technology	Pakistan
64.	Muharrem Bayrak	PhD Student	Karadeniz Technical University CESRAN International	Türkiye
65.	Mujib Abid	Lecturer	University of Melbourne	Australia
66.	Nádia Loureiro	PhD Student	Universidade Nova de Lisboa	Portugal
67.	Nahid Hasan	Assistant Professor	Guru Ghasidas Vishwavidyalaya	India
68.	Nathaly Xavier Schutz	Associate Professor	Unipampa/UAL	Brazil
69.	Nicola Urbino	PhD Student	Vanvitelli University	Italy
70.	Nino Edilashvili	PhD Student	University of Wroclaw	Poland
71.	Oğuzhan Bal	PhD Student	Karadeniz Technical University	Türkiye
72.	Oksana Ermolaeva	Professor	Complutense University	Spain
73.	Oliwia Radkiewicz	PhD Student	Jacob of Paradies University	Poland
74.	Orkhan Valiyev	Associate Professor	Khazar University CESRAN International	Azerbaijan
75.	Özgür Tüfekçi	Associate Professor	CESRAN International Karadeniz Technical University	Türkiye
76.	Pedro Silva Baptista	PhD Student	University of Minho	Portugal
77.	Pikria Jinjikhadze	Assistant Professor	Akaki Tsereteli State University	Georgia
78.	Rabia Büyükpınar	Lecturer	Zonguldak Bülent Ecevit University	Türkiye

79.	Rahman Dağ	Associate Professor	CESRAN International Marmara University	Türkiye
80.	Rasha El Baz	Assistant Professor	New Giza University	Egypt
81.	Rashed Daher	Lecturer	ELTE Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest	Hungary
82.	Richard Hu	Professor	University of Macau	China
83.	Ricardo Pereira	PhD Student	Dublin City University	Ireland
84.	Ricardo Vieira	MA Student	Universidade da Beira Interior	Portugal
85.	Roberto Ruiz Salces	Professor	European University of the Atlantic	Spain
86.	Roshan Taj Humayun	PhD Student	Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University	Türkiye
87.	Ruohan He	MA Student	The University of Hong Kong	China
88.	Sabina Mammadova	Lecturer	Sabah Groups	Azerbaijan
89.	Safia Arif-Khan	Lecturer	Independent Scholar	Pakistan
90.	Saliha Mazlum	Lecturer	Zonguldak Bülent Ecevit University	Türkiye
91.	Salome Dundua	Assistant Professor	Tbilisi State University	Georgia
92.	Samuel Jesus	PhD Student	University of Azores and University of Évora	Portugal
93.	Sandra Fernandes	Associate Professor	CICP-University of Minho	Portugal
94.	Sandro Tabatadze	Assistant Professor	Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University	Georgia
95.	Shariq Aziz	MA Student	Jamia Millia Islamia University	India
96.	Simran Walia	PhD Student	Manohar Parrikar Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses (MP-IDSA)	India
97.	Smriti Chauhan	PhD Student	Jawaharlal Nehru University	India
98.	Sónia Sénica	Assistant Professor	OBSERVARE-UAL and IPRI-Nova	Portugal
99.	Soochi Pathak	PhD Student	Guru Ghasidas Vishwavidyalaya	India
100.	Sophiko Tabatadze	MA Student	Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University	Georgia
101.	Stefano Mazzola	MA Student	Independent Researcher	Italy
102.	Sylvia Tiryaki	Associate Professor	Bratislava International School of Liberal Arts (BISLA)	Slovakia

103.	Taha Kalaycı	Research Assistant	Cukurova University	Türkiye
104.	Taner Zorbay	Lecturer	Middle East Technical University	Türkiye
105.	Teona Tabuashvili	PhD Student	Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University	Georgia
106.	Tinatini Matcharashvili	Associate Professor	Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University	Georgia
107.	Tomasz Marcinkowski	Assistant Professor	Jacob of Paradies University	Poland
108.	Upasna Mishra	PhD Student	Jadavpur University	India
109.	Vignesh Ram Guruswamy	Assistant Professor	Manipal Academy of Higher Education	India
110.	Wen-Chi Yang	Associate Professor	National Chengchi University (NCCU)	Taiwan
111.	Yeghia Tashjian	Professor	Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs	Lebanon
112.	Zviad Abashidze	Associate Professor	Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University	Georgia

CESRAN2025

1-5 July 2025

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12th Annual Conference on International Studies

Abstracts

One of Lisbon's most emblematic squares is Praça do Comércio. Better known by locals as Terreiro do Paço, since it was once where the paço, or palace, used to stand before the earthquake in 1755, it is one of the largest squares in Europe.



Panel 01 // Venue: Auditorium 1
Re-defining Cores of Changing International System

TUESDAY // 1 July 2025 // 13:30–15:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Marco Marsili

Ca' Foscari University of Venice

Israel-Gaza War and International Systemic Change

Rahman Dag

Marmara University (In Person)

The Adaptation of Land Forces to the New Multipolar Order

Ricardo Vieira

Universidade da Beira Interior (In Person)

UNRWA and the War in Gaza: A Case for Reaffirming the Importance of Classical Humanitarianism and Upholding International Humanitarian Law

Daniela Nascimento & José Manuel Pureza

Universidade de Coimbra (In Person)

Lithium Geopolitics and The Curse of Natural Resources: The Case of Africa

Oğuzhan Bal & Ece Günen

Karadeniz Technical University & Çankırı Karatekin University (In Person)

Superpositions of Power: Gulf States as Mediators in a Transitioning Order

Corina Lozovan

Universidade Católica Portuguesa (In Person)

Israel-Gaza War and International Systemic Change

Rahman Dağ

Marmara University & CESRAN International

rahman.dag@marmara.edu.tr

Abstract

International systems can be defined as structural factors that determine the domestic and foreign policies of states according to the balance of power. Systemic structures, on the other hand, come into being through the fulfillment of each of their parts. Therefore, in order to talk about a systemic change, a new balance of power needs to be established and accepted by the actors. What is important to note here is the change in the balance of power. This article discusses the concept of power in the main axis of hard and soft power. With the conceptual limitations of the concept of power, it is known that in terms of hard power, the balance of power between the US and China has shifted in favor of China or is about to close the gap. However, in the context of soft power, it still holds normative power and is used by the West as a tool in foreign policy. The main claim of this article is that the West's unlimited political, economic and military support for Israel in the Israel-Gaza War has led to a decline in its soft power and the end of its normative superiority.

Keywords: International Systems, Hard Power, Soft Power, The West, Israel-Gaza War

The Adaptation of Land Forces to the New Multipolar Order

Ricardo Vieira

Universidade da Beira Interior

ricardo.vieira@ubi.pt

Abstract

The adaptation of land forces to the new multipolar order is essential for understanding the current dynamics of the international system. This essay analyzes the relationship between shifts in global polarity and the reorganization of land forces, investigating whether strategic competition is driving a return to a conventional era. The research, which follows a historical and deductive approach, is based on extensive document analysis and a case study. The findings indicate that the unipolar era favored disarmament policies, whereas multipolarity has intensified geopolitical tensions, making military power a central element of state security. The rise of revisionist powers, such as Russia and China, has reinforced the need for conventional rearmament. The 2022 invasion of Ukraine exemplifies this transition, highlighting the renewed relevance of land forces and conventional logistics. The expeditionary model of the unipolar era has been replaced by a mechanized, division-level military structure. It is concluded that multipolarity drives conventional militarization, although other factors may also influence this trend.

Keywords: International System, Multipolar Era, Superpowers, Military Power, Conventional Forces

**UNRWA and the War in Gaza:
A case for Reaffirming the Importance of Classical Humanitarianism and Upholding
International Humanitarian Law**

Daniela Nascimento & José Manuel Pureza

Universidade de Coimbra

danielan@fe.uc.pt & jmp@ces.uc.pt

Abstract

The ongoing war in Gaza and the tragic humanitarian situation it has unleashed has shed increasing light and debate on the critical importance of reconsidering and reaffirming classical principles of humanitarianism, with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) serving as a key example. Founded in 1949, UNRWA operates on the basis of classical principles of neutrality, impartiality, and independence, providing essential aid—including food, medical care, shelter and education—to millions of Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. This kind of profile has been subject of intense criticism from supporters of the so-called "new humanitarianism," which is grounded in the triple nexus of humanitarianism-peace-development and is therefore openly politicized. But beyond those theoretical criticisms, the concrete action of UNRWA in the Gaza Strip has faced unprecedented targeting and restrictions that have severely limited its ability to operate. Its workers, facilities, including schools, shelters and medical centres, have been targeted, displaced and bombed, leading to the death of staff and displaced civilians seeking refuge under the protection of the organization. Accusations of political bias, funding cuts by key donor states, and growing logistical blockades have further hindered its relief efforts. The imperative of refusing any strategy to suppress humanitarian aid to the defenseless civilian populations in Gaza, and the urgency of preserving this minimal aid, demonstrate how the "old" and "new" humanitarianism coexist and how tragically misguided the belief is that the "new" has replaced the "old." In this paper, we argue that despite increasing politicization and operational constraints – or even as a consequence of that-, UNRWA remains one of the few organizations capable of delivering large-scale life-saving assistance, proving that classical humanitarianism is not only relevant but indispensable. The case of UNRWA in Gaza highlights the urgent need to shield humanitarian action from geopolitical interference and reaffirm the foundational principles of humanitarian law and protection of civilians.

Keywords: UNRWA, Humanitarian Principles, Protection of Civilians, Humanitarian Law

Lithium Geopolitics and The Curse of Natural Resources: The Example of Africa

Oguzhan Bal & Ece Günen

Karadeniz Technical University & Cankiri Karatekin University
oguzhanbaltr@gmail.com & egunen94@hotmail.com

Abstract

Resource diplomacy refers to the use of natural resources by states as an instrument of power according to the International Relations. The green energy transition has made lithium the most strategic raw material of the 21st century, but it has also turned the lithium-rich countries of Africa (Zimbabwe, Namibia, Democratic Republic of Congo [DRC], Mali) into a geopolitical area. African countries have reinterpreted the China-Western rivalry by developing a policy of resource diplomacy in which lithium is the basis for building strategic autonomy. For example, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) renegotiated its "mine-for-infrastructure" agreements with China in 2023 and increased its revenue share from 12% to 30%. Similarly, Zimbabwe banned raw lithium exports in 2022, breaking China's monopoly in the country and forcing European investors to build local battery factories. This is a radical example of resource diplomacy aimed at breaking the dependency model based on raw material exports. In Mali, after the 2021 military coup, lithium licenses of Western companies were canceled and new agreements were signed with China and Russia, and the West's democracy discourse was transformed into a bargaining tool for resource competition. This situation shows how geopolitical instrumentalization will continue through regime politicians as resource diplomacy. The concept of the curse of natural resources in the literature argues that countries with natural resources are doomed to a trap of corruption, conflict and economic stagnation. Africa's lithium geopolitics, however, presents dynamics that challenge this concept. It brings the concept of resource diplomacy to the center of the global energy struggle. In addition, the transformation of the resource curse narrative involves not only economic but also political and environmental dimensions. Namibia has required Western companies to "protect the local ecosystem" during lithium extraction and it has been awarded a commitment to

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channel 15% of project revenues into community funds. Moreover, the African Mines Strategy which is announced by African Unions in 2019, aims to process lithium within the continent and offer it to global markets, increasing collective bargaining power. This strategy is evidence of Africa's resource diplomacy on a global scale through regional cooperation. Also, African countries developing alternative partnerships with BRICS+ countries, instead of being trapped in the China-West dichotomy, will show how resource diplomacy can work on a multipolar basis. But this quest for strategic autonomy carries significant risks. Corruption scandals in Zimbabwe, political instability in Mali and a 40% drop in lithium prices by 2023 threaten the gains. In conclusion, the moves of Africa's lithium strategy and resource diplomacy prove that it is possible to transition from a "passive resource supplier" to an "active geopolitical actor" in the global energy transition. However, the sustainability of this transformation depends on a balanced approach to both domestic reforms and global cooperation. This paper aims to analyze how Africa's lithium geopolitics has transformed the resource curse from a fate to a destiny, and how it has deployed resource diplomacy tools and transformed the traditional resource curse narrative in the process.

Keywords: Resource Diplomacy, The Curse of Natural Resources, Africa, The USA, China

Superpositions of Power: Gulf States as Mediators in a Transitioning Order

Corina Lozovan

Universidade Católica Portuguesa

corina.lozovan@gmail.com

Abstract

In recent years, Gulf states, most notably Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, and Oman, have emerged as influential mediators in regional and international conflicts. Their rising diplomatic gravitas reflects both strategic ambitions and shifting global power dynamics. From Qatar's mediation in Gaza to Oman's discreet role in U.S.-Iran negotiations, as well as to the UAE and Saudi Arabia's involvement in Sudan and Yemen peace efforts, Gulf states have positioned themselves as architects of dialogue in a transitioning multipolar order. This paper draws on these case studies to analyze the *modus operandi* of Gulf mediation as a pragmatic conflict management tool and as a mechanism of geopolitical self-assertion. The first part examines the role of Arab monarchies in conflict resolution, focusing on mediation as a means of de-escalating crises and asserting diplomatic relevance. In light of this, the second part explores the emergence of a hybrid mediation model that blurs the boundaries between neutrality, strategic interest, and normative influence, highlighting how mediation is entrenched in geopolitical aspirations. The final part examines the centrality of economic statecraft in this model, illustrating how Gulf states integrate financial aid leverage and investment commitments into their mediation efforts and diplomatic initiatives to shape outcomes and consolidate their sway. In doing so, the paper contributes to scholarly debates concerning the agency of non-Western actors in reconfiguring global diplomatic praxis, while emphasizing the deepening convergence between mediation, economic statecraft, and geopolitical projection.

Keywords: Arab Gulf States, Diplomacy, Mediation, Conflict, Economic Statecraft



Padrão dos Descobrimentos
(Monument of the Discoveries)

Panel 02 // Venue: Auditorium 1
National Policies and International Implications

TUESDAY // 1 July 2025 // 15:30–17:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Taner Zorbay

**Local Diplomacy Activities Related to the Environment:
The Case of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality**

Kübra Özdemir

Karadeniz Technical University (In Person)

Reasserting the Actors in Governance

Rabia Büyükpınar

Zonguldak Bulent Ecevit University (In Person)

Overtourism as an International Problem in the Iberian Peninsula and Italy

Maria Antónia Pires de Almeida

CICP, University of Minho (In Person)

Foreign Policy of an Urban Slum:

Navigating State, Market and Everything in Between

Smriti Chauhan

Jawaharlal Nehru University (In Person)

The Impacts of Climate Change on Pakistan:

Challenges and Pathways to Resilience

Safia Arif Khan

Independent Scholar (In Person)

Local Diplomacy Activities Related to the Environment: The Case of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality

Kübra Özdemir

Karadeniz Technical University

kbra0866@gmail.com

Abstract

Cities carry out their activities nationally and internationally in relation to the area they are responsible for. Nowadays, it is seen that cities often transcend borders and carry out their activities in the international arena. All of the activities carried out by local governments in the international arena can be called local diplomacy activities. While conducting local diplomacy activities, cities prioritize increasing the quality of life of the city and its inhabitants and solving the problems of the city in general. In addition, local diplomacy activities are often preferred by local governments because they are carried out with many stakeholders in the international arena and often provide funds to local governments for the activities carried out. Fighting against environmental problems, one of the most important problems of cities has an important place in the world and is among the primary duties of cities. Examples of these problems include climate change, sustainability, ecological security, environmental pollution (water, air, noise, etc.), waste management, etc. In this context, the study aims to understand the place of local diplomacy activities of local governments, which are the closest units to the problems of cities, in combating environmental problems. For this purpose, Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality was selected as a sample in the study. Kocaeli is faced with many environmental problems, especially due to its location. Examples of environmental problems faced by Kocaeli include intensive ship transit due to being a port city, waste problems due to its crowded population as a result of intense migration, and pollution problems, especially air pollution, due to being an industrial city. In this context, the necessity to combat Kocaeli's environmental problems has been a factor in Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality's use of local diplomacy activities in this field. In the study, the activity reports of the municipality were accepted as the main source, and international activities between 2007-2023 were analyzed for

the environment. At the same time, the importance of local diplomacy activities was tried to be revealed by examining the activities carried out in the national arena. The data obtained were analyzed and grouped in terms of local diplomacy tools. These activities were classified according to their types under sister city relations, memberships to international organizations, participation in international events and projects, and international awards in the field of local diplomacy. Activities carried out in the national arena have been evaluated in their own right. To obtain more detailed information about the data obtained, interviews were carried out with different units of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality using the interview technique. The interviews were used to understand the functionality of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality's local diplomacy activities in combating environmental problems. Examining the activities of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality in this field has provided information about the functionality of local diplomacy activities carried out by local governments in combating environmental problems. In this context, discussing the place of local governments in combating environmental problems through different city examples in future studies will create a prediction for a more strategic use of this field.

Keywords: Municipalities, Local Diplomacy, Environmental Problems, Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality

Reasserting the Actors in Governance

Rabia Büyükpınar

Zonguldak Bulent Ecevit University

rabia.buyukpinar@beun.edu.tr

Abstract

Governance encompasses the management of common problems and interests that exist in society. This is in question where actors with different interests, powers and perspectives can realize common goals together. In this respect, while governance includes institutions and organizations within the state hierarchy, it has a dimension that transcends the state by including actors outside the state hierarchy, such as the private sector, civil society organizations, the public, the media and international organizations. The most important characteristic of these actors that have different goals and interests is that they can be affected or influenced by policy decisions. This study focuses on the state as the leading actor of governance. The state refers to all powers in the governance process, including the legislative, executive and judicial branches. Each body tries to maintain social order in line with its legitimate authority and rules. They participate in the governance process and contribute to public policy formulation, functionally different from each other within the framework of authority and responsibility regulated by law. However, given the independent position of the judiciary vis-à-vis the legislative and executive powers as a requirement of the rule of law, it is possible to consider the judiciary as a separate actor of governance. This study aims to redefine governance actors, considering the independent position of the judiciary vis-à-vis the legislative and executive branches.

Keywords: Governance, Public Policy, Rule of Law, Judiciary

Over-Tourism as an International Problem in The Iberian Peninsula and Italy

Maria Antónia Pires de Almeida

CICP, University of Minho

mafpa@eeg.uminho.pt

Abstract

Drought periods are a feature of the Mediterranean region, but water scarcity has grown in the South of Portugal and Spain since intensive agriculture was introduced and tourism has reached the highest levels. Even with this year's rainy winter, water reserves in the Algarve region have not achieved its full potential. Tourism is greatly responsible for water scarcity. It consumes large amounts of water, particularly of groundwater to irrigate golf fields and supply swimming pools and water parks. In general, tourism is one of the causal agents of climate change, as it generates transformations in land use and favours CO₂ emissions, especially due to air travel. In Portugal, 26.5 million tourists visited in 2023. Visitors come mostly from Spain, the UK, France, and the USA. In Catalonia, water scarcity is directly related to tourism: the Spanish tourist industry represents 12.8 per cent of its GDP and 12.6 per cent jobs; over 85 million foreign tourists visited Spain in 2023 (placing the country in second place worldwide, after France), of which 18 million visited Catalonia, 12 million in Barcelona. On April 2024 Catalonia was the Iberian region with the lowest water reserves. Restrictions to water consumption have already been applied.

However, in the tourism industry of some regions, the relevant stakeholders are not concerned about environmental and sustainability matters. Particularly in the South of Portugal, where economic activity is mainly driven by the tourism sector. Algarve has been known for decades as a popular touristic destination. Recently, the West Coast of Alentejo has been discovered and investors are calling this region "The new Hamptons". International celebrities are buying properties, and resorts are being built on top of cliffs and dunes, damaging the ecosystem and consuming enormous amounts of water, particularly for golf courses. Troia, Melides and Comporta: the empire of seashore golf courses, when Portugal is going through extreme drought? Several Civil Society Organisations and NGO in Portugal, Spain,

and Italy are raising awareness and confronting authorities. Particularly, they advocate a more sustainable touristic model. Local government is also changing public policies. In Barcelona there have been several demonstrations against excessive tourism. The major concern is the price of housing: according to the municipality, rentals have increased 68 % over the last decade, with negative consequences on local commerce, environment and working conditions. On February 2025 the Spanish Government and the Communes of Catalonia have agreed to double the tourist tax up to 15€ a night, and allocate 25% of its income to combat the housing crisis, in a new package of fiscal measures to deal with the impact of tourism and combat property speculation. How are central and local governments addressing the over-tourism problem? What are the proposals and solutions? With a research on legislation, and current negotiations, as well as content analysis of the press and social media, this article aims to identify and describe the major concerns on the table regarding tourism and proposed solutions.

Keywords: Tourism, Water, Housing, Rents, Public Policies, Travels

Foreign Policy of an Urban Slum: Navigating State, Market and Everything in Between

Smriti Chauhan

Jawaharlal Nehru University

smrichauhan@gmail.com

Abstract

Slums are often studied in terms of urban governance, informality, and poverty but what if we analyse them as 'quasi-sovereign' entities engaging in 'foreign policy'? This paper conceptualises an urban slum in New Delhi as an autonomous political and economic entity, engaging with state and market actors as 'foreign' forces. In Coolie Camp—a densely populated informal settlement surrounded by a posh neighbourhood and a conserved forest—one discovers a space where state institutions, market forces, and informal financial practices conflict and coalesce into a dynamic form of self-governance and resistance. Some newspaper reports even hailed it as a model slum with its ability not just to exist but expand in recent times. Drawing parallels with foreign policy analysis, it examines how slum dwellers negotiate with governments, businesses, NGOs, and informal financial networks to sustain their existence. The strategies of resisting displacement, securing resources, and leveraging informal economies makes it a relevant object of inquiry, even for the scholars of international relations. Locating the study in the 'liminal space' of an urban slum, it theoretically bridges IR theories about sovereignty, diplomacy, and foreign policy with other disciplines of social theory dealing with bureaucracy, informal economy, and sites of resistance and change.

Keywords: Liminal Spaces, Slum Politics, Foreign Policy, Informality

The Impacts of Climate Change on Pakistan: Challenges and Pathways to Resilience

Safia Arif Khan

Independent Scholar

ksafia957@gmail.com

Abstract

Pakistan is one of the most vulnerable countries to the impacts of climate change, facing a multitude of environmental, economic, and social challenges. From the rapid melting of glaciers in the northern regions to the increasingly severe floods, heatwaves, and droughts across the country, the effects of climate change threaten the very fabric of Pakistan's socio-economic systems. Agriculture, a key pillar of Pakistan's economy, is especially at risk, with changing weather patterns disrupting crop production, threatening food security, and exacerbating poverty in rural areas. This paper explores the multifaceted impacts of climate change on Pakistan, with a focus on its implications for water resources, agriculture, urbanization, and livelihoods. It also examines the role of climate adaptation strategies, such as sustainable water management, resilient agricultural practices, and climate-smart urban planning, in mitigating these impacts. By assessing both the current and future risks posed by climate change, this study aims to highlight the urgency of building climate resilience at both the policy and grassroots levels. Through a review of existing climate data, case studies of impacted communities, and a discussion on national and regional climate policies, this paper seeks to contribute to the ongoing discourse on how Pakistan can not only adapt to the changing climate but also take proactive measures to mitigate its long-term consequences. The findings underscore the need for integrated strategies that involve stakeholders from government, academia, civil society, and the private sector to create a sustainable and resilient future for the people of Pakistan.

Keywords: Climate Change, Pakistan, Risks, Resilience

The Monument of the Discoveries is a monument on the northern bank of the Tagus River estuary, in the civil parish of Santa Maria de Belém, Lisbon.



Panel 03 // Venue: Auditorium 1
Liberal Degradation, Media and Changing Nature of World Politics

WEDNESDAY // 2 July 2025 // 09:00–10:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Maria Antónia Pires de Almeida

CICP, University of Minho (In Person)

Putin and Habib: Religion, Sports, and Russian Public Diplomacy

Taner Zorbay

Middle East Technical University (In Person)

**The Role of Digital Delivery of Higher Education
in Public Policy for the Resocialization of Convicts**

Sophiko Tabatadze

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (In Person)

The Battle Field as a Media Spectacle in the Russia-Ukraine War

Manana Shamilishvili, Eka Tkhilava and Inga Shamilishvili

*Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Caucasus International University and Batumi,
Shota Rustaveli State University (In Person)*

Georgia: Between Digital Democracy and Digital Authoritarianism

Sandro Tabatadze

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (In Person)

Putin and Habib: Religion, Sports, and Russian Public Diplomacy

Taner Zorbay

Middle East Technical University

taner@metu.edu.tr

Abstract

Vladimir Putin uses all means of diplomacy for protecting Russian interests since the dissolution of USSR. His imperial aims are disguised in many forms, one of them being religion. Visits to the Patriarchate of Moscow has been a routine for President Putin. His relations to Jews always have been "sincere and special" in Russia and abroad. Relations with Muslims, on the other hand, despite all "dramatic" previous experiences, are seen as another mean of Russian public diplomacy for Putin. Integrity and harmony of different religious and ethnic identities in Russian territory is seen as strength, while any religious or ethnic unrest or tension is considered as a threat that should be erased immediately. Sports, on the other hand, is used by Russian authorities and diplomats for promoting Russian multi-cultured identity and protecting territorial integrity, especially since the turn of the new century. Sports organizations are highly supported and promoted via media in favor of Russia's national and global interests. For instance, the Winter Olympic Games of 2014 had several dimensions in regards of regional developments like Chechenia and Crimea. Habib Nurmagomedov, a Russian sportsman from Dagestan, specialized on MMA, UFC, etc., was received publicly and warmly congratulated and praised several times by Vladimir Putin. Habib's success, for Putin, was not only a personal triumph but also a nationwide pride and glory, but also political and regional hegemony over Caucasia. His Muslim identity, on the other hand, was another multicultural strength of Russia for Putin's vision. His public meetings with the representatives of Muslim communities of Russia are used to spread his vision and aims for promotion of unity and coexistence of all Russian citizens aiming at strengthening the national aims while eliminating threats against it. Praising Habib's family and Muslims in public occasion are strong bases of his national and global vision. This paper, focusing on Putin's public diplomacy via his acts and statements about religious communities or minorities in Russia, as well as sports organizations that are used for Russian cause,

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analyzes Russia's public diplomacy patterns since the end of the Cold War. Starting with theoretical frame and historical background, ethnic and religious structure will be examined first. Using religion and sports as pragmatic tools of Russia's public diplomacy via Putin's policies will also be examined in details in this paper. This is not an attempt of measuring the sincerity of either Putin or Habib on this issue, rather one should see our paper as an effort of understanding Russian policies for a better examination of regional and global peace and stability, as well as inter-communal balance and co-existence. The goals and hopes of Habib and his people within Russian sociopolitical structure, on the other hand, will be also examined within the scope of our paper. This paper, finally, hopes to lead further researches on this issue for a better understanding of both region-based developments as well as opportunities for or threats to peaceful coexistence in regional and global perspective.

Keywords: Putin, Habib Nurmagomedov, Public Diplomacy, Religion, Sports, Russian Politics

The Role of Digital Delivery of Higher Education in Public Policy for the Resocialization of Convicts

Sophiko Tabatadze

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University
sofikotabatadze7@gmail.com

Abstract

The paper examines the role of the digital university, a tool for providing higher education, in the process of resocialization and rehabilitation of convicts. The existing academic literature on higher education and resocialization and rehabilitation of convicts is mainly focused on the study of the correlation between education and crime rates in general. The issue of providing higher education, especially through fully digital services, is a topic of less research not only in Georgia, but also in countries around the world in general. The aim of the paper is to study the state's planning and implementation policy regarding the organization of providing higher education in the process of resocialization/rehabilitation of convicts in the penitentiary system. The purpose of the paper and the research questions were:

- I. How did the inclusion of convicts in the digital university (fully digital service) on the one hand, and correspondence studies (semi-digital service) on the other hand, contribute to the process of resocialization and rehabilitation?
- II. What are the hindering factors in providing higher education to convicts?

The paper prepared within the framework of the research will examine the role of the digital university in the rehabilitation and resocialization of convicts based on a comparison of the tools for providing higher education, the digital university and the correspondence learning format. A successful resocialization-rehabilitation policy for convicts ensures the harmonious development of society, security, and reduces pressure on the state budget (in terms of providing for the needs of the convict) (Arbour, Lacroix & Marchand, 2023). These factors make the study of the issue even more interesting. The study was conducted with convicts (males) with active student status at the N16 low-risk and release preparation institution in Georgia and with actors providing them with higher education.

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The study found that the digital university helps convicts change their identity with a prosocial "I" (Weaver & McNeill, 2010). In particular, this educational program gives convicts the opportunity to acquire the skills and knowledge necessary for competition in the labor market and successfully complete the resocialization-rehabilitation process. The digital university positively changes the perception of society towards the convict as a phenomenon, and the level of alienation among them decreases. This is also seen in the attitude of the lecturers of the convicts.

Keywords: Prisoner Resocialization Policy, Prisoners Education Services

The Battle Field as a Media Spectacle (The Russia-Ukraine War and the Media)

Manana Shamilishvili, Eka Tkhilava & Inga Shamilishvili

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Caucasus International University &

Shota Rustaveli State University

manana.shamilishvili@tsu.ge, eka.tkhilava@ciu.edu.ge &

inga_shamilishvili@bsu.edu.ge

Abstract

There is a view that disinformation holds greater power than tanks. This is the starting point of our work—to examine the role of the media in covering the war and how disinformation manages to surpass the power of tanks. Primarily, we rely on the perspective of the Prussian officer and military theorist Carl von Clausewitz (1780–1831), who stated that "combat is the only effective means of warfare, and its purpose is to destroy enemy forces to abolish conflict." ("Vom Kriege"; Ch. 1.1). Our research led us to the origins of the Russia-Ukraine war—a period when a new and highly complex global hotspot emerged on the horizon, with an offensive on Ukraine, "the shield of Europe."

The study examines the speech of American political scientist Samantha Power at the UN Security Council on April 13, 2014. Among many other issues, she emphasized one key point: "Russian media spreads propaganda and lies." Thus, eight years before the escalation of the war, she made an entirely accurate move—hinting that the main role in this conflict would be played by information warfare and that Russia would build this war on a foundation of false propaganda. Of course, Russia's president, Putin, knew from the very beginning that he would face such accusations (drawing from Soviet experience and recent historical examples). In his usual manner, he later responded to Samantha Power—without even directly addressing her, a method reminiscent of Soviet-era security tactics. Three years later, on June 14, 2017, in an interview with RIA Novosti (<https://www.tvc.ru/news/117803>), he remarked: "We have hundreds of TV and radio companies. The state does not control them in any way, and it's impossible to do so!"

The paper explores the incredibly complex processes of covering the Russia-Ukraine conflict. As evidence, it cites the assessment of Ukrainian political technologist and

journalist Mykhailo Podoliak (Podoliak, 2022): "Some external observers watch Ukraine's war as if it were a new Netflix series." It demonstrates how the media created precisely this impression of a series and the positive and negative aspects of this fact. The war zone as a TV show—this marked the beginning of a new era in war coverage on February 24, 2022. According to the English historian and sociologist Arnold Toynbee, war is "humanity's deadly disease." In our research, we attempted to show how the media battles this "disease," how it influences the processes of military conflicts, and how totalitarian regimes use the media as both a "disease" and a "pre-war winning force". As a research method, we chose the historical and comparative approach of qualitative research. We utilized semi-structured interviews, which allowed us to make even more logical and objective assessments. Case analysis served as our research instrument, and we outlined the political contexts. The study highlights the relevance of the problem. These are precisely the issues raised, analysed, and interpreted in the paper.

Keywords: Politics, Media, Russia-Ukraine, Disinformation, War

Georgia: Between Digital Democracy and Digital Authoritarianism

Sandro Tabatadze

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

sandro.tabatadze@tsu.ge

Abstract

In contemporary society, the decline and erosion of democratic principles are occurring at an accelerated pace, a phenomenon that has gained significant attention within academic circles and among the general populace. Concurrently, technological advancements are attaining unprecedented levels. Artificial intelligence, in particular, is increasingly deployed in the business sector, public governance, and administration. As a result, the interplay between the erosion of democracy and technological innovations has emerged as a vital area of research, underscoring the need for further investigation and scholarly contributions. On one hand, there are promising efforts to utilize technological innovations as instruments to promote and enhance democratic processes. These innovations hold the potential to revolutionize the way we engage in democracy. However, in the context of digital democracy, new mass surveillance and control systems are being developed, a situation commonly referred to as digital authoritarianism. Initially perceived as a characteristic solely associated with authoritarian regimes, this approach is now being mirrored in both established and nascent democracies. In this regard, Georgia, located in Eastern Europe along the Black Sea, has experienced a notably rapid transformation. For example, before 2020, the Georgian public sector actively engaged in and sought to implement e-governance and participatory democracy initiatives. However, in recent years, particularly following the Russia-Ukraine conflict, the Georgian government has initiated a regression in digital democracy, effectively reversing these advancements. This study employs a case study methodology to investigate the underlying causes and mechanisms driving this transformation.

Keywords: Digital Democracy, Digital Authoritarianism, Georgian Politics, E-Governance, Digital Control

Saint George's Castle, is a historic castle in the Portuguese capital of Lisbon, located in the freguesia of Santa Maria Maior.



Panel 04 // Venue: Auditorium 1 Regionalization of Gender Politics

WEDNESDAY // 2 July 2025 // 11:00 - 12:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Sónia Sénica

OBSERVARE-UAL and IPRI-Nova (In Person)

The Gendered Impact of Conflict and the Role of Women in Post-Conflict Peacebuilding in Somalia

Gözde Söğütlü

İstanbul University (In Person)

Normative Inconsistency of Istanbul Convention

Saliha Mazlum & Rahman Dağ

Zonguldak Bulent Ecevit University & Marmara University (In Person)

How Long to Stay? When to Return? Gendered Labor Migration from Georgia

Ia Iashvili & Pikria Jinjikhadze

Tbilisi State University & Akaki Tsereteli State University (In Person)

Challenges for Women Employed in Georgian Agriculture

Maka Gogilashvili

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (In Person)

The Gendered Impact of Conflict and the Role of Women in Post-Conflict Peacebuilding in Somalia

Gözde Söğütü

Istanbul University

gozdesogutlu@gmail.com

Abstract

The collapse of the bipolar system based on East-West antagonism led to a restructuring of the international political order, introducing a certain level of uncertainty while also bringing significant changes to the nature of conflicts. The evolution of international geopolitics and security has facilitated the emergence of armed conflicts, often driven by a combination of factors such as identity, religion, language, and perceptions of socio-political and economic inequalities. These factors mobilize social groups, leading to fewer but more lethal armed conflicts with a greater impact on civilian populations. The rise in armed conflicts, where non-state actors with transient and fluid identities engage in asymmetric struggles, has resulted in severe humanitarian losses and mass displacement. While armed conflicts that directly target civilians have devastating consequences for all affected populations, women and girls constitute the majority of victims due to their gender and societal roles. Women, who make up the majority of displaced populations along with children fleeing conflict and seeking refuge in camps, face heightened risks of gender-based violence, including exploitation, rape, and human trafficking as a war tactic to meet their basic needs. The adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security in 2000 highlighted the distinct experiences of women and men in conflicts, particularly regarding violence, victimization, and peacebuilding. However, discussions on the gendered impact of conflict often frame women solely as victims, reinforcing their victimization and marginalizing their role in conflict prevention and resolution. This limited perspective disregards the growing consensus that women play a crucial role in ensuring peace and security at both local and international levels. Women are key actors in post-conflict social recovery, serving as mediators, negotiators, facilitators, and peacebuilders at different stages of conflict. Crises are more likely to be resolved

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non-violently when women who are often among the first to recognize the warning signs of potential conflict are involved in decision-making processes. In Somalia, for example, women are known to act as frontline diplomats, carrying messages between clans to facilitate conflict resolution, as they often have greater freedom of movement between groups. Despite their significant potential to influence conflict dynamics, Somali women are largely excluded from peacebuilding efforts due to the gendered nature of clan politics. Since the collapse of the central government in 1991, inadequate service delivery, political instability, and violent conflicts have led to the deaths of thousands of civilians in Somalia. Despite international peacebuilding interventions, conflicts have persisted, and women have become direct targets of violence, including systematic rape, simply because of their gender. This environment of vulnerability, which perpetuates women's victimization, has also compelled them to engage in peacebuilding processes, particularly at the community level. Women's direct experiences with the harmful effects of armed conflict as mothers, wives, sisters, or daughters of combatants combined with their instinct to protect their own lives and families, have reinforced their roles as peace activists.

This study argues that gender must be taken into account for achieving social stability and long-term peace in Somalia. It highlights the importance of incorporating women's experiences into peacebuilding processes. Using a methodology based on the analysis of academic articles, reports, and secondary sources, the study evaluates the challenges women face in participating in peace processes by examining the levels of violence they are subjected to in Somalia. It also provides recommendations to ensure that women's perspectives are integrated into sustainable peacebuilding strategies.

Keywords: Conflict, Gender, Women, Somalia, Peacebuilding

Normative Inconsistency of Istanbul Convention

Saliha Mazlum & Rahman Dağ

Zonguldak Bulent Ecevit University & Marmara University

saliha.mazlum61.sm@gmail.com & rahman.dag@marmara.edu.tr

Abstract

Violence against women has been one of the leading discussions in social and political realms. Starting with social gender inequalities to provide equality between women and men, gender discussions have evolved into something more than women and men but include equality for all genders, such as LGBTI+. The density of these debates has resulted in an international convention on the "Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence", commonly referred to as the Istanbul Convention, by the Council of Europe. The context of the Convention has initiated fierce debates about the social, religious, and traditional appropriateness of its implications in several European Council member states. Türkiye presents a distinctive case as it signed and ratified the convention but officially withdrew from it. In this process, severe debates have been occurring around the concept of "gender and gender equality", "sexual orientation", "mediation and reconciliation mechanism", and "religion and honour". Under these subtitles, the paper argues that in the process of withdrawal from the Istanbul Convention, the main discussion themes are considered as the struggle between local and universal values.

Keywords: Istanbul Convention, Gender Equality, Gender Inequalities, Local Values, Universal Values

How Long to Stay? When to Return? Gendered Labor Migration from Georgia

Ia Iashvili & Pikria Jinjikhadze

Tbilisi State University & Akaki Tsereteli State University

ia.iashvili@tsu.ge & pikria.jinjikhadze@atsu.edu.ge

Abstract

Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union a substantial segment of the Georgia's population responded to widespread unemployment by engaging in overseas migration. An increasing number of women still migrating temporarily for work, leaving their partners, parents, and children in Georgia. These skilled professionals, mostly move independently on tourist visas, subsequently violating these visas to extend their stay as caregivers in private households to provide financial assistance to their families through remittances. This paper aims to highlight how a Georgian transnational household operates in geographically and socially different spaces accenting the coping strategy and income diversification in the context of altered gender roles. The role becomes crucial when it concerns female migrants. Despite considerable changes in traditional values from the Soviet period to the present, specific familial norms, including the patriarchal gender hierarchy and women's responsibilities for the care of children and the elderly (even across geographical boundaries), along with their role in maintaining the emotional cohesion of family members, persist. From the perspective of the Georgian community we will focus on key concept if the benefits of migration outweigh the social consequences resulting from the absence of wives and mothers. Our research, will seek to discover this dichotomy. The study utilizes a novel methodological approach, employing qualitative research through in-depth interviews with both emigrant women (conducted online at their destinations) and face-to-face interviews with their husbands left behind, spanning the period from 2015 to 2024. Geographic Information System (GIS) technology is employed to visualize modern migration trends from Georgia. This article discusses the macro theory of Segmented Labor Market, the micro theory of New Economics of Labor Migration, and the concepts of Transnationalism and Transformation of Social Spaces. With the certain exceptions, the key findings of our empirical study demonstrate that the tendencies and patterns of Georgian female labor movement align with these scholarly frameworks.

Keywords: Georgia, Transnational Family, Migrant Women, Migration Theories, Gender Roles

Challenges for Women Employed in Georgian Agriculture

Maka Gogilashvili

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

makogogilashvili@gmail.com

Abstract

In the contemporary world, the role of women in economic development is expanding at an accelerating pace. Gender equality and women's empowerment constitute essential pillars of sustainable and efficient economic development. Despite the fact that women's empowerment remains a prominent issue on the policy agenda of numerous countries, substantial challenges persist in this topic. In Georgia, the gender gap between men and women remains pronounced. Women own only one-third of economically active enterprises and are significantly underrepresented in managerial and leadership positions. This issue is particularly acute for women engaged in the agricultural sector. Limited access to financial resources, adverse socio-economic conditions, restricted opportunities for acquiring entrepreneurial education and skills, and entrenched cultural norms and traditional stereotypes—such as rigid perceptions regarding the appropriateness of certain types of work for women—serve as formidable barriers to the economic participation and advancement of rural women. The engagement of women in business and sectoral associations in Georgia varies across industries. At the national level, only a small number of female entrepreneurs are members of business associations. Furthermore, small and medium-sized business programs designed to prioritize female entrepreneurs are sometimes manipulated by men, thereby restricting women's access to allocated resources and essential information. This underscores the necessity for robust monitoring and evaluation mechanisms to ensure equitable distribution and accessibility.

These challenges are further exacerbated by structural inefficiencies within the sector, including the failure to modernize agricultural practices, suboptimal utilization of land resources, inadequate technological knowledge, land fragmentation, high financial costs, unfavorable market conditions, misallocation of resources, and inefficient use of the labor force. This study discusses the status of women in the agrarian labor market in Georgia and evaluates the efficacy of

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governmental mechanisms designed to support their employment and economic participation. The primary objective of this research is to identify the barriers faced by women within the framework of state agricultural policies and to analyze the challenges they encounter in overcoming these constraints. In accordance with the research objective, the following research question has been formulated:

In what ways are women involved in the agricultural sector?

What is the status of women engaged in the country's agricultural sector?

Based on the outlined objectives, the study seeks to address the following tasks:

What are the economic and social conditions of women involved in the agricultural sector? Identify the types of agricultural activities in which women are engaged. Examine global best practices and adapt them to the Georgian context.

Keywords: Social Inequality, Agrarian Policy, The Role of Women, Social Gap Between Women and Men



The Cathedral of Saint Mary Major often called Lisbon Cathedral or simply the Sé (Sé de Lisboa), is a Roman Catholic cathedral located in Lisbon, Portugal.

Panel 05 // Venue: Auditorium 1

Social Dynamics in National and International Contexts

WEDNESDAY // 2 July 2025 // 14:00 - 15:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Ia Iashvili

Tbilisi State University *(In Person)*

Europarties and Their Evaluation of the Political Crisis in Georgia

Lado Grdzlishvili

Tbilisi State University & Ilia State University *(In Person)*

Social Movement Against HPP: Case of Rioni Valley Movement

Salome Dundua

Tbilisi State University *(In Person)*

The Resilience of Rebel-Era Hierarchies:

Rwanda's RPF and the Governance of Health Post 1994

Buyisile Ntaka

Corvinus University of Budapest *(In Person)*

The Role of Civil Activists as a Non-state Actors in Eastern Europe and the Balkans

Nino Edilashvili

University of Wroclaw *(In Person)*

**Peculiarities of Political Leaders' Image Formation
on Social Media During Pre-Election Campaigns**

Mariami Prangishvili

Tbilisi state university *(In Person)*

Europarties and Their Evaluation of the Political Crisis in Georgia

Lado Grdzelishvili

Tbilisi State University & Ilia State University

ladogrdzelishvili@gmail.com

Abstract

This study examines the responses of European parties to the political crisis in Georgia, focusing on their resolutions, statements, and policy recommendations regarding the country's democratic trajectory. Using documentary analysis as the primary research methodology, the study systematically evaluates official documents, party resolutions, and public statements issued by major European political parties. This qualitative approach allows for a comprehensive assessment of the narratives and political positions adopted by European parties concerning Georgia's democratic challenges. The research is based on the assumption that European parties play a crucial role in shaping EU policies and fostering political discourse on democratic governance beyond the EU's borders. It posits that these parties, through their resolutions and public positions, act as intermediaries between European institutions and aspiring EU candidate countries, influencing political expectations and democratic standards. Another key assumption is that the Georgian government's increasing authoritarian tendencies, electoral irregularities, and restrictions on civil society have triggered heightened scrutiny and critical responses from European parties, reflecting broader concerns about democracy and European integration. The findings reveal that Europarties consistently criticize the ruling Georgian Dream party for undermining democratic institutions, restricting media freedom, and manipulating electoral processes. Their resolutions highlight concerns over the politicization of state institutions, human rights violations, and the adoption of laws that suppress civil society. Moreover, Europarties advocate for a stronger EU response, including targeted sanctions against Georgian officials responsible for democratic backsliding and increased support for pro-European movements in the country. They emphasize the need for free and fair elections, judicial independence, and media pluralism as prerequisites for Georgia's European integration process. Ultimately, the study underscores the significant role of

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European parties in shaping international discourse on Georgia's democracy and their influence on EU engagement strategies. It concludes that their assessments are not merely symbolic but serve as essential mechanisms for reinforcing democratic resilience and promoting European values in Georgia. The paper contributes to a deeper understanding of how transnational political actors respond to democratic crises and influence policy decisions within the European Union.

Keywords: European Union, Georgia, Europarties, Georgian Political Parties, Political Crisis, Documentary Analysis

Social Movement Against HPP: Case of Rioni Valey Movement

Salome Dundua

Tbilisi State University

salome.dundua@tsu.ge

Abstract

This study examines the movement for defending Rioni Valey, as an example of one the longest and continuous civic activism in Georgia. On October of 25, 2020, a small group of people from one of the regions Georgia, started a sit-in protest against Namakhvani HPP. This small group became known as the "guardians of the Rioni Valley". In this movement there were involved different actors: government, investor, local citizens, citizens from around the Georgia, NGO, scientists, political parties. This paper aims to analyze the various actors, involved in the discussions as opponents or proponents of the Namakvani HPP construction and their arguments; government and investors were the main proponents of the construction while the academia and civil society were opposing it through various types of strategies. The data collected in the field research allows this article to show how the resistance has managed to survive for a long time, what are the arguments of a great number of agents involved with the resistance movement and how its resources are amassed and followers recruited; as well as what makes the movement so unique and successful.

Keywords: Civic Activism, Social Movement, Success, Rioni Valey

The Resilience of Rebel-Era Hierarchies: Rwanda's RPF and the Governance of Health Post 1994

Buyisile Ntaka

Corvinus University of Budapest

buyisile.ntaka@uni-corvinus.hu

Abstract

How do rebel governance structures persist when former insurgent groups transition into formal state leadership? This paper examines the enduring influence of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)'s wartime governance model in shaping post-conflict state administration, with a particular focus on the health sector. Using a case study method and drawing on Rwanda's vaccination campaigns, this paper argues that the hierarchical, disciplined, and command-driven governance strategies used by the RPF during its insurgency have been repurposed to manage public health initiatives in the post-genocide era. The success of Rwanda's vaccination programs—characterised by rapid implementation, strict oversight, and centralised coordination—reflects the persistence of the RPF's wartime organisational logic in peacetime governance. By demonstrating how rebel rulers govern in ways that mirror their insurgent past, this paper contributes to broader discussions on rebel governance and post-conflict state formation, highlighting the resilience of rebel-era hierarchies and their implications for state-building, public service delivery, and political control in post-conflict societies.

Keywords: Rwanda, RPF, Rebel Governance, Post-Genocide Era, Vaccination Campaigns, Public Service Delivery

The Role of Civil Activists as a Non-state Actors in Eastern Europe and the Balkans

Nino Edilashvili

University of Wroclaw

318426@uwr.edu.pl

Abstract

Some of the recent developments in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, demonstrates that in the realm of contemporary international relations, we are witnessing growing empowerment of non-state actors, particularly in the form of civil activism. The efficiency of civil activists in shaping political discourse, influence foreign policy, and mobilize transnational networks is a testament to this phenomenon.

The paper explores the recent rise of civil activism and civil activists as non-state actors in regional and international systems, emphasizing the crucial impact of achieving positive international engagement. Focusing on the ability of civil activists to challenge top-down official narratives, engage in political discourse, and leverage international support, the paper uses various case studies. The 2023–2024 Georgian protests and Serbian students' protest (2024-2025) are primary case studies, while the research also draws insights from relatively less recent cases such as Belarusian democratic movement (2020–2021) and Ukraine's Euromaidan protests (2013–2014). In these mass protest rallies; civil activists have played critical role in mobilizing international awareness and securing external political support. These cases illustrate how civil activists operate as transnational actors that leads to influencing regional security dynamics as well as promoting democracy and inviting more powerful global responses.

To achieve the goals of the paper we adopt a mixed-methods approach, which involves integrating qualitative and quantitative methodologies to analyse activist narratives, transnational engagement, state responses, and international reaction. This approach allows us to gain a comprehensive understanding of the changing – and perhaps elevating – role of civil activists in contemporary international relations. We employ discourse analysis to scrutinise the language, messages and framing used by the civil activists in respective countries, including how the messages vary depending on the local context and goals. Social media analysis helps us to

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measure the engagement and transnational influence of activist messages on social platforms. We also apply policy document analysis to understand international institutional responses toward activist movements. To gain insights from activists and policymakers, we conduct semi-structured interviews. At the same time, quantitative methodology (social media data analysis) helps us measure the scale, impact, and engagement of activism and its relationship with international actors.

Our research is based on the assumptions that civil activists in Eastern Europe and the Balkans increasingly engage with international institutions to gain visibility, legitimacy, and support. Social media analysis suggests that transnational networks play key role in amplifying activism beyond the local borders, with activists effectively mobilizing online communities. Digital activism (e.g., #NoToRussianLaw or #Pumpaj!) has resulted in strong international reactions from the U.S. and EU, demonstrating the influence of transnational activism. These assumptions guide our research and provide a framework for understanding the evolving role of civil activists in the current international relations, suggesting that this category of non-state actors tends to operate on multiple levels, such as local, regional and transnational/international. By leveraging regional and global institutions, civil activists show the capability to increase the impact and legitimacy of their movements while pushing for policy change at all these levels. Ultimately, both quantitative and qualitative analysis of the selected case studies show that civil activism is not only a domestic force but also an integral part of regional and global governance.

Keywords: Non-State Actors, Civil Activists, International Relations, Transnational Networks, Quantitative Analysis, Qualitative Analysis

Peculiarities of Political Leaders' Image Formation on Social Media During Pre-Election Campaigns

Mariami Prangishvili

Tbilisi State University

marikunafrangi@gmail.com

Abstract

Voters often choose appealing images over real politicians, making image-building essential during elections. Political leaders' images help attract voters, so parties and image-makers craft personas that align with public expectations (Shubitidze, 2009; Samadov, 2024). Social media has advanced this process, allowing politicians direct communication with voters and feedback (Seguela, 2010). It has made political images more personal, shifting focus from ideas to individuals. (Ekman, 2017). Therefore, the use of social media in the political image-making process seems especially interesting, particularly during election campaigns, when image plays a crucial role. The following study aims to showcase the use of social media by political leaders during the pre-election period to shape their image. Additionally, it highlights how political leaders positioned themselves in the social space. The research objective involves the examination of the social media accounts of selected political leaders, the analysis of content published on these platforms, and identifying the methods or strategies they used to create their image. The subjects of the study were the leaders of five political entities that surpassed the electoral threshold in the parliamentary elections according to CESCO data. Specifically, Shalva Papuashvili - "Georgian Dream," Nika Melia - "Coalition for Change," Tina Bokuchava - "Unity - National Movement," Mamuka Khazaradze - "Strong Georgia," and Giorgi Gakharia - "Gakharia for Georgia." The selected social media platforms for the study was "TikTok". Observations were made on the TikTok accounts of the aforementioned politicians. The time frame from July 26 to October 26. A qualitative research method was used in the study, and qualitative content analysis was chosen as the research technique. This approach helps identify the characteristics and peculiarities of the collected data. The theoretical framework of the study is based on the theories of mediatization and framing. The theory of mediatization

demonstrated how political leaders adapted to the social space and used platforms to shape their image, while framing allowed us to examine how exactly political leaders positioned themselves and what type of image they created for the public. The research topic is relevant as social media is gaining increasing popularity and influence in the modern era, and it is becoming involved in political life. Political discourse is often shaped in such media. Therefore, it is interesting to explore how the Georgian political space has adapted to new types of media. Elections are the ideal time for forming a political image. Consequently, the study provided an opportunity to observe the process of image-building by Georgian politicians during the pre-election period. The novelty of the study lies in this aspect: to highlight the relationship between the Georgian political space and social media in the contemporary era. The research revealed that the selected political leaders actively used social media during their election campaigns and sought to create specific political images. Differences were observed in how they utilized the selected social media platforms. For some, "TikTok" served as a platform for political messaging and discussions on various issues, while other politicians used the platform for entertainment and lighter content.

Keywords: Political Image, Social Media, Mediatization, Political Communication, Tiktok, Election Campaign



Panel 06 // Venue: Auditorium 1
Normative Nature in World Politics

WEDNESDAY // 2 July 2025 // 16:00 - 17:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Salome Dundua

Tbilisi State University *(In Person)*

China-Lusophone Diplomacy

Francisco Leandro

University of Macau *(In Person)*

**Greek and Jewish Schools from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic (1908-1938)
in the Context of International Relations**

Köksal Özyaşar & Dilek Barlas

Koç University *(In Person)*

'A Special Kind of No': A Politics of Refusal in Global Politics

Claire Timperley

Victoria University of Wellington *(In Person)*

Gaza Under Hamas: State Building and Question of Legitimacy

Mohammad Shafiq Sultan

University of Delhi *(In Person)*

**Cultural Diplomacy and Economic Impact:
Assessing Yunus Emre Institutes as Soft Power Instruments**

Muharrem Bayrak & Özgür Tüfekçi

Karadeniz Technical University *(In Person)*

China-Lusophone Diplomacy

Francisco Leandro

University of Macau

fleandro@um.edu.mo

Abstract

China's engagement with Portuguese-speaking countries is multifaceted, encompassing trade, investment, cultural exchange, and political dialogue. However, the academic exploration of these dynamics has been limited, often overshadowed by studies focusing on China's relations with major powers or its involvement in other regions. The potential of Sino-Portuguese cooperation, particularly in the context of the Belt and Road Initiative (B&RI), remains underexplored. This cooperation could significantly impact global economic flows and development models, yet it has not received the attention it deserves in academic discourse.

The interactions between China and members of the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP), offer valuable insights into China's diplomatic strategies and economic policies. These relations illustrate China's efforts to engage with diverse regions and cultures, fostering mutual understanding and cooperation. Moreover, China has developed a new relational model to foster mutual understanding. This model is often tailor-made, placing China in the middle of forums and policy discussions. This approach ensures that diplomatic doors remain open and that China's narratives are constantly adapted to new realities. China also recognizes the potential of sharing a language like Portuguese. This recognition highlights China's awareness of the cultural and linguistic dimensions of diplomacy. Portuguese-speaking countries, being all coastal states spread by four continents, hold significant potential in promoting access to markets with consent. Their geographical positioning enables them to develop blue economies and secure sea lines of communication, which are vital for global trade and economic stability.

Keywords: China, Diplomacy, Portuguese-speaking countries, CPLP, Belt and Road Initiative, Macao Forum

Greek and Jewish Schools from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic (1908-1938) in the Context of International Relations

Köksal Özyaşar & Dilek Barlas

Koç University

ykoksal@ku.edu.tr & dbarlas@ku.edu.tr

Abstract

The paper examines Jewish and Greek schools in Istanbul between 1908 and 1938 comparatively. It analyzes two main themes: First, how the central government dealt with the issue of education in a multi-religious and multi-ethnic society; second, how discourses surrounding identity, ethnicity and language shaped the narrative within the Greek and Jewish communities in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey. These themes will be approached with reference to the kin-state literature. The impact of the presence or absence of a kin-state on state policies towards these schools will be investigated. Greece's presence shows the influence of a kin-state on Greek schools, while France, though not a kin-state, exerted a cultural influence on Jewish schools.

The paper will analyze the social, political, and cultural impact of these countries' relationships with Greek and Jewish schools, as well as with the Ottoman Empire and Turkey using both archival documents and secondary sources. First, the study investigates the transformation of Jewish and Greek schools from institutions of the Ottoman non-Muslim subjects, into minority schools with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey and the role of diplomatic relations in this process. Second, it will explore how the transnational cultural, intellectual, and social connections of school administrations, teachers, students, and alumni affected discussions of identity.

Studies on Greek and Jewish schools tend to focus more on the 19th century or the period after World War II. The starting point, 1908 emphasizes centralization efforts of the Committee of Union and Progress during the Second Constitutional Era. The year 1938 is chosen because it marks the end of the Atatürk era, the completion of early Republican education policies, and the lead-up to World War II. This study fills an important gap in the literature by covering the under-researched period and addressing diplomatic relations with a comparative perspective.

The paper will first identify how the diplomatic relations between the Ottoman Empire, Turkey, Greece, and France influenced the policies of the state toward Greek and Jewish schools. The period between 1908 and 1938 is a time when diplomacy heavily influenced state policies. The relations of these states with the Ottoman Empire and Turkey went through various transformations during this period. Both Greece and France established relations with Greek and Jewish schools starting from the late Ottoman period. The existence of the Greek state since 1830 had been an influencing factor on Greek schools in the Ottoman Empire. The influence of Greece and the intellectual currents it brought from there affected both the Patriarchate and the Ottoman state's policies toward Greek schools. With the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, Greece conducted an active diplomacy with Turkey on Greek minority issues due to the Lausanne Treaty and the principle of reciprocity. Jewish schools did not have a kin-state claiming ethnic or religious ties. However, with the establishment of Alliance schools, French cultural influence on Jewish education in the Ottoman Empire became evident from the 19th century until the closure of these schools in 1930s.

Keywords: The Ottoman Empire, Turkey, Greece, France

'A Special Kind of No': A Politics of Refusal in Global Politics

Claire Timperley

Te Herenga Waka - Victoria University of Wellington

claire.timperley@vuw.ac.nz

Abstract

At the heart of a politics of refusal is a “very special kind of ‘no’” (Hseuh 2024, 2). In this paper I argue that this ‘no’ has an important but under-theorised role in global politics. Rather than seeking to ameliorate, appease or resist hegemonic and oppressive systems, a politics of refusal completely rejects the underlying logic of such systems (Simpson 2014). In a global order that is structured by unequal and oppressive structures such as colonialism, racism, patriarchy and neoliberalism, refusal offers some communities and actors a possibility to live outside those structures. Yet, because of its confronting stance, a politics of refusal can limit its appeal to those comfortable with radical politics. In this paper I seek to challenge this perception, drawing on the work of Audra Simpson, bell hooks and Joan Tronto to develop a theory of care-full refusal, showing how conceptualising refusal as an act of care may broaden its appeal. Focusing on its generative and care-filled qualities, refusal can be conceptualised as promising approach for challenging and transforming global systems of oppression.

Keywords: Refusal, Care, Affect, Indigenous Politics, Relationality

Gaza Under Hamas: State Building and Question of Legitimacy

Mohammad Shafiq Sultan

University of Delhi

shafiqsultan606@gmail.com

Abstract

Since its ascension to power in the Gaza Strip in 2007, Hamas has undertaken a complex state-building project while confronting enduring challenges to its legitimacy both locally and internationally. Emerging from its origins as a resistance movement affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood, and following its landmark 2006 electoral victory, Hamas transformed from an armed group into a governing authority. Moreover, Hamas's governance strategy blends its Islamist ideology with pragmatic approaches, delivering critical services such as education, healthcare, and social welfare to sustain public support despite persistent economic challenges and ongoing conflict. However, its legitimacy remains contested due to authoritarian practices including media control and suppression of dissent, as well as its designation as a terrorist organization by the United States, Israel, and much of the international community. This designation is largely due to its connections with Hezbollah and the Iran Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), and its actions which not only violate the territorial integrity of Israel and the Palestinian Authority but also disrupt the peace and daily life of the populations in Gaza, the West Bank, and Israel. Further complicating its position is the tension between Hamas's militant heritage and the demands of civil governance, which has led to ideological shifts such as the 2017 charter revision that signals conditional acceptance of a Palestinian state within the 1967 borders. Hamas has built governance mechanisms, including ministries, security forces, and social welfare institutions, that have enabled it to maintain control amidst political isolation and the ongoing blockade imposed by Egypt and Israel. Therefore, Hamas negotiates legitimacy through resistance symbolism, service provision, coercive measures, and tribal alliances while facing popular discontent fueled by unemployment and humanitarian crises. It explores whether Hamas's governance can endure its authority in the absence of elections since 2006, especially amid escalating conflicts post-2023. This paper is qualitative

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research where it analyzes the lived experiences of Palestinians and highlights their adaptive strategies to overcome challenges posed by Hamas's governance. The paper also examines the legitimacy and state-building challenges in conflict-affected zones and offers recommendations to empower the people of Gaza and equip them with rights and agency. More than 40 experts on Gaza from diverse national backgrounds, including Palestinians, Israelis, Egyptians, Americans, Qataris, Iranians, Lebanese, Saudi Arabians, Emiratis, and Jordanians have been interviewed to enrich the research and data has also been complemented with primary and secondary sources such as United Nations, Amnesty International, government reports, official websites, archival materials, academic journals, books, and newspaper reports.

Keywords: Gaza, Hamas, State-Building, Legitimacy

Cultural Diplomacy and Economic Impact: Assessing Yunus Emre Institutes as Soft Power Instruments

Muharrem Bayrak & Özgür Tüfekçi

Karadeniz Technical University & CESRAN International
mhrmbyrk96@gmail.com & ozgurtufekci@ktu.edu.tr

Abstract

In the context of international relations, soft power is theorized to function through the institutionalization of cultural values as mechanisms of influence. The present paper sets out the argument that national cultural institutes have become a strategic tool for states to project soft power on a global scale. Since 2007, the Yunus Emre Institute (YEI) has been established in order to promote Turkish language and culture on a global scale. The number of centers operated by the YEI now stands at 64, which are located in 55 countries.

The extant literature on cultural diplomacy institutions is dominated by well-established entities such as the British Council and the Alliance Française (early 20th century), Germany's Goethe Institute (post-WWII cultural revival), and China's Confucius Institutes (early 2000s). Connoisseurs of the field, such as the aforementioned scholars, have conceptualized soft power as the ability to shape preferences through attraction rather than coercion. Furthermore, these scholars have examined cultural institutes as vehicles for national branding and diplomatic engagement. Nevertheless, research specifically analyzing the effectiveness and impact of YEI remains notably scarce.

While extant studies acknowledge YEI as a foreign policy instrument within Türkiye's soft power strategy, there is insufficient empirical research on its tangible outcomes. This research addresses this gap by quantitatively assessing the impact of YEI on bilateral economic relations between Türkiye and host countries, specifically examining correlations with trade volumes, foreign direct investment flows, tourism statistics, and international student mobility.

The present study aims to develop an evidence-based framework for evaluating the effectiveness of cultural diplomacy and to inform more strategic institutional approaches to cultural diplomacy in emerging powers. In order to achieve this objective, the study provides concrete metrics of YEI's contribution to Türkiye's soft power projection.

Keywords: Cultural Institutes, Soft Power, Turkish Foreign Policy, Yunus Emre Institute

17th-century baroque church turned into modern-day mausoleum for tombs of national celebrities.

Panel 07 // Venue: Auditorium 1

Transnational Mobility in National and International Context

THURSDAY // 3 July 2025 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Brígida Brito

OBSERVARE-UAL & IPRI-Nova (In Person)

Epistemic Injustice and Visa Rejections in the Context of Academic Mobility and Global Knowledge Production: Experiences of Turkish Scholars

Ayca Arkilic & Ebru Turhan

Victoria University of Wellington and Turkish-German University (In Person)

Intra-organizational Communication as A Means of Achieving Organizational Goal Comparative Analysis of Public and Private Universities in Georgia

Teona Tabuashvili

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (In Person)

Social and Environmental Impact of Italian Museums: Best Practices and Benchmarking

Nicola Urbino

Vanvitelli University (In Person)

Geopolitics of Islamic Banking in Russia

Giuliano Bifulchi

SpecialEurasia (In Person)

Explaining the Elite Narratives of the EU-Turkey Refugee 'Deal' through Role Theory: A Comparative Analysis of Germany and Turkey

Ayca Arkilic & Ebru Turhan

Victoria University of Wellington & Turkish-German University
ayca.arkilic@vuw.ac.nz & drebruturhan@gmail.com

Abstract

The March 2016 EU–Turkey Statement (widely referred to as the EU–Turkey refugee 'deal') has led to an unprecedented fall of irregular migration flows into the EU and rendered Turkey as a key partner in the management of the refugee crisis. The deal has also functioned as one of the few mechanisms which have facilitated cooperative behaviour in EU-Turkey relations. The process leading up to the finalization of the deal attracted ample scholarly attention, with various work pinpointing the dominance of the process by intergovernmental actors and channels of communication. In this, the existing literature largely places Germany at the epicenter of the closed-door strategic negotiations between Ankara and the EU. However, German and Turkish elite narratives on the refugee deal and its implementation remain widely understudied and undertheorized in the literature. Drawing on (symbolic-interactionist) role theory scholarship and applying narrative analysis to 20 semi-structured elite interviews conducted with German and Turkish policy makers in Berlin and Ankara as well as to official documents and statements, this paper explores the competing and overlapping narratives of key representatives of the Turkish and German (federal) governments between 2016 and 2024. In doing so, it illustrates the continuities and changes in German and Turkish expectations from the deal, while uncovering inter-state contestations and congruences regarding national role conceptions as well as external role expectations each country places on the role of the other in the execution of the refugee deal. The findings of the paper also help clarify the puzzle of why the refugee deal endures despite its state of 'fragility' and the persevering, overarching conflicts between the EU and Turkey.

Keywords: Turkey, Germany, Elite Narratives, Refugee Deal, Role Theory, Turkey-EU Relations

Intra-Organizational Communication as a Means of Achieving Organizational Goal – Comparative Analysis of Public and Private Universities in Georgia

Teona Tabuashvili

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

teona.tabuashvili@tsu.ge

Abstract

Scientific research of organizations began in the end of the 19th century. In the early 1900s the communication became one of the key elements in the organizational studies, but only in the 1950s appeared first publications under the term “organizational communication”. In this research the organizations are understood as the organized unity of individuals working interdependently in a structured and organized system to achieve common goals. Thus, communication is a crucial element of effective functioning of an organization. This research aims to compare intra-organizational communication in public and private universities in post-soviet Georgia with the focus on the role of communication in achieving the organizational goals. On the one hand, many studies show, that the private universities, due to their relatively flexible structures and market-driven approaches, are more geared towards effective communication, but on the other hand, organizational culture can overcome the size and status challenges of an organization. Another key point for shaping communication when researching the post-soviet space, can be the path-dependence.

Mixed research methods are used to achieve the goal of this study. Based on Redding's 10 postulates of organization communication in-depth interviews and focus-groups were conducted with all 3 clusters of internal stakeholders: Academic staff (including invited lecturers), administrative staff and students. This gave me the opportunity to shape the main characteristics of the intraorganizational communication at Georgian universities for the quantitative research using survey. Since the administration connects all internal stakeholders, the research was focused on the information flow only in following directions: Administration to administration, administration to academic staff and administration to students. As the study shows, there are significant problems in communication in both types of

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universities despite the size and flexibility of private universities. On the other hand, the case of one public university showed, that the restrictions and bureaucratic issues caused by the status of a public university are not essential for creating organizational communication culture and managing the information flow. The communication problems such as lack of target-oriented information and the overdose of unnecessary information; Less attention on Feedbacks; Unclear instructions; Not structured information channels; Less involvement of academic staff and students in information exchange, show, that universities are not underlining the role and importance of communication in achieving of main goal of universities. Soviet legacy of centralized management hindering flexibility and delegation is also significant in many cases.

Keywords: Intra-Organizational Communication, Communication in Universities, Georgian Universities, Post-Soviet Space Organizations

Social and Environmental Impact of Italian Museums: Best Practices and Benchmarking

Nicola Urbino

Vanvitelli University

nicola.urbino@unicampania.it

Abstract

The contribution aims to analyze the social and environmental impact strategies of the leading Italian museums. From the analysis of all social reports published from 2018 to the present, an overall picture of the relevance of cultural institutions from across the national territory to their reference areas will emerge.

Starting from a brief regulatory analysis, the legal profiles on which the CSR policies of public and private museums are based will be evaluated (among the main ones, the directives on the Third Sector Reform and the National Guidelines for the preparation of the Social Report from 2019 will be considered). In light of what is dictated by national regulations, the ways in which Italian museums adhere to CSR directives will be outlined, highlighting strengths and weaknesses, improvement strategies and collaborations with the reference ecosystem and regularly involved first and second-level stakeholders. Additionally, the recent international history related to the definition of CSR policies will be analyzed, starting from the American school to arrive at national adaptations, thus providing a complete overview of the state of the art in the field and the methods of application in the museum sector.

Based on the analyzed Social Reports (about 25, based on the latest publications), best practices and possible benchmarking policies can be assessed to arrive at the definition of a common national guideline to be followed in respect of the reference territories and modern theories of social and environmental impact. The proposed path will provide a first data set to understand the positioning of national museums in this specific area within a historically more structured international context that is attentive to social and environmental impact dynamics.

Keywords: Social Impact, Benchmark, Climate Change, Cultural Venues

Geopolitics of Islamic Banking in Russia

Giuliano Bifulchi

SpecialEurasia

giuliano.bifulchi@gmail.com

Abstract

In 2023, the Kremlin initiated a pilot project to evaluate Islamic banking products in the regions of Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Dagestan, and Chechnya. Given the increasing Muslim population within the Russian Federation and Moscow's imperative to mitigate the effects of Western sanctions, Islamic banking presents a potential avenue for the Kremlin to address the financial needs of its citizens while simultaneously attracting foreign investments from Muslim-majority countries. This paper seeks to examine the opportunities and challenges associated with the implementation of Islamic banking in Russia by reviewing relevant academic literature, media publications, and reports from financial institutions. Furthermore, the research will explore the geopolitical ramifications of Islamic banking within the Russian Federation, particularly in the context of the current Eurasian geopolitical landscape marked by Moscow's tensions with the West and the emergence of a multipolar world order.

Keywords: Russia, Islamic Banking, Islamic Finance, Geopolitics

17th-century baroque church turned into modern-day mausoleum for tombs of national celebrities.

Panel 08 // Venue: Room 90

Inherited Conflicts in World Politics

THURSDAY // 3 July 2025 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Marco Marsili

Ca' Foscari University of Venice (In Person)

Beyond the Gift of the Nile:

Desalination as An Alternative Water Source in Egypt

Rashed Daher

ELTE Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest (In Person)

The Crisis in Relations between France and Algeria:

Origins and Consequences

Karim Belgacem

Essca Lyon, (In Person)

Morocco's Foreign Policy Toward Spain in Light of the 2021 Crisis

Ahmed El Mehdi El Jouad

Mohammed 5 University (In Person)

**The Dynamics of India-Pakistan Relations and Their Impacts
on Regional Cooperation in South Asia**

Muhammad Arif-Khan & Khushboo Farid

Federal Urdu University of Arts, Sci & Technology (In Person)

Russian Foreign Policy towards the Balkans:

Power Projection and Discourse Building amid the Crisis in Ukraine

Shariq Aziz

Jamia Millia Islamia University (In Person)

**Regional Conflicts and Crisis Management: The Case of the Karabakh Conflict and Post-
Conflict Resolution from a Diplomatic and Legal Perspective**

Sabina Mammadova

Sabah Groups (In Person)

Beyond the gift of the Nile Desalination as an alternative water source in Egypt

Rashed Daher

ELTE Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest

rashed.daher@btk.elte.hu

Abstract

Egypt is rapidly expanding its desalination capacity as part of a broader strategy to overcome chronic water scarcity. With its rapidly growing population, Egypt faces a water deficit of approximately 7 billion cubic meters per year. Traditionally, Egypt has relied almost entirely on the Nile River for its water supply, but increasing population demands, the impacts of upstream developments, and climate change have spurred the need for alternative water sources, such as desalination. Desalination is the process of removing salt and other impurities from seawater to make it suitable for drinking, irrigation, or industrial use. Desalination becomes even more relevant with the introduction of new technologies that can extract rare earth materials from seawater during the process. However, the cost of treatment is high due to the energy-intensive technologies used during the process. This study examines the evolution and current state of Egyptian policy on desalination. The analysis begins by contextualizing Egypt's historical reliance on surface water and the increasing need to diversify water sources. The presentation then outlines recent government initiatives aimed at reaching a desalination capacity of 9 million cubic meters per day by 2050. As of early 2025, Egypt operates around 125 desalination plants with a combined capacity of approximately 1.31 million cubic meters per day. The country is currently developing several large-scale desalination projects, including the Ain Sokhna, El Galala, East Port Said, Alamin, and Remella plants. In this presentation, I will assess the feasibility and critical role of desalination in Egypt's water mix.

Keywords: Egypt, Water, Desalination, Megaprojects

The Crisis in Relations between France and Algeria: Origins and Consequences

Karim Belgacem

Essca Lyon

karimbelgacem@gmail.com

Abstract

Since Algeria's independence in 1962, relations with France have oscillated between disputes and reconciliations. The weight of France's colonial past and the war between the two nations prevented any form of sustained relationship without the emotional aspect stemming from the past. Tensions have reached a peak in recent years. Algeria has demanded greater recognition from France of its colonial past, while France believes it has continually made concessions to Algeria on its numerous demands. The point of no return was France's recognition of Morocco's sovereignty over Western Sahara in 2024. Algeria supports the Sahrawi independence movement of the Polisario Front in the name of the people's rights to self-determination and the inviolability of colonial borders, which has been one of Algeria's tenets since its independence. The objective of this article is to explain the political implications of this relationship through the recent history of independent Algeria, and why is the France-Algeria relationship so unique?

The methodology is based on an analysis of interconnections and suspicions of French interference in Algerian politics. A section will be devoted to the alleged use of the memorial rent related to colonization and the war by both protagonists. Finally, disagreements on issues such as Algerian immigration (illegal or illegal), which are sources of additional tension that risk destroying certain previous agreements between the two countries, have a significant political dimension. One hypothesis is that France behaves (unconsciously or consciously) toward Algeria and African countries like a former colonizing country that does not respect their new sovereignty. Another hypothesis is that Algeria accuses France of failing to acknowledge its past mistakes and uses this accusation for nationalist and political purposes. A final hypothesis is that France has never accepted the loss of Algeria despite the process of comprehensive decolonization. We will note that France and Algeria seem doomed to form an alliance with a complete paradigm shift from their shared past.

Keywords: France, Algeria, Colonization, Immigration, History, Repentance

Morocco's Foreign Policy Toward Spain in Light of the 2021 Crisis

Ahmed El Mehdi El Jouad

Mohammed 5 University

eljouad.ahmed.elmehdi@gmail.com

Abstract

"Morocco and Spain are two neighboring countries that share the shores of the Strait of Gibraltar in the western Mediterranean. The relationship between them is one of the oldest between states in history, known for its commercial, human and cultural exchanges, but also for its conflicts. It is impossible to deal with the geopolitics and history of Morocco without mentioning Spain, and vice versa. Generally speaking, these relations have been characterized as particularly complex and conflictual. So, it's only natural that Spain has an important place in Morocco's foreign policy (a country with which there are many conflicts and interests). It should also be noted that Morocco also takes an important place in Spain's foreign policy. The two countries have important economic and commercial ties, and have entered the same value chain. In terms of security partnerships, Spain considers Morocco a strategic partner in the fight against illegal migration, drug trafficking, terrorism and cross-border crime. On the cultural front, the two countries work together to promote social and cultural understanding of each other, to overcome mutual ignorance of each other's societies beyond stereotypes, and also to promote the Arabic and Spanish languages. But at the same time, there are conflicts, such as the delimitation of Moroccan maritime territory and the use of geostrategic resources between Morocco and the Canary Islands, claims to Ceuta and Melilla and Morocco's northern islands, agricultural competition, and geopolitical competition in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, especially with the inauguration of several Moroccan ports. Thus, the past Spanish position against Morocco's high interests regarding the Moroccan Sahara, particularly with Donald Trump's historic decision, represents the main cause of several previous crises and the current one in 2021. So How Morocco Managed this diplomatic crisis?"

Keywords: Foreign policy, Morocco-Spain relations, Cooperation, Conflicts

The Dynamics of India-Pakistan Relations and Their Impacts on Regional Cooperation in South Asia

Muhammad Arif-Khan & Khushboo Farid

Federal Urdu University of Arts, Sci & Technology
arif.khan@fuuast.edu.pk & Khushboo.farid@nu.edu.pk

Abstract

Due to the interference of other powerful nations in international affairs, South Asia's lack of regional integration has resulted in a number of economic, political, and societal issues. However, India has a lot of chances to further regional integration as a major regional force in South Asia. However, neighbors in South Asia are concerned by India's hegemonic influence, which has further impeded regional collaboration. The intricate and enduring competition between India and Pakistan is examined in this chapter, along with its profound implications for regional cooperation. The concept of the asymmetric India-Pakistan interactions was also developed in this study. It also pinpoints the causes of the ongoing animosity between the two countries and explains how this rivalry has impeded regional prosperity in South Asia. The majority of the secondary qualitative data included in this chapter comes from books, journals, websites, and research papers. The analysis explores the main research question, the historical background, and the current dynamics of India-Pakistan relations using a descriptive and qualitative research methodology. It also highlights the areas of shared interest among South Asian states and the possibility for regional integration. The results have underscored the noteworthy obstacles presented by the bilateral dispute, while also shedding light on possible avenues for attaining improved regional collaboration. Comprehending the ramifications of this rivalry offers valuable perspectives on tactics for cultivating a more cooperative and secure South Asia.

Keywords: Regional Integration, South Asia, India, Regional Power, Economic and Political Cooperation

Russian Foreign Policy towards the Balkans: Power Projection and Discourse Building amid the Crisis in Ukraine

Shariq Aziz

Jamia Millia Islamia University

shariq.fmp@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper examines Russia's evolving foreign policy toward the Balkans, particularly in the wake of the crisis in Ukraine, with a focus on power projection and discourse-building strategies. Amid rising geopolitical tensions and Russia's assertive foreign policy stance, the study explores Moscow's strategic objectives, methods, and narratives within the region. It evaluates whether Russia's actions are driven by geopolitical imperatives, economic interests, or ideological considerations and assesses their implications for regional security and Euro-Atlantic integration efforts.

The analysis considers historical ties, cultural affinities, and opposition to Western interventionism as key factors shaping Russia's approach. Through empirical analysis and case studies of Russian engagement in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro, the paper highlights the instruments and mechanisms employed to advance Moscow's influence and counter perceived Western encroachment. Additionally, it examines the responses of Balkan states, EU institutions, and NATO to Russia's activities, underscoring the challenges and opportunities for security and stability in the region.

Furthermore, the paper explores the role of media and propaganda in Russia's strategic approach, emphasizing how state-controlled narratives shape public opinion and political discourse in the Balkans. It discusses the use of energy diplomacy as a tool of influence, particularly through gas supply dependencies and infrastructure projects that strengthen Russia's leverage. The study also considers the broader implications of Russia's actions on the political alignment of Balkan nations, including potential shifts in alliances and the resilience of democratic institutions amid external pressures.

By providing a comprehensive analysis of Russian foreign policy in Southeast Europe, this paper enhances our understanding of modern geopolitical dynamics in the region. It offers insights for policymakers and scholars seeking to navigate the complex interplay of interests, security concerns, and diplomatic challenges that define Russia's engagement in the Balkans.

Keywords: Russia Foreign Policy Balkans Euro-Atlantic Integration Power Projection Energy Diplomacy NATO Regional Security

Regional Conflicts and Crisis Management: The Case of the Karabakh Conflict and Post-Conflict Resolution from a Diplomatic and Legal Perspective

Sabina Mammadova

Sabah Groups

sabina.inspire.edu@gmail.com

Abstract

Regional conflicts are on the agenda of pressing threats to international stability and require sophisticated crisis management tools involving diplomacy, legislation, and humanitarian measures. An interstate war between Armenia and Azerbaijan, the Karabakh conflict confirms that a nation state does not necessarily have to rely solely on hard power in post-conflict reconciliation. Instead, as shown by the events, legal and diplomatic mechanisms can and indeed turned out to be successful. Thus, the article discusses two main matters: a) the capability of Azerbaijan to implement norms of diplomacy by international law in the post-conflict process, and b) the implementation of a humanitarian in line with the norms of international relations.

The study begins with the definition of the legal and historical roots of the former Karabakh conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, with a special focus on endeavours of international law to safeguard the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. The study discusses the effectiveness of prominent international legal mechanisms such as United Nations Security Council resolutions (822, 853, 874, 884) and the ineffectiveness of international mediators' mechanisms such as the OSCE Minsk Group. The paper then continues to illustrate the post-conflict diplomacy of Azerbaijan, i.e., conformity with principles of law and regional cooperation with Armenia or others as well? The policy of Azerbaijan in a post-conflict era is characterized by a new paradigm of conflict management through reconciliation, reconstruction, and compliance with human rights commitments. Under international political pressure, Azerbaijan acted pragmatically and rule-based by engaging in peace talks with Armenia, regional economic integration (i.e., the Zangezur corridor that will connect Turkey to the Turkic states in an unimpeded way), and cooperative action with international organizations. The policy of

humanity, i.e., civilian protection, reintegration programs, and observance of international humanitarian law by Azerbaijan is one of the most significant characteristics of this post-war diplomacy. Unlike in many other conflict-torn nations, Azerbaijan did not retaliate or engage in ethnic discrimination but rather chose peacebuilding and judicial justice once the war ended. Local Armenians in the liberated areas, for instance, were given a period to leave the settlement, and Armenian military men and politicians charged with war crimes were brought to justice, not physically incapacitated. As the war led to profound changes in the politico-economic and geopolitical landscape, it was widely covered by global media and kept on the agenda by many international organizations and the Armenian diaspora. It created new challenges for Azerbaijan to manage. For instance, Azerbaijan was frequently accused of ethnic cleansing in the capital of Nagorno Karabakh, an accusation that went directly against Azerbaijan's efforts to stay away from violence in post-conflict governance. To counterbalance the global pressure, Azerbaijan cooperated with international organizations to enable them access to the region to witness the processes on the ground. Furthermore, local Armenians were given a period to leave the settlement to avoid potential confrontation with the incoming Azerbaijani forces. Additionally, Baku announced that local Armenians can return back to their settlement to live jointly with Azerbaijanis. At the same time, Azerbaijan made sure that its full national sovereignty would be restored in the early 1990s for the first time. It is here where Azerbaijan faced external geopolitical pressure once again, as Baku organized antiterror operations to remove the remaining Armenian troops from the lands that had been under 30 years of occupation. Despite external geopolitical pressure, the government justified its use of hard power by presenting it as the only viable option to achieve full national sovereignty. The thesis, therefore, highlights the importance of the model of a balanced and law-based model of crisis management because it contributes to lasting peace. Finally, the Karabakh experience is a witness to the strength of international law and diplomacy in post-conflict areas if used appropriately and in the context of human rights. Azerbaijani experience as a model of other countries facing border conflict and post-conflict reconstruction is effective in allocating the role of legal instruments and diplomatic instruments as primary agents of long-term conflict resolution. As to the potential contribution of

the present work, political scientists can directly benefit from it. The analysis will show that despite 30 years of hostility and costly war, a state can engage in immediate peacebuilding. Instead of keeping Yerevan away from the discourse, Azerbaijan's politicians have expressed their readiness to open a new chapter in bilateral relations. The mechanisms through which Azerbaijan have done it are noteworthy, which will be the foci of the present work. Furthermore, political science researchers overall, as well as policymakers in similarly situated countries can learn lessons not only in peacebuilding but also on foreign diplomacy. Yerevan has long been a close ally of Russia and had a tacit support of France. Azerbaijan, during and following the course of the war, maintained its balanced policy in its foreign relations. From a pragmatic point of view, it was necessary for Baku because it relied on multiple international actors (e.g. Israel, Turkey, Russia, Pakistan, etc) in its success in the war.

Keywords: Regional Conflicts, Crisis Management, International Law, Diplomacy, Post-Conflict Resolution

A photograph of the interior of a ruined Gothic church. The image shows the skeletal remains of the structure, including tall, slender columns supporting a high, vaulted ceiling. The walls are crumbling, and the roof is missing, leaving a large, open space. The architecture is characterized by pointed arches and intricate stonework. The lighting is dramatic, highlighting the textures of the stone and the depth of the ruins.

Ruined Gothic church
destroyed by an earthquake in
1755, with an evocative
roofless nave & museum.

Panel 09 // Venue: Auditorium 1
Emerging Powers in Multi-Polar Regionalism

THURSDAY // 3 July 2025 // 11:00 - 12:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Fernando Jorge Cardoso

OBSERVARE-UAL & CEI-Iscte/IUL *(In Person)*

**ASEAN and Regional Autonomy in an Era of Weaponised
Interdependence: Assessing the Future of Regional Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific**

Vignesh Ram Guruswamy

Manipal Academy of Higher Education *(In Person)*

**The Intersection between Foreign Policy and Defense Policy in Post-2002 Angola:
The International Projection of a Rising African Power**

Nathaly Xavier Schutz

Unipampa/UAL *(In Person)*

(UN)Practicing Peace through Geopolitics

Sandra Fernandes & David Silva Ferreira

CICP-University of Minho *(In Person)*

**Trump and Milei and the Theory of Peripheral Realism:
Losses and Gains of the Extrategic Game of Geopolitics**

Carlos Augusto Martins

Universidade Autonoma De Lisboa *(In Person)*

**Regional Security Architectures in the Absence of Global Consensus:
The Case of NATO and the Quad**

Simran Walia

Manohar Parrikar Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses (MP-IDSA) *(In Person)*

Afghans in the 'Driver's Seat':

2016 Peace Agreement Between Hezb-i-Islami and the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan

Mujib Abid

University of Melbourne *(In Person)*

ASEAN and Regional Autonomy in an Era of Weaponised Interdependence: Assessing the Future of Regional Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific

Vignesh Ram Guruswamy

Manipal Academy of Higher Education

Vignesh.guruswamy@manipal.edu

Abstract

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has been central to the regional economic (and by extension security) architecture since the post-Cold War period in Asia. The stability of this system was premised on several presumptive factors including an accommodative regional trading architecture reliant on supply chains secured by understanding between major trading powers, regional blocs and China. The sustenance of this system was gradually challenged with increasing pressure from growing economic primacy sought after by US and China leading to a large scale weaponization of trade relationships. The major impact of this weaponization was felt on ASEAN member states and was quite evident in weakening regional decision making as well as falling out of ASEAN centric multilateral trade pacts in the years to come. The politics behind these trade relationships are important to understand. ASEAN's regional relationships with extra regional powers are premised on the idea of ASEAN's organizational autonomy as well as its centrality in the region's political and security, which it has set by keeping organizations embedded within the region's politics via a series of organizational engagements and forums.

The changing nature of regional partnerships have had a key impact on the region's political positions and has challenged both developmental as well as political agenda of the organization. The ensuing challenges to building cooperation in the contemporary Indo-Pacific era entails the need to 're-invent' regional positions to ensure sustainable region cooperation ensuring that regional interests and normative mechanisms are protected from a rapidly changing regional order formulated externally. Hence, assessing the regional security architecture becomes crucial. Moreover, imagining a role for ASEAN countries while maintaining its autonomy is also equally important. As regional supply chains

continue to remain in a flux and trade wars facilitate a rapid movement away from established regions of trade cooperation, the paper will analyse the changing nature of competition in the Indo-Pacific facilitated by the increasing weaponization of trade and commerce and their implications for ASEAN countries. It will also assess the increasing vulnerabilities for countries amidst trade wars and weaponization of trade mechanisms including impacts of plans of supply chain diversification, external trade mechanisms and larger alternative institutional arrangements. The study will assess the impact of geo-economic volatility in Asia on the region in general and on ASEAN economies in particular. The study will provide an assessment of the role of ASEAN regional mechanisms in accommodating to the changing regional order.

Keywords: ASEAN, Indo-Pacific, Trade, Security, Interdependence

The Intersection Between Foreign Policy and Defense Policy in Post-2002 Angola: The International Projection of a Rising African Power

Nathaly Xavier Schutz

Unipampa/UAL

nathalyschutz@unipampa.edu.br

Abstract

Angola has witnessed more than five decades of conflict within its territory, including periods of struggle for independence and subsequent civil war. The presence of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in government since independence in 1975, and the significant presence of militaries in other areas of the state, especially in the diplomatic sphere, is a factor that cannot be ignored. Added to this is the fact that the Angolan Armed Forces originated from the armed wing of the MPLA. This created a complex relationship between the state, government and party, making it difficult to separate public policies from party policies.

After pacification in 2002, Angola emerged as a state of great prominence in Southern Africa and on the Africa Continent. With a large military force, resulting from decades of conflict, and an expressive economy growth, the country stands out as a potential regional power. Defense and foreign policy issues have always been, in practice, combined, but the formulation of both still lacks effective coordination. Luanda also faces important challenges, including the fragility of its Navy, a reflection of the overvaluation of land forces during the civil war, and a weak maritime strategy. Currently, the Angolan Navy represents less than 2% of the military force. In addition, there are security problems in the Gulf of Guinea and the need to project power in the South Atlantic to ensure the security of its energy reserves in the region.

The main purpose of this research is to analyze Angola's current projection in Southern Africa, considering its main potential, strategic positioning and military resources, and the main challenges, the fragility of maritime power and security problems. The need for coordination between the formulation of foreign and defense policies and the difficulties of this process is highlighted, considering the historical role of the military in other spheres of the State and the maintenance of the political elites of the MPLA in power. From a methodological point of view, the research will adopt a historical-comparative approach, based on the analysis of primary and secondary sources.

Keywords: Africa, Angola, Foreign Policy, Defense Policy

(UN)Practicing Peace through Geopolitics

Sandra Fernandes & David Silva Ferreira

CICP-University of Minho
sfernandes@eeg.uminho.pt

Abstract

In the current era, addressing societal development without geopolitics is increasingly challenging. The way power relations materialize in space, in a broad sense, affects every dimension of our lives. Geopolitics is now everywhere and, as such, preparing for risks is instrumental in a very broad range of areas, permeating all United Nations sustainable development goals. This is especially evident if we consider our interdependent world, where interdependencies are increasingly weaponized, and cooperation must be combined with competition. The chapter signals two geopolitical perspectives that provide different outlooks on achieving peace and justice. Geopolitical analysis of international politics tends to be fatalist in the sense that men perpetuate suffering in the logic of the "security dilemma." But there are also transcendentalists who believe that human society can build a global world that escapes the dangers of the past. Besides highlighting contrasting views, the chapter also unpacks other related academic fields of International Relations with practical societal impact. A key argument that is developed throughout the chapter is the call to place the individual (not States) at the center of international politics, where interests and identities have a key role and are transformed.

Keywords: Security Dilemma, Geopolitics, Positive Peace, Critical Theory, Fatalism, Spatialization

Trump and Milei and the Theory of Peripheral Realism: Losses and Gains of the Extrategic Game of Geopolitics

Carlos Augusto Martins

Universidade Autonoma De Lisboa

augusto3555@gmail.com

Abstract

The research addresses the geopolitics between Argentina and the United States in the period 2023-2025. A personalist process of alignment that is established between a country in the global south with historical socioeconomic problems and the hegemonic power with clear inclinations towards imperialism. The initial argument is located in the theory of peripheral realism from which the ideal of broad strengthening of relations between States derives from a non-pragmatic policy idealized in the government of Carlos Menem (1989-1999) by then Chancellor Guido Di Tella when he declared that the "carnal love" defended by his government had the purpose of positioning Argentina as a partner in the NAFTA negotiations, which, in theory, would guarantee its entry into industrialization and technology programs (BANDEIRA, 2014: 752). The theoretical basis for this strategy was peripheral realism, a line of thought according to which International Relations are not anarchic but rather hierarchical. In this sense, there are States that form the rules and others that follow the rules (ESCUDE, 1992). During the Menem government, Argentina placed all its chips on a relationship of subordination to US interests with a view to obtaining economic advantages that, in its analysis, would have social repercussions.

In the government of Javier Milei, which began in 2023, the historical co-relation established by Hegel and Marx in the work *The Eighteenth Brumaire* of Louis Bonaparte seems to be occurring. While the "carnal love" of the Menem government in the 1990s represented a tragedy, Milei's alignment represents the farcical version or, as Malamud prefers, who sees in Argentine democracy a constant *déjà vu* in which the future looks very much like the past (MALAMUD, 2014:25). The search for a special relationship with the US is confused with a kind of subservience and personalistic adoration of Milei towards Donald Trump. The same was seen in the Brazilian government of Jair Bolsonaro (2018/2022).

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In defense of what Milei calls libertarianism, the Argentine government submits international politics to a mimetic version of M.A.G.A. adapted to "Make Argentina Great Again", aligning itself with the agendas of the extreme right against what it calls "woke" culture. In the re-edition of the policy of "carnal love", Milei directs Argentine geopolitics towards allies such as the US and Israel to the detriment of Brazil and China. Historical facts demonstrate that in the case of the Menem government, the search for "carnal love" with the US did not result in significant gains for Argentina, which, despite having.

Keywords: Realism, Milei, Trump, EUA, Argentina

Regional Security Architectures in the Absence of Global Consensus: The Case of NATO and the Quad

Simran Walia

Manohar Parrikar Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses (MP-IDSA)

simranwalia995@gmail.com

Abstract

In an increasingly multipolar world marked by the erosion of global consensus, particularly within institutions like the United Nations Security Council, regional security architectures have emerged as pivotal actors in addressing contemporary security challenges. This paper examines the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad) as two contrasting models of regional security cooperation that have gained prominence in the absence of effective global governance. NATO, as a formal and institutionalized military alliance, has adapted to evolving threats such as Russian aggression and hybrid warfare, reaffirming its centrality to Euro-Atlantic security. In contrast, the Quad represents a more flexible, informal strategic dialogue focused on Indo-Pacific maritime security and counterbalancing China's regional influence. Through a comparative analysis, the paper explores how these frameworks respond to regional threats, compensate for global institutional paralysis, and reflect broader shifts in international order. The study concludes that while regional security architectures offer agility and strategic alignment, they also risk fragmenting international norms and require greater coordination with global institutions to ensure a coherent security landscape.

Keywords: NATO, QUAD, Security, Regional, Indo-Pacific

**Afghans in the 'Driver's Seat':
2016 Peace Agreement Between Hezb-i-Islami
and the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan**

Mujib Abid

University of Melbourne
mujib.abid@unimelb.edu.au

Abstract

Over the past four decades in Afghanistan, attempts at negotiating peace agreements between belligerent parties have mostly failed or only served the interests of foreign forces. In that sense, foreign intrusions in Afghanistan have not only sought to dictate the terms of war but also of peace. As a result, almost all peace processes with a tangible outcome have been spearheaded or closely managed by non-Afghan actors, with limited input from the embattled local population. The September 2016 Peace Agreement is in many ways an exceptional peace agreement in Afghanistan's modern history. It is a wholly Afghan-led and Afghan-owned peace process that successfully ended hostilities between the belligerents, released prisoners, removed US and UN sanction regimes, and reintegrated a sizable number of insurgent fighters. And yet, given the political imperatives of the Western occupation/intervention, the envoys and their principals had to navigate complex and often multilayered power relations. In this paper, I explore the dynamics of this 'exceptional' peace process, examining its potential for providing a roadmap for future peace processes in Afghanistan. The paper draws from original notes and documents as secondary data, that shed light on the contestations and dynamics of peace negotiations, and interview data with key negotiators representing the two sides of the conflict.

Keywords: Peace Process, Afghanistan, Intervention, Local Population

Santa Justa Lift

Cast-iron elevator with filigree details, built in 1902 to connect lower streets with Carmo Square.



Panel 10 // Venue: Auditorium 1

Rethinking Security, Economic and Military Alliances in World Politics

THURSDAY // 3 July 2025 // 14:00 - 15:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Maria Antónia Pires de Almeida

CICP, University of Minho (In Person)

NATO's Southern Flank: The Need for A New Strategy

Luis Bernardino

Universidade Autonoma De Lisboa (In Person)

**New Challenges for Transatlantic Security:
AI-Based Threats against Critical Infrastructure**

Taha Kalaycı

Cukurova University (In Person)

EU Enlargement and Geopolitical Imperatives: Türkiye and Ukraine

Sylvia Tiryaki

Bratislava International School of Liberal Arts (BISLA) (In Person)

Quo Vadis West? European Union and the USA Amidst Normative Transatlantic Tensions and the Shifting of the Global International Order

Alberto Cunha

OBSERVARE-UAL (In Person)

Learning from COVID-19: The EU Collective Securitisation of An Invisible Enemy

Ricardo-Pereira

Dublin City University (In Person)

Resilience and Ethnic Minorities in Georgia

Zviad Abashidze

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (In Person)

**NATO's Southern Flank
The need for a new strategy**

Luis Bernardino

UAL

lbernardino@autonoma.pt

Abstract

At a time when NATO and the world are facing colossal security challenges and when the globalization of regional conflict is increasing, an investigation of NATO's role in present and future regional conflicts seems to make sense. In this context, when we still have the political-strategic framework of NATO's Madrid Strategic Concept (2022) and we are thinking about the Haia NATO Summit (2025), does it make sense to reflect on the global approach of the Alliance and to know if it correct to think about NATO's Southern Flank and the relation with southern countries, particularly in Africa and South America? This reflection, 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 future NATO's role in global security.

Keywords: NATO, Defense, NATO's Southern Flank, Globalization

New Challenges for Transatlantic Security: AI-Based Threats against Critical Infrastructure

Taha Kalaycı

Cukurova University

tahakalayci209@gmail.com

Abstract

Russia's aggression in Ukraine, China's increasing global influence, the climate crisis and the growing threat of emerging malicious technologies have created an uncertainty in the global security environment. The Transatlantic alliance aims to support collective defense by keeping member states ready for potential crises that may arise at any time and place. The potential threats that member states will face are not only from states. Terrorist organizations, non-state armed actors and even individual attempts are asymmetric threats that Transatlantic security faces. In this context, AI-based threats have the potential to create serious security challenges for the transatlantic security architecture in the future. NATO announced its new AI strategy in July 2024. For NATO, AI-based threats are becoming increasingly important for crisis management, one of the three core missions of the alliance. Digital platforms have become an important part of daily life. This made the citizens of NATO member states vulnerable to disinformation and information manipulation. Information operations on these platforms are carried out not only through internet trolls but also through AI-based bot activities. However, disinformation and information manipulation are not the only examples of harmful use of AI. Digitalization of member states' critical infrastructures increases their vulnerability to cyber-attacks. The fact that a significant number of critical infrastructure systems rely on legacy technologies increases their vulnerability to AI-based attacks. Critical infrastructures are the fundamental for the proper functioning of economic, political and social activities in a country. This study will address the intersection of ever-evolving AI technologies and the threats faced by critical infrastructure systems. Although AI is considered to be the realm of computer scientists, the potential security threats posed by these technologies are a natural subject of international politics and security studies.

Keywords: NATO, Artificial Intelligence, Critical Infrastructure, Cyber-Security

EU Enlargement and Geopolitical Imperatives: Türkiye and Ukraine

Sylvia Tiryaki

Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Slovakia

sylvia.tiryaki@helcom.sk

Abstract

The process of EU enlargement was originally conceived as a meritocratic and conditional pathway designed to foster security, stability, and economic prosperity within Europe and beyond. Candidate countries were expected to undergo democratic transformation, aligning their institutions with EU norms in exchange for gradual integration. The underlying assumption was that economic interdependence, and shared values would ultimately ensure long-term peace and cohesion. However, recent geopolitical developments have demonstrated the limitations of this approach, highlighting that neither security nor economic stability can be taken for granted.

The 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine prompted the EU to almost instantly reassess its enlargement strategy. While geopolitics has always played a role in accession process, it has now moved further to the forefront. The war also underscored the strategic importance of the EU's neighbouring regions, and the risks associated with geopolitical instability along the EU's borders. Ukraine's accelerated candidacy reflects a broader shift: enlargement is now framed not only as a tool for economic and political integration but also as a geopolitical necessity and a pillar of European security architecture. Consequently, the EU ought to consider security and defense as a part of its enlargement framework and recognise that candidate countries' geopolitical alignment is as critical as their compliance with democratic and economic criteria.

This paper examines the evolving nature of the European Union (EU) enlargement strategy by comparing the accession trajectories of Türkiye and Ukraine between 2005 and 2025. It explores how the EU's approach has shifted from a strictly normative process centred on economic integration and democracy to one increasingly shaped by security imperatives and strategic autonomy. Through a comparative analysis, the paper highlights how Türkiye's stalled accession process contrasts with Ukraine's accelerated candidacy. Despite their different trajectories,

both Türkiye and Ukraine remain strategically valuable for the EU. Türkiye, with its geopolitical position at the crossroad of Europe, the Middle East, and Central Asia, has long served as a key partner in regional security, migration management, and economic connectivity. Ukraine, on the other hand, has reinforced its role as a critical player in European defense and energy security, particularly in light of Russia's aggression. Their contributions highlight that enlargement should not be seen merely as an expansion of EU membership, but as a means to enhance the EU's resilience and global standing.

The paper concludes that future enlargement must take into account the rapidly changing European and global security landscape. Supporting liberal democracy alone is no longer sufficient to ensure regional stability; instead, enlargement should be considered an essential instrument for strategic autonomy. This necessitates a more flexible and adaptive framework that balances the EU's foundational democratic values with pressing security concerns. As the EU transitions from a conceptual debate on strategic autonomy to its practical implementation through enlargement, it must ensure that this transformation strengthens its position as a capable and independent geopolitical actor in an increasingly volatile international landscape.

Keywords: European Union, Enlargement, Türkiye, Ukraine, Strategic Autonomy

Quo Vadis West? European Union and the USA Amidst Normative Transatlantic Tensions and the Shifting of the Global International Order

Alberto Cunha

OBSERVARE-UAL

e_cunha@doz.hwr-berlin.de

Abstract

What is the "West"? Where are its boundaries drawn? Is it merely a geographical reference or does it extend to any country that upholds and promotes "Western values" such as the rule of law, human rights, and democracy — thus transforming into a cultural and normative concept beyond geography? Regardless of whether one adopts a narrower or more expansive definition, the West's political, economic, and historical core remains anchored on both sides of the Atlantic, embodied in the Western alliance centered around the United States and institutionalized through NATO and the European Union. The Munich Security Conference (MSC) has, in recent decades, emerged as the preeminent forum for Western geopolitical and security elites. Examining its thematic choices therefore offers insight into the evolving state of Western strategic dilemmas. In 2020, the MSC introduced the notion of "Westlessness," capturing both the growing anxiety over the West's declining global influence and the internal divisions contributing to this erosion. This year, one month after Donald Trump's return to the U.S. presidency, the theme of the 2025 MSC, "Multipolarization," reflects either, or both, of the following: (i) an international order that has definitively become multipolar, with various global powers effectively contesting the post-Cold War U.S.-led hegemonic system; and (ii) an increasingly fragmented political landscape, including within the West itself. A growing body of literature over the past decade has engaged with the uncertain future of the West following the twin shocks of 2016 — Brexit and Trump's first election. Building on the body of literature, this article examines the evolving state of the West over the past decade, both as a set of values underpinning an international order and as a geopolitical and geoeconomic alliance. The mere fact that a discussion on the future of West has developed is a testimony of the general evolution of Western politics and the extent to which the events of the last decade

have damaged trust in the present and future of Transatlantic Relations and accelerated the decline of liberal world order that still defines the West. It is relevant therefore to question to what extent the concept of “Westlessness” is justifiable and whether it feeds with a “multipolarized” international order to come. Taking these two conceptualizations as the starting point, this article starts by characterizing the evolving state of the west over the past decade, as both a set of values underpinning an international order as well as geopolitical and geoeconomic alliance. By adopting a broader historical perspective on the evolution of international order, this article argues that, beyond the day-to-day political rhetoric of their leaders, both sides of the Atlantic have been searching for a new role amid a transitional phase in the global and Western geopolitical configuration. The article concludes by outlining potential scenarios for the future of the Western alliance and its role in shaping the international order in the coming decades. Moreover, it integrates Latin America—the “other transatlantic relationship” from a European perspective—into this broader reflection on the future of global governance.

Keywords: Westlessness, Multipolarization, Transatlantic Relationships, International Order, European Union

**Learning from COVID-19:
The EU Collective Securitisation of An Invisible Enemy**

Ricardo Pereira

Dublin City University

ricardo.pereira4@mail.dcu.ie

Abstract

The COVID-19 pandemic marked a turning point for health security within the European Union (EU). Initially, member states adopted a sanitary nationalist approach, which fragmented the EU's identity and core values. However, statements issued by the European Commission in March 2020 played a crucial role in coordinating and organising the EU's response, framing COVID-19 as an existential health threat. Drawing on the theory of collective securitisation, this article seeks to examine to what extent the EU's collective securitisation of COVID-19 drove the integration of EU responses to the pandemic in the health and cyber domains. Through discourse analysis of selected Commission statements, the findings reveal a recursive interaction among EU institutions that led to a transformation in the Union's health policy status quo. This process ultimately gave rise to new mechanisms and initiatives, including the EU4Health programme, the EU Global Strategy, and the European Health Security Framework, opening the door to the debate of the future of health policy in the EU.

Keywords: EU, Securitisation, COVID-19, Health, Routinisation

Resilience and Ethnic Minorities in Georgia

Zviad Abashidze

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

zviad.abashidze@tsu.ge

Abstract

Ethnic diversity and cultural pluralism have been one of the crucial and problematic challenges for post-communist Georgia. So called "ethnic conflicts" occurred in the 1990s (Abkhazia and Tskinali Region) and later Russian-Georgian war in 2008, created the main framework of ethnic relations in post-communist Georgia. The goal of the current paper based on qualitative methodology and Case study is to highlight the importance of minority issues from the perspective of internal security which can be seen within the framework of so called "human security, that goes beyond the traditional post-Westpalian and Hobsian understanding of "security" and employs the new dimensions, like economic failure, violations of human rights or discrimination. Authors working in human security them, that it "should be a shift of attention from a state centered to a people-centered approach to security, that concern with the security of state borders should give way to concern with the security of the people who live within those borders". Bary Buzan, arguing on scopes of human security, along with other factors, includes ethnic factor as possible challenge for peaceful coexistence.

According to a number of studies, in Eastern European nations, as usual, the majority blames the minorities for their possible collaboration to the former metropolis, that's why the question of "minorities" has been closely connected to the so called "securitization "questions. That's why the ethnicity and human security issues has been intertwined in given space unlike of it Western counterpart and requires further reconsideration of traditional understanding of security and stability. Georgia, a former communist state, is closely connected to "securitization" of minority issues, that's why the successful integration of minorities bears a clear importance for human security and resilience as far as the country had already experienced sharp ethnic mobilization and conflicts, which took thousands of lives.

Keywords: Georgia, Human Security, Resilience, Ethnic Minorities



Basilica of Estrela

Ornate, Baroque, 18th-century church with twin bell towers, housing Queen Maria I's tomb.

Panel 11 // Venue: Auditorium 1

Economic Reconfigurations in World Politics

THURSDAY // 3 July 2025 // 16:00 - 17:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Luis Bernardino

Universidade Autonoma De Lisboa (In Person)

Trade Diplomacy and Economic Statecraft:

How do Modern Infrastructure Initiatives Shape Inter-State Competition?

Stefano Mazzola

Independent Researcher (In Person)

New Corridor Wars: Trade and Energy

Mehmet Ferhat Firat

Adiyaman University (In Person)

How Eurasian "Corridorization" is Shaping a Multipolar Order in South Caucasus

Yeghia Tashjian

Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs (In Person)

Evaluating Eco-Efficiency and ESG Performance Towards Net Zero Emissions:

Evidence from TSMC's Value Chain

Wen-Chi Yang

National Chengchi University (NCCU) (In Person)

From Infant to Indispensable Industry

An evolution of Taiwan semiconductor industry and Lesson for India's Semiconductor Mission

Aswini Kumar

National Chengchi University (In Person)

Trade Diplomacy and Economic Statecraft: How do Modern Infrastructure Initiatives Shape Inter-State Competition?

Stefano Mazzola

Independent Researcher
stemazzola10@gmail.com

Abstract

The resurgence of trade diplomacy through trade and infrastructure initiatives is reshaping global economic interdependencies. This article explores the role of trade networks as instruments of foreign policy and strategic influence. As emerging powers increasingly leverage infrastructure to advance their geopolitical ambitions, cross-regional trade projects have become a defining tool of economic statecraft. China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has set the benchmark for modern trade corridors. By integrating markets through vast infrastructural networks, BRI has established a global standard demonstrating both the strategic potential and inherent challenges of such initiatives. This paper, through a comparative approach of two case studies, and elite interviews, examines alternative infrastructure projects, such as the India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor (IMEC) and Turkey's Road Development Project. By comparing their structure, economic impact, and strategic positioning, this study provides insights into the shifting dynamics of global trade. While these initiatives aim to project India and Turkey's influence beyond their regions, enhancing trade connectivity and regional integration, they also grapple with issues of governance, financing, and political instability. Ultimately, this article contributes to the broader literature of international political economy, offering new insights on how emerging trade corridors could play a role in enhancing the resilience of a shifting global economic order.

Keywords: Trade Diplomacy, IMEC, BRI, Turkey, India

New Corridor Wars: Trade and Energy

Mehmet Ferhat Fırat

Adiyaman University

mehmetfirat@adiyaman.edu.tr

Abstract

The emergence of new trade corridors—such as China's Belt and Road Initiative, the International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC), and the Middle Corridor linking Central Asia to Europe—has intensified geopolitical competition in global energy relations. These "new trade corridor wars" reflect not only economic ambitions but also strategic maneuvering for influence over critical energy supply chains and transit routes. As global powers and regional actors vie to shape these corridors, energy transportation emerges as both a driver and a battleground of broader political dynamics. This study examines how new corridors are reshaping alliances, challenging traditional routes dominated by Western interests, and fueling rivalries, particularly among China, Russia, the EU, and the U.S., as well as regional powers like Turkey, Iran, and India. The competition over control and access to these routes influences energy pricing, diversification strategies, and the stability of energy markets. Ultimately, the evolving struggle over trade and energy corridors underscores the centrality of infrastructure geopolitics in 21st-century world affairs.

Keywords: Corridor Wars, Transit Routes, Geopolitics, Energy Relations

How Eurasian "Corridorization" is shaping a Multipolar Order in South Caucasus

Yeghia Tashjian

Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs

yt13@aub.edu.lb

Abstract

The South Caucasus has always been a geopolitical and geo-economic battleground of major global and regional powers. In the last few years, along with newly rising powers, regional and global actors have started initiating economic corridors aiming to foster cross-border trade, consolidate their geopolitical position, and balance their rivals. Sometimes, geo-economics was used as a catalyst to shape the regional balance of power and integrate small and medium-sized states into regional infrastructural projects.

The war in Ukraine and the developments after the Second Nagorno-Karabakh war, which further facilitated the emergence of a multipolar regional order, have completely shifted the regional balance of power in the South Caucasus and gave a regional boost to connectivity projects. The interaction of regional and extra-regional powers, such as Russia, Turkey, Iran, India, and China, has triggered some degree of regionalism, thus limiting the maneuvering space of the South Caucasian states. As such, economic corridors and transit routes played a key role in shaping the regional multipolar system. The Russo-Iranian-Indian-led International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC) and China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), are two of these projects that aim to boost regional cooperation.

To examine the importance of these corridors in the South Caucasus, this presentation (1) will highlight the objectives of key regional stakeholders in pursuing this project in facilitating north-south connectivity; (2) will analyze the role of BRI and INSTC in the region and how local states perceive regionalism; (3) and will analyze how multipolarity triggered by 'corridorization' is impacting the behavior of the local actors as they strive for positioning in the regional system. Therefore, the significance of this paper is to understand the connection between (trans-)regional interconnectivity and multipolarity amid the post-Ukraine and Nagorno-Karabakh wars and the geopolitical and geo-economic shifts in the South Caucasus.

Keywords: South Caucasus , Multipolarity , Eurasia, Corridorization, BRI, INSTC

Evaluating Eco-Efficiency and ESG Performance Towards Net Zero Emissions: Evidence from TSMC's Value Chain

Wen-Chi Yang

National Chengchi University (NCCU)

wyang@nccu.edu.tw

Abstract

This study examines firms within TSMC's supply chain to assess the interconnections between eco-efficiency, ESG (Environmental, Social, and Governance) performance, and net-zero emission targets. Recognizing the semiconductor industry's critical role in modern technology and the urgency of addressing climate change, this research applies an inverse Data Envelopment Analysis (DEA) approach to allocate greenhouse gas (GHG) emission targets. This method helps guide less efficient firms toward achieving net-zero emissions within feasible operational limits.

The study utilizes input-output data and ESG scores for 53 companies from the 2020 Refinitiv and Taiwan Economic Journal databases. Results reveal significant regional differences in eco-efficiency. Among ESG dimensions, social and governance scores show a positive but statistically insignificant correlation with eco-efficiency, while environmental scores exhibit a statistically significant negative effect.

This research is the first to explore the nexus of eco-efficiency, ESG performance, and net-zero strategies in the context of a leading semiconductor supply chain. It proposes an innovative inverse DEA model and introduces a chance-constrained DEA framework to accommodate the high uncertainty of the semiconductor industry. The findings offer valuable implications for policy and decision-makers seeking region-specific strategies to enhance environmental performance across global supply networks.

Keywords: Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company (TSMC); Eco-efficiency; Environmental, social, and governance performance; Net zero emissions; Inverse data envelopment analysis

From Infant to Indispensable Industry An evolution of Taiwan semiconductor industry and Lesson for India's Semiconductor Mission

Aswini Kumar

National Chengchi University

108265508@g.nccu.edu.tw

Abstract

In the 1970s, Taiwan faced challenges like every developing country on upscaling their economy and making more competitive advanced technology products. Its economy then constituted mostly agricultural products and low-value electronic assembly exports, necessitating adjustment. This survival paved the path for the creation of a world-class next-generation manufacturer via the government intervention and its various measures to develop the industry. After many failed attempts on building a world-competitive chemical industry, the government ascertained the semiconductor industry as the next logical step for their electronics assembly industry when the US dominated the semiconductor manufacturing with Japan, a small secondary player. Indeed, Taiwan accommodated a few foreign factories, like General Instruments, set up in 1966, but low-value assembly tasks. However, Taiwanese companies were falling far behind the cutting edge and the semiconductor value chain.

To overcome these challenges, the Ministry of Economic Affairs endeavoured to employ a better strategy to help Taiwanese companies enter the technologically advanced and capital-intensive industries and be competitive in semiconductor manufacturing. Thus, the Institute for Technology Research Institute (ITRI) emphasised applied science research. Primarily, the Taiwan government had acted the role of a venture capitalist. It had a specific strategy for developing the semiconductor industry and anticipates Silicon Valley as their guide. Small companies in various parts of the value chain, clustered together and guided collectively by the government, created an ecosystem. Distinct with South Korea's strategy, where the government subsidises plenty to specific companies to explore and dominate a sector.

Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company, TSMC, the leading cutting-edge technology giant, founded the independent foundry model, widely known, representing an innovative new business model that disrupted the existing

semiconductor market and focused on the international export market, which satisfied the government's wish and also accounted for Morris Chang's American background. As Clayton Christensen in his book "The Innovator Solution" explained, the natural trajectory of industries was to move from integrated architectures to modular ones. When that happens, companies can mix and match components from best-of-breed suppliers in order to respond conveniently to the specific needs of individual customers. This is exactly what TSMC did. The government invested some but also aspired to private investors. It had a strategy, but a lot of other things had to go right in order for it to work out in the right place at the right time.

While India leads in IT services and software and chip design, it lagged notably in semiconductor production, the largest gap for Indian tech skills. Currently, India imports all of its semiconductors, but demand is expected to quadruple to 100 billion dollars by 2025. The country became a victim of the global semiconductor shortage in 2020, affecting a number of important Indian enterprises. Furthermore, China accounts for a major percentage of these imports (37% in 2019 or \$7 billion); this has major geopolitical implications. For some years, India has been attempting to minimise its dependence on Chinese exports. Breaking this dependency is especially critical for India's thriving technology industry as the global economy transitions towards 4IR. This is where Taiwan enters the picture. India and Taiwan also acknowledge the strategic significance of each other in the backdrop of Asian geopolitical developments.

Through the 'Make in India; Make for the World' initiative, the government seeks participation in its ambition to establish India as a worldwide hub for electronics manufacturing and design not only for the domestic but also for the foreign markets. The India Semiconductor Mission launched in December 2021 a masterplan of ₹ 76 000 crore Production-Linked Incentive (PLI) program by catalysing its semiconductor ecosystem to tackle the semiconductor shortage and de-risk India from China. But how feasible would it be to implement and successfully integrate into the semiconductor value chain, and how does this work out? In India, the market is long beyond the point where a private company can start a viable semiconductor manufacturing business on its own. To catch up, the government must do more and can learn lessons from Taiwan's development of the semiconductor industry .

This study will trace the history of Taiwan's semiconductor development and government's endeavours, Indigenisation of Technology, and Industrial Policy with comparative analysis; evaluate what lessons can be taken away for the India Semiconductor Mission; scrutinise the opportunities and challenges in the pursuit of

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India's emerging technology powerhouse, considering its comparative advantage in semiconductor and technology alliances between India and Taiwan also mutually beneficial, and how Indian leaders and strategic analysts perceive this goal and what are the gaps and how Taiwan can fill them. The methodology adopted for the present study is a qualitative approach and exploratory and descriptive in nature. The predominant mode of data collection is the secondary source.

Keywords: Taiwan Semiconductor, TSMC, Industrial Policy, India Semiconductor Mission, Taiwan-India technology partnership



Panel 12 // (Online)

European Security in the Context of Contemporary Crises and Challenges

FRIDAY // 4 July 2025 // 09:00 - 10:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Aleksandra Szczerba

Jacob of Paradies University (Online)

The Social Consequences of Climate Change as a Challenge to Ecological Security and NATO Stability

Oliwia Radkiewicz

Jacob of Paradies University (Online)

Lifelong Learning as a Resource and Tool for Solving EU Structural Problems

Marcin Rafał Szott

Jacob of Paradies University (Online)

European Union Assistance to Ukraine in the Field of Public Health Amidst the War

Tomasz Marcinkowski

Jacob of Paradies University (Online)

Engines of Change: The Council's Presidencies and the Equality Legislation

Aleksandra Szczerba

Jacob of Paradies University (Online)

The Social Consequences of Climate Change as a Challenge to Ecological Security and NATO Stability

Oliwia Radkiewicz

Jacob of Paradies University

oradkiewicz@ajp.edu.pl

Abstract

In the face of the growing impact of climate change on natural environments and social systems, NATO is increasingly confronted with unconventional threats. Extreme weather events, environmental degradation, and resource scarcity are leading to population displacement, the destabilization of strategically important regions, and rising internal tensions within member states. The increasing frequency of natural disasters necessitates the more frequent deployment of military forces in support of civilian emergency response systems, posing challenges to the Alliance's defense readiness. Moreover, threats such as climate-related disinformation and attacks on climate-sensitive critical infrastructure weaken social cohesion and political stability. This presentation analyzes the links between climate-induced migration, societal resilience, civilian safety, and NATO's capacity to respond in a shifting ecological security landscape. Special attention is given to the concept of human security and the role of local communities in building civil resilience.

Keywords: : Climate Change, NATO Stability, Human Security, Ecological Security

Lifelong Learning as a Resource and Tool for Solving EU Structural Problems

Marcin Rafał Szott

Jacob of Paradies University

mszott@ajp.edu.pl

Abstract

The subject of my considerations is the conceptualization of the idea of lifelong learning as a source and means of solving the socio-economic problems of the EU. The above-mentioned subject of research is embedded in numerous EU legal acts with different binding force, the level of implementation of which depended on the active attitude of member states. The construction of a European education area based on cooperation between EU bodies and member states and respect for the independence of national education policies has been significant in terms of the dynamics and outcome of the EU's socio-economic problems addressed. Especially noteworthy from the point of view of the present considerations are the legal acts that have contributed to the development of new and economically desirable skills and key competencies also in the context of building a learning society model. The issues raised indicate the broad context in which the idea of lifelong learning should be considered, particularly in terms of the marketization of education as a tool for solving EU economic problems. A synthetic selection of selected legal acts forms the basis of the study by the dogmatic-legal and theoretical-legal method using tools characteristic of document analysis.

Keywords: International Law, Human Rights Law, Education, Competences

European Union Assistance to Ukraine in the Field of Public Health Amidst the War

Tomasz Marcinkowski

Jacob of Paradies University

tmarcinkowski@ajp.edu.pl

Abstract

The full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 has also posed a significant challenge in the field of public health. This challenge has affected not only Ukraine but also the countries receiving Ukrainian war refugees. The European Union, the United States, and their allies strongly condemned Russia's actions and have supported Ukraine from the outset. Among various domains of assistance, public health has emerged as a critical area of engagement. Support for Ukrainian refugees in host countries includes access to healthcare services and the implementation of targeted aid programs, such as those addressing mental health needs. Simultaneously, the European Union and its member states have provided assistance to Ukraine's domestic healthcare sector. This includes in-kind and financial aid, the evacuation of injured and ill individuals, and the provision of medical treatment within Europe. These measures not only alleviate the immediate health-related consequences of the war but also contribute to strengthening the resilience of the Ukrainian state. Furthermore, since Ukraine was granted candidate status for EU membership in June 2022, the country has been progressively aligning with the Union. Notably, despite ongoing hostilities, cooperation in the field of public health remains an active channel of engagement between Ukraine and the EU.

Keywords: War in Ukraine, Health Policy, European Union, EU Aid to Ukraine, Health Security

**Engines of Change:
The Council's Presidencies and the Equality Legislation**

Aleksandra Szczerba

Jacob of Paradies University

aszczcerba@ajp.edu.pl

Abstract

The previous term of office of the European Commission was characterized by an extraordinary dynamics of anti-discrimination legislation. Three new equality directives were adopted, including an area that is not easiest one for cooperation between the Member States. The speech will put forward the hypothesis that the intensity of the EU's legislative activity in area of equal treatment is determined by the visibility of the principle of equality among priorities of the Member State holding the presidency. This hypothesis will be verified by analyzing the priorities of the subsequent presidencies of the Council from mid-2022 to mid-2025 and comparing them with the timetable of adoption of the following equality directives: women on board directive, pay transparency directive and gender-based violence directive.

Keywords: European Commission, Equality Legislation, Terms of Presidency, European Union



National Palace of Pena

The Pena Palace is a Romanticist castle in São Pedro de Penaferrim, in the municipality of Sintra, on the Portuguese Riviera.

Panel 13 // Online

New Challenges in International Security

FRIDAY // 4 July 2025 // 11:00 - 12:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Andrew K P Leung

Andrew Leung International Consultants (Online)

Parliamentary Diplomacy as a Strategy for Resolving Ontological Insecurity in Small States: The Case of Portugal

Nádia Loureiro

Universidade Nova de Lisboa (Online)

Strategic Resource Nationalism: The Role of Rare Earth Materials in Geopolitical Rivalries and Economic Security - The European Union Perspective

Upasna Mishra

Jadavpur University (Online)

The Economic and Social Effects of Canada's Humanitarian Policy and Refugee Resettlement: A Comprehensive Analysis of Host Communities

Ruohan He

University of Hong Kong (Online)

The EU's Strategic Securitization of Electricity Infrastructure and Critical Raw Materials

Francesco Ancona

ENTSO-E (Online)

Dignity, Responsibility, and Reciprocity: A Framework for Non-International Armed Conflicts

Samuel Jesus

University of Azores & University of Évora (Online)

Strategic Rivalry or Cooperative Leadership? A Comparative Analysis of the Roles of Russia and China in BRICS Plus and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization

Roshan Taj Humayun

Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University (Online)

**Parliamentary Diplomacy as a Strategy
for Resolving Ontological Insecurity in Small States:
The Case of Portugal**

Nádia Loureiro

Universidade Nova de Lisboa
nadia.loureiro@hotmail.com

Abstract

Parliamentary diplomacy has increasingly established itself as a complementary instrument to traditional diplomacy, allowing national parliaments to play an active role in foreign policy. This article explores the extent to which parliamentary diplomacy contributes to mitigating ontological insecurity in small states, specifically examining Portugal. Ontological insecurity, understood as the need for states to maintain a stable and predictable identity in the international system, is a persistent challenge for small states due to their structural vulnerabilities. It can be maintained that parliamentary diplomacy serves as a mechanism of continuity, helping to reduce the impact of political transitions and external pressures on foreign policy.

This study adopts a qualitative methodological approach, drawing on document analysis and case studies of parliamentary engagement in international organisations, including the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE). Additionally, it examines interparliamentary cooperation within the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries (CPLP) and the role of Parliamentary Friendship Groups (PFGs). By triangulating these sources, the research provides a comprehensive understanding of how parliamentary diplomacy contributes to Portugal's international identity and diplomatic strategy.

The study is based on three main assumptions: (1) small states, given their structural limitations, are more susceptible to ontological insecurity; (2) parliamentary diplomacy, through institutional networking and sustained interparliamentary dialogue, reinforces the coherence and predictability of foreign policy; and (3) in Portugal, continued parliamentary engagement in international organisations has enhanced the country's image as a credible and committed multilateral actor.

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Furthermore, Portugal has secured prominent positions within various parliamentary organisations and has played an active role in fostering interparliamentary cooperation within the CPLP, particularly in strengthening the Lusophone identity. PFGs have also been instrumental in reinforcing bilateral and multilateral ties, further consolidating Portugal's position in the international system.

The findings suggest that parliamentary diplomacy is a significant factor in strengthening Portugal's international identity and serves as a stabilising force during periods of domestic political change. The analysis indicates that Portuguese parliamentarians, by actively participating in international forums, not only contribute to the country's diplomatic projection but also provide a degree of continuity that helps to mitigate potential disruptions arising from governmental transitions. In an era of growing international uncertainty, the study concludes that parliamentary diplomacy is an increasingly relevant strategy for small states seeking to enhance their external presence and maintain a coherent international identity.

Keywords: Parliamentary Diplomacy, Ontological Insecurity, Foreign Policy, Small States; Portugal

**Strategic Resource Nationalism:
The Role of Rare Earth Materials in Geopolitical Rivalries and Economic Security
The European Union Perspective**

Upasna Mishra

Jadavpur University

mishraupasna1998@gmail.com

Abstract

Rare earth materials (REMs) have emerged as a crucial element in global economic and political competition, particularly in the context of strategic resource nationalism. With China dominating the supply chain, controlling over 60% of REM production, concerns over economic security and geopolitical influence have intensified. The European Union (EU), heavily reliant on imports for its technological, renewable energy, and defense industries, faces significant risks due to this dependency. To counteract potential supply disruptions, the EU has implemented strategic initiatives such as the European Critical Raw Materials Act and the Action Plan on Critical Raw Materials, focusing on diversification, domestic production enhancement, and international collaborations.

This study explores how rare earth materials have become a key factor in shaping international trade and security dynamics. It analyzes China's control over REM supply chains and how this has led to the EU's policy shifts aimed at reducing vulnerability. China has historically used its rare earth dominance as a geopolitical instrument, as seen in its 2010 export restrictions on Japan and more recent considerations of limiting exports to Western nations. These actions have prompted the EU to strengthen its strategic autonomy through measures such as securing alternative supply sources, investing in domestic mining and recycling capabilities, and forming alliances with resource-rich countries, including Canada, Australia, and African nations.

Additionally, this paper examines the EU's broader efforts to mitigate China's influence over the rare earth market. Economic and political obstacles, such as high extraction costs, environmental sustainability concerns, and competition for resources, present significant challenges. The EU's commitment to the Green Deal

and digital transformation further emphasizes the need for a stable and secure supply of REMs, which are essential for the production of electric vehicles, wind turbines, and semiconductors.

Through an assessment of EU policies, technological advancements, and geopolitical strategies, this paper highlights the evolving role of rare earth materials in global economic security. The EU's pursuit of reducing dependency on China marks a shift towards a more self-sufficient and resilient economic model. However, the long-term success of these initiatives will depend on continued political commitment, innovation in resource extraction and recycling, and effective international cooperation. This study underscores the significance of REMs in shaping future geopolitical alignments and economic stability in an increasingly competitive global landscape.

Keywords: Rare Earth Materials, Strategic Resource Nationalism, European Union, Geopolitical Competition, Economic Security

The Economic and Social Effects of Canada's Humanitarian Policy and Refugee Resettlement: A Comprehensive Analysis of Host Communities

Ruohan He

The University of Hong Kong
u3624561@connect.hku.hk

Abstract

The ongoing influx of refugees into Canada due to global conflicts and humanitarian crises has prompted a reevaluation of the country's refugee resettlement policies and their impacts on host communities. Canada's commitment to multiculturalism and humanitarianism necessitates a comprehensive understanding of the economic and social effects of these policies, particularly in light of the increasing diversity among refugee populations. Despite extensive literature on refugee resettlement, there remains a notable gap in empirical studies exploring the varied impacts across different regions of Canada, particularly in rural versus urban contexts. This research aims to address this gap by conducting a mixed-methods analysis that combines quantitative data on economic indicators with qualitative insights from stakeholder interviews and community surveys. Utilizing time series analysis and cross-regional comparisons, this study will examine the relationship between refugee resettlement policies and their economic outcomes, including employment rates and public service pressures. Anticipated results include a nuanced understanding of how these policies shape local economies and social dynamics, revealing both opportunities for growth and challenges related to resource allocation. The innovative aspect of this research lies in its broader context, connecting Canada's refugee resettlement experiences with those of European nations facing similar challenges, especially in light of influxes from Middle Eastern and African countries. By drawing parallels between Canada's approach and the European experience, this study aims to provide a comprehensive framework for understanding the complexities of refugee integration.

Keywords: Humanitarian Policy, Refugee Resettlement, Integration Challenges, Regional Disparities, Socioeconomic Outcomes, Canada

The EU's Strategic Securitization of Electricity Infrastructure and Critical Raw Materials

Francesco Ancona

ENTSO-E

francescofedericoancona@gmail.com

Abstract

Electricity has become far more than just a utility: it's now a strategic asset at the heart of the European Union's energy, industrial, and security agendas. This proposal explores how electricity infrastructure, through the lens of Securitization Theory, has been put on the EU's strategic spotlight, whose narrative transformed it into a crucial recipient of security as a consequence of geopolitical tensions, conflicts, technological shifts, and supply chain vulnerabilities in recent years. It focuses on how electricity has taken on a growing role in the EU's strategic thinking, particularly in the aftermath of the Russo-Ukrainian war, and what this means for the Union's resilience and autonomy. The first section analyses the geopolitical consequences of the war in Ukraine, especially the disconnection of Ukraine and the Baltic states from the Russian-controlled BRELL grid. These developments have not only accelerated synchronization with the EU's network, but also highlighted the interdependence, and vulnerability, of grid infrastructure with wider geo-economic, geostrategic, deterrence and defence themes. Next, the paper examines the material foundation of Europe's energy infrastructure. It analyses the EU's dependence on critical raw materials like lithium, rare earth elements, and cobalt: resources essential for renewables and grid technologies but largely dependent on imports from geopolitically unstable regions, or from strategic competitors. This dependency adds a layer of strategic risk, making critical raw materials a key battleground for Europe's broader goals of energy security and strategic autonomy. The third part explores the rapidly changing threat landscape. Drawing on lessons from Ukraine, it considers how electricity infrastructure is increasingly vulnerable to hybrid threats. The paper also assesses the double-edged role of emerging technologies such as artificial intelligence and automated grid management, which can both improve resilience and open up new vulnerabilities. Finally, the paper

surveys the legal, operational, and military measures adopted at both EU and member state level to secure electricity infrastructure and its supply chains. This includes key initiatives such as the Critical Raw Materials Act, the NIS2 Directive on cybersecurity, and defence initiatives such as the White Paper on the Future of European Defence. Together, these aspects converge in the established recognition that electricity security is now a multifaceted area affecting and being affected by defence, industry, and geopolitical considerations alike. By connecting the dots linking energy policy, international security, and political economy, the paper shows how electricity infrastructure has come to symbolize a broader transformation in how the EU understands and manages strategic vulnerability in a more contested, uncertain, but, nonetheless, interconnected world.

Keywords: Energy Security, Critical Raw Materials, EU Strategic Autonomy, Cybersecurity, Defence

Dignity, Responsibility, and Reciprocity: A Framework for Non-International Armed Conflicts

Samuel Jesus

University of Azores & University of Évora
jesus.sb.bm@gmail.com

Abstract

This research aims to integrate Mario Bettati's Critical Globalist Theory within the framework of non-international armed conflicts alongside Jean-Pierre Dupuy's ethical relationalism, particularly regarding applying International Humanitarian Law. Human dignity stands as the fundamental focus of ethics amid the complexities of non-international armed conflicts. The Law of Armed Conflict encounters challenges due to human objectification that arises from ruthless utilitarian armed interventions. In this context, conflicting parties must establish minimum moral limits for warfare and regulate global institutions to ensure human rights and accountability. Reciprocity, rooted in recognising globalising concepts, demonstrates that one actor's actions affect others and the global community. In this light, the isolationism, utilitarianism, and mercantilism of warfare—used as state hermeneutic criteria for population protection—are supplanted by dignity, responsibility, and reciprocity, thereby contributing to the renewal of global humanism and the minimum guarantee of protection within the realm of armed conflict.

Keywords: Dignity, Responsibility, Reciprocity, Entailment, International Humanitarian Law

**Strategic Rivalry or Cooperative Leadership?
A Comparative Analysis of the Roles of Russia and China in BRICS Plus and
the Shanghai Cooperation Organization**

Roshan Taj Humayun

Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University

roshantaj85@gmail.com

Abstract

The research study investigates the comparative roles of Russia and China in two pivotal multilateral frameworks, BRICS plus (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa, Egypt, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Iran and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Both organizations are platforms for advancing the Global South's interests, challenging Western hegemony and fostering multi-polarity. However, Russia and China, as the dominant members of these institutions, differ significantly in their motivations, contributions and strategies. The study examines how these two powers engage within BRICS Plus and the SCO, assessing whether their interactions represent cooperative leadership or strategic rivalry. In BRICS Plus, China's economic pre-eminence and initiatives like the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) contrast with Russia's strategic focus on geopolitics and energy diplomacy, occasionally leading to tensions over agenda-setting. The recent expansion of BRICS introduces additional dynamics that could influence their leadership roles. In the SCO, Russia and China's competition is more apparent, as the organization's focus on regional security in Central Asia sharpens their differing ambitions. Russia seeks to maintain its traditional dominance in the region, while China leverages its economic strength to integrate the region into its broader strategic framework, particularly through the BRI. The paper highlights the complementary and competitive dynamics between Russia and China in these organizations. While their collaboration in BRICS and the SCO strengthens their shared goal of countering Western-led global institutions, their differing priorities, mainly security versus economy, shape their roles and influence within these platforms. The study concludes that their partnership is characterized by a delicate balance of cooperation and competition, with broader implications for the evolving

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global order. The analysis contributes to the understanding of how two leading powers navigate complex multilateral environments, balancing strategic alignment and rivalry to reshape global and regional governance structures.

Keywords: China's Economic Dominance, Russia's Geopolitical Strategy, Power Asymmetry in Multilateralism, Strategic Rivalry and Cooperation, Multi-Polarity in Global Order

Belém Tower, officially the Tower of Saint Vincent is a 16th-century fortification located in Lisbon that served as a point of embarkation and disembarkation for Portuguese explorers and as a ceremonial gateway to Lisbon. This tower symbolizes Portugal's maritime and colonial power in early modern Europe.



Panel 14 // Online

Influence of Regional Conflicts in World Politics

FRIDAY // 4 July 2025 // 14:00 - 15:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Christian Ploberger

CBIS, Rajamangala University of Technology Tawan-Ok (Online)

Prospects for Turkish-US Relations in the Trump Administration

Mark Meirowitz

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

Arctic Route Incidents: Changing Interpretations and Historical Predecessors

Oksana Ermolaeva

Complutense University (Online)

Turkey's Arguing Its EU Membership Bid:

A Civilizational Discourse Under Functional and Critical Tendencies

Aslı Ege

Marmara University (Online)

Serbian Foreign Policy in the Western Balkans:

Supporting Separatism and Secessionism in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Harun Nuhanović

Center for Geopolitical Research (GEOPOL) (Online)

Comparative Analysis of the European Union's Environmental Policies towards the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea

Fevzi Kirbaşoğlu & Özgür Tüfekçi

Karadeniz Technical University & CESRAN International (Online)

Theopolitics of the Russian Federation in the Black Sea Region and Moscow's Desire to Form an Axis of Orthodox Countries

Elena Onu

National School of Political and Administrative Studies SNSPA (Online)

Prospects for Turkish-US Relations in the Trump Administration

Mark Meirowitz

State University of New York (SUNY) Maritime College

Markmeirowitz@gmail.com

Abstract

The advent of the new Trump administration presents challenges to the relationship between Turkey and the United States. I will look at a number of areas where this relationship will be pivotal to regional and geopolitical issues. Some of the matters I would propose to address and analyze would include:

A. Turkish-US Relations – I will examine the main matters of concern between Turkey and the US, such as the impact of Turkey having acquired the Russian S-400 missile system, CAATSA Sanctions, Turkey's proposed acquisition of F-16's and replacement parts for GF-16's and reinstatement of Turkey in the F-35 program.

B. The Russia-Ukraine War – Turkey has multi-tasked on this major world conflict. While Turkey supports Ukraine in the war and has supplied Ukraine with weaponry, including drones, Turkey does not participate in sanctions against Russia.

C. Syria –

a. Turkey's plans and motivations regarding Syria diverge significantly from those of the United States – in that Turkey's main policy issue relates to the Syrian Defense Force (SDF) largely made up by Syrian Kurds (YPG and PYD) while America emphasizes the war against ISIS and cooperation with the SDF and the Syrian Kurds, with the United States having troops stationed in Turkey. The open question is whether President Trump will withdraw all of part of the US contingent. These troops are pivotal to supporting the SDF, which also maintains prisons for ISIS fighters; and

b. The US has reached out to Syria and its new regime headed by Hay'at Tahrir Al-Sham (HTS) and Ahmed Al-Sharaa to reach some sort of agreement so that US sanctions might be limited or eliminated.

D. United States/President Trump - The recent discussions between US Secretary of State Rubio and Turkish Foreign Minister Fidan, as well as the phone call between President Trump – and President Trump's comments about President Erdogan being a “good leader” might usher in a period of warmer relations between Turkey and the United States.

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E. Europe - With Trump deemphasizing relations with Europe and NATO, the question is whether this will engender closer relations between Turkey and Europe – and Turkey with the EU (which has failed repeatedly to allow Turkey's membership)

F. Gaza War – Here there is a fundamental disconnect between Turkey and the US. President Erdogan has stated that Hamas is comprised of freedom fighters while the United States is a staunch supporter of the State of Israel.

G. The Influence of China – Turkey, despite being a member of NATO, has expressed interest in joining BRICS and achieving full membership in the SCO.

H. Future possibilities – The question is where the Turkish-US relationship is headed. I will examine the possible trajectories for future interaction between Turkey and the United States.

Keywords: Turkey, Syria, United States, Russia, Ukraine

Arctic Route Incidents: Changing Interpretations and Historical Predecessors

Oksana Ermolaeva

Complutense University

ksana27@yahoo.com

Abstract

Today, European border areas are still at the forefront of an “East vs. West” divide, aggravated by the political hostilities. Recent instances of the migration crisis at the border of Russia with Finland and Norway demonstrate, how illegal transborder migrants’ trafficking can be endowed by the governments with the meaning of a political warfare. An “Arctic route episode” in 2015-2016, when asylum seekers traveling to Northern Norway and Finland through the Russian Federation caused the Finnish and Norwegian governments to feel its security was threatened, were repeated ten years later. First, the current paper traces the evolution of scholarly interpretations of the incidents of the Arctic Route of 2015-2016 and 2023-2024 and claims that there are several strands of interpretation of these occurrences. While some earlier interpretations stressed Russia’s non-involvement into the incidents, the later accounts claim, that they were part of a Russian strategy labeled a «hybrid war», which is a reality and should be understood as an «old wine» in a new bottle, stemming from a tradition of desinformation and propaganda, which always accompanied the Soviet interventions. Such assessments tend to analyze later instances as a direct continuation of earlier incidents: Russia’s directing migrants to Latvia via Belarus, and using migrants for foreign influence in Northern Europe which occurred in 2015–2016. Then, the paper adopts a comparative historical perspective and investigates the early Soviet practices to use the (il)legal transborder trafficking for political goals. In particular, it looks upon the Russian borders with Finland, and the Baltic states immediately after the Revolution of 1917 and the Russian Civil War. It considers such instances, as smuggling to Finland and to the Baltics in the early Soviet years as a disguise for espionage; the Soviet guerilla raids at the borderland territories of Finland and Estonia; attempts to administer illegal trafficking at the end of the 1920s – beginning of the 1930s and the reasons for closing it. It investigates

“unintended consequences” of creating smuggling and human trafficking corridors, and looks for an explanations of why eventually they turned out to be ineffective. Conflict, warfare, mobilization, and political hostilities have remained central to our understanding how the borders have been reproduced in everyday life, international relations, public sphere, and scholarly research. But they are also highly “situational.” In other words, the interpretation of a recurrent and a very similar crisis at a particular border can largely alter with time depending on the changes in a broader geopolitical context, and especially the warfare occurring at other distant frontiers of the country, as it happened in the Russian case of the migration crises in Northern Europe.

Keywords: Arctic Migration Route, Interpretations, Soviet Borders, Transborder Incidents, Human Trafficking, Smuggling

Turkey's Arguing Its EU Membership Bid: A Civilizational Discourse Under Functional and Critical Tendencies

Aslı Ege

Marmara University
asli.ege@marmara.edu.tr

Abstract

Turkey's long-term perspective of EU accession still seems to be on the agenda, as Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan declares Turkey's membership bid as a strategic priority. Despite this strategic thinking however, a civilizational rhetoric heavily leads Turkey's arguing its EU membership bid. This paper reveals that rather than the idea of "Europe of norms and values", Turkey's relationship with the EU still remains largely determined by the civilizational rhetoric, in which Turkey is distinguished by its Islamic character. Turkey's civilizationism in relation to the EU therefore emphasizes Turkey being located in the Muslim-Eastern world and within an Ottoman-Islamic narrative. Although civilizationism does not any more constitute the core subject matter in Turkey's overall foreign policy orientations, especially the since the end of the Arab spring; a difference-based civilizationism still seems to be a functionally and critically mobilizing force in Turkey-EU relations. This paper allows to make a deeper sense of Turkey's difference-based civilizationism with regard to the EU, arguing that such civilizationism rather depends on a functional and critical reasoning. Precisely, while the alliance of civilizations rhetoric as functionally argued by Turkey with respect to its EU membership bid has provided the country with a global role and prestige, Turkey critically arguing its civilizational rhetoric with the EU through its stance against Eurocentrism, has been part of Turkey's objection to the West-centered configuration of global order, of which for Turkey's AKP governments the EU presumably makes part. Especially, Turkey's normative discourse on justice, equality and pluralism with regard to its ideal conceptualization of the global order shapes its projection of a just, egalitarian and pluralist EU structure which is also a prerequisite for the recognition of Turkey's civilizational identity difference. This paper is structured through how Turkey within its civilizational rhetoric argues its EU membership bid in two ways, functionally and critically, from Alliance of Civilizations

(AOC) to the stance against Eurocentrism of the global order, englobing the EU. As the AOC has nevertheless lost its driving force, the critical arguments of the Turkey's civilizational rhetoric with the EU, come to the fore in Turkey's stance against Eurocentrism. In both cases however, Turkey's approach towards the EU reveals the country's historical identity difference, which both constructs Turkey's civilizational rhetoric and is reproduced as a result. The present paper then tackles Turkey's reasoning and perceptions behind its civilizationism with regard to the EU to the extent that this civilizationism has served broader objectives under functional and critical tendencies. Referring essentially to the methodology of discourse analysis, this paper allows to make a deeper sense of the Turkey's arguing its EU membership bid.

Keywords: Civilizational Identity Difference, Turkey-EU, Alliance of Civilizations, Eurocentrism Versus Global Justice, Muslim-Eastern-Ottoman-Islamic

Serbian Foreign Policy in the Western Balkans: Supporting Separatism and Secessionism in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Harun Nuhanović

Center for Geopolitical Research (GEOPOL)

harun.nuhanovic.mod@hotmail.com

Abstract

After the war, relations between Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and its neighboring countries have been strained. While BiH's relationship with Croatia is relatively better than with Serbia, political tensions persist, particularly due to BiH's Election Law, which complicates relations with Croatia. On the other hand, BiH-Serbia relations have remained tense in various ways. While Serbia publicly advocates for BiH's territorial integrity, its actions often suggest otherwise.

In 1996, Serbian and Bosnian presidents Slobodan Milošević and Alija Izetbegović signed an agreement to exchange ambassadors. However, Serbia delayed its implementation. Eventually, both countries exchanged ambassadors, and relations normalized to an extent. Over the years, BiH-Serbia relations have developed through multiple channels, yet underlying tensions persist.

This article analyzes Serbia's foreign policy, revealing its true intentions toward BiH. In 2024, Serbia organized the All-Serbian Assembly, bringing together Serbian representatives from across the region. Milorad Dodik, the president of BiH's Republika Srpska (RS) entity, represented Serbs from BiH. The assembly was convened under the pretext of addressing the allegedly disadvantaged position of Serbs in the region and concluded with calls for greater cooperation among Serbs in the Western Balkans. The consequences of this assembly's resolution have been evident in RS. Dodik was later indicted for defying decisions made by the High Representative in BiH. Following the court's decision, Serbian President Aleksandar Vučić traveled to Banja Luka to express his support for Dodik. Moreover, Serbian officials frequently visit RS rather than engaging with BiH's state institutions, further straining diplomatic relations.

Beyond the All-Serbian Assembly, another key issue between Serbia and BiH is the Srebrenica genocide. In 1995, the Army of Republika Srpska committed genocide in

Srebrenica, a fact confirmed by both the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Court of Justice (ICJ). Despite these rulings, Serbia has continued to deny the genocide, arguing that not all Serbs should be labeled as perpetrators. The UN, EU, and several countries have adopted resolutions recognizing the Srebrenica genocide while emphasizing that responsibility lies with individuals rather than an entire ethnic group. In response, Serbia engaged in extensive lobbying efforts to persuade countries to vote against these resolutions, even involving the Serbian Orthodox Church in its campaign. Despite its global lobbying efforts, Serbia's leadership has also been implicated in controversial actions related to Srebrenica. In 2015, during a commemoration event in Srebrenica, an orchestrated attack targeted Vučić. Subsequent investigations revealed that two Serbian intelligence agents had played a role in provoking the incident, further highlighting the complexities of Serbia's approach to BiH. Serbia's stance on BiH aligns with the strategic objectives outlined in the memorandums of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU). These documents provide ideological guidance on undermining BiH both internally and internationally. They advocate policies that challenge BiH's sovereignty, including the demarcation of borders. Serbia has consistently refused to sign a border agreement with BiH, arguing that BiH's proposed terms are unacceptable.

Keywords: Foreign Policy, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, All-Serbian Assembly, Memorandum SANU, Serbian Orthodox Church

Comparative Analysis of the European Union's Environmental Policies towards the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea

Fevzi Kirbařođlu & Özgür Tüfekçi

Karadeniz Technical University & CESRAN International

fkirbasoglu@ktu.edu.tr & ozgurtufekci@ktu.edu.tr

Abstract

Today, global environmental concerns are one of the leading issues commanding cooperation at the international level and redefining the states' foreign policy priorities. In this context, protection of marine ecosystems had become one of the priority areas of European Union (EU) environmental policies. The Mediterranean and Black Sea basins have a special position in the EU agenda in terms of environmental policies regarding responding to threats on biodiversity, pollution and climate change. The two basins differ, however, in terms of wealth of ecological systems and their geographies. This study aims to assess maritime policies of the EU for the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, comparing and contrasting, with an evaluation of their policies for effectiveness.

The EU's environmental policies have been legally and institutionally established since the 1970s; regulatory measures to protect marine ecosystems have taken place since the advent of the Marine Strategy Framework Directive in 2008 and Maritime Spatial Planning in 2014. Various regional cooperatives have made marked actions to support coastal marine ecosystems in the Mediterranean such as the Barcelona Convention and the Union for the Mediterranean, and in the Black Sea, the Bucharest Convention and Black Sea Synergy have had similar outcomes; literature pertaining indicates barriers to meaningful implementation of policy including political instability in the region, capacity of institutions, and effective and collaborative governance.

This paper conducts an analysis of the similarities and differences of sea basin policies are analysed in three dimensions: legal and institutional framework; implementation tools and mechanisms; regional cooperation capacity. In the Mediterranean, policies on sustainable fisheries and marine protected areas are more systematic, while environmental governance mechanisms are weaker in the

Black Sea. At the same time, policies for both basins differ in the extent to which they adopt ecosystem-based approaches. These differences, combined with the effects of climate change, make it necessary for the EU to develop flexible and adaptive policies specific to both regions.

As a result, there are significant structural and functional differences between the EU's maritime policies for the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. The study analyses how these differences affect the effectiveness of the EU's environmental policies and provides recommendations for enhancing regional governance capacity.

Keywords: European Union, International Environmental Policies, the Black Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, Maritime Policies

Theopolitics of the Russian Federation in the Black Sea Region and Moscow's Desire to Form an Axis of Orthodox Countries

Elena Onu

National School of Political and Administrative Studies SNSPA
e.tudor37@yahoo.com

Abstract

The Black Sea Region is a strategic node where the interests of Russia, NATO, the EU and other regional actors (Turkey, Romania) intersect, generating tensions exacerbated by "unresolved" conflicts and geopolitical rivalries. In this context, Russia has developed a sophisticated theopolitical strategy, using the BOR and Orthodox narratives to legitimize its interventions and build an "axis of Orthodox countries". This axis is not a formal alliance, but an informal network of influence based on religious solidarity, uniting Orthodox states under the ideological umbrella of the "Russian World". The aim is to counter Western expansion and promote a distinct Orthodox civilization, opposed to liberal values. The article analyzes: (1) theopolitical foundations of the Orthodox axis; (2) Russia's role in the conflicts in the Black Sea region; (3) the correlation of these conflicts with the strategy of the Orthodox axis; (4) the challenges and limits of this policy.

Keywords: Russia, theopolitical strategy, Black Sea Region, NATO, EU

Panel 15 // (Online)

Politics, Energy and Trade in Power Politics

FRIDAY // 4 July 2025 // 16:00 - 17:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Marco Marsili

Ca' Foscari University of Venice (Online)

The Role of BRICS in Supporting Emerging Powers at the Global Level Promises and Challenges

Christian Ploberger

CBIS, Rajamangala University of Technology Tawan-Ok (Online)

How the Fractured Global Order could be better Managed through Reform of the UN Security Council

Andrew K P Leung

Andrew Leung International Consultants (Online)

Great Power Rivalry in South Asia: The Role of the United States and China in the India-Pakistan Conflict

Rasha El Baz

New Giza University (Online)

India in a Changing Global Order: Geopolitical Challenges and Strategic Interests in the Indo-Myanmar Borderlands

Manashi Parashar

Assam Don Bosco University (Online)

The Rise of Africa: A Marshall Plan for Progress in Education

Pedro Silva Baptista

University of Minho (Online)

Violation of International Law and the '(Il)legitimacy' of Global Governance

Afsah Qazi

Air University (Online)

The Role of BRICS in Supporting Emerging Powers at the Global Level Promises and Challenges

Christian Ploberger

CBIS, Rajamangala University of Technology Tawan-Ok
plobchr@gmail.com

Abstract

With time BRICS did not only become a recognised cooperation of emerging states but also a focus for states of the so-called Global South to join as they are in search of additional support to enhance their international recognition and interests. However, the question arises can BRICS, as a cooperation, can deliver on this expectation. Doing so would require the BRICS to strengthen internal coherence, to speak with one voice to say, so it can take on an influencing role within the international system. However, this is where BRICS, like any other emerging organisation, faces a critical challenge and test. Stronger institutional development implicates addressing and integrating the different interests of its actual and potential future members but at the same time to find a compromise among its members to provide the BRICS a unified strategy as an organisation. The political, economic and social heterogeneity of its members and the stated goal of supporting each member's national interest equally does not fit well with such strategic requirements. Failing to do so, BRICS may not be able to deliver on what its members are expecting: to become a strong voice for their interests at the global level. Consequently, failing its tasks.

Keywords: BRICS, Emerging Power, Institutional Development, International Organisation, International System

How the Fractured Global Order could be better Managed through Reform of the UN Security Council

Andrew K P Leung

Andrew Leung International Consultants

andrewkpleung@gmail.com

Abstract

President Donald Trump's return to the White House has upended the US-led "liberal world order" based on internationally accepted rules and norms, replacing it with America First rule of the jungle. A diffused, dystopian, and increasingly perilous "multipolar" world has ensued, at once fractured by Trump 2.0 and more interconnected by AI and the digital Fourth and Fifth Industrial Revolutions, coupled with intensifying Great Power rivalry and regional flashpoints. As would-be bulwark for global peace and stability, the existing United Nations Security Council structure has become outdated, non-representative, and ineffectual. Various proposals for increasing the number of Permanent Members with veto power, creating a class of Permanent Membership without veto powers, greatly expanding the number of non-Permanent Members, or making greater use of the UN General Assembly to name and shame, have all ended up in wild-goose chases, beset by rivalry between global power blocs or between various contestants for elevation. Foremost deficiencies relate to legitimacy and efficacy. Regarding legitimacy, the current five veto-wielding Security Council Permanent Members fail to reflect the security interests of the developing world and new global powers including India, Japan, Germany, Turkey, Brazil, and South Africa. As for efficacy, lacking adequate working mechanism to promote early resolution through dialogue, negotiation and mediation, conflicts tend to come to a head after festering behind the scene beyond immediate resolution. The provision of only ten Security Council Non-Permanent Members by rotation every two years hardly meets the security concerns of 193 UN Member States. A moderate realignment of vetoing power cannot be avoided if the security interests of the developing world are to be genuinely addressed. Great store should be set on the role of regional and sub-regional organizations in early conflict resolution through dialogue, negotiations and

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mediation. To throw a sprat to catch a mackerel, the following proposals are offered for exploration. (a) Expand the veto-wielding Permanent Membership from five to seven Members, to include the African Union and the Arab League, but replace France by the European Union. The United Kingdom is no longer part of the European Union but has an important role to play with the British Commonwealth of 56 sovereign states. The proposed veto-wielding Permanent Members would thus be: US, China, Russia, EU, UK, African Union, and the Arab League. (b) Confer new Permanent Member status (without veto power) to a number of influential regional/sub-regional organizations e.g. NATO, G20, ASEAN, Union of South American States (UNASUR), BRICS-plus (with all admitted new entrants), and SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization). (c) Keep the rotation system for Non-permanent Members but increase the quota from ten to twenty UN Member States every two years. (d) Set up a permanent high-powered UN Early Conflict Resolution Committee to promote UN Charter Chapter VI and Chapter VIII actions, through early dialogue, negotiation, and mediation. This is to be staffed at a very senior level with all Permanent Members (including non-voting ones) as ex-officio committee members, meeting at least annually plus regular exchanges and ad-hoc urgent meetings at short notice.

Keywords: Security Council, Permanent Members, Global South, Regional Organizations, Early Conflict Resolution

Great Power Rivalry in South Asia: The Role of the United States and China in the India-Pakistan Conflict

Rasha El Baz

New Giza University

rasha.elbaz@ngu.edu.eg

Abstract

This study examines the complex interplay of regional conflict between India and Pakistan within the broader context of U.S.-China strategic competition in South Asia. Through a combination of historical analysis, policy evaluation, and case studies of key crises (e.g., Kashmir disputes, nuclear posturing, and terrorism-related confrontations), the research explores how great power involvement has both exacerbated and mitigated tensions between the two nuclear-armed rivals. The paper argues that while the United States has traditionally played a balancing role—alternating between mediation and selective alignment—China's deepening strategic partnership with Pakistan since the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) has introduced new geopolitical tensions. The study evaluates three dimensions of external influence: (1) arms sales and military alliances, (2) economic investments and sanctions, and (3) diplomatic interventions in multilateral forums. Findings suggest that great power competition has reduced prospects for bilateral conflict resolution while increasing the risks of proxy escalation. The research draws on primary sources (official statements, arms transfer data) and secondary literature to propose policy recommendations for de-escalation, emphasizing the need for coordinated great power engagement to prevent regional instability.

Keywords: India-Pakistan Conflict, U.S.-China Rivalry, South Asia Security, Kashmir Dispute, CPEC, Nuclear Deterrence, Proxy Wars, Diplomatic Mediation, Arms Trade, Regional Hegemony

India in a Changing Global Order: Geopolitical Challenges and Strategic Interests in the Indo-Myanmar Borderlands

Manashi Parashar

Cotton University

manashi.parashar@dbuniversity.ac.in

Abstract

The strategic location of India and its evolving role in the changing global order have invigorated renewed focus on its northeastern frontier, particularly the Indo-Myanmar borderlands. This region holds immense geopolitical significance for India, serving as a gateway to Southeast Asia while also being a focal point for India's Act East Policy and significant regional connectivity projects with some crucial national security concerns. Over time, the rising influence of China in Myanmar, illegal narco trade aided by insurgents, and cross border migration has presented some serious challenges for the Indian government. This paper explores the shifting geopolitical landscape and its implications for India's strategic interests in the Indo-Myanmar borderlands by analysing the security challenges posed by military groups operating in the region, the impact of internal political instability in Myanmar and role of external powers like China, which has deep economic and military relations with Myanmar. The study also analyzes India's infrastructure development initiatives, such as the Kaladan Multi-Modal Transit Transport Project and the India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Highway, in enhancing regional connectivity and economic integration. Furthermore, the paper highlights the significance of bilateral cooperation between India and Myanmar in border management, counterinsurgency efforts, and trade facilitation. It argues that a pragmatic approach, balancing security imperatives with economic and diplomatic engagement, is crucial for India to safeguard its interests while fostering stability in the region. The Indo-Myanmar borderlands represent both a challenge and an opportunity for India in the evolving global order. Effective policy measures, sustained diplomatic engagement, and strategic investments in connectivity and security cooperation will be vital in strengthening India's position in the region and countering external influences.

Keywords: Indo-Myanmar, Act East Policy, Geopolitics, Diplomacy

**The Rise of Africa:
A Marshall Plan for Progress in Education**

Pedro Silva Baptista

University of Minho

pedro.baptista@portugalnosso.com

Abstract

The potential of Africa is vast. From its rich resources and young population to its strategic geopolitical location on major global trade routes to its promising agriculture sector and opportunities for investment and market growth, the continent possesses a wealth of advantages. However, a bold approach and a paradigm shift are necessary to unlock this potential and achieve sustainable development. This policy analysis proposes a Pan-African Education Movement on an ambitious scale akin to the Marshall Plan. Through prioritised investment in education, this movement aims to empower African citizens to tackle challenges like poverty, enhance social progress, drive economic growth, and strengthen the global influence of Africa. By highlighting the urgency of action and the transformative power of education, the conclusion underscores that investing in education in Africa will secure not only its future but will also lead to a more just and prosperous world for all.

Keywords: Africa, Education, Pan-African, Geopolitics

Violation of International Law and the '(Il)legitimacy' of Global Governance

Afsah Qazi

Air University

afsah.qazi@gmail.com

Abstract

Global order emerges out of the distribution of power in the system, and it is through 'policies' that intersubjective interaction between order and actors occurs. Hence, the structure as much gets affected by the agents' preferences as it shapes them. Mechanisms for global governance exist because actors see merit in cooperation. In an otherwise anarchic world, global governance is where power and authority intersect with legitimacy. Contrarily, global governance gets incapacitated where multiple contestations (driven by actors' diverging interests) choke the rulemaking in areas of evident concern – as witnessed by the world we inhabit. The global order today is undoubtedly in flux with global governance severely challenged. The area (s) where it seems to be fracturing the most are the ones it foremost pledged to serve i.e. restricting the use of force, ensuring territorial integrity, and securing fundamental freedoms for humankind. Irrespective of being a horizontal legal system (with states abiding by rules they willingly made) International Law has kept power and authority within legitimate bounds for ensuring efficient governance. Now, both International Law and global institutions stand trumped by power politics among the big players. Unfortunately, a glance at devastatingly continuing Russia-Ukraine war, uncapped human catastrophe facing Kashmiris and Rohingyas, audaciously ascendent war crimes in Gaza, and unaccounted casualties in protracted civil wars in Syria and Yemen, all have manifested a governance failure. The unbridled and unpunished use of force (in these cases) oversteps governance frameworks – with actors turning their backs on the rules they consensually created. In the given context, this research argues that, if powerful fail to thrust their authority towards the right and the just, fissures world deepen as a result of which the power-authority nexus will lose legitimacy, undermining the credibility of governance mechanisms. This may then require a reconfiguration of the rules-based order – creating space to replace the one that fails to serve, with newer mechanisms that may appear unorthodox yet practicable.

Keywords: Power-Authority Nexus, Global Governance, (Il)Legitimacy, Rules-Based Order, Violations



Basilica of Estrela

Ornate, Baroque, 18th-century church with twin bell towers, housing Queen Maria I's tomb.

Panel 16 // (Online)

New Nationalist Implications in Power Politics

SATURDAY // 5 July 2025 // 10:00 - 11:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Ioana Constantin-Bercean

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

Debating Nationalism in the South Caucasus in the Context of Integrated Nationalism

Orkhan Valiyev

Khazar University & CESRAN International (Online)

The Role of the Public Broadcaster

in Raising Public Awareness of International Political Processes on the case of Georgia

Tinatini Matcharashvili

Tbilisi State University (Online)

Political and Social Movements in Albania in the First Years of Transition

During the Period 1990 – 1997

Fatjona Qurku

University of Tirana (Online)

An Overview of Pakistan's Politics between the Military and the Mosque

Soochi Pathak & Nahid Hasan

Guru Ghasidas Vishwavidyalaya (Online)

The Influence of the Anglican Church on State Formation

Giorgi Pareshishvili

Caucasus International University (Online)

Analysis and variations of South American migration policies and flows in the Trump era

Giulia Patrizi

Università di Roma "La Sapienza" (Online)

Debating Nationalism in the South Caucasus in the Context of Integrated Nationalism

Orkhan Valiyev

Khazar University

ovaliyev@khazar.org

Abstract

Flag-waving that symbolises the rise of nationalism is everywhere and has become a global trend. In that sense, states need to develop nationalist strategies to survive. However, due to the needs and capacity of the states, there are different types of nationalism. Aggressive and destructive nationalism is one of them and refers to the founding states of the modern order. For example, in his second time in office, US President Donald J. Trump prioritised destructive and aggressive nationalism in favour of strengthening the state in terms of radical economic actions. In this sense, democracy, which emerged as one of the most efficient tools for maintaining order, is now obsolete. Therefore, destructive and aggressive nationalism aims to strengthen the state rather than the nation. For this reason, leaders of the founding states of modernity have been following destructive and aggressive nationalism. Thus, it seems that the adoption of nationalism has already become a necessity for the states.

However, due to their priorities being oppressed, small nations of modernity need different nationalist strategies in the nihilistic time of politics. Therefore, I am offering a new type of nationalism for the young nation-states which were under colonial regimes on the eve of nationalisation in the 19th and 20th centuries. South Caucasian nations are one of them, and due to the regional and global geopolitical limbo, those nation-states are still vulnerable to the possible threats, challenges and need for integrated nationalism that I am offering in this paper. In this sense, I argue that integrated nationalism would eliminate possible radical nationalism and facilitate integration into the international community, which could guarantee their independence. In this regard, integrated nationalism aimed not to compete with the destructive and aggressive nationalisms of the big nations. Rather, integrated nationalism aimed to develop a strategy that would facilitate integration into the international community.

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On this occasion, Azerbaijan developed multicultural nationalism that aimed to reduce its possible radical nationalism and create an inclusive national strategy that embraces all minority groups within ethnic and religious backgrounds. Parallel to that, Armenia is supposed to pursue an integrated nationalism that would facilitate making amendments to its constitution regarding its claim over Azerbaijani territory. Georgia, which is considered the Ukraine of the region due to its conflict with Russia, has the potential to threaten regional security and stability. In this respect, the Georgian integrated nationalist strategy would be decisive in establishing a stable and precedent-setting environment in the region.

In this paper, I argue that integrated nationalism could be a solution, even regarding language disputes in Azerbaijan. Due to its historical background and capacity, Azerbaijani society needs to implement Turkish, English, and Russian languages along with the official languages. In this regard, radical nationalism regarding language issues can be balanced through integrated nationalism. The paper aims to shed light on rising nationalism within the framework of the three nations of the South Caucasus. The peculiarity of nationalism in the South Caucasus requires integrated nationalism, which would facilitate enhancing regional and global cooperation and guarantee the peace and security of the region.

Keywords: South Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Integrated Nationalism

The role of the Public Broadcaster in Raising Public Awareness of International Political Processes on the case of Georgia

Tinatini Matcharashvili

Tbilisi State University

tinatini.matcharashvili@tsu.ge

Abstract

The world today is facing major international challenges, especially Europe. The issue of ending the Russia-Ukraine war, or at least a temporary ceasefire, is being discussed. The conclusion of these negotiations will bring changes to the international political system. These changes will have the greatest impact on Georgia due to its geopolitical location. This in itself poses the need for the Georgian people to in-depth analyse of the country's foreign policy orientation.

In such a situation, public discussions about the international order are necessary so that the population has a correct view of current events. Accordingly, the role of the Public Broadcaster is also increasing. It should ensure the creation of a discussion space where international policy experts publicly discuss current events. Since their assessments are based on scientific experience, the general public will be protected from false information. On November 28, 2014, the Prime Minister of Georgia announced that he would postpone Georgia's European integration process until 2028. This announcement was followed by large protests in various cities of Georgia. The Georgian population is faced with an acute issue of the country's foreign policy.

As media researchers, it is interesting for us to study how the Georgian Public Broadcaster responded to this political crisis. The goal of our research is to answer the following research question: Against the backdrop of the internal political crisis and the changing international order, has the Georgian Public Broadcaster been able to adequately inform the public? We chose qualitative content analysis as the research method. The research period was determined as November 28, 2024-March 2025.

The research objectives are as follows:

1. How many of the analytical programs were devoted to international politics?

2. To what extent do the statuses of the guests of analytical programs create the prerequisites for in-depth discussion of the issue?

3. What were the main messages conveyed by the journalist and invited guests?

In conclusion, we can say that during our research period, the Georgian Public Broadcaster was less able to respond to the challenges its viewers faced.

Keywords: International Orientation, Georgia, Media, Public Broadcaster

Political and Social Movements in Albania in the First Years of Transition During the Period 1990 – 1997

Fatjona Qurku

University of Tirana

fatjona.q@gmail.com

Abstract

This study aims to identify and analyze the role of political and social movements in Albania, in the early years of the democratization process. Albania was the last country in Central and Eastern Europe where communism collapsed. In the political and social plan, we can say that the totalitarian system would begin to be challenged, first, by the loss of legitimacy especially after the death of the dictator, by the lack of freedom and transparency in governance or even by the pressures of citizens because of dissatisfaction and complaints about difficult living conditions. The country experienced a series of political and social movements that had a significant impact on the political and social development of the country. These movements were also influenced by the dramatic changes that occurred throughout the region after the fall of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe. In Albania, the transition to democracy was marked by social unrest, protests and political conflicts, but also by a deep economic restructuring. Social and political developments in Albania at that time would reach their peak through the greatest mobilization after many decades in what is known as the Student Movement, which was considered the promoter and main factor of system change in Albania.

This concept will be analyzed in relation to the new democracy that was born in Albania from three perspectives:

1. In terms of the efforts of the new elites to change social and political conditions
2. In terms of being part of decision-making through unconventional forms of participation
3. In terms of the national political and social context, which conditioned the purpose and strategies of the new socio-political movements;

To understand and analyze the events, processes and phenomena that occurred in that period, historical and political methods, case studies, interviews with politicians

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and activists of the time, etc. will be used. The main purpose of this study is therefore to identify how these movements have been involved in the process of transition, democratization and consolidation of institutions, whether they have been sufficient and what could have happened differently.

Keywords: Changes, Mobilization, Social Movements, Participation, Student Movements

An Overview of Pakistan's Politics between the Military and the Mosque

Soochi Pathak & Nahid Hasan

Guru Ghasidas Vishwavidyalaya

suchipathak013@gmail.com

Abstract

The official role of the military in Pakistan's politics is a significant issue. Under the pressure of military rule, the political leaders of the country often face professional restrictions while making decisions. In this way, limiting the politics of the country, the military's weaknesses are exposed, where, apart from the military's motivation to choose its preferred leaders, the hopes and demands of the common people are not taken into account.

The influence of mosques and Islamic organizations is also an issue in politics. The pressure of these organizations, which allows their followers to thrive in society and implement their will in politics, sometimes threatens national unity and prosperity. The authority and influence of these so-called Islamic organizations can sometimes stir the country into religious and cultural controversies.

In Pakistan's politics, the pressure from the military and the influence of the mosque push issues like public development, education, and employment to the background. These restrictions hinder the country's development path and further oppress the poor and backward classes.

Keywords: Pakistani Politics, Military Rule, Mosque, National Interest, Political Instability.

The Influence of the Anglican Church on State Formation

Giorgi Pareshishvili

Caucasus International University

Giorgi.pareshishvili@ciu.edu.ge

Abstract

The establishment of the Anglican Church in the 16th century marked a pivotal moment not only in religious history but also in the evolution of modern state structures. As England broke from papal authority under Henry VIII, a complex interplay between ecclesiastical power and political sovereignty emerged that would profoundly shape state formation across multiple centuries and continents. The Anglican Church's unique position as both a spiritual institution and an extension of monarchical authority created a distinctive model of church-state relations. Unlike continental Protestant movements that often developed in opposition to existing power structures, Anglicanism became intricately woven into England's constitutional fabric. The monarch's dual role as head of both church and state consolidated power in unprecedented ways, allowing for more centralized governance and administrative cohesion. This ecclesiastical reformation catalyzed significant transformations in legal and bureaucratic systems. Church courts, previously operating under papal jurisdiction, were absorbed into the state's judicial apparatus, while monastic lands redistributed after dissolution created new economic relationships between the crown and emerging landed gentry. The resulting administrative infrastructure, built upon former church mechanisms, provided templates for modern governmental departments and civil service. The Anglican settlement also profoundly influenced concepts of national identity and citizenship. By establishing religious conformity as a marker of political loyalty, it fundamentally altered how individuals related to the state. The Book of Common Prayer introduced standardized religious practices in the vernacular, fostering linguistic unity and cultural coherence that transcended local differences – essential components for nation-building. In colonial contexts, the Anglican Church became a crucial vehicle for extending state influence across the British Empire. From North America to Africa and Asia, Anglican institutions often preceded or accompanied

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formal state structures, shaping educational systems, legal frameworks, and social hierarchies in diverse societies. This ecclesiastical dimension of colonialism left enduring legacies in post-colonial state formation processes worldwide. The evolution of Anglican church-state relations also contributed significantly to developing concepts of religious tolerance and pluralism that would later become foundational to liberal democratic states. The successive religious settlements following the English Civil War and Glorious Revolution established precedents for managing religious diversity within a unified political framework. Even in contemporary political systems where formal church-state separation prevails, the Anglican legacy remains evident in constitutional arrangements, ceremonial functions, and institutional structures. The church's historical role in education, welfare provision, and community organization continues to influence how modern states conceptualize their responsibilities toward citizens. The Anglican Church thus represents a crucial case study in how religious institutions can function as both instruments and counterbalances to state power, shaping the very nature of political sovereignty in ways that resonate well beyond their original historical and geographical contexts.

Keywords: Sovereignty, Centralization, Nationhood, Legitimacy, Bureaucracy, Secularization

Analysis and Variations of South American Migration Policies and Flows in the Trump Era

Giulia Patrizi

Università di Roma "La Sapienza"

giulia_patrizi@outlook.it

Abstract

The Trump administration's stringent anti-immigration policies have significantly altered migration dynamics throughout the Americas. This paper seeks to analyze the profound impact of these policies on migration routes to North and South America and explore the resulting implications from a human security perspective. The study will analyze the historical evolution of Latin American migration routes, highlighting how these have affected recent policy responses from Latin American countries and the US, and their influence in altering migratory pathways, and their possible spill-over effects in the Mediterranean, particularly in Spain and Italy. The analysis will then delve into an examination of the human security challenges posed by irregular migration, including risks to migrants' safety and well-being, as well as humanitarian measures that local States and other actors have, or should have, undertaken. By evaluating the responses and policies implemented by regional states and North America in managing migratory flows, the paper aims to uncover both intended and unintended consequences of these measures. The study proposes a coordinated migration framework across Latin America, Central America, and the United States. Finally, drawing lessons from the European Union's Pact on Migration and Asylum. This framework seeks to mitigate human security risks associated with irregular migration while fostering regional cooperation and burden-sharing. The research will employ a qualitative approach, integrating documentary analysis of migration policies and case studies of migration routes, as well as a comparative analysis of the European framework, how it could be implemented in that context under existing or novel regional frameworks. By advocating for a coordinated approach inspired by the EU's framework, the research aims to provide practical recommendations for policymakers and stakeholders involved in managing migration across the Americas, highlighting the benefits it could bring in addressing irregular migration and human security concerns through burden sharing mechanisms, transparency and cooperation.

Keywords: Migration, Trump, Latin America, Human Security, Migration Law



Panel 17 // (Online)

Adaptation of Warfare Instruments to the Evolving World Politics

SATURDAY // 5 July 2025 // 12:00 - 13:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant

Orkhan Valiyev

Khazar University & CESRAN International (Online)

The Identification of Proxy Sources as Instruments of Cognitive Warfare

Juliusz Sikorski

Jacob of Paradies University (Online)

Hybrid Warfare and Emotional Strategies in Multilateral Diplomacy

Amella Bashoviq

South East European University (Online)

Building EU Defense Capabilities for Energy-tech Hybrid Warfare from Russia and China

Maurizio Geri

GMU (Online)

Assessing the IDF's Strategic Readiness for Tunnel Warfare in Gaza

Atesh Angelici

Leiden University (Online)

Nuclear Deterrence: A Grand Old Concept with a Bright Future

Ioana Constantin-Bercean

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

Sanctions as Economic Weapons:

Political Competition and the Resilience of Targeted States

Mridani Pandey

University of Allahabad (Online)

The Identification of Proxy Sources as Instruments of Cognitive Warfare

Juliusz Sikorski

Jacob of Paradies University

jsikorski@ajp.edu.pl

Abstract

This article focuses on the issue of identifying proxy sources – intermediary information channels used as tools in contemporary cognitive warfare. The aim of the study is to analyze the manipulative mechanisms employed by proxy sources and to develop methods for their recognition in the context of growing threats to state information security. The main research question concerns how proxy sources, while concealing their affiliations with actual sponsors, influence recipients' cognitive processes through specific narrative techniques and source obfuscation strategies.

The article adopts an interdisciplinary research approach, combining perspectives from security studies, political science, media studies, and cognitive psychology. Qualitative research methods were employed, including content and discourse analysis, desk research, case studies, and elements of network analysis.

The study identifies key techniques used by proxy sources, such as twist framing, opponent demonization, selective fact presentation, and emotional amplification of messages. A preliminary identification matrix is proposed, based on four main criteria: source masking, narrative mechanisms, multichannel content distribution, and operational adaptability.

The findings indicate that effective identification of proxy sources requires the application of comprehensive analytical tools and the integration of qualitative and quantitative research approaches. The conducted analyses highlight the critical importance of a conscious, multidisciplinary approach to countering disinformation in the context of contemporary information conflicts and underscore the need for further development of interdisciplinary research methods in the study of cognitive warfare.

Keywords: Proxy Sources, Cognitive Warfare, Information Security, Disinformation

Hybrid Warfare and Emotional Strategies in Multilateral Diplomacy

Amella Bashoviq

South East European University

ab28226@seeu.edu.mk

Abstract

Hybrid warfare has reshaped the parameters of global security, introducing a range of unconventional threats, including disinformation campaigns, cyberattacks, and foreign interference, which affect both the physical and psychological dimensions of international relations. Within this unstable context, international organizations (IOs) like NATO and the United Nations are not only confronting these intricate threats but are also required to navigate the emotional impacts they produce.

This research paper examines the impact of hybrid warfare on the emotional tactics utilized in multilateral diplomacy. It analyzes how emotions such as fear, trust, anxiety, and resilience are generated, articulated, and strategically utilized by IOs in their decision-making and consensus-building processes. By examining recent geopolitical crises, such as the situation in Ukraine and incidents of cyber-espionage, the research is focused to answer three critical questions: how do hybrid threats amplify emotional dynamics within IOs? How do these emotions impact the unity and functioning of multilateral frameworks? And can emotional strategies be intentionally developed to counteract the disruptive influences of hybrid warfare?

The research indicates that hybrid warfare amplifies certain emotions, such as fear and urgency, which in turn presents a challenge for international organizations to promote resilience and unity among member states. Nevertheless, emotional dynamics which is often regarded as peripheral, are demonstrated to be fundamental in shaping the narratives and outcomes of multilateral diplomacy.

This research contributes to the evolving discussion in international relations by analyzing the interplay between hybrid warfare and emotional influences, highlighting the relevance of affective elements in global governance. It also offers innovative insights into the ways how international organizations can skillfully navigate a world which is increasingly fraught with challenges, while leveraging both strategic planning and emotional intelligence.

Keywords: Multilateral Diplomacy, Hybrid Warfare, Emotional Strategies, International Organizations

Building EU Defense Capabilities for Energy Tech Hybrid Warfare from Russia and China

Maurizio Geri

GMU

maurizio.geri2050@gmail.com

Abstract

Defense capabilities are assets and enabling capacities not only for the kinetic engagement but also for the non-kinetic part of the so-called 'hybrid warfare', 'grey zone/subthreshold' actions, or 'destabilization campaigns'. The EU recently started to create a stronger and more resilient defence industrial base and more ready and effective defense capabilities, but not enough for this kind of hybrid warfare.

While Russia and China are adapting to rapid advances in modern military technology, the EU lagged behind both in civilian and military tech, as the Draghi report on EU competitiveness in 2024 explained clearly. The European defense industry is highly developed, producing top-tier weapon systems, however, faces constraints in scaling up production, and it struggles to keep pace with US contractors, who benefit from larger and more stable procurement budgets, as well as with emerging innovative start-ups in dual use technology. To tackle these challenges, European countries have begun to increase their defense spending, with expenditures of over €326 billion in 2024, rising 30% just in the previous 4 years, and investment of €102 billion, representing 30% of total defence expenditure. Furthermore, the EU launched in 2025 'ReArm Europe', with a possible total budget of the 27 countries up to €800 billion, with an initial €150 billion EU loans, and the White Paper for European Defense Readiness 2030, arguing that a European defence requires a massive investment over a sustained period and new key focuses. The White Paper includes also some elements of hybrid warfare, like protection of energy infrastructure or from cyberattacks, but it still lacks a coherent strategy and clear defense capabilities in this realm, in particular for energy, resources and tech warfare.

This chapter discusses how to build better defense capabilities at the European level in order to deter, defend, and respond to the Russian and Chinese attacks in these

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new realms of hybrid warfare, in particular from Russia in the energy sector, with attacks to energy infrastructures or energy reliability, and from China in the resources and technology sector, with weaponizations of critical raw materials and tech supply chain disruption. After a short excursus on the hybrid warfare in energy and tech done by Russia and China towards Europe, the chapter introduces the EU new process of building common defense capabilities with the project Re-Arm Europe and conclude with recommendations on how to improve the EU defense capability cooperation, especially for energy, resources and tech security.

Keywords: EU, Defense Capabilities, Energy-Resources-Tech, Hybrid Warfare, Russia, China

Assessing the IDF's Strategic Readiness for Tunnel Warfare in Gaza

Atesh Angelici

Leiden University

atesh.angelici@gmail.com

Abstract

This study investigates the increasingly relevant role of tunnels in the Gaza war by exploring the long-standing enmity between the Israeli defense forces and the Islamic terrorist movement Hamas. The research primarily strives to evaluate the IDF's readiness for a successful tunnel warfare campaign, assessing its threat identification capabilities as well as the tunnel neutralization techniques deployed to counter the use of the subterranean realm by asymmetric actors at its borders. The findings reveal that Gaza's case is like no other because of the densely populated area in which the tunnels are placed, meaning that primary annihilation techniques such as bombing are unserviceable. Furthermore, the threat monitoring techniques seem to have failed. This indicates the need for a re-assessment of Hamas's capabilities as a terroristic organization with noteworthy intelligence skills. Finally, the study concluded that the Israeli forces should invest in covert operations carried out by commando units such as the demolition experts of the special engineering corps, adapting technology and ground troops tactics to each specific tunnel while operating in respect of international humanitarian law in order to avoid diplomatic pressure.

Keywords: Tunnel Warfare, Hamas, IDF, Threat Neutralization

Nuclear Deterrence: A Grand Old Concept with a Bright Future

Ioana Constantin-Bercean

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

ioananeliabercean@gmail.com

Abstract

Since the detonations of atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, nuclear weapons have been considered to be the ultimate weapons, incomparable to any other weapon system. However, after the end of the Cold War, this understanding largely detached them from the portfolio of conventional military means available to strategists and defense planners and assigned them a symbolic meaning that influenced the identity and norms creation of nations. This paradigm has changed dramatically, however, in the last two years when discourses on the nuclear threat have captured the public's attention just as used to do during the Cold War. Thus, one of the main concerns of researchers and decision-makers alike has become the nuclear deterrence strategy. This old concept seems to have a bright future again. This article aims to discuss the topic of nuclear deterrence in the 21st century, both from a sociological perspective, proposing a debate on nuclear arming behavior, and from the perspective of defensive realism, used as a justification for the renegotiation of the nuclear order. From a sociological perspective, nuclear weapons as symbols of omnipotence appear to be particularly attractive devices for some states in their aim to display power for this purpose. These states are typically those states that lost the last major-power war and / or have increased their power after the international order was established and the benefits were allocated. From a realist point of view, the very presence of nuclear weapons, even in small numbers, is the best deterrence doctrine. Mutual Assured Destruction, second strike, credibility and rationality in deterrence are the main concepts around this paper's argument is built on. There are now eight overt nuclear powers, one covert nuclear power (Israel), and few others nuclear aspirants making the nuclear phenomenon more global than ever. New nuclear players may still emerge in the next decades in East Asia, the Middle East, or South Asia. In addition,

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the evolving relationship between the United States and China, on the one hand, and the one between Russia, Ukraine and the rest of Europe, on the other, are more likely to be vexed than cooperative, particularly on nuclear security issues. Thus, this research proposal is not only interesting from a theoretical perspective, but also necessary from the point of view of the evolution of the third nuclear era that is looming on the horizon.

Keywords: Nuclear Deterrence, Defensive Realism, Mutual Assured Destruction, Second Strike, Rationality

Sanctions as Economic Weapons: Political Competition and the Resilience of Targeted States

Mridani Pandey

University of Allahabad
mridani.pandey0696@gmail.com

Abstract

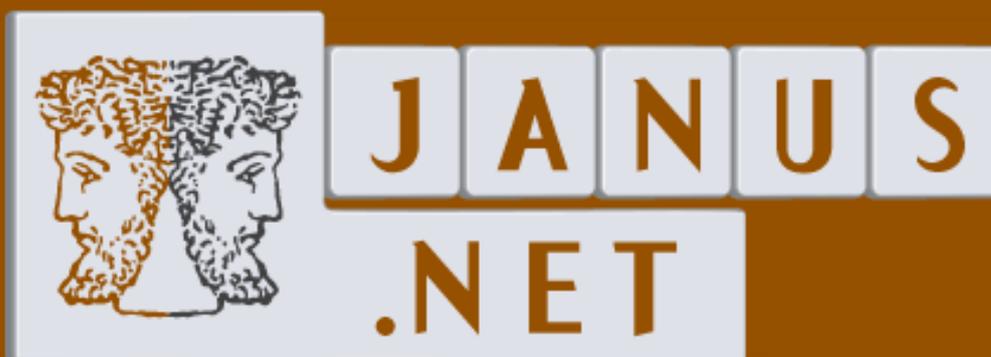
As geoeconomics is taking over geopolitics, everything that was once political is gradually being governed by economics, even war. War is central to the Realpolitik worldview as it is the ultimate expression of power which is the currency in international relations. War was considered to be the rational choice in the anarchic world where survival was the primary goal. In today's world, the entire foreign policy formulation is centered around the avoidance of war which therefore entails the use of soft power tools. This brings into light the employment of economic tools as a war arsenal. As Clausewitz proclaims that "war is politics by other means" sanctions happen to be "war by other means." It is a form of non-military coercion that is ought to reinforce authority and manifest sway while dealing with nations in the international ecosystem. The paper focuses on the use of sanctions in this day and age by powerful countries as a manifestation of their muscle power.

Politics is being played through economics and the best way to dominate in today's times is to dominate economically. The US endeavored to achieve its political goal through the release of sanctions on Russia, Iran and Canada/Mexico most recently. How far was the apparent hegemon successful in inflicting pain to the target countries in a multipolar world order is a matter of deep contemplation and research. The paper, through case studies, delves into the dynamics of today's economic order and reflects on the success of sanctions. The paper also analyses the resilience of targeted states like Russia and Iran and how they adapt to the changes enforced by these sanctions through diversifying their trade partners, alliances, etc. It also elucidates on the possibility of an impending trade war that is leaking around the corners owing to stringent economic practices being adopted by countries.

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In 2025, as the world continues to become smaller and more integrated, leading to an intensification in competition among major powers, this study analyses the potency and limitation of sanctions as a political tool expressing economic statecraft. Most importantly, the paper studies the shift in power dynamics owing to these economic changes in the multipolar labyrinth of today's world order.

Keywords: Geoeconomics, World Order, Sanctions, Trade War, Foreign Policy



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