



IEPAS2019

4-5 July 2019 – Lisbon

Conference Programme & Abstract Book

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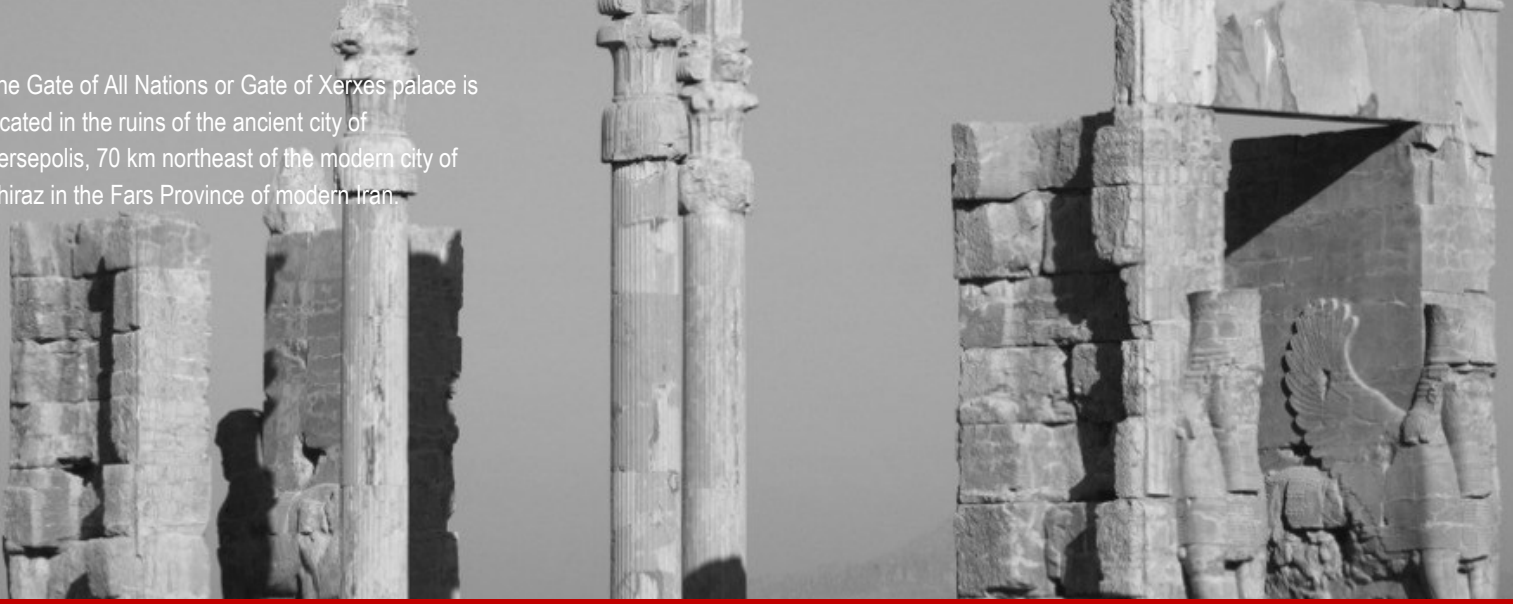
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 - Prof. Frances Trix – Indiana University, USA
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* The surnames are listed in alphabetical order.

Day 1 - Thursday, 4 July 2019	
09:30-10:00	Registration
10:00-10:30	Welcome Address Professor José Amado Da Silva (Rector, UAL) Professor Luís Tomé (Scientific Coordinator, OBSERVARE-UAL) Professor Ozgur Tufekci (Director-General, CESRAN International)
10:30-12:00	Keynote Speeches CHAIR: Professor Luís Tomé (Scientific Coordinator, OBSERVARE-UAL) SPEAKERS Professor Stefan Wolff (University of Birmingham) "The geopolitical and geo-economic dimensions of conflict in Eurasia" Professor Carlos Gaspar (National Defense Institute) "Russia and China -the New Eurasian Axis?"
12:00-12:15	Family Photo
12:15-13:30	Lunch break
13:30-15:00	Panel Sessions 1 & 2
15:00-15:15	Coffee Break
15:15-16:45	Panel Sessions 3, 4 & 5
16:45-17:00	Coffee Break
17:00-18:00	Book Discussion Panel AT THE EDGE OF THE NATION: THE SOUTHERN KURILS AND THE SEARCH FOR RUSSIA'S NATIONAL IDENTITY By Dr. Paul Richardson
20:00	Networking Dinner (upon registration or invitation only)
Day 2 - Friday, 5 July 2019	
09:30-11:00	Panel Sessions 6, 7 & 8
11:00-11:15	Coffee Break
11:15-13:00	Roundtable Discussion CHAIR: Professor Ozgur Tufekci (CESRAN International) SPEAKERS Professor Luís Tomé (UAL-OBSERVARE) "Russia is not the USSR ... but Putin would Like it to be!" Professor Bruno Cardoso Reis (CEI-IUL) "Imperial and Post-Imperial Orders in Eurasia: A Very Long Term View " Professor Sandra Fernandes (CICP-UMINHO) "From Europe to Eurasia: The Role of Russian Contestation in the Emergence of a New Eurasian Order" Professor Ana Isabel Xavier (UAL-OBSERVARE) "More than Colliding Wor(l)ds? EU vs EEU & NATO vs CSTO"
13:00-14:30	Lunch break
14:30-16:00	Panel Sessions 9, 10 & 11
16:00-16:30	Closing ceremony Professor José Amado Da Silva (Rector, UAL) Professor Luís Tomé (Scientific Coordinator, OBSERVARE-UAL) Professor Ozgur Tufekci (Director-General, CESRAN International)

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



Theme: Turkey in-between Europe and Asia (Eurasia)

THURSDAY 4 July 2019 // **Panel I** // 13:30—15:00 // Room: Auditório 1

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Paul Richardson

(University of Birmingham, UK)

PAPERS

Mark Meirowitz

(SUNY Maritime College, USA)

Turkey's Move to Eurasia and the Crisis in Turkish-US Relations

Ayla Gol

(Nottingham University, UK)

The End of Eurocentric World Order and Positioning Turkey in Eurasia

Sebastian Kubas

(University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland)

Trends of Illiberal Democracy:

Evaluation of Chosen Democracy Indices in the Visegrad Countries and Turkey

Hakan Uslu & Rahman Dag

(Adiyaman University, Turkey & CESRAN International, UK)

Turkey in-between Democratic and Economic Development

Marco Marsili

(CEI-IUL, Portugal)

The Crackdown on Political Dissent in Turkey after 15 July 2016:

A Challenge to European Values



Old Bridge Area of the Old City of Mostar:

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

Theme: Diplomacy and Culture as Tools of Foreign Policy in Eurasia

THURSDAY 4 July 2019 // **Panel II** // 13:30—15:00 // Room: 90

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT
Husrev Tabak
(CESRAN International, UK)

PAPERS

Domenico Valenza
(UNU-CRIS, Belgium)
**Modelling Cultural Diplomacy as a Communication Process:
A Framework for Analysis**

Mehmet Sadik Bektas
(Uniwersytet Opolskie, Poland)
Religion as a Cultural Diplomacy

Francesco Sassi
(University of Pisa, Italy)
The Evolution of China's Energy Diplomacy in Central Asia

Yasemin Y. Celikkol
(University of Pennsylvania, USA)
**Transnational Media in Eurasia:
Russian Media Counters Turkish Dramas**

Rahimullah Kakar
(Europa-Universität Flensburg, Germany)
**Iranian Nuclear Deal:
An assessment of EU vs U.S. Model of Coercive Diplomacy is-à-vis Iran and its Implication on Eurasia**



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

Theme: Identity in Eurasian Politics

THURSDAY 4 July 2019 // **Panel III** // 15:15—16:45 // Room: Auditório 1

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Ana Isabel Xavier
(UAL-OBSERVARE)

PAPERS

Elia Romo-Terol

(University of Barcelona, Spain)

Identity Construction in the Khorezm Region: Some Remarks

Tamar Koplatadze

(University of Oxford, UK)

Identity at the Crossroads:

NGOs and Post-Soviet Women's Writing from Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Azerbaijan

Roberto Renino

(Università degli Studi di Torino, Italy)

Struggle for Hegemony:

Erdogan, the Hizmet and the "New Turkey" Collective Identity

Gizem Kaftan

(Northeastern University, USA)

Cosmopolitan vs. Fortress Europe:

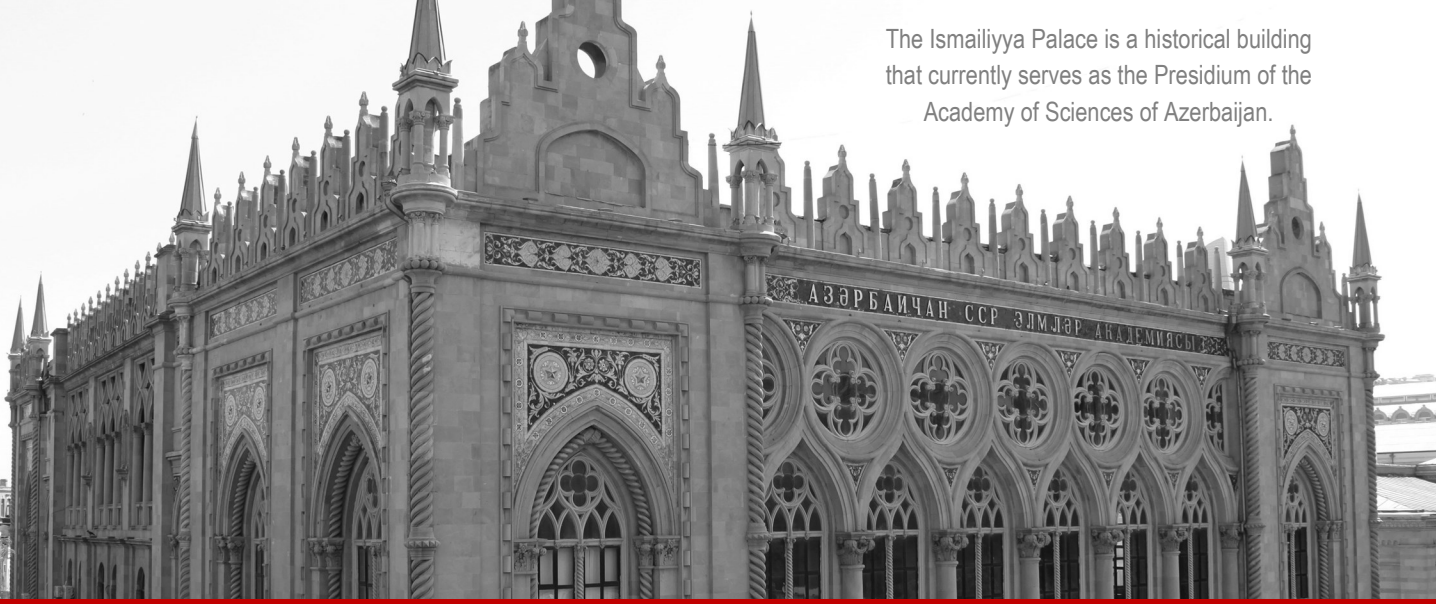
**Understanding European Identity Formation
towards Neighboring Countries. Evidence from Russia and Turkey**

Tiago André F. Lopes

(Oporto Global University / Orient Institute)

The Alien within us! Exclusive nationalism in Tajikistan's nation-building policies

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



Theme: Conflicts in Eurasian Politics

THURSDAY 4 July 2019 // **Panel IV** // 15:15—16:45 // Room: 90

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Ayla Gol

(CESRAN International, UK / Nottingham University, UK)

PAPERS

Taner Zorbay

(Middle East Technical University, Turkey)

**Re-Thinking About Crimea:
A Case Of Historical Isolation**

Ebru Birinci

(Moscow State University, Russia)

Israeli Relations as a Factor of Russian Middle Eastern Policy

Shoushan Keshishian

(University of York, UK)

**Analyzing the Nagorno-Karabakh Peace Process
from the Paradigm of Spoilers**

Giuliano Bifulchi

(University of Rome Tor Vergata, Italy)

**Assessment of the Russian Strategy to Contrast Terrorism
and Jihadist Propaganda in the North Caucasus**



Theme: Transboundary Crisis in Eurasia

THURSDAY 4 July 2019 // **Panel V** // 15:15—16:45 // Room: 40

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Husrev Tabak

(CESRAN International, UK)

PAPERS

Gustavo Luis Furini

(OBSERVARE/UAL, Portugal)

Paris Agreement and Climate Justice to Least Developed Countries:
An Asian perspective

Md Jahirul

(Tallinn University, Estonia)

Islam - Religious Tolerance and Local Wisdom Values
Keeping Harmony and Peace in South Sulawesi Province

Mehmet Altingoz

(University of Delaware, USA)

Black Sea:
As a Peacebuilder for the Region

David Ferreira & Mónica Canário

(CEI-IUL, Portugal & CEI-IUL, Portugal)

EU's Normative Power at the Crossroads of Europe and Asia:
The Case of Human Rights Promotion in Georgia

Book Discussion Panel

THURSDAY 4 July 2019 // 17:00—18:00 // Room: Auditório 1

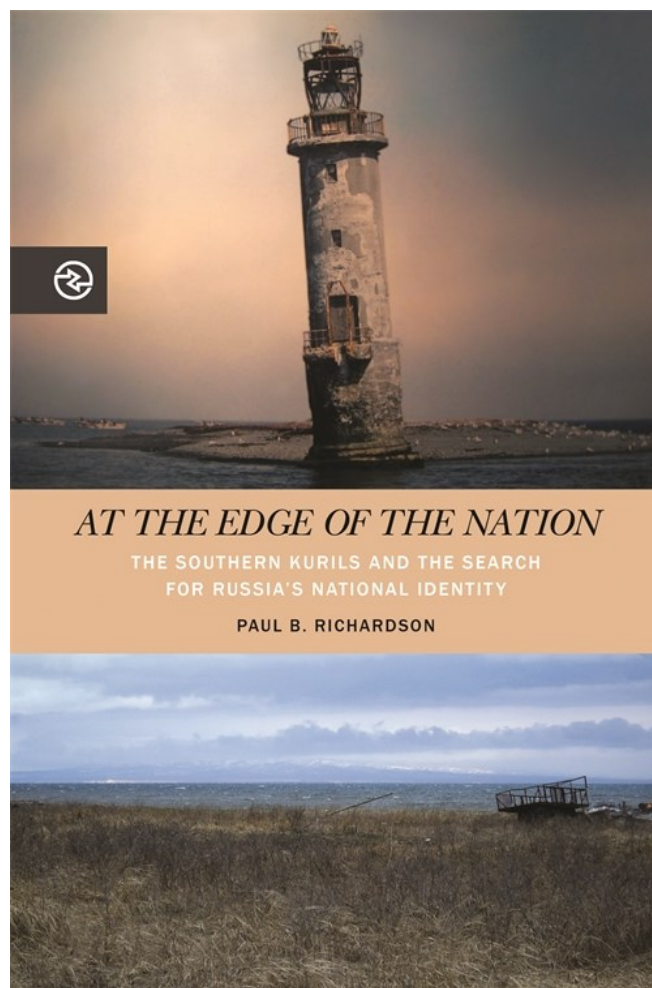
CHAIR

Professor Stefan Wolff
(University of Birmingham, UK)

BOOK TITLE

**AT THE EDGE OF THE NATION:
THE SOUTHERN KURILS AND THE SEARCH FOR
RUSSIA'S NATIONAL IDENTITY**

By Paul Richardson



PARTICIPANT

Dr. Paul Richardson



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

Theme: Minority Politics in Eurasia

FRIDAY 5 July 2019 // **Panel VI** // 09:30—11:00 // Room: 90

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT
Husrev Tabak
(CESRAN International, UK)

PAPERS

Chaimun Lee
(Kyungpook National University, South Korea)
A Tale of Two Nationalities:
North Koreans in Kamchatka and South Koreans in Sakhalin Island, Russia

Ali Onur Ozelik
(CESRAN International, UK / Eskisehir Osmangazi University, Turkey)
The Relevance of Domestic Politics for a Better Understanding of
Territorial Representations in the European Union Arena:
Turkish Subnational Administrations as a Case

Dilek Barlas & Yonca Köksal Özyaşar
(Koc University, Turkey & Koc University, Turkey)
The Muslim/Turkish Minorities in the Balkans, 1913-1939



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

Theme: Contemporary Trojan horse: Migration Issues in National and Global Contexts

FRIDAY 5 July 2019 // **Panel VII** // 09:30—11:00 // Room: Auditório 1

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Rahman Dag

(CESRAN International, UK)

PAPERS

Sebnem Koser Akcapar

(Koc University, Turkey)

**Afghan Migration to Turkey:
Power, Agency and Social Networks**

Farkhad Alimukhamedov

(Sciences Po Toulouse, France)

**Making Diaspora from Labor Migrants:
Policies and Strategies of Migrants Sending Countries of Central Asia**

António Eduardo Mendonça

(IGOT-UL, Portugal)

**Central Asian Migrants in Portugal:
Two Case Studies**

Gergana Yordanova

(National Defense Academy Sofia, Bulgaria)

**Geopolitics of Islamic Finance in Christian Europe:
Between Asia and Europe**

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



Theme: The Influence of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) on Eurasian and World Politics

FRIDAY 5 July 2019 // **Panel VIII** // 09:30—11:00 // Room: 40

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Sandra Fernandes
(CICP-UMINHO)

PAPERS

Jörg Michael Dostal

(Seoul National University, South Korea)

**China's Belt and Road Initiative and Pakistan's Gwadar Port Project:
Economic Development and Geopolitical Conflict**

Fabricio A. Fonseca

(Tamkang University, Taiwan)

**The Belt and Road Initiative and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization:
Chinese Expectations and Lessons for Latin America**

Jorge Tavares da Silva

(University of Aveiro, Portugal)

**The Sino-Pakistan Economic Connectivity
and the Eurasian Security Framework**

Ozge Soylemez

(King's College London, UK)

**Turkey and China in Eurasia:
Sources of Cooperation and Contention**

Roundtable Discussion Panel

FRIDAY 5 July 2019 // 11:15—13:00 // Room: Auditório 1

CHAIR

Ozgur Tufekci
(CESRAN International)

SPEAKERS

Luís Tomé
(UAL-OBSERVARE)

Russia is not the USSR ... but Putin would Like it to be!

Bruno Cardoso Reis
(CEI-IUL)


Imperial and Post-Imperial Orders in Eurasia: A Very Long Term View

Sandra Fernandes
(CICP-UMINHO)

From Europe to Eurasia:
The Role of Russian Contestation in the Emergence of a New Eurasian Order

Ana Isabel Xavier
(UAL-OBSERVARE)

More than Colliding Wor(l)ds? EU vs EEU & NATO vs CSTO



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

Theme: Alternate Economic and Social Relations in the Post-Soviet Eurasia

FRIDAY 5 July 2019 // **Panel IX** // 14:30—16:00 // Room: Auditório 1

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Ayla Gol

(CESRAN International, UK / Nottingham University, UK)

PAPERS

Philip Husom

(Purdue University, USA)

**Political Shocks and Economic Reform
in the Post-Soviet World**

Konstantinas Andrijauskas

(Vilnius University, Lithuania)

**The Restraining Belt:
Socialist Modernization and Emerging Surveillance State in Inner Asia**

Sandra Ribeiro

(OBSERVARE/UAL, Portugal)

**Globalization in Eurasia:
The Impact on Trade and Tourism**

Marina Shentsova

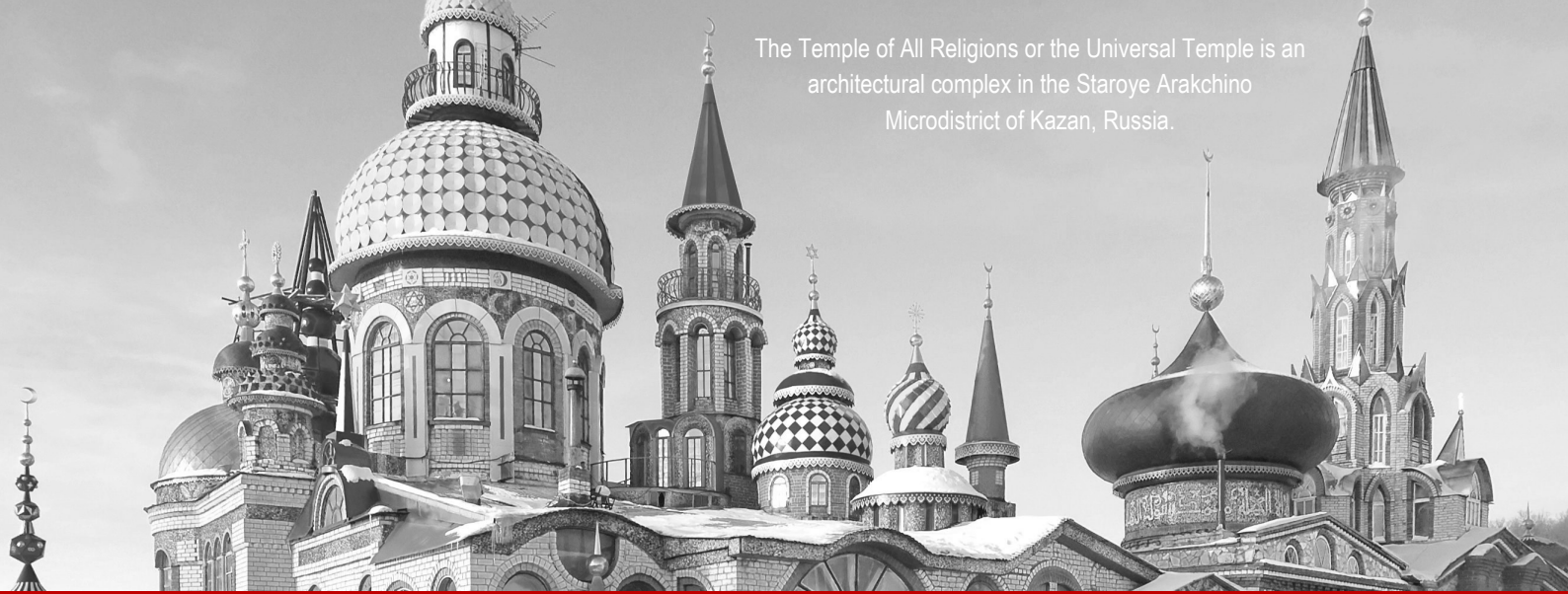
(Diplomatic Academy MFA KR, Kyrgyzstan)

Neoliberal Paradigm Transformation in the CIS States

Gabriel de Rezende Piccinini & Alena Vysotskaya Guedes Vieira

(University of Minho, Portugal & University of Minho, Portugal)

**Armenia Between the Eurasian Economic Union and the Eastern Partnership:
Limits or opportunities to the EU external governance?**



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

Theme: Struggle for Hegemony Among Eurasian Powers

FRIDAY 5 July 2019 // **Panel X** // 14:30—16:00 // Room: 40

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Ali Onur Ozcelik

(CESRAN International, UK / Eskisehir Osmangazi University, Turkey)

PAPERS

Kamran Ismayilov

(Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna di Pisa, Italy)

**Rethinking Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy Strategies
vis-à-vis Hegemony-Seeking Russia, 1991-2017**

Niki J. P. Alsford

(University of Central Lancashire, UK)

**Developing North Korea:
The Writing of a Grassroots Marshall-like Plan within the EU**

Krystyna Palonka

(University of Euroregional Economy, Poland)

De-Globalization Impact US-China Trade Wars

Aibike Mamaiusupova

(Central European University, Hungary)

**How the Central Asian Region is Coping with Economic Risks of the Eurasian Economic Union
and the Belt and Road Initiative: A Case of Kyrgyzstan'**

Cezar de Lima Brito

(UAL, Portugal)

Geopolitics of the Cold War



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

Theme: Leaders or Followers? Eurasia and East Asia in the International System

FRIDAY 5 July 2019 // **Panel XI** // 14:30—16:00 // Room: 90

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Dean Karalekas

(Taiwan Center for Security Studies, Taiwan)

PAPERS

Dean Karalekas

(Taiwan Center for Security Studies, Taiwan)

**Development of National Identity in an Unrecognized State:
A Historical, Comparative, and Conceptual Analysis**

Philippe Cachia

(National Chengchi University, Taiwan)

**The Four Basic Emotions in French Politics:
Reality and Media Representation**

Gregory Coutaz

(Chinese Culture University, Taiwan)

**Resilience and Recovery in Asian Disasters:
Governance and Financial Preparedness**

Olga Cachia

(National Chengchi University, Taiwan)

**Shift in the China – Visegrad Four Relations:
Perspective from the North-South Paradigm**

Panel I

Turkey in-between Europe and Asia (Eurasia)

Mark Meirowitz (SUNY Maritime College, USA)

Title: Turkey's Move to Eurasia and the Crisis in Turkish-US Relations

Abstract: Turkey appears to be moving away from the decades-old relationship with the US and with the Western Alliance/NATO. Turkey is on the verge of obtaining the S-400 System from Russia which has been the cause of a major disconnect, and perhaps even a major rupture, in US-Turkish Relations. The potential of obtaining the S-400 has caused a further issue concerning Turkey's participation in the US F-35 program. These differences are part of a larger rift between the US and Turkey that originated in Syria, with the US backing of the Syrian Kurds. Overall, the traditional alignment between the US and Turkey is in danger of falling apart completely, with Russia further extending its influence from its foothold in Syria to much wider hegemony in the entire region – becoming the major power broker. This leaves the United States out of the game in large part. I will explore the short-term and long-term implications of these developments, as well as prospects for the future. These developments are of critical importance to the region and the world.

Keywords: Turkey, Russia, Turkey-US Relations

Ayla Gol (Nottingham University, UK)

Title: The End of Eurocentric World Order and Positioning Turkey in Eurasia

Abstract: This paper argues that the end of the Eurocentric world order is leading to the rise of the multi-polar international system, within which Eurasia plays a key role. First, the paper explains that the Russian search for global power since the end of the bi-polar order has initiated the awakening of a Eurasian identity. Second, it offers a new definition of Eurasia as a geopolitical term through the lens of agency and structure debate. Third, it explains how Turkey can benefit from the emerging Eurasian order by emphasizing its role as a 'civilizational bridge'. By criticizing Turkey's the so-called 'bridge' role in between European and Asian continents it offers a novel explanation of Turkish Eurasian identity and politics. I argue that Turkey's historical and cultural hybridity of being in-between two continents and civilizations has been its vulnerability but can be turned on its head to be its strength in the 21st century. Turkey is now in a position to use the experience of being a geocultural 'anomaly', in Khunian sense, into a

geopolitical reality. The paper concludes by suggesting that Turkey is neither a bridge nor a torn country between the two civilizations but a unique socio-historical experience, which produced its own endogenous 'Eurasianism' between two geocultural and geopolitical systems. Such an analysis recognizes the possibility of interacting civilizational dynamics and 'multiple modernities' in the 21st century world order. Keywords: Eurocentric World Order, Turkey, Eurasia

Sebastian Kubas (University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland)

Title: Trends of Illiberal Democracy: Evaluation of Chosen Democracy Indices in the Visegrad Countries and Turkey

Abstract: The Huntingtonian third Wave of democracy, when it began, assumed that the way of democratization would be linear and placed transformation process in liberal democratic context. But in the second half of the first decade of XXIst century it became more obvious that democracy started to decline and what's more important it became illiberal in some regions of the world. Today, we can observe that illiberal democracy, which does not have much in common with constitutional liberalism, spreads faster and faster. Some Central and Eastern European countries that are popularly known as the Visegrad Countries are facing this problem, specially Poland, Hungary, but partly Slovakia, too. Although it does not touch Czechia, yet the quality of democracy over there is worse than it used to be. From the other side, Turkey is an example where illiberal democracy has a more stable form. The period of analysis focuses on the decade: 2009-2018.

During the first two decades of the process of democratization (after 1989) the Visegrad Countries were regarded as democratic leaders in the Eastern Europe, yet during the third decade one observes that democracy is in decline instead of its flourishing. For the political elites in the four Central European Countries one of the main aims of transition and early consolidation of democracy stage was to lead the political and social system towards liberal democracy. But now it is no longer the aim.

I'd like to focus on the problem in the light of quantitative indices that evaluate the process of democratization in the Visegrad Countries and show the level of democratization in Turkey to compare the way of declining of democratic quality. Does the worsening condition of democracy mirror in the indices? The analysed indices of democracy are presented by such think tanks as Freedom House, the Economist Intelligence Unit and Bertelsmann Stiftung. All of them reveals regress of democratization in the Visegrad Countries as well as in Turkey. It would be interesting to see if they evaluate the level of democratization in a similar or different way? What is the quality of democracy today and

what was it ten years? It is interesting to compare the quantitative data among the countries and see if the thesis of declining democracy and flourishing of illiberal democracy is true?

Yet it must be admitted that all the quantitative data should be followed by qualitative explanation. That is why the background of the presentation connects with the proper understanding of what democracy, liberal democracy and illiberal democracy are.

Keywords: Democracy Evaluation, Illiberal Democracy, Countries, Turkey

Hakan Uslu & Rahman Dag (Adıyaman University, Turkey & Cesran International, UK)

Title: Turkey in-between Democratic and Economic Developments

Abstract: Most of the European countries are economically and democratically developed. Their such statuses have been modelled by the rest of the world since the 19th century. In this century-long modelling, core problematized issue is which one comes first, democracy or economy. This paper narrows down the content of the core discussion. Rather than looking for economic growth brings democratic institution and democratization or vice versa, this paper hypothesises whether or not long terms ruling political party brings economic or democratic development or both. By taking a developing country, Turkey, this paper analytically compares each year of long and short terms governments in terms of various economic indicators, such as GDP and the volume of international trades etc. At the same time, more than two terms of rules of a political party or certain understanding is considered as a tendency from democracy to authoritarianism. In sum, the main argument of the paper is if long term of ruling political party provides economic development or decaying democratic level of a country. To do that, the paper has employed a regression model using data from 1950-2018. Each year of single party government is coded as 1 and of coalition government is coded as 0. Apart from single party regime between 1923 and 1950 is excluded from the analysis. Since then, we have three different time periods in which single party governments ruled/have ruled subsequently. They are Democrat party era from 1950 to 1960 (more than two terms), Özal era from 1983 to 1991, and AK Party era from 2002 to present (more than two terms).

Based on the regression results, the paper concludes that average GDP difference between 1 and 0 is %75 more on average holding constant everything else. Predicted GDP per capita is approximately %66 higher in longer term of ruling political party. Predicted

export, import and volume of trade is approximately %126, %107, and %114 respectively higher in longer terms. Under these circumstance, it can be argued that more than two terms of ruling party, despite having seen transition from democracy to autocracy, creates economic development.

Keywords: Economic Development, Democratic Level, Long Term Ruling, Turkey

Marco Marsili (CEI-IUL, Portugal)

Title: The Crackdown on Political Dissent in Turkey after 15 July 2016: A Challenge to European Values

Abstract: Turkey is a member of the Council of Europe, of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and a candidate to the accession to the European Union. As a transcontinental country, Turkey belongs both to Asia and Europe, and can be used as a benchmark to assess the narrowing of human rights and civil liberties in the fight against terrorism. While having become the central platform for action for Islamist groups in the Middle East, as a result of the gradually Islamized domestic and foreign policy of Ankara since 2011, Turkey demands its Western allies to stand by it in the fight against terrorism. Turkey has a concept of terrorism that clashes with the principles enshrined in the European Convention on Human Rights, that should be obliged to comply, together with other international instruments. The authoritarian turn put in place by the Turkish government after the failed coup d'état of 15 July 2016 is a challenge to the values of European and Western civilization and pillories all the contradictions and the limits of the latter concerning defending fundamental human rights while countering terrorism. This paper scrutinizes the policy of the Turkish authorities to counter terrorism within the country and at its external borders, and the inconsistencies of this policy with the international legal commitments and with the values of European and Western nations.

Keywords: Terrorism, Fundamental Human Rights, European Convention on Human Rights, Freedom of Expression

Panel II

Diplomacy and Culture as Tools of Foreign Policy in Eurasia

Domenico Valenza (UNU-CRIS, Belgium)

Title: Modelling Cultural Diplomacy as a Communication Process: A Framework for Analysis

Abstract: While governmental support for cultural diplomacy declined with the end of the Cold War, recent years have witnessed a return of culture in European and international affairs. In spite of this growing interest, the field of study is marked by conceptual confusion as cultural diplomacy intersects, and in some cases overlaps, with such concepts (and practices) as public diplomacy, cultural propaganda, cultural relations, soft power and nation branding. This confusion stems mainly from the fact that some key aspects of cultural diplomacy, including the agency, the potential involvement of media, and the tools adopted, have been largely neglected.

By borrowing from communication theories and their application to public diplomacy (Fiske, 2010; Taylor, 2002; Snow & Tailor, 2009), this paper seeks to provide a new point of entry into the current debate and thus investigate cultural diplomacy as a communication process. In particular, the study revisits and applies Jakobson's communication model (1960) to cultural diplomacy and analyses its six constituents or factors of communication: the addresser, the addressee, the message, the context, the channel or medium, and the code.

By reviewing each constituent, this framework deconstructs cultural diplomacy-making and clarifies in particular the interplay between the actors involved in cultural diplomacy (addresser(s) and addressee(s)) and the relationship between the message and the code that cultural diplomacy actors use. Also, it seeks to explain how and why media should be integrated within the framework of studies on cultural diplomacy when they are state-controlled or -funded. Overall, the study develops a conceptualization of cultural diplomacy that can be applied to study its practices in Europe and across the world. At a later stage of the research, this framework will be used to review comparatively the EU's and Russia's cultural diplomacies in the post-Soviet space, and particularly in the South Caucasus.

Keywords: Cultural Diplomacy, Communication Studies, Conceptualisation, Propaganda, Public Diplomacy

Mehmet Sadik Bektas (Uniwersytet Opolskie, Poland)

Title: Religion as a Cultural Diplomacy

Abstract: In his essay, the priority of Democracy to Philosophy, Richard Rorty emphasizes the importance of privacy of religion and claims that politics can be separated from the religious beliefs. Rorty means, individuals should keep their religions for themselves and politicians as individuals should not decide any critical decision according to their faith. This is a one of the principle of democratic society. Rorty does not necessarily want religion to be removed or vanished from the society but he wants it to be private as long as it does not harm other people. The problematic view of Rorty on religion is not clear since he does not indicate which religion. Therefore, his philosophy of religion is more general if not secular. Many American thinkers have interpreted secularism more or less in a similar way. For example, John Dewey in his 1934 *A Common Faith* wrote that secular humanism is “a religious faith that shall not be confined to sect, class, or race.”¹ For Dewey, it was Secular Humanism what could replace traditional Christianity. But he also made a distinctive separation between being religious and religion. For him, the word religion meant supernatural while religious referred as a world of naturals. In Dewey understanding of religion, we can say that while the word religion is a function of whole society, religious might mean a private issue. In this way of interpretation, it is possible to say that he somehow believes that being religious could be a private issue. Santayana, another Spanish- American thinker, is also a representative of pragmatic tradition who tries to deal between the sacred and secular. He was an atheist and believed evolutionism and materialism which shaped his attitude toward supernaturalistic styles of thought, but that attitude is by no means as negative as one might expect. Santayana is in fact quite tolerance towards religion. He regards religion as something to be studied with the same kind of interest and respect accorded to any major human project. For Santayana, religion was a kind of art and poetry because of its emotions and senses that people get and it's highly significant that one of his books is entitled *Interpretations of Poetry and Religion*. For Santayana, religion was another way of human being in showing his/her senses.

Keywords: Cultural politics, Democracy, Religion, Secularism,

Francesco Sassi (University of Pisa, Italy)

Title: The Evolution of China's Energy Diplomacy in Central Asia

Abstract: For more than 20 years, China has been the country leading the global increase

of energy consumption. The Communist Party of China (CPC), after People's Republic of China (PRC) became a net oil importer in 1993, has increased its attention to energy policies, in order to secure the country's import routes, while at the same differentiate them. Thus, Beijing has focused its efforts in creating new ways to evade the Malacca Dilemma, represented by the US Navy maritime predominance and the possibility of a military closure of the South East Asian Straits, in the event heightened tensions between Washington and Beijing (e.g. another Taiwan crisis). Since the end of the 90's, China has deeply used its economic prowess to enter the Central Asian region (CAR). Once used to be the "Moscow's backyard", the region has seen, in the last 15 years, a multiple of energy projects realizing thanks to the support of Beijing. The blessings of the CPC leadership, together with the economic and financial backing of state-policy banks, have allowed State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs), particularly CNPC, to expand its role in CAR. Thus, China greatly enhanced its political stance in the region through its energy diplomacy, well before the announcement of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in 2013. This paper examines how China's role and interests have evolved in the region, no more as a sole energy consumer and importer. Furthermore, the region played an important task in supplying China's need of oil and particularly natural gas and still, it does it now, standing as one of the leading examples of the Beijing's capacity to penetrate foreigner international arenas and establishing strategic partnerships. Today, while China's energy appetite doesn't seem to back-off, CAR is experiencing a new wave of proposed and projected pipelines. The analysis will focus on Beijing's policy makers ability to use energy in the region as an integration/fragmentation tool to pursue foreign policy goals. At the same time, it will highlight which limits China showed in realizing its energy projects as planned.

Keywords: China, Energy Diplomacy, Energy Security, Foreign Policy, Central Asia

Yasemin Y. Celikkol (University of Pennsylvania, USA)

Title: Transnational Media in Eurasia: Russian Media Counters Turkish Dramas

Abstract: The recent popularity of Turkish television dramas in Russia inspired a media reaction that claimed to tell the truth about Turkey, in line with state discourse and politics. Not only did productions position Russia exclusively as "West" and Turkey as "East," they also discursively reproduced a monolithic, homogenous Slavic Russian identity, and an orientalist Islamophobic Other. Duma deputies proposed banning the Turkish series soon after Turkey downed a Russian military jet over Syrian airspace in late 2015. Meanwhile, Russians watched "Oriental Wives," stories of Russian women

married to Middle Eastern men, state-owned news channel Russia 24 aired a “special report” named “Natashka’s Love. Turkish Tears” with interviews of troubled women in Turkey, and “East/West,” the “first Russo-Turkish series” began to be produced, at the height of the Russo-Turkish crisis.

The productions function to shift the focus away from Russia’s domestic problems related to Islam and feminism. Thus, the consequences of Russia’s own shift to traditions and conservatism championed by Putin and the Orthodox Church are minimized, because the message is, that unlike the volatile Middle East, there is no war in Russia and women can escape if they suffer from intimate partner violence. Also, as Turkey is central to Russia’s economy, there is an attempt to tame, not entirely deny, the popularity of Turkish elements. In tandem, Russia is positioned as the legitimate leader of Eurasia, vital particularly to Turkish Eurasianism-chaired Central Asian countries.

Keywords: Transnational Media, Turkish Dramas, Russia, Turkey

Rahimullah Kakar (Europa Universität Flensburg, Germany)

Title: Iranian Nuclear Deal: An assessment of EU vs U.S. Model of Coercive Diplomacy vis-à-vis Iran and its Implication on Eurasia

Abstract: The question of the Iranian nuclear programme has long been the core of the European Union and United States discussion. Political and economic sanctions were imposed to contain the Iranian nuclear deal. However, the nuclear programme is yet in progress according to the assessment of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). European Union and the U.S. are the main actors struggling to contain the Iranian nuclear programme. The deal also referred to “Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action” JCPOA has been a point of disagreement led to long time political and economic contention against Iran. However, neither the U.S. nor the EU has not yet become successful to contain.

Russian and China are the two regional states and Veto Powers (P5) are compensating the sanctioned imposed on Iran. How will the EU and the U.S be successful to contain the nuclear programme? Recently, the U.S. under President Trump withdrew from the JCPOA agreed upon in 2015. Now the EU and the U.S. are not on the same page in regards to the Iranian nuclear deal. U.S. pursue radical coercive diplomacy against Iran while EU coercive diplomacy is flexible. Now the question arises which coercive diplomacy will be successful vis-à-vis Iran? what will be the Russian and China’s role and what will be the implication on the Eurasian? These matters have not been well addressed yet.

The paper will make a fresh contribution to the conference and academia. The paper will

elaborate on how the new measures taken by the EU will be effective. The U.S. is pursuing a different coercive diplomacy vis-à-vis Iran. China and Russia also help Iran's compensation. In broader, there will be implications on the Eurasia political and security domain.

In conclusion, this proposal by closely examining the new risks and challenges shed new lights on less illustrated and neglected prospective and existing challenges posing by the Eurasian region. In particular, how Russia, China, EU, and the U.S. would come on the same page to agree in tackling the Iranian nuclear programme.

Keywords: EU Coercive diplomacy, U.S. Coercive Diplomacy, Eurasia, Iranian Nuclear Programme

Panel III

Identity in Eurasian Politics

Elia Romo-Terol (University of Barcelona, Spain)

Title: Identity Construction in the Khorezm Region: Some Remarks

Abstract: Khorezmian people usually introduce themselves as being different from the rest of the inhabitants of Uzbekistan. Their language, their gastronomy and their agricultural production are, among other elements, particular to them. With unique traditions and social expressions Khorezmian people know themselves different than the rest of Uzbeks but the focus of Khorezmian identity discourse is put mainly on the past: e.g. a scientific heritage of which Al-Khwarizmi and Al-Biruni are clear examples and the cultural syncretism that represents being the cradle of the Avesta, the sacred book of Zoroastrianism. Islam too is celebrated in a different way from other regions of the country, mainly from the Ferghana region. Khorezm is also an area with no Tajik influence unlike Samarkand and Bukhara. It is geographically close to Turkmenistan and the Uzbek language spoken in the region is closer to Turkish or Azeri than to the dialect spoken in Tashkent or Ferghana. Somehow, it is possible to find a claim for a Turkic identity. Another feature of this region is the fact that it is one of the most severely affected or damaged by the drought of the Aral Sea and this makes their environmental problems distanced from the rest of the country, mainly the capital, and this fact creates a closer relationship with Karakalpakstan, a region with an exceptional political status in Uzbekistan. All in all, in some aspects, they describe themselves as Khorezmians before Uzbeks.

From a gender perspective, it can also be seen some distinctive features from Uzbek society as Khorezmian women can keep their own family name after marriage and the field and craft work that is mainly developed by women in the region (e.g. the carpet fabrication in Khiva).

In this presentation we will try to present some remarks about the identity construction in this region of western Uzbekistan, from a fieldwork perspective. We intend to show some aspects from different areas of study that are building contemporary Khorezmian identity. However, our aim is not to be exhaustive rather to show some snapshots of the contemporary Khorezmian society. It is certainly difficult to observe the Khorezmian region and not to be aware of its idiosyncrasy and its particular identity.

Keywords: Uzbekistan, Khorezm, Identity, Heritage, Gender

Tamar Koplatadze (University of Oxford, UK)

Title: Identity at the Crossroads: NGOs and Post-Soviet Women's Writing from Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Azerbaijan

Abstract: This paper is based on the observation that post-Soviet nations often find themselves at the crossroads of Western and Russian political and cultural dynamics. They are thus prone to a multiple fracturing as they negotiate their identity in relation to not only the Communist past, the 'ex-coloniser' – Russia, and their countries of origin, but also Europe and the United States. At the forefront of the issue are NGOs such as charities and aid agencies, both Russian and Western, that vie over influence in the region. I examine how post-Soviet women writers define their post-Soviet identity within the confusing and orientalisating politico-cultural whirlpool of Russo-Soviet and Western dictates on the self, focusing on Kazakh writer Lilja Kalas's *The Fund of Last Hope: A post-Colonial Novel* (2013), Azerbaijani author Rena Yuzbashi's *From Vorobyshk with Love* (2007) and Tajik author Eleonora Kasymova's *Tajik* (2007). I argue that rather than taking a side within the post-Soviet power struggles or remaining passive objects in the political power games of their nations, these writers use their personal insights into the workings of NGOs to expose the post/neo-colonial tendencies in the agendas of each political player.

This paper breaks new academic ground by placing post-Soviet women writers from the regions of the Caucasus and Central Asia in dialogue with each other and approaching their work through postcolonial methodology. As a result, it offers a more sophisticated and balanced understating of both the Soviet experience and the current political, social and cultural developments in the post-Soviet region.

Keywords: NGOs, Post-Soviet/Colonial, Women, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan

Roberto Renino (Università degli Studi di Torino, Italy)

Title: Struggle for Hegemony: Erdogan, the Hizmet and the "New Turkey" Collective Identity

Abstract: The military coup occurred in Turkey in 2016 has been portrayed by the Turkish government and by the international media as a tentative by the so-called "deep State" (*Derin Devlet*) to overthrow the government and topple the president Erdoğan. The blame for the whole crisis fell on Fetullah Gülen and his organization: the Hizmet. During and after the coup, several incongruities and ambiguities have led to the development of different theories around the eventuality of the involvement of the government which

could have staged the whole insurgence in order to undermine Gülen's organization and to silence the opposition. However, the aim of this paper is not to define whether the coup has been staged or not; the focus of this work is rather to analyse the breaking point within the relationship between Erdoğan and Gülen, the root causes of the conflict which brought the two from being complementary powers to competitive ones. The paper will be divided in three parts: first, a brief introduction of the Hizmet movement and its relationship with the government and with Erdoğan in particular; the central part covers the dispute over the control of the State and the escalation which led to the coup, focusing on the role of the education in the shape of the "New Turkey" communitarian identity. The final consideration underlines the reassertion of the AKP political and cultural hegemony over the Turkish State, after having eliminated the "internal enemy". The analytical frame is based on the comparison of the competing visions of Erdoğan and Gülen through the lens of the theories on cultural hegemony and social movements. The latter considered in the Touraine's vision of society as "a system of social forces competing for control of a cultural field" (Touraine, 1977: 30) which "reflects the struggle between two antagonistic actors that fight over the control of the type of transforming action which a society exercise upon itself" (Touraine, 1977: 95-96). Further depth to the argument has been given through an interview conducted by the author with a PhD candidate member of the Hizmet, who could enrich the discussion with precious insights.

Keywords: Turkish politics, AKP, Hizmet Movement, Cultural Hegemony, Education and Identity, Contentious Politics

Gizem Kaftan (Northeastern University, USA)

Title: Cosmopolitan vs. Fortress Europe: Understanding European Identity Formation towards Neighboring Countries. Evidence from Russia and Turkey

Abstract: As Risse (2010) argued in his influential book, *A Community of Europeans?*, there are two identities in Europe which are clashing since the establishment of the European Union. Risse (2010,87) described these identities as "modern, liberal, and secular Europe" which is sacred and "exclusionary and nationalist 'fortress' Europe" which is primordial. This primordial identity also includes religion which is a contested topic in the enlargement rounds. Risse (2010) argued that these identities showed themselves in the rounds of enlargement as Central Eastern European enlargement was supported as these countries are returning Europe. In my paper, I will argue that these two identities were at work during the association talks of Russia and candidacy talks of Turkey. Even though Russia and Turkey are different countries, such as the former is

Christian Orthodox, and the latter is Muslim, the public and social sphere of these countries are very much alike. They are both led by authoritarian leaders, the most important norms of the European Union are under attack in these countries, and they both have charismatic leaders. In this paper, I will show that, during Russian association talks, the European Union enhanced its modern, liberal, and secular Europe identity as they emphasized the rule of law, human rights, and democracy. In the Turkish process, the 'fortress' Europe identity was in play, and the cosmopolitan identity was not enhanced.

Keywords: European Union, International Relations, Russia, Turkey, European Identity

Tiago André F. Lopes (Oporto Global University / Orient Institute)

Title: The Alien within Us! Exclusive Nationalism in Tajikistan's Nation-building Policies

Abstract: In the beginning of September 2017 several media houses reported the intention of Tajikistan to ban Islamic dress. According to Shamsiddin Orumbekzoda, Minister of Culture of Tajikistan, Islamic dress is "really dangerous" (Independent, 2017) representing an "alien" culture. In the beginning of 2016, the region of Kathlon (Tajikistan) featured on the news proudly announcing that they "had shaved the beards of nearly 13,000 men as part of an "anti-radicalisation campaign"" (BBC, 2016) promoted by the central government in Dushanbe. Exclusive nationalism (Brubaker, 1999) is not a unique feature in the post-soviet space. The double exclusion dynamics at play in Moldova (trapped between Romanian and Russian legacies) or in Uzbekistan (puzzled in between Soviet and Persian heritages) prove that the construction of nationhood by the exclusion of elements from regional cultures is of importance if we want to correctly understand the processes unfolding in post-soviet Central Asia. It is this dynamic of building nationhood hand in hand with statehood that we are trying to examine when looking to Tajikistan with the particular focus on the role played by exclusive nationalism. The communication will be structured in three parts: 1.) examining the role of exclusive nationalism (looking primarily to Brubaker, 1996; Khon, 1965 and Adam, 1990) in quadruple transitions (as defined by Offe, 1991 and Kuzio, 2001); 2.) deconstructing the idea of Tajik and Tajikistan in the light of the pre and post-Soviet influence (Akbarzadeh, 1996; Atkin, 1997; Davlatshoev, 2006; Laruelle, 2007; Marat, 2008); assessing current sociopolitical developments in Emomali Rahmon's Tajikistan.

Keywords: Tajikistan, Exclusive Nationalism, Nation Building, Transition

Panel IV

Conflicts in Eurasian Politics

Taner Zorbay (Middle East Technical University, Turkey)

Title: Re-Thinking About Crimea: A Case of Historical Isolation

Abstract: Since the time of tsars, Russian leadership has kept its eyes on Crimea and even has fought against regional as well as international powers for Crimean land. This focus especially increased in the 19th century, and Russian tsars of the time gradually took the control of Crimean Peninsula from the Ottoman Empire. Following the Russian control, this issue continued to be a center of clash and created a continuous problem in both regional and global perspective. The end of tsardom and the foundation of Soviet Russia even did not bring the aims of Russians over the Crimean land to an end. The anti-imperialist spokesmen of the new Soviet regime somehow kept silence when the voices of people of Crimea, like Crimean Tatars, rose against the Soviet imperial goals. As one of victorious powers of WWII, the Soviet regime kept Crimea in a great isolation and thus under its control. This could have been possible thanks to the conditions of the Cold War era as well as the military and strategic means of Moscow. The Russian leadership used all methods of isolation against Crimea and its people including deportation and similar inhuman and degrading treatment. All these were clues of Crimea's importance for Russia and the reason of Russian insistence of keeping this small peninsula under its control. End of the Cold War even did not change Russian policies against Crimea. And this is the reason for Russia, as the core idea of this paper, for taking all risks and facing all accusations just for the continuation of its desires over Crimea even today.

Our paper will start with a historical background of the issue and then Russian imperial aims and strategies, especially of Stalin's period, will be examined in details. Russian demands over the Turkish Straits in relation with Crimea, and further claims of Moscow governments will be viewed in the following pages. Moreover, the end of Cold War and its implications over the Crimean isolation will also be examined. The reactions and counter reactions over the Crimean problem will also be covered. The geostrategic as well as economic reasons of Russian policies about Crimea will constitute the general framework of our paper. By our attempt of re-thinking and revising historical and current events took place in regards of Crimea, it is our humble hope that one of the necrosis of international order, peace and stability will be understood in a better way. And with our paper it is also aimed that the people of Crimea may be able to use the principle of self-determination as one of the global rights and freedoms since the time of the French

Revolution. However, with this paper, it will be well understood that for both the Crimean people as well as countries that supports the Crimean cause from time to time, it will not be an easy task for overwhelming Russian goals and policies as far as the events taking place in the first quarter of the 21st century concerned.

Keywords: Crimea, Isolation, Crimean Tatars, Stalin, Cold War, The Turkish Straits

Ebru Birinci (Moscow State University, Russia)

Title: Israeli Relations as a factor of Russian Middle Eastern Policy

Abstract: The present essay provides an analysis of Russian-Israeli relations as a factor of Russian Middle Eastern policy, especially after the break of Syrian war in 2011 with regard to increasing Russian role in the region to monitor the extent to which Russian-Israeli relations' effect on the Russian policy in the Middle East region. Importance of studying Middle Eastern vector and Russian-Israeli relationship has increased in accordance with the Russian involvement in the region. The relations between the governments of Israel and Russia have steadily evolved since the restoration of diplomatic relations in 1991. The developing bilateral relations, gained a new dimension notably subsequently to the break of Syrian war, has become one of main factors in Russian Middle Eastern policy with regards to Israel's unique strategic position in the region, developing economy and technology. As Russia constitutes the most effective global power in the Syrian conflict in which several regional powers have been endeavouring to get maximum advantage, Israel has aimed to keep the good relations with her. For the Russian part, developing or at least keeping strategic relations with Israel requires special course considering its probable effect on the other cooperation and policies of Russian government, such as partnership with Iran in Syria, Syrian war and Russian policy towards Arab-Israeli conflict.

Keywords: Israel, Russia, Middle East, Foreign Policy, Syria

Shoushan Keshishian (University of York, UK)

Title: Analyzing the Nagorno-Karabakh Peace Process from the Paradigm of Spoilers

Abstract: The paper explores the Nagorno-Karabakh peace process from the paradigm of spoilers proposed by Stephen J Stedman (1997). The paper presents the history of the conflict, the ongoing peace process, and the concept of spoilers. It then identifies the

spoilers in the peace process, along with the appropriate methods to manage them. The identified spoilers are the Armenian Revolutionary Federation as a greedy spoiler, the Republican Party of Armenia as a limited spoiler, and the Free Motherland Party of Nagorno-Karabakh as a limited spoiler. Each spoiler is explained in detail and a method of management is recommended according to its type. The proposed methods of management include inducement, socialization, and the departing train strategy. The paper also emphasizes the role that should be played by the international custodians of peace, and the need for a renewed commitment to solve this conflict because of its volatility.

Keywords: Frozen Conflict, Spoilers, Peace Agreement, Nagorno-Karabakh, Conflict Resolution, Eurasia

Giuliano Bifulchi (University of Rome Tor Vergata, Italy)

Title: Assessment of the Russian Strategy to Contrast Terrorism and Jihadist Propaganda in the North Caucasus

Abstract: Terrorism, violent attacks and political Islam have been affecting the North Caucasus since the collapse of the Soviet Union. If in the past the Caucasus Emirate was the main terrorist organisation in the region, since 2014 the Islamic State gained popularity and declared the formation of the Vilayat Kavkaz (Caucasus Province) as part of the Caliphate exploiting the regional critical socioeconomic situation and promoting the jihadist propaganda in Russian language (i.e. the magazine 'Istok') also thanks to the significant presence of North Caucasian foreign fighters among the ranks of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. Although nowadays the Islamic State was mainly defeated in Syria and Iraq it still represents a threat for the security of the North Caucasus, a region often labelled as the most unstable and underdeveloped area of the Russian Federation characterised by ethnic conflicts, the rise of Salafism, unemployment and corruption. This research is a qualitative study that attempts to explain why the Kremlin's regional counter-terrorism strategy might only have a partial positive impact in the short-term on the North Caucasian security and stability without resolving all the problems which push the locals, especially the young generations, to join terrorist groups and the Islamist cause. The methodology used in this paper is based on the review of the literature on geopolitics, history, security, ethnography and strategic communication as well as scholarly literature and NGO reports concerning the North Caucasus, terrorism in Russia and jihadist propaganda in the Russian language. The paper aims at underlining that the Russian government has elaborated and conducted a strategy mainly based on special military

operations and huge investments in the field of tourism and logistic which can exacerbate more the delicate status quo of the region favouring the spread of jihadist propaganda because it does not consider the historical, sociocultural, ethnic and religious background. Indeed, as proven by the statistics about terrorist and violent attacks in the North Caucasus, the region is not immune to jihadist propaganda and terrorism. In the future, if the Russian government will not be able to support economically and military the regional leaders or will not change its strategy, terrorism and political Islam could seriously affect the North Caucasus, a region considered a bridge between Europe and Asia and the Russian link to the Middle East and the Arab-Muslim world, posing a serious threat to the stability and security of the Russian Federation and entire Eurasia.

Keywords: North Caucasus, Russia, Terrorism, Jihadist Propaganda, Strategy

Panel V

Transboundary Crisis in Eurasia

Gustavo Luis Furini (OBSERVARE/UAL, Portugal)

Title: Paris Agreement and Climate Justice to Least Developed Countries: An Asian perspective

Abstract: Climate variation has been detected along different cycles on Earth's history, but scientific observation during last decades brings strong evidence that anthropic activities are the main responsible for current climate change. Over the last 200 years, since industrial revolution, concentrations of greenhouse gases have increased substantially and economic activities from northern countries have become leading chargeable for the climate crisis, a major global defiance from the myriads of this century. In different circumstances, southern countries have released a significantly lower amount of greenhouse gases during the same period but have already become highly vulnerable to climate change effects. This scenario of low emissions and high environmental vulnerability encompasses the Least Developed Countries (LDC), a compound group of low-income countries confronting severe structural impediments to development. The most recent and important outcome from international climate negotiations is the Paris Agreement, a multilateral deal which underscores the need of global cooperation to reduce emissions, those officially expressed via Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs), a fundamental pledge to reach the Agreement signature. Based on the perspective of historical emissions and climate justice, this essay discusses if the Paris Agreement's commitments on curbing emissions in the short-term, even on a voluntary basis, is coherently fair to nine Asian countries (Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Nepal, Timor-Leste and Yemen) of the least developed group. This manuscript grounds its theoretical framework by reviewing the understandings of Antonio Gramsci on Hegemony and connecting them to the international arena through the lens of Critical Theory. The main objective of this essay is to discuss in which terms LDC in Asia are apparently accepting hegemonic tenet from northern economies on climate change agenda. In order to do that, the paper analyzes the INDCs elaborated by the Asian members of LDC group for the sake of identifying aspects and propose categories of analysis. The intention is to better understand the reason why, albeit not responsible for the climate crisis, these Asian countries are willing to incorporate carbon reduction into their economies, and in some cases, based on their own budget and local actions.

Keywords: Climate Change, Least Developed Countries, Hegemony, Climate Justice

Md Jahirul (Tallinn University, Estonia)

Title: Islam - Religious Tolerance and Local Wisdom Values-Keeping Harmony and Peace in South Sulawesi Province

Abstract: Religious Tolerance means accept and respect others religious opinion, allow religious believes, facilitate each other, mutual respect among all religious believers which is called religious freedom. Local wisdom is known as indigenous or local knowledge, or local genius, which is the basis of cultural identity. The purpose of this study has to find that religious tolerance and local wisdom values maintaining harmonious and peaceful relation in South Sulawesi province. Study method was qualitative descriptive approach. Primary and secondary data were used to find the proper result. Primary data were collected by in-depth interviews with respective religious and society leaders. Secondary data were collected from documents, books, article, website and other related areas. The findings of this research were that South Sulawesi people's daily life so much influenced by religion and local knowledge, these two values keeping harmonious and peaceful relation among different religion and different tribes.

Keywords: Religion, Tolerance, Local Wisdom, Harmony, Peace

Mehmet Altingoz (University of Delaware, USA)

Title: Black Sea: As a Peacebuilder for the Region

Abstract: Many rivers discharge into the Black Sea (e.g. the Danube, Don, Dnieper, Dniester) and bring major nutrient pollution, predominantly nitrogen and phosphate. These nutrients cause extensive plant growth, also known as eutrophication. When the plants die, they consume the oxygen. Yet, the Black Sea cannot replace the lost oxygen since its circulation is very limited, as it connects with larger seas via only one narrow strait located in Turkey. This results in approximately 90% of the sea having anaerobic conditions, which has had consequences on humans and the environment. The riparian countries have been cooperating with each other to address the pollution problem despite numerous international conflicts they are having with each other (e.g. Crimea's annexation, Georgia-Russia War). Cooperation over the Black Sea takes place at various levels (e.g. between governmental bodies, international organizations, academic institutions, non-governmental organizations), and it has improved the Black Sea at some level. This study utilizes the environmental peacebuilding literature and conducts interviews with experts and scholars to grasp the reasons behind the initiation and

continuation of the Black Sea cooperation as well as reveal required actions for its sustainability. Moreover, it seeks ways to expand this cooperation to broader contexts and to other fields such as economics, education, etc. as well as use it for improving international relations in the region.

Keywords: Black Sea Geopolitics, Nutrient Pollution, International Cooperation, Environmental Peace Building

David Ferreira & Mónica Canário (CEI-IUL, Portugal & CEI-IUL, Portugal)

Title: EU's Normative Power at the Crossroads of Europe and Asia: The Case of Human Rights Promotion in Georgia

Abstract: The concept of Normative Power Europe (NPE), as developed by Ian Manners, conceives the Europe Union (EU) as an actor with an ideational nature, embodying common principles and shaping norm diffusion in the international system. In this context, Human Rights are particularly important, as one of the EU's founding principles, first mentioned in the 1973 Copenhagen declaration on European identity. However, in spite of the EU's self-portrayal as a global actor, its Eastern Partnership (EaP) integration project clashes with Moscow's aspirations in the former Soviet space. Our research on the EU's normative power selects Georgia as a case study, a country with intentions of EU accession that is part of the European Neighbourhood Policy, and whose previous and existing human rights issues gained new visibility since the October 2018 presidential elections, according to Human Rights Watch. We see this study as made ever more relevant in light of the rapidly forming and developing relations across Eurasia, which increase the stake of larger powers such as Russia and the EU in strategically located countries like Georgia, as well as the latter's role in ensuring peace and prosperity in Europe and Asia. As such, the EU has engaged with Georgia in order to advance many of its agendas, including on Human Rights. Although respecting this fundamental principle constitutes a requirement for all EU partner states, the lack of membership prospects through the EaP is seen as limiting impetus towards reforms at various levels. Intending to test that argument within the framework of Human Rights, in a country with a strongly pro-EU stance, our research draws from Nathalie Tocci's (2008) approach to the study of normative power by means of asking three research questions: what does the EU want, how does it act, and what does it achieve? Our aims are to understand EU goals in the field of Human Rights in Georgia; how those goals are manifested through processes of norm diffusion; and to examine potential results of EU involvement therein.

Keywords: European Union, Georgia, Human Rights, Normative Power Europe

Panel VI

Minority Politics in Eurasia

Chaimun Lee (Kyungpook National University, South Korea)

Title: A Tale of Two Nationalities: North Koreans in Kamchatka and South Koreans in Sakhalin Island, Russia

Abstract: The goal of this study is to analyze diasporic aspects of North Korean migrants in Kamchatka, in comparison with those of Korean diaspora in Sakhalin. In particular, this study tries to compare transnational practices of those Korean diaspora both in Sakhalin and Kamchatka, Russia. Transnationalism has been used widely to refer to social and cultural phenomena, which are related with physical, material and spiritual interactions between home and the host countries. Thus, transnationalism has been affected by various ties of ethnic migrants. It may be natural, given that identities of ethnic migrants are fluid, not fixed.

There are many transnational practices and phenomena which connect diasporic aspects between the host country and the home country. In this paper four transnational practices including alienation from the host countries, differences in kin-states, desire for an eventual return to the homeland, and Confucian ethics were analyzed and compared between those Korean immigrants in Sakhalin and Kamchatka. This paper uses narratives of ethnic Koreans obtained in two field surveys in Elizovo in Kamchatka, Russia and Jeonggwan in Busan, South Korea. There are about 1,800 North Korean migrants and their descendants in Kamchatka where most Koreans are compactly residing. Among them are five participants born in North Korea and one woman born to the 1st generation Korean gastarbeiter in Kamchatka.

In addition, narrative data of Koreans in Sakhalin used in this paper were collected from repatriated Sakhalin Koreans in Jeonggwan newtown in Busan, South Korea, one of several settlements where permanently repatriated Koreans are living together. There are currently 118 Sakhalin Korean residents repatriated in the research site, and all of them were born before 1945. All participants are the 2nd generation Koreans born in Sakhalin. Our interviews with those participants were carried out both in February and March, 2016. Among repatriated interviewees are four male and four females. In conclusion, this paper shows how transnational practices of ethnic Koreans both in Kamchatka and Sakhalin, Russia have led to reconstruction of ethnic identities. Ethnic Koreans in Sakhalin and Kamchatka are different in their history and their adaptation to different Russian provinces, but such transnational practices as alienation from the host countries, differences in kin-states, desires for an eventual return to their homeland, and

Confucian ethics were strongly shown to be connected with a drastic change in their identity reconstruction. It may be due to the fact that South and North Korea, homelands for two Korean diasporas in Sakhalin and Kamchatka, are different in their political or economic system or structure, but identical in their cultural and spiritual roots.

Keywords: Return Migration, Homeland, Transnationalism, Identity Reconstruction, Diaspora, Kin-state

Ali Onur Ozcelik (Eskisehir Osmangazi University, Turkey)

Title: The Relevance of Domestic Politics for a Better Understanding of Territorial Representations in the European Union Arena: Turkish Subnational Administrations as a Case

Abstract: This paper seeks to explore the link between the domestic politics and the international activities of subnational administrations from Turkey. The foreign activities of subnational administrations are analysed under the concept of territorial representation in the literature. In this respect, the main argument is that the domestic politics matters in order to examine the interplay between central institutions and local or regional administrations in order for the foreign activities of subnational administrations. The paper claims that a territorial representation outside of the national border is not only mediated by certain national factors such as territorial and constitutional framework as well as historical legacy and political culture but also subnational factors, such as regional distinctiveness, the quality of intergovernmental relations, and pre-existing regional networks. It is argued that while the regional distinctiveness may play a negative role, the quality of intergovernmental relations and the pre-existing regional networks may stimulate the behaviour of local and regional administrations in order to pursue their interests beyond the national borders. Overall, the article suggests that in order for a better understanding of territorial representations of subnational administrations from one candidate state, Turkey, one should have a close observation on the domestic politics.

Keywords: Subnational Administration, Domestic Politics, Identity, Representation, Turkey

Dilek Barlas & Yonca Köksal Özyaşar (Koc University & Koc University, Turkey)

Title: The Muslim/Turkish Minorities in the Balkans, 1913-1939

Abstract: This presentation aims to study the changing status of Muslim/Turkish minorities in Balkan countries, namely Greece, Bulgaria and Romania, from the end of the Balkan Wars to WWII (1913-39). It aims to bring international, national and community level dynamics together in order to understand minority politics. In this context, it will also analyze the policies of the Turkish state vis-a-vis Muslim/Turkish minorities in these countries. In doing so, the paper attempts to show the interaction between the minority policies of these three Balkan countries, and the diplomatic relations that they developed with the Ottoman Empire/the Turkish Republic. In addition, we will see the effects of the reactions of the Muslim/Turkish minorities to state and inter-state policies of the countries concerned. Minority policies in these countries were influenced by their bilateral relations with the Ottoman Empire/the Turkish Republic as the kin state. In other words, minority policies are not only determined by the state in advance but also by changing diplomatic relations between the countries concerned. When we compare the status of minorities in these three countries, we observe that good diplomatic relations between these states affect positively the minority policies of these states. Amelioration of relations between the Ottoman Empire/the Turkish Republic and these countries led relatively better treatment of Muslim/Turkish minorities in Greece, Bulgaria and Romania. To put it differently, this presentation will not only analyze the state policies led by each of these countries but also the treaties signed between the Ottoman Empire/the Turkish Republic and Greece, Bulgaria and Romania. During the Ottoman rule, international treaties defined minorities and set the legal framework for the treatment of Muslim/Turkish minorities in Greece, Bulgaria and Romania. With the formation of the Turkish Republic, diplomatic relations with Turkey and relations among the Balkan states became influential in the treatment of Muslim/Turkish minorities. While diplomatic relations between Ankara on the one hand and Athens and Bucharest on the other hand ameliorated in the 1930, relations between Ankara and Sofia deteriorated. Therefore, the status of Muslim/Turkish minorities in Bulgaria changed for the worse contrary to the status of Muslim/Turkish minorities in Greece and Romania. In summary, this paper is a study of diplomatic relations of Greece, Bulgaria and Romania with the Ottoman Empire/the Turkish Republic, of their minority policies, of the attempts of these minorities to be politically involved and of the Ottoman Empire/the Turkish Republic's positions towards these minorities.

Keywords: Balkans, The Ottoman Empire, Turkey, Minority, Diplomacy

Panel VII

Contemporary Trojan horse: Migration Issues in National and Global Contexts

Sebnem Koser Akcapar (Koc University, Turkey)

Title: Afghan Migration to Turkey: Power, Agency and Social Networks

Abstract: Although this era is named as the age of ‘refugee crises’, mainly referring to unprecedented forced migration flows due to Syrian civil war since 2011, Afghan displacement is still one of the most protracted cases in the world today. Starting from the 1970s onwards, Afghans had to migrate to a number of destinations in the global North but the vast majority of Afghan refugees live in the South, mainly in Iran and Pakistan (Safri, 2011). The hope for change in the 2000s were short-lived and those repatriated at the time either became internally displaced or joined the ranks of new irregular migration flows (Bialczyk, 2008; Tober, 2007). The political situation in Pakistan and Iran also forced them to find alternative destination countries (Donini et al. 2016). Turkey is one destination country in the recent years for Afghans who were seeking a better living. While some Afghans established small businesses and have already been living in the country and working in the informal economy for some time, male-dominated new arrivals directly from Afghanistan and Iran were deported to Afghanistan only to come back again if they find the chance. This paper is based on participatory observation and ethnographic research carried out in two cities in Turkey, namely Istanbul and Ankara. I will expound on the life stories of Afghans who are betwixt and in-between ‘refugee status’ (under international protection in line with the recent asylum changes in Turkey) and undocumented migrants ready to jump in the next boat to the EU. The objective of the paper is twofold: One is to question ‘temporariness’ in migration flows and the effect of ‘social capital’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Vertovec, 2003) leading permanence by taking up the case of Afghan migration. The other is to find out how Afghans plan different stages in their migration processes based on the imagination of Turkey and the EU. While doing so, I will adapt the Lefebvrian ‘right to the city’ (1968/1996; Marcuse, 2009) and the concept of ‘autonomy of migration’ (Nyers, 2015) which demystifies power relations in migration and give autonomy back to the migrant as the active decision-maker against the resistance of nation-states and international organizations.

Keywords: Afghanistan, Refugees, Turkey, Social Networks, Transit Migration

Farkhad Alimukhamedov (Sciences Po Toulouse, France)

Title: Making Diaspora from Labor Migrants: Policies and Strategies of Migrants Sending Countries of Central Asia

Abstract: The collapse of the USSR has not only created 15 republics, but also prepared the complex migration flows within post-Soviet space. so-called Eurasian migration system was established with specific factors (historical ties, geographic proximity, Russian language, large-scale irregular migration, etc) according to Ivakhnyuk (Ivakhnyuk, 2006).

“Diaspora option” proposed by the IOM in order to increase FDI to the migrants sending countries dependent on migrant remittances. It suggests a close cooperation between states and migrants on a long-term, comprehensive, win-win project between state and citizen. In fact, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Moldova are among the top 10 countries heavily dependent on remittances (share of GDP), while Armenia and Georgia are listed in top 20. Among Central Asian countries three countries are classified as “donor” countries with prevailing departure of labor migrants, while Kazakhstan is considered as “recipient” (Ryazantsev, 2010).

We argue that there is not always direct relation between country’s dependency on remittances and policies developed by states in order to build the trust between labor migrants and governments. The paper questions form of engagement developed by states and their rationale. Data obtained through qualitative methods is based on the analysis of legal instruments developed by states.

Keywords: Central Asia, Migration, Diaspora, Diaspora Politics

António Eduardo Mendonça (IGOT-UL, Portugal)

Title: Central Asian Migrants in Portugal: Two Case Studies

Abstract: This paper aims at presenting two Central Asian migrant communities in Portugal. The first one is the Kazakhstanis of the Upper Douro Valley, in the north: in this area, famous for the Port Wine production but facing the challenge of rural depopulation, migrant communities become the main source of labor for vineyards and apple orchards. The second community are the Uzbekistanis of the region of Leiria, north of Lisbon - whose small businesses are part of a Russian-speaking local building industry. Based on extensive fieldwork and in-deep interviews of pioneers of both groups, this paper tries to retrace their life stories as migrants and as communities, from the initial decision to leave their home countries, in the late 1990s or beginning of the 2000s, to the twists and turns

of the migration and the integration processes. As a Conclusion, I will compare the presence of Central Asian migrants in several Western European countries and discuss the perspectives of this migration trend.

Keywords: Migrations, Portugal, Kazakhstanis, Uzbekistanis, Eurasian Migration System

Gergana Yordanova (National Defense Academy Sofia, Bulgaria)

Title: Geopolitics of Islamic Finance in Christian Europe: Between Asia and Europe

Abstract: The paper looks into the subject matter of the developing geoeconomic integration of illegal immigrants and refugees originating from the Muslim ethnic minority in Europe within the context of integration of their traditions and habits in terms of economic, financial and payment operations. The study aims at researching various Islamic banks` activities in Europe in favor of the migrants as well as of the traditional Christian habitation. The report describes some impacts and first effects after the establishments of Islamic Banks and the several services offered by it within the context of the real integration of the new citizens of the Western society.

Keywords: Islamic Finance, Islamic Banks, Hawala, Geopolitics

Panel VIII

The Influence of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) on Eurasian and World Politics

Jörg Michael Dostal (Seoul National University, South Korea)

Title: China's Belt and Road Initiative and Pakistan's Gwadar Port Project: Economic Development and Geopolitical Conflict

Abstract: One crucial component of China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is the China-Pakistan economic corridor which includes large-scale Chinese capital investment on roads, railways, pipelines and the expansion of Pakistan's Gwadar harbor. The major objective of this project is to connect the city of Kashgar in China with the Arabian Sea and the Arab peninsula through Pakistan's Gwadar Port. The China-Pakistan economic corridor is expected to provide China with an alternative energy and trade transport route which avoids the much longer southern route bypassing India and the maritime choke point of the Malacca Straits.

The first part of the paper reviews past and present geopolitical concepts of Eurasian economic and political cooperation. The second section outlines the major projects of the China-Pakistan economic corridor. The third section examines how the expansion of Gwadar port might affect regional geopolitics, namely competition between great powers, Pakistan's regional role and conflicts between states on the Arab peninsula and Iran. Finally, the paper highlights how changes in the region's economic infrastructure trigger new conflicts between the regional actors while also producing unexpected realignments in some cases.

Keywords: Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), China, Geopolitics, Gwadar Port, Pakistan

Fabricio A. Fonseca (Tamkang University, Taiwan)

Title: The Belt and Road Initiative and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Chinese Expectations and Lessons for Latin America

Abstract: The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and the Chinese experience in it offer a good opportunity for the effective institutionalization of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Even so, the recent expansion of the organization, after the admittance of India and Pakistan as full members, also presents some challenges for the successful implementation of the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road. This paper proceeds to analyze the major motivations behind the Chinese BRI and its interactions with the SCO,

highlighting the inclusion of good relations with its neighbors as one of the new cores in Chinese foreign policy-making, as well as other important ideas that provide the content of an intended institutional change. The second half of the paper focuses on the implications of the new maritime silk road for Latin America, noting how despite being a geographically distant place, bilateral trade and economic interactions between the People's Republic China and this region have expanded at a higher speed than those between China and the Eurasian SCO members. Consequently, an eventual expansion of the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road to include Latin America, can consider the Chinese experience with the SCO as a case offering valuable lessons.

Keywords: BRI, Maritime Silk Road, SCO, China, Latin America

Jorge Tavares da Silva (University of Aveiro, Portugal)

Title: The Sino-Pakistan Economic Connectivity and the Eurasian Security Framework

Abstract: This paper deals with the Sino-Pakistan bilateral interaction that mainly involves partnership on economic, cultural, and military areas. Both countries opened an important integrated network of infrastructure—the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) that fits into the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) designed by China at the beginning of this new century. The article puts in confrontation the Chinese economic initiatives in Pakistan and analyse its main socio-political bilateral framework. The construction of the deep-water port of Gwadar is one of projects that comprises regional geopolitical concerns. This article aims to understand all factors that would affect bilateral relations between China and Pakistan and its involvement in the main Eurasian security dilemmas.

Keywords: China, Pakistan, Eurasia, Security, Cooperation

Ozge Soylemez (King's College London, UK)

Title: Turkey and China in Eurasia: Sources of Cooperation and Contention

Abstract: This paper examines how the rise of China has affected Turkey's role conceptions in Eurasia. It focuses on the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and traces patterns of change and continuity in Turkish foreign policy toward the region. The analysis will be centered around the significance of the BRI in shaping geopolitics and geoeconomics of Eurasia and evaluate existing and potential sources of cooperation and contention for Sino-Turkish relations.

Keywords: Role-conception, Turkey, China, BRI

Panel IX

Alternate Economic and Social Relations in the Post-Soviet Eurasia

Philip Husom (Purdue University, USA)

Title: Political Shocks and Economic Reform in the Post-Soviet World

Abstract: What determines the extent of economic reform in post-Soviet Eurasia, and how do political shocks affect reform efforts? My dissertation examines the economic liberalization aspect of the transformation from Soviet regimes, something often ignored in the transition literature, and addresses critical juncture theories of path dependence. Specifically, I analyze economic policy the wake of two political shocks, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Color Revolutions, to determine whether the window of opportunity was as important as is commonly argued. I look at whether political and economic policy choices in the aftermath of massive political change significantly constrain future economic policy options. Two influential arguments have attempted to explain post-Soviet economic reform. One theory posits that structural factors and initial elections are largely responsible for subsequent economic reform, whereas another argument suggests that even the results of initial elections were conditioned by a state's neighbors and its openness to the world. In this paper I use three cases to illustrate why early evaluations of post-Soviet economic reforms need revision. Case studies on economic policy in Georgia, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan after each shock demonstrate that elites and political institutions are important determinants of reforms, but significant variation and trends are missed when analyzing this region through a path dependence or geographic lens or when relying on quantitative analysis alone. I find that economic policy mirrors political cycles of patronalism in these countries and, in contrast to the idea that policy change only occurs during a window of opportunity after political shock, in some cases economic reform is actually less likely after a political shock. When economic reform does occur, it is often a byproduct of other political goals.

Keywords: Post-Soviet Political Economy, Economic Reform, Color Revolutions, Georgia, Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan

Konstantinas Andrijauskas (Vilnius University, Lithuania)

Title: The Restraining Belt: Socialist Modernization and Emerging Surveillance State in Inner Asia

Abstract: Ever since Vladimir Lenin's famous adage that communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country, the USSR's development strategy emphasized material infrastructure as the means to pursue not only socialist modernization, but territorial integration and political control as well. It is widely agreed today that this proved to be precisely the pattern of Soviet policies in most of its territories beyond Russia-proper, including Central Asia. Somewhat less noticed remains the fact that the practices on the other side of the Sino-Soviet border were nearly identical in their goals, and actually became quite innovative in their shape. Similarly, to its Moscow-controlled Central Asian counterpart, during the Cold War Xinjiang provided a testing ground for modern weapons, infrastructure technologies and peculiar institutions of social control. China's current Belt and Road Initiative (also known as the 'One Belt, One Road') aims to physically connect itself with the rest of Eurasia, and Xinjiang is officially acknowledged to be the stepping stone of the strategy's terrestrial 'belt'. The latest stages of this mega-project have coincided with a surprisingly bold initiation of drastic and increasingly controversial security measures in the province, apparently contradicting the carefully promoted positive message of the Initiative. This paper aims to question the idea of such inconsistency. Quite to the contrary, it reveals that China's current security policies in Xinjiang should indeed be understood as a consistent step in a decades-long struggle for the province. The strategy's infrastructure-based foundations have already been set decades before on both sides of the Sino-Soviet border, and its repercussions would also affect the whole 'Inner Asia'. Based on Michel Foucault's notion of disciplinary power and qualitatively novel theoretical model of physical infrastructure as manifestation of spatial production and control, this paper consecutively analyses three most important cases of Xinjiang's material attachment to China-proper used since the Maoist era of the People's Republic, namely the Production and Construction Corps (bingtuan) network, transportation and energy links, and objects of nation-wide military and strategic significance, in particular the nuclear arms and missile testing sites.

Keywords: China, Xinjiang, Physical Infrastructure, Surveillance, Power

Sandra Ribeiro (OBSERVARE/UAL, Portugal)

Title: Globalization in Eurasia: The Impact on Trade and Tourism

Abstract: Globalization is the process of interaction and integration between different economic agents, individuals, companies and various governments. Thus, it is a process promoted by international trade and the movements of capital and driven by information technologies.

The change or elimination of barriers to international movements of people, goods, services and capital, combined with the reduction of transport costs and also the reduction and effectiveness of the new communication models are the factors of globalization worldwide, and especially in the Eurasia. Its contemporary economic growth and the integration of communities and markets verified, allow it to be verified. This is not a new phenomenon because for millennia trade and migration have always been binding on Asia and Europe, making it narrow the border between both continents.

In this article we intend to analyze the flows of trade and tourism in Europe and Asia, in the current geopolitical context. We chose these two variables for analysis given that these, besides being the basis factors of the engine of globalization, are two of the main factors that allow us to strengthen the interconnectivity between both.

Europe and Asia have a greater flow of trade, greater than between the United States of America (U.S.A.) and Asia; we note that Europe is investing more in Asia than the U.S. We also note the relevance of tourism flows to this geographical area, which occupies the largest part of the world's physical territory. In this way Eurasia is now a great power at these two levels. We understand that it will still be possible to explore and intensify exchanges within these two factors within Eurasia, as these can be expanded and enhanced.

Keywords: Globalization, Eurasia, International Trade, Tourism

Marina Shentsova (Diplomatic Academy MFA KR, Kyrgyzstan)

Title: Neoliberal Paradigm Transformation in the CIS States

Abstract: My thesis is called "Emergence and development of the neoliberal paradigm in CIS states". It contains 2 chapters, 2 paragraphs each. First chapter is "History of emergence of neoliberalism until nowadays" - theoretical basis, 2 chapter is called "Problems of neoliberalism development in CIS". Total length is 80 pages. The thesis describes how changes in the post-soviet political and social changes led to new formation of political elites, reorganization/redistribution of property and current economic transition. Many today's problems such as corruption, totalitarianism and organisation of state power are discussed. The work focuses on trends that followed after collapse of the Soviet Union. Books being used are: J.C.Moses "Dilemmas of transition in the Post-Soviet countries", S.Collier "Neoliberalism, Social modernity, biopolitics", D.Harvery: "A brief history of neoliberalism", etc.

Keywords: Neoliberal Market, Political Scenarios, New Economic Trends, CIS

Gabriel de Rezende Piccinini & Alena Vysotskaya Guedes Vieira (University of Minho, Portugal & University of Minho, Portugal)

Title: Armenia Between the Eurasian Economic Union and the Eastern Partnership: Limits or opportunities to the EU external governance?

Abstract: This present study aims to explore the drives of individual countries' participation in regional projects, in general, and why Armenia, in particular, seems to be at times closer to the European project and at others to Russian-led regional integration initiatives, such as the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU). In doing so, our objective is also to assess EU's European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) and the Eastern Partnership (EaP). Against all odds, Armenia has proven to be receptive to the EU rules and norms, albeit only in certain areas. Thus, the contribution investigates whether the EU is able to forge a new and more effective kind of governance towards its Eastern neighbors.

Accounting for a factor only rarely addressed in the current academic debate, the present contributions looks into how Armenia has been dealing with two opposing forces: the EU and Russia. While the EU rather than Russia is especially attractive as a driver for change and modernization in the country, EU's influence in the region has been increasingly contested by Moscow. Eventually, the original ambitions of Brussels to promote its governance might be fading away, giving place to a compromised order. This raises the issue of the EU's normative-empty policy to its Eastern neighborhood (Kostanyan, 2015; 2016), following the 2015 ENP's Review and its 'differentiation approach' and the new agreement signed with Armenia in 2017.

Armenia's ENP/EaP experience also raises the important question of the "constitutive power of outsiders" (Browning and Christou, 2010). If the new normative-empty approach towards Armenia is indeed a reality, then it could be argued that the analysis of its 'reception' on the part of Armenia (or other EaP states) is crucial, since this could be determining the direction of the change EU's long-standing identity. Aiming to ascertain Armenia's role and influence in this process and applying Browning and Christou's (2010) marginality strategies to the Armenian case, this project seeks to contribute to the ongoing academic and political debate on this topic.

The present contribution draws on interviews with local researchers and officials in Yerevan, which were conducted in the period from August to December, 2018, in addition to the analysis of primary and secondary sources. This combination of sources and a focus on an individual case study of Armenia as a particular EaP country, would allow, as highlighted by Levy (2008, p. 6), to "get inside the 'black box' of decision making and explore the perceptions and expectations of actors". In doing so, we expect to contribute to the literature and the ongoing debate on the ENP/EaP, while arguing that the EU will

only be able to forge a new and more effective kind of governance in its Eastern neighborhood if it takes into consideration the country's domestic context and elites' role, as well as its level of dependence on Russia.

Keywords: Eastern Partnership, European Neighborhood Policy, Eurasian Economic Union, Armenia, CEPA

Panel X

Struggle for Hegemony Among Eurasian Powers

Kamran Ismayilov (Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna di Pisa, Italy)

Title: Rethinking Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy Strategies vis-à-vis Hegemony-Seeking Russia, 1991-2017

Abstract: Not long after the Soviet Union's demise, Russia's attempts to re-establish its dominion over the South Caucasus where three republics re-gained their independence has become evident. In this regard, the most difficult task for the post-independent Azerbaijan in its relations with Russia was to find an appropriate strategy to reinforce the country's independence, sovereignty and political autonomy. This paper employs Neoclassical Realism to analyse the concept of soft-balancing as a foreign policy strategy pursued by Azerbaijani leadership to deal with the hegemony-seeking Russia. The argument here is that Azerbaijan's foreign policy behaviour since the end of 1993 represents mixed patterns of balancing, which takes non-military and more indirect shape and cooperation in a number of low-salience areas. In this respect, Baku covers its real strategic intentions and balances against Russia through less provocative means. While the paper traces how Azerbaijan engaged in soft-balancing in the last more than twenty years, it also identifies the external and internal factors that came into play in Azerbaijan's deployment of the soft-balancing as a foreign policy strategy. Thus, in addition to the empirical objective, the paper aims to answer theoretically driven questions, such as why and when less powerful states pursue soft-balancing to deal with threatening neighbouring states.

Keywords: Azerbaijan-Russia, Soft-Balancing, Neoclassical Realism

Niki J. P. Alsford (University of Central Lancashire, UK)

Title: Developing North Korea: The Writing of a Grassroots Marshall-like Plan within the EU

Abstract: On 3 April, 1948, the United States gave over \$12 billion (more than \$100 billion in today's money) to replace the Morgenthau Plan and assist in the rebuilding of Western Europe following the Second World War. It required a lessening of interstate barriers, dropping of rigid regulations, and an encouragement of economic productivity. It laid the foundations for an interconnected and integrated Europe that would eventually heal old historic divides and grow into what is now the European Union (EU).

The purpose of this paper is to seek out whether the EU should lead in writing up a similar plan for North Korea as it begins to open its doors to economic development. The hint of rapprochement between the Koreas as well as with the United States, have substantial implications for the removal of UNSCRs that have slowed economic development in the Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea (DPRK). As its leader, Kim Jong-un consolidates his power, and with the knowledge that economic development does not always follow the rules of Modernisation Theory (as is the case of China, Singapore, and Vietnam), his continued negotiations may result in improved relations between the DPRK and the international community.

The experience that the EU had during the four years of the Marshall Plan gives it a first-hand awareness of the difficulties that implementing it can have. Given the benefit of hindsight, this paper argues that perhaps The North Korean Marshall-like plan should be bottom-up and NGO driven to impact North Korean society directly, rather than working as a function of the state itself. Attention to this is important if the EU wants to have a seat at the table on the future of North Korean economic and social development.

Keywords: North Korea, EU, Marshall Plan, Aid, UNSCR, Grassroots Organisations

Krystyna Palonka (University of Euroregional Economy, Poland)

Title: De-Globalization Impact US-China Trade Wars

Abstract: The thirty years of globalization (1990 -2009) has delivered optimistic prove that world progress is unstoppable. International trade was increasing, costs of shifting goods were falling (due to, invention of container, among others), phone calls became cheaper, foreign direct investments (FDI) were going around the world, supply chains spread between countries and continents, tariffs were shrinking, capital flows spread internationally and bank loans were accessible nearly everywhere.

Significant result – the spectacular growth of profits of global companies and financial institutions delivered prospect for brilliant future. It also allowed to lift about 1.5 billion of people in the world out of poverty. Things became changing after 2009 financial crisis. All became stagnating or shrinking. When instability occurs all that smoothly moving processes are disturbed. Thus, the term “SLOWBALISATION” is used, from 2015, by some watchers of state of global affairs.

The international investors found out that supply chains not always function properly (due to natural disasters or political instability) and that local companies are able to catch-up with their technologies and know-how much quicker than expected (thus creating

strong competitiveness). Free international trade created huge imbalance of payments and has endangered local industries and employment. Growing inequalities raised disappointment of societies and populist movements. It also influenced migrations. Raising role of service sector in national output caused stagnation of foreign trade.

All of it delivered handy arguments for politicians and the most significant; President Donald Trump spectacular “trade war” against China. The results are to be observed recently. There is shrinking trade and international investments flows, shortening supply chains and regionalization of trade and capital flows, decreasing profits, cross-border bank loans and capital markets turbulences. The paper tries to monitor recent events and processes as a consequence of decision making, both political leaders and institutions. It also attempts to deliver possible scenarios for the future, concentrating on China and USA.

Keywords: Globalization, Trade Wars, Supply Chain, Capital Flows, Yuan Internationalization

Aibike Mamaiusupova (Central European University, Hungary)

Title: How the Central Asian Region is Coping with Economic Risks of the Eurasian Economic Union and the Belt and Road Initiative: A Case of Kyrgyzstan'

Abstract: Today the Central Asian states are putting huge efforts to transit their economies from fragile into reliable sectors. Early post-soviet practice of “deindustrialization” destroyed weak economies in the region, therefore currently countries are in seek of resources to diverse their economies. On the other hand, regional powers, namely Russia and China, are expanding their economic activities, investments and trade with the CA region, because CA remains attractive market with population of about 70 million people, big assets of raw materials and energy resources. This paper aims to explore new tendencies within economic relations between two major geopolitical actors (Russia and China) and CA states. The contribution examines practical implications of the Eurasian Economic Union and the Belt Road Initiative in the region by noting economic dilemma and suggesting importance of balancing by CA states between two regional powers. By studying economic relations between two external actors and the region, the paper seeks to contribute to existing literature on Central Asian economies.

Keywords: Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), Belt Road Initiative (BRI), Central Asian Economy, Geopolitics, Economic Dilemma

Cezar de Lima Brito (UAL, Portugal)

Title: Geopolitics of the Cold War

Abstract: The Cold War was an arms race and ideology, led by the two superpowers, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which was responsible for drawing a geopolitical map of the period. The geopolitics adopted by the two superpowers was determinant to define a zone of influence, besides having created a state of attention and also an arms race, and space aereo. The global and global project of the USA and the USSR directly impacted the dynamics of International Relations. In this context, the world was divided into two blocks of influence called bipolar. Starting from these conceptual assumptions in the light of the realist theory, it undertakes to analyze the Cold War Geopolitics.

Keywords: Cold War, United States, Soviet Union, Bipolar

Panel XI

Leaders or Followers? Eurasia and East Asia in the International System

Dean Karalekas (Taiwan Center for Security Studies, Taiwan)

Title: Development of National Identity in an Unrecognized State: A Historical, Comparative, and Conceptual Analysis

Abstract: Geopolitically, there might at first glance seem to be little of similarity between the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan and the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. Taiwan is an island whose main economic output today is in the high-tech sector and manufacturing, whereas Iraqi Kurdistan is built upon a petrochemical economic foundation. On closer inspection, however, the two do share certain similarities: for one thing, each in its own way, is key to maintaining the current regional balance of power. Moreover, in East Asia, as in the Levant, nations are roughly divided according to ethnicity, tribe, or some similar expression of the concept of *Jus Sanguinis*, or right of blood. This is contrary to the practice in the United States, Canada, and other nations of the new world, where nationalism is expressed more as a set of common values and the population is made up of host of different ethnicities who are the descendents of settlers and immigrants. While many Kurds like to trace their heritage back millennia, the modern Kurdish identity, or *Kurdayeti*, is heavily influenced by the nation building that took place following the fall of the Persian and Ottoman empires and the division of the region into nation states roughly delineated along ethnic lines. While the Arabs, Persians, and Turks obtained their own nations following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the geopolitical gerrymandering that ensued after World War I, the Kurds were left out. Today their territory is divided by the borders separating Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Syria. In Taiwan, the concept of a Taiwanese ethnic identity as separate from Chinese began to emerge during the Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945), and only grew after the island was taken over by the Republic of China, which moved its capital to Taipei in 1949. In Kurdistan, the political shift from empire to a modern nation state opened the door to a new kind of political space that had a distinct impact on Kurdish identity. For one thing, identity no longer had to be predicated on religion, but could find expression in conceptions of ethnicity. Likewise, in Taiwan, the end of the Martial Law era imposed under the regime of Chiang Kai-shek unleashed the population and freed them to openly embrace their Taiwanese identity, and further democratization allowed for the opening of a new channel in which to express and explore that identity in the political realm. Under the KMT regime (and indeed: in the eyes of the Chinese Communist Party in Beijing,

which seeks to rule over Taiwan), the Taiwanese ethnicity did not exist per se, as the Taiwanese people were merely a sub-group of Han Chinese, indistinguishable from their counterparts on the mainland: fellow descendants of the Yan and Yellow Emperors. Under the Ottoman and Persian empires, as under Zhongnanhai today, ethnicity was a tool of psychological and sociological control.

Keywords: Taiwan, Kurdistan, Kurdayeti, Identity, Nationalism, Development

Philippe Cachia (National Chengchi University, Taiwan)

Title: The Four Basic Emotions in French Politics: Reality and Media Representation

Abstract: Political psychologists evidenced the use of four basic emotions in American political campaigns: two negative emotions, i.e., Anger and Fear, and two positive emotions, i.e., Enthusiasm and Pride. The subject of immigration for example, may be portrayed with Enthusiasm (e.g., by welcoming new people) by pro-immigration politicians or Fear (e.g., of being invaded) by anti-immigration politicians. The association between political orientations (left and right) and the four major emotions has yet to be evidenced in the European political scene. To shed light on the subject, the current research analyzes the emotions expressed by five French presidential candidates during their pre-election debate in Mars 2017. These were Marine Le Pen (far right), Francois Fillon (right), Emmanuel Macron (center), Benoît Hamon (left), and Jean-Luc Mélançon (far left). First, we compare the number of emotional verbs pronounced by each candidate during the debate. In a second step, we review the representation by French media, by counting emotional verbs used in the titles of 165 French media outlets, as they were reporting about the debate. The study reveals that although the far-right politician used verbs related to Anger more than others, little difference between politicians for other emotions was observed. The number of emotional words used by the media when reporting on the debate was however differentiated between candidates. In particular, when reporting on the far-right candidate, media outlets used 50% less verbs expressing Enthusiasm, twice more expressing Fear and four times more expressing Anger, compared to the candidate herself. There was little difference when reporting on other candidates. These results demonstrate that the emotional content of political representation is the outcome of media representation more than that of politicians themselves. The result matches the American observations, where political campaigns are run by advertising agencies.

Keywords: Political Psychology, Election, Media, France

Gregory Coutaz (Chinese Culture University, Taiwan)

Title: Resilience and Recovery in Asian Disasters: Governance and Financial Preparedness

Abstract: Every year, natural disasters cause tens of thousands of deaths and tens of billions of dollars worth of economic losses. The figures available from international agencies such as the International Federation of Red Cross/Red Crescent Societies and from major transnational insurance and reinsurance corporations show that mortality rates have been fairly consistent, whilst the number of recognized catastrophic events, and even more, the size of economic losses, have rapidly increased. With the highest percentage of the world's natural disasters on their continent, Asian decision-makers face the difficult task to successfully mobilize the requisite financing for adaptation. This paper examines how the governments of Taiwan, Japan, and Turkey address natural hazards risks and disaster financial preparedness from the comparative perspective of their national disaster management plans. Since funds are limited and budgets are tight, efficient allocation of resources is therefore indispensable to manage the threats of natural disasters. Traditionally, governments have relied on ex-post financing instruments. This may include in the short run or in the medium term increasing national or local taxes, reallocating public funding from other budget items, or negotiating additional loans borrowed from the general public or from domestic and/or international finance institutions. The present paper argues that there is substantial value in shifting to a comprehensive disaster risk management approach that would accumulate preventive funds and implement positive actions for disaster vulnerability reduction before the next catastrophe occurs. Guided by the theoretical foundations of functionalism and disaster theory, it stresses the adoption of a broader distribution of risk and the implementation of ex-ante financing instruments as the most effective way to achieve coherent financial protection. The investigation of the national disaster management plans executed in Taiwan, Japan and Turkey demonstrates that the government in these countries has taken a series of measures and actions to tackle the financial costs of natural disasters, including the elaboration of legal frameworks, the enactment of budgetary rules and the development of local support and private participation. However, despite the genuine efforts and policies adopted, the governments of Taiwan, Japan and Turkey continue to bear the financial burden of handling the majority of economic losses, and to resort to ex-post financing instruments to assume their financial responsibility. This paper concludes with practical suggestions and policy recommendations to be used by these governments as a learning platform to strengthen their capacity to confront the menace of forthcoming disasters.

Keywords: Natural Disasters, Economic Losses, Financial Protection

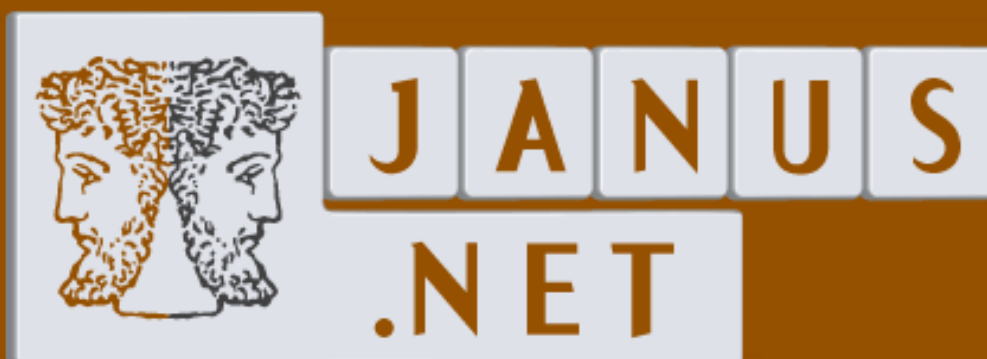
Olga Cachia (National Chengchi University, Taiwan)

Title: Shift in the China – Visegrad Four Relations: Perspective from the North-South Paradigm

Abstract: In 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping and Prime Minister Li Keqiang announced the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) to increase the level of exchanges between China and the Eurasian region through land and maritime Silk Roads. Within this initiative, Chinese leaders proposed a network of bilateral and multilateral investment schemes, such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), whose goal is to stimulate regional interconnectivity and integration individually and by means of cooperation with other multilateral institutions. These new international institutions and frameworks have already received a great attention of scholars that analyze these subjects from various perspectives.

The given research contributes to the power transition theoretical paradigm and examines the occurring power shift and its effect on changes in China's relationships with individual actors. This study adopts a historical approach to study the evolution of China's behavior with respect to Central European countries since the last half of the twentieth century. The research demonstrates China's contemporary shift to the bloc of 'Northern' countries, which can be seen in transformation of China's relations with individual countries. I argue that the 'North-South' analytical framework can be a useful tool for evaluating China's relations with Central European states. For this purpose, this paper first summarizes the complex relationship between the North and the South. Then, it operationalizes a North-South framework through an analysis of China's evolving approach toward the Visegrad Four-member states considering the establishment of the BRI as a critical point in the relations. This paper thus reconfirms China's gradual behavioral shift to the bloc of the 'Northern' countries, which results in observable changes in its foreign policy conceptualization and practice. It, therefore, concludes that China's relationship with Central European countries could be understood under an increasingly 'North-South' pattern of interactions.

Keywords: BRI, AIIB, Visegrad Four, North-South, Chinese Foreign Policy



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