



SEVENTH ANNUAL TARTU CONFERENCE ON EAST EUROPEAN AND EURASIAN STUDIES

War and Peace:
What's Next for Eastern Europe and Eurasia?

11–13 June 2023

University of Tartu, Estonia

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2024
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A Word from the Programme Committee

The theme of this year's Tartu Conference – War and Peace – is, without doubt, a cliché. Unfortunately, in February 2022 it acquired a new and very concrete meaning for the peoples of Eastern Europe and Eurasia, first and foremost for Ukrainians. Russia's renewed aggression against Ukraine has caused enormous suffering and destruction. The invaders have been pushed back from Kyiv, Kharkiv, and Kherson, but they continue to terrorise Ukraine and to threaten its neighbours.

With news of missile attacks and civilian victims becoming part of everyday reality, the meaning of 'peace' has also changed. In the post-Cold War decades, many of us might have been guilty of taking peace for granted. Despite the multiple conflicts that have continued to erupt all over the world, including in Eastern Europe and Northern Eurasia, it was easy to believe that full-scale war would never again come to our doorstep. The annexation of Crimea and the outbreak of the war in Ukraine in 2014 did not fundamentally change this attitude in the global mainstream.

Viewed from today's perspective, we no longer have peace, but it remains a goal for the future. For most, achieving this goal means winning the war. Yet it is equally clear that Putin's military defeat will not in itself bring a stable peace. Thinking about how future peace could be established, the legal and institutional provisions that need to be in place, and the ways that the story of this war should be incorporated into our historical narratives is the responsibility of intellectuals. We hope that the Tartu Conference will contribute to these discussions.

This conference has been made possible thanks to the generous support of the United States Embassy in Tallinn, Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Tartu, and Tartu City Government. It gives us great pleasure to welcome scholars from 33 countries, both from our region and from far away. Our special welcome goes to the Ukrainian participants who are joining us in person and online in defiance of the aggressor. We are particularly grateful to chairs, discussants, and volunteers who have taken additional duties upon themselves amidst a busy academic season. Your contribution is essential for the success of the conference.

We warmly welcome you to Tartu – and welcome back those who have participated in previous years – and hope that you will all use this opportunity to engage in exciting professional conversations, both in the conference sessions and during the receptions and coffee-breaks. We would be most happy if some of these conversations continue beyond the conference and result in new collaborations, projects, co-authored books and articles, and new academic networks. Hopefully, these discussions will also contribute to our joint search for sustainable peace and security in Europe, Eurasia, and beyond.

Viacheslav Morozov, University of Tartu
Stephen Crowley, Oberlin College
Catherine Gibson, University of Tartu
Olena Podolian, Södertörn University

Keynote

Sunday, 11 June, 18:00-20:00 UT Aula (Ülikooli 18)

Andriy Zayarnyuk is Professor of History at the University of Winnipeg. He is the author of *Idiomy emansypatsii: "vyzvol'ni" proekty i halyts'ke selo v seredyny XIX st.* (Idioms of Emancipation: "Liberation" Projects and the Galician Village in the Mid-Nineteenth Century, Krytyka, 2007), *Framing the Ukrainian Peasantry in Habsburg Galicia, 1846–1914* (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2013), *Lviv's Uncertain Destination: A City and Its Train Terminal from Franz Joseph I to Brezhnev* (University of Toronto Press, 2020), and (together with Ostap Sereda) *The Intellectual Foundations of Modern Ukraine: The Nineteenth Century* (Routledge, 2023).

Plenary roundtable: Putin's War: What Future for Russia?

Monday, 12 June, 16:30–18:00 UT Aula (Ülikooli 18)

The outcome of the current war will to a large extent depend on the ability of Putin's regime to mobilise all available resources – military, economic, human, and political. The profound transformation of the state, economy, and society as a result of the war will have a lasting effect on Russia – or on the space that is currently governed by the Russian state. The participants of the roundtable will discuss this transformation by looking at the economic change and effects of sanctions, the role played by civil society, state institutions, the situation in the peripheries (geographic and social), and the role of the media and state propaganda. They will also address the effects of the war and domestic developments on international security, with a particular focus on the Baltic Sea region.

Moderator: **Julie Wilhelmsen**, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI)

Roundtable participants:

Stephen Crowley, Oberlin College

Andres Kasekamp, University of Toronto

Darya Korolenko, OVD-Info

Judith Pallot, University of Helsinki and University of Oxford

General Programme

Sunday, 11 June

- 17:00–19:30 **Registration**
Main building of the University of Tartu, Ülikooli 18
- 18:00–20:00 **Welcome and Opening Keynote**
Assembly Hall of the University of Tartu, Ülikooli 18
- Prof Andriy Zayarnyuk** (University of Winnipeg)
"Ukrainian History in a Time of War"
- 20:15–21:30 **Drinks Reception**
White Hall of the University Museum, Lossi 25

Monday, 12 June

- 8:30–16:15 **Conference registration and info desk open**
Faculty of Social Sciences, Lossi 36
- 9:00–10:45 **First panel session**
Lossi 36
- 10:45–11:15 Coffee break
- 11:15–13:00 **Second panel session**
Lossi 36
- 13:00–14:30 Lunch break
- 14:30–16:15 **Third panel session**
Lossi 36

- 16:30–18:00 **Plenary Roundtable**
Assembly Hall of the University of Tartu, Ülikooli 18
- Putin's War: What Future for Russia?*
- 18:15–21:00 **Dinner Reception**
University Café, Ülikooli 20

Tuesday, 13 June

- 8:30–16:15 **Conference registration and info desk open**
Faculty of Social Sciences, Lossi 36
- 9:00–10:45 **Fourth panel session**
Lossi 36
- 10:45–11:15 Coffee break
- 11:15–13:00 **Fifth panel session**
Lossi 36
- 13:00–14:30 Lunch break
- 14:30–16:15 **Sixth panel session**
Lossi 36

Schedule of panel sessions

All sessions take place in the Faculty of Social Sciences building, Lossi 36

Monday, 12 June

Panel session 1

MA1 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 305

Learning from Ukraine's experience

Session Chair: **Judith Pallot**, University of Helsinki

Discussant: **Dmytro Khutky**, University of Tartu

Ukrainian Struggle(s) for Agency: A Multi-Level Approach

Anselm Schmidt, University of Tartu

How Societal Resilience Supports National Security: Learning from Ukraine

Oleksandra Keudel, Kyiv School of Economics

Oksana Huss, University of Bologna

„We are at war“: Reflections on positionality, emotions, and conducting research in highly volatile environments

Vera Axyonova, University of Vienna

Katsiaryna Lozka, Ghent University

The concept of «war» in the artistic interpretation by B. Antonenko-Davydovych

Kateryna Bilobrovska, Kryvyi Rih State Pedagogical University

The Pedagogy of Danger: Uncovering the Role and Strategic Impact of Cyber-Operations and Cyber-Response in Russo-Ukrainian War

Roman Kolodii, Charles University

MA2 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 214

The Public Use of History: Past and Present

Session Chair: **Jeremy Smith**, University of Eastern Finland

Discussant: **Jeremy Smith**, University of Eastern Finland

Pride and Persuasion: The Sevastopol: Heroic Myth in Soviet and Post-soviet Secondary Schools in Russia and Ukraine

Sergey Rumyantsev, CISR e.V. Berlin

History of the Armenian Nation: Tracing National Narratives in Soviet and Post-Soviet Textbooks

Lusine Kharatyan, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, National Academy of Sciences of Armenia; Yerevan State University

Rewriting National History Textbooks in Armenia and Azerbaijan: New Methodology and Challenges

Flora Ghazaryan, Central European University

Mirkamran Huseynli, Vytautas Magnus University at Kaunas, Caucasus Talks NGO

Negative Language and Examples used by Presidential Candidates during the Pre-Election Periods in Georgia

Ruslan Baramidze, The Niko Berdzenishvili Institute, Batumi Shota Rustaveli State University

Maia Bolkvadze, Batumi Shota Rustaveli State University

From “Soselo” to the “Steel Man”. Georgian history textbooks under Stalin

David Jishkariani, Ilia State University

MA3 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 215

Alternative path to political participation: addressing matters of concern in social sector in Russia

Session Chair: **Teemu Tapani Oivo**, University of Helsinki

Discussant: **Daniil Zhaivoronok**, Tampere University

Technology-mediated participation: providing medical help through a messaging app

Olga Zvonareva, Maastricht University

Informal tactics of patient participation in authoritarian context

Artūrs Hoļavins, Maastricht University

(In)visible participation: case of patients with oncological and rare diseases in Russia

Olga Temina, Maastricht University

Bridging the gaps and blurring the boundaries: instant messengers and Russian physicians' agency during the COVID-19 pandemic

Ekaterina Borozdina, Tampere University

MA4 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 307

War at the gates. Poland's response to Russian aggression against Ukraine

Session Chair: **Tomasz Stępniewski**, The John Paul Catholic University of Lublin and Institute of Central Europe

Discussant: **Ihor Hurak**, Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University

Russian aggression against Ukraine and its impact on Poland's Foreign Policy

Agnieszka Bieńczyk-Missala, University of Warsaw

Like brothers in arms.... NATO Eastern Flank adaptation to changes in European security environment due to war in Ukraine

Marek Madej, University of Warsaw

European energy security under the unprecedented pressure – Poland's perspective

Kamila Pronińska, University of Warsaw

Ukrainian refugees in Poland: basic data, legal status, challenges ahead

Andrzej Szeptycki, University of Warsaw

Polish reaction to Russia's war in Ukraine: a Ukrainian perspective

Hryhorii Perepelytsia, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv

MA5: Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 306

Roundtable: Strong, Strategic, Secure? The security architecture of NATO's eastern flank and the Eastern Neighborhood

Chair: **Louis John Wierenga**, University of Tartu / Baltic Defence College

Presenters: **Louis John Wierenga**, Baltic Defence College / University of Tartu;

Zdzisław Sliwa, Baltic Defence College; **Agnieszka Legucka**, Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM) / Vistula University in Warsaw; **Elizabete Vizgunova**, Belarus Research Network on Neighbourhood Policy

MA6 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 206

Authoritarianism and populism

Session Chair: **Liisi Veski**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Vello Pettai**, University of Tartu

Hybrid Regimes within the Third Wave of Autocratization: Transitional or Stable?

Ana Jovanovic-Harrington, Dublin City University

The End of Adaptive Authoritarianism in Russia?

Stephen Hall, University of Bath

Melancholic imprisonment in memory: How 'never again' crumbled when Russia invaded Ukraine

Siobhan Kattago, University of Tartu

Viktor Orbán's war. Innovative Hungarian responses in light of the war and the elections in 2022

Kristóf Gáspár, Eötvös Loránd University; Paradigm Institute, Hungary

MA7 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 204

Russian culture(s) and the war

Session Chair: **Bruno J. De Cordier**, Ghent University

Discussant: **Theodore Paul Gerber**, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Lithuanian or Russian Orthodox Church? Ethno-confessional identity of Orthodox believers in Lithuania

Monika Frėjutė-Rakauskienė, Institute of Sociology at the Lithuanian Centre for Social Sciences

Conflict of conscience? The Orthodox Church in Lithuania in the Context of War in Ukraine

Andrius Marcinkevičius, Lithuanian Centre for Social Sciences

The Effects of the War in Ukraine on the Russophone Minority's Identity in Estonia

Aigerim Nurseitova, University of Tartu

Brothers in Arms? Manpower Policies towards Estonian-Russians in the Estonian Defence Forces

Christofer Berglund, Södertörn University

MA8 Monday 9:00-10:45 Room: 205

Russia's alliances

Session Chair: **Nicholas Barker**, University of Birmingham

Discussant: **Dumitru Minzarari**, Baltic Defence College

On the Geopolitical Origins of Strategic Cultures and Military Alliances: The Chinese-Russian Case

Lauro Borges, University of Minho

From strategic partner to co-aggressor: Russia's attempts to lure Belarus into the war in Ukraine

Robert Gabriel Țicălău, Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest

Ontological Security, Intervention and Narratives: An Analysis of Russian-Armenian Relations Throughout the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict

Leonardo Zanatta, Corvinus University of Budapest

Post-Soviet de facto states: harbingers of the new geopolitical era

Martin Riegl, Charles University

A love affair or friends with benefits: what the Russian war towards Ukraine tells us about the political choices of Transnistria's elite

Tatiana Cojocari, Romanian Centre for Russian Studies

Panel session 2

MB1 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 307

Soviet and Russian Assaults on Ukraine: Genocide, Usable History, and Imperial Nostalgia

Session Chair: **Victoria A. Malko**, California State University

Discussant: **Mykhailo Kirsenko**, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

The Importance of Russia's Accountability for Crimes Committed during Aggression against Ukraine

Myroslava Antonovych, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

Historical Play, Imperial Nostalgia, and Politics: Russian Military Reenactors in Ukraine

Andrei Znamenski, University of Memphis

Full-scale war in Ukraine: reflections of Russian-speaking identities

Olha Sushkevych, Pavlo Tychyna Uman State Pedagogical University; Vilnius University

MB2 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 214

Threat constructions in Russia-West social relations since 2014

Session Chair: **Julie Wilhelmsen**, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI)

Chair: **Viacheslav Morozov**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Anthony (Tony) Mary van der Togt**, Clingendael Institute

Fifth column politics and Russia's war on Ukraine: 'outsiders within' in the firing line between Russia and the West

Anni Roth Hjermann, University of Cambridge

Is Narva next? Comparing the positioning of Ukraine and Estonia in the Russian discourse prior to the 2022 invasion

Viacheslav Morozov, University of Tartu

Laura Howells, Princeton University

Martin Mölder, University of Tartu

'Have we not seen this before?' Analysing debates on Russia through the prism of contested similarity

Kristian Lundby Gjerde, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI)

Is Ukraine's Territorial Integrity Sacred?

Gerard Toal, Virginia Tech

Crime, Punishment, and Self-Discipline: NATO's Securitization of Russia Post-Crimea

Paul Beaumont, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI)

Julie Wilhelmsen, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI)

MB3 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 206

Radical Right Parties in Europe and Russia's War on Ukraine

Session Chair: **Piret Ehin**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Olena Podolian**, Sodertorn University

The Positioning of Far-Right Parties in the European Parliament in the Face of the War in Ukraine

Katerina Kesa, INALCO

Radical Changes in Radical Right's Security and Defence Policy in Response to Russia's Invasion of Ukraine: The Case of Sweden Democrats, 2022

Pēteris F. Timofejevs, Umeå University

The Estonian Populist Radical Right and the War in Ukraine

Andres Kasekamp, University of Toronto

A House Divided?: Assessing the Impact of the War in Ukraine on the French Far Right

Adrien Nonjon, INALCO

MB4 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 215

Narrative of Past at the Edge of Peace and War

Session Chair: **Roman Leibov**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Roman Voitehhovitš**, University of Tartu

Phantom Empires

Sergey Troitskiy, Estonian Literary Museum; University of Tartu

Eternal or Stopped History

Aleksandr Dmitriev, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Lausanne

War as Peace

Leonid Heller, University of Lausanne

From Metafiction to Autobiography: Literature, History, and Post-Truth at the Time of War

Anastasia de La Fortelle, University of Lausanne

MB5 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 305

The Past, Present and Future of Prisons and Carcerality in Times of Peace and War in the Communist Successor States in Europe

Session Chair: **Judith Pallot**, University of Helsinki

Forced-labour Camp as a Site of the Nation Building? Bamlag's Cultural-Education Department and Ethnic Minority Prisoners, 1930-1934

Mikhail Nakonechnyi, Aleksanteri Institute

Prisons, Patriotism and State formation in the Russo-Ukrainian War

Judith Pallot, Aleksanteri Institute; Christ Church, University of Oxford

From 'cleansing' to 'filtration': mass expulsion from the Balkans to Ukraine

Brendan Humphreys, Aleksanteri Institute

Mykhailo Romanov, Yaroslav Mudryi National Law University

'Nationality' chained: ethnicity, class and the Other in the memoirs of former prisoners

Yury Sorochkin, Aleksanteri Institute

MB6 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 306

Roundtable: The Baltic Sea Region after Russia's Invasion of Ukraine

Chair: **Kaarel Piirimäe**, University of Tartu

Presenters: **Tobias Etzold**, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI),

Kazimierz Musiał, University of Gdańsk, **Grzegorz Poznański**, Council of the Baltic Sea States Permanent Secretariat, **Damian Szacawa**, Institute of Central Europe / Maria Curie Skłodowska University in Lublin

MB7 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 204

Deconstructing imperial mythologies

Session Chair: **Dmitry Dubrovskiy**, Charles University

Discussant: **Nodira Kholmatova**, University of Amsterdam

The Tale of Two Empires: Ukraine between Russia and the EU

Bohumil Doboš, Charles University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of Political Studies

Russia's war in Ukraine: a postcolonial moment for Central Asia?

Nafisa Mirzozamshedzoda, Eberswalde University for Sustainable Development

Denazification in the Kremlin's discourse as mythologisation

Tom Casier, University of Kent

Chernobyl and the state in the narratives of people involved in the nuclear catastrophe liquidation

Kristina Šliavaitė, Lithuanian Center for Social Sciences

What's Wrong with Decolonizing, De-centering, and Rethinking Russian Studies after February 2022?

Sanshiro Hosaka, University of Tartu

MB8 Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 205

Minority identities and wartime anxieties

Session Chair: **Katerina Sviderska**, Université de Montréal

Discussant: **Małgorzata Abassy**, Jagiellonian University in Kraków

'We are afraid that the bear could wake up': gendered (in)securities and protracted conflicts in Moldova and Georgia

Bénédicte Santoire, University of Ottawa

Are there Ajarians in Ajara? A critical look at the concept of the sub-ethnic group

Vincenc Kopeček, University of Ostrava

Transformation of the position and identity of minorities after the collapse of the USSR - case studies of Karelians and Latgalians

Libor Jelen, Charles University

Panel session 3

MC1 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 214

Vladimir Putin's legitimization strategy in times of war and crisis: challenges and fissures

Session Chair: **Helge Blakkisrud**, University of Oslo

Discussant: **Eric Pardo**, Universidad de Deusto

Russian Orthodox attitudes towards Russia's military attack on Ukraine: support, silence and opposition

Pål Kolstø, ILOS, University of Oslo

Russia's New "War Nationalism": How Official Nationalist Rhetoric Contributed to Legitimising the Invasion of Ukraine

Jules Sergei Fediunin, EHESS - Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales

Tora Berge Naterstad, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), Oslo

Helge Blakkisrud, ILOS, University of Oslo

The Covid-19 Pandemic and the Legitimacy of Putin's Regime: A Biopolitical Perspective

Andrey Makarychev, University of Tartu

Diffusion in Cultural Statecraft: the Russia 2018 and Qatar 2022 Football World Cups

Jeremy Smith, University of Eastern Finland

MC2 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 204

Dehomogenizing Migration Dynamics: Societal Transformations at the Intersection of Gender and Youth in Tajikistan

Session Chair: **Nodira Kholmatova**, University of Amsterdam

Discussant: **Lucia Direnberger**, CNRS

Gender and immigration decision making among young migrant workers from Tajikistan in Russia

Takhmina Shokirova, Faculty of Social Work, University of Regina

The impact of Covid-19 and the war in Ukraine on the situation of migrants from Tajikistan: new challenges and strategies to address them

Nodira Abdulloeva, NGO Human Rights Center, Tajikistan

Russia - Tajikistan migration industry: navigating legal precarity, labor exploitation, and return migration

Nodira Kholmatova, AISSR, University of Amsterdam

MC3 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 206

The Russia-Ukraine War and the Evolving Security Dilemmas in Central and Eastern Europe

Session Chair: **Tomasz Stępniewski**, The John Paul Catholic University of Lublin and Institute of Central Europe

Evolving Ontological Security Dilemmas in Central Europe in Light of the War in Ukraine

George Soroka, Harvard University

Security Dilemma between Ukraine and Russia in the Information Sphere

Agnieszka Legucka, Polish Institute of the International Affairs; Vistula University in Warsaw

NATO Eastern Flank, Russia-Ukraine War and a Shift in the Security Paradigm in Central and Eastern Europe

Tomasz Stępniewski, Institute of Central Europe and The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

Grzegorz Barth, The John Paul Catholic University of Lublin

Forced migration from Eastern Europe to Poland after full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine

Andrzej Szabaciuk, Institute of Central Europe and The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

MC4 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 215

The political economy of war and sanctions

Session Chair: **Anna A. Dekalchuk**, WZB Berlin Social Science Center

Discussant: **Thomas Robert Barrett**, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies

Sanctions, Economic Hardship, and Social (In)stability in Russia

Stephen Crowley, Oberlin College, United States of America

Why are sanctions not effective against the Russian regime? Russian Case of Social Conflict Analysis of Sanctions

Kseniia Skogstad Larsen, Prague University of Economics and Business

Over a Decade of Legitimizing the De-Internationalization of Russian Companies: Critical Discourse Analysis of Russia's International Economic Forums in 2011, 2015, and 2022

Heidi Ann Erbsen, Tartu University

Alex Brinkmeier, Saint Louis University, USA

FDI round-tripping in developed countries: what are the main factors?

Magdolna Sass, KRTK, Hungary

Imre Fertő, KRTK, Hungary

MC5 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 205

Studies in political behaviour

Session Chair: **Vincent Homburg**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Oleksandra Keudel**, Kyiv School of Economics

Empowering open government co-creation: Internet voting for policy priorities in Moldova and Ukraine

Dmytro Khutkyy, University of Tartu

Olga Matveieva, Ruhr University Bochum

Diana Mirza-Grisco, Independent researcher

How does e-governance affect ethnic minorities? Comparative evidence from four countries

Vello Pettai, University of Tartu; European Centre for Minority Issues, Germany

Factors predicting social behavior of Latvians: economics vs. ethnicity

Sergei Kruk, Riga Stradins University

The Youth of the Nation – Conservative and Liberal Thought in Latvian Young People Ages 16–21: A Survey Study

Kaspars Zalāns, University of Greifswald

MC6 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 306

Repercussions of Russia's aggression I

Session Chair: **Ivan U. K. Klyszcz**, International Centre for Defence and Security

Discussant: **Gerard Toal**, Virginia Tech

A Long Year of War in Ukraine: What does Changing Intra-Regional Balance in Eurasia offer for European Security?

Murad Nasibov, Justus-Liebig-University Giessen

Andrea Gawrich, Justus-Liebig-University Giessen

Russia in South Caucasus: Echoes of Ukraine War in Karabakh and Enduring Destabilization since the 2020 War

Narek Sukiasyan, Yerevan State University / American University of Armenia

Azerbaijan Amid the Ukrainian Crisis: Perceptions, Implications and Expectations

Fidan Namazova, ADA University, Azerbaijan

Anar Valiyev, ADA University, Azerbaijan

The 2022 Russian Invasion of Ukraine and Biopolitical Discourse in Georgia

Giorgi Beridze, Tbilisi State University, Department of Political Science

Nino Maisuradze, Tbilisi State University, Department of Political Science

Aftermath of the Ukrainian war on North and South Korean foreign policy in Europe

Michael Eric Lambert, Pinkerton, Ireland

MC7 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 305

Civil society and protest mobilization in Belarus and Russia

Session Chair: **Jussi Pekka Lassila**, Finnish Institute of International Affairs

Discussant: **Galina Miazhevich**, Tampere University

Civil Society, Social Movements and Protest Mobilization in Belarus after 2020

Tatsiana Chulitskaya, Institute of International Relations and Political Science (IIRPS), Vilnius University

Eleanor Bindman, Manchester Metropolitan University

'There's No One Left Around': Russian Civil Society & The 2022 Russia's Military Invasion of Ukraine

Igor Gretskiy, International Centre for Defence and Security, Estonia

Sustaining Russian civil society from the outside: a case study of Perviy otdel

Polina Malakhova, Independent researcher

Bogdan Romanov, University of Tartu

Art activism: anti-war music in Russia

Azniv Tadevosyan, University of Tartu

Hidden transcripts of Russian anti-war scholars: revisiting resistance

Elena Pavlova, University of Tartu

Viacheslav Morozov, University of Tartu

MC8 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 307

Shadows of the past

Session Chair: **Heiko Pääbo**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Bradley Woodworth**, University of New Haven / Yale University

The Threatening Shadow of Soviet Archives in Contemporary Georgia

Tamar Karaia, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Georgia

Everyday Life Practices in Soviet Military Industry – through the Example of Dvigatel Plant

Ivan Lavrentjev, University of Tartu

Literary consultants of Estonian Soviet Writers Union as the gatekeepers

Eve Annuk, Estonian Literary Museum

The Third Wave of Russian Arctic Colonization

Kara Kathleen Hodgson, UiT - The Arctic University of Norway

Perception of the Baltic states: still East Europe and Post-Soviet?

Evija Djatkoviča, Riga Stradins University

Tuesday, 13 June

Panel session 4

TA1 Tuesday 9:00-10:45 Room: 214

Education, memory, commemoration

Session Chair: **Aigerim Nurseitova**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Sirke Mäkinen**, University of Helsinki

Histor(iography): an ideological-identitarian frontline? Commemoration and statehood in Kazakhstan

Bruno J. De Cordier, Department of Conflict and Development Studies, Ghent University

Aimar Ventsel, Department of Ethnology, University of Tartu

Occupation, war, resistance: the reflection of Lithuanian past (1939-1953) in Facebook

Viktor Denisenko, Vilnius University

Higher Education in De facto States: The case of Northern Cyprus

Tomáš Hoch, University of Ostrava

Demonstrating Loyalty Between Russia's War of Aggression and Seizure of Crimea

Jussi Lassila, Finnish Institute of International Affairs

TA2 Tuesday 9:00-10:45 Room: 305

Roundtable: Rupturing regimes of truth in the margins of the Ukraine war: Memory politics in question in Moldova, Georgia and Azerbaijan

Chair: **Taru TANJA Tuulia TAMMINEN**, Turku University, Finland

Presenters: **Arina Kraijdan**, Center for Continuous Electoral Training by CEC and State University of Moldova; **Lala Aliyeva**, Baku State University; **Nigar Maxwell**, Academy of Science of Azerbaijan; **Dimitri Saramonow**, EU4Dialogue Component 1, Germany

TA3 Tuesday 9:00-10:45 Room: 215

Feminist and LGBTQ+ activism in and outside of Russia in times of war

Session Chair: **Anni Roth Hjermann**, University of Cambridge

Discussant: **Bénédicte Santoire**, University of Ottawa

Russian-Tadzhik singer Manizha: Witnessing and feminist positionality at times of war

Galina Miazhevich, Tampere University

Saara Ratilainen, Tampere University

Between Horror and Hope: Feminist Anti-War Resistance Performances and Strategies of Mobilizations in and outside of Putin's Russia

Natalia Kovyliueva, University of Tartu

Russian-speaking LGBTIQ+ activists aiming at political transformation in Estonia during the bellicose times

Pauliina Lukinmaa, University of Eastern Finland

Opposition to war and dilemmas of mediated feminist activism

Daniil Zhaivoronok, Tampere University

TA4 Tuesday 9:00-10:45 Room: 306

Military strategy: lessons from the current war

Session Chair: **Dmytro Khutkyy**, University of Tartu

The war in Ukraine and the consequences for regional and international security

Ana Maria Albuлесcu, University of Tartu; University of Bucharest

The Logic of Russia's Military and Security Policies: Domestic Militarization and War Preparation

Dumitru Minzarari, Baltic Defence College, Estonia

Not so different after all? Russia's campaigns in Ukraine and Syria

Nicolo' Fasola, University of Bologna

Role of civic tech for resilience in the asymmetric war

Oksana Huss, University of Bologna

TA5 Tuesday 9:00-10:45 Room: 205

Empire: the experience and legacies

Session Chair: **Siobhan Kattago**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Jeremy Smith**, University of Eastern Finland

The limits of the mind – the limits of the empire. Alexander Griboyedov's contacts with Persian Prince Abbas Mirza

Małgorzata Abassy, Jagiellonian University in Kraków

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The embodiment of post-war reconciliation: the issue of the missing after the Georgian-Abkhazian armed conflict

Élise Féron, Tampere University

Vadim Romashov, Tampere University

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Alexander Marlen Groce, United States Military Academy at West Point, United States of America

TA6 Tuesday 9:00-10:45 Room: 206

Repercussions of Russia's aggression II

Session Chair: **Marek Konrad Made**, University of Warsaw

Discussant: **Michael Eric Lambert**, Pinkerton

The Russian Federation and Polish Security: a Risk Analysis

Andrzej Szeptycki, University of Warsaw

Ukrainian culture in Poland after Russia's invasion (2022)

Emil Chról, University of Warsaw

Romania's resilience to Russian disinformation. Case study: Romania's military aid to Ukraine

Marius Diaconescu, University of Bucharest

Victory Day or Europe Day? The Politics of Memory in Moldova in the Shadow of Russia's War in Ukraine

Katerina Fuksova, Charles University

Neutral – just like Moldova? Transnistria's official diplomacy during the Russo-Ukrainian War

David Noack, University of Bremen/University of Mannheim

TA7 Tuesday 9:00-10:45 Room: 307

Inequality and dependence: interdisciplinary perspectives

Session Chair: **Brendan Humphreys**, University of Helsinki

Discussant: **Kseniia Skogstad Larsen**, Prague University of Economics and Business

Ukraine and Russia: their economic relations from a historical perspective

Kseniia Lopukh, Kyiv National Economic University

Swapping dependency or a bright new future? Economic restructuring after the 'Colour Revolutions'

Thomas Robert Barrett, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies

The complex nexus of labor migration and de-colonization: Kyrgyzstani migrant experiences in Russia and geopolitical remittances

Theodore Paul Gerber, University of Wisconsin-Madison, United States of America

Jane Zavisca, University of Arizona

Panel session 5

TB1 Tuesday 11:15-13:00 Room: 214

The war in Ukraine: discursive practices of politicization, justification and de-legitimation

Session Chair: **Piret Ehin**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Heidi Ann Erbsen**, University of Tartu

Discourses of legitimation in strategic narratives: The case of Russia's war against Ukraine

Sten Hansson, University of Tartu

Andreas Ventsel, University of Tartu

Mari-Liis Madisson, University of Tartu

Media consumption and Estonian media landscape

Andres Jõesaar, Tallinn University

Zelensky: Aesthetics of resilience and revival of national identity

Sami Siva, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv

TB2 Tuesday 11:15-13:00 Room: 215

Persecution of dissent by Russian authorities in the context of war against Ukraine: monitoring and results

Session Chair: **Bogdan Romanov**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Sevanna Poghosyan**, University of Tartu

Repressions against Crimean Tatars: Historical Roots, Post-Annexation Cases and Current Situation

Oleksandra Pozhyvotko, OVD-Info

Elizaveta Klochkova, OVD-Info

Presenting, spreading and visualizing the data in media

Ekaterina Golenkova, OVD-Info, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich

Criminal persecution of Russian anti-war movement

Daria Korolenko, OVD-Info

Law on discrediting the use of Russian armed forces and its application against anti-war statements

Polina Kurakina, OVD-Info

TB3 Tuesday 11:15-13:00 Room: 206

The European Union in a new strategic environment

Chair: **Tobias Etzold**, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI)

Discussant: **Tom Casier**, University of Kent

Changes in EU's internal security cooperation policies affected by the war in Ukraine

Ramon Loik, Estonian Academy of Security Sciences/International Centre for Defence and Security ICDS

The Keepers of EU Strategic Culture: What is the Role of the Council of the European Union?

Ovidijus Pilitauskas, General Jonas Zemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania

Politicising European integration on the social media: The case of politicians' Twitter accounts in Central and Eastern Europe

Jan Kovář, Institute of International Relations Prague

TB4 Tuesday 11:15-13:00 Room: 305

**Roundtable: Decolonialization in the context of war in Ukraine:
Thinking beyond nationalist and imperialist discourses**

Chair: **Lusine Kharatyan**, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, National Academy of Sciences of Armenia / Yerevan State University

Presenters: **Dmitry Dubrovskiy**, Charles University; **Vadim Romashov**, Tampere Peace Research Institute, **Sergey Rumyantsev**, Center for Independent Social Research - CISR Berlin; **David Jishkariani**, Ilia State University

TB5 Tuesday 11:15-13:00 Room: 205

International organizations in Eastern Europe and Eurasia

Session Chair: **Kaarel Piirimäe**, University of Tartu

Chair: **Bradley Miller Reynolds**, University of Helsinki

Discussant: **Anar Valiyev**, ADA University

The Perfect Marathon: The US and the Baltic States' Accession to NATO

Kaarel Piirimäe, University of Helsinki

The OSCE and a 21st century spirit of Helsinki opportunities to shift security back to the people

Bradley Miller Reynolds, University of Helsinki

Johanna Ketola, University of Turku

Relief aid in the context of the Ukraine war(s): towards a redefinition of the humanitarian (space)?

Bruno J. De Cordier, Department of Conflict and Development Studies, Ghent University

Patterns of International Organizations' Engagement in Reform and Policy Making in the Post-Soviet Space

Anna A. Dekalchuk, WZB Berlin Social Science Center

Ivan S. Grigoriev, WZB Berlin Social Science Center

Andrey Starodubtsev, St. Petersburg

Authoritarian Election Monitoring and Legal Harmonisation: The Case of the Commonwealth of Independent States Inter-Parliamentary Assembly

Olena Podolian, Sodertorn University

Oleg Antonov, Sodertorn University

Edward Lemon, Texas A&M University

Bo Petersson, Malmö University

TB6 Tuesday 11:15-13:00 Room: 307

Separatism and secession

Session Chair: **Tatiana Cojocari**, University of Bucharest

Discussant: **Murad Nasibov**, Justus-Liebig-University Giessen

Borders and boundaries in Europe and Eurasia's protracted separatist conflicts

Nicholas Barker, University of Birmingham

Managing Conflict: Examining the Role of Local Elites in Separatist Conflicts

Keith Sean Harrington, Dublin City University

The Use of Force and the Recognition of Sovereign Statehood in the Ethics of Secession

Bruno Coppieters, Vrije Universiteit Brussel

Legal Pluralism and Access to Justice in Post-Soviet *de facto* States

Friederike Augustin, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

The life after life of the 2006 Transnistrian sovereignty referendum

Marcin Kosienkowski, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

TB7 Tuesday 11:15-13:00 Room: 306

Social movements, communication and mobilization under authoritarianism

Session Chair: **Ana Jovanovic-Harrington**, Dublin City University

Discussant: **Azniv Tadevosyan**, University of Tartu

The Role of Religious Literacy in Counteracting New Islamist Movements in Kazakhstan

Azamat Nurshanov, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University

Anti-war campaigns of Russian emigration and the experience of NGOs with foreign agent status. A critical assessment in the perspective of the 2022 war

Magdalena Lachowicz, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland

Russian Far-Right Discourse in Online Setting: A Case Study of a Social Media Community

Petr Oskolkov, Ariel University, Israel

Russian Environmentalist Agenda and Communications under the State of War

Teemu Tapani Oivo, University of Helsinki

Panel session 6

TC1 Tuesday 14:30-16:15 Room: 307

Between past and present: Living and narrating Russo-Ukrainian war in a European perspective

Chair: **Svitlana Kot**, Petro Mohyla Black Sea National University

Discussant: **Alexander Marlen Groce**, United States Military Academy at West Point

“My War”: eyewitness experience

Olha Polishchuk, Petro Mohyla Black Sea National University, Ukraine

Ukrainian artist-“homo Universalis” during the war: work with prospective national memory

Tetiana Shestopalova, Petro Mohyla Black Sea National University

Literary text as a factor in the humanitarian technology of Hybrid Warfare: genesis and modifications

Olena Brovko, Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University

War diaries in the digital age: transformations, current trajectories, and perspectives

Svitlana Kot, Petro Mohyla Black Sea National University

Women from the East: her story of the war in modern Ukrainian women’s literature

Snizhana Zhygun, Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University; Shevchenko Institute of Literature, The National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

TC2 Tuesday 14:30-16:15 Room: 214

Times of turbulence in Central Asia: Political dynamics from the subnational to the global

Session Chair: **Sirke Mäkinen**, University of Helsinki

Discussant: **Stephen Hall**, University of Bath

The Covid-19 Pandemic, Administrative Culture and Practices in Uzbekistan
Mirzokhid Karshiev, University of Helsinki

Legitimizing Kazakhstan's President Tokayev: Continuity, Reform, and Foreign Policy Know-How

Kristiina Silvan, Finnish Institute of International Affairs

Shugyla Kilybayeva, TalTech; Al-Farabi Kazakh National University

From a Great Power to an Outcast? Russia's role in Central Asia's higher education before and after Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022

Sirke Mäkinen, University of Helsinki

Changing geopolitics in Central Asia and the social reproduction of migrant labour

Anni Kangas, Tampere University

TC3 Tuesday 14:30-16:15 Room: 305

Roundtable: Eastern European Orthodox Churches and the Russian Invasion of Ukraine

Chairs: **Irina Paert**, University of Tartu; **Andrey Shishkov**, University of Tartu

Presenters: **Regina Elsner**, University of Münster; **Inese Runce**, University of Latvia;

Natallia Vasilevich, University of Bonn; **Priit Rohtmets**, University of Tartu;

Gintaras Sungalia, Lithuania; **Andriy Fert**, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla

Academy

TC4 Tuesday 14:30-16:15 Room: 306

Roundtable: War in Ukraine as a game changer: Perspectives on how to rebuild peace and security in Ukraine and in Europe in the age of global uncertainty

Chair: **Marko Lehti**, Tampere University

Presenters: **Marko Lehti**, Tampere Peace Research Institute (TAPRI), Tampere University;

Andres Kasekamp, University of Toronto; **Asta Maskaliunaite**, Baltic

Defence College; **Bradley Woodworth**, Yale University

TC5 Tuesday 14:30-16:15 Room: 206

Russian security narratives and discourses

Session Chair: **Katerina Sviderska**, Université de Montréal

Discussant: **Leonardo Zanatta**, Corvinus University of Budapest

Russian Foreign Policy and Ontological Security: Reflecting on Russia's Conflicting Priorities as Ontological Vectors

Eric Pardo, Universidad de Deusto

How Russia's war aims in Ukraine are built on the interrelated concepts of the Russian Idea and the Russian World

Tony van der Togt, Clingendael Institute

Weaponized historical narratives: Russian World War II narratives as tools of Kremlin's propaganda

Liia Vihmand-Veebel, University of Tartu

Russia's extremist political identity during its invasion of Ukraine

Oksana Belova-Dalton, Estonian Academy of Security Sciences

TC6 Tuesday 14:30-16:15 Room: 205

Diplomacy and conflict

Session Chair: **Bénédicte Santoire**, University of Ottawa

Discussant: **Narek Sukiasyan**, Yerevan State University / American University of Armenia

Digital Diplomacy and Cross-Border e-Governance: Exploring Estonia and the X-Road

Alex Hardy, University of Liverpool

Why democratic peace theory has never worked in Nagorno-Karabakh: theoretical and practical implications

Murad Muradov, Topchubashov Centre, Azerbaijan

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Arthur Atanesyan, University of Helsinki

The Joint Russian-Turkish Monitoring Centre in the framework of Turkey's security policies in the South Caucasus

Simona Scotti, Topchubashov Center, Azerbaijan

The evolution of the question of democracy in Russia from an international legal perspective

Sevanna Poghosyan, University of Tartu

TC7 **Tuesday** **14:30-16:15** **Room: 215**

Social media and the war

Session Chair: **Thomas Linsenmaier**, University of Tartu

Discussant: **Silver Loit**, University of Tartu

Dissonant heritage and memory wars: communication battles on Facebook

Donata Armakauskaitė, Vilnius University

(Dis)information campaigns during the war: The analysis of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic narratives in Russian and Ukrainian Telegram channels

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Mart Kuldkepp, University College London

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Practical Information

Lunch options nearby

Nearly all Tartu restaurants offer daily lunch specials (*päevapakkumine*) on weekdays at favourable prices (generally 5-7 EUR for a meal) from 12.00 to 15.00. All restaurants have menus in English and English-speaking staff. If you don't know where to go, the safest bet is to walk down Lossi Street and explore the area around the town hall square (Raekoja plats) and the main pedestrian streets (Rüütli and Küüni).

Mobile phones and wi-fi

Free wi-fi is available almost everywhere. In university buildings, *ut-public* is the main network, and *Eduroam* network is also available.

Emergency numbers

112 to call the police, ambulance or rescue services
+372 514 7899 to contact the conference organisers

Taxi services in Tartu

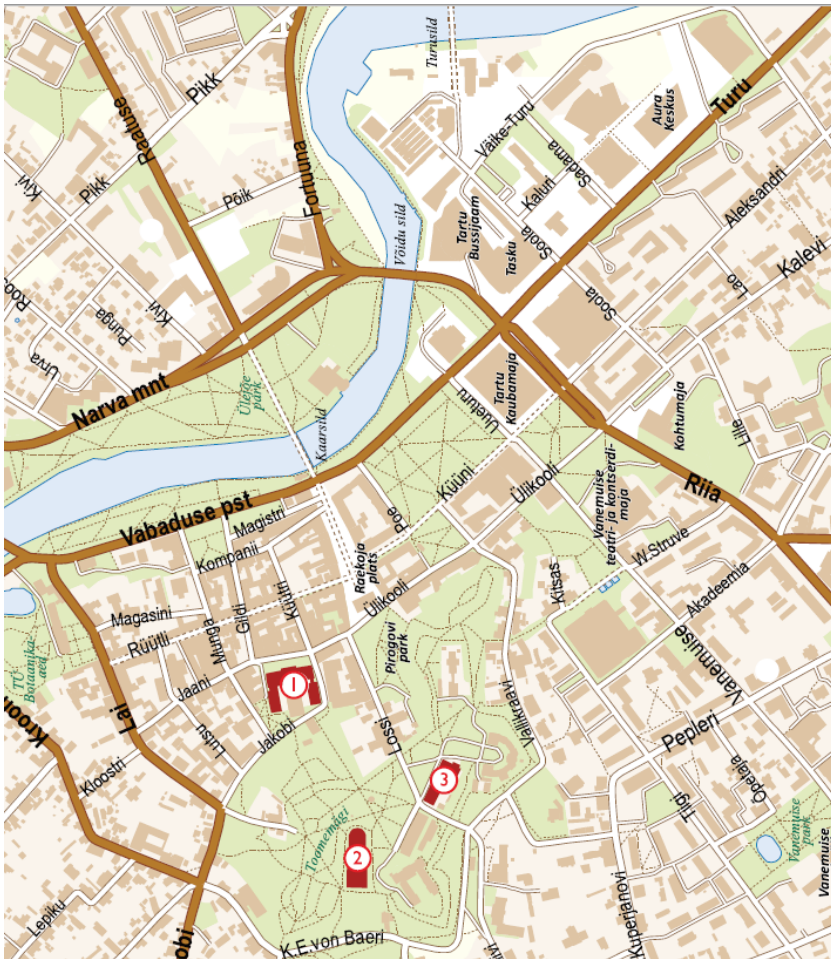
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If you have a smartphone, we recommend using apps like Bolt or Uber.

Sustainable conference

This conference observes the principles of an environmentally friendly event, and the organisers ask for your contribution:

- Please recycle all waste. The conference programme, name tag and lanyard can be returned to the organisers at the end of the event.
- Tap water in Tartu is safe to drink. Potable water is served from reusable cups during panel sessions and coffee breaks, please return the cups at the end of the session.



1. Main building of the University of Tartu, Ülikooli 18
Venue for registration, opening and the keynote address on 11 June and plenary roundtable on 12 June
2. Museum of the University of Tartu, Lossi 25
Venue for the reception on 11 June
3. Faculty of Social Sciences, Lossi 36
Venue for registration and all panel sessions on 12-13 June

Tartu 2024

European Capital of Culture

Tartu together with Southern Estonia is the European Capital of Culture in 2024. Here are five facts you need to know!

Tartu 2024 is Estonia's highlight, organised by a quarter of the country. You will be greeted by 260 000 people from 11 cities, four counties, and even one kingdom.

Tartu 2024 takes place over the course of the entire year. The European Capital of Culture Opening Ceremony takes place on January 26th, 2024, and events continue until the end of the year. So, you can enjoy the four seasons in Southern Estonia in all their glory.

The artistic concept of Tartu 2024 is Arts of Survival. Arts of Survival refer to the knowledge, skills, and values that will help us lead a good life in the future. The four most important Arts of Survival features are uniqueness, sustainability, awareness, and co-creation.

Tartu 2024 is making a revolution in environmentally friendly cultural management.

A quarter of Estonia is organising hundreds of events in an environmentally friendly way. This means that the environment benefits from the culture and our lives will be better in the future.

Tartu 2024 programme will be fully revealed in the autumn of 2023. There will be over 300 different events in Tartu and Southern Estonia. Every day will be filled with activities! Tartu 2024's programme is divided into two parts: the main programme and the side programme.

<https://tartu2024.ee>

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We look forward to welcoming you to the European Capital of Culture 2024!