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War in Ukraine. What Does the Future of Central and Eastern Europe Look Like?

International Conference
Bucharest, November 7th-9th 2024

University of Bucharest, Rectorate Building, 90 Panduri Road, Senate Room and Council of Administration Room



PROGRAM

War in Ukraine. What Does the Future of Central and Eastern Europe Look Like?

7-9 November 2024, Bucharest, Romania

**The IIIrd Annual Conference of
the Romanian Centre for Russian Studies**

organized by:

**The Romanian Centre for Russian Studies
(University of Bucharest)**

The Fridtjof Nansen Institute (Oslo)

**The Institute for the Danube Region and Central Europe
(Vienna)**

**Conference venue: University of Bucharest, Rectorate
Building, 90 Panduri Road (Șoseaua Panduri no. 90), Senate
Room (groundfloor) and Council of Administration Room
(1st floor)**

Thursday, 7 November 2024

9,00-10,00: Registration (registration desk in the front of the Senate Room)

10,00-11,00: Opening Session (Senate Room)

Prof. Dr. Marian Preda, Rector of the University of Bucharest

Mr. Birger Gjelsten Veum, 1st secretary of the Embassy of Norway, on behalf of **Her Excellency, Mrs. Hilde Svartal Lunde, Ambassador-Designate of Norway in Romania**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Alexandra Iancu, Dean of the Faculty of Political Sciences

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Matei Gheboianu, Dean of the Faculty of History

Dr. Arild Moe, Fridtjof Nansen Institute

Sebastian Schäffer, MA, Institute for the Danube Region and Central Europe

Prof. Dr. Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu, University of Bucharest, Director of the Romanian Centre for Russian Studies

11,00-11,15: Coffee Break

11,15-13,00: Plenary session 1 (Senate Room): *The Impact of the Russia-Ukraine War on the Euro-Atlantic Community*

Chair: Dr. Arild Moe

Prof. Dr. Anatoliy Kruglashov (Chernivtsi Yuriy Fedkovych National University): *War in Ukraine: Catalyst of European and Euroatlantic Solidarity Against Russian Retroimperial Claims and Threats*

Prof. Dr. Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu (Director, Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest): *A Stormy Year in Kiev and Moscow. Stable or Unstable Regimes?*

Dan Perry, MSc (Former Associated Press editor-in-chief, Europe/Africa/Middle East, Tel Aviv): *The Ukraine Factor in US Foreign Policy*

13,00-14,00: Lunch

14,00-15,45: parallel panels

Panel 2A (Senate Room): *The Republic of Moldova's Options for the Future: Elections Results and Their Impact on the Country's Foreign Policy*

Chair: Prof. Dr. Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Armand Goșu (Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest): *Remarks and Observations on the Recent Presidential Elections in Moldova*

Laurențiu Pleșca, PhD student (Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest): *2025 Moldova Parliamentary Elections: Post-Referendum Lessons and the Path Forward*

Amy Eaglestone, MSc (University of Birmingham): *Furthest Away from Russia and Ever Closer to the EU? Moldova Hedging Its Bets* (online)

Panel 2B (Council of Administration Room): *The Arctic Post-2022: Economic and Political Implications*

Chair: Prof. Dr. Radu Carp

Dr. Arild Moe (Fridtjof Nansen Institute, Oslo): *Economic Development in Russia's Arctic: The Effect of Sanctions*

Serafima Andreeva, MA (Fridtjof Nansen Institute, Oslo): *Russian Approaches to Arctic Cooperation Post-2022*

Dr. Mihai Răzvan Ilea (Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca): *Impact of Ukraine War on Shipping Traffic along Northern Sea Route and Development of the Russian Arctic Territories*

15,45-16,00: Coffee Break

16,00-17,45: parallel panels

Panel 3A (Senate Room): *Disinformation in Wartime: Means, Targets, and Results*

Chair: Dr. Sergiu Musteață

Prof. Dr. Peter Gross (The University of Tennessee): *Enhancing the Disjointed Fight Against Russian Disinformation an Argument for Manufacturing Consent*

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Marius Diaconescu (Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest) and **Aurel Băloi, PhD student** (University of Bucharest): *Pro-Russian Disinformation: the Reels on Social Media against NATO, US and War in Ukraine*

Dr. Iryna Druzhkova (Odessa National Medical University): *Memes as a Tool of Information Warfare: Russian Aggression in Eastern Europe through the Prism of Digital Content* (online)

Panel 3B (Council of Administration Room): *The Impact of Russian Aggression on Spiritual and Ethnic Representations*

Chair: Prof. Dr. Anatoliy Kruglashov

Prof. Dr. Radu Carp (Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest): ***How the Russian - Ukrainian War Became a Theological Crisis***

Prof. Dr. Frank Sysyn (University of Alberta, Canada): ***Church, State, and the War: Orthodoxy in Ukraine*** (online)

Prof. Dr. Vello Pettai (European Centre for Minority Issues, Germany): ***EU Enlargement and National Minorities: Lessons from the Past and Challenges for the Future***

17,45-18,00: Coffee Break

18,00-19,45: Parallel panels

Panel 4A (Senate Room): *Perspectives on the Transnistria Settlement in the context of Russian aggression in Ukraine*

Chair: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Marius Diaconescu

Victor Osipov (former Deputy Prime Minister for Country Reintegration, Chişinău): ***The Confrontation between West and East Moved from the Dniester to the Donbas: Effects on the Transnistrian Settlement Process***

Serghei Ostaf, MSc (Resource Center for Democracy and Human Rights, Chişinău): ***Sustainable Moldova's Transnistria Settlement: Situation Analysis***

Dr. Octavian Țicu (Moldova State University, Chişinău): ***Beyond „Denazification”: Romania and Republic of Moldova in the 2023 Annual Report of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs***

Panel 4B (Council of Administration Room): *Cultural and Social Consequences in Times of War in Ukraine*

Chair: Dr. Anna Adashinskaya

Prof. Dr. Olha Morozova (University of Warsaw): *The Consequences of the Ukrainian Scientists' Migration in the Context of the Russian-Ukrainian War: the Example of Ukrainian-Polish Cooperation*

Prof. Dr. Svitlana Soroka (Kazimierz Wielki University, Bydgoszcz) and **Prof. Dr. Yuliana Palagnyuk** (University of Silesia in Katowice): *Adaptation of Ukrainian Refugee Children in Polish Schools: Exploring Challenges and Media Coverage*

Prof. Dr. Svetlana Cebotari (Moldova State University, Chişinău): *The Repercussions of Russian-Ukrainian War on Illicit Drug Trafficking*

Prof. Dr. Iryna Petrova (Kyiv National University of Culture and Arts): *Culture in Times of War: Ukrainian experience* (online)

19,45-21,00: Dinner

Friday, 8 November 2024

9,30-11,15: parallel panels

Panel 5A (Senate Room): *Competing narratives in the Republic of Moldova: means and results*

Chair: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Armand Goşu

Prof. Dr. Sergiu Musteaţă (University „Valahia” of Târgovişte): *The Political Developments of the Republic of Moldova vs. the Russian Aggression in Ukraine*

Ruslan Rokhov, PhD student (Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University): *Election Campaigns in Moldova*

2024-25: Scenarios of Political Developments and Implications for Bilateral Ukraine – Moldova Relations

Dr. Adrian Nae (Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest): ***“War is Better than Peace”:*** ***Russian Narratives Targeting the Presidential Elections and EU Referendum in the Republic of Moldova***

Panel 5B (Council of Administration Room): ***Russian Capabilities and Influence in the Wider Black Sea Area***

Chair: Prof. Dr. Marcin Skladanowski

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nataliia Nechaieva-Yuriichuk (Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University): ***Russian-Ukrainian War and the Black Sea “Security Dilemma”***

Prof. Dr. Olga Brusylovska (Odesa I. I. Mechnikov National University): ***Consequences of Russia’s Invasion to Ukraine: Scenarios for Future of Central and Eastern Europe*** (online)

Dr. Jakub Godzimirski (Norwegian Institute for International Affairs, Oslo) and **Prof. Dr. Iver Neumann** (Director, Fridtjof Nansen Institute, Oslo): ***Comparing Russian Power Repertoires in the Black Sea and MENA regions***

11,15-11,30: Coffee Break

11,30-13,15: parallel panels

Panel 6A (Senate Room): ***The Impact of Russia’s Domestic and Foreign Policy in Central and Eastern Europe. How Do the Russians Imagine It? How Do the Europeans Perceive It?***

Chair: Prof. Dr. Iver B. Neumann

Prof. Dr. Marcin Składanowski (The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin): *Regional Hegemony and Great Power Status: Russia's Ontological Security and Its Relevance to the Security of Central and Eastern Europe*

Prof. Dr. Silviu Rogobete (West University of Timișoara): *Facing the New "Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse": Trends in (Central and Eastern) Europe in the Aftermath of the War in Ukraine*

Dr. Oleksii Kolesnykov (University of Tartu): *Balancing Resilience and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe: Lessons from Ukraine*

Panel 6B (Council of Administration Room): *War Economy and Economic Sanctions: Origins and Results*

Chair: Dr. Pål Wilter Skedsmo

Dr. Karolina Gawron-Tabor (Nicolaus Copernicus University Torun): *Central Europe's Energy Security Challenges in the Wake of Russia's Full-Scale Aggression Against Ukraine in February 2022: Adaptation and Resilience*

Marita Gorgiladze, PhD student (Mykolas Romeris University): *EU Sanctions Enforcement: Key Challenges and Implications*

George Dumitrescu, PhD student (University of Bucharest): *Nuclear Research in Romania and Norway. Contrasts and Overlappings*

13,15-14,00: Lunch

14,00-15,45: parallel panels

Panel 7A (Senate Room): *Points of Tension in Europe's North-South Fault Line*

Chair: Dr. Arild Moe

Assoc. Prof. Krzysztof Żęgota (University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn): *The Russian Federation and a Source of Threats for Baltic Sea Region*

Dr. Argyrios Tasoulas (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens): *'Fishing in Muddy Waters': Russia's Policy in the Eastern Mediterranean*

Dr. Pål Wilter Skedsmo (Fridtjof Nansen Institute, Oslo): *Abandoning the 'Near Abroad'? New Perceptions and Old Realities in Armenian Security Politics*

Panel 7B (Council of Administration Room): *Post-communist Russian Discourse on Democracy. How Has Russia Imagined and Used the System to Serve Its Various Interests Within and Outside Its Borders post 1991?*

Chair: Dr. Tatiana Cojocari

Sevanna Poghosyan, PhD candidate (University of Tartu): *Russia's Discourse on Democracy in International Law*

Dr. Iulia Mustăţea (Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest): *Yeltsin's Presidency – Democratic Intermezzo or a Link in Russia's Millennial Political Culture?*

Marianna Prysiashniuk, PhD student (University of Bucharest): *Case study: The Institutional Activity of the Russian Federation in the Framework of Strategic Narratives through the Example of a State Organisation - the Federal Agency "Rossotrudnichestvo"*

15,45-16,00: Coffee Break

16,00-17,45: parallel panels

Panel 8A (Senate Room): *Competing and/or Common Interests? Russia vs. China, Belarus, Türkiye*

Chair: Prof. Dr. Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu

Adjunct Prof. Dr. Iulia-Sabina Joja (Georgetown University): *Russia's Strategic Reliance on China: Implications for Europe* (online)

Robert Țicălu, PhD student (Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest): *Belarus's Relations with China after the Outbreak of Russia's War of Aggression against Ukraine*

Dr. Cătălin Costea (Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest): *Türkiye's Relations with Russia and Ukraine: Two Years since the Beginning of the War*

Panel 8B (Council of Administration Room): *The EU Enlargement during Wartime: Shifts and Dimensions*

Chair: Dr. Pål Wilter Skedsmo

Dr. Emilio Cika (Mediterranean University of Albania, Tirana): *Geostrategic Shifts in EU Enlargement Process: The Western Balkans and Eastern Europe's Strategic Relevance during the Ukraine War*

Dr. Alexandru-Ionuț Drăgulin (Romanian Diplomatic Institute, Bucharest): *The Security and Defence Dimension in the Geopolitics of the European Union's Eastern Enlargement*

Dr. Brendan Humphreys (Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki): *The Impact of the War in Ukraine on Serbia's EU Accession Process*

17,45-18,00: Coffee Break

18,00-19,45: Round table (Senate Room)

Keynote speaker: Prof. Dr. Iver Neumann (Director, Fridtjof Nansen Institute, Oslo): *What Future for Russian-European Relations?*

Speakers: Dr. Arild Moe, Dan Perry, Peter Techet, Armand Goşu, Jakub Godzimirski

Moderator: Prof. Dr. Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu

Questions & comments: all participants

19,45-21,00: Dinner

Saturday, 9 November 2024

9,30-11,15: parallel panels

Panel 9A (Senate Room): *Courage and Pain in Media Coverage of the War in Ukraine*

Chair: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Marius Diaconescu

Dr. Nadia Iermakov (Ariel University): *Courage and Femininity: Ukrainian Female Soldiers Through the Lens of Social Media* (online)

Dr. Olena Pavlova (Research fellow at Humboldt university of Berlin): *Colonization of the Media Landscape in the Context of the Mariupol Occupation*

Prof. Dr. Mariya Rohozha (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv): *Witnesses of Occupied Mariupol: A Case Study of City Media Channels* (online)

Anastasiia Stepanenko, PhD student (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv): *Cultural Memory and Urban Landscapes in Post-Soviet Cities*

Panel 9B (Council of Administration Room): *Politicization of History and Politics of Memory: How the Russian Regime Creates History*

Chair: Dr. Bogdan Ceobanu

Prof. Dr. Yuliya Krylova-Grek (Uppsala University): *The Dynamics of Ideological Narratives in Russia: A Study of Media Influence and Conflict Rhetoric*

Dr. Tatiana Cojocari (Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest): *How the Past is Shaping the Future of the Republic of Moldova. Societal Resilience to the Weaponization of History*

Dr. Anna Adashinskaya (Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest): *Shaping Minds, Shaping Future: The Foundations of Russian Statehood; Course as a Tool of Ideological Control in Putin's Russia*

11,15-11,30: Coffee Break

11,30-13,15: parallel panels

Panel 10A (Senate Room): *Perception and Significance of Diplomacy in Wartime*

Chair: Prof. Dr. Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu

Dr. Stephen Hall (University of Bath): *Distorted Perceptions: Ukraine as Putin's Perpetual Blindspot* (online)

Dr. Nicolae Țibrigan (The Institute of Political Sciences and International Relations "Ion I.C. Brătianu" of Romanian

Academy): *Public Sentiment on Peace Negotiations in Ukraine and Russia: A Comparative Analysis of Recent Survey Data*

Dr. Bogdan Ceobanu (Romanian Centre for Russian Studies – University of Bucharest): *The Symbolism of Peace and War in Diplomatic Gifts. The Case of President Zelensky (2022-2024)*

Panel 10B (Council of Administration Room): *Legacy as Generator of Discourses and Ideologies in Eastern Europe*

Chair: Dr. Armand Goșu

Rebecca Grossi, PhD student (University of Leipzig): *“What if?” The Unescapable Trap of the Small State Mentality a.k.a. Romania’s Short-lived Experiment of a Middle Power Foreign Policy Narrative in Traian Băsescu’s Presidency (2004-2014)*

Raquel dos Santos Missagia (Fluminense Federal University): *Historical Legacies and Strategic Goals: Analysing Russian Aggression towards Ukraine* (online)

Rostyslav Karakash, MA (University of Economics in Bratislava): *Analysis and Origin of the Russia’s Modern State Ideology*

13,15-14,00: Closing Speeches (Senate Room)

Prof. Dr. Iver B. Neumann

Prof. Dr. Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu

14,00-15,00: Lunch