

# IEPAS2022

13-16 July 2022

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9

th Annual Conference on Eurasian Politics & Society

Conference Programme

&

Abstract Book

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\* The surnames are listed in alphabetical order.

**Day 1 - Wednesday, 13 July 2022**







<b>12:30 - 13:00</b>	Registration and Coffee Break (CC/080 - Creative Centre Atrium)
<b>13:00 - 13:30</b>	Welcome Speeches (CC/002 - Creative Centre Atrium) <b>Professor Ester McIntosh</b> York St. John University <b>Dr Ayla Gol</b> York St. John University <b>Professor Ozgur Tufekci</b> CESRAN International <b>Professor Ken Booth</b> CESRAN International / Aberystwyth University
<b>13:30 - 15:00</b>	Keynote Speech (CC/002 - Creative Centre Atrium) <b>Professor Caroline Kennedy</b> Loughborough University Title: <b>"The International Politics of the Arctic and Eurasia"</b> Chair: <b>Professor Ken Booth</b> CESRAN International / Aberystwyth University
<b>15:00 - 15:30</b>	Coffee Break (CC/080 - Creative Centre Atrium)
<b>15:30 - 17:00</b>	Roundtable Discussion (CC/002 - Creative Centre Atrium) <b>Dr Nick Ritchie</b> University of York Title: <b>"Nuclear Weapons and Putin's War"</b>  Chair: <b>Dr Jan Ruzicka</b> Aberystwyth University Discussants: <b>Professor Nicholas Wheeler</b> University of Birmingham <b>Dr Laura Considine</b> University of Leeds <b>Dr Olamide Samuel</b> University of Leicester




**Day 2 - Thursday, 14 July 2022**

<b>09:00 - 10:30</b>	Keynote Speech (CC/002 - Creative Centre Atrium) <b>Dr Jenny Mathers</b> Aberystwyth University Title: <b>"Russia's War in Ukraine: Insights from Feminist Security Studies"</b> Chair: <b>Professor Ester McIntosh</b> York St. John University
<b>10:30 - 11:00</b>	Coffee Break (CC/080 - Creative Centre Atrium)
<b>11:00 - 12:30</b>	<b>Panel 01   (CC/011 – Creative Centre)</b> <b>The Russia-Ukraine War: Further (dis)connection in Eurasia</b>  Chair: <b>Jenny Mathers</b>  Jorge Tavares da Silva, University of Aveiro <b>China and Eurasia after the Ukrainian Conflict</b>  Konstantinas Andrijauskas, Vilnius University <b>A Lost Cause? Eurasian Disruptions to China's New Silk Road in 2022</b>  Rashed Chowdhury, Manisa Celal Bayar University <b>Belarus's Strategic About-Face on Ukraine</b>  Tianyi-Liu and Giuseppe Bettoni, University of Rome Tor Vergata <b>Italy's Geopolitical Influence on China's 21st Century Maritime Silk Road</b>
<b>12:30 - 13:30</b>	Break









13:30 - 15:00	<p>In Conversation: <b>The Theory and Practice of Trust in International Relations</b> (CC/002 - Creative Centre Atrium)</p> <p><b>Professor Nick Wheeler</b> <i>University of Birmingham</i></p> <p><b>Professor Ken Booth</b> <i>CESRAN International / Aberystwyth University</i></p>
15:00 - 15:30	Coffee Break (CC/080 - Creative Centre Atrium)
15:30 - 17:00	<p><b>Panel 02   (CC/011 - Creative Centre)</b> <b>Political Regimes and International Politics in Eurasia</b></p> <p>Chair: <b>Ayla Göi</b></p> <p>Catherine Jones, University of St Andrews <b>Alliances in the Context of Anxiety</b></p> <p>Jan Ruzicka, Aberystwyth University <b>Colonialism, Racism and the Origins of the Discipline of International Relations: Contradictory Evidence</b></p> <p>Patrick Stickland, York St John University <b>A Clumsy Weapon: Britain and the Blockade of Soviet Russia, 1918-1920</b></p> <p>Richard Beardsworth, University of Leeds <b>Russian Invasion of Ukraine and the Politics of Climate Change</b></p>
<b>Day 3 - Friday, 15 July 2022</b>	
10:00 - 10:30	Coffee refreshments (CC/080 - Creative Centre Atrium)
10:30 - 12:00	<p><b>Panel 03   (CC/011 –Creative Centre)</b> <b>Resurfacing Religions and Religious Actors in World Politics</b></p> <p>Chair: <b>Pauline Kollontai</b></p> <p>Afzal Ashraf, Loughborough University <b>Talking to Terrorists in Central Asia About Why They Went to Syria to Fight</b></p> <p>Dániel Vékony and Marat Ilyasov, Corvinus University of Budapest and Center for Russia, East Europe, and Central Asia, UW Madison <b>The Role of Religion in Foreign and Domestic Politics in Post-Communist Hungary and Russia</b></p> <p>Gergana Yordanova, New Bulgarian University <b>Terrorism Financing via the Hawala System: A Case Study from Bulgaria and Some Lessons</b></p> <p>Sharifullah Dorani, CESRAN International <b>Why did the Doha Agreement Fail and What are the Consequences?</b></p>
12:00 - 13:00	Break

<p><b>13:00 - 14:30</b></p>	<p><b>Panel 04   (CC/011 - Creative Centre)</b>  <b>Geopolitical Struggles over and in the Central Asia</b></p> <p>Chair: <b>Ozgur Tufekci</b></p> <p>Emre Demir, TED University  <b>Trading State Moment in Turkey-China Relations</b></p> <p>Orazio Maria Gnerre, University of Perugia  <b>Political and Economic Relations between the People's Republic of China and Turkey</b></p> <p>Serik Orazgaliyev, Nazarbayev University  <b>Caspian Regional Geopolitics: Global Powers and Local Actors</b></p> <p>Taner Zorbay, Middle East Technical University  <b>The Possibility of Turkish Economic Cooperation and the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), Despite or Besides?</b></p>
<p><b>14:30 - 15:00</b></p>	<p>Coffee Break <i>(CC/080 - Creative Centre Atrium)</i></p>
<p><b>15:00 - 16:30</b></p>	<p><b>Panel 05   (CC/002- Creative Centre Auditorium)</b>  <b>Religion, Politics and IR Panel on the International Crisis in Ukraine</b></p> <p>Chair: <b>Esther McIntosh</b></p> <p>Peter Whitewood, York St. John University  <b>History: The Bolsheviks' Perceptions of Ukraine and Soviet Security, 1921-1928</b></p> <p>Mark Dawson, York St. John University  <b>Philosophy and Ethics: Public Theology and the War in Ukraine</b></p> <p>Ayla Gol, York St. John University  <b>Turkey's Position at NATO and Putin's War in Ukraine</b></p> <p>Pauline Kollontai, York St. John University  <b>Israel's Geopolitical Response to Russia's Invasion of Ukraine</b></p> <p>Victoria Nesfield, York St. John University  <b>Never Again, Again: History and the Question of Intervention</b></p>
<p><b>16:30 - 17:00</b></p>	<p>Closing Session <i>(CC/002- Creative Centre Auditorium)</i></p> <p><b>Professor Ester McIntosh</b> <i>York St. John University</i>  <b>Dr Ayla Gol</b> <i>York St. John University</i>  <b>Professor Rahman Dag</b> <i>CESRAN International</i></p>
<p><b>17:00 - 18:00</b></p>	<p>Reception <i>(CC/080 - Creative Centre Atrium)</i></p>

<p>09:00 - 10:00</p>	<p>Keynote Speech</p> <p><b>Professor Michael Cox</b> <i>London School of Economics</i>          Title: <b>“Agonies of Empire: American Power from Clinton to Biden”</b>          Chair: <b>Dr ayla Gol</b> <i>York St. John University</i></p>	<p>JOIN NOW </p> <p></p>
<p>10:15 - 11:45</p>	<p><b>Panel 06   Transboundary Issues in Eurasia: Migration and Pandemic</b></p> <p>Chair: <b>Marco Manuel Marsili Wick</b></p> <p>Ahmad Walid Barlas and Abdullah Ammar, University of Greifswald and KDI School of Public Policy and Management  <b>Do Afghan Youth Think of Migrating to other Countries under the Taliban Regime?</b></p> <p>Lehari Kuppili, Jawaharlal Nehru University  <b>Return Migration Trends in Kazakhstan: Implications on Society and Politics</b></p> <p>Majid-Hojjati, Islamic Azad University  <b>Iranian Immigration Channels to GCC Countries During the Last Hundred Years</b></p> <p>Mehmet Ozyurek, University of Yalova  <b>Global Empire and the Pandemic: Is This the Victory of Biopolitical Imperialism?</b></p> <p>Mustafa Serdar Palabiyik, TOBB University of Economics and Technology  <b>Ottoman Travellers Meet the Central Asian Turks: New Awakenings at the Turn of the Twentieth Century</b></p> <p>Yukio Sakurai, Yokohama National University  <b>What Should Be Done to Ensure a Better Post-COVID-19 Future? Focusing on the Universal Values and the International Cooperation</b></p>	<p>JOIN NOW </p> <p></p>
<p>12:00 - 13:00</p>	<p>Keynote Speech</p> <p><b>Professor Beatrice Heuser</b> <i>University of Glasgow</i>          Title: <b>“Western Concepts of War, their Strengths and Weaknesses”</b>          Chair: <b>Ana Isabel Xavier</b> <i>Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa</i></p>	<p>JOIN NOW </p> <p></p>

<p>13:15 - 14:45</p>	<p><b>Panel 07   Central Asian States in Eurasian Politics</b></p> <p>Chair: <b>Andrew K P Leung</b></p> <p>Ajay Pratap Singh, Jawaharlal Nehru University <b>Central Asian States and China's Silk Road Diplomacy</b></p> <p>Angelo Francesco Carlucci, Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University <b>Sufi Schools and Turkish soft Power in Central Asia</b></p> <p>Christopher Whitsel, North Dakota State University <b>Ethical Dilemmas in Fieldwork in Central Asia</b></p> <p>Najiba Mustafayeva, Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy <b>Explosive Inheritance of Aggression: Armenia`s Anti-Mine Obligations Under International Law</b></p> <p>Orkhan Valiyev, Western Caspian University <b>The Second Karabakh War: Victory of Multicultural Azerbaijani Nationalism?</b></p> <p>Ozhet Shegirbayev, RANEP <b>Central Asian Transition</b></p> <p>Smrutirekha Sahu, Jawaharlal Nehru University <b>Free Media and Democracy: A Case Study of Kyrgyzstan</b></p>	<p>JOIN NOW </p> <p></p>
<p>15:00 - 16:30</p>	<p><b>Panel 08   Rethinking Great Power Politics After Russia-Ukraine War</b></p> <p>Chair: <b>Christopher Whitsel</b></p> <p>Andrew K P Leung, Andrew Leung International Consultants &amp; Investments <b>How the Ukrainian Crisis Redefines Eurasian Geopolitics in a Changed World</b></p> <p>Marco Manuel Marsili Wick, CIEP-IUL, CEI-IUL, CINAMIL, CIDIUM, CESRAN International <b>The Russia-Ukraine Conflict Beyond the Mainstream Narrative</b></p> <p>Marek Štoudek, Charles University <b>Geopolitical Considerations of New European Spaceports</b></p> <p>Mohammad Ali Zafar, National Defence University <b>Post-Ukrainian World Order: Russian geopolitics, Neo-Eurasianism and the Emerging World Order</b></p>	<p>JOIN NOW </p> <p></p>
<p>15:00 - 16:30</p>	<p><b>Panel 09   Positioning Rising Powers into the Great Power Politics: Turkey</b></p> <p>Chair: <b>Rahman Dağ</b></p> <p>Adrian Pogacian, Cesran International and ReThinking Europe <b>Did Russia lose influence in Black Sea Region? Great Powers Competition in Regional Security Complex</b></p> <p>Ana Belén Perianes, The University Institute General Gutiérrez Mellado-UNED <b>The Turkish Agenda for Connectivity in Central Asia: Presence, Influence and Geopolitical Interests</b></p> <p>Ferhat Cagri Aras, Karadeniz Technical University <b>Different Dimensions of CAATSA Sanctions: The Case of Turkey and India</b></p> <p>Kerim Sert, Middle East Technical University <b>Eurasia and the Energy Security of European Union</b></p>	<p>JOIN NOW </p> <p></p>



<p>16:45 - 17:45</p>	<p>Roundtable Discussion</p> <p><b>Dr Jan Ruzicka</b> <i>Aberystwyth University</i>  Title: <b>“World Order After Putin’s War”</b></p> <p>Discussants:  <b>Professor Benoit Pelopidas</b> <i>SciencePo-Paris</i>  <b>Professor Ondrej Ditrych</b> <i>Institute of International Relations, Prague</i></p>	<p>JOIN NOW </p> <p></p>
<p>18:00 - 19:30</p>	<p><b>Panel 10   Non-Traditional Security Issues in Eurasia</b></p> <p>Chair: <b>Bezen Coskun</b></p> <p>Abdurrahman Hendek, Sakarya University  <b>Securitisation of Religion in Education? The Case of Toledo Guiding Principles</b></p> <p>Ahmet Üçağaç, Sakarya University &amp; Duygu Kalkan, Sakarya University  <b>India's Policy towards the Ukraine War in the Framework of the Regional Security Complex Theory</b></p> <p>Bezen Coskun, INTPOLSEC  <b>Gender &amp; Human Security: Review of Policies and Practices in Empowering Women in Pakistan</b></p> <p>Emre Baran Pak, Kilis 7 Aralık University  <b>Ethical-Normative Collectivity and Transnational Advocacy Networks in IR: An Everyday Practice Approach</b></p> <p>Fikret Birdiqli, İnönü University  <b>The Role of the Cultural Systems in the Eurasia Region, and its Effect on Regional Security Problems</b></p> <p>M. Cüneyt Özşahin, Necmettin Erbakan University  <b>Human Security in Central Asia and the COVID-19 Crisis</b></p>	<p>JOIN NOW </p> <p></p>
<p>19:45 - 20:45</p>	<p>Keynote Speech</p> <p><b>Professor Luis Tome</b> <i>Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa</i></p> <p>Title: <b>“Security Interconnectedness in “Greater Eurasia” from the Atlantic to the Pacific”</b></p> <p>Chair: <b>Rahman Dag</b></p>	<p>JOIN NOW </p> <p></p>
<p>20:45 - 21:15</p>	<p>Closing Session</p> <p><b>Dr Ayla Gol</b> <i>York St. John University</i>  <b>Professor Rahman Dag</b> <i>CESRAN International</i>  <b>Professor Luis Tome</b> <i>Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa</i></p>	<p>JOIN NOW </p> <p></p>



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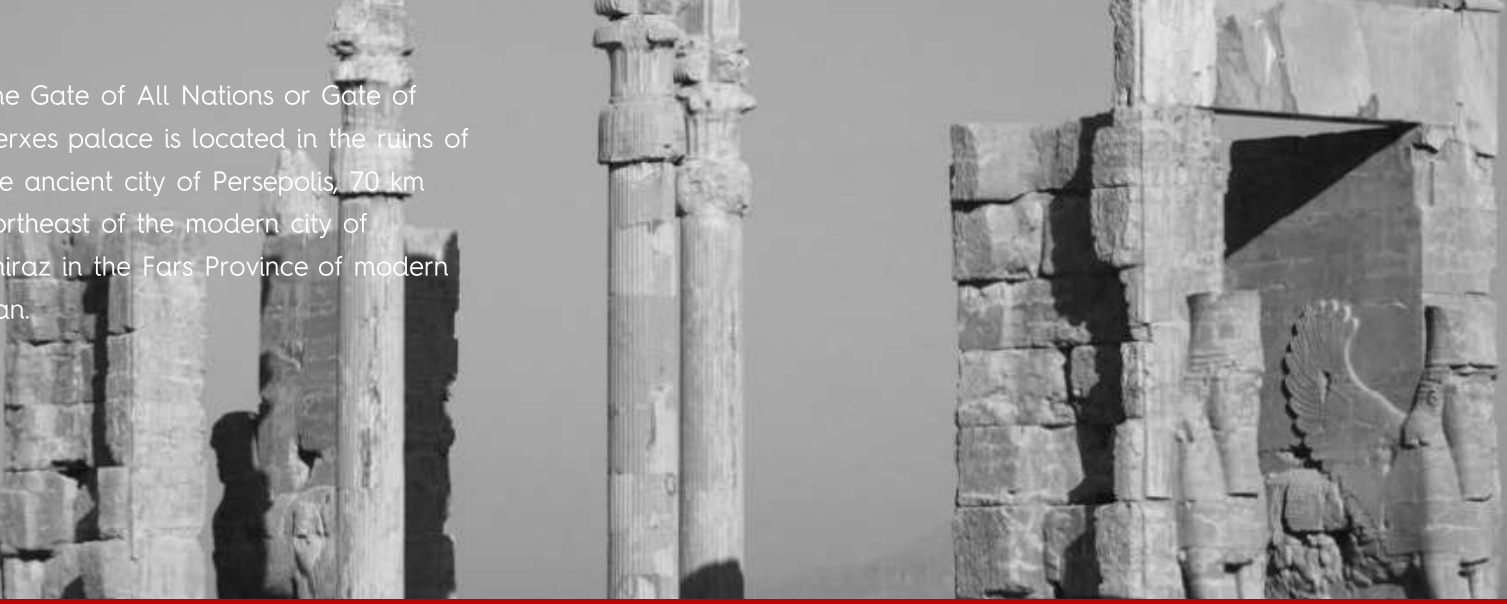
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The Gate of All Nations or Gate of Xerxes palace is located in the ruins of the ancient city of Persepolis, 70 km northeast of the modern city of Shiraz in the Fars Province of modern Iran.



## Panel 01

### The Russia-Ukraine War: Further (dis)connection in Eurasia

THURSDAY // 14 July 2022 // 11:00–12:30 // (York, BST)

**Authors Name:** Assist. Prof. Jorge Tavares da Silva

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**Title:** China and Eurasia after the Ukrainian Conflict

**Abstract:** The Russian invasion of Ukraine is changing international relations dynamics at the beginning of this year (2022). The reaction of public opinion in many countries, associated with a tough plan of sanctions by the so-called western and the attrition of the armed conflict is putting Moscow in a very difficult situation. Russia's weakening promise to change the balance of power in Eurasia, a regional space where traditionally has solid political influence. China has used its strategic ambiguity in order not to get directly involved in the conflict, protecting its geostrategic interests. Beijing would take advantage from Russia loss of political influence in Eurasia. This article intends to analyse the consequences of the Ukraine war in this region and Chinese benefits from the new political context.

**Keywords:** China, Ukraine, Russia, Geopolitics, Eurasia

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**Title:** A Lost Cause? Eurasian Disruptions to China's New Silk Road in 2022

**Abstract:** In early autumn 2013 China's then fresh leader Xi Jinping unveiled the Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB) as part of what later came to be known as his signature Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). It has become common knowledge that the BRI as the most ambitious Beijing's foreign policy mega-project ever aims to physically connect both ends of Eurasia and instil Chinese pivotal position in its economic and potentially socio-political order.

As the first decade of the BRI's existence is drawing to a close, numerous problems and challenges for its implementation have become apparent. Even aside of the lasting impact caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, the first half of 2022 has been particularly marked by indirect but arguably extraordinary barriers to China's terrestrial SREB way beyond its control. Indeed, the year started inauspiciously with massive unrest in Kazakhstan, the country where SREB was originally proclaimed by Xi and where it has

actually achieved notable results already. Only a month and a half later, one of China's strategic partners (Russia) initiated a full-scale invasion of another (Ukraine) by using the territory of the third (Belarus). Barely two months after, Beijing sent a delegation of diplomats and think tankers to eight Central and Eastern European countries (CEEC), ostensibly to mark the 10th anniversary of the China–CEEC (16+1) format, but actually to salvage it as a result of Lithuania's withdrawal a year earlier and the region's disappointment about Chinese stance on Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

The common thread behind these developments that should have been of particular concern to Beijing derives from the fact that all of these respective countries or regions have essential or even indispensable role in China's plans to connect itself better to the European Union, its largest trade partner, as one of the most significant goals behind the BRI in general and SREB in particular. Therefore, this research paper aims to reveal and scrutinize immediate and short-term hurdles for key Chinese Eurasian connectivity initiative brought by three different recent crises in the huge landmass geographically intervening between Asia's largest economy and Western Europe as one of its most important economic partners. The comparative qualitative analysis of three respective cases, namely the 2022 Kazakh unrest, Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, and seeming collapse of the China–CEEC format, will be based on examination of complex Chinese factors in all of these instances as well as independent (from that of China) disruptive effects for implementation of its New Silk Road.

Following theoretical critique of authoritarian multilateralism as less resistant to realist crises in international politics, this paper will showcase that the three cases in question do indeed present significant problems to implementation of China's BRI, both individually and especially collectively. Contrary to Beijing's expectations, neighbouring post-socialist part of Eurasia has presented it with seemingly insurmountable challenges as opposed to merely conducive conditions for projection of its economic influence and regional integration. Without stability there, the entire BRI looks even harder to realize in practice.

**Keywords:** China, Silk Road, Kazakhstan, Eastern Europe, Crisis

**Authors Name:** Assist. Prof. Rashed Chowdhury

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**Title:** Belarus's Strategic About-Face on Ukraine

**Abstract:** Until 2021, Belarus tried its best to adopt a position of outward neutrality in the chronic and occasionally escalating conflict between Russia and Ukraine that had erupted with the Russian annexation of Crimea and creation of breakaway self-proclaimed states in the Donbas. Hence, it is no coincidence that Minsk was chosen by all parties involved: Russia and Ukraine, as well as France and Germany in a mediating role, as a neutral venue for negotiations, leading to the two rounds of agreements on a putative solution to the Donbas crisis being named the Minsk Accords. The previously isolated Aliaksandr Lukashenka (transliterated from Russian as Alexander Lukashenko) was able to host Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany and President François Hollande of France in Minsk, giving his regime an important temporary diplomatic boost. In Ukraine, Lukashenka's increased popularity, caused by him seemingly championing the Ukrainian cause in front of the Russian public in some respects, lasted all the way into 2020.

In 2020, a disputed presidential election caused a huge wave of indignation in Belarus, with hundreds of thousands of Belarusians (out of a population of about 9.5 million) marching against electoral fraud which Lukashenka was alleged by the opposition to have committed. These developments in turn set off a chain of events which led to Lukashenka reversing course on Ukraine. For one thing, after the Lukashenka regime's harsh repression of dissent in Belarus, with 30,000 arrests and mass beatings and torture, the Lukashenka regime's diplomatic bridges with the West were burned, causing him to become increasingly dependent on Russia, as I argued in my IEPAS presentation in 2021. Secondly, Lukashenka forcing a Ryanair plane flying from Athens to Vilnius to land in Minsk by issuing a fake bomb threat and scrambling a fighter plane to intercept the passenger jet only in order to arrest Raman Pratasevich, an opposition

activist instrumental in running two Telegram channels that had encouraged anti-regime protests, demonstrated to the West that Lukashenka was unwilling to abide by elementary rules of international conduct. In this situation, countries like Georgia and Ukraine, both of which had territory occupied by Russia, faced a choice of closing their airspace to Belarusian planes like the EU and the US did, or else going easy in Belarus. Georgia chose the latter, while Volodymyr Zelenskyy's Ukraine, eager for a closer alliance with the West, chose the former. Lukashenka felt personally betrayed by Zelenskyy and, in late 2021, declared Crimea as de jure Russian territory. This paper will examine the way in which the ever-closer alliance with Russia, combined with ever-worsening ties with the West and a rupture with Ukraine, led Belarus under Lukashenka to eventually serve as a staging ground for the Russian invasion of Ukraine, something that Lukashenka had previously promised would never happen.

**Keywords:** Belarus, Ukraine, Russia, War, Diplomacy, Lukashenka

**Authors Name:** Tianyi-Liu and Giuseppe Bettoni

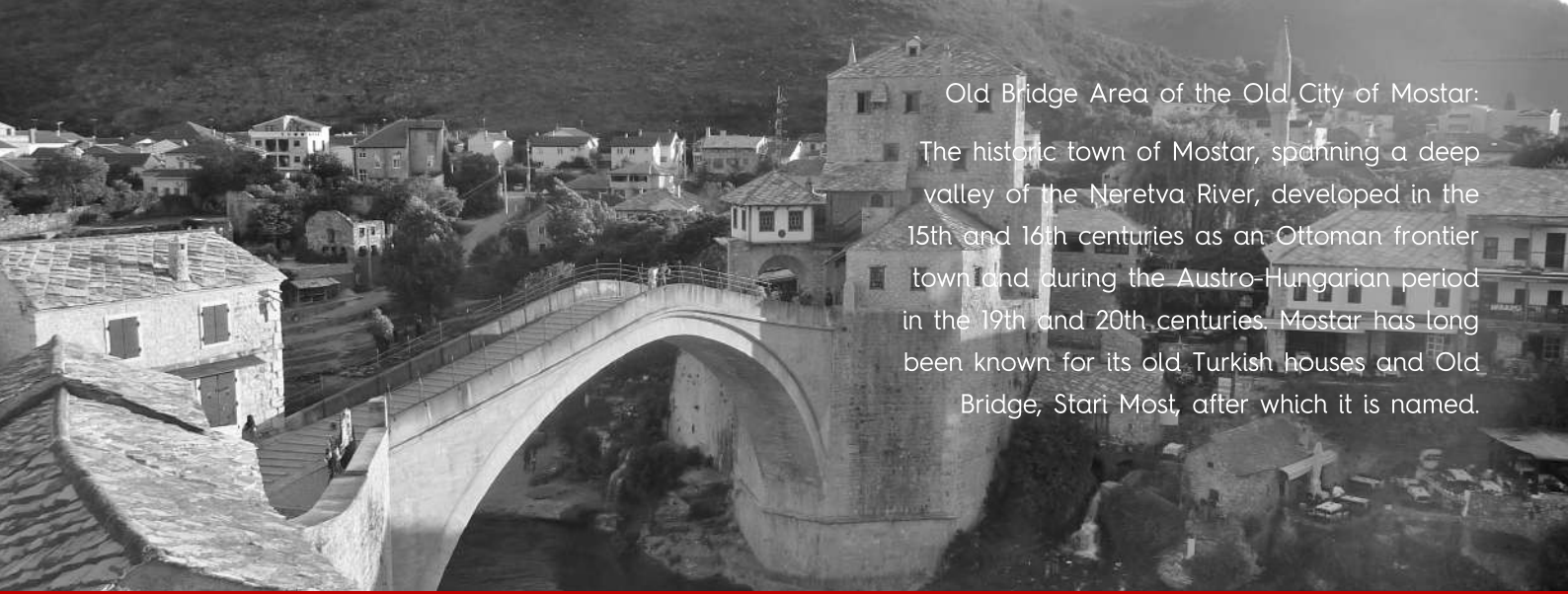
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**Title:** Italy's Geopolitical Influence on China's 21st Century Maritime Silk Road

**Abstract:** The Belt and Road Initiative contains the new international relations concepts of peaceful coexistence, harmony tolerance, mutual learning, and win-win cooperation. It includes the demands of building a community of interests mutual political trust and economic integration. And the western geopolitical theories are used in China to build the new silk road. Italy is the only G7 country to join China's "One Belt One Road" Initiative. For China, Italian ports provide favourable terms of trade and can enter the EU market. However, more importantly, the entry of Italy represents a symbolic success of China, because it is considered the first and true recognition of the western countries. The establishment of a partnership between China and Italy could take advantage of the potential benefits from Italian ports and make them the point of arrival for the 21st century Maritime Silk Road.

**Keywords:** Italy, China, Maritime Silk Road, Geopolitics



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.

## Panel 02

### Political Regimes and International Politics in Eurasia

THURSDAY // 14 July 2022 // 15:30–17:00 // (York, BST)

**Authors Name:** Dr. Catherine Jones

**Affiliation:** University of St Andrews

**Email:** cmj20@st-andrews.ac.uk

**Title:** Alliances in the Context of Anxiety

**Abstract:** The fragmentation of the liberal international order presents a fundamental change in the context in which we understand a wider array of relationships. This paper identifies that the changes in the liberal international order, following from events such as the withdrawal from Afghanistan and an emboldened Russian Federation, produced a context of anxiety. This context then has ramifications for alliance management. The paper investigates the question: To what extent does the context of an alliance change the process of alliance management?

The existing literature considers this question in relation to both the structures of the international environment and narratives of the alliance. However, there is a significant lacuna in current understandings of the importance of emotions in understanding alliance dynamics and therefore management. Structurally, alliance management is considered in terms of the availability of realignment opportunities and there are two mutually independent arguments.

On the one hand, alliances that are present in the context of multilateral institutions, these institutions reduce the security dilemma in the region as Victor Cha has put it “The complexity of this geometry [in East Asia] is a useful tool for the muting of regional security dilemmas.” This argument implies that the complexity increases the strategic ambiguity of the situation and therefore enhances the deterrence effect of the alliance. An implication of this would be that the multilateralism alongside the alliances is mutually supportive of each other in deterring actions and therefore demonstrates the efficacy of the alliance. On the other hand, Glenn Snyder argues that “Alliance dilemma is more severe in a multipolar than in a bipolar system because high mutual dependence coexists with plausible realignment options.”

In both of these cases I argue there is a persistent gap in the literature which is the wider context of both the structures and the alliance itself. This wider context is shaped by emotions among the parties, particularly when there is anxiety and heightened tensions and fear, in which context reassurance may be more difficult. This paper will draw on experiences of alliances between the US and East Asian counterparts (including Japan and the Republic of Korea).

**Keywords:** Alliance Management, Asia, Anxiety, Context

**Authors Name: Dr. Jan Ruzicka**

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**Title: Colonialism, Racism and the Origins of the Discipline of International Relations: Contradictory Evidence**

**Abstract:** It has become commonplace to claim that the discipline of International Relations has its origins in colonial and racist ideas. The founding of the discipline in Aberystwyth has been labelled the myth of 1919. In this rendering of the disciplinary history, the establishment of the Chair in International Politics at Aberystwyth is presented as just another piece in a narrative that is typically derided as Eurocentric. This paper takes issue with subsuming David Davies, the founder of the Chair in Aberystwyth, among a group of colonialist and racist thinkers. I show how at the time of the founding of the Aberystwyth Chair Davies actively challenged Eurocentrism of the newly established League of Nations and that the Chair was an integral part of this strategy.

**Keywords:** Eurocentrism, International Relations, Constantinople, The League of Nations

**Authors Name: Patrick Stickland**

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**Title: A Clumsy Weapon: Britain and the Blockade of Soviet Russia, 1918-1920**

**Abstract:** The purpose of this paper is to examine the British Empire's role in the economic blockade of Soviet Russia and its removal in 1920. It had begun as a way for the Allied powers to isolate the new Bolshevik regime, and to prevent Germany from circumventing the already existing blockade during the final months of the First World War. Its end preceded the start of direct talks between the British and Soviet governments, who had been fighting an undeclared war for over a year.

This analysis will focus on the events and processes that led to the lifting of the blockade. It had been enforced primarily by the Royal Navy in the Baltic and Black seas, yet it was British Prime Minister David Lloyd George who would lead the way in removing restrictions on trade. Behind this shift in policy was an ostensible economic imperative to gain access to Russian markets in the wake of the impact of the First World War on international trade. However, as this paper will demonstrate, there were also political and ideological factors beyond this pulling British policy towards economic reproachment with the Soviets. Opposition to the blockade came from across British society and politics; from politicians and civil servants, to the British labour movement and Co-operative societies. Even some sections of British industry pursued a 'business as usual' approach to the Bolsheviks. Meanwhile, progress on commercial links with anti-Bolshevik (White) Russia had been slow, frustrated by disparate aims, while incurring greater than expected expenses for the British government.

**Keywords:** Historical, Russia, Geopolitics, Trade

**Authors Name: Prof. Richard Beardsworth**

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**Title: Russian Invasion of Ukraine and the Politics of Climate Change**

**Abstract:** The Russian invasion of Ukraine is already slowing down the major global challenge of the next 'critical decade' (Glasgow Climate Pact): international and national commitments to climate mitigation and adaptation. This tragically untimely war (in all senses of the word 'untimely') poses, therefore, a stark question to IR scholars concerned with solutions to global challenges: will this invasion

refoster dependence on oil and gas and, therefore, the continuation of 20th Century geopolitics, or will it facilitate political leadership that weans national powers from dependence on fossil fuels much faster than planned hitherto? In turn, is the political challenge of a marriage between long-term strategy, the transition to clean energy, and short-term national energy security possible? The presentation will take up these critical questions for present IR.

**Keywords:** Invasion of Ukraine, Russia, Energy Security, Climate Change





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.

## Panel 03

### Resurfacing Religions and Religious Actors in World Politics

FRIDAY // 15 July 2022 // 10:30–12:00 // (York, BST)

**Authors Name:** Dr. Afzal Ashraf

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**Title:** Talking to Terrorists in Central Asia About Why They Went to Syria to Fight

**Abstract:** Since gaining independence from the communist ideas, values and governance systems of the Soviet Union, Central Asian states have struggled with establishing a stable relationship between the state, secularism and security. This challenge has been exacerbated by the increasing prominence of religious and nationalist identities of communities within states. The influence of international political and religious actors has both benefited and complicated these challenges. Much of the resultant confusion facilitates political and economic corruption leading to social grievances. These have made minority elements susceptible to recruitment by international terrorist organisations.

This paper will be based on papers presented at various regional conferences exploring the relationship between the state, secularism and security as well as recently published field research conducted in Kyrgyzstan's prisons interviewing former foreign fighters to find out why they chose to travel to Syria and how they found their experiences there as members of ISIS or al Qaeda affiliated organisations. These research findings provide potentially useful insights into understanding the vulnerabilities and challenges the Central Asian countries face within a regional environment where religious and national identities and values are actively mobilised for geopolitical political purposes. Some useful methodological successes arising out of the research will also be identified.

**Keywords:** State, Secularism, Religion, Terrorism, Security, Kyrgyzstan

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**Title:** The Role of Religion in Foreign and Domestic Politics in Post-Communist Hungary and Russia

**Abstract:** The paper analyses comparatively state and religion/Church relations in two of the post-communist countries - Russia and Hungary. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the role of

religion in both formerly Communist countries grew immensely and the need for a new frame of state and Church communication became obvious. This return of religion forced authorities to consider it as a new player that can influence domestic and even foreign politics. The formally declared secularism in both countries and the inherited from the Soviet times institutes of control over religion determined that religion in Russia and Hungary gradually became one more tool of power.

This paper presents and analyses this role of religion assigned to it by authorities in both countries. It answers the question how religion is used by the state in foreign and domestic politics in post-Communist Hungary and Russia? The paper also looks at how governments treat different religious communities in Hungary and Russia. In addition to this, the article explores the reorganised post-Communist State-Church relations and compares the communication mechanisms between the relevant state institutions and religious groups. The paper explains the different treatment of certain religious communities based on their size, attitude to government policies, historic and social embeddedness. The research relies on the tool of Critical Discourse Analysis that reveals the link between power and religion.

**Keywords:** Religious Governance, Post-Secularisation, Illiberalism, Religion

**Authors Name:** Assist. Prof. Gergana Yordanova

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**Title:** Terrorism Financing via the Hawala System: A Case Study from Bulgaria and Some Lessons

**Abstract:** Terrorist financing is an important contemporary securitized problem that requires new ways of prevention and counteraction. In this regard, the use of the Arab informal Hawala system as a means of terrorism financing remains relevant. The imposition of various financial sanctions on several global banking and credit institutions implies an increased usage of informal value transfer systems and for settlement of funds without physical movement. The report focuses on new developments in the use of Hawala, based on a case from Bulgaria in January 2019, when an international organized crime group was exposed to finance terrorist activities linked to Islamic State in Syria.

The investigation established logistical support to an international terrorist group through light trucks and financial assistance of over 25 million euros. Funds were sent via standard Hawala transfers to members of international Islamist terrorist groups: the Jabhat al-Nusra Front, the new Hayat Tahrir al-Sham branch, the Syrian branch of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), banned in Turkey and the armed opposition groups in Syria (the Islamic State and the Syrian National Opposition). The report analyses the first conclusions of the trial and summarizes the links between domestic organized crime and international terrorism. Finally, some possible solutions for preventing and counteracting the criminal use of Hawala transactions (the so-called "Black Hawala") are outlined in the context of countering terrorism financing and anti-money laundering actions.

**Keywords:** Hawala, Terrorism Financing, Money Laundering

**Authors Name:** Dr. Sharifullah Dorani

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**Title:** Why did the Doha Agreement Fail and What are the Consequences?

**Abstract:** Following nine rounds of discussion, the United States (US) and the Taliban in February 2020 signed a peace agreement in Doha designed to bring peace to Afghanistan. According to the Doha Agreement, the Taliban and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghan (IRA) would temporarily reduce violence and work towards a lasting cease-fire among US, Taliban and Afghan forces; the US would withdraw from Afghanistan one-third of its 12,000 troops within the next four and half months, and if the Taliban stuck to their promises, withdrew all forces within 14 months; meanwhile, intra-Afghan

negotiations would start to ascertain what role the Taliban would play in a future government; and the Taliban pledged counterterrorism assurances, that is, the Taliban were to sever all ties with terrorist groups, including Al-Qaeda, and would not allow those groups to use Afghan soil to launch attacks against the US and the allies.

However, before the US withdrew all its troops, the IRA, with supposedly 352-thousand security forces, fell to the Taliban in August 2021, effectively marking the death of the Doha Agreement. Today, Afghanistan is back where it was at the beginning of US intervention in late-2001, and the Afghan people experience one of the hardest winters as the humanitarian situation continues to worsen. The international community refuses to recognise (or work with) the Taliban caretaker 'government'. Another insurgency is on the rise, this time against the Taliban, led by the British-educated Ahmad Massoud, the son of the legendary Northern Alliance commander Ahmad Shah Massoud. Another protracted civil war has the potential to create a security dilemma for the regional powers that might force them to intervene against their will, especially the nuclear Pakistan and India, and thus could pose a serious threat to regional and global peace.


The possibility of the above frightening situation and ordinary Afghans' decades-long sufferings would have been reduced if the Doha Agreement had succeeded. The Afghans (and many Westerns) have, therefore, numerous unanswered questions which boil down to the following three:

- 1) Why did the Doha Agreement fail?
- 2) What were/are/will be the local, regional and international repercussions of the failure?
- 3) What is the best approach to deal with the Taliban caretaker 'government' in Kabul, whether to work with the Taliban and gradually recognise them or work against them and eventually weaken them?

The principal aim of the paper is to provide answers to the above three questions. The core purpose is to inform the debate about the best approach to dealing with the Taliban-led Afghanistan to avoid making a bad situation worse for local, regional and global stability.

A range of players was directly or indirectly involved in Doha talks. These players have several interests in Afghanistan. In order to attempt to answer the three research questions, it is essential to understand those interests, their relative importance to the players and whether the interests converge or diverge. Because of the limitations of space and time, the paper will focus only on the main players that include: The Afghans (the government, the Northern Alliance, the Taliban and ordinary Afghans); The US and its North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) allies, the UK in particular; Afghanistan's 'four big neighbours', namely Pakistan, Iran, China and India; Russia and the Central Asian States; and Saudi Arabia. The concept of 'interest' includes those in the fields of politics and geopolitics, security and military matters, economics and access to resources, as well as some reputational, cultural and ideological concerns.

**Keywords:** Doha Agreement, Afghanistan War, Taliban



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

## Panel 04

# Geopolitical Struggles over and in the Central Asia

FRIDAY // 15 July 2022 // 13:00–14:30 // (York, BST)

**Authors Name:** Assist. Prof. Emre Demir

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**Title:** Trading State Moment in Turkey-China Relations

**Abstract:** In line with the rapprochement between China-US relations at the beginning of the 1970s, Turkey recognized People's Republic of China in 1971 and the two countries established official relations. In the following three decades, the bilateral relations did not improve significantly. Even though throughout these years leaders of both countries paid visits to each other's capitals and official talks were held, until the 21st century, Turkey-China relations did not develop as China's relations developed with Western countries. An important reason for this was the strong support given by the Turkish government to the Uyghur minority living both in and outside of China. Turkey has been home to thousands of Uyghurs as well as a protector of Uyghur dissidents who take refuge in the country. This role prevented Turkey from improving its relations with China until the 2010s. However, Turkey's policy of favouring Uyghurs in its relations with China started to change at the beginning of the decade and the Turkish government began to prioritize its economic interests rather than the Uyghur cause in its relations with China.

A useful way of evaluating this rapid transformation in Turkish-Chinese relations is to adopt the concept of trading state of Richard Rosecrance. According to Rosecrance, starting from the 1970s and 1980s, many developed and developing states began to replace political-military strategy with trading state strategy. While the former strategy aims to advance national interests by prioritizing security-oriented policies and military means, the latter focuses on economic means, specifically on foreign trade and investment. Since the end of the Cold War, both Turkey and China, albeit in different degrees, have been implementing more economy-oriented or trading state strategies, while not abandoning their political-security strategies. This is also true in their bilateral relations, especially since the early 2010s.

This article claims that Turkey, in the last decade, has begun to change its foreign policy strategy towards China from a politico-military to a trading state strategy. In other words, to benefit more from China's increasing economic power, Turkey, under the AKP government, has slowly abandoned the policy of boisterously defending Uyghur rights in China by criticizing the Chinese government's policies towards Uyghurs, while putting economic relations forward. What is interesting is that this was done under an Islamist government, whose leaders have positioned themselves, especially until the 2010s, as the defender of Uyghur rights in China and who still have close links with the Uyghur community in Turkey. While the intensification of China's hard-line policies towards the Uyghur community triggered reactions

from the Western societies, Muslim countries, including Turkey, has stayed silent or at least, refrained from overtly criticizing China.

In this context, this paper will analyse the trading state moment in Turkey-China relations in three parts. The first part will focus on the trading state strategy. The second part will evaluate Turkey's and China's adoption of trading state strategies. Finally, the third part will show the transition in Turkey's policies towards China by applying the trading state approach to Turkey-China relations.

**Keywords:** Turkey, China, Trading State, Political-Military State, Belt and Road Initiative

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**Title:** Political and Economic Relations between the People's Republic of China and Turkey

**Abstract:** The People's Republic of China is renowned as Turkey's most important import partner. The relations between these two countries have developed over time through a complex diplomacy and have been consolidated thanks to an increasingly intense economic exchange, favoured by the new trends of market globalization. This speech intends to analyse the historical development of the relations between these two political-institutional entities, their role within the geometries of power in the Eurasian continent, the impact of the cultural elements that influence diplomacy between the two countries and the future of these relations about the great political transformations that history is undergoing.

**Keywords:** People's Republic of China, Turkey, Eurasian Partnership, Diplomacy

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**Title:** Caspian Regional Geopolitics: Global Powers and Local Actors

**Abstract:** It has often been argued that since 1991 Central Asian and Caspian region had become a playground for the New Great Game between the global superpowers. Analysing the geopolitical competition for Caspian energy resources, this article argues that the New Great Game framework has its limitations as it fails to incorporate the active role played by the Newly Independent Caspian (NIC) states. One cannot deny the fact that the strategic competition among the geopolitical powers for hydrocarbon resources of the Caspian shaped the trajectories of the new pipeline routes. At the same time, the NIC states, namely Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan benefited from the competition as they managed to diversify their export options, achieving greater political and economic independence. In the end, the interaction between the NIC states and energy consumers has led to strengthened energy cooperation along the same area where the ancient Silk Road crossed East Asia, Central Asia, and Europe. The findings support the theoretical argument of the paper, which stipulates that in exploring the developments in the Caspian region both realist and liberal theories of international relations should be applied in conjunction.

**Keywords:** Caspian Geopolitics, Oil Resources, US, China, Russia

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**Title:** The Possibility of Turkish Economic Cooperation and the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI),

## **Despite or Besides?**

**Abstract:** The Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is being observed carefully by many world capitals since it was launched in 2013. Ankara is among these capitals and curiosity of her is not only based on sociocultural and national background but also has strategic and economic dynamics. The BRI also attracts many academic studies and projects. Thus, this paper is designed to analyse to which extent an economic cooperation would be possible between Turkey and the Central Asian Republics of Turkish background (CARTs).

This paper is aimed at covering two parts. Based on a historical background, the first part is designed to give the current case of sociocultural and international relations between Turkey and CARTs. The cultural/ethnic identity and ties of Turkey and CARTs will constitute another angle of this part. The impact of Turkish nationalism will also be observed or revisited as far as its role on the issue concerned. Moreover, this part will include a special focus on Islam as an effective dynamic in the region.

The second part of this study will be based on current and projected economic relations and initiatives between Turkey and CARTs. This part will start with a brief historical background of the economic relations between the parties concerned, starting from 1923 onward, when the Turkish Republic was founded. CARTs under the Soviet regime and their socioeconomic conditions will be given in brief. Then the collapse of the Eastern Bloc and the changing status of these republics will be examined in regards of both political and socioeconomic developments. A special focus will be on the period of Turgut Ozal (1983-1993) in regards of his initiative moves on this issue. The political turmoil both Turkey and CARTs had gone through in 1990s and the recovery period within the first decade of the 21st century as well as new challenges will be over-viewed with a special focus on mutual economic relations in the following pages of this study. The position of regional actors will also be briefly mentioned within the context of the BRI in this study. Turkish state institutions like TIKA, YTB, MAARIF Foundation are also to be briefly examined as means of soft power of Turkey in her economic relations with CARTs in regards of the BRI of China. Within this context, the defence industry initiative of Turkey, as a mean to have close relations with CARTs, as in the recent example of the Karabagh conflict and Turkish involvement in the war between Azerbaijan and Armenia, will also be examined. The impact of this initiative will be examined within the economic relations of Turkey and CARTs.

The concluding part of this study will be given as far as our study and field work set forth a clearer view of the issue within the current developments in the region. By doing this, one hopes to give a brief set of works for future works and studies in the field.

**Keywords:** Belt and Road Initiative, Economic Cooperation, Turkish Republics, Conflict, Central Asia



## Panel 05

### Religion, Politics and IR Panel on the International Crisis in Ukraine

FRIDAY // 15 July 2022 // 15:00–16:30 // (York, BST)

**Authors Name:** Dr Peter Whitewood

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**Title:** **History: The Bolsheviks' Perceptions of Ukraine and Soviet Security, 1921-1928**

**Authors Name:** Dr Mark Dawson

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**Title:** **Philosophy and Ethics: Public Theology and the War in Ukraine**

**Authors Name:** Dr Ayla Gol

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**Title:** **Turkey's Position at NATO and Putin's War in Ukraine**

**Authors Name:** Professor Pauline Kollontai

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**Title:** **Israel's Geopolitical Response to Russia's Invasion of Ukraine**

**Authors Name:** Dr Victoria Nesfield

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**Title:** **Never Again, Again: History and the Question of Intervention**



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

## Panel 06

# Transboundary Issues in Eurasia: Migration and Pandemic

SATURDAY // 16 July 2022 // 10:15–16:45 // (York, BST)

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**Title:** Do Afghan Youth Think of Migrating to other Countries under the Taliban Regime?

**Abstract:** Migration of Afghans, particularly the young generation made headlines, when the Taliban took power in Afghanistan. Many countries including the USA, Germany, UK, Canada and Australia brought major changes in assessing documents of Afghan asylum seekers at risk. This paper studies the opinion of Afghan youth migrating under the Taliban regime. We surveyed 280 youth from the Balkh and Samangan provinces of Afghanistan. The respondents were selected using convenience and snow balling sampling strategies. The administrated questionnaire consisted of three main segments such as demographic characteristics, financial condition and migration. The findings expose that 91% of the respondents think of migrating to other countries. Furthermore, they confirmed insecurity, unemployment, dissatisfaction from the Taliban and exposing restrictions on women activities by the Taliban as the key drivers of their desire to emigrate. The majority of the youth surveyed (83%) consider regular migration channels in particular family reunion, study visa, humanitarian and labor visas. Even so, 17% of youth think of migrating through irregular channels. A significant proportion of the respondents (40%) selected Germany as a country of their destination among other options.

**Keywords:** Youth, Migration Factor, Migration Channel, Taliban Regime

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**Title:** Return Migration Trends in Kazakhstan: Implications on Society and Politics

**Abstract:** Return migration in Kazakhstan started post its independence from the Soviet Union when the nation, to increase the titular ethnic population, invited Kazakhs residing outside the country to settle in Kazakhstan by providing them with subsidies and benefits. Kazakhs were a minority themselves in Kazakhstan at the time of independence as the long reign of Tsars and Soviets brought vast numbers of European, Slavic and other Central Asian populations into the present-day Kazakhstan territory. However, the repatriates have increased the problems in country rather than fulfilling the state's objective of



building a nation with Kazakh culture and ideals. Othering the new Kazakh population (Oralmans) by the already residing ones and the differences in their cultures challenged the government's goals and impacted its society. The paper employs historical and analytical methods to explain the causal relationship between the independent variable 'return migration' and the dependent variable 'Kazakhstan's society and politics. The study relies on both primary and secondary data. The article attempted to explain how return migration in Kazakhstan affects society and politics and why it did not fulfil the government's ambition of building a nation based on Kazakh common culture. The proposition is based on the assumption that the lack of resources induced divide between the Kazakhs and acted as a push factor for Kazakhs to migrate to other nations in search of better opportunities. The study also assumes that it is impossible to revive traditional culture to its fullest in contemporary globalisation. The paper concludes that the two different Kazakh cultures in the nation are creating difficulty in forming a common Kazakh culture that both the groups could identify with, becoming a hurdle in the nation-building process. The gap is also mounting a divide in national politics where a sect favours bringing more Oralmans into the country, and another is against it. Poverty, fewer opportunities and lack of resources due to increased population are also caused by vast return migration.

**Keywords:** Return Migration, Eurasia, Nation building, Oralmans, Kazakh repatriates, Society, Politics of Kazakhstan

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**Title:** Iranian immigration channels to GCC countries during the last hundred years

**Abstract:** Throughout their millennial history, Iranian tribes have made fewer mass migrations. However, the occurrence of some events and evolutions in the present century, caused migration to become a pervasive and familiar phenomenon among Iranians. One of the largest migrations, in the last century and even throughout history, dates back to the late 19th century and continues to this day. People from the south, including parts of Khuzestan, Bushehr, Hormozgan and Fars, began migrating to rich Gcc countries. Of course, the intensity of these migrations is more in the south of Fars province and parts of Hormozgan. In addition, after the Islamic Revolution and the astonishing economic progress of the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf, the migration of Iranians became more widespread and now migration from all regions of Iran, especially metropolises, has been formed to these very prosperous countries of the world. This study, while examining the important immigration developments in the Gcc countries, will deal with the ups and downs of Iranian immigration to these countries. The method used in this research is library method and in-depth interview. In this study, it will be said that the first generation of immigrants to Arab countries are southern Iranians that the names of important cities and regions and their immigration destinations will be mentioned. In addition, many immigrants from the southern regions of Iran have gradually been able to become citizens of that Arab country, and now the migration wave from the southern regions has decreased. On the other hand, relations with other major cities in Iran are expanding.

**Keywords:** International migration, Iranians, GCC countries, Circular migration

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**Title:** Global Empire and the Pandemic: Is this the Victory of Biopolitical Imperialism?

**Abstract:** Since the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, we have been going through the scenes that Michel Foucault depicts in his lectures at the Collège de France. Biopolitics constitutes the quintessential

part of Foucault's lectures. While explaining biopolitics, Foucault highlights the alteration in power. Foucault claims that sovereign power, which builds its authority upon to kill, alters in the 17th and 18th century and starts paying attention to foster life. The state begins concentrating on the biological existence of individuals. Biopower/biopolitics focuses upon social welfare and the administration of life by considering the issues such as mortality, life expectancy, fertility, and other statistics about the population. In this respect, Foucault's discussion on biopolitics mostly pay attention to domestic politics. Yet some Foucauldian scholars, especially in the field of globalisation studies, extend the scope of Foucault's definitions about biopolitics. They demonstrate an international biopolitical order by applying biopolitics to global capitalism. This approach, however, is criticised harshly by others. According to the critics, applying Foucault's analysis of domestic politics to the international level is flawed. M.G.E Kelly, for example, describes today's international structure as 'biopolitical imperialism', rather than global biopolitics. The outbreak of the pandemic has also made several scholars to turn their attention to Foucault and his analysis on biopolitics. Nevertheless, these scholars miss scrutinising the issue of international/global biopolitics. This study aims to investigate how the pandemic strengthens the state-centred 'biopolitical imperialism'. For this purpose, the study analyses the outcomes of the pandemic on international/global biopolitics from a normative and theoretical perspective. With this analysis, the study also endorses the arguments made by the critiques of international/global biopolitics.

**Keywords:** Globalisation, Biopolitics, imperialism, Foucault, Pandemic

**Authors Name:** Assoc. Prof. Mustafa Serdar PALABIYIK

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**Title:** Ottoman Travellers Meet the Central Asian Turks: New Awakenings at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

**Abstract:** This paper intends to introduce the Ottoman travellers visiting Central Asia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and their travelogues on the region and its inhabitants, primarily of Turkic descent. The account of Central Asia by Ottoman travellers is notable for three reasons. First, it reveals how Turkish nationalism bolstered growing interest in Central Asian Turks in the late Ottoman Empire. Most of these travellers were agents of Ottoman governments sent to accomplish various political/military tasks against British, Russian, and Chinese colonial infiltration in Central Asia. They approached local Turkic people as their "first ethnic, then co-religionist brothers." This approach indicates that for the Ottomans visiting Central Asia, nationalism triumphed over religious brotherhood, although it did not deny the religious affiliations of the local people. Second, the Ottoman travelogues indicate how the Ottomans interpreted British, Russian, and Chinese encroachment into Central Asia and how the Ottoman travellers attempted to spark a new national consciousness in the region in response to this penetration. To "enlighten" their "fellow but ignorant" compatriots, Ottoman travellers created quasi-Orientalist rhetoric toward the country and its inhabitants in their travelogues. They praised the region's residents for their sagacity, intelligence, and hard labour, but they criticized them for their lack of an adequate education. Since Ottoman travellers viewed civilization as a learnable talent, they emphasized the importance of education to be considered civilized. In conclusion, the Ottoman travelogues on Central Asia are extremely important for comprehending (1) the origins of pan-Turkish nationalism in the Ottoman Empire and its effects on the region, (2) the Ottoman perception of the "Great Game," and (3) the Ottoman use of the concept of civilization as a lens through which to perceive the region and its inhabitants.

**Keywords:** Ottoman Empire, Travel Literature, Central Asia, Great Game, Civilization

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**Title:** What Should Be Done to Ensure a Better Post-COVID-19 Future? Focusing on the Universal Values and the International Cooperation

**Abstract:** This essay is based on interdisciplinary studies, particularly the literature survey on global governance and adult protection in English and Japanese. The scope of consideration is not limited to the national health policy but also general policies, including politics, the economy, employment, education, and people's lifestyle. The discussion is basically focused on Japan, but most of it would presumably find global application. The COVID-19 pandemic is examined to understand its most popular impacts, and certain conditions are set for the future. Japan has consistently lived after the Pacific War under the principles of freedom, democracy, human rights, the rule of law, and peace. All of these are believed to be universal values and do not change at all even with the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. It is unpredictable how much conflict between multiple powers will hinder economic globalization, and this is a serious key point. Given these challenges, the following five actions should be executed to ensure a better post-COVID-19 future: (1) Japan should participate in international research activities to envision a future society, (2) it is necessary for Japan to adopt a unique future concept to address declining birthrates, ageing populations, and social security reform and thus to contribute to, (3) a review of neoliberalism, which seeks to rely more on the functioning of the market, (4) construction of a society that can respond to societal risks, including the risk of infectious disease outbreak and natural disaster, and (5) political leadership and freedom of speech to deal with serious social risks should be championed. Particularly for the action (2) above, an idea of 'Japan Program for the Wellbeing of the Ageing Populations' is proposed, which will establish steady international cooperation under the concept of human security that may overcome the potential conflicts regarding the universal values between countries. Although the COVID-19 pandemic has led to a major social challenge, it will hopefully present a unique opportunity for resetting the future and leading discussions to activate that future.

**Keywords:** COVID-19 pandemic, universal values, ageing population, international cooperation



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

## Panel 07

### Central Asian States in Eurasian Politics

SATURDAY // 16 July 2022 // 13:15–14:45 // (York, BST)

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**Title:** Central Asian States and China's Silk Road Diplomacy

**Abstract:** With the independence of the Central Asian States, Silk Road again gained credence. In the post-Soviet period Central Asian States arranged their reintegration with the world along the lines of the antiquated Silk Road. Central Asian states' attempt to chart out their own foreign policy was coupled with other countries' desire to foster their own geopolitical, economic and security needs in the region. This was to reap economic, political, and cultural benefits for themselves as Silk Road was a vital part of the worldwide economy amid its prime. Great Powers and civilizations such as China, United States, European Union, and Russia continuously referred and appropriated very term 'Silk Road' in their foreign policy discourse. There was a conscious attempt to hide their geopolitical ambitions under the idea of Silk Road revival and connection. Highlighting such historical appropriation throughout the history, this paper will briefly discuss China's attempt to revive the Silk Road starting from 1990's to present with the special emphasis on Silk Road Economic Belt or Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) vis-à-vis Central Asia. It will also deal in length with the philosophical underpinnings of the Silk Road Diplomacy of Central Asia. Lastly, the paper attempts to chart out the major tenets of the China's Silk Road Diplomacy in the context of Central Asia. Revival of the Silk Road is not only what China claims it to be. Apart from economic globalization and cultural connection, it is an attempt of China to deal with its Xinjiang issue and the adversarial power in Central Asia. China strategically uses the term 'Silk Road' to frame its policies so that they become more acceptable and legitimate.

**Keywords:** Silk Road Diplomacy, Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), Economic Globalisation, Central Asian States

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**Title:** Sufi Schools and Turkish soft power in Central Asia

**Abstract:** This paper focuses about the Turkish attempt to acquire influence in Central Asia after the

dissolution of the Soviet Union. I argue that, for this this purpose, the Anatolian state has tried to exploit its common roots with some new-born states in the area and attempted to export there its model of relationship between state and Islam. Indeed Turkey, which lacked the economic resources boasted by Russia or China, in the '90s has tried to establish a friendly relationship with countries such as Kazakhstan or Uzbekistan basing on a common heritage and their similarities in religion, language and history. With this purpose, Ankara supported some local Sufi orders, which spread among Central Asia. These brotherhoods, with the backing of Turkish officials, settled in most of the new states through the creation of schools, dormitories and other educational services that allowed to the disadvantaged locals to get educated. For this reason, these communities and their structures were tolerated, or in some cases even praised, by the new republics' governments, which were not unaware of the latter's (or the Turkish) purposes.

In partial contrast with standard interpretations, I indeed argue that, besides their devotional aims, the Sufi brotherhoods cooperated with the Turkish government, which exploited their schools to teach and spread a new narration of its historical and cultural relationships with the new Central Asian states. Hence, I argue that Turkey's aim was to create a shared identity with the latter that would have favoured Ankara's penetration in the region. Furthermore, I argue that the involvement of the Turkish Sufi brotherhoods allowed to Turkey to attempt to export its model of state-controlled Islam in Central Asia. The aim was to contrast both the rising of religious radicalism and nationalisms, and thus to curb down two potential sources of instability that could have complicated the Turkish penetration in the region

**Keywords:** Turkey, Central Asia, Sufism, Schools, Soft Power, Culture

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**Title:** Ethical Dilemmas in Fieldwork in Central Asia

**Abstract:** Researchers face a myriad of barriers when conducting field research. Home institutions in Western countries often impose ethical standards based on Western cultures, norms, and laws. Country contexts in Central Asia dictate varying norms for collecting data, especially when involving foreigners and foreign institutions.

In this presentation I present an overview of 3 separate research projects related to ethics and fieldwork in Central Asia. The first project studied barriers researchers faced from imposition of Western Ethics Review Boards, from a survey. The second project focused on characteristics of a culturally appropriate informed consent process generated from interviews with Central Asian scholars trained at Western Universities. The third is a survey of current practices by researchers of Central Asia to compare with best practices.

Surveys with researchers revealed that most researchers had a positive view of the ethics review boards at their institutions, but often had to inform them of cultural issues of research in Eurasia. In surveys and interviews, Informed consent rose to the fore as the most problematic issue for researchers in the field. From interviews with Central Asian Scholars, informed consent should include working within a network, building relationships of trust with potential participants and not utilizing legal-type documentation as a basis for consent.

**Keywords:** Fieldwork, Ethics, Central Asia, Best Practices

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**Title:** Explosive Inheritance of Aggression: Armenia's Anti-Mine Obligations Under International Law

**Abstract:** In 2020 as a result of the Second Karabakh War Azerbaijan restored its territorial integrity over its internationally recognized territories that have been under Armenian military occupation during the three decades. After the signing of the Trilateral Statement by Azerbaijan, Russia and Armenia, that put an end to the Armenia-Azerbaijan Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, Azerbaijan has launched a long-awaited policy of reconstruction of its liberated lands and creation decent conditions for returning of internally displaced population to their homes.

This just emerging milestone page also promises to bring a durable peace and prosperity to the region of the South Caucasus, which the latter has been deprived as a result of the aggressive policy of Armenia. Among the upcoming steps in the post-conflict era is the unblockage of all economic and transport connections, inter alia through the implementation of an ambitious and budding “Zangezur Corridor” project that will create significant benefits not only for Azerbaijan, but also for all states within and even outside the region. Finally, the Trilateral Statement has an important role for the normalization of inter-state relations between Azerbaijan and Armenia, including setting of confidence building measures, as well as implementation of post-conflict rehabilitation and reconciliation policies.

However, today, when Azerbaijan starts the realization of the reached agreements, it faced with one more evidence of the reluctance of Armenian side regarding peace, security and cooperation in the post-conflict stage – deliberate and large-scale planting of landmines in the liberated territories of Azerbaijan. Thus, so far more than 200 people have been killed or injured by landmines and unexploded ordnances in blatant violation of international humanitarian and human rights law by Armenian side.

Constant denial of Armenian side to disclose the maps of mined areas in the liberated territories of Azerbaijan in violation of its international legal obligations aggravates the situation, risks to increase human casualties, and hence pose threat to security and cooperation in the region. It also undermines worldwide efforts under international humanitarian and human rights law, derived from the principles of humanity and the dictates of common conscience to create a peaceful world free of landmines.

The aim of this paper is to provide an overview of Armenian anti-mine obligations, including its responsibility for neutralization of the explosive remnants of the war and releasing of all mined areas maps, as well as analyse the issue of legal accountability of Armenia under international law for casualties among both military servants and civil population as a result of this crime. Hence, the author provides the analysis of the legal instruments for the mine action sector through the scrutiny of international humanitarian and human rights law mechanisms and standards.

**Keywords:** Second Karabakh War, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Peace, Security, Landmines

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**Title:** The Second Karabakh War: Victory of Multicultural Azerbaijani Nationalism?

**Abstract:** Multiculturalism emerged with the claim of the possibility of identities beyond national identity. Following the appearance of thoughts on multiculturalism, plenty of works relating to the context have appeared in the academic literature, nevertheless, nationalism managed to maintain its necessity for states. When looking at the relevant resources, it is seen that in his work “A Multicultural Nationalism?” Tariq Mood argues that nationalism or national identities do not disappear but transform. According to this theory, minorities like religious, ethnic, and others should be accepted as the founding element of national identities together with the majority.

When it comes to Azerbaijan, in the beginning, the unsuccessful Turkish model (Turkish nationalism or Turkism) was tried to apply for the construction of national identity in post-Soviet Azerbaijan. However, Azerbaijanism emerged as a more dominant ideology. Furthermore, taking into consideration cultural, ethnic, and religious minorities in the society, a multicultural policy has been implemented to the nationalism in Azerbaijan since 2014. In other words, the Azerbaijani government understood that the sovereignty of the state depends on the welfare of its all minorities together with the dominant ethnicity.

In this sense, the multicultural policy was preferred for the construction of inclusive national identity. So much so that Azerbaijan is considered to be at the forefront of the countries where Jews live most freely, except Israel. On the other hand, in the Second Karabakh War, the multiculturalist policy was decisive in achieving military and political victory. Therefore, the policy of multiculturalism gave birth to multicultural Azerbaijani nationalism. In the other words, Multicultural Azerbaijani nationalism was one of the determining factors in the victory in the Second Karabakh War. The aim of this paper is to find out the impact of multiculturalism and geography-based nationalism in the Second Karabakh War.

**Keywords:** Karabakh, War, Nationalism, Multiculturalism, Azerbaijan

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**Title:** Central Asian Transition

**Abstract:** The first country in Central Asia which faced the “transit” was Tajikistan in 1994 when the civil war started. The second country is Kyrgyzstan in 2005 because of the revolt. Turkmenistan became the third in 2006 due to the death of S. Niyazov. In Uzbekistan, the leader changed in 2017 also due to the death of its President Mr. Islam Karimov. Change of leadership in each country of Central Asian country had its own unique elements, but in the end, strong power somehow preserved.

In this regard, Kazakhstan case is also unique, because the change of the President took place voluntarily, and after it, the extraordinary presidential elections held in constitutional order. N.Nazarbayev in accordance with the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On the First President” retained a special status, which makes the “Kazakhstan version” of “transit” similar to the “Singaporean scenario”. In Singapore Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, after his resignation get the status of senior minister in the government of Goh Chok Tong and served as minister-mentor in the government of his son Lee Hsien Loong.

At the same time, N.Nazarbayev, in addition to the status of the First President, retained the post of lifetime Chairman of the Security Council, which significantly expands the range of his powers and political influence in everyday Kazakhstani life.

In this paper, a comparative analysis of the change of power in all Central Asian countries will be carried out, each country will be considered separately, and, as a result, both general trends and differences between the countries of Central Asia will be shown.

**Keywords:** Central Asia, Transition, Leadership, Change in Ruling

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**Title:** Free Media and Democracy: A Case Study of Kyrgyzstan

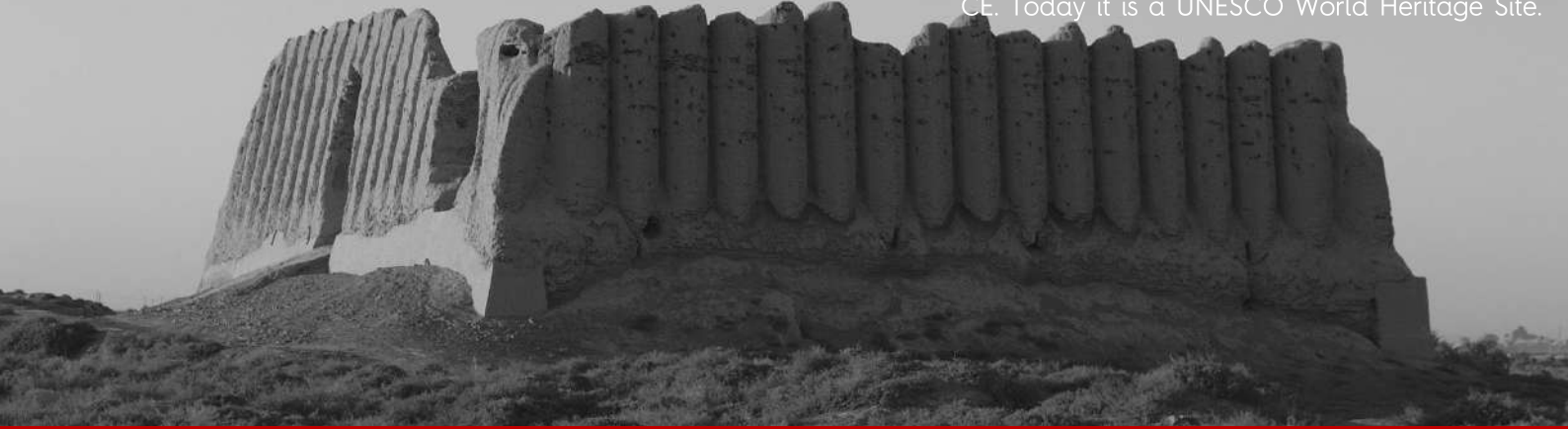
**Abstract:** Kyrgyzstan was the first among Central Asian countries to achieve democracy by adopting a parliamentary form of government. It is also considered to be the least subject to authoritarian tendencies. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Kyrgyzstan’s media enjoyed greater freedom as compared to other central Asian countries. Media is known as the fourth pillar of democracy. In the absence of freedom of expression, democracy cannot be imagined in the true sense. The notion of ‘Free media’ in a democracy implies that media should be free from any restrictions of the government to flow its ideas and culture to educate people of the respective society. Free and independent media plays a pivotal role in modern democratic society for strengthening its political and democratic processes. The constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic guarantees freedom of speech and prohibits criminal prosecution for free speech. Kyrgyzstan is praised for its relatively liberal approach toward the press, but due to control

over the press and political rights, it is also criticized in recent years. Although the Kyrgyz government had provided some positive moves for the media in the past, in recent times the government has introduced an extremely effective mechanism for restricting media by curbing subsidies on the other hand. Gradually, the open and independent media system fell under the inflexible governmental system of Kyrgyzstan. This paper examines how Kyrgyz Media freedom has been curbed by the severe restraints on non-governmental organizations, imposing criminal and civil suits against journalists and news organizations, harassment, and arrests of journalists, oppressive tax audits, a system of state-owned news outlets, and a government monopoly on newspaper printing presses. Independent media and opposition outlets were tightly controlled by the legitimacy, a legal method of government to suppress media. This paper further delves into how the democracy of Kyrgyzstan has failed to maintain media freedom even after it has experienced three revolutions since its independence. Although 30 years of democratic transitions have had a great impact on freedom of media in Kyrgyzstan, however, restrictions and censorship have weakened the role of media in promoting democratic culture in Kyrgyzstan. The study is based on analytical and descriptive methods of research, and it is a qualitative study. This research would follow the deductive method as it would make a generalized study that restraints on 'free media' affects the development of democracy and would apply in the context of Kyrgyzstan. The research is based on both primary and secondary sources. This paper assumes that the fragile economic situation in Kyrgyzstan has affected the media outlets, which received government subsidies to be loyal without any alternative. The study concludes with the measures taken by the Kyrgyz government in collaboration with international organizations to promote its democratic culture and free press, and it further provides suggestions to protect freedom of press and democracy in the country.

**Keywords:** Media, Democracy, Kyrgyzstan, Censorship, Journalists, and Government



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.



## Panel 08 | Parallel Session

### Rethinking Great Power Politics After Russia-Ukraine War

SATURDAY // 16 July 2022 // 15:00–16:30 // (York, BST)

**Authors Name:** Prof. Andrew K P Leung, SBS, FRSA

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**Title:** How the Ukrainian Crisis redefines Eurasian geopolitics in a changed world

**Abstract:** As the Ukrainian War unfolds, changing fortunes of President Putin's Russia, a super-sized continental nuclear power, are upending Eurasian and global geopolitics. Putin's hope for a quick victory is now forlorn, shifting to a strategy of prolonged attrition. Led by the United States, the West is doubling down on supplying higher-grade weaponry and military intelligence to the Ukrainians. Emboldened by Russia's apparent weakness, America is corralling Western allies in a sweeping campaign to sanction, isolate and ostracize Russia, aiming to weaken, if not topple, Putin. This outcome is expected to enable the United States to better deal with China, its only peer adversary. There is palpable glee that Putin's adventurism has spectacularly backfired. The Ukrainians have become much more united as a pro-West nation, applying to join the European Union. Europe is rallying behind the United States to oppose Russia. NATO unity is strengthening, with Finland and Sweden expecting to join. Meanwhile, faced with risks of robust sanctions and worldwide disapprobation, China has been put on the back foot, neither willing nor able to sever strong ties with Russia. Both countries have been pushed together by complementary economic and geopolitical interests as America's primary common enemies. However, America's crusade to segregate the world into opposing camps of autocracy and democracy does not appear to work. For all the talk of decoupling, U.S.-China trade swelled more than 20% in 2021. Foreign direct investment inflows to China rose by a third to an all-time high. 123 countries, including those in the European Union, have China as the largest trading partner, versus 57 for the United States. China has been entrenched at the heart of the global supply and value chain. Owing to huge differentials in costs and market potential, some US businesses prefer offshoring to embracing anti-China sanctions. Various US allies are hedging their bets, unwilling to commit to a binary choice against China. Despite a façade of solidarity, some European countries, Germany included, are heavily dependent on Russian energy. Diversification is unlikely to yield quick results, owing to cost and transportation considerations. Putin's prolonged attrition strategy is implicating the rest of Europe. Energy shortage and inflation fears are wrecking European economies and societies, not to mention millions of Ukrainian refugees. Broken supply chains have stoked US inflation fears, forcing the Fed to raise rates more aggressively. This would be bad for America's economy and mid-term elections. Ukraine has no qualms with China, its largest trading partner for agricultural and mineral products. When the war is eventually over, both a weakened Russia and a devastated Ukraine, along with the rest of Europe, are likely to welcome closer economic ties with China, including a renewed and possibly reformed Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The BRI bypasses US naval

choke points including the Malacca Strait, while Russia's agriculture is benefiting from warmer climates. BRI connectivity is also welcomed by commodity-rich but land-locked Central Asian countries. All told, following a traumatic interlude with the Ukraine War, Eurasian geopolitics are unlikely to remain the same again.

**Keywords:** Russia, Ukraine, Eurasia, US, China, Geopolitics

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**Title:** The Russia-Ukraine Conflict Beyond the Mainstream Narrative

**Abstract:** The Russia-Ukraine conflict erupted in February 2022 after the Kremlin recognized the independence of the breakaway popular republics of Donetsk and Luhansk. In the aftermath of the recognition of the sovereignty of these entities, the Russian armed forces invaded Ukraine under the justification of the demilitarization and denazification of the neighbouring country, as well as to bring to trial those who perpetrated numerous bloody crimes against civilians in the Donbass, including against Russian citizens. Soon after, the international community and the mainstream media began a worldwide campaign against the Russian military action, sympathizing with the government of Kiev.

Although Russia is well-known for its information capabilities—whether propaganda, disinformation, or counter-information—the Kremlin appears to have overestimated its ability to wage effective information operations or underestimated the impact of Western brainwashing on public opinion. In addition, the Ukrainian leadership has effectively managed to counter the grounds on which the Russian government has supported its "special military operation." Ukrainian President Zelensky gained the trust, sympathy, and solidarity of Western leaders, the media, and public opinion, presenting his country as the victim of an unjustified aggression. On the other hand, Russian President Putin, excluded from the public debate due to the European Union ban on Russian media, was perceived by the same audience as a gangster. Is this the whole truth, or is there something more beyond the mainstream narrative? This paper aims to offer a factual analysis and a different perspective from the mainstream narrative supported and spread by Western governments and biased media outlets.

**Keywords:** Russia, Ukraine, Information, Disinformation, Propaganda

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**Title:** Geopolitical Considerations of New European Spaceports

**Abstract:** In today's world, outer space is a relevant topic for discussion across all scientific disciplines, and political science is no exception. In the case of the geopolitics of space, it is a specific domain dealing with the geographical, physical, diplomatic, military, socio-economic, and environmental implications of space activities. From the founder of the field, Everett Dolman, to contemporary authors such as Bledwyn E. Bowen, John J. Klein and Eligar Sadeh, we have encountered the issue of the geographic position of spaceports in respect of their geopolitical effectiveness. The location of an individual spaceport should be chosen by considering a set of rules that help, for example, to save fuel, to place space objects in their intended orbit, or to ensure the safety of the space mission and people on Earth. Typically, this involves placing spaceports close to the equator to allow for rocket launches in an easterly direction to take advantage of the Earth's rotation to gain the necessary velocity to overcome the Earth's gravitational pull. The advantage of areas with higher altitudes or suitable meteorological conditions can also be mentioned, but this list needs to be enriched with some political considerations. The site of spaceports also needs to be examined regarding geographical accessibility, the presence of airspace of neighbouring states, and the

overall political stability in the region. In the course of the research, the aforementioned geopolitical theses will be applied to the potentially new European spaceports which will serve as alternative to conditions provided by the European Space Agency's spaceport located in South American French Guiana.

**Keywords:** Geopolitics, Outer Space, Spaceport, Europe

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**Title:** Post-Ukrainian world order: Russian geopolitics, Neo-Eurasianism and the emerging world order

**Abstract:** The Ukrainian conflict has paved the way to re-examine the geopolitical implications of Russian Neo-Eurasianism, which has challenged the Liberal International Order. The implications of such development will not remain confined to Europe as it will have global implications for Russia. Putin's renewed mission infused by re-strategizing Russian position in Eurasia coupled with cultural exceptionalism based on messianic identity is observable in recognition of Donbas and Luhansk as separate territories and the invasion of Ukraine. Putin's actions are in response to US's global retreat from three geopolitical regions, Eastern Europe, the Persian Gulf region, and Eastern Asia. The conflict has allowed the US to lead as an Atlanticist player and regain its loosening position in the international system. Therefore, following qualitative content analysis, the paper aims to examine whether Dugin's geopolitical model based on neo-Eurasianism by building alliances and restructuring regional institutions will observe major setbacks in post-Ukrainian conflict order or not? Consequently, the emerging environment is asking major powers in Europe to re-visit their defense budgets, also pushing the US pre-eminence back on track across Eurasia.

To analyse this proposition the paper is divided into five parts. The first part will conceptualize the concept of Neo-Eurasianism as per Alexander Dugin and its Eurasian perspective of Ukraine. The second part will analyse Dugin's geopolitical model and the relevance of Neo-Eurasianism in changing geopolitical behaviour of Russia since 1990s. The third part will analyse how the Russo-Ukraine war was long coming. The fourth part will analyse the response from the west and few other relevant actors as per Dugin's model. The fifth part will analyse the foreseeable implications for liberal world order lead by the US.

**Keywords:** Dugin, Neo-Eurasianism, Atlanticist, Russia, Ukraine, the US



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

## Panel 09 | Parallel Session

# Positioning Rising Powers into the Great Power Politics: Turkey

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**Title:** Did Russia lost influence in Black Sea Region? Great powers competition in regional security complex

**Abstract:** Nowadays, international relations experts agree that a relatively small number of states are to blame for disputes over regional rivalry, as permanent source of turbulence in the international environment. Nevertheless, this is the case for Black Sea area, as well.

The Black Sea Region's international role and place were defined by optimism during the 1990s and early 2000s. Since then, it seems that the region has been surrounded by a gradually deteriorating security environment and, furthermore, the global distribution of power and uncertainty about the future shape of the international political order are making it even more complicated.

The author believes that the 2014 annexation of Crimea changed fundamentally the security architecture of the region. Therefore, the paper will analysis how this geographically are becoming the region of the contemporary rivalry between the great powers, such as United States, European Union, China and Russia.

**Keywords:** Great Powers, Rivalry, Black Sea, Regional Politics

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**Title:** The Turkish Agenda for Connectivity in Central Asia: Presence, Influence and Geopolitical Interests

**Abstract:**

The aim of this paper is to analyse the impact of Turkey's presence, influence and geopolitical interests in Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan). This study will serve as a basis to understand the scope of the Turkish agenda for connectivity throughout the region and how it works with respect to Turkey's interests in Central Asia. Turkish regional policy initiatives in Central Asia

are based in two topics: infrastructure connectivity and its own economic development. In this regard, The Turkish connectivity project in Eurasia, the Middle or Central Corridor, which goes through Georgia, Azerbaijan and the Caspian Sea would complement and increase the advantages provided by the Chinese BRI.

This research will also serve to compare other powers' influence approach in Central Asia and to analyse the coherence of Turkey's Foreign Policy in this region. The relevance of this research paper is clear due to Central Asia has a key role in terms of geopolitics. This region is increasingly attracting the attention and interest of more powers because of its huge geopolitical implications. By now, research-based evidence shows that Turkey is just one of the powers trying to influence in the region and that this fact will not change in the coming years.

The author will use primary and secondary sources to design and develop this research paper. On one hand, primary sources are related to documentary resources, legal documents, official strategies and political statements from Turkish or Central Asian national institutions. Secondary sources are referred to research papers, articles, policy briefs and reports from several institutions, international organizations or think tanks of scientific reference, such as the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions.

**Keywords:** Turkish Foreign Policy, Turkish Connectivity Agenda in Central Asia, Geopolitics, Influence

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**Title:** Different Dimensions of CAATSA Sanctions: The case of Turkey and India

**Abstract:** The USA has recently shaped its foreign policy by considering its engagement policies while following a foreign policy on strengthening and diversifying cooperation with its allies. In this context, the USA can also change its sanctions strategy to change the decision-making behaviour of its interlocutors when there are situations that contradict its foreign policies. Therefore, these policies followed by the USA also have a basis that can be given as an example of the dilemmas of the USA's foreign policy in theory and practice. In this context, it is seen that "Countering America's Adversaries Through Act (CAATSA)" has a power that closely concerns the USA's world politics and public opinion. Because this law not only leaves states such as Russia and Iran, which it identifies as adversary states, open to first degree sanctions, but it can also suppress factual and legal persons of third countries that have close military relations with these countries through secondary sanctions.

Turkey's acquisition of the S-400 Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAM) system from Russia was accepted as an essential strategic transaction with Russia within the scope of CAATSA. It resulted in applying CAATSA sanctions to those involved in realizing these transactions. Likewise, India's recent aspirations for the S-400 system have also brought the implementation of CAATSA sanctions to India. The recent increase in cooperation between the USA and India within the scope of the formation of QUAD, the typical security policies pursued in the region and such a high technology transfer have been described as risky steps to improve the relations of the allied states with the adversary states of the USA, and the risk of India being exposed to CAATSA sanctions has been raised.

In the context of all these developments, Turkey's and India's purchase of the S-400 also shapes the bilateral dimension of CAATSA sanctions and various foreign policy steps related to the USA's following further sanctions and strategies in the context of security strategies, with various practices.

**Keywords:** S-400, CAATSA, India, Turkey, USA

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**Title: Eurasia and the Energy Security of European Union**

**Abstract:** Eurasia's geopolitical significance increases when one thinks about the importance of diversification of resources for consumer countries, and the EU is the single largest market for exporting goods and services. In this respect, Southern Gas Corridor, which goes from Azerbaijan to the EU, strengthens the latter's energy security. Moreover, it will lower the dependency of the EU against the Russian Federation. The pipeline is also feasible for hydrogen supply in line with the European green deal and potential emission tax system.

This paper discusses that Eurasia offers sustainable access to energy sources at affordable prices for the EU. The article also claims that a potential peace-building process between Azerbaijan and Armenia drove by the EU can even increase the fruitfulness of future projects. However, one cannot ignore Russia's influence since such developments can reduce its energy exports. When one critically evaluates the latest developments in Ukraine, Turkey's geopolitical location between the producers and the market and the potential pipeline routes in seem to be the most feasible way to strengthen the EU's energy security.

**Keywords:** Eurasia, European Union, Energy Security, Southern Gas Corridor, Hydrogen



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

## Panel 10

# Non-Traditional Security Issues in Eurasia

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**Title: Securitisation of Religion in Education? The Case of Toledo Guiding Principles**

**Abstract:** In recent years, there has been a lively debate about the securitisation of religion in education in religious education literature. Different authors often adopt normative positions on the issue, some arguing that religious education, which is a subject that deals with religion(s) (and non-religious worldviews) in primary and secondary schools, is hijacked by the securitising actor, which puts religious education in danger of losing its long-standing and core role as a subject which deals with existential, metaphysical and theological dimension of eternal life and the pursuit of truth.

In this paper, I explore the Toledo Guiding Principles on Teacher about Religions and Beliefs in Public Schools, which is published by a security organisation, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). This document is chosen because it is often presented as “the clearest exemplar” of the securitisation of religion in education by some critics. I argue that when the term “securitisation” is used in religious education literature, it is important to make use of the secularisation theory, and especially its key concepts such as the securitizing actor, the referent subject, the referent object, the audience and the context and the adoption of distinctive policies (whether they are exceptional and rule breaking or not), to understand whether religion is securitised in religious education, though, it should be noted that, the securitisation theory is not uniform, as there are differences among its proponents. Analysing this key document, I explore if, why and how religion is securitised in education, as well as the effects of this process on religious education. The initial findings suggest that this document pleads for a place for religious education in state school. Moreover, religious education postulated and imagined in this key document differs markedly from traditional religious education which aims at increasing pupils’ religious commitment. It is tasked with two concomitant duties: information and integration. However, it is doubtful that the document demands the right to take extraordinary countermeasures to deal with “the threat”.

**Keywords:** Religious Education, Securitisation, Toledo Guiding Principles

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**Title:** India's Policy towards the Ukraine War in the Framework of the Regional Security Complex Theory

**Abstract:** In the face of Russia's war in Ukraine, India's national interests have pushed New Delhi into a position of official neutrality that balances its foreign policy priorities. India's response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine differed significantly from major democracies around the world and its strategic partners, primarily the United States. Although disgruntled by Moscow's war, New Delhi adopted a neutral stance towards Russia. Therefore, the attitude of India, the world's largest democracy, towards the Ukraine war has been disappointing in the democratic world. New Delhi's failure to identify Russia as the aggressor party disappointed the Washington administration, her close ally in the Indo-Pacific region. Its abstention in the consecutive votes of the UN Security Council, the General Assembly and the Human Rights Council, which condemned Russia's aggression in Ukraine, revealed India's neutrality in this crisis. India's neutrality has raised the issue of whether it marks a sharp split between Washington and New Delhi on a fundamental issue of the global order, namely the legitimacy of using force to change borders and occupy another nation's territory through a blatant war of conquest. This demonstrates the inconsistency of India's determination to maintain the rules-based order in the Indo-Pacific compared to that in Europe, at a time when its largest international partners, both economic and strategic, are united in their determination to punish Russia.

New Delhi's neutrality, expressing a subtle pro-Moscow position, points to a paradox in the existing order of alliances. Because while India cooperates closely with the US against the increasing Chinese power in the Indo-Pacific, it adopted a policy incompatible with the US against Russian aggression in Eastern Europe. This paradox in New Delhi's position can be explained by the country's perceptions of imminent threats and material interests. Perception of imminent threat and material interests caused India to be tolerant towards Russia. Seeking a balance in great power politics, India has neither identified Russia as the perpetrator of the war nor justified Russia (as China has) as a victim of NATO expansion. Subrahmanyam Jaishankar, India's Minister of Foreign Affairs, made a veiled criticism of Russian actions in his speech in parliament on the Ukraine war, reiterating India's stance that the global order is dependent on respect for international law, the UN Charter and the territorial integrity and sovereignty of states. However, while India tried to express its displeasure at Russia's actions in this way, it still refused to openly condemn Moscow.

India's neutrality in the Ukraine war is mainly due to its concerns over China and Pakistan. While New Delhi sees both of these states as immediate and enduring threats, it believes Moscow can materially assist in its competition with these countries. India's continued dependence on Russia for military equipment prevents New Delhi from opposing Moscow in any way. New Delhi is currently dependent on Moscow for the spare parts and support needed to maintain its large inventory of Russian-origin military equipment. For New Delhi, an aggressive Russia is a problem for the United States and the West, not for India. Similarly, NATO expansion is Russia's problem, not India's. India's problem is China. India needs both the United States and Russia to deal with the China problem. Therefore, New Delhi aimed to secure Russia's support too for this cause, as it believed that the US would help containing China for its own interests. In this context, this study aims to explain the paradoxical policies of India in two regions (Europe and Indo-Pacific) with the assumptions of the Regional security complex theory.

**Keywords:** India, Russian War on Ukraine, the U.S., China, Balancing Policy

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**Title:** Gender & Human Security: Review of Policies and Practices in Empowering Women in Pakistan

**Abstract:** There exist significant gender disparities in Pakistan. It is ranked almost at the bottom of the Gender Gap Index (World Economic Forum, 2020). As indicated in UN Human Development Report (2019) in Pakistan, women's participation in the labour force is very low (25%) compared to men (82%).



Furthermore, women had less secondary-school education (26.7%) than men (47.3%) (World Bank 2020). Low educational opportunities and poor educational achievement cause low empowerment among women. The numbers show us that women's empowerment becomes an existential socio-economic issue to be tackled. Almost half of Pakistan's population is made up of women; thus, empowering them will positively affect the nation's socio-economic development. In this context, the government of Pakistan has launched some targeted actions and commitments such as the National Policy of Development and Empowerment of Women, Protection against Harassment of Women at Workplace Act, Criminal Law to include offenses in the name or pretext of honour and offenses relating to rape. There are also local commitments to adopt Gender Equality Policy Frameworks and Women's Empowerment Packages and Initiatives (UNWomen-Pakistan nd.). More recently, Pakistan Vision 2025 is included five components of women's empowerment into its objectives: (1) promoting women's self-worth, (2) women's right to determine their choices, (3) women's access to opportunities and resources, (4) women's right and power to control their lives and (5) their ability to influence social change. In this study, Pakistan's targeted actions and commitments for women's empowerment will be analysed through the theoretical framework developed by Abbas et al. (2021). Abbas et al.'s framework encompasses four determinants of women empowerment (demographic, economic, social, and information-exposure factors) and two significant dimensions (decision-making and ownership). For the analysis, relevant policy papers, reports of the Women's Commission in Pakistan, UNFPA, UN Women, and relevant statistical data will be used. The analysis will also identify multi-sectoral coordination mechanisms among national and provincial authorities, non-governmental organizations, and the UN agencies to promote women empowerment and gender equality. It is believed that such a detailed analysis will inform policy, advocacy, and interventions at both national and provincial levels to empower women and girls in Pakistan.

**Keywords:** Gender, Human Security, Women Empowering, Pakistan

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**Title:** Ethical-Normative Collectivity and Transnational Advocacy Networks in IR: An Everyday Practice Approach

**Abstract:** In the International Relations literature, it is discussed whether the modern, territorial state continues to exist at the point of being a moral-normative unity. In this context, many authors have set out to research and theorize moral-normative collectives outside the state. In this context, non-state organizations and social movements are increasingly included in their moral-normative collective approach. The Transnational Advocacy Networks literature based on the work of Keck and Sikkink is also promising in this context, as these networks include international and domestic NGOs, research and advocacy networks, local social movements, foundations, media, church, trade unions, consumer organizations and intellectuals. However, in this literature, it is frequently encountered that a Waltzian Neorealist level understanding of the state and system is adopted instead of individuals and collectives. Postmodern thought, feminist approaches, and Critical Social Theory have shown how ideas of nation and community are based on practices of exclusion and marginalization. In this context, the need for a new methodological opening arises spontaneously from the eyes of collectives and individuals who have become the object of exclusion and marginalization practices. In other words, the introspectiveness of critical theory should also be applied to studies methodologically. Thus, a perspective should be developed over certain subjects -especially disadvantaged groups- instead of the god view in the relevant literature. Because, as has emerged in Marxist and feminist literature with reference to Chris Brown, it should be acknowledged that the oppressed are better equipped than the oppressors to understand the nature of social relations. In this context, this literature should be discussed in close contact with people and occasionally their theorizing attempts involved in movements such as labour movements, feminist and women's rights movements, LGBT-Q movements, environmental movements, movements for local community rights. Doing so will not only contribute to the clarification of the subjects of national and

transnational movements, but also enable social change. As a result, in order to analyse transnational movements as a potential moral-normative collective form, the daily practices of the subjects who take part in those movements as activists also gain importance. Thus, this study relates moral-normative collective understandings in critical IR studies with transnational advocacy network alongside social movements literature and proposes some methodological expansions regarding the relevant body of works.

**Keywords:** Transnational Advocacy, Social Movements, Ethical-Normative Collectivity

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**Title:** The Role of the Cultural Systems in the Eurasia Region, and its Effect on Regional Security Problems

**Abstract:** Security problems of states and regions analysing in several methods which include mainstream theories and a few new approaches. But poverty, environmental degradation, repression of essential human rights, and other direct security threat to the lives of human beings require more comprehensive approaches and different dimensions to understand the real problem or to develop discipline.

Although identity approaches in security analysis are increasing, studies on cultural systems that include the interaction of identity with geography are not developed enough.

In addition, the fact that cultural systems encompass several countries and regions sometimes renders approaches such as the regional security complex insufficient. Therefore, security analyses based on cultural systems require a more eclectic approach. The fact that the root causes of both traditional and non-traditional security problems of the Eurasian region will be affected by cultural systems can be accepted as a priory knowledge. Because constructivist and critical approaches lead to such a result theoretically. However, case or field studies revealing this rationality are still very insufficient. So, this article aims to draw a theoretical framework in order to create a resource for the studies to be carried out in this direction.

The main thesis of the article is that the Altai culture, as a phenomenon that should not be ignored in the regional security analysis, affects the traditional and non-traditional security problems of the Eurasian region positively or negatively, and that approaches such as regional security theory have overlapping and non-overlapping aspects with the cultural systems of the region.

For this, the article is based on a descriptive synthesis that uses a theoretical basis explaining cultural systems and the definitions of regions made by the regional security complex theory together and finally includes solution suggestions.

The Eurasian region is an important and remarkable region for the future of the international system, as it includes the rising powers of the international arena. As a matter of fact, the security problems of this region have a power that goes beyond the region. An accurate definition, classification and conceptualization are important in order to solve security problems as much as possible. The Eurasian region is a very difficult region to study in terms of containing several strong cultural systems. These cultural systems include three major central cultural systems, Indic, Sinik, and Altaic, and a strong neighbour system, such as the Persian and system. These systems sometimes overlap with the security complexes developed by Buzan et al., and sometimes cover several regions. For this reason, in this study, the impact of intersecting regions and cultural systems is mentioned.

**Keywords:** Cultural system, regional security, Eurasia, Indic system, Sinic System, Altaic System

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**Title:** Human Security in Central Asia and the COVID-19 crisis

**Abstract:** The Covid-19 pandemic has had a severe impact on many regions, including Central Asia where it has also undermined human security by worsening what was already a fragile humanitarian situation. This research aims to discern the common factors causing human insecurity in Central Asia during the Covid-19 crisis. Economic, political, and cultural factors are identified to cast light on the reasons for the predicament of Central Asia. In addition, policy options are examined with a view to remedying the structural deficiencies of Central Asian nations in the post-Covid era.

**Keywords:** Human Security, Central Asia, Covid-19

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