



2017 // Fourteenth annual session

media:



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Warsaw East European Conference

2017



2017 // Fourteenth annual session

EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

vis-à-vis

GLOBAL CHALLENGES



Programme

University of Warsaw

July 10-13, 2017

Warsaw, Poland

WARSAW EAST EUROPEAN CONFERENCE

University of Warsaw July 10-13, 2017

THE CONFERENCE WILL BE HELD IN THE BUILDING OF THE OLD LIBRARY (STARA BIBLIOTEKA)

Monday, July 10

11:00 AM OPENING CEREMONY

Keynote Speech - **MATTHEW BRYZA**
*Shaking the Foundation:
the Trump Administration and NATO's East.*

Monday, July 10, 4:00 p.m.

Round Table I
REGIONAL SECURITY

Tuesday, July 11, 4 p.m.

Round Table II
CEE ON THE NEW SILK ROAD
ISRAEL/MIDDLE EAST AND CEE/POLAND

Wednesday, July 12, 4 p.m.

Round Table III
ISRAEL/MIDDLE EAST AND CEE/POLAND

Thursday, July 13

4:00 PM CLOSING CEREMONY
Closing Lecture – **DANIEL FRIED**
Defending the Free World

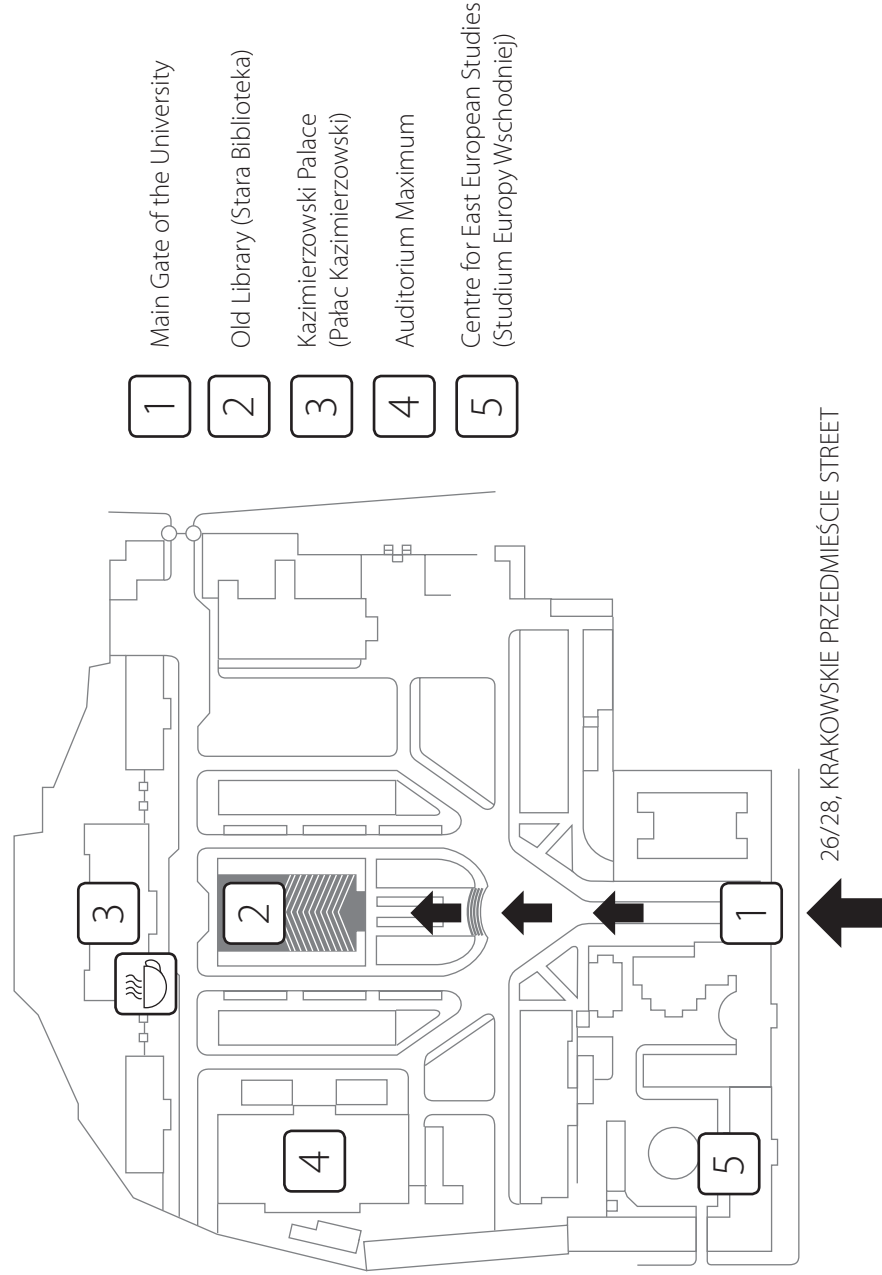
DAY 1 – Monday – July 10
11:00 a.m. OPENING CEREMONY
12:30 p.m.-2:30 p.m. Session I
4:00 p.m. **ROUND TABLE I**
6:30 p.m. WEEC SPECIAL MEETING I

DAY 2 – Tuesday – July 11
10:00 a.m.-12:00 a.m. Session I
12:30 p.m.-2:30 p.m. Session II
4:00 p.m. **ROUND TABLE II**
6:30 p.m. WEEC GEORGIAN EVENING

DAY 3 – Wednesday – July 12
10:00 a.m.-12:00 a.m. Session I
12:30 p.m. WEEC SPECIAL MEETING II
4:00 p.m. **ROUND TABLE III**

DAY 4 – Thursday – July 13
10:00 a.m.-12:00 a.m. Session I
12:30 p.m. WEEC SPECIAL MEETING III
4:00 p.m. CLOSING CEREMONY

University of Warsaw – Main Campus





Warsaw
East
European
Conference

2017 // Fourteenth annual session

EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

vis-à-vis

GLOBAL CHALLENGES



Programme

University of Warsaw
July 10-13, 2016
Warsaw, Poland

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CENTRE FOR EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

(Studium Europy Wschodniej UW)

Conference Organising Committee:

Maciej Duszczyk, Vice-Rector for Research and International Relations,
University of Warsaw

Jan Malicki, Director of the Centre for East European Studies

Conference Programme Committee:

John S. Micgiel – Conference Director and Visiting Professor at the Centre
for East European Studies, University of Warsaw

Jan Malicki – Director of the Centre for East European Studies

Wiktoria Ross – Secretary of the WEEC Organizing Committee,
lecturer at the Centre

Conference Staff:

Alexander Skydan – Conference Coordinator

Jerzy Malicki – Conference Secretary
and

Iurii Tkachuk, Piotr Elwertowski – Conference Organizing Assistance

Technical Assistance:

Michał Żukowski – Internet registration system

Zbigniew Jusis, Robert Sobociński – program printing

Hubert Karasiewicz – program layout&design



From
Jan Malicki

*director of the Centre
for East European
Studies*

This July marks the fourteenth anniversary of the Warsaw East European Conference, the largest annual meeting in the region focusing on Eastern and Central Europe, the Caucasus, and Eurasia. The theme of this year's meeting is East Central Europe vis-à-vis Global Challenges and features a four-day program with nearly 100 speakers from 15 countries.

The conference will begin with opening remarks by Professor Krzysztof Szczerski, Chief of the Cabinet of the President of Poland, and those of former U.S. Ambassador to Azerbaijan Matthew Bryza. All interested in the subject of statehood and nationalism will have the opportunity to participate in a special meeting with prominent Czech historian Miroslav Hroch. Former Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs and former U.S. Ambassador to Poland Daniel Fried will offer closing remarks.

Three Round Tables will take place during the conference. Regional Security issues will be debated during the

First Round Table, co-organized with the George C. Marshall Center. The Second Round Table, "East Central Europe on the New Silk Road", is organized in cooperation with the Center of Asian Affairs of the University of Łódź and will be dedicated to the relations between Central and Eastern Europe and China. During the Third Round Table speakers will discuss relations between Central and Eastern Europe and the Middle East.

In cooperation with the George C. Marshall Center, a discussion will focus on "Germany's New Partners: Bilateral Security Relations of Europe's Reluctant Leader". Polish and Ukrainian scholars will flesh out contemporary relations between the two nations and prospects for cooperation. Finally, a Georgian cultural evening will feature a screening of Pirosmiani (1969, dir. Georgiy Shengelaya) followed by a discussion.

Sixteen panels will discuss: EU Policy towards the Black Sea Region; Security, Borders and Regional Conflict in East



From
John S. Micgiel

*Conference Director
and Visiting Professor
at the Centre for East
European Studies,
University of Warsaw*

Central Europe; Hybrid Aggression and Cyber Security; the Caucasus; Transformations in East Central Europe; Russia and its Neighbors; the EU and East Central Europe; Challenges Policy Challenges for East European Countries; East Central European Foreign Policy Towards Russia; Religion, Identity and Politics; Restoring Ukraine; Transforma-

tion of Political Systems and Historical Memory; Natural Resources as a Policy Tool; Belarus between East and West; and Propaganda.

The 2017 WEEC organizing team wishes all participants fruitful discussions, great opportunities for networking, and a very pleasant time at the University of Warsaw.

Dr. John S. Micgiel
Conference Director

Dr. h.c., Jan Malicki, Director of the
Centre for East European Studies

WARSAW EAST EUROPEAN CONFERENCE

University of Warsaw

July 10 – 13, 2017

GENERAL PROGRAMME

MONDAY, JULY 10 - DAY 1				
Registration: 9:00 AM - 2:30 PM The hall of the old library				
11:00 AM – 12:00 PM		12:30 PM – 2:30 PM	2:30 PM – 4:00 PM LUNCH BREAK	
OPENING CEREMONY KEYNOTE SPEECH – MATTHEW BRYZA SHAKING THE FOUNDATION: THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION AND NATO'S EAST.	Room 111	1. EU Policy toward the Black Sea Region	ROUND TABLE I REGIONAL SECURITY	
	Room 116	2. Security, Borders and Regional Conflict in East Central Europe		
	Room 211	3. Hybrid Aggression and Cyber Security		
6:30 PM – 9:00 PM Old Library, Main Auditorium	WEEC SPECIAL MEETING I GERMANY'S NEW PARTNERS: BILATERAL SECURITY RELATIONS OF EUROPE'S RELUCTANT LEADER			
9:00 PM	RECEPTION			

TUESDAY, JULY 11 - DAY 2					
Registration: 9:00 AM - 2:30 PM The Hall OfThe Old Library					
	10:00 AM – 12:00 PM	12:30 PM – 2:30 PM	2:30 PM – 4:00 PM LUNCH BREAK		4:00 PM – 6:00 PM Old Library, Main Auditorium
Room 111	4. The Caucasus	8. The European Union and East Central Europe	ROUND TABLE II CEE ON THE NEW SILK ROAD		
Room 116	5. Transformation in East Central Europe	9. Challenges for the Security Policy of the Eastern European Countries			
Room 211	6. Russia and its Neighbours	10. East Central European Foreign Policy towards Russia			
Room 216	7. Restoring Ukraine	11. Propaganda			
6:30 PM – 8:00 PM			WEEC GEORGIAN EVENING FOLLOWED BY GEORGIAN RECEPTION		

WEDNESDAY, JULY 12 - DAY 3					
Registration: 9:00 AM - 2:30 PM The hall of the old library					
	11:00 AM – 12:00 PM	12:30 PM – 2:30 PM	2:30 PM – 4:00 PM LUNCH BREAK		4:00 PM – 6:00 PM Old Library, Main Auditorium
Room 111	12. Transformation of Political Systems and Historical Memory	WEEC SPECIAL MEETING II What's new in Polish-Ukrainian relations		ROUND TABLE III ISRAEL/MIDDLE EAST AND CEE/POLAND	
Room 116	13. Hybrid Aggression				
Room 211	14. Belarus between East and West				
6:00 PM		RECEPTION			

THURSDAY, JULY 13 - DAY 4				
Registration: 9:00 AM - 2:30 PM The hall of the old library				
	10:00 AM – 12:00 PM	12:30 PM – 2:30 PM		4:00 PM – 6:00 PM
Room 111	15. Natural Resources as a Policy Tool	WEEC SPECIAL MEETING III with MIROSLAV HROCH (Professor Emeritus, Charles University, Prague)		2:30 PM – 4:00 PM LUNCH BREAK
Room 116	16. Religion, Identity and Politics			
6:00 PM		RECEPTION		
CLOSING CEREMONY CLOSING LECTURE – DANIEL FRIED <i>DEFENDING THE FREE WORLD</i>				



**CENTRE FOR
EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES**
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

OPENING CEREMONY

Day 1 – Monday – July 10

11:00 a.m.

Welcome by:

John S. Micgiel – Conference Director
(Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw)

Jan Malicki (director, Centre for East European Studies,
University of Warsaw)

Maciej Duszczyk (Vice-Rector for Research
and International Relations, University of Warsaw)

Opening Lecture - KRZYSZTOF SZCZERSKI
(Chief of the Cabinet of the President of Poland)

Keynote Speech - MATTHEW BRYZA (Jamestown
Foundation / f. U.S. Ambassador to Azerbaijan)
***Shaking the Foundation: the Trump Administration
and NATO's East.***



University of Warsaw
July 10-13, 2017
Warsaw, Poland

DAY 1 – Monday – July 10

11:00 a.m.

Opening Lecture
KRZYSZTOF SZCZERSKI

(Chief of the Cabinet of the President of Poland)



Krzysztof Szczerski, PhD, Secretary of State, Chief of the Cabinet of the President, associate professor at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. In years 2007-2008, Mr. Szczerski was Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in the Office of the Committee for European Integration. He was a member of the Civil Service Council to the Prime Minister (2009-2010) and a deputy to the Sejm (2011-2015). In January 2015, he became the representative of the Polish Parliament in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

DAY 1 – Monday – July 10

11:00 a.m.

Keynote Speech
MATTHEW BRYZA

(Jamestown Foundation / f. U.S. Ambassador to Azerbaijan)

***Shaking the Foundation:
the Trump Administration and NATO's East.***



Matthew James Bryza, BA, MA, is a board member of the Jamestown Foundation, diplomat, former U.S. Ambassador to Azerbaijan, international relations expert and a consultant on business and democratic development. Bryza's expertise extends to energy security, international security, Nordic-Baltic security, religious extremism, Transatlantic relations, US foreign policy and US-Turkey relations. He has vast knowledge about the Caucasus, Central Europe, and Turkey.

MONDAY, JULY 10 - DAY 1					
Registration: 9:00 AM - 2:30 PM The hall of the old library					
11:00 AM – 12:00 PM		12:30 PM – 2:30 PM	2:30 PM – 4:00 PM LUNCH BREAK		4:00 PM – 6:00 PM Old Library, Main Auditorium
OPENING CEREMONY KEYNOTE SPEECH – MATTHEW BRYZA <i>SHAKING THE FOUNDATION: THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION AND NATO'S EAST.</i>	Room 111	1. EU Policy toward the Black Sea Region	ROUND TABLE I REGIONAL SECURITY		
	Room 116	2. Security, Borders and Regional Conflict in East Central Europe			
	Room 211	3. Hybrid Aggression and Cyber Security			
6:30 PM – 9:00 PM Old Library, Main Auditorium	WEEC SPECIAL MEETING I GERMANY'S NEW PARTNERS: BILATERAL SECURITY RELATIONS OF EUROPE'S RELUCTANT LEADER				
9:00 PM	RECEPTION				

MONDAY – DAY 1, JULY 10

Schedule

9:00 AM – 2:30 PM	Registration Location: The hall of the old library
11:00 AM – 12:00 PM	Opening Ceremony Opening Lecture – KRZYSZTOF SZCZERSKI <i>(Chief of the Cabinet of the President of Poland)</i> Keynote Speech – MATTHEW BRYZA <i>(Jamestown Foundation / f. U.S. Ambassador to Azerbaijan)</i> Shaking the Foundation: the Trump Administration and NATO's East.
12:30 PM – 2:30 PM	Session I
2:30 PM – 4:00 PM	Lunch Break
4:00 PM – 6:00 PM	Round Table I REGIONAL SECURITY
9:00 PM	Reception

SESSION I - 12:30 PM - 2:30 PM

1. EU POLICY TOWARD THE BLACK SEA REGION

CHAIR: BŘETISLAV DANČÁK (CZECH REPUBLIC)

MASARYK UNIVERSITY, BRNO

PARTICIPANTS: PHIKRIA ASANISHVILI (GEORGIA)

TBILISI STATE UNIVERSITY

EU BLACK SEA POLICY AND THE IMPORTANCE OF GEORGIA: DOES GEORGIA STILL MATTER?

EVMORFIA CHRYSOVALANTOU SEITI (GREECE)

UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

EU FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS THE BLACK SEA REGION - SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES WITH EU POLICY TOWARDS THE MEDITERRANEAN

KONRAD OLGIERD ZASZTOWT (POLAND)

UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

TURKEY AND EAST CENTRAL EUROPE: PRAGMATISM, MISPERCEPTION OR CLASH OF INTERESTS?

JAVID VALIYEV (AZERBAIJAN)

CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES UNDER THE PRESIDENT OF AZERBAIJAN, BAKU

AZERBAIJAN-GEORGIA-TURKEY TRIANGLE: IMPACT ON REGIONAL SECURITY

2. SECURITY, BORDERS AND REGIONAL CONFLICT IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

CHAIR: AGNIESZKA LEGUCKA (POLAND)

THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, WARSAW

PARTICIPANTS: JAN HOLZER (CZECH REPUBLIC)

MASARYK UNIVERSITY, BRNO

RUSSIA AS A SECURITY ISSUE: A CZECH REFLECTION

KAKHABER KALICHAHA (GEORGIA)

IVANE JAVAKHISHVILI TBILISI STATE UNIVERSITY

BETWEEN KOSOVO AND GEORGIAN BREAKAWAY REGIONS' CONFLICTS. ANALYSIS OF THE DIFFERENTIAL ASPECTS OF THESE CONFLICTS IN THE POST-SOVIET SPACE

DEMBINSKA MAGDALENA (CANADA)

UNIVERSITY OF MONTREAL

THE MOLDOVAN (IN)DIVISIBLE TERRITORY: DISPUTED (?) HISTORIOGRAPHY OVER TRANSNISTRIA

3. HYBRID AGGRESSION AND CYBER SECURITY

CHAIR: MATTHEW RHODES (UNITED STATES)

GEORGE C. MARSHALL EUROPEAN CENTER FOR SECURITY STUDIES, GARMISCH-PARTENKIRCHEN

PARTICIPANTS: SERGEJ KOZLOV (LITHUANIA)

VYTAUTAS MAGNUS UNIVERSITY, KAUNAS

THE CYBER SECURITY DISCOURSE IN LITHUANIA

YEVHEN KUTSENKO (UKRAINE)

CHARLES UNIVERSITY, PRAGUE

**HYBRID WAR ACTIVITIES OF RUSSIAN INTELLIGENCE
SERVICES ABROAD: THE CASE OF UKRAINE**

YULIIA TURCHENKO (UKRAINE)

TARAS SHEVCHENKO NATIONAL UNIVERSITY, KYIV

**IDENTIFYING THE LEVEL OF NEGATIVE INFORMATION AND
PSYCHOLOGICAL INFLUENCE ON UKRAINIAN MILITARY
PERSONNEL**

MYKOLA RIABCHUK (UKRAINE)

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF UKRAINE, KYIV

**EXAMINED BY WAR. NEW BONDS AND OLD CLEAVAGES IN
THE POST-MAIDAN UKRAINIAN SOCIETY**

DISCUSSANT:

ANDRIS SPRŪDS (LATVIA)

LATVIAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, RIGA



**CENTRE FOR
EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES**
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

ROUND TABLE I

Day 1 – Monday – July 10
4:00 PM

REGIONAL SECURITY

CO-ORGANIZED WITH THE GEORGE C. MARSHALL CENTER

Moderators: John S. Micgiel



John S. Micgiel, Former lecturer on international relations at Columbia University, former director of the Institute of East Central Europe and deputy director of the Harriman Institute. Former president and executive director of the Kościuszko Foundation in New York. Recurring visiting professor of the University of Warsaw's Centre for East European Studies and the Estonian Diplomatic School. His area of academic interest encompasses contemporary history and current policy of the countries of East Central Europe.



Matthew Rhodes (US), PhD, professor of National Security Studies at the George C. Marshall Center, former assistant professor of strategy and international security at the U.S. Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama and assistant professor in the department of political science at Central College, Pella, Iowa. He was an Academic Mentor in the Jan Hus Foundation at Palacky University, Olomouc, Czech Republic. His interests have focused on U.S. foreign and security policy, transatlantic relations, and Central and Southeast European security issues.



Graeme P. Herd (UK), PhD, professor of Transnational Security Studies at the George

C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies and founding Director of the School of Government and Associate Dean in the Faculty of Business, Plymouth University. He was a founder of Centre for Seapower and Strategy at the Britannia Royal Naval Academy, Dartmouth.



Pál Dunay (HU), PhD, Professor of NATO and European Security Issues at the George C. Marshall Center. Previously he served as

Senior Researcher at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). In 2007, he reopened and directed the Hungarian Institute of International Affairs. In the years 2014 – 2015, he was Director of the Organization for Security Cooperation in Europe's Academy in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. His research interests have focused on various issues of European security with an emphasis on East-central Europe and Eastern Europe, Central Asia, the OSCE, the legality of the use of force, and integration and disintegration in the post-Soviet space.



Tomasz Kowalik, (PL), col., PhD, Polish Ministry of Defense, Special Assistant to the Chairman of the North Atlantic Treaty Or-

ganisation's Military Committee.





**CENTRE FOR
EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES**
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW



DAY 1 – Monday – July 10

6:30 p.m.

WEEC SPECIAL MEETING I

and Marshall Center Poland Alumni Outreach Networking Event:

Germany's New Partners: Bilateral Security Relations of Europe's Reluctant LeaderRegional Security

co-organized with George C. Marshall Center



Matthew Rhodes (US)
– bio on page 20.



Graeme P. Herd (UK)
– bio on page 20.



Pál Dunay (HU)
– bio on page 20.



Michał Baranowski, director of GMF's Warsaw office, where he focuses on transatlantic relations, U.S. foreign policy, and the relations between the United States and Central and East-

ern Europe (CEE). Prior to helping launch the Warsaw office, he served at GMF's headquarters in Washington, DC, where he developed GMF's programming in Poland and CEE. Before that posting, Baranowski worked in GMF's Brussels office, where he focused on the EU and U.S. policy toward Ukraine and Georgia, and where he also established the Young Transatlantic Network.

He has published in *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Rzeczpospolita*, the *Warsaw Business Journal*, the *Kyiv Post*, and GMF's *Transatlantic Take* series. He is a member of the advisory council of the Institute for Western Affairs in Poznań, Poland. He holds a master's of European public affairs from Maastricht University, and has studied at Mercer University in the United States and the University of Oxford.

TUESDAY, JULY 11 - DAY 2				
Registration: 9:00 AM - 2:30 PM The Hall Of The Old Library				
	10:00 AM – 12:00 PM	12:30 PM – 2:30 PM	2:30 PM – 4:00 PM LUNCH BREAK	
Room 111	4. The Caucasus	8. The European Union and East Central Europe	ROUND TABLE II CEE ON THE NEW SILK ROAD	
Room 116	5. Transformation in East Central Europe	9. Challenges for the Security Policy of the Eastern European Countries		
Room 211	6. Russia and its Neighbours	10. East Central European Foreign Policy towards Russia		
Room 216	7. Restoring Ukraine	11. Propaganda		
6:30 PM – 8:00 PM		WEEC GEORGIAN EVENING FOLLOWED BY GEORGIAN RECEPTION		

TUESDAY – DAY 2, JULY 11

Schedule

9:00 AM – 2:30 PM	Registration Location: The Hall of the Old Library
10:00 AM – 12:00 PM	Session I
12:30 PM – 2:30 PM	Session II
2:30 PM – 4:00 PM	Lunch Break
4:00 PM – 6:00 PM	Round Table II CEE ON THE NEW SILK ROAD
6:30 PM	WEEC GEORGIAN EVENING
8:00 PM	Georgian reception

SESSION I - 10:00 AM - 12:00 PM

4. THE CAUCASUS

CHAIR: DAVID KOLBAIA (POLAND)
*UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW, CENTRE FOR EAST EUROPEAN
STUDIES*

PARTICIPANTS: AYDAN ER (TURKEY)
UNIVERSITY OF BOLOGNA, FORLÌ
**THE IMPACT OF THE IRANIAN NUCLEAR DEAL
ON GEOPOLITICS OF THE SOUTH CAUCASUS**

HAMED KAZEMZADEH (POLAND)
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW
**SOFT POWER IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS: NEIGHBORING
INFLUENCES**

DISCUSSANT: KONRAD OLGIERD ZASZTOWT (POLAND)
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

5. TRANSFORMATION IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

CHAIR: PAWEŁ KOWAL (POLAND)
POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, WARSAW

PARTICIPANTS: OLGA BRUSYLOVSKA (UKRAINE)
ODESSA I.I. MECHNIKOV NATIONAL UNIVERSITY
**THE IDEOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH-EASTERN
EUROPE AFTER 2004**

OLGA MAKSYMOWYCH (UKRAINE)

*VASYL STEFANYK PRECARPATHIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY,
IVANO-FRANKIVSK*

**VALUE ORIENTATIONS AND SOCIAL STATUS ASPIRATIONS
FRONTIER TEENAGERS IN EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE**

ŁUKASZ KUTYŁO (POLAND)

UNIVERSITY OF ŁÓDŹ

**POST-FEUDAL CULTURE AND ITS IMPACT ON ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT IN EASTERN EUROPE**

STANISŁAW MUSIAŁ (POLAND)

POLISH NAVAL ACADEMY, GDYNIA

DAWID PIWOWARCZYK (POLAND)

GDYNIA MARITIME UNIVERSITY

**POLAND - POLAND - A COUNTRY OPEN AND FRIENDLY TO
MIGRANTS?**

DISCUSSANT: **ŁUKASZ JASINA (POLAND)**

THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, WARSAW

6. RUSSIA AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

CHAIR: WITOLD RODKIEWICZ (POLAND)
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW, CENTRE FOR EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

PARTICIPANTS: BARTOSZ CHMIELEWSKI (POLAND)
WAR STUDIES UNIVERSITY, WARSAW
TOOLS AND GOALS OF RUSSIAN SOFT POWER IN LITHUANIA

VASYL MYKHAILYSHYN (UKRAINE)
HELMUT-SCHMIDT-UNIVERSITY, HAMBURG
THE AMBIVALENCE OF RUSSIAN MILITARY MODERNISATION (2008-2020)

TEIMURAZ PAPASKIRI (GEORGIA)
IVANE JAVAKHISHVILI TBILISI STATE UNIVERSITY
FAKE HISTORY AS A TOOL OF RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA

ROMAN BÄCKER (POLAND)
NICOLAUS COPERNICUS UNIVERSITY, TORUŃ
REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA 2017?

DISCUSSANT: ALEXANDER SMOLJANSKI (GERMANY)
INTEGRUM WORLD WIDE, BERLIN

7. RESTORING UKRAINE

CHAIR: MYKOLA RIABCHUK (UKRAINE)
NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF UKRAINE, KYIV

PARTICIPANTS: **OLENA PODOLIAN (UKRAINE)**
SÖDERTÖRN UNIVERSITY, STOCKHOLM
**THE CHALLENGE OF “STATENESS” IN POST-SOVIET
DEMOCRATISATION: RE-EVALUATING EXTERNAL LINKS IN
ESTONIA AND UKRAINE**

DMYTRO VOLODIN (UKRAINE)
GRADUATE SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH, WARSAW
**DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY AS A METHOD TO INCREASE
TRUST IN LOCAL POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS - THE CASE OF
PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING IN UKRAINE**

NATALIA YAKOVENKO (UKRAINE)
TARAS SHEVCHENKO NATIONAL UNIVERSITY, KYIV
UKRAINE’S “SOFT POWER” DIPLOMACY

ROMAN ZHEBCHUK (UKRAINE)
CHERNIVTSI NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

YURIY KLAPKIV (UKRAINE)
TERNOPIL NATIONAL ECONOMIC UNIVERSITY, TERNOPOL
**PARTICIPATORY MANAGEMENT OF CITY DEVELOPMENT:
POLISH EXPERIENCE AND UKRAINE’S PROSPECTS**

SESSION II - 12:30 PM - 2:30 PM

8. THE EUROPEAN UNION AND EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

CHAIR: **ROMAN BÄCKER (POLAND)**
NICOLAUS COPERNICUS UNIVERSITY, TORUŃ

PARTICIPANTS: **ANDRZEJ TURKOWSKI (POLAND)**

UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

**ILLIBERAL OR ANTI-CORE? POLISH CONSERVATIVES AND
DISCOURSES ON FOREIGN POLICY FROM THE CORE-
PERIPHERY PERSPECTIVE**

BARBARA CURYŁO (POLAND)

OPOLE UNIVERSITY

EU DIPLOMACY TOWARDS NON-EU EASTERN COUNTRIES

LAURA VALERIA GHEORGHIU (ROMANIA)

UNIVERSITY OF GRAZ

REVISITING THE PROJECT OF (EAST) CENTRAL EUROPE

**9. CHALLENGES FOR THE SECURITY POLICY OF THE EASTERN EUROPEAN
COUNTRIES**

CHAIR: **AGNIESZKA LEGUCKA (POLAND)**

THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, WARSAW

PARTICIPANTS: **ANDRIY KARAKUTS (UKRAINE)**

NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES, KYIV

**THE DYNAMICS OF CONFLICT IN DONBAS: SOCIO-
ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DIMENSIONS**

ANNA DYNER (POLAND)

POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, WARSAW

**BETWEEN RUSSIA AND NATO - BELARUSIAN SECURITY
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NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES, KYIV

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DAVID CADIER (FRANCE)

POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, WARSAW

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DANIEL SZELIGOWSKI (POLAND)

POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, WARSAW

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MASARYK UNIVERSITY, BRNO

10. EAST CENTRAL EUROPEAN FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS RUSSIA

CHAIR: LESZEK ZASZTOWT (POLAND)

*UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW, CENTRE FOR EAST EUROPEAN
STUDIES*

PARTICIPANTS: MARIJUŠ ANTONOVIČ (LITHUANIA)

VILNIUS UNIVERSITY

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UNIVERSITY OF TARTU

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CHOICE: MIGRATION AND DIVERGENT ATTITUDES OF
HUNGARIAN AND ESTONIAN FAR RIGHT POLITICAL
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PAWEŁ KOWAL (POLAND)

POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, WARSAW

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DISCUSSANT: ANDRIS SPRŪDS (LATVIA)

LATVIAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, RIGA

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SANTA CLARA UNIVERSITY

PARTICIPANTS: ALEXANDER SMOLJANSKI (GERMANY)

INTEGRUM WORLD WIDE, BERLIN

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FRANCISAK VIACORKA (BELARUS)

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON D.C.

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WAR STUDIES UNIVERSITY, WARSAW
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DISCUSSANT: **KAZIMIERZ WÓYCICKI (POLAND)**
*UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW, CENTRE FOR EAST EUROPEAN
STUDIES*

ROUND TABLE II

Day 2 – Tuesday – July 11
4:00 PM

CEE ON THE NEW SILK ROAD

CO-ORGANIZED WITH THE CENTER FOR ASIAN AFFAIRS
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ŁÓDŹ

Moderator: Bogdan Góralczyk



Bogdan Góralczyk, director of the Centre for Europe at the University of Warsaw; former Ambassador of the Republic of Poland in Thailand, Republic of the Philippines and Myanmar (former Birma). He was the head of the Cabinet of the Minister of Foreign Affairs (2001-2003). Since 2016 editor-in-chief of the CE UW Publishing Program. Góralczyk is the author of many books and dozens of academic papers. He has given academic related presentations at many universities and research institutes all over the world – from Budapest, Granada or Riga, to New Delhi, Taipei in Taiwan or Beijing and Xiamen in the PRC.



Bartosz Kowalski, assistant professor at the Center for Asian Affairs of the University of Lodz. His research focuses on social and political development of Western China and Sino-Central European relations. Kowalski was a participant in numerous research workshops including the University of Oslo and Nanjing University; he has research experience in the PRC and Taiwan. Since 2014 he is engaged in the research grant "Ideas and Identity in China's Foreign Policy". Member of the training project on Polish-Chinese public diplomacy for local governments and business institutions financed by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs; co-author of "Guide to Cooperation with Chinese Local Authorities".

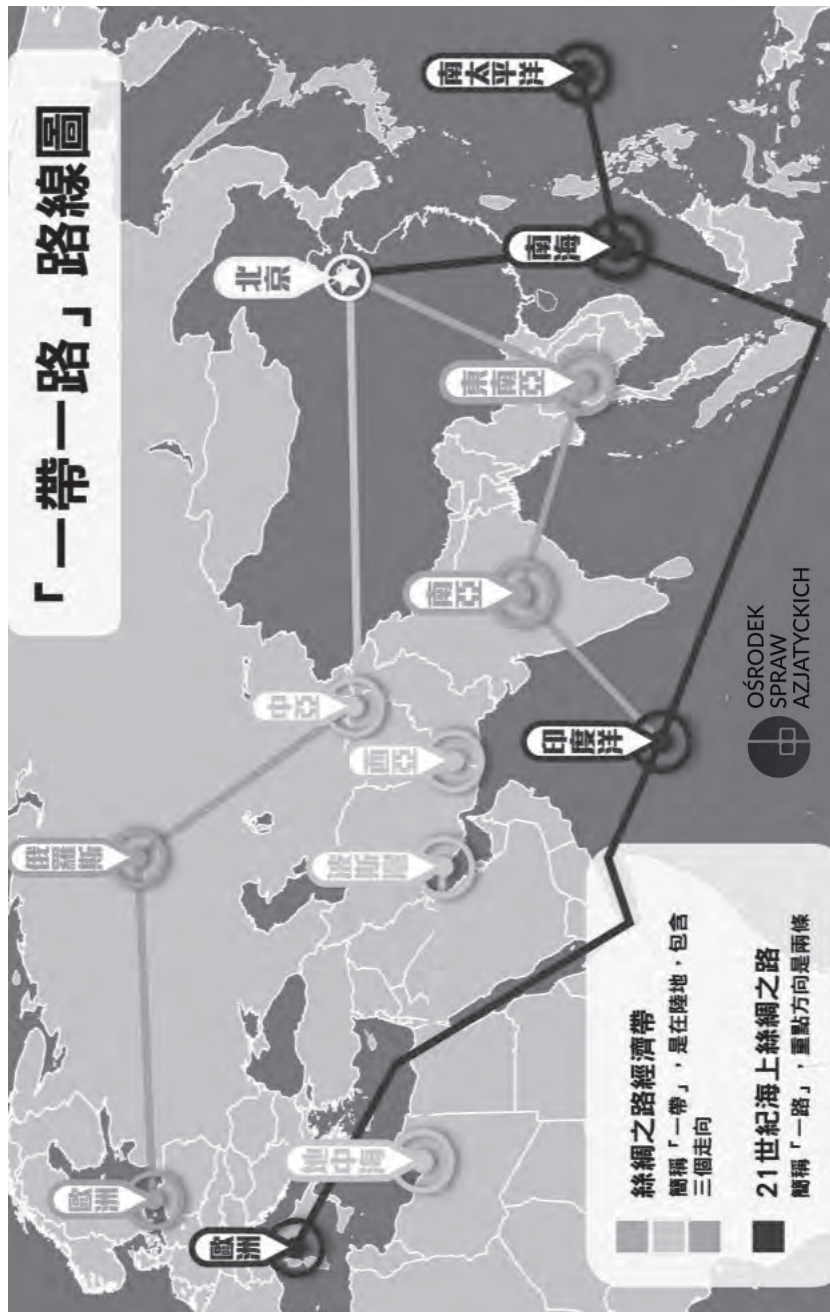


Wang Yizhou, professor, Deputy Dean of the Institute of International Relations, School of International Studies (SIS), Peking University. Former deputy director of the Institute of World Economics and Policy (IWEPP) at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) and former editor-in-chief of the monthly *World Economics and Politics*. Prof. Wang's research focuses on international relations, China's foreign policy and the theory of international relations.



Richard Q. Turcsányi, Deputy Director of the Institute of Asian Studies in Bratislava, Editor-in-Chief of the Global Politics Journal in Brno, academic teacher at Masaryk University, Brno. Turcsányi teaches courses on current East Asia, Chinese Foreign Policy and theories of international relations. In the past he conducted research or study stays at National Chengchi University in Taipei, European Institute for Asian Studies in Brussels, Peking University, and LPU University in Indian Punjab.

「一帶一路」路線圖



Day 2 – Tuesday – July 11

6:30 PM

WEEC

GEORGIAN EVENING

PIROSMANI (1969, DIR. GEORGIY SHENGELAYA, 81 MIN.)

FILM PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

Pirosmani – is a 1969 Georgian biographical art-drama film directed by Giorgi Shengelaia, about the Georgian primitivist painter Niko Pirosmani (1862–1918) who posthumously rose to prominence.

PROGRAM OF THE EVENT:

6:30 P.M. – 6:40 P.M.	WELCOME SPEECH BY GEORGIAN AMBASSADOR TO POLAND – MR. ILIA DARCHIASHVILI ON POLISH-GEORGIAN RELATIONS
6:40 P.M. – 6:45 P.M.	SPEECH BY DR DAVID KOLBAIA, CENTRE FOR EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW
6:45 P.M. – 8:00 P.M.	<i>PIROSMANI</i> FILM SCREENING
8:00 P.M. – 8:30 P.M.	GEORGIAN RECEPTION WITH WINE AND SNACKS



oviético en colores dirección: georgui shenguelaia con:

PIROSMANI



WEDNESDAY, JULY 12 - DAY 3					
Registration: 9:00 AM - 2:30 PM The hall of the old library					
	11:00 AM – 12:00 PM		12:30 PM – 2:30 PM		4:00 PM – 6:00 PM Old Library, Main Auditorium
Room 111	12. Transformation of Political Systems and Historical Memory		WEEC SPECIAL MEETING II What's new in Polish-Ukrainian relations		2:30 PM – 4:00 PM LUNCH BREAK
Room 116	13. Hybrid Aggression				
Room 211	14. Belarus between East and West				
6:00 PM			RECEPTION		

WEDNESDAY – DAY 3, JULY 12

Schedule

9:00 AM – 2:30 PM	Registration Location: The hall of the old library
10:00 AM – 12:00 PM	Session I
12:30 PM – 2:30 PM	WEEC SPECIAL MEETING I What's new in Polish-Ukrainian relations
2:30 PM – 4:00 PM	Lunch Break
4:30 PM – 6:00 PM	Round Table III ISRAEL/MIDDLE EAST AND CEE/POLAND
6:00 PM	Reception



**CENTRE FOR
EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES**
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

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ENTITLED:

WHAT'S LEFT OF THE SOVIET UNION

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: PAWEŁ KOWAL

DEPUTY EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: JOHN S. MICGIEL

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SESSION I - 10:00 AM - 12:00 PM

12. TRANSFORMATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND HISTORICAL MEMORY

CHAIR: ADAM REICHARDT (POLAND)

NEW EASTERN EUROPE, KRAKÓW

PARTICIPANTS: KAMIL GLINKA (POLAND)

UNIVERSITY OF WROCLAW

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DISCUSSANT: LAURENCE WEINBAUM (ISRAEL)

ISRAEL COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, JERUSALEM

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CHAIR: KAZIMIERZ WÓYCICKI (POLAND)
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW, CENTRE FOR EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

PARTICIPANTS: YEVHEN MAHDA (UKRAINE)
NATIONAL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY OF UKRAINE, KYIV
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VIKTOR MATVIYENKO (UKRAINE)
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V.N.KARAZIN KHARKIV NATIONAL UNIVERSITY
POWER-SHARING AS A PEACE-BUILDING SOLUTION FOR UKRAINE

DISCUSSANT: MYKOLA RIABCHUK (UKRAINE)
NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF UKRAINE, KYIV

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CHAIR: ALIAKSANDR KRAUTSEVICH (BELARUS)
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW, CENTRE FOR BELARUSIAN STUDIES

PARTICIPANTS: ANDREJ CZARNIAKEWICZ (BELARUS)
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW, CENTRE FOR BELARUSIAN STUDIES
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UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW, CENTRE FOR BELARUSIAN STUDIES

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IGAR KUZMINICZ (BELARUS)

UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW, CENTRE FOR BELARUSIAN STUDIES

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HENADZ SAHANOWICZ (BELARUS)

UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW, CENTRE FOR BELARUSIAN STUDIES

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UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW, CENTRE FOR BELARUSIAN STUDIES

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UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW, CENTRE FOR BELARUSIAN STUDIES

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UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW, CENTRE FOR BELARUSIAN STUDIES

DEPOPULATION OF THE BELARUSIAN PROVINCE IN THE EARLY 21ST CENTURY



DAY 3 – Wednesday – July 12

12:30 p.m.

WEEC SPECIAL MEETING II

What's new in Polish-Ukrainian relations

co-organized with the Polish-Ukrainian Partnership Forum

Moderators: Jan Malicki and Vitaly Portnikov



Jan Malicki, – Director of the Centre for East European Studies of the University of Warsaw. A member of the first underground editorial board of the underground journal *Obóz* (1981), then later its editor-in-chief (1982), he was founder and head of the underground Institute of Eastern Europe (1983-1985); founder and chief editor of the quarterly *Przegląd Wschodni* (from 1991); cofounder (1990), and later, director of the Centre for East European Studies, author of the Eastern Studies program, coordinator of government and university scholarship programs for the East; director of the

Konstanty Kalinowski Polish government scholarship (since 2006) and permanent deputy chairman of the "Consortium of Ukrainian Universities and the University of Warsaw". Chairman of the Polish-Ukrainian Partnership Forum inaugurated in January 2017, in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland.



Vitaly Portnikov, ukrainian editor and journalist, editor-in-chief and president of TVi channel. In 2013 Portnikov was one of the organiser of the Euromaidan demonstrations.

ROUND TABLE III

Day 3 – Wednesday – July 12
4:00 PM

ISRAEL/MIDDLE EAST AND CEE/POLAND

Moderator: Laurence Weinbaum



Laurence Weinbaum, director of the Israel Council on Foreign Relations which operates under the auspices of the World Jewish Congress, founder and editor-in-chief of The Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs. He has written and lectured widely on Polish-Jewish relations. His latest book (co-authored with Dariusz Libionka) is *Bohaterowie, hochsztaplerzy, opisywacze - Wokół Żydowskiego Związku Wojskowego*.



Piotr Puchta, Director of the Department of Africa and the Middle East in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 1996 to 2001 he held the post of Deputy Ambassador of the Republic of Poland in Israel. In 2009, Puchta was nominated for the position of Ambassador of the Republic of Poland to Egypt, Eritrea and Sudan. Puchta is an expert in Middle Eastern issues and Polish-Israeli relations.



Agnieszka Magdziak – Miszewska, former Ambassador of the Republic of Poland to Israel, Polish literary philologist, teatrologist, journalist and diplomat. In the 1980s she was head of section in monthly *Więź*. Following this, she was director of the independent Centre for International Studies in Warsaw. Magdziak – Miszewska was also deputy Ambassador and plenipotentiary for the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Moscow, former adviser for Polish-Jewish relations in the Prime Minister's Office and adviser to the Minister of National Defence.



Bogdan Grzełoński - Professor, former Polish Ambassador to Canada. His research focuses on history of the United States and the relations between East-Central Europe and the U.S. Currently he is a professor at the Law Department at the SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities in Warsaw.



THURSDAY, JULY 13 - DAY 4				
Registration: 9:00 AM - 2:30 PM The hall of the old library				
	10:00 AM – 12:00 PM	12:30 PM – 2:30 PM		4:00 PM – 6:00 PM
Room 111	15. Natural Resources as a Policy Tool	WEEC SPECIAL MEETING III with MIROSLAV HROCH (Professor Emeritus, Charles University, Prague)		2:30 PM – 4:00 PM LUNCH BREAK
Room 116	16. Religion, Identity and Politics			
6:00 PM		RECEPTION		
CLOSING CEREMONY CLOSING LECTURE – DANIEL FRIED <i>DEFENDING THE FREE WORLD</i>				



THURSDAY – DAY 4, JULY 13

Schedule

9:00 AM – 12:30 PM	Registration Location: The hall of the old library
11:00 AM – 12:00 PM	Session I
12:30 PM – 2:30 PM	WEEC SPECIAL MEETING III with MIROSLAV HROCH
2:30 PM – 4:00 PM	Lunch Break
4:00 PM – 6:00 PM	Closing Ceremony: <i>Closing Lecture – DANIEL FRIED</i> <i>(f. Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs / f. U.S. Ambassador to Poland)</i> <i>Defending the Free World</i>
6:00 PM	Farewell Reception

SESSION I - 10:00 AM - 12:00 PM

15. NATURAL RESOURCES AS A POLICY TOOL

CHAIR: TOMASZ KNOTHE (POLAND)
*UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW, CENTRE FOR EAST EUROPEAN
STUDIES*

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POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, WARSAW
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MASARYK UNIVERSITY, BRNO
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DISCUSSANT: LUDWIKA WŁODEK (POLAND)
*UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW, CENTRE FOR EAST EUROPEAN
STUDIES*

16. RELIGION, IDENTITY AND POLITICS

CHAIR: JANE CURRY (UNITED STATES)
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PARTICIPANTS: GALYNA BABAK (CZECH REPUBLIC)
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DAWID TATARCZYK (POLAND)
WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY, KALAMAZOO
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DAY 4 – Thursday – July 13

12:30 p.m.

WEEC SPECIAL MEETING III

with MIROSLAV HROCH

(Professor Emeritus, Charles University, Prague)

Miroslav Hroch, PhD, professor emeritus at the Charles University in Prague, visiting professor at many universities around the world (e.g. Saarbrücken, Los Angeles, Florence), Czech historian and political theorist. Hroch has earned international academic renown for his works about the formation and evolution of the national movements of Central and Eastern European nations. He has significantly contributed to the establishment of comparative history as a research field in East-Central Europe.

CLOSING CEREMONY

DAY 4 – Thursday – July 13

4:30 p.m.

CLOSING LECTURE

Daniel Fried

(f. Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs / f. U.S. Ambassador to Poland)

ENTITLED:

DEFENDING THE FREE WORLD



Daniel Fried, BA, MA, diplomat, former top U.S. diplomat in Europe, National Security Council director for Presidents Bill Clinton and George H.W. Bush, former U.S. Ambassador to Poland, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs. He served as a Special Envoy to facilitate the closing of the Guantanamo Bay detention camp. He is a Distinguished Fellow at the Future Europe Initiative and the Dinu Patriciu Eurasia Center at the Atlantic Council.

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EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

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UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

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The Centre for East European Studies University of Warsaw

The Centre for East European Studies University of Warsaw (CEES UW) was established in 1990. It derives from the circles around the underground journal "Obóz", created in 1981. The second foundation of the CEES was the Underground Institute of Eastern Europe, established in 1983.

Since 1992 the Centre organizes an annual East European Summer School. In October 1998 MA "Eastern Studies" were inaugurated. They were designed as multidisciplinary studies comprising East-Central Europe, the Balkans, Russia, Caucasus and Central Asia. Subsequently the Centre opened "Postgraduate Eastern Studies" (2000) and BA "Eastern Studies" (2012).

An important form of the Centre's activity are its academic conferences concerning the most important problems in the region. The biggest and most well known are: the Warsaw East European Conference, the Kartvelological Sessions in memory of St. Grigol Peradze and the Promethean Conference.

The Centre publishes numerous academic books and journals, such as: "Obóz", "Przegląd Wschodni", "Pro Georgia", "Nowy Prometeusz", "Warsaw East European Review" and the online "Biuletyn Informacyjny Studium".

One of the CEES goals is to educate young students, academics and specialists from post-Soviet countries. Therefore it coordinates numerous scholarship programs towards the East - The Konstanty Kalinowski Scholarship Program, the Scholarship Program for Young Academicians, the Lane Kirkland Scholarship Program, the Lew Sapieha Award, the Ivan Wyhowski Award, and the Krzysztof Skubiszewski Scholarship Program.

Since 2006 the Centre has its Caucasus Bureau at Tbilisi State University and since 2015 it's Kyiv Bureau operates at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. These special units coordinate academic cooperation with Ukraine and the Caucasian countries.

Since 2011 MA "Eastern Studies" were opened in Ukraine – for students of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, the Precarpatian University in Ivano-Frankovsk and the Ostrog Academy.

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