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FRIDTJOF NANSENS INSTITUTT  
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**20 Months After the  
Russian Invasion in Ukraine  
What Has Been Done,  
What Needs to Be Done  
in the Near Future,  
What Can Be Learned  
from the Past?**

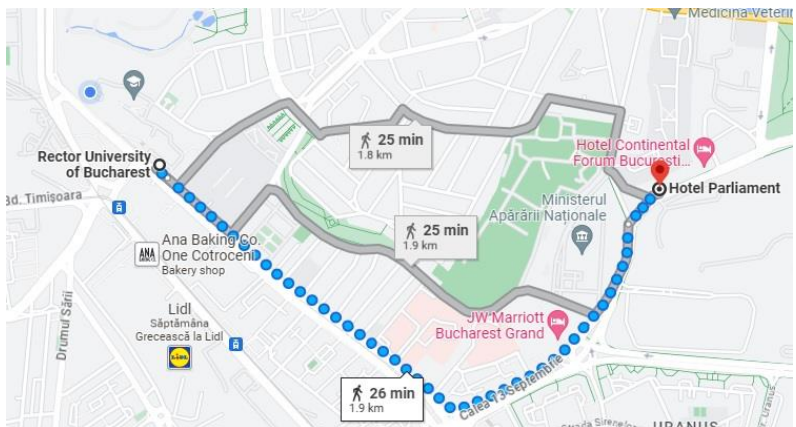
**International Conference  
Bucharest, November 9th-11th 2023**

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



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Geopolitics in the Black Sea and the Arctic Ocean", funded  
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the University of Bucharest, Romania, in partnership  
with the Fridtjof Nansen Institute, Norway.*

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



# **PROGRAM**

*20 Months After the Russian Invasion in Ukraine.*

*What Has Been Done, What Needs to Be Done.*

*Where Is the End?*

**9-11 November 2023, Bucharest**

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

**organized by:**

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

**The Fridtjof Nansen Institute (Oslo)**

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

*Thursday, 9 November 2023*

**9,00-9,30 – Registration** (registration desk in the front of the Senate Room)

**9,30-11,00: Opening Session** (Senate Room)

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

**Dr. Iver B. Neumann**, Fridtjof Nansen Institute

**Sebastian Schäffer, M.A.**, Institute for the Danube Region and Central Europe

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

**11,00-11,15: Coffee Break**

**11,15-13,00: Plenary session** (Senate Room): *Russian War against Ukraine as a Trigger for Further Tensions in Europe and Beyond. What Could Stabilize the World Order?*

*Chair: Prof. Dr. Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu*

**Prof. Dr. Anatoliy Kruglashov**, Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University, Chernivtsi: *Ukraine and the EU: a Mortal Combat with Russian Retro-Imperial Encroachment* (online)

**Prof. Dr. Habil. Marcin Składanowski**, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Lublin: *NATO as Russia's Primary Strategic Adversary: The Evolution of Russian Strategic Documents in the Context of Russia's War against Ukraine*

**Dr. Cristian Nițoiu**, Institute for Diplomacy and International Governance, Loughborough University London, London: *The Impact of Russia's Invasion in Ukraine on the Shape of the World Order*

**Dan Perry, M.Sc.**, former chief editor of Associated Press for Europe, Africa and Middle East, Tel Aviv: *The War of Israel with Hamas, a Challenge for the Entire World* (online)

**13,00-14,00: Lunch**

**14,00-15,45: parallel panels**

**Panel 1A** (Senate Room): *Disinformation, as Warfare Tool. Effects, Modus Operandi and Evolutions*

*Chair: Dr. Iver B. Neumann*

**Dr. Oleksii Polegkyi**, Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Science, Warsaw: *What Can We Learn from Russian Disinformation and Propaganda Strategy in a War on Ukraine?*

**Marita Gorgiladze**, PhD student, Mykolas Romeris University, Vilnius: *Banning Russian Media Outlets, Did It Really Help against Propaganda in the EU?*

**Dr. Marian Lopata**, Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv: *Changes in Russian Propaganda Messages Dissemination in Poland during the Hybrid Phase of War against Ukraine 2014-2022 and Full-Scale Invasion since 24 February 2022* (online)

**Dr. Gabriel Popa**, Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
Bucharest: ***“Competing Narratives”: Russian  
Diplomacy as an Instance of Propaganda*** (online)

**Panel 1B** (Council of Administration Room): ***The  
Accumulating Turbulences in the Black Sea and Their Impact  
for the Riparian States***

*Chair: Prof. Dr. Alicja Curanović*

**Dr. Iulian Romanyshyn**, Center for Advanced Strategic,  
Security and Integration Studies, University of Bonn,  
Bonn: ***Transformation of the Black Sea Security after  
Russia’s Invasion of Ukraine: Continuity or Change?***

**Dr. Ayşegül Ketenci**, Istanbul Kültür University, Istanbul: ***War  
in Ukraine and Montreux Agreement as a Foreign  
Policy Tool***

**Dr. Alexandru-Ionuț Drăgulin**, Romanian Diplomatic  
Institute/ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bucharest:  
***Cooperation at the Black Sea: The Romania – Georgia  
Strategic Partnership after the Russian Invasion in  
Ukraine***

**Dr. Kahraman Süvari**, Manisa Celal Bayar University,  
Manisa: ***The Rise and “Fall” of Turkish Drones in the  
Ukraine War***

**15,45-16,00: Coffee Break**

**16,00-17,30: parallel panels**

**Panel 2A** (Senate Room): *Elements of Russian Narratives Development. Old Discourses and New Realities Emerging from the War*

*Chair: Dr. Armand Goşu*

**Prof. Dr. Frank Sysyn**, University of Alberta, Edmonton: *The Deconstruction of the Traditional Russian Historical Narrative in Independent Ukraine* (online)

**Prof. Dr. Armin Heinen**, RWTH Aachen (emeritus), Aachen: *How Should Putin's Russia Be Assessed? Some Observations on the Interpretations of Russia's War on Ukraine in German Politics, Media, and Science, and the Consequences for the Debate on the End of the Ukrainian War* (online)

**Dr. Svetlana Suveică**, University of Regensburg, Regensburg: *The Impact of Russia's War against Ukraine on University Teaching and Learning: A Reflective Analysis from Germany* (online)

**Panel 2B** (Council of Administration Room): *Protracted Conflicts in the Black Sea Area. Continuity and Evolutions*

*Chair: Dr. Tatiana Cojocari*

**Prof. Dr. Magdalena Dembińska**, Université de Montréal, Montréal: *Patron-Parent Relations: Transnistria and Abkhazia in the Context of War in Ukraine*

**Dr. Octavian Țicu**, Moldova State University, Chişinău: *Russia and the Transnistrian Separatism in the Republic of Moldova: New Realities after Russian Reinvasion of Ukraine*

**Dr. Andra Anghel-Sienerth**, Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Bucharest: ***Shifting Sovereignty in Donbas: Secessionism, Annexation and Incorporation***

**17,30-17,45: Coffee Break**

**17,45-19,00: Roundtable** (Senate Room): ***Help for Ukraine? What Is Real? What Is Rethoric? What Are the New Challenges in Helping Ukraine in the Context of New War in Israel?***

*Chair: Prof. Dr. Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu*

**Keynote speakers:** Dr. Anatoliy Kruglashov, Dr. Anton Naychuk, Prof. Dr. Aleksander Etkind (online), Dr. Arild Moe, Dr. Armand Goșu, Dan Perry, Sebastian Schäffer.

**19,00-20,00: Dinner**

***Friday, 10 November 2023***

**9,15-11,00: parallel panels**

**Panel 3A** (Senate Room): ***The Struggle for a Post-Cold War Security Arrangement in Europe. Why NATO and Russia Could Not Reach a Genuine Security Architecture and Which Could Be the Way(s) to Avoid a Clash?***

*Chair: Dr. Arild Moe*



**Dr. Stefan Meister**, German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin: *Black Sea after the Russian Invasion in Ukraine: Defining a Comprehensive Security Strategy* (online)

**Dr. Iulia Mustăţea**, Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Bucharest: *Security Arrangements in Post-Communist Europe. NATO in the Russian Presidential Discourse: Viable Cooperation or Inherent Clash of Interests?* (online)

**Dr. Jakub M. Godzimirski**, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo: *Can Regional Security Complex Theory Explain the Outbreak of War in Ukraine?*

**Dr. Andreas Umland**, Stockholm Centre for Eastern European Studies, Stockholm: *Two Strategic Challenges for Russian-Ukrainian Truce* (online)

**Panel 3B** (Council of Administration Room): *Values, Beliefs, and Minorities as Means to Influence the Public Agenda in Ukraine and the Global Conservative Groups*

*Chair: Dr. Andrei Sora*

**Prof. Em. Dr. Pål Kolstø**, University of Oslo, Oslo: *Opposition to the War in Ukraine among Russian Orthodox Believers*

**Prof. Dr. Alicja Curanović**, University of Warsaw, Warsaw: *Justice in Blood. The Russian Orthodox Church on the Question of Justice and its Relevance for International Affairs*

**Dr. Tatiana Cojocari**, Romanian Centre for Russian Studies,  
University of Bucharest, Bucharest: *The International  
Conservative Community's Perception of Russian Full-  
scale Invasion of Ukraine*

**Prof. Dr. Radu Carp**, Romanian Centre for Russian Studies,  
University of Bucharest, Bucharest: *The European  
Model of National Minorities Protection in the Case of  
Ukraine as EU Accession Requirement*

**11,00-11,15: Coffee Break**

**11,15-13,00: parallel panels**

**Panel 4A** (Senate Room): *Romania, Republic of Moldova and  
Ukraine. Lessons Learned for a More Cohesive Triangle in  
Eastern Europe*

*Chair: Dr. Iver. B. Neumann*

**Rebecca Grossi**, PhD student, Leipzig University, Leipzig: *The  
Shifted Narrative about the Black Sea in Romania's  
Geopolitical Rhetoric between 1992 and 2004*

**Dr. Svetlana Cebotari, Dr. Natalia Putină**, Moldova State  
University, Chişinău: *The Security of the Republic of  
Moldova in the Context of the Conflict in Ukraine:  
Realities and Perspectives*

**Dr. Marius Diaconescu**, Romanian Centre for Russian  
Studies, University of Bucharest, Bucharest: *The Main  
Topics in the Relations between Romania and Ukraine  
During Russian Aggression: Humanitarian, Economic*

*and Military Aid, and Political Solutions to Problems  
Inherited from the Soviet Era*

**Panel 4B** (Council of Administration Room): *War Economy,  
the Impact of International Sanctions and Energy Pressure*

*Chair: Dr. Anna Adashinskaya*

**Dr. Plamen Dimitrov**, Sofia University “St. Kliment  
Ohridski”, Sofia: *The War in Ukraine and Russia's  
"Special Energy Operation" Against the European  
Union*

**Dr. Emilio Çika**, Mediterranean University of Albania, Tirana:  
*The Russian-Ukraine War: Exploring the Impact of  
Sanctions as a Tool of the Economic Diplomacy*

**Dr. Anne-Kristin Jørgensen**, Fridtjof Nansen Institute, Oslo  
and **Laurențiu Pleșca**, Ph.D. student, Romanian Centre  
for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Bucharest:  
*The Two Faces of Russia: Geopolitics and Fisheries  
Management in the Black Sea and the Barents Sea*

**13,00-14,00: Lunch**

**14,00-15,45: parallel panels**

**Panel 5A** (Senate Room): *Means to Prevent Expanding the  
Conflict. How to Build on Former Cooperation Structures and  
Avoid a Prolongued War?*

*Chair: Prof. Dr. Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu*

**Prof. Dr. Alexander Etkind**, Central European University, Vienna: *The Russo-Ukrainian War and the Problem of Nemesis* (online)

**Dr. Arild Moe**, Fridtjof Nansen Institute, Oslo, and **Dr. Armand Goșu**, Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Bucharest: *Russia and Regional Cooperation: The Barents and Black Sea Regions*

**Dr. Sergii Glebov**, Odessa Mechnikov National University, Odessa: *The Kremlin's (il)Legal Warfare as a Non-Kinetic Weapon against the West, Ukraine, and the Rules-Based Order*

**Robert Țicălău**, Ph.D. student, Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Bucharest: *Mediator or Co-aggressor? What Role Did Belarus Play in the First 20 Months of the Ukrainian War?*

**Panel 5B** (Council of Administration Room): *Ukrainian Refugees in Europe. Representations, Perceptions, and Socio-Economic Implications*

*Chair: Dr. Adrian-Bogdan Ceobanu*

**Prof. Dr. Svitlana Soroka**, Petro Mohyla Black Sea National University, Mykolaiv: *Socio-Economic Challenges for Ukraine and the EU Related to the Mass Migration of Ukrainian Citizens after February 24, 2022*

**Fatjona Qurku**, PhD student, University of Tirana, Tirana: *Ukraine's Refugees in Albania: Policies, Support and Conditions*

**Dr. Kriton Kuci**, Mediterranean University of Albania, Tirana:  
*Media Representations of Ukrainian Refugees in Albania*

**Hana Sylá, Zsófia Rakovics**, Ph.D. student, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest: *Ukrainian Refugees – Political Communication and Public Perceptions*

**15,45-16,00: Coffee Break**

**16,00-17,45: parallel panels**

**Panel 6A** (Senate Room): *Media and Social Media in the Context of the War in Ukraine. Means, Narratives and Responses*

*Chair: Dr. Oleg Reut*

**Prof. Dr. Peter Gross**, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and  
**Dr. Bogdan Oprea**, University of Bucharest, Bucharest:  
*Russian Propaganda and Disinformation. Telegram's Tentacles and Topics During the Ukraine War*

**Dr. Alina Mozolevska**, Petro Mohyla Black Sea National University, Mykolaiv: *Visual Discourse of Russia's Propaganda in Twitter Communication*

**Dr. Petr Gulenko**, Charles University, Prague: *RTVI Channel as an Implicit Tool of Influence on Russian Speaking People Living Abroad*

**Dr. Anton Naychuk**, East European Council, Kyiv:  
*Technologies and the Influence of Russian*

***Propaganda. Practical Cases and Lessons of Effective Counteraction on the Basis of Ukrainean Experience***

**Panel 6B** (Council of Administration Room): ***Reconstruction of Ukraine. Can the Lessons from the Past Enable Post-War Recovery?***

*Chair: Dr. Armand Goşu*

**Dr. Oleksa Drachewych**, Western University, London, Ontario: ***Learning from the Past: How the Aftermath of Soviet Atrocities during and after WW2 in Eastern Europe Can Inform Approaches for Ukraine's Postwar Recovery*** (online)

**Dr. Iryna Pokhylenko**, Kyiv National University of Construction and Architecture, Kyiv: ***Preservation of Ukrainian Cultural Heritage during the Russian-Ukrainian War***

**Prof. Iryna Druzhkova**, Odessa State University, Odessa: ***The Importance of Intellectual Property for the Recovery of European Countries after the First World War as an Example of the Possibilities for the Recovery of Modern Ukraine*** (online)

**Dr. Adrian-Bogdan Ceobanu**, Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Bucharest: ***Ukrainian Foreign Policy at the Beginning of 90s: British Diplomatic Reactions***

**17,45-18,00: Coffee Break**

**18,00-19,00: Special round table – *Institute for the Danube Region and Central Europe (Institut für den Donauraum und Mitteleuropa – IDM Vienna) after 70 years.***

*Main topics:* the EU enlargement and integration, conditions for a good neighborhood relationship, and the development of democracy and multilateralism, all of them within the broader context of the Russian aggression in Ukraine.

*Chair: Sebastian Schäffer*

**Keynote Speakers:** Prof. Dr. Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu, Dr. Anatoliy Kruglashov, Prof. Dr. Aleksander Etkind (online), Dr. Iver B. Neumann, Dr. Armand Goșu, Prof. Dr. Radu Carp.

**19,00-20,00: Dinner**

***Saturday, 11 November 2023:***

**9,00-10,45: parallel panels**

**Panel 7A (Senate Room): *Ukraine and the Euro-Atlantic Integration Process. Lessons from the Balkans and Opportunities for South Caucasus***

*Chair: Dr. Marius Diaconescu*

**Dr. Noela Mahmutaj, University of Tirana, Tirana: *The Impact of the War in Ukraine on Western Balkan Countries' Integration***

**Dr. Bledar Kurti, Albanian University, Tirana: *The Integration of New Members in NATO: Lessons Learned from Albania***

**Benjamin Nurkić**, Ph.D. candidate, University of Tuzla, Tuzla,: *Ukraine Path to European Union – Lesson from Western Balkans*

**Dr. Elnur Ismayil**, Istanbul Medeniyet University, Istanbul: *The Shifting Power Dynamics and Re(Chance) for the South Caucasus Westernization!?*

**Panel 7B** (Council of Administration Room): *Impact of Russo-Ukrainian War in the Western Balkans and South Caucasus*  
Chair: *Dr. Anne-Kristin Jørgensen*

**Prof. Dr. Adnan Prekić**, University of Montenegro, Podgorica: *Ukrainization of Montenegro - Soft Power of Russia in the Balkans*

**Dr. Bardhok Bashota**, University of Prishtina, Prishtina: *The Spillover Effects of Ukraine War in Kosovo-Serbia Relations*

**Natavan Alieva**, M.A., International Black Sea University, Tbilisi: *The Impact of the War Between Russia and Ukraine on the Internal Politics of Georgia*

**Taras Ivanec**, PhD student, General Jonas Žemaitis Lithuanian Military Academy, Vilnius: *Civil Society Engagement in Times of War: Comparative Military Justice Study in Ukraine and Georgia*

**10,45-11,00: Coffee Break**

**11,00-12,45: parallel panels**



**Panel 8A (Senate Room): *War, Justice and Conditions for Reconciliation between Ukraine and Russia***

*Chair: Prof. Dr. Radu Carp*

**Dr. Piotr Uhma**, Pedagogical University of Krakow, Krakow: *Russia's Aggression against Ukraine, Peaceful Settlement of Disputes and Lex Pacificatoria* (online)

**Dr. Ana Maria Albuлесcu**, Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Bucharest / University of Tartu: *Peace in Ukraine – Any Horizon for a Settlement?* (online)

**Zénó Suller**, PhD candidate, Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Budapest: *Peace Without Justice? – Prosecuting the Crime of Aggression Against Ukraine Is a Must, but Only if Done Properly*

**Dr. Oleg Reut**, University of Eastern Finland, Kuopio: *Russia's Unnamed and Unhonoured War: Is Reconciliation Possible over Graves?*

**Panel 8B (Council of Administration Room): *Education as a Fundamental Domain for Propaganda***

*Chair: Dr. Marius Diaconescu*

**Dr. Anna Adashynskaya**, Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Bucharest: *Normalization of the Impossible: How the War in Ukraine enters the Russian School Curricula*

**Dr. Adrian Nae**, Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Bucharest: *Power, Chaos and*

***Re-Birth: Russian Academic Perspectives Regarding the Aggression Against Ukraine and Possible Outcomes of the War***

**Dr. Lesia Bidochko**, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Kyiv: ***One Handbook, Two Nations: Identifying Shared Themes in Russian Agitational Propaganda Narratives Disseminated in Moldova and Ukraine*** (online)

**Mara Sofia Crăciunescu, M.A.**, University of Bucharest, Bucharest / University of Tartu: ***Russian Influence on Moldovan Televised Media***

**12,45-13,30: Closing Remarks** (Senate Room)

**13,30-14,30: Lunch**

**Note:** Coffee breaks, lunches and dinners will be offered at the 1<sup>st</sup> floor, in the hall near the Council of Administration Room.

**List of participants**

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