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Ukraine and the New World Order. What Comes Next to Us – EU and NATO – When Facing Russian Aggression/ Offensive Strategies



International Conference
Bucharest, November 13th-15th 2025

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



*This conference is organized with
the financial support of the
University of Bucharest,
Romania*

Romanian Centre for Russian Studies

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PROGRAM

***Ukraine and the New World Order. What Comes Next to
Us – EU and NATO – When Facing Russian
Aggression/Offensive Strategies***

13-15 November 2025, Bucharest, Romania

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

organized by

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

and

The Fridtjof Nansen Institute (Oslo)

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

Thursday, 13 November 2025

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

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

H.E. Mrs. Hilde Svartholm Lunde, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Norway in Bucharest

Prof. Dr. Mugur Dan Zlotea, Vice-Rector, University of Bucharest

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

Dr. Iver Neumann, Director, Fridtjof Nansen Institute (online)

Dr. Arild Moe, Fridtjof Nansen Institute

Prof. Dr. Alexandra Iancu, Dean, Faculty of Political Science

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

11,00-11,15: Coffee Break

11,15-13,15: Panel 1 – The EU's road towards becoming a geopolitical heavyweight (Senate Room)

Chair: Dr. Arild Moe

Prof. Dr. Cristian Nițoiu (Institute for Diplomacy and International Affairs, Loughborough University London, United Kingdom): *The EU's Crisis-led Geopolitical Awakening*

Prof. Dr. Anatoliy Kruglashov (Chernivtsi Yuriy Fedkovych National University, Ukraine): **Para bellum: A Long-**

***lasting Awakening of Europe vis-à-vis Russian
Retroimperial Ambitions and Threats***

Dr. Nicolae Țibrigan (The Institute of Political Sciences and International Relations "Ion I.C. Brătianu" of Romanian Academy, Bucharest, Romania): ***From Synergy to Strategy: The European Union's Strategic Turn in the Black Sea Region (2007–2025)***

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Marius Diaconescu (Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Romania): ***What Is the Best Strategy: a Kyiv-Warsaw-Berlin-London Axis or a Regional Security Complex from Poland, Ukraine and Romania?***

13,15-14,00: Lunch

14,00-15,45: Panel 2 – Build-up in the new European security environment (Council of Administration Room)

Chair: Dr. Cristian Nițoiu

Prof. Dr. Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu (Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Romania): ***Chances of Negotiation in Ending the Russian-Ukrainian War. A Poker Game***

Prof. Dr. Krzysztof Żęgota (University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn, Poland): ***Russian Military Threats for Central and Eastern Europe: A Case of Poland***

Antonia-Laura Pup, M.A., Research Assistant (Center for Security Studies, Georgetown University, United States): ***Asymmetric Security Communities on NATO's Eastern Flank: A Comparative Study of the Baltic–Polish and Black Sea Subregions*** (online)

Rebecca Grossi, PhD candidate (Graduate School Global and Area Studies, University of Leipzig, Germany): **Narro, Ergo Sum? Security Potential vs. Modest Talk: Romania's Small State Mentality and Middle Power Potential in the Country's Security Narrative Between 2014 and 2025**

15,45-16,00: Coffee Break

16,00-18,15: Panel 3 – New and old patterns of European and Russian competition for the Republic of Moldova
(Council of Administration Room)

Chair: Dr. Marius Diaconescu

Associate Prof. Dr. Armand Goșu (Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Romania): ***Russia and the Parliamentary Elections in the Republic of Moldova***

Prof. Dr. Octavian Țicu (Institute of History, Moldova State University, Chișinău, Republic of Moldova): ***Confronting the Empire: Russia's Subversive Action Against the Republic of Moldova from the Kozak Plan to the 2025 Elections***

Dr. Laurențiu Pleșca (Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Romania): ***Elections as Geopolitical Leverage: Illicit Foreign Funding and Electoral Competition in Moldova***

Dr. Radu Cupcea and Dr. Tatiana Cojocari (The Institute of Political Sciences and International Relations "Ion I.C. Brătianu" of Romanian Academy, Bucharest, Romania): ***NATO, Neutrality and the Republic of Moldova's Way Towards EU Integration***

18,15-18,30: Coffee Break

18,30-20,00: Panel 4 – Dependence and diversification in times of war (Council of Administration Room)

Chair: Dr. Anatoliy Kruglashov

Dr. Arild Moe (Fridtjof Nansen Institute, Oslo, Norway):
Russian LNG in Europe – Explanations and Outlook

Associate Prof. Dr. Nataliia Nechaieva-Yuriichuk (Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University, Ukraine):
Kremlin's Imperial Playbook: Navigating War through Geopolitical and Energy Alliances

Dr. Mihaela Nicolau (Danubius International University, Galați, Romania): ***Energy Inflation, Yield Curves, and Policy Uncertainty: Financial Stability Risks in the Wake of the Russo-Ukrainian War***

Dr. Pål Wilter Skedsmo (Fridtjof Nansen Institute, Oslo, Norway): ***Armenia's Pivot to the World*** (online)

20,00-21,00: Dinner

Friday, 14 November 2025

9,30-11,15: Panel 5 – Political history, identities, and the “image of the other” (Council of Administration Room)

Chair: Dr. Anna Adashinskaya

Associate Prof. Dr. Tetyana Podkupko (Department of Social Sciences, Odesa National Medical University, Ukraine): *Ukraine and the Black Sea: Historical Experience of the Struggle for Security and Statehood in Confrontation with Russian Expansion, Mid-17th – Early 18th Centuries* (online)

Dr. Argyrios Tasoulas (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece): *Soviet Intelligence Assessments of the Greek Junta, 1967-1969*

Dr. Iulia Mustăţea (Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Romania): *The Cult of War in Russia: Politics of Memory and Post-communist Identity* (online)

Dr. Raquel dos Santos Missagia (Fluminense Federal University, Niterói, Brazil): *Historical Legacies and Strategic Goals: Analysing Russian Aggression Towards Ukraine* (online)

11,15-11,30: Coffee Break

11,30-13,15: Panel 6 – Keyboard and screen as weaponry (Council of Administration Room)

Chair: Dr. Armand Goşu

Prof. Dr. Agnieszka Łukasik-Turecka, Prof. Dr. Marcin Składanowski (Institute of Political Science and Public Administration, The John Paul II Catholic University of

Lublin, Poland) : *Can Pro-Russian Disinformation on Social-Media Be Effective? A Case Study of the Russian Drone Attack in the Context of Trust in Social Media in Poland*

Marianna Prysiazniuk, PhD candidate (Democratic Initiatives Foundation, Kyiv, Ukraine): *Analysis of the Modeling of Influence Campaigns and Inter-Institutional Coordination Through the DISARM Framework in the Operations in Eastern Europe*

Associate Prof. Dr. Anastasiia Tormakhova (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Ukraine): *AI-Driven Echo Chambers and Disinformation in the Ukrainian Digital Sphere*

Claudia-Alecsandra Gabrian, PhD student (Department of International Relations and Security Studies, Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, Romania): *Cybercrime as a Geopolitical Weapon: The Role of Russian Ransomware Groups in the Conflict with Ukraine*

13,15-14,00: Lunch

14,00-15,45: Panel 7 – Political costs of war and prospects for peace (Council of Administration Room)

Chair: Dr. Arild Moe

Dr. Oleksii Kolesnykov (University of Tartu, Estonia): *Wartime and Post-War Ukraine: Contours of a New Political Spectrum*

Dr. Plamen Dimitrov (Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”, Bulgaria): *How Russian Aggression Against*

Ukraine Has Reshaped the European Security Architecture?

Dr. Bledar Kurti (University Aleksander Moisiu Durres, Albania): ***The Role of the United States on Russia-Ukraine War and the Future Prospect of Stability in Europe***

Prof. Dr. Olga Brusylovska (Odesa I. I. Mechnikov National University, Ukraine): ***Outcomes of the Russo-Ukrainian War for the Eastern Partnership***

15,45-16,00: Coffee Break

16,00-17,45: Panel 8 – The effectiveness of hybrid warfare: effects on elections, and shaping of public opinion (Council of Administration Room)

Chair: Dr. Laurențiu Pleșca

Dr. Roman Kyslenko (Parliament of Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine): ***Hybrid War in the Ballot Box: Russian Strategies of Influence on Democratic Elections***

Ștefan Țuțuianu, PhD student (Faculty of Political Science, University of Bucharest, Romania): ***How Ideas Become Vulnerable: How Russia's Hybrid Warfare Has Hijacked Social Issues and Turned Them into Political Discourse: Georgia, Moldova, Romania***

Mădălina Miron, PhD student (Faculty of European Studies, Babeș-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, Romania): ***Russia's hybrid warfare: a non-linear conflict against Ukraine***

Associate Prof. Dr. Yuliya Krylova-Grek (National University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy", Ukraine): ***Human Rights Violations in Public Discourse: Incitements to Genocide in Russian Media*** (online)

17,45-18,00: Coffee Break

18,00-20,00: Panel 9 – Narratives on the church, art and national identity in times of war (Council of Administration Room)

Chair: Dr. Armand Goşu

Marianna Prysiazhniuk, PhD candidate (Democratic Initiatives Foundation, Kyiv, Ukraine) and **Associate Prof. Dr. Marius Diaconescu** (Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Romania): *The Jurisdiction Over Romanians Orthodox Churches in Ukraine: Political Statements, Public Opinions and Russian Manipulation*

Prof. Dr. Frank Sysyn (University of Alberta, Canada): *The Bukovinian Factor and Ukrainian Orthodoxy* (online)

Aysenur Ozmen, M.A. (Erasmus University Rotterdam, Netherlands): *Curating the War: Russian Arts Policy, Identity, and the War in Ukraine* (online)

Dr. Nadia Iermakov (Department of Multidisciplinary Studies, Ariel University, Israel): *The Role of the Pagan Witch Archetype in Shaping National Female Identity in Contemporary Ukraine* (online)

20,00-21,00: Dinner

Saturday, 15 November 2025

9,30-11,30: Panel 10 – EU's neighbourhood: *quo vadis?*
(Council of Administration Room)

Chair: Dr. Marius Diaconescu

Robert Țicălău, PhD student (Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Romania): *The 2025 Belarusian Presidential Election: An Analysis Through the Lens of Authoritarian Consolidation Theory*

Associate Prof. Dr. Natalia Putină (Moldova State University, Chișinău, Republic of Moldova): *Democracy Between Fragility and Resilience: Trends in the Republic of Moldova* (online)

Dr. Gjeraqina Leka (University of Tetova, Republic of North-Macedonia): *Small states within a volatile world order: lessons from North Macedonia* (online)

11,15-11,30: Coffee Break

11,30-13,45: Panel 11 – War as a culture and ideology shaping catalyzer (Council of Administration Room)

Chair: Dr. Laurențiu Pleșca

Dr. Cosmin-Constantin Ioniță (Faculty of History, University of Bucharest, Romania): *Moderate conservatism, a Russian ideological framework for the New World* (online)

Dr. Anna Adashinskaya (Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Romania): *Language Barriers as Educational Gatekeeping: New Language Requirements in Contemporary Russian Schools*

Dr. Iryna Petrova (Kyiv National University of Culture and Arts, Ukraine): *Cultural Expansion as an Instrument of Contemporary War* (online)

Associate Prof. Dr. Iryna Druzhkova (Department of Health Management and Psychology, Odesa National Medical University, Ukraine): *Intellectual Property in War – Challenges and Opportunities for Ukraine* (online)

13,45-14,00: Closing Speeches (Council of Administration Room)

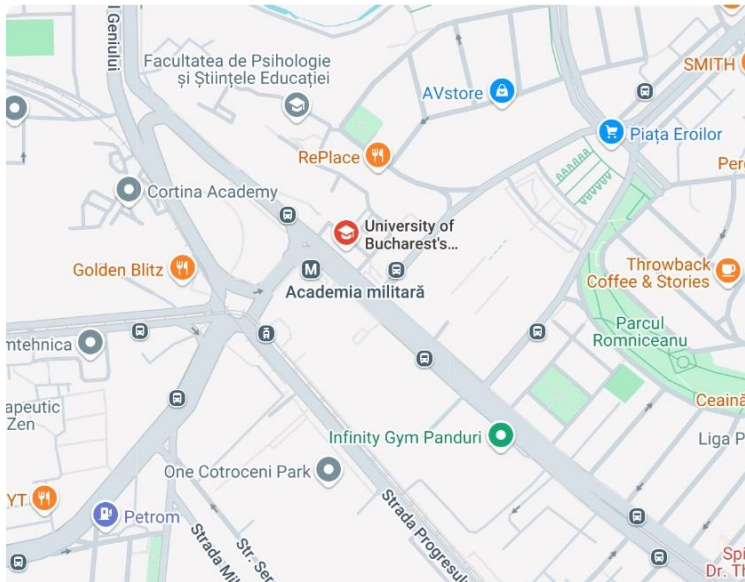
14,00-15,00: Lunch

List of participants

- 1) **Dr. Adashinskaya, Anna:** Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Romania
- 2) **Dr. Brusylovskaya, Olga:** Odesa I. I. Mechnikov National University, Ukraine
- 3) **Dr. Cojocari, Tatiana:** The Institute of Political Sciences and International Relations “Ion I.C. Brătianu” of Romanian Academy, Bucharest, Romania
- 4) **Dr. Cupcea, Radu:** The Institute of Political Sciences and International Relations “Ion I.C. Brătianu” of Romanian Academy, Bucharest, Romania
- 5) **Dr. Diaconescu, Marius:** Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Romania
- 6) **Dr. Dimitrov, Plamen:** Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”, Bulgaria
- 7) **Dr. Dos Santos Missagia, Raquel:** Fluminense Federal University, Niterói, Brazil
- 8) **Dr. Druzhkova, Iryna:** Department of Health Management and Psychology, Odesa National Medical University, Ukraine

- 9) **Gabrian, Claudia-Alecsandra:** Department of International Relations and Security Studies, Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, Romania
- 10) **Dr. Goşu, Armand:** Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Romania
- 11) **Grossi, Rebecca:** Graduate School Global and Area Studies, University of Leipzig, Germany
- 12) **Dr. Iermakov, Nadia:** Department of Multidisciplinary Studies, Ariel University, Israel
- 13) **Dr. Ioniţă, Cosmin-Constantin:** Faculty of History, University of Bucharest, Romania
- 14) **Dr. Kolesnykov, Oleksii:** University of Tartu, Estonia
- 15) **Dr. Kruglashov, Anatoliy:** Chernivtsi Yuriy Fedkovych National University, Ukraine
- 16) **Dr. Krylova-Grek, Yuliya:** National University of “Kyiv-Mohyla Academy”, Ukraine
- 17) **Dr. Kurti, Bledar:** University Aleksander Moisiu Durres, Albania
- 18) **Dr. Kyslenko, Roman:** Parliament of Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine
- 19) **Dr. Leka, Gjeraqina:** University of Tetova, Republic of North-Macedonia
- 20) **Dr. Łukasik-Turecka, Agnieszka:** Institute of Political Science and Public Administration, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Poland
- 21) **Miron, Mădălina:** Faculty of European Studies, Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, Romania
- 22) **Dr. Moe, Arild:** Fridtjof Nansen Institute, Oslo, Norway
- 23) **Dr. Mustăţea, Iulia:** Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Romania
- 24) **Dr. Nechaieva-Yuriichuk, Nataliia:** Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University, Ukraine
- 25) **Dr. Neumann, Iver:** Director, Fridtjof Nansen Institute, Oslo, Norway
- 26) **Nicolau, Mihaela:** Danubius International University, Galaţi, Romania
- 27) **Dr. Niţoiu, Cristian:** Institute for Diplomacy and International Affairs, Loughborough University London, United Kingdom

- 28) **Ozmen, Aysenur**: Erasmus University Rotterdam, Netherlands
- 29) **Dr. Petrova, Iryna**: Kyiv National University of Culture and Arts, Ukraine
- 30) **Dr. Pleșca, Laurențiu**: Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Romania
- 31) **Dr. Podkupko, Tetyana**: Department of Social Sciences, Odesa National Medical University, Ukraine
- 32) **Prysiazhniuk, Marianna**: Democratic Initiatives Foundation, Kyiv, Ukraine
- 33) **Pup, Antonia-Laura**: Center for Security Studies, Georgetown University, United States
- 34) **Dr. Putină, Natalia**: Moldova State University, Chișinău, Republic of Moldova
- 35) **Dr. Skedsmo, Pål Wilter**: Fridtjof Nansen Institute, Oslo, Norway
- 36) **Dr. Skladanowski, Marcin**: Institute of Political Science and Public Administration, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Poland
- 37) **Dr. Sysyn, Frank**: University of Alberta, Canada
- 38) **Dr. Tasoulas, Argyrios**: National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece
- 39) **Dr. Țibrigan, Nicolae**: The Institute of Political Sciences and International Relations “Ion I.C. Brătianu” of Romanian Academy, Bucharest, Romania
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- 42) **Dr. Tormakhova, Anastasiia**: Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Ukraine
- 43) **Țuțuianu, Ștefan**: Faculty of Political Science, University of Bucharest, Romania
- 44) **Dr. Ungureanu, Mihai Răzvan**: Romanian Centre for Russian Studies, University of Bucharest, Romania
- 45) **Dr. Żęgota, Krzysztof**: University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn, Poland



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