



IEPAS2021

22-24 September 2021

Lisbon | Portugal

8

th Annual Conference on Eurasian Politics & Society



Conference Programme

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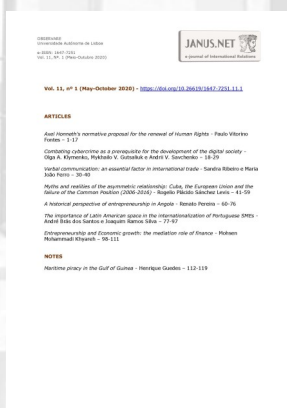
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Internacionais



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- Prof. Frances Trix – Indiana University, USA
- Prof. Stefan Wolff – University of Birmingham, UK

* The surnames are listed in alphabetical order.

Day 1 - Wednesday, 22 September 2021

08h00 - 08h30	Opening Session: Ozgur Tufekci (Director of CESRAN Int.) Luis Tomé (Director of OBSERVARE-UAL) Rahman Dag (Deputy-Director of CESRAN Int.) Luís Nuno Rodrigues (Director of CEI-IUL) Murat Cemrek (Necmettin Erbakan University)	JOIN NOW  
08h45 - 09h45	Keynote Speech • Ken Booth <i>"Global Reckonings and COVID Cliches"</i>	JOIN NOW  
10h00 - 11h30	M01 Panel	JOIN NOW  
11h45 - 13h15	M02 Panel	JOIN NOW  
13h30 - 14h30	Keynote Speech • Sónia Sénica <i>"Russia and the New Bipolarity: The New Gambit in International Order"</i>	JOIN NOW  
14h45 - 16h15	M03 Panel	JOIN NOW  
16h30 - 18h00	Book Discussion Panel One <i>"Beyond the Steppe Frontier: A History of the Sino-Russian Border"</i> <i>By Sören Urbansky</i>	JOIN NOW  

Day 2 - Thursday, 23 September 2021

08h00 - 09h00	Keynote Speech • Scott Lucas	JOIN NOW  
09h15 - 10h45	M04 Panel	JOIN NOW  
11h00 - 12h00	Keynote Speech • Mark Meirowitz <i>"American Foreign Policy: Turkish-American Relations After Afghanistan"</i>	JOIN NOW  
12h15 - 13h45	M05 Panel	JOIN NOW  
14h00 - 15h30	M06 Panel	JOIN NOW  
15h45 - 17h15	Book Discussion Panel Two <i>"Coping with Defeat: Sunni Islam, Roman Catholicism, and the Modern State"</i> <i>By Jonathan Laurence</i>	JOIN NOW  

Day 3 - Friday, 24 September 2021

08h00 - 09h30	M07 Panel	JOIN NOW  
09h45 - 11h15	M08 Panel	JOIN NOW  
11h30 - 12h30	Keynote Speech • Sandra Fernandes <i>"Russia and Eurasia: One Concept, Multiple Applications"</i>	JOIN NOW  
12h45 - 14h15	M09 Panel	JOIN NOW  
14h30 - 16h00	M10 Panel	JOIN NOW  
16h15 - 16h45	Closing session: José Amado da Silva (UAL's Rector) Rahman Dag (Deputy-Director of CESRAN Int.) Ana Isabel Xavier (Deputy-Director of OBSERVARE-UAL) Ana Mónica Fonseca (Scientific Cmte. Member of CEI-Iscte) Murat Cemrek (Necmettin Erbakan University)	JOIN NOW  



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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.



M01 - Panel:

Struggle for Sphere of Influence Among Great Powers in Greater Eurasia

WEDNESDAY // 22 September 2021 // 10:00–11:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // Discussant
Luis Valença Pinto
(OBSERVARE-UAL)



PAPERS

Andrew K P Leung

(Andrew Leung International Consultants & Investments)

New Concert of Powers:

How to Prevent Catastrophe and Promote Stability in a Multipolar World

Urban-Jakša

(ISCTE-IUL)

Abkhazia's Geopolitical Roles in the EU-Russia-Georgia Triangle

Adrian Pogacian

(ReThinking Europe)

Did the EU Lost Eastern Europe?

Great Powers Rivalry in Regional Dimension

Maria João Tomás

(Observare, UAL)

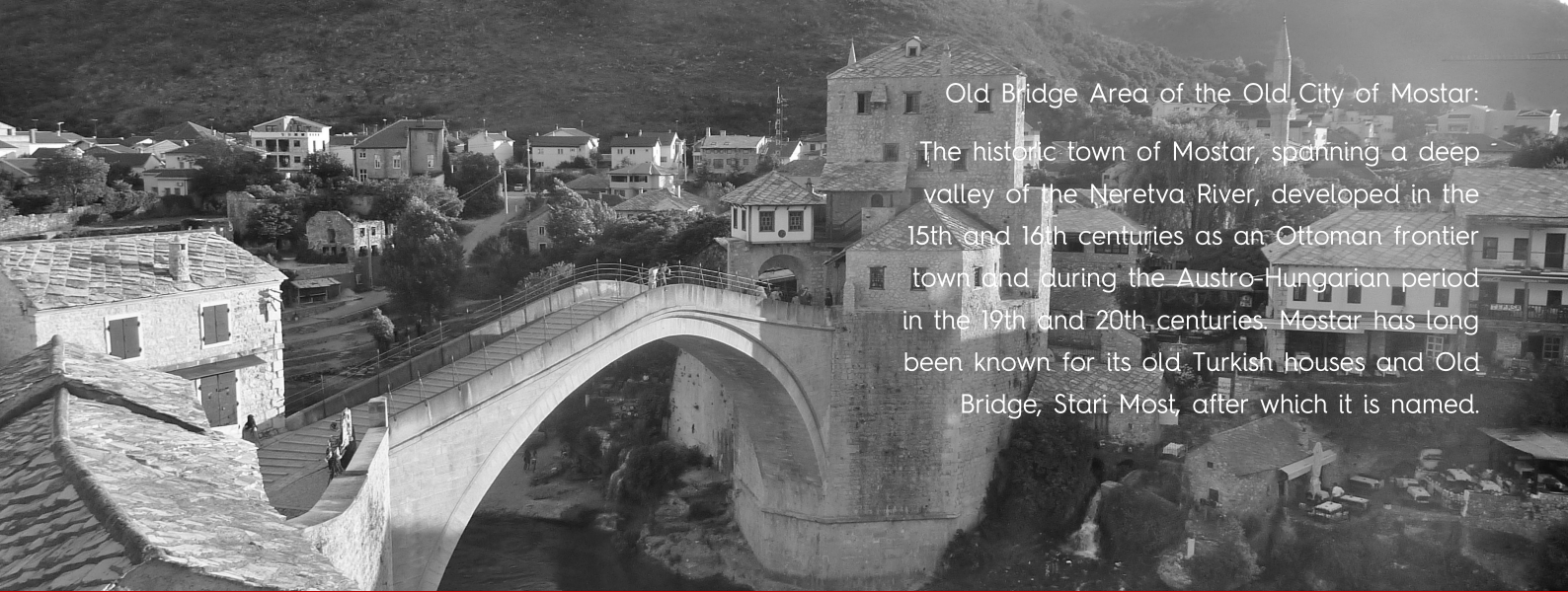
The Era of the Dragon:

How China is Preparing to Be the World's Top Economy in the 21st Century

Ekrem Ok and Ozgur Tufekci

(Agri Ibrahim Cecen University & Cesran International & Karadeniz Technical University)

Effect of Cases on the Rivalry Between National Sovereignty and Intervention



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.

M02 - Panel:

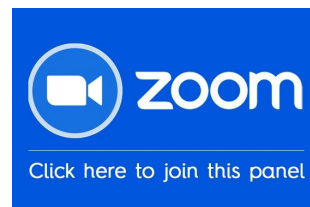
Progressive or Regressive Path for Afghanistan After Withdrawal of the US Troops: What does It Bring to Eurasia

WEDNESDAY // 22 September 2021 // 11:45–13:15 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Ayla Gol

(York St John University & Cesran International)



PAPERS

Sertaç Canalp Korkmaz

(Presidency of The Republic of Turkey)

How Taliban Expanded Its Control in Afghanistan, 2001-2021

Huzeyfe Altiok and Hamdullah Baycar

(Qatar University and University of Exeter)

US Withdrawal from Afghanistan:
The Rise of Small Gulf States in International Area

Rahman Dag

(Cesran International & Zonguldak Bülent Ecevit University)

Great Power Politics:
Possible Scenarios After the US Withdrawal from Afghanistan

Sharifullah Dorani

(Cesran International)

Why Biden got it wrong?



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.

M03 - Panel: Ontological Dilemmas of Political Regimes in Greater Eurasia

WEDNESDAY // 22 September 2021 // 14:45–16:15 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT
Urban-Jakša
(ISCTE-IUL)



PAPERS

Viktoriiia Demydova

(Istanbul Gelisim University)

Covid-19 Pandemic and Growing Authoritarian Tendencies in Illiberal Societies:
Case of Putin's Russia

Bekzod Zakirov

(The University of Tokyo)

Dualistic State Capitalism in Russia and Kazakhstan as Authoritarian Political Economic Order:
The Analysis of State and Market Sector

Bruno Pedrosa

(Brazilian War College (ESG))

Liberté, Egalité Et Laïcité:

The Use of The Hijab in Public Schools as A Threat to The French Republican Ontology (1989-2004)

Christopher Whitsel

(North Dakota State University)

Diversity in School Preferences in Kazakhstan



Historic Mosque City of Bagerhat

Situated in the suburbs of Bagerhat, at the meeting-point of the Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers, this ancient city, formerly known as Khalifatabad, was founded by the Turkish general Ulugh Khan Jahan in the 15th century. The city's infrastructure reveals considerable technical skill and an exceptional number of mosques and early Islamic monuments, many built of brick, can be seen there.

Book Discussion Panel One

WEDNESDAY // 22 September 2021 // 16:30–18:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR

Ozgur Tufekci

(CESRAN International, UK)



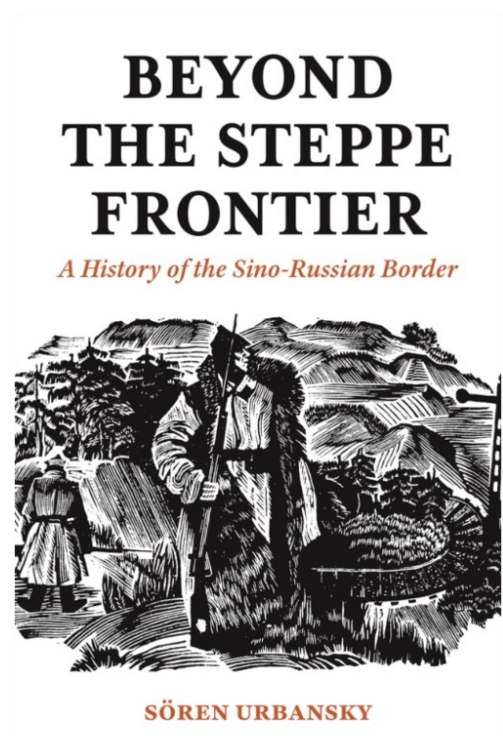
PARTICIPANT

Sören Urbansky

BOOK TITLE

***Beyond the Steppe Frontier:
A History of the Sino-Russian Border***

By Sören Urbansky



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



M04 – Panel:

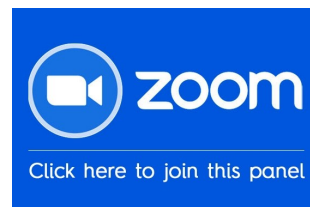
Economic, Political, Military and Social Integration Processes in Eurasia

THURSDAY // 23 September 2021 // 09:15–10:45 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Luisa Godinho

(OBSERVARE-UAL)



PAPERS

Ricardo Alexandre Sousa

(CEI-ISCTE)

Western Balkans:

EU Integration, Eurofatigue and the Alternatives Within the Eurasian Space

Christian Ploberger

(Thammasat University)

Central Asia's Challenging Prospect for Regional Cooperation:
External Advocacy Versus Local Resistance

Faiq Hassan Khalid

(University of Karachi)

Prospects for Bilateral Defence Diplomacy among Eurasian Countries

Furkan Emer

(Ankara Medipol University)

Opening to Eurasia in Serbian Foreign Policy

Saniya Malikbayeva

(Universidad Autonoma de Madrid)

Population-Based Study of the Eurasian Economic Union in Kazakhstan



M05 – Panel: Soviet Legacy is Still in Practice: Historical Transformation in Eurasia

THURSDAY // 23 September 2021 // 12:15–13:45 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Rahman Dag

(Cesran International &
Zonguldak Bülent Ecevit University)



PAPERS

Michal Racyn

(Masaryk University)

The Khazar Khaganate in the Works of M. I. Artamonov and L. N. Gumilev

Oksana Ermolaeva

(New Europe College Bucharest)

B/Order making and Transborder Networks in Soviet Russia in the 1920s

Karolina Baraniak

(University of Wrocław)

Persecuted by the Communist Authorities, Honoured by the Successive, Democratic, Governments:
The “Cursed Soldiers” in Polish Collective Memory

Asli Yigit Gulseven

(Atılım University)

A Historical Analysis of the Dilemma of Russian National Identity:
Eastern or Western?

Ahmed Zeinab

(Zayed University)

Eurasianism in Russian Foreign Policy since 1996



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

M06 - Panel: Crisis Opens up for New Developments: Post-Covid 19 Politics in Europe

THURSDAY // 23 September 2021 // 14:00-15:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Murat Cemrek

(Necmettin Erbakan University)



PAPERS

Segâh Tekin

(Necmettin Erbakan University)

Serbia's Vaccine Diplomacy:
A Contribution to International Reputation

Taylan Özgür Kaya

(Necmettin Erbakan University)

The European Union as a Global Health Actor:
The Covid-19 Pandemic

Aslıgül Sarıkamış Kaya

(Selçuk University)

The EU's Struggle with Coronavirus Pandemic: Divided or United?

Göktuğ Sönmez and Murat Cemrek

(Necmettin Erbakan University and Necmettin Erbakan University)

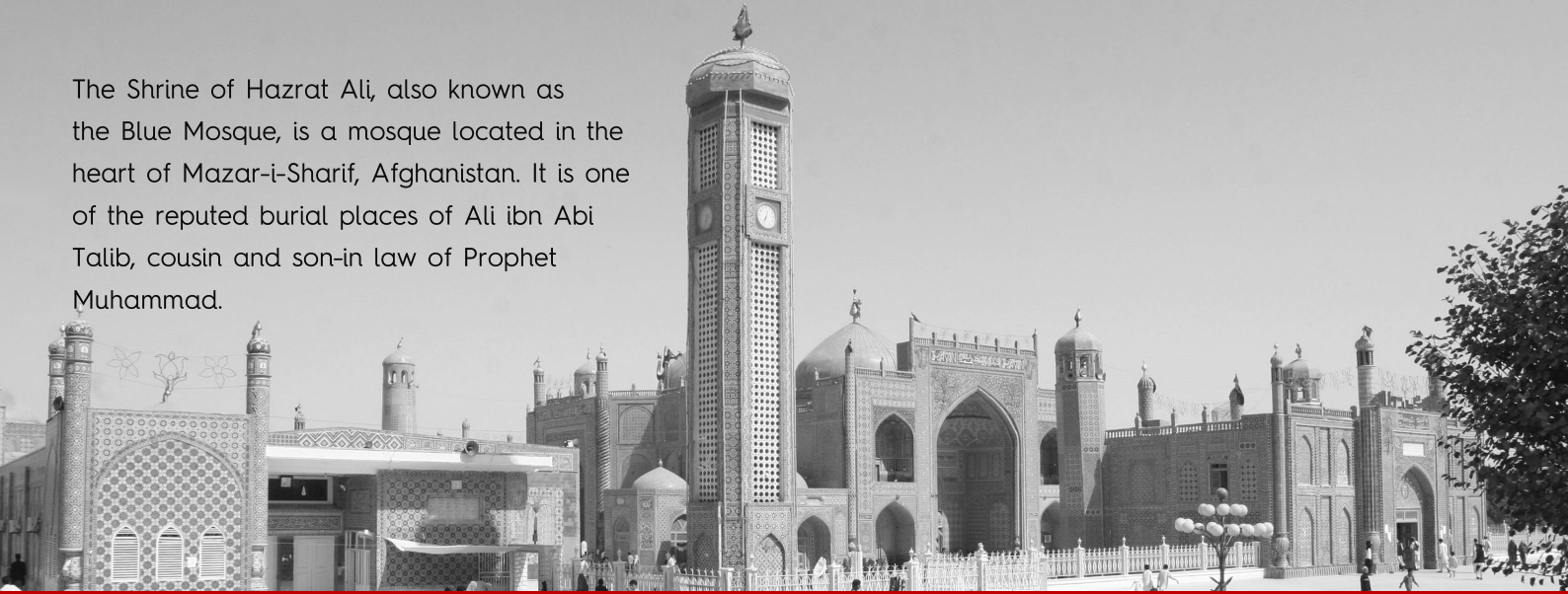
Soft Power Pursuit during the COVID-19 Pandemic:
The Case of Turkish Foreign Policy

Yusuf SAYIN

(Necmettin Erbakan University)

The Effects of Pandemic Process on Diplomacy and Digital Diplomacy Applications

The Shrine of Hazrat Ali, also known as the Blue Mosque, is a mosque located in the heart of Mazar-i-Sharif, Afghanistan. It is one of the reputed burial places of Ali ibn Abi Talib, cousin and son-in law of Prophet Muhammad.



Book Discussion Panel Two

THURSDAY // 23 September 2021 // 15:45-17:15 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR

Rahman Dag

(CESRAN International, UK)



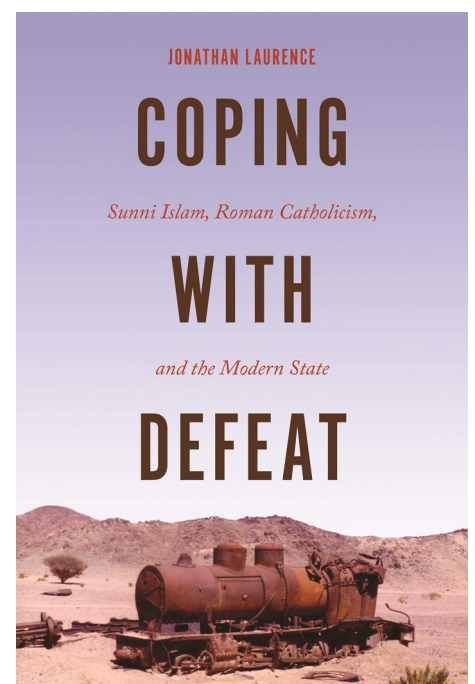
PARTICIPANT

Jonathan Laurence

BOOK TITLE

Coping with Defeat:
Sunni Islam, Roman Catholicism, and the Modern State

By Jonathan Laurence





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

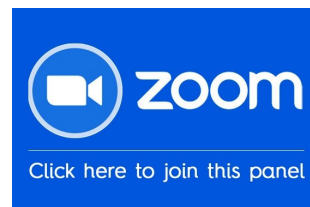
M07 - Panel: Women in Eurasian Politics

FRIDAY // 24 September 2021 // 08:00-09:30 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Emrah Atar

(Cesran International &
Recep Tayyip Erdogan University)



PAPERS

Yasemin Celikkol

(Northwestern University in Qatar)

Here are the Women in Turkey-Russia Geopolitics

Gulnoza Ismailova

(University of World Economy and Diplomacy)

Strengthening the Role of Women in Politics as a Factor in Democratic Transformations

Sabrina White and Georgina Holmes

(University of Leeds and Kings College London)

Nation Branding and Gendered Diplomacy After Crisis:
France's Response to SEA Allegations in Central African Republic

Mohammed Hashiru and Ozgur Tufekci

(Karadeniz Technical University and Cesran International & Karadeniz Technical University)

Women Empowerment through Political Participation in Rising Powers:
Comparison of Turkey and Ghana

Anna Ujlaki

(Centre for Social Sciences, Corvinus University of Budapest)

The Peculiar Normativity of Movement

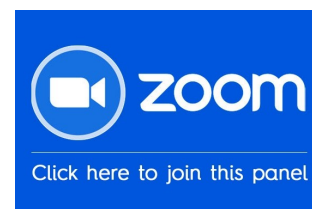
Ancient Merv, in modern-day Turkmenistan, is one of the most important cities along the Silk Roads of Central Asia. Founded around the 6th century BCE, it flourished as an administrative, trading, military & religious centre – becoming perhaps the third largest city in the world in the 10th century CE. Today it is a UNESCO World Heritage Site.



M08 – Panel: Global Phenomenon Requires a Global Response

FRIDAY // 24 September 2021 // 09:45-11:15 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT
Bezen Balamir Coskun
(Izmir Policy Centre)



PAPERS

Saif Rasul Khan

(Gauhati University)

Transnational Surrogacy Migration in Eurasia: Expansion in Global South

Emrah Atar

(Cesran International & Recep Tayyip Erdogan University)

A SWOT Analyses of International Politics of Climate Change

Faruk Dunder

(University of Glasgow)

An Example of the Marginality of Asylum Seekers in Literature: 'Hinterland'

Karolina Baraniak

(University of Wrocław (Poland))

From the Cold War to the Nuclear Sharing - The Nuclear Deterrence in Poland

Hyungsoo Woo

(Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology)

Public Opinion Toward Immigration and Immigrants in Korea



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

M09 - Panel: Endurance of Post-Cold War Conflicts in Eurasia: Whats, Whys, and Hows?

FRIDAY // 24 September 2021 // 12:45-14:15 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT
Ricardo Sousa
(OBSERVARE-UAL)



PAPERS

Katsiaryna Lozka
(Ghent University)

Between Independence and Creeping Absorption:
The Viability of Post-Soviet De Facto States

Çağlar Ezikoğlu
(Çankırı Karatekin University)

From a Journalist to Populist Politician: Pashinyan and Armenia

Bezen Balamir Coskun
(Izmir Policy Centre)

Resolving the Conflict between Serbia and Kosovo:
Can Turkey Act as A Mediator?

Arash Beidollahkhani
(Ferdowsi University of Mashhad)

The Role of Political Islam and Frequent Cycles of Political Instability in the Security Environment's
Changes of the Central Asian Region: From 2000 to 2020

Javadbay Khalilzada
(Kent State University)

Survival Strategy of the Small States:
Multi-vector Foreign Policy of Azerbaijan and the Second Karabakh War



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

M10 - Panel:

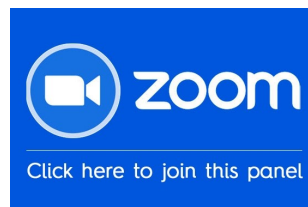
Struggle for Sphere of Influence Among Regional Powers in Greater Eurasia

FRIDAY // 24 September 2021 // 14:30-16:00 // (Lisbon, GMT +01:00)

CHAIR // DISCUSSANT

Murat Cemrek

(Necmettin Erbakan University)



PAPERS

Aliya Hashimova

(Renmin University of China)

Cooperation Between Turkey and China in the Reconstruction Process of the Liberated Areas of Azerbaijan

Ayla Gol

(York St John University & Cesran International)

Geostrategic Vision of Turkish Foreign Policy in Eurasia

Sandra Balão

(ISCSP-Universidade de Lisboa)

Eurasia in World Politics and China's Polar Silk Road Project

Joana Lopes

(Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa - OBSERVARE)

The Cyprus Issue: A Review of the Search for a Solution Model

Silvia Boltuc

(ASRIE Analytica)

The Role of the Iranian Port of Chabahar in the Regional Dynamics

Participant List

Adrian Pogacian	ReThinking Europe	Romania
Ahmed Zeinab	Zayed University	UAE
Aliya Hashimova	Renmin University of China	China
Ana Isabel Xavier	OBSERVARE-UAL	Portugal
Ana Mónica Fonseca	CEI-Iscte	Portugal
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Aslıgül Sarıkamış Kaya	Selcuk University	Turkey
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Bezen Balamir Coskun	Izmir Policy Centre	Turkey
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Caglar Ezikoglu	Cankiri Karatekin University	Turkey
Christian Ploberger	Thammasat University	Thailand
Christopher Whitsel	North Dakota State University	USA
Ekrem Ok	Agri Ibrahim Cecen University & Cesran International	Turkey
Emrah Atar	Cesran International & Recep Tayyip Erdogan University	Turkey
Faiq Hassan Khalid	University of Karachi	Pakistan
Faruk Dunder	University of Glasgow	UK
Furkan Emer	Ankara Medipol University	Turkey
Georgina Holmes	Kings College London	UK
Göktuğ Sönmez	Necmettin Erbakan University	Turkey
Gulnoza Ismailova	University of World Economy and Diplomacy	Uzbekistan
Hamdullah Baycar	University of Exeter	UK
Huzeyfe Altıok	Qatar University	Qatar

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Scott Lucas	University of Birmingham	UK

Participant List

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Sertaç Canalp Korkmaz	Presidency of The Republic of Turkey	Turkey
Sharifullah Dorani	Cesran International	UK
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<https://observare.autonoma.pt/janus.net/en/>





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Prospective authors should submit 4.000-9.000 words articles for consideration in Microsoft Word-compatible format. For more complete descriptions and submission instructions, please access the Author Guidelines and Style Guidelines pages at the website <https://therestjournal.com/> Contributors are urged to read the author guidelines and style guidelines carefully before submitting articles. Articles submissions should be sent through the "MANUSCRIPT SUBMISSION" page at the website.

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Dr. Ozgur TUFEKCI

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Conference Programme