

CENTRE FOR EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES UW
has the honour of inviting you to:
WARSAW EAST EUROPEAN CONFERENCE



2025 / Twenty-first Annual Session

**TIME OF GLOBAL TURBULENCE:
CHALLENGES FOR CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE**



UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW,
Old Library Building (Stary BUW)
Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28, Warsaw

30 June – 2 July 2025

media:

CENTRE FOR EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES
(Studium Europy Wschodniej UW)

Conference Organising Committee:

ADAM EBERHARDT – Conference Director, deputy director of the Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw
ANTON SAIFULLAYEU – Academic Sessions Coordinator, Assistant Professor, SEW UW – Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw
DOROTA POZOREK – Conference Secretary, SEW UW – Centre for East European Studies University of Warsaw

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*Ladies and Gentlemen,
Dear Colleagues,*

We are excited to invite you to participate in the 21st Warsaw East European Conference (WEEC), organized by the SEW UW–Centre for East European Studies at the University of Warsaw. Taking place from 30 June to 2 July 2025 in the heart of Warsaw, this year's conference is titled

Time of Global Turbulence: Challenges for Central and Eastern Europe.

This major event will bring together scholars, and experts to engage with the complex issues facing Central and Eastern Europe in an era marked by geopolitical uncertainty, shifting global alliances, and economic transformations. As the region stands at a critical juncture, where local and international forces are converging, this conference aims to foster a deeper understanding of the region's evolving dynamics and to explore innovative solutions to its challenges.

The conference will feature a rich program of academic sessions, expert panels, and roundtable discussions, bridging the gap between theoretical research and real-world applications. Participants will have the opportunity to engage in cross-disciplinary debates, share

their insights, and collaborate on strategies to address pressing regional issues. The following topics will be among those addressed:

- Scenarios for ending the Russian-Ukrainian war and their long-term regional implications
- The policies of the new U.S. administration toward Central and Eastern Europe in the context of global shifts
- The evolving relationship between Russia and the West: examining prospects, challenges, and tensions
- Regional security dynamics, focusing on NATO's role in safeguarding the Baltic and Black Sea regions
- The future of Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova amid ongoing Russian aggression and the impact on regional stability
- Strengthening European integration through the role of Central Europe in EU policies and beyond
- Prospects for cooperation within regional frameworks such as the Visegrad Group and the Three Seas Initiative
- The growing influence of disinformation, propaganda, and hybrid warfare in shaping public opinion and policy across the region

We encourage contributions from diverse disciplines, including political science, international relations, security studies, economics, history, sociology, and the humanities, to reflect the multifaceted nature of the challenges facing the region. The conference aims to provide a collaborative space where academic perspectives intersect with practical insights to navigate the uncertainties ahead.

We look forward to welcoming you to Warsaw for a stimulating exchange of ideas, fostering both intellectual dialogue and tangible solutions for the future of Central and Eastern Europe in an increasingly turbulent global environment.

We are delighted to share this opportunity for meaningful discussions and insightful academic contributions. Join us in Warsaw as we explore how Central and Eastern Europe can navigate the challenges of global turbulence and build a resilient future.

Sincerely,

Dr. Adam Eberhardt, Conference Director
On behalf of the WEEC Organizing Committee
SEW UW–Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw

DAY 1 (MONDAY, JUNE 30)

9:30 am – 9:45 am

OFFICIAL OPENING

(Main Lecture Hall)

- Jan Malicki, Director, SEW UW–Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw
- Maciej Raś, Vice Rector, University of Warsaw

9:45 am – 10:30 am

OPENING LECTURE:

“Poland and the European Response to the War in Ukraine: Security, Integration, and Reconstruction”

(Main Lecture Hall)

- Paweł Kowal, Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee of the Parliament; Chairman of the Council for Cooperation with Ukraine; Professor, SEW UW–Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw (Warsaw)

chair: Adam Eberhardt, WEEC Director, Deputy Director, SEW UW–Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw

10:30 am – 12:00 pm

OPENING PANEL:

“Russia–US Relations Under Trump: Reset, Confrontation, or Uncertainty?”

(Main Lecture Hall)

- James Sherr, Honorary Fellow, International Centre for Defence and Security (Tallinn)
- Agnieszka Bryc, Assistant Professor, Nicolaus Copernicus University (Toruń)
- Janusz Bugajski, Senior Fellow, The Jamestown Foundation (Washington)
- Maciej Raś, Vice Rector, University of Warsaw (Warsaw)
- Michal Kořan, President, Global Arena Research Institute (Prague), Assistant Professor, Masaryk University (Brno)

chair: Adam Eberhardt, WEEC Director, Deputy Director, SEW UW–Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw (Warsaw)

12:15 pm – 1:45 pm

PANEL DISCUSSION 2:

“Ukraine and Moldova on the Path to EU Membership: Prospects and Challenges”

(Main Lecture Hall)

- Laure Delcour, Associate Professor, Sorbonne Nouvelle University (Paris)
- Stefan Meister, Senior Fellow, German Council on Foreign Relations (Berlin)
- Michał Giergoń, Counsellor, Chancellery of the Prime Minister of Poland (Warsaw)
- Oktawian Milewski, Independent political researcher (Warsaw/Chisinau)

chair: Adam Eberhardt, WEEC Director, Deputy Director, SEW UW–Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw (Warsaw)

ACADEMIC SESSION 1:

“Does Belarus Have a Future? Post-War Perspectives”

(Room No 107)

- Wicke van den Broek, Maastricht University (Maastricht), *Learning from civil society? The Evolution of EU Democracy Support in Belarus*
- Justyna Olejczka, University of Białystok/ Academic Centre for Strategic Analysis (Białystok), *Activity of the propaganda and disinformation apparatus of the Union State of Belarus and Russia*
- Veranika Laputska, Polish Academy of Science (Warsaw), *80th Anniversary of the ‘Great Victory’ in Belarus: Historical Narratives and Public Opinion Manipulations*

chair: Anton Saifullayeu, Assistant Professor, SEW UW–Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw (Warsaw)

1:45 pm – 2:30 pm Lunch

2:30 pm – 4:00 pm

PANEL DISCUSSION 3:

“Defence and Deterrence in the Nordic-Baltic Region: Can Regional Cooperation Reinforce NATO?”

Session partner: Polish Institute of International Affairs

(Main Lecture Hall)

- Margarita Šešelgytė, Director, Institute of International Relations and Political Science, Vilnius University (Vilnius)
- Stefan Meister, Senior Fellow, German Council on Foreign Relations (Berlin)
- Hikski Haukkala, Director, Finnish Institute of International Relations, FIIA (Helsinki)
- Wojciech Lorenz, Programme Coordinator, Polish Institute of International Relations, PISM (Warsaw)

chair: Marcin Terlikowski, Head of Research, Polish Institute of International Relations, PISM (Warsaw)

ACADEMIC SESSION 2:

“Regional Geopolitics: Turkey, the South Caucasus, and Beyond”

(Room No 105)

- Davut Han Aslan, Assistant Professor, Vistula University (Warsaw), *Turkey’s Geopolitical Gambit: Mediation and Influence in the Russia-Ukraine Crisis*
- Konrad Zasztowt, Assistant Professor, University of Warsaw, *Anti-Western Narratives and Conspiracy Theories in the Turkish Infosphere*
- Rahim Rahimov, Independent political analyst (Baku), *Impact of Russian-Ukrainian war on South Caucasus: Turbulent geopolitical trajectories*
- Olga Dorokhina, Volodymir Abramiuk, Assistant Professor, St. King Tamar University (Tbilisi), *Disinformation, Identity, and the Politics of Stability: Grey Zone Strategies in Post-Conflict Georgia*

chair: Karolina Wanda Olszowska, Assistant Professor, Faculty of International and Political Studies, Jagiellonian University (Cracow)

ACADEMIC SESSION 3:

“Global Turbulence and Higher Education: Challenges for Central and Eastern Europe”

(Room No 106)

- Izabela Kalinowska-Blackwood, Associate Professor, Stony Brook University (New York), *Humanities in Action: Building Bridges Through Education in Turbulent Times*
- Tomasz Herzog, Professor, University of Maine (Presque Isle), *Reexamining Universities’ Civic Role and Identity: Mutual Lessons from America and Central & Eastern Europe in Turbulent Times*
- Tatiana Shchytsova, Professor, European Humanities University (Vilnius), *Higher Education in and for Belarus: Challenges of the Current Political Situation*
- Yuliia Vyshnytska, Associate Professor, Borys Grinchenko Kyiv Metropolitan University (Kyiv), *Literary Representation of National Consciousness: between Historical Memory and Civic Identity*

chair: Anton Saifullayeu, Assistant Professor, SEW UW–Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw (Warsaw)

4:15 pm - 5:45 pm

ACADEMIC SESSION 4:

“Informational and Cultural Tools of Hybrid Warfare”

(Room No 107)

- Nataliia Boiko, Institute of Sociology of National Academy of Science of Ukraine (Kyiv), *Navigating the Information Landscape: Source Trust in Wartime Ukraine*
- Kateryna Danylevych, Mierszewski Centre (Kyiv/Warsaw), *Modern Russian History Textbooks on the Invasion of Estonia in 1918 and 1940*
- Olena Liubchenko, Taras Shevchenko National University (Kyiv), *The Growing Influence of Disinformation, Propaganda, and Hybrid Warfare in Shaping Public Opinion and Policy Across the Region*
- Natalia Chahrak, Professor, Jacob of Paradies University (Gorzow Wielkopolski), *Exploiting Social Media for Malicious Influence on Ukrainian Society during the Russo-Ukrainian War*
- Nataliia Hirna, Associate Professor, Danylo Halytskyi Lviv National Medical University (Lviv), *Discrediting the Armed Forces of Ukraine as One of the Directions of Russian Hybrid Warfare: Manifestations and Impacts*

Chair: Izabela Kalinowska-Blackwood, Associate Professor, Stony Brook University (New York)

ACADEMIC SESSION 5:

“Ukrainian State, Politics, Society under War”

(Room No 105)

- Iryna Kostetska, Assistant Professor, National University of Ostroh Academy (Ostroh), *Strengthening the Development Potential of Rural Areas through Territorial Partnerships in Poland and Ukraine*
- Viktoriya Voytsekhovska, Associate Professor, Lviv Polytechnic National University (Lviv), *War in Ukraine: Development Aid in the context of the USA changing Foreign Policy*
- Emily Channell-Justice, Assistant Professor, Director, Temerty Contemporary Ukraine Program, HURI, Harvard University (Cambridge, MA), *Distributed Humanitarian Logistics: The Case of Poland and Ukraine*
- Olga Mashtaler, PhD Candidate, Tampere University (Tampere), *Party system institutionalization and democratization amidst war in Ukraine: dynamics of presidential-parliamentary relationship and party behaviour*
- Anzhelika Savchuk-Konarska, University WSB Merito (Wrocław), *Ukrainian way of rebuilding the state: global tasks and risks*

Chair: Olena Nikolayenko, Professor, Fordham University (New York)

ACADEMIC SESSION 6:

“Civil Society and Identity in Eastern Europe”

(Room No 106)

- Jerzy Maćkow, Professor, University of Regensburg (Regensburg), *Nationalism and democracy during and after communism*
- Karolina Pirianowicz-Urbańska, Independent researcher (Olsztyn), *Poles in Belarus in the shadow of the regime: between survival and political pressure*
- Oleksandra Iwaniuk, University of Warsaw (Warsaw) *Strategic Capital and Symbolic Power: Zelenskyy as a Disruptor in Ukraine’s Political Field Amid Disinformation Warfare*
- Nataliia Steblyna, Professor, Vasyl Stus Donetsk National University (Vinnytsia), *Emotions Dynamics and Ukrainian Resistance during the Full-Scale War (on the Material of Popular Telegram Channels)*
- Iryna Polets-Gerus, Assistant Professor, Jagiellonian University (Cracow), *Reading in the Shadow of War: Resilience, Identity, and Cultural Resistance in Ukraine*

Chair: Laure Delcour, Associate Professor, Sorbonne Nouvelle University (Paris)

DAY 2 (TUESDAY, JULY 1)

9:30 am – 11:00 am

PANEL DISCUSSION 4:

“Russia’s War Mobilization Model: Sustainability, Societal Impact, and Long-Term Viability”

(Main Lecture Hall)

- Katarzyna Wolczuk, Professor, Centre for Russian, European and Eurasian Studies (CREES), University of Birmingham (Birmingham)
- Sergey Medvedev, Professor, Charles University (Prague)
- Konstantin von Eggert, Columnist, Deutsche Welle (Vilnius)
- Maria Domańska, Senior Fellow, Centre for Eastern Studies OSW (Warsaw)

Chair: Rigels Halili, Assistant Professor, SEW UW–Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw (Warsaw)

11:15 am – 12:45 pm

PANEL DISCUSSION 5:

“How to Avoid Minsk-3? Drafting a Just Armistice between Russia and Ukraine”

Session partner: Mieroszewski Centre

(Main Lecture Hall)

- Alexander Hug, Head of Mission, International Commission on Missing Persons (Baghdad), former Principal Deputy Chief Monitor, OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine (Kyiv)
- Lesya Orobets, Founding director, „Price of Freedom” Foundation, former Member of Parliament of Ukraine (Kyiv)
- Ruhee Neog, Analyst, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (New Delhi)
- Łukasz Adamski, Deputy Director, Mieroszewski Centre (Warsaw)

Chair: Ernest Wyciszkiewicz, Director, Mieroszewski Centre (Warsaw)

ACADEMIC SESSION 7:

“Global Power Shifts and Strategic Competition”

(Room No 105)

- Konstantinas Andrijauskas, Assistant Professor, Vilnius University (Vilnius), Central and Eastern Europe in the Competition between East Asian Powers
- Paweł Borkowski, Associate Professor, Łazarski University (Warsaw), P.R.China – CEE format 16+1: lessons to be learnt about soft power
- Agnieszka Rogozińska, Academy of Piotrków (Piotrkow), Conclusions from the aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine: Proposed changes in the functioning of collective security mechanisms
- Miroslaw Banasik, Academy of Piotrków (Piotrkow), International Security in an Era of Strategic Competition

chair: Ludwika Włodek, Assistant Professor, SEW UW–Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw (Warsaw)

ACADEMIC SESSION 8:

“Three Years of War: Rethinking Teaching and Research on the Post-Soviet Region”

(Room No 106)

- Mark Kramer, Cold War Studies, Harvard University (Cambridge, MA)
- Botakoz Kassymbekova, Assistant Professor, University of Zurich (Zurich)
- Izabela Kalinowska-Blackwood, Associate Professor, Stony Brook University (New York)
- Oleksander Avramchuk, John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (Lublin)

chair: Anton Saifullayeu, Assistant Professor, SEW UW–Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw (Warsaw)

12:45 pm – 1:30 pm Lunch

1:30 pm – 3:00 pm

PANEL DISCUSSION 6:

“Society and State at War: Ukraine’s Internal Developments”

Session partner: Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW)

(Main Lecture Hall)

- Andreas Umland, Stockholm Centre for Eastern European Studies (Stockholm/Kyiv)
- Jakub Parusiński, Director, Kyiv Independent Insight (Kyiv)
- Marcin Jędrysiak, Research Fellow, Centre for Eastern Studies OSW (Warsaw)

chair: Tadeusz Iwański, Head of Ukraine and Belarus Department, Centre for Eastern Studies OSW (Warsaw)

ACADEMIC SESSION 9:

“Migrants and Diasporas from Post-Soviet Countries in Poland: Challenges and Future Prospects”

(Room No 105)

- Mariam Mashinyan, The Chamber of Advocates of the Republic of Armenia (Erevan), Migration as a Weapon: The Intersection of National Security and Human Rights
- Tamar Kalichava, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Parenting and Maintaining Familyhood Using Digital Technologies: Georgian Migrant Parents’ Transnational Family Life in Poland
- Iwona Reichardt, College of Eastern Europe, Deputy Editor-in-Chief for “New Eastern Europe” (Wrocław), Ukrainian Migration in Poland. Explaining the Fall of Support
- Ludwika Włodek, Assistant Professor, SEW UW–Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw (Warsaw), *Warsaw as anti-USSR. Lifehacks and everyday practices of migrants from the post-Soviet countries in the capital of Poland*

chair: Botakoz Kassymbekova, Assistant Professor, University of Zurich (Zurich)

BOOK PANEL 1:

“Invisible Revolutionaries: Women’s Participation in Ukraine’s Euromaidan”

(Room No 106)

- Mateusz Kamionka, Assistant Professor, Jagiellonian University (Cracow)
- Padraic Kenney, Dean, University of Kentucky (Lexington, KY), USA
- Olena Nikolayenko, Professor, Fordham University (New York)
- Paulina Pospieszna, Associate Professor, Adam Mickiewicz University (Poznań)

chair: Katarzyna Wolczuk, Professor, Centre for Russian, European and Eurasian Studies (CREES), University of Birmingham (Birmingham)

3:15 pm – 4:45 pm

PANEL DISCUSSION 7:

“How Developments in Eastern Europe Shape the Asia-Pacific Security Landscape”

(Main Lecture Hall)

- Raymond Chen-en Sung, Vice-President, Prospect Foundation (Taipei)
- Dominik Mierzejewski, Professor, Centre for Asian Affairs, University of Łódź (Łódź)
- Justyna Szczudlik, Deputy Head of the Research Office, Polish Institute of International Relations PISM (Warsaw)
- Eduard Simion, Brigadier General, Senior Associate Expert, New Strategy Center (Bucharest), University of Oradea (Oradea)
- Beata Górką-Winter, Assistant Professor, University of Warsaw (Warsaw)

chair: Grzegorz Kozłowski, Associate Professor, SEW UW–Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw (Warsaw)

BOOK PANEL 2:

“Pivotal Poland: Europe’s Rising Power” by Janusz Bugajski

(Room No 105)

- Janusz Bugajski, Senior Fellow, The Jamestown Foundation (Washington)
- Discussant: Maciej Szymanowski, Associate Professor, SEW UW–Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw (Warsaw)

ACADEMIC SESSION 10:

“Regional CEE’s Cooperation and Security Architectures”

(Room No 106)

- Mindaugas Norkevičius, Vigilija Žiūraitė, Vytautas Magnus University (Kaunas), Lithuania’s Defence Budget Priorities in the Context of Securitisation
- Šarūnas Rinkevičius, General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania (Vilnius), Bucharest Nine and regional cooperation after 2022
- Anna Dotsiak, University of Warsaw (Warsaw), Prospects for Cooperation Within the Visegrad Group and the Three Seas Initiative: Current Status and Future Perspectives
- Jana Mysak, Jagiellonian University (Cracow), Ukraine’s regional strategic diplomacy: Kyiv’s role in the *Three Seas Initiative’s architecture after 2022*

chair: Rigels Halili, Assistant Professor, SEW UW–Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw (Warsaw)

DAY 3 (WEDNESDAY, JULY 2)

9:15 am – 10:45 pm

ACADEMIC SESSION 11:

“Russian Domestic Politics and Ideology”

(Room No 107)

- Roman Bäcker, Professor, Nicolaus Copernicus University (Toruń), Bifurcation of Russia – hidden reality or dream of enemies?
- Miłosz Bartosiewicz, research fellow, Centre for Eastern Studies, OSW (Warsaw), Veterans of the invasion of Ukraine as the new elite of Russia – challenges and prospects
- Krzysztof Katkowski, University of Warsaw (Warsaw), The Dark Mirror of Critique: Dugin, Critical Theory and the Far-Right Turn
- Paweł Raczkowski, University of Warsaw (Warsaw), Putin’s tricksterology - How Putin weaponized NATO?
- Laura Gheorghiu, Karl Franzes University (Graz), Russia ‘Fighting Nazism’ in Ideological Reversible Time

chair: Kacper Wańczyk, Expert, Academic Center for Strategic Analysis, War Studies University, Visiting Fellow, SEW UW–Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw (Warsaw)

BOOK PANEL 3:

“Power and Protest in Central and Eastern Europe” by Claudiu Craciun, Henry Rammelt

(Room No 105)

- Henry Rammelt, Senior Researcher, National University of Political Studies and Administration (Bucharest)
- Olena Nikolayenko, Professor Fordham University (New York)
- Olga Zelinska, SWPS University (Warsaw)

Moderator: Veranika Laputska, Polish Academy of Science (Warsaw)

ACADEMIC SESSION 12:

“Responding to Hybrid Threats: Disinformation and Democratic Resilience”

(Room No 106)

- Dmytro Khutkyy, Research Fellow Professor, University of Tartu (Tartu), Digital democracy in Ukraine: Resilience to Russian hybrid warfare
- Yuliia Turchenko, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (Kyiv), King’s College (London), Democracy Under Pressure: The Role of Informational Influence in Geopolitical landscape
- Svitlana Shevchenko, Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Kyiv), Declining awareness as a background for disinformation
- Olha Tkachenko, Institute of Slavic Studies Polish Academy of Sciences (Warsaw), Revealing and Counteracting Russian Narratives in Ukrainian Media. Case of YouTube
- Oleksandr Sukhomlyn, University of Customs and Finance (Dnipro), Disinformation about «Poland’s territorial claims to Ukraine» as an element of Russia’s hybrid war against Ukraine (2014–present)

chair: Jerzy Maćkow, Professor, University of Regensburg (Regensburg)

11:00 am – 12:00 pm

CONCLUDING LECTURE

“The New Cold War? Lessons from the Past, Challenges of the Present”

(Main Lecture Hall)

- Mark Kramer, Director, Cold War Studies, Harvard University (Cambridge, MA)

Chair: Witold Rodkiewicz, Assistant Professor, SEW UW–Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw (Warsaw)

12:00 pm – 12:30 pm

Concluding remarks:

- Adam Eberhardt, WEEC Director, Deputy Director, SEW UW–Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw

- Jan Malicki, Director, SEW UW–Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw

WEEC concluding cocktail

12:30 pm

The Ceremony Marking the 35th Anniversary of SEW UW – the Centre for East European Studies

/in Polish/

(Main Lecture Hall)

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BOOK PANEL’S



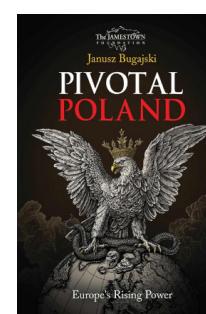
BOOK PANEL 1:

DAY 2 (TUESDAY, JULY 1)

1:30 pm – 3:00 pm

“INVISIBLE REVOLUTIONARIES: WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN UKRAINE’S EUROMAIDAN”

(ROOM NO 106)



BOOK PANEL 2:

DAY 2 (TUESDAY, JULY 1)

3:15 pm – 4:45 pm

“PIVOTAL POLAND: EUROPE’S RISING POWER” BY JANUSZ BUGAJSKI

(ROOM NO 105)



BOOK PANEL 3:

DAY 3 (WEDNESDAY, JULY 2)

9:15 am – 10:45 am

“POWER AND PROTEST IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE” BY CLAUDIU CRACIUN, HENRY RAMMELT

(ROOM NO 105)

University of Warsaw – Main Campus

