

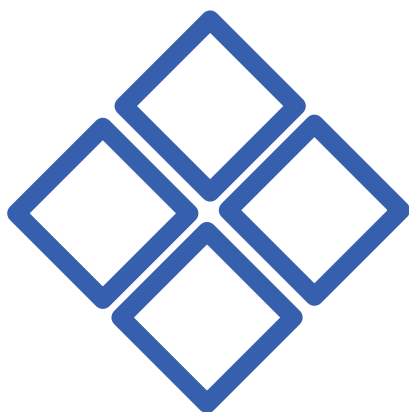


UNIVERSITY
OF WARSAW



Warsaw
East
European
Conference

2024 / Twentieth Annual Session



HOW TO DETER RUSSIA:

**RESILIENCE OF UKRAINE
AND OF THE WESTERN
COMMUNITY**

July 1-3, 2024

Old Library, University of Warsaw,
Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28, Warsaw



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WARSAW EAST EUROPEAN CONFERENCE

University of Warsaw June 1-3, 2024

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

Conference Programme Committee:

Olga BRUSYLOVSKA (UKRAINE) – Professor at the SEW, Mechnikov National University, Odesa

Janusz BUGAJSKI (USA) – Senior Fellow at Jamestown Foundation

Vít DOSTÁL (CZECH REP) – Director of Association for International Affair

Paweł KOWAL (POLAND) – Professor at the SEW, Chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission

Henryk LITWIN (POLAND) – Professor at the SEW

Jan MALICKI (POLAND) – Director of the SEW

Iryna MATIASH (UKRAINE) – Professor at the SEW

Lida NEDILSKY (USA) – Fulbright professor at the SEW

Andžej PUKŠTO (LITHUANIA) – Professor at the SEW, Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas

Mykola RYABCHUK (UKRAINE) – Professor at the SEW

Pavel USOV (BELARUS) – Professor at the SEW

Conference Staff:

Adam Błonowski, Martin Carlo Boyer, Hanna Kalinowska, Denys Kutsenko, Aleksander Skydan, Małgorzata Wierchowska, Anna Zdunek – Conference Organizing Assistance

Technical Assistance:

Hubert Karasiewicz – program layout & design



*Ladies and Gentlemen,
Dear Colleagues,*

Welcome to the 20th Jubilee Session of the WEEC – Warsaw East European Conference. It is a great honor to host this conference, held at the University of Warsaw, under the theme „How to Deter Russia: Resilience of Ukraine and of the Western Community”. This significant gathering aims to explore the critical challenges and opportunities facing Ukraine and the broader Western community in the context of the ongoing conflict with Russia.

The importance of this conference is clear. With Russia's aggressive stance threatening the stability of Eastern Europe, discussing and formulating strategies to enhance the resilience of Ukraine and strengthen the solidarity of the Western community is essential. Such dialogue is crucial for maintaining the international order and ensuring the security of our region.

The conference will feature eleven expert panel discussions and four academic sessions. This combination of expert and academic perspectives provides a comprehensive understanding of the issues at hand, bridging theoretical insights and practical solutions.

The sessions will cover a wide range of topics, including the internal dynamics within Russia, the role of NATO in the Baltic Sea region, the impact of the war on Belarus, and the strategic challenges posed by the prolonged conflict. Additionally, the conference will address the economic, cultural, and geopolitical aspects of rebuilding Ukraine, as well as the influence of disinformation and propaganda in shaping public opinion.

I am delighted to share this opportunity for in-depth discussions and look forward to the valuable insights that will emerge from this conference. Thank you for your interest and participation, and let's make this 20th Jubilee Session of the WEEC a memorable event.

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





OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

DAY 1, MONDAY, JULY 1 | 8:45 am | MAIN LECTURE HALL

Jan Malicki,

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

Alojzy Z. Nowak,

Rector, University of Warsaw

Władysław T. Bartoszewski,

Secretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland

Adam Eberhardt,

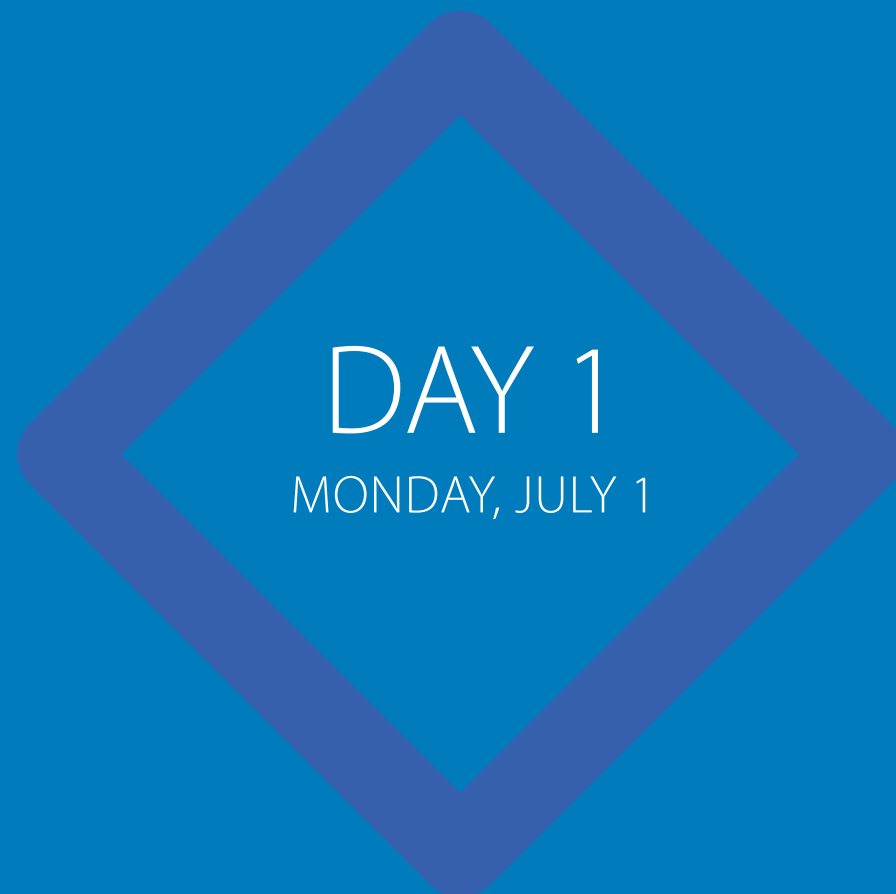
Deputy Director, SEW UW – Centre for East European Studies,
University of Warsaw

INTRODUCTORY LECTURE

DAY 1, MONDAY, JULY 1 | 9:30 am | MAIN LECTURE HALL

Daniel Fried,

Distinguished Fellow, Atlantic Council,
Former US Ambassador to Poland



8:45 am – 9:30 am

■ **OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE****MAIN LECTURE HALL**

- ◇ **Jan Malicki**, Director, SEW UW – Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw
- ◇ **Alojzy Z. Nowak**, Rector, University of Warsaw
- ◇ **Władysław T. Bartoszewski**, Secretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland
- ◇ **Adam Eberhardt**, Deputy Director, SEW UW – Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw

9:30 am – 10:00 am

■ **INTRODUCTORY LECTURE**
**The United States Before and After the 2024 Presidential Elections:
Prospects for Supporting Ukraine and Containing Russia**
MAIN LECTURE HALL

- ◇ **Daniel Fried**, Distinguished Fellow, Atlantic Council, Former US Ambassador to Poland

10:00 am – 11:45 am

■ **PANEL DISCUSSION 1:**
**Strength and Weakness of the West: How to Deter Russia and Defend
the International Order**
MAIN LECTURE HALL

- ◇ **James Sherr**, Associate Fellow, Chatham House; Senior Fellow at the International Centre for Defence & Security
- ◇ **Paweł Kowal**, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Sejm
- ◇ **Katarzyna Wolczuk**, Professor, University of Birmingham
- ◇ **Oleh Dunda**, Member of Parliament of Ukraine
- ◇ **Jakub M. Godzimirski**, Research Professor, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), Oslo
- ◇ Chair: **Beata Górka-Winter**, Assistant Professor, University of Warsaw

12:00 pm – 1:45 pm

■ **PANEL DISCUSSION 2:**
Strength and Weakness of Putin: the Internal Dynamics in Russia
MAIN LECTURE HALL

- ◇ **Janusz Bugajski**, Senior Fellow, Jamestown Foundation, Washington
- ◇ **Maria Domańska**, Senior Fellow, Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW)
- ◇ **Armand Goșu**, Associate Professor, Bucharest University
- ◇ **Konstantin Eggert**, Columnist, Deutsche Welle
- ◇ Chair: **Adam Eberhardt**, Deputy Director, SEW UW – Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw

1:45 pm – 2:45 pm | **LUNCH**

2:45 pm – 4:30 pm

■ **PANEL DISCUSSION 3:**
**The Shadow of China? East Asia's Approach Toward the Russian
War on Ukraine**
MAIN LECTURE HALL

- ◇ **Akihiro Iwashita**, Professor, Hokkaido University, Sapporo
- ◇ **Raymond Chen-En Sung**, Vice-President, Prospect Foundation, Taipei
- ◇ **Jakub Janda**, Director, European Values Center for Security Policy, Prague
- ◇ **Łukasz Zamecki**, Professor, University of Warsaw
- ◇ Chair: **Adam Eberhardt**, Deputy Director, SEW UW – Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw

■ **BOOK PANEL:**
"Failed State: A Guide to Russia's Rupture" by Janusz Bugajski
ROOM NO 107

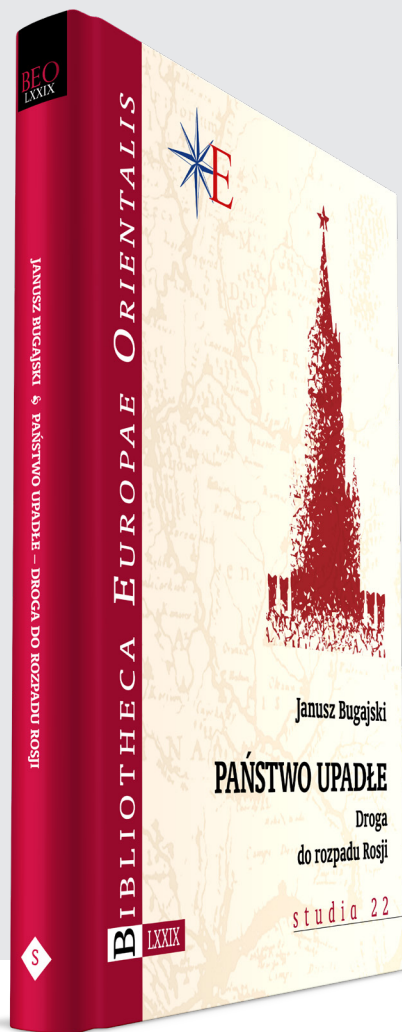
- ◇ **Janusz Bugajski**, Senior Fellow, Jamestown Foundation, Washington
- ◇ **Witold Rodkiewicz**, Assistant Professor, SEW UW – Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw
- ◇ Chair: **Robert Pszczel**, Senior Fellow, Centre for Eastern Studies, OSW

BOOK PANEL

"FAILED STATE. A GUIDE TO RUSSIA'S RUPTURE"

WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF THE AUTHOR JANUSZ BUGAJSKI

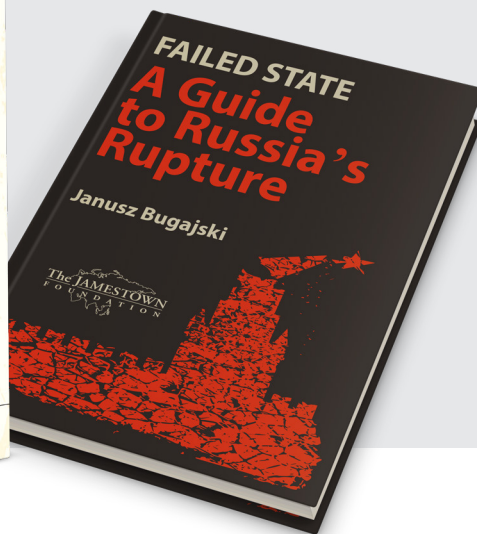
MODERATION - WITOLD RODKIEWICZ



14:45-16:30

JULY, 1ST, MONDAY

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WARSAW
ROOM NO 107



DAY 2
TUESDAY, JULY 2

9:00 am – 10:45 am

■ PANEL DISCUSSION 4: The Baltic Sea Region: How to Make it a Real NATO Bastion?

MAIN LECTURE HALL

Session in partnership with the Polish Institute of International Relations (PISM)

- ◆ **Tomasz Piotrowski**, Former Operational Commander of the Polish Armed Forces (2018-2023), Lieutenant General (Ret.)
- ◆ **Cordelia Buchanan Ponczek**, Research Fellow, Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FIIA), Helsinki
- ◆ **Wojciech Lorenz**, Head of International Security Programme, Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM)
- ◆ **Margarita Šešelgytė**, Director of Studies at the Institute of International Relations and Political Science, University of Vilnius
- ◆ Chair: **Marcin Terlikowski**, Deputy Head of Research, Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM)

■ PANEL DISCUSSION 5: How the War Changed Belarusian History

ROOM NO 107

- ◆ **Pavel Barkouski**, Assistant Professor, Polish Academy of Sciences
- ◆ **Aliaksei Lastouski**, Researcher, Belarusian Institute of Public History/European Humanities University, Vilnius
- ◆ **Iryna Ramanava**, Professor, European Humanities University, Vilnius
- ◆ Chair: **Anton Saifullayev**, Assistant Professor, SEW UW – Centre for East European Studies

11:00 am – 12:45 pm

■ PANEL DISCUSSION 6: How to Strengthen NATO's Eastern Flank?

MAIN LECTURE HALL

Session in partnership with the New Strategy Center, Bucharest (NSC)

Ambassadorial introductions "Perspectives on Polish-Romanian Strategic Partnership":

- ◆ **Cosmin Onisii**, Ambassador of Romania to Poland
- ◆ **Paweł Soloch**, Ambassador of Poland to Romania
- ◆ **Dragoș Iacob**, Deputy Chief of Defence of Romania, Lt. Gen
- ◆ **Cezary Wiśniewski**, Deputy General Commander of the Polish Armed Forces, Major General
- ◆ **Konrad Popławski**, Project Coordinator, Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW)
- ◆ Chair: **George Scutaru**, Executive Director, New Strategy Center, Bucharest

■ PANEL DISCUSSION 7: Women in Diplomacy Amid Russian Aggression

ROOM NO 107

- ◆ **Tetiana Izhevskia**, Vice-President of the National Commission of Ukraine for UNESCO, Former Ambassador of Ukraine to the Holy See
- ◆ **Monika Kapa-Cichocka**, Spouse of the Former Polish Ambassador to Ukraine
- ◆ **Maria Górska**, Editor in Chief "Sestry.eu"
- ◆ **Tetiana Sybiha**, Founder of the "Ukrainian Diplomats' Spouses" community
- ◆ **Orystlava Sydorchuk**, Head of the NGO „Union of Ukrainian Women"
- ◆ Chair: **Iryna Matiash**, Professor, SEW UW – Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw

12:45 pm – 1:30 pm | **LUNCH**

1:30 pm – 3:15 pm

■ PANEL DISCUSSION 8: How to Rebuild Ukraine: What Governments and Business Can Do Now?

MAIN LECTURE HALL

Session in partnership with the Eastern Partnership Institute (EaPI)

Ambassadorial introduction: "Perspectives on Polish-Japanese-Ukrainian Cooperation in the Reconstruction of Ukraine":

- ◆ **Akio Miyajima**, Ambassador of Japan to Poland
 - ◆ **Matsunaga Hideki**, Chief Representative of Ukraine Office, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Kyiv
 - ◆ **Bogusława Rudecka**, Director of Business for Ukraine Center, Union of Entrepreneurs and Employers (ZPP), Warsaw
 - ◆ **Orest Korenovskyy**, Executive director, Risk management, Kredobank, Lviv
 - ◆ **Bogdan Zawadewicz**, Director of the Geopolitical Risk Analysis Office, BGK bank, Warsaw
 - ◆ **Martin Svárovský**, Advisor to the Deputy Speaker, Parliament of Czechia
- Chair: **Michał Kacewicz**, Director, Eastern Partnership Institute

■ ACADEMIC SESSION 1: Media Under Siege: Tackling Disinformation and Propaganda

ROOM NO 107

- ◆ **Olga Vlasova**, Visiting Researcher, King's College, London
The Politics of Pacification: Analyzing the Kremlin's Approaches to Managing Public Sentiment in Times of War
 - ◆ **Alexander Smoljanski**, Information agency of Integrum World Wide, Berlin
Quantitative Sociolinguistic Analysis Of Putin's Wartime Concepts: Traditional And Liberal Values And Their Transformation
 - ◆ **Yuliia Turchenko**, Research Fellow, King's College, London
The Impact of Disinformation in a Geopolitical Context: Russia and Ukraine
 - ◆ **Nataliia Steblyna**, Professor, Vasyl Stus Donetsk National University
Who Are the Key Newsmakers During the War? Political Actors' Representation in Ukrainian Digital Media
 - ◆ **Vitaut Siwczyk**, journalist, Belsat TV, Warsaw
How the West can counteract Russian influence on Belarusian society
- ◆ Chair and commentator: **Mykola Ryabchuk**, Visiting Professor, SEW – Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw

3:30 pm – 5:15 pm

■ PANEL DISCUSSION 9: Moldova and Georgia: Between the European Dream and Geopolitical Reality

MAIN LECTURE HALL

Session in partnership with the Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW)

- ◆ **Irakli Porchkhidze**, Vice-president, Georgian Institute for Strategic Studies (GISS), Tbilisi
- ◆ **Vadim Pistrinciu**, Director, Institute for Strategic Initiatives, Chişinău
- ◆ **Kamil Căluş**, Senior Fellow, Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW)
- ◆ Chair: **Jakub Jakóbowski**, Deputy Director, Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW)

■ ACADEMIC SESSION 2: History, Culture and Societies in the Time of the War

ROOM NO 107

- ◆ **Tetiana Boriak**, Researcher, Vilnius University
History as a military and political weapon in Russia: how to react and to resist
 - ◆ **Larysa Levchenko**, Director, Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine, Kyiv
Black Sea Central Naval Archives: Russian Myth and Ukrainian Truth
 - ◆ **Yuliia Romanenko**, Researcher, Opole University
Resilience Amidst Ruins: Ukraine's Cultural Heritage in the Face of Russian Aggression
 - ◆ **Tetiana Izhevskaya**, Deputy Chair of the National Committee of Ukraine for UNESCO, Former Ambassador of Ukraine to the Holy See
Multilateral Diplomacy in the Context of the Russian Invasion of Ukraine: the case of UNESCO
 - ◆ **Antonina Kozyska**, Professor, Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń
Countering human trafficking in Poland in the context of the Russian invasion of Ukraine.
- ◆ Chair and commentator: **Magdalena Dembińska**, Professor, University of Montreal



Warsaw
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DAY 3
WEDNESDAY, JULY 3

9:00 am – 11:00 am

■ **PANEL DISCUSSION 10:****The Future of Ukraine: Resilience, Internal Stability, European Integration****MAIN LECTURE HALL***Session in partnership with the Mieroszewski Centre*

- ◆ **Julia Soldatiuk-Westerveld**, Research Fellow, Clingendael Institute, Hague
- ◆ **Mykola Ryabchuk**, Visiting Professor, SEW – Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw
- ◆ **Andreas Umland**, Analyst, Stockholm Centre for Eastern European Studies
- ◆ **Łukasz Adamski**, Deputy Director, Mieroszewski Centre
- ◆ **Viktoriya Melnyk**, Head of Projects, Centre of Policy and Legal Reforms, Budapest
- ◆ Chair: **Ernest Wyciszewicz**, Director, Mieroszewski Centre

■ **ACADEMIC SESSION 3:****Russia's War Against Ukraine: Implications for Other Regions****ROOM NO 107**

- ◆ **Konrad Zasztowt**, Assistant Professor, Department of European Islam Studies, University of Warsaw
The Origins of the Anti-Western Turn in the Policy of the Georgian Dream Government (2019-2024)
- ◆ **Paulina Filkowska**, Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń
How Does Russia's Invasion of Ukraine Affect Kazakhstan?
- ◆ **Agnieszka Stec**, expert, Le Centre de Recherche Politique CRP, Warsaw
The Clash of Political Interests of France and Russia in Sub-Saharan Africa in the context of the Russia's War against Ukraine
- ◆ **Piotr Sieniawski**, Assistant Professor, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University, Warsaw
The Impact of Russian Disinformation on the Perceptions of the Russia's War against Ukraine in the Slovak Republic
- ◆ **Erik Uszkiewicz**, Researcher, Hungarian Europe Society DIACOMET, Budapest
How Ukraine and Russia have been portrayed in the Hungarian public sphere since February 2022
- ◆ **Olga Brusylowska**, Professor, SEW – Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw, Mechnikov National University, Odesa
Russian Discourses of the War in Ukraine as Reflected in the Central and South-Eastern European Press
- ◆ Chair and commentator: **Shahla Kazimova**, Assistant Professor, SEW – Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw

11:15 am-1:15 pm

■ **PANEL DISCUSSION 11:****The Future of Belarus: the Forgotten Front of Russian Expansionism****MAIN LECTURE HALL**

- ◆ **Pavel Latushka**, Deputy Chairman of the United Transitional Cabinet of Belarus; Head of National Anti-Crisis Management of Belarus
- ◆ **Artur Michalski**, Former Ambassador to Belarus; Special Envoy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland
- ◆ **Andras Racz**, Senior Fellow, DGAP, Berlin/Budapest (TBC)
- ◆ **Elena Zhivoglod**, Director, "Honest People" Initiative
- ◆ **Artyom Shraibman**, Nonresident scholar, Carnegie Russia Eurasia Center
- ◆ Chair: **Marcin Wojciechowski**, Former Polish Charge d'affaires to Belarus, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland

■ **ACADEMIC SESSION 4:****The Prolonged Conflict: Strategic Challenges and Security Dilemmas****ROOM NO 107**

- ◆ **Oleksii Kolesnykov**, Research Fellow, University of Tartu
Ukraine on the Brink: Evolution of Political Regime and Resilience Limits Amidst the Russian Invasion
- ◆ **Oleh Shamshur**, Non-resident Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council, Former Ambassador of Ukraine to the U.S. and France
Current stage of the Russian-Ukrainian war: is there still a place for strategic ambiguity?
- ◆ **Tatsiana Kulakevich**, Associate Professor, University of South Florida, Tampa
The War in Ukraine: Deterrent Effect of Weaponized Interdependence
- ◆ **Kamil Zwolski**, Associate Professor, University of Southampton
From 'business as usual' to deterrence: The EU, Russia and the death of normative power Europe?
- ◆ **Laura Gheorghiu**, researcher, Karl Franzens University, Graz
Re-reading the Security Dilemma after Two Years of War
- ◆ **Michał Nasiłowski**, Assistant Prosecutor, National Prosecutor's Office of Poland, Warsaw
Role of international criminal law in Russia deterrence
- ◆ Chair and commentator: **Witold Rodkiewicz**, Assistant Professor, SEW UW – Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw

1:15 pm – 2:00 pm | **FAREWELL LUNCH**

