

Governance and Resilience in wider Eurasia: Are cooperative orders possible?

GCRF COMPASS *signature* conference stream

GCRF CONFERENCE @KENT

30 June - 2 July 2019

COMPASS: Comprehensive Capacity-Building in the Eastern Neighbourhood and Central Asia:
research integration, impact governance & sustainable communities (GCRF UKRI ES/P010849/1)



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GCRF University of Kent *Signature Conference*
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Concept: 2019 celebrates ten years since the establishment of the *Eastern Partnership* (EaP) initiative by the European Union (EU) to foster closer relations with its Eastern neighbours. The same year also features a fifth anniversary of the Russia-led *Eurasian Economic Union* (EEU) as well as of China's *Belt and Road Initiative*. All three projects curiously target the same former Soviet space – *wider Eurasia* – aiming to translate their good governance intentions into sustainable and prosperous development opportunities for the region and its peoples. And yet, each initiative comes with differing normative visions, premised on the fundamentals of a socially sanctioned idea of what constitutes 'the good life' for each governing domain, and involving differing notions of authority, collective identity and formal/informal institutions to underpin it.

The [2016 EU Global Security Strategy](#) emphasised growing complexity, inter-connectivity and contestation of the established international liberal order, positing the need to reform the post-WWII governing architecture by way of facilitating **cooperative orders** across the globe. This vision however does not easily apply to the *wider Eurasia*, currently under confluence of several regional orders, and often-exclusive dialogical platforms. While the document proposes to develop bilateral connectivity relations with China; Russia, by the same token, remains 'a key strategic challenge' for the EU; whereas governance for the region is being uneasily framed through the lens of **resilience** 'to withstand and recover from internal and external crises', and security.¹

It is therefore, timely and opportune to take stock of the celebrated governance initiatives and their practices in building resilience, to examine their success/challenges in reforming the region for the benefit of its peoples. Moreover, given their often-incompatible strategies and exclusive platforms for negotiation, it is crucial to understand if cooperation between them is feasible, and if yes, then how.²

The 'Governance and Resilience in wider Eurasia' stream is part of the wider GCRF Conference 'Building Resilience', organised by the University of Kent on 30 June-2 July 2019. This theme is supported by the [GCRF COMPASS project](#) (ES/P010849/1, 2017-21), an ambitious UK government capacity-building funding initiative, aiming to extend UK research globally, to address the challenges of growth and sustainability in the developing countries. Notably, the COMPASS project at the University of Kent, together with Cambridge University as research partner, seeks to establish '**the hubs of excellence**' at the top-level HEIs in Belarus, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, to enable them to become the centres for knowledge sharing and transfer for **research integration, impact governance**, and **sustainable communities**.

¹ EEAS (2016) 'Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe' – A global Strategy for the EU's Foreign and Security Policy; p.33; p.23

² For background reading see COMPASS Resilience Workshop Proceedings; [op-ed](#) by Zachary Paikin (Kent GCRF research affiliate); and a [scholarly piece](#) on a multi-order world by Trine Flockhart (SDU, and COMPASS AB member).

LOGISTICAL INFORMATION

If you have any urgent questions while traveling or during the conference, please contact Eske van Gils on +44 (0)74 104 109 65 (also on whatsapp and viber) or via e.van-gils@kent.ac.uk .

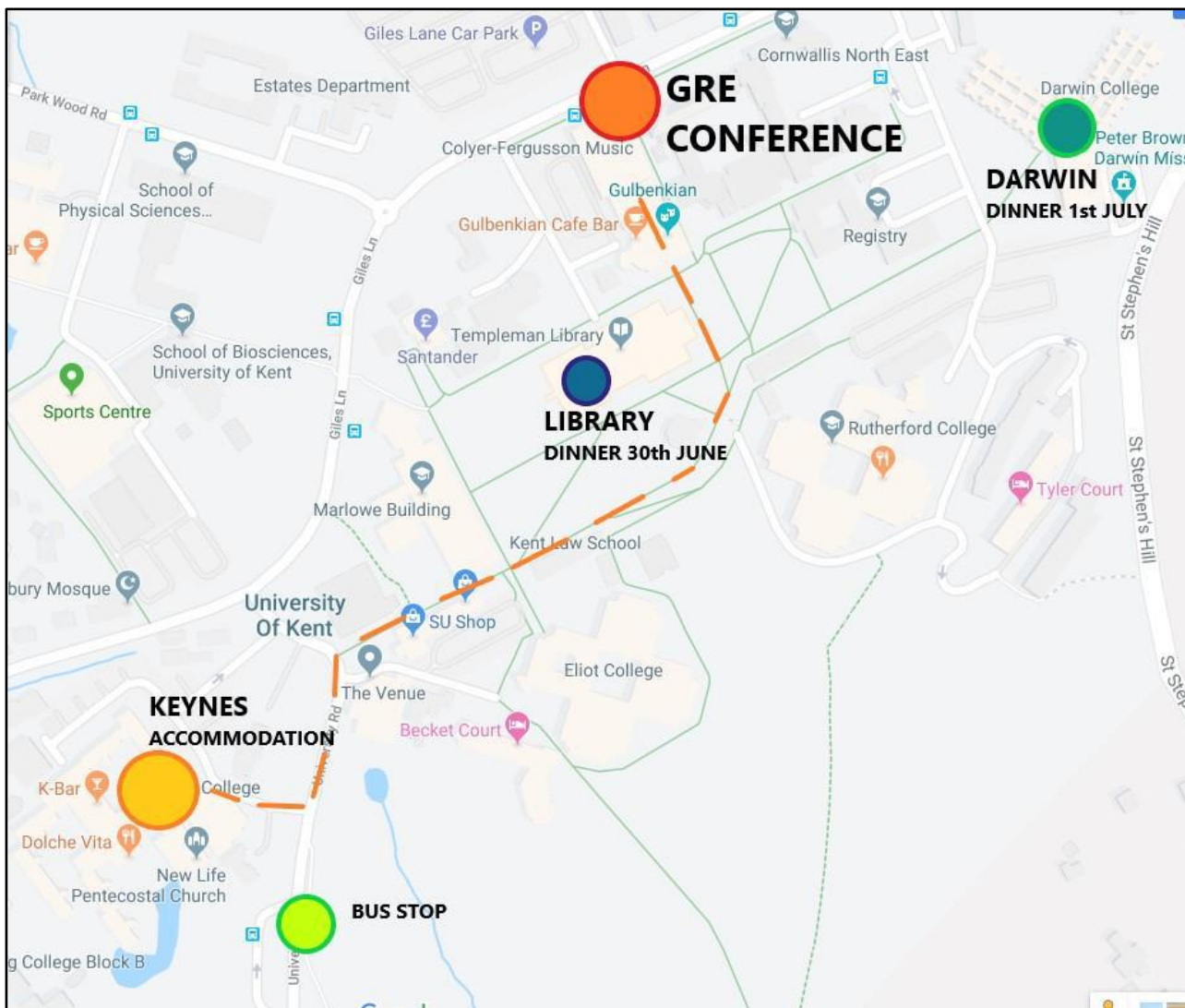
UNIVERSITY OF KENT CAMPUS

You can find an online map of the campus [here](#).

The emergency numbers for the UK are: 112 and 999 (for ambulance, police and fire).
In case of emergencies on campus, please call **Campus Security**: +44 (0)1227 82 3333

For **Wi-Fi**: There is Eduroam on campus. Guest Wifi log-ins will also be available at the conference.

The panels and plenary sessions will take place in the **Colyer-Fergusson Hall**, which is attached to the Gulbenkian building.



All '**Uni Bus**' lines go from the city centre to the campus, and will drop you off at the Keynes bus stop, at the edge of the campus. A bus ride will cost you £2,30 for a one-way ticket to campus and £3,50 for a return ticket. You can find more information about the buses here:

<https://www.stagecoachbus.com/plan-a-journey>

A **taxi** ride within Canterbury should cost you not more than £7. Traveling from the city centre to University would cost you up to £10.

Here are a few numbers of taxi companies, operating in Canterbury:

- Longley's: +44 (0)1227 710 777
- Wilkinson Taxis: +44 (0)1227 450 450
- United Taxis Canterbury: +44 90)1227 555 666

You can also **walk** up to campus, it takes about 30 minutes uphill from the West train station and the city centre.

ACCOMMODATION IN CANTERBURY

Participants who have requested accommodation in Canterbury will be staying at **Keynes College** on the university campus.

The confirmation of your room booking, along with detailed instructions on how to access the room, will be sent to you by the University of Kent Conference Office two weeks prior to the conference.

The address of the College is:

Keynes College
University of Kent
CT2 7NP Canterbury
+44(0)1227823622

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GCRF University of Kent *Signature Conference*

30 June – 2 July 2019

Colyer-Fergusson Hall

PROGRAMME

Sunday 30 June

14:00 Arrival/Check-in to accommodation (luggage storage available for delegates arriving before 14.00)

19:00 Drinks Reception and Buffet, Templeman Library

Monday 1 July

09.00 – 09.45 Registration and coffee, followed by welcome from Professor Elena Korosteleva, Principal Investigator, GCRF COMPASS project, Kent; and Dr Adrian Pabst, Head of School of Politics and International Relations, Kent

09.45 - 11.15 **PLENARY I: 'Uncertainty and a Changing Order'**

Moderator: Elena Korosteleva (Kent)

Trine Flockhart (SDU)

Alexander Lukin (HSE)

Kerry Brown (KCL)

11.15 – 11.30 **Coffee break**

11.30 - 13.00 **Panel I: The EU and wider Eurasia: challenges and opportunities**

Moderator: Zachary Paikin (Kent)

Dirk Schuebel (EEAS) – *'Current challenges for the EU and Russia in our common neighbourhood'*

Mark Entin (MGIMO) – *'A comparative analysis of Greater Eurasia initiatives: convergence or competition of purposes and interests'*

Irina Petrova (Leuven) – *'Resilience-building in the EaP policy: "the local" perspective'*

Anar Valiyev (ADA University) - *'EU-Azerbaijan Relations: What is the future and challenges?'*

Yauheny Preiherman (Minsk Dialogue Track II, and Warwick University) – *'The EU and Wider Eurasia: an in-between perspective'*

13.00 – 14.00 **Lunch break – followed by group photo at 14.00 (Colyer Fergusson Hall)**

14.00 - 15.30 **Panel II: The EEU and wider Eurasia: challenges and opportunities**

Moderator: Irina Petrova (Leuven/Kent)

Marcin Kaczmarek (Glasgow) – *'The Eurasian Economic Union – between patron-client networks and regionalism'*

Huawei Zheng (Kent) – *'Cooperative Orders from the Perspective of Institutionalisation: Comparing Russia's and China's Approaches'*

Roza Turarbekova (BSU) – *'Institutionalization of the Eurasian Economic Union: Belarusian-Russian disputes'*

Diana T. Kudaibergenova (Cambridge) – *'Eurasian Economic Union and European Union Power in Kazakhstan and Latvia'*

Nilufar Rakhmatullaeva (UWED) – *'New wave of reform in Uzbekistan and prospects for regional cooperation'*

15.30 – 16.00 Coffee break

16.00 - 17.30 Panel III: The BRI and wider Eurasia: challenges and opportunities

Moderator: Anisa Heritage (Kent)

Boris Iarochvitch (EEAS) – ‘The New EU Strategy on Central Asia and its wider regional aspects’

Alexander Lukin (HSE) – ‘Sino-Russian Strategic Partnership and the Emerging of Greater Eurasia’

Akram Umarov (UWED) – ‘BRI in Central Asia: opportunities and challenges for the region’

Gulmira Rzayeva (OIES) – ‘The Southern Gas Corridor: Are Turkey and the European Union ready?’

Xu Qinhua (Renmin) – ‘China-Russia Oil and Natural Gas Cooperation: The Geopolitical Impact’

Behrooz Gharlegi (Dialogue of Civilizations) – ‘Macroeconomic connectivity between China, Eurasia, and Central Asia’

17.30 – 17.45 Concluding remarks by the panel moderators (three major points of discussion from each panel)

19.00 Gala Dinner, Darwin College

Tuesday 2 July

09:30 – 10.00 Coffee

10.00 – 12.00 PLENARY II: Are cooperative orders possible in the wider Eurasian region?

Moderator: Adrian Pabst (Kent)

Nicholas Cendrowicz (European Commission)

Richard Sakwa (UK Kent/HSE WONR)

Xu Qinhua (Renmin)

Mark Entin (MGIMO)

Ulugbeck Khasanov (UWED)

12.00 Closing remarks by Elena Korosteleva

12.00 – 14.00 Lunch and departure

PAPER ABSTRACTS

Panel 1 The EU and wider Eurasia: challenges and opportunities

Dirk Schuebel (EEAS) – ‘Current challenges for the EU and Russia in our common neighbourhood’

Mark Entin (MGIMO) - ‘A comparative analysis of Greater Eurasia initiatives: convergence or competition of purposes and interests’

With the launch of the EU Communication on connectivity European and Asian countries are faced now with the challenge of four different views on connecting Europe and Asia. Perceptions of connectivity by ACEM, China, Russia and the EU do not coincide at all. They are different in (1) form and status; (2) proclaimed purposes; (3) scope; (4) level of elaboration; (5) interests of stakeholders; (6) money and resources behind them. Taking into consideration the current wave of confrontation, containment and unfair competition in world politics and economy there is a danger that these differences could further undermine international cooperation. At the same time the previous experience of Russia-EU relations provides insights into how to overcome it.

Irina Petrova (Leuven/Kent) - ‘Resilience-building in the EaP policy: “the local” perspective’

Whereas the concept of resilience is gradually entrenching in the EU governance in the EaP states, it remains new to the EU partners. Given a wide spectrum of analytical perspectives towards resilience and its vague and context-specific definition, it is important to elucidate how the concept is perceived and interpreted by the EaP states. The study therefore aims to explore to what extent the EU partners are familiar with the concept of resilience and how do they make sense of it. Building on that, the second objective will be to analyse what is their preferred conceptualisation of resilience in the relations with the EU and how do ‘the locals’ see their role in bilateral cooperation (e.g. local ownership). Drawing on primary sources from the region, the study will contribute to the bodies of literature on governance and resilience, complementing them with the crucial, yet largely overlooked, local perspective.

Anar Valiyev (ADA University) - ‘EU-Azerbaijan Relations: What is the future and challenges?’

The history of relations between Azerbaijan and the European Union dates back to 1999 when both sides worked together to sign a number of important political documents including the EU-Azerbaijan Partnership and Cooperation Agreement. That agreement envisioned strengthening cooperation in trade, investment, economy, legislation and culture. By 2009, the country joined the EU-led European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and became a member of the Eastern Partnership Initiative. For this period, both sides worked closely on a number of issues, trying to solve issues ranging from trade to visa facilitation. However, by 2017—when Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia had all signed Association Agreements and established visa-free regimes—Azerbaijan had decided to take a time out from its EU integration. Baku and Brussels look at each other with hope and understand the immense potential of cooperation. However, several issues have complicated the relationship. For the EU, Azerbaijan’s strategic location and Europe’s dependency on external supplies of gas and oil make it a valuable partner. For its part, Azerbaijan looks to the EU as a market for its resources, hopes that EU can provide a counterbalance for Russia and Iran in the region, as well as assist in resolution of the Karabakh conflict. Nevertheless, the EU did not take a decisive position on Karabakh as it did in the cases of

Crimea, Abkhazia, and South Ossetia. Moreover, separating Karabakh conflict from other post-Soviet conflicts, could not be explained other than “application of double standards”. Nevertheless, EU assistance has been critical to Azerbaijan in the past; since 1991, the EU has provided more than 500 million euros to Azerbaijan in technical, humanitarian, emergency and food assistance. The presentation looks at challenges and prospects of relations between two countries and tries to predict the future of such cooperation.

Yauheny Preiherman (Minsk Dialogue Track II, and Warwick University) - ‘The EU and Wider Eurasia: an in-between perspective’

The analysis of massive geopolitical relations, like in the context of the EU and wider Eurasia, usually misses the factor of small states that sit in-between – their structurally-driven needs and limitations, as well as actor-level concerns, within different sorts of cooperation and conflicting dynamics. It is these states that are most sensitive and vulnerable to the challenge of conflict-driven relations between European and Eurasian centres of geopolitical attraction. Moreover, it is these states that form the easiest-to-destabilise areas between the EU and Russia. Overall, the higher geopolitical tensions grow the more difficult it is for these states to maneuver between competing bigger interests and region-building rationalities. The presentation argues that preventing the overall situation from escalating to the level of grand geopolitical confrontation serves the sovereign interests of small in-between states well. This is a key structurally-driven need of such states. Yet, intervening actor-level variables distort the foreign policy logic and behavior of small in-between states, depending on their individual international and domestic circumstances. Whereas some small states aspire to leave their geopolitical in-betweenness behind and become part of, for instance, the West; others stress the in-betweenness as their own foreign policy rationale and as a crucial factor of regional stability and security. The former group is represented by e.g. Georgia and Ukraine, and the latter – by Armenia and Belarus.

Given the commonalities and differences between these categories of small in-between states, the EU’s relations with wider Eurasia need to take both into account and to find a balance between them, both politically and in terms of specific cooperation formats.

Panel 2 : The EEU and wider Eurasia: challenges and opportunities

Marcin Kaczmarek (Glasgow) – ‘The Eurasian Economic Union – between patron-client networks and regionalism’

Russian elites long sought a way to retain a privileged position in the post-Soviet space but it was only when Vladimir Putin had proposed to establish the Eurasian Union during the 2011 presidential campaign that promised a breakthrough. However, the idea suffered a series of setbacks. The first blow came from Belarus and Kazakhstan who opposed a political union and forced Moscow to limit its project to the Eurasian *Economic* Union (EEU). The second was even more severe. The Kremlin failed to convince Ukraine to join the EEU and at least partially fuelled pro-European sentiments among Ukrainian opposition that culminated in the Maidan Revolution. The developments in Kyiv and Russia’s overt aggression meant that Ukraine would not become a jewel in the crown of Russian-led integration for the foreseeable future. Russian-Western tensions that escalated since 2014 foreclosed another path for the EEU’s development – a dialogue with and a formal recognition by the European Union. Parallel to the losses in the western corners of its regional project, Moscow had to face another challenge in the East. In autumn 2013, Xi Jinping proclaimed a new initiative directed at the post-Soviet space – the Silk Road Economic Belt, part of the New Silk Road, initially known as *One Belt One Road* and later renamed to *Belt and Road Initiative* (BRI). The central tension that has underpinned the above mentioned obstacles stems from Moscow’s aspirations to achieve two aims at the same time: to retain patron-client networks it established

with post-Soviet neighbours and to offer a modern version of regional cooperation with equality as a basis. The paper argues that this tension is not an aberration but constitutes the essence of Russia's attempts to rearrange its neighbourhood.

Huawei Zheng (Kent) – ‘Cooperative Orders from the Perspective of Institutionalisation: Comparing Russia’s and China’s Approaches’

This paper explores the potentials of cooperative orders from the perspective of their degree of institutionalisation. The Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) and China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) overlap in their geographic scope, and the 'docking' of these two projects have been intensively covered by the existing literature. However, these two projects entail different approaches to institutionalising the respective orders. Therefore, institutionalisation is a crucial perspective of exploring the potentials of these two cooperative orders. This paper argues that Russia's approach can be conceptualised as multilateral institutionalisation, represented by the EEU. Conversely, China's approach entails bilateral mapping of relations with supportive institutions (AIIB, Silk Road Fund). Cooperative orders is possible to the extent that in terms of issue areas covered by the EEU, China needs to engage the EEU as a whole. However, regarding issue areas perceived as 'high politics' (i.e. energy) where the EEU has little mandate or governance resources, relations were mainly developed bilaterally. The implications of Russia's and China's different approaches would be both integration of this region, and considerable flexibility possessed by individual countries.

Roza Turarbekova (BSU) – ‘Institutionalization of the Eurasian Economic Union: Belarusian-Russian disputes’

The creation of the Eurasian Economic Union took place in difficult conditions of a regional and global nature. Russia's foreign policy raises a number of questions regarding compliance with international law; a special case is the annexation of the Crimea and participation in the armed conflict in Ukraine. The sanctions and retaliatory steps of the Russian government created an unfavourable backdrop for the creation of an Economic Union. The image of Putin's geopolitical project has been firmly established in the political and academic discourse behind the EAEU. It should be noted that the founding countries, except Russia, such as Belarus and Kazakhstan, are not formally subject to sanctions, but the latter had a very negative impact on their social and economic situation, which was also one of the negative circumstances of the launch of the Eurasian Economic Union. Thus, we can observe extremely negative conditions for the beginning of the creation of an integration association at three levels: domestic, regional and global. One of the characteristic features of the project was the disputes between the closest allies of Belarus and Russia, the so-called "disputes of economic entities". In fact, they are structural and institutional. The presentation will present a hypothesis about the key factors of the ongoing disputes of the two actors. The first factor, institutional design, includes the creation of supranational authorities, but does not imply the power functions that will allow them to play such a role properly. The second factor is that informal institutions are able to discredit the formal ones, and their legal basis is extremely weak. The third factor, super-presidentialism, means that republics are not flexible in terms of political integration, and "purely" economic integration can develop in a limited form due to the large share of the public sector in the Belarusian economy and significant in the Russian one. The disappointment in the integration project, which the Belarusian side publicly expresses, are not tactical methods, but an accumulated complex of problems of the strategic nature of bilateral cooperation between close allies of Belarus and Russia.

Diana T. Kudaibergenova (Cambridge) – ‘Eurasian Economic Union and European Union Power in Kazakhstan and Latvia’

This paper analyses the power dynamics in post-Soviet region by expanding on EAEU and EU powers and divergent paths in post-Soviet regions of the Baltic sea and Central Asia.

Nilufar Rakhmatullaeva (UWED) – ‘New wave of reform in Uzbekistan and prospects for regional cooperation’

The presentation will highlight recent reforms in Uzbekistan and its positive impact for regional cooperation. New concepts and approaches of regionalism in Central Asian region, its future prospects will be discussed as well.

Panel 3 - The BRI and wider Eurasia: challenges and opportunities

Boris Iarochevitch (EEAS) – ‘The New EU Strategy on Central Asia and its wider regional aspects’

Alexander Lukin (HSE) – ‘Sino-Russian Strategic Partnership and the Emerging of Greater Eurasia’

Russian–Chinese rapprochement is a fundamental feature of the current changing system of international relations. Apart from its own significance, it has become important because it stimulated and, in some cases, laid the foundation for many broader international processes: the creation of the multipolar world, the emergence of such international groups and organisations as BRICS and Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), the coordination between Eurasian Economic Union and the Chinese initiative of Silk Road Economic Belt and others. Recently, all these processes led to the idea of Greater Eurasia or Eurasian partnership.

Ivan Zharkov (BISR) – ‘Modern possibilities and risks for small and mid-size transit States along the BRI’

On the example of the Republic of Belarus would be considered the internal and external risks faced by small and mid-size transit States along the BRI at the current stage. At the same time, the focus would also be on the risks of missed opportunities associated with a state of high uncertainty against the background of geopolitical processes which are taking place today on the West - East line.

Akram Umarov (UWED) – ‘BRI in Central Asia: opportunities and challenges for the region’

The announcement of the BRI in Central Asia in 2013 became a landmark in the history of the region. In this context, I am underlying the fact that this initiative returned the interest to the region for politicians, media, scholars and experts after the decline of the attention to Central Asia associated with the upcoming withdrawal of the majority of international military forces from Afghanistan. In the period after 2001, the main motive of the interest to the region was connected with the Afghan conflict and the role of Central Asia in cooperation on the Afghan-related issues.

However, Central Asia has been facing a number of opportunities and challenges in the cooperation with China to implement BRI in the region. From the one side – the Chinese approach to foreign investment often does not comply with the norms of responsible development, instead worsening the problems of political accountability and economic governance in Central Asia. From the other side considering the peculiarities of Central Asia, most investors from Europe and the USA are not ready to invest this huge amount of money in the region and China is one of the rare countries – that is ready for such risks and special features of the region.

Gulmira Rzayeva (OIES) – ‘The Southern Gas Corridor: Are Turkey and the European Union ready?’

Since the initiation of the Southern Gas Corridor as a key midstream infrastructure, to bring the Caspian gas to the Turkish and European markets, and following the sanctioning of FDI to its upstream project, the Shah Deniz 2 field, there has been a tremendous shift in the gas market environment of the greater region. The construction works of the segments of the whole value chain have been commenced and half constructed, moving ahead of self-set deadlines in almost all the sections except its European part – TAP. It is remarkable that the existing financial challenges, primarily due to the low price environment, seem not to have affected the realization of the projects, both from the Azerbaijani and their partners’ funding shares. Many international banks and financial institutions have already either issued, or gave their consent to issue, long-term loans under the government guarantee.

Xu Qinhua (Renmin) – ‘China-Russia Oil and Natural Gas Cooperation: the Geopolitical Impact’

On May 21, 2015, after about ten years of negotiation, China signed a thirty- year natural gas supply contract with Russia. According to the contract, starting from the year 2018, Russia will export gas to China through the Sino-Russia gas pipeline. The volume of gas exported will increase annually up to the level of 38 billion of cubic meters with a total value of 400 billion dollars (2500 billion yuan). Before the gas agreement, China agreed in April 2009 to lend 10 billion dollars to the Russian oil pipeline monopoly Transneft and another 15 billion to state-run oil major Rosneft in exchange for 300 million tons of Russian oil to be transported over twenty years. About 15 million tons of crude oil will be sent to China every year upon the completion of the pipeline, which occurred in September of 2010. We will examine the oil and gas cooperation between China and Russia: why did the unsuccessful cooperation suddenly become successful, who is the winner of the cooperation, how can the cooperation last and what is its geopolitical impact.

SPEAKERS' BIOGRAPHIES AND CONTACT DETAILS

(in an alphabetical order)**Kerry Brown (King's College London)**

Kerry Brown is Professor of Chinese Studies and Director of the Lau China Institute at King's College, London. He is the author of over ten books on modern Chinese politics, history and language, the most recent of which are *The New Emperors: Power and the Princelings in China* (2014), *What's Wrong with Diplomacy: The Case of the UK and China* (2015) and the *Berkshire Dictionary of Chinese Biography* (in Four Volumes- 2014-2015). His 'China's CEO: Xi Jinping' was published in 2016. *China's World: What Does China Want* was published in August 2017. He is currently working on a study of the Communist Party of China as a cultural movement.

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**Nicholas Cendrowicz (European Commission)**

Nicholas Cendrowicz is the deputy Head of Unit in DG NEAR.C1 of the European Commission – the unit dealing with Moldova and Georgia, but also some of the regional aspects of the Eastern Partnership. He is a British national with over 25 years of experience in the European Commission, mostly in foreign relations (particularly with enlargement and neighbourhood policy), as well as connectivity. He was previously the deputy Head of Unit for Regional Cooperation in the Western Balkans, overseeing the expansion of this policy to become a cornerstone of our relations with this region. He was also the head of the Centre for Thematic Expertise on connectivity, environment and regional development in DG NEAR.

Before this, Nicholas worked in the Serbia and also the Kosovo team in DG Enlargement, having joined from the Romania team when Romania and Bulgaria acceded to the EU. In 2008, he was instrumental in organising a donors conference for Kosovo that collected over €1,4 billion in pledges. Nicholas is also a long-standing expert on energy policy, particularly energy having worked on this file in the Commission's Energy department. He was the EU facilitator for the Kosovo-Serbia dialogue on both energy and telecommunications matters.

Nicholas has a degree in politics from the University of Bristol and a further degree in political science from the Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Paris.

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Mark Entin (MGIMO)

Professor Mark Entin is Professor and Head of the European Law Chair of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO-University), holder of PhD and post doctorate Diploma in Law from MGIMO-University, and professor-researcher of the Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Professor Entin was Ambassador of the Russian Federation to Luxembourg between 2012 and 2016 and represented the Russian Federation in the framework of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the Helsinki-II Conference. Professor Entin has furthermore been involved in the elaboration of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) between Russia and the EU; and the activities of the Council of Europe.

Professor Entin is a specialist in Russian foreign policy, conflict resolution, Russian and EU legal systems, law of the Council of Europe and the European System of Human Rights Protection, the EU-Russia relations. He has authored over 400 publications, his most recent monographs including: "Law of the European Union" text book.

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Trine Flockhart (SDU)

Trine Flockhart is Professor of International Relations in the Department of Political Science at University of Southern Denmark. Before joining SDU, Trine's more recent appointments include: Professor of International Relations and Director of Research in the School of Politics and International Relations at the University of Kent; Senior Researcher at the Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS); Senior Resident Fellow at the Transatlantic Academy (German Marshall Fund) in Washington DC. Her research focuses on international order, NATO, European Security, the liberal international order (and its crisis), transatlantic relations, and major processes of change and transformation. She has more than 100 publications with her main academic articles having appeared in journals such as Review of International Studies, Contemporary Security Policy, Journal of Common Market Studies, European Journal of International Relations, International Relations and many others. Her most recent publications include 'The Problem of Change in Constructivist Theory - Ontological Security Seeking and Agent Motivation' in Review of International Studies and 'The Coming Multi-Order World published in Contemporary Security Policy (2016) and awarded the 2017 Bernard Brodie Prize for best article of the year (downloaded more than 5500 times since publication). She is the editor of Liberal World Orders (edited with Tim Dunne published with Oxford University Press, 2013). Trine is currently working on developing a new theoretical framework for understanding the transformation of order(s).

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Boris Iarochévitch (European External Action Service)

Head of Central Asia Division, Directorate EAST – Russia, eastern partnership, Central Asia, regional cooperation and OSCE.

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Anisa Heritage (University of Kent)

Dr Anisa Heritage is a Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Kent for the 2018/2019 academic year. She completed her PhD in International Relations at the University of Kent in 2017 with a thesis, entitled “Interpreting the Obama Administration’s Rebalance Strategy: Sustaining US Hegemony in the Asia-Pacific.” Her work focuses on US identity construction processes aimed at consolidating and maintaining the US role as the Indo-Pacific external power. Her forthcoming publications involve a book project with Pak K. Lee on the South China Sea and article on Sino-US competing order-building projects in the South China Sea, also co-authored with Pak. K Lee.

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Marcin Kaczmarek (University of Glasgow)

Dr Marcin Kaczmarek is lecturer in the School of Social & Political Sciences, University of Glasgow. In his research, Marcin focuses on Russia-China relations, comparative regionalism, Russia’s foreign and security policy and the role of rising powers in international politics. He is currently finalising a research project that compares Russia’s Eurasian Union and China’s New Silk Road. Marcin is the author of *Russia-China relations in the post-crisis international order* (Routledge 2015). He published articles in leading academic journals, including *International Affairs*, *International Politics* and *Europe-Asia Studies*. Prior to joining the University of Glasgow, he was a visiting scholar at the Chengchi University in Taiwan, the Slavic-Eurasian Research Center in Japan, the Aleksanteri Institute in Finland and the Kennan Institute in Washington, DC. He combined research and teaching at the University of Warsaw with policy-oriented analysis for the Finnish Institute of International Affairs in Helsinki and the Centre for Eastern Studies in Warsaw.

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Ulugbeck Khasanov (UWED)

Dr Ulugbeck A. Khasanov is a Chair of International Relations Department and Associate Professor at the University of World Economics & Diplomacy. He graduated from Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) and later its Graduate School of Political Science. In 2003 he defended his PhD dissertation on issues of Regional Security and National Interests of CA5 at the Moscow Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO) of the Russian Academy of Sciences. In January-June 2004 he participated in University Extension Program at UC Berkeley. In 2009-2011 he served as Press Secretary/Aide to the President of Uzbekistan. Ulugbeck Khasanov has 50 plus publications, monograph and textbooks. His research interests cover the field of international relations theory, its general trends, attributes, behaviour, driving forces, determining dimensions of the Central Asian politics

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Elena Korosteleva (Kent)

Elena Korosteleva is Professor of International Politics and Jean Monnet Chair of European Politics, at the School of Politics and International Relations, University of Kent. Elena is an LSE IDEAS Visiting Professor; executive member of the GLOBSEC IAB and co-founder/ co-director of the Global Europe Centre at Kent. She is the Principal Investigator of the GCRF RCUK COMPASS project (2017-21), a Co-I for the H2020 UPTAKE project (2016-19) and coordinator for the ERASMUS+ mobility project with BSU (2017-18; 2018-19). Elena's research presently focuses on the concepts of adaptive governance; resilience; 'good life' and identity; capacity-development and peoplehood.

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Diana T. Kudaibergenova (Cambridge)

Dr Diana T. Kudaibergenova is the COMPASS PDRA responsible for Sustainable Communities Pillar of the project. She is a cultural and political sociologist with main research interest in social theory of power and authority.

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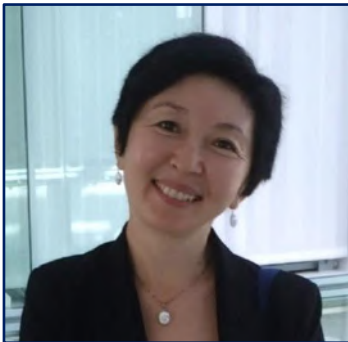
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Dirk Schuebel is a German national whose current responsibilities see him head up the Russia division of the European External Action Service. Before taking over this position in September 2018 he headed for five years the Eastern Partnership bilateral division in the EEAS dealing with the EU's bilateral relations with Ukraine, Belarus, the Republic of Moldova, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia. Mr Schuebel has previously held various positions within the European Commission, the European External Action Service and the German Foreign Ministry going back to 1993. In his time at the European institutions he has served as Ambassador and Head of the EU Delegation to the Republic of Moldova from 2009 to 2013 following a diplomatic posting as Head of the Political, Press and Information Section at the EU Delegation to Ukraine and Belarus from early 2006 to 2009. He also worked at the Commission's DG Energy and Transport, DG Enlargement and DG Trade. Earlier in Mr Schuebel's career at the German Foreign Ministry he specialised in international economic relations, foreign trade and foreign trade promotion. He is married and has one daughter.

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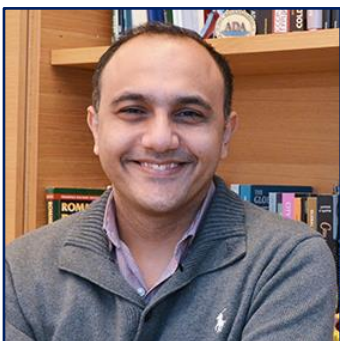
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