









Workshop

Donbass and Crimea Status and Perspectives of Ukraine's **Contested Territories**

Kyiv, NaUKMA, 26/27 January 2018 Museum of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, vul. Skovorody 2



Organized by the "German and European Studies"-Program at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (NaUKMA) and the Research Group "Frozen and Unfrozen Conflicts" of the Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies (IOS) in Regensburg, funded by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD)

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Open Workshop Call for Young Researchers "Donbass and Crimea: Status and Perspectives of Ukraine's Contested Territories"

With the annexation of Crimea and the emergence of two separatist entities in Ukraine's Donbass region (self-declared "DNR" and "LNR") in 2014, issues of contested territory and statehood in the region between the European Union and Russia have made it to the international political agenda again. While every conflict constellation has its individual whereabouts and dynamics, the protracted existence of territorial conflicts and the emergence of these new conflicts pose similar questions to their so-called parent-states (e.g. Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia) as well as to the international community of states.

Apart from broader questions of international and regional security, political and legal status and possible ways of internationalized conflict settlement, actors in the region face a range of everyday-challenges when dealing with the economic and humanitarian situation of the populations concerned. With all these conflicts being of a 'protracted nature', creative political thinking about effective

temporary solutions – ensuring acceptable life conditions while holding status questions open – are of key importance.

The workshop aims to develop a deeper understanding of the two most recent territorial conflicts in the so-called post-Soviet space and looks for possible transfers of existing expertise and knowledge from other cases in the regions. Contributions with different disciplinary background reaching from political science, sociology to law and anthropology should address one of the following questions and topics:

A. Nature of post-Soviet conflict constellations: What is the specific background of the conflicts in Ukraine, how have they developed since early 2014 and how can the current political status and the situation on the ground (political, economic, humanitarian) be described and analysed? How can scholars and practitioners learn from the experience in similar conflict settings? We encourage speakers to take comparative perspectives, embedding their analysis in the broader context of secessionist and protracted conflicts in the post-Soviet space and beyond.

- B. The Role of International and Non-Governmental Actors: A second area of interest is the impact of the engagement of the so-called international community (e.g. the EU and its member states, the USA, and IGOs) and non-governmental actors on the conflicts under consideration and their resolution. How are the conflicts perceived by foreign-policy makers, which policies and formats have been adopted so far, how effective are they? Could the international community learn or has it already learned from experiences with other post-Soviet territorial conflicts? How much does the involvement of NGOs affect the humanitarian, economic, and ecological situation in the territories concerned, and how are existing 'corridors of dialogue' used by them?
- C. Opportunities and Obstacles for Conflict Settlement: Under what conditions can the territorial conflicts in Ukraine be effectively transformed and eventually solved? What political settlement options are currently discussed, how realistic are they, and are there best practice-examples and practices actors can draw upon? What dimensions of conflict resolu-

tion are of special importance for the cases concerned (economic reconstruction, transitional justice) and how can existing expertise and local conditions be reconciled?

Organizers are the «German and European Studies» program, located at NaUKMA and based on a cooperation project between NaUKMA and Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena, together with the Research Group "Frozen and Unfrozen Conflicts" of the Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies (IOS). The workshop is financed by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD).

We invite applications from young scholars, PhD candidates, early career researchers and Post-Docs, from Germany, Ukraine, Georgia, Belarus and Moldova. Proposals (not more than 250 words) on topics fitting in one of the above prescribed three sub-themes should be sent together with a short CV to our workshop assistant (mattia.nelles@gmail.com) no later than 3 December 2017. A limited number of scholarships (based on DAAD-defined rates and categories) covering travel and accommodation expenses are available for successful applicants. Working language of the workshop is English.

Organizers:

Dr. André Härtel

DAAD Associate Professor for "German and European Studies"

Political Science Department, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (NaUKMA)

Dr. Cindy Wittke

Leader of the Research Group Frozen and Unfrozen Conflicts

Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies

Sebastian Relitz

Research Associate

Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies

Contact:

Mattia Nelles

DAAD Language Assistant
Political Science Department, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (NaUKMA)
(mattia.nelles@gmail.com)

Program of the Workshop

FRIDAY 26 JANUARY

1:00 pm – 1:20 pm Introduction and Welcoming Remarks

N.N. and André Härtel, NaUKMA

TOPIC A: THE NATURE(S) OF POST-SOVIET CONFLICT CONSTELLATIONS

Moderator: André Härtel, NaUKMA

1:30 pm - 3:00 pm

PANEL I: "What is Behind the Conflicts in Donbass and Crimea?"

"The Conflict in Donbas: A Challenge to the Liberal Script?" Oleksandra Khryshtapovych, Free University of Berlin

"The Role of Media in Post-Soviet Conflicts: The Case of Donbass and Crimea"

Oleksandr Yaroshchuk, NaUKMA

"President Putin's Policy Towards Crimea Before Annexation"

Agata Łukasiewicz, Cracow University

"Competing Interpretations of the Socio-Political Crisis in Ukraine, 2013-2017"

Valentin Yakushik, NaUKMA

3:00 pm − *3:30 pm* Coffee Break

3:30 pm - 5:00 pm

PANEL II: "Lessons Learned – Secessionist Conflicts from Comparative Perspectives"

"Territorial Integrity vs. Western Integration: Quo Vadis Separatism in Ukraine?"

Harutyun Voskanyan, Civil Consciousness NGO (Yerevan)

"Patterns of Conflict between Russia and its Post-Soviet Neighbors 1991-2017"

Jonas Driedger, EUI Florence

"Secessionist Conflicts and De Facto States in the Post-Soviet Space and Beyond: Main Findings and Challenges" **Sebastian Relitz**, IOS

5:45 pm – 7:00 pm

ROUNDTABLE: "International and Nongovernmental Organization's Role in Conflict Management: Practitioners' Perspectives"

Moderator: Maksym Yakovlyev, NaUKMA

with Stan Veitsman (UN RCO); Felix Schimansky-Geyer (Kurve Wustrow); Kateryna Zarembo (New Europe Center); Iulia Cozacenko (Consultant, UNDP Moldova)

SATURDAY 27 JANUARY

TOPIC B: THE ROLES OF INTERNATIONAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ACTORS IN POST-SOVIET-CONFLICT CONSTELLATIONS

Moderator: Sebastian Relitz, IOS

9:30 am - 11:00 am

PANEL III: "International Organizations and Conflict Management: Scholarly Perspectives"

"The Role of EUAM as a Security Provider: Are the Civilian Instruments Effective for Crisis Management in Ukraine?" **Mihai Mogildea**, Collegium Civitas, Warsaw

"EU Member States Foreign Policies and the Ukraine Crisis" André Härtel, NaUKMA

"Real or Void? Has the EU Learned from the Experience with Post-Soviet Territorial Conflicts?" **Liliana Tymchenko**, Borys Grynchenko Kyiv University

"The Visegrad 4-Reaction on the Ukraine Crisis: Between Unity and Division by Russia" **Lukasz Koltuniak**, Cracow University

11:00 am - 11:30 am Coffee Break

TOPIC C: OPPORTUNITIES AND OBSTACLES FOR CON-FLICT MANAGEMENT AND NEW INCLUSIVE POLITICAL SETTLEMENTS

Moderator: Cindy Wittke, IOS

11:30 am - 1:00 pm

PANEL IV: "Searching for New Political Settlements – A Comparative Perspective of Post-Soviet Conflict Constellations" (Part I)

"Multilateral Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution in Ukraine" Urs Unkauf, Humboldt University Berlin

"Lessons Learned from Georgia's Conflict Resolution Endeavour"

Medea Turashvili, Tbilisi State University

"The Impact of Geopolitical Interests of International Mediators on the Process of Conflict Settlement in Transnistria and Nagorno-Karabakh"

Ernest Vardanean, Moldova State University

1:00 pm - 2:30 pm Lunch Break

2:30 pm - 4:00 pm

PANEL V: "Searching for New Political Settlements – A Comparative Perspective of Post-Soviet Conflict Constellations" (Part II)

"The Domestic Dimension of Defining Contested Territories and its Value for Conflict Transformation: Comparative Perspectives from Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia"

Maryna Rabinovych, I.I. Mechnikov Odessa National University

"Language Policy in Contemporary Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova: Key Actors"

Nadiya Trach, Justus Liebig University Giessen

"The Role of Crimean Tatars in the Process of De-Occupation of Crimea"

Alina Zubkovych, CBEES Stockholm

4:00 pm - 4:30 pm Coffee Break

4:30 pm - 6:00 pm

PANEL VI: "Transformation and Reconciliation: Obstacles and Opportunities on the Paths from Violent Conflict to Sustainable Peace"

Moderator: Evgeniya Bakalova, IOS

"No Way Out? Opportunities for Mediation Efforts in Ukraine's Contested Territories"

Jakob Landwehr, TU Chemnitz

"Only 'Scraps of Paper'? – Peace and Ceasefire Agreements as Formalized Political Unsettlements"

Cindy Wittke, IOS

"International Criminal Court Involvement in Ukraine: The Reasons of Invitation and the Limits of Involvement" **Dmytro Koval,** National University Odessa Law Academy

6:15 pm - 7:30 pm

ROUNDTABLE: "Political Settlements and Transitional Justice"

with Kateryna Busol (Global Rights Compliance); Roman Petrov (NaUKMA); Taras Tsymbrivskyy (Ukrainian Catholic University); Oksana Senatorova (Yaroslav Mudryi National Law University)

CLOSING REMARKS by Cindy Wittke, IOS

List of Participants

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Zubkovych, Alina	Centre for Baltic and East European Studies, Södertorn University in Stockholm	alzubkovych@gmail.com

Biographical Abstracts

Jonas J. Driedger

Jonas J. Driedger is a Research Associate at the Europe in the World Program, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. Doctoral Researcher by the Social and Political Science Department at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. Diss. topic: determinants of conflict between powerful states and less powerful neighbors. Areas of interest and expertise are international security and defence policy, especially of the EU, NATO, Germany, Eastern Europe and Russia. Peace and Conflict Studies. International Relations Theory. Political, economic and social developments in Eastern Europe and Russia.

Dr. André Härtel

Dr. André Härtel (born in 1979) currently works as DAAD Associate Professor for "German and European Studies" at the National University "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy" in Ukraine. Before he has been Political Advisor at the Council of Europe's Directorate of Policy Planning (Strasbourg, France) and a Lecturer in International Relations at Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena, Germany.

He was educated in Political Science and International Relations at Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena, the University of Virginia (US) and Oxford Brookes University (UK). Aside from being a regional specialist for the Post-Soviet space his research interests cover foreign policy analysis, international organizations, democratisation, and state-building.

Łukasz Kołtuniak

Łukasz Kołtuniak is a PhD student at the Jagiellonian University. His research area focused around international law, philosophy of law, and international area. Author of many comments and article published, for example, in New Eastern Europe and Euromaydan press.

Dmytro Koval

Dmytro Koval graduated from National University "Odessa Law Academy". In 2014 defended a PhD thesis "International Law Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict". From 2013 studies the international criminal courts' influence on the post-conflict societies collective memory in the Polish Academy of Science. Participated in the preparation of the numerous expert's reports for the human rights organization on the cultural property protection, international humanitarian and criminal law implementation in Ukraine.

Oleksandra Kryshtapovych

Oleksandra Kryshtapovych, PhD candidate at the Berlin Graduate School for Transnational Studies. Has gained experience in management of international and interactive projects in private sector and at the university level in Ukraine, Sweden and Germany. She completed Master in International Administration and Global Governance at the University of Gothenburg (2016) and Bachelor and Master at the Institute of International Relations of the Kyiv National Taras Shevchenko University (2007 and 2009, respectively).

Jakob Landwehr

Jakob Landwehr is currently a research associate at the Professorship of International Relations at Chemnitz University of Technology in Germany. He holds a B.A in European Studies and M.A in International Conflict Analysis and is currently pursuing his PhD in the field of humanitarian military interventions. His research focuses on conflict prevention, analysis and resolution, negotiation and mediation theory, and the United Nations and regional actors.

Agata Łukasiewicz

Agata Łukasiewicz - student of Eurasian studies at the Jagiellonian University, a graduate of national security. Interests: the Eurasian area, especially the history of the former USSR countries.

Mihai Mogîldea

Mihai Mogîldea is a research assistant for Collegium Civitas (Warsaw) in a project concerning the internal barriers for the European transformation of Moldova. He is also a research fellow for Experts for Security and Global Affairs Association and an associate for the Institute for European Policy and Reforms. His research interests are related to the political and security developments in the Eastern Partnership, with a particular focus on EU's engagement in the region. Mihai holds a master degree in European Political and Administrative Studies from College of Europe (Bruges).

Maryna Rabinovych

Maryna Rabinovych is a 3rd-year PhD Candidate at the Department of Constitutional Law and Justice of the I.I. Mechnikov Odessa National University. She is also a Global Community Manager at the Ukraine Democracy Initiative (Sydney). Ms. Rabinovych was a GIZ Reintegrated Expert to Ukraine in 2016-2017.

She holds an LL.B from the Odessa National University and an LL.M from the University of Hamburg. Her research focuses on the EU external relations law, EU promotion of fundamental values, and the EU Neighbourhood Policy.

Nadiya Trach

Nadiya Trach is a postdoctoral researcher in Institute of Slavistics, Justus Liebig University, Giessen, Germany. Since January 2017 she has been working on her postdoc thesis "Language Policies in Contemporary Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova" in the frame of LOEWE project "Conflicts in the Eastern Europe". Nadiva Trach graduated from National University "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy" (Ukraine) in 2005 with Master of Arts degree in the sphere of Theory, History of Literature and Comparative Literature. In 2009, she defended her PhD thesis "Ukrainian Legal Terminology in XXth century" in Chernivtsi National University named after Yuri Fedkovych (Ukraine). In 2015, she published book on Euromaidan slogans analysis – "Together we are power!" – Rhetoric of the Ukrainian Resistance. Sociolinguistic Essays (book in Ukrainian, Kyiv: Publishing House Klio). From 2005 till 2016, she worked in the Department of Ukrainian Language of National University "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy" as university instructor (2005-2012) and associate professor (2012-2016).

She published more than 30 articles in the field of legal terminology, mass-media language, language policy, language and identity issues.

Medea Turashvili

Medea Turashvili is a PhD student at Department of Conflict Analysis and Conflict Management at Tbilisi State University, Georgia. She is researching factors, contributing to conflict escalation. She has more than ten years of research and analytical experience in various local and international organizations, including International Crisis Group, European Centre for Minority Issues and Caucasian House, where she researched conflicts, human rights, forced migration, democracy and social transformation in the South Caucasus. She holds MA in Conflict Studies and Human Rights from Utrecht University, Netherlands and BA in Political Science from METU, Turkey.

Liliana Tymchenko

Liliana Tymchenko — assistant professor, chair of international relations and international law in the Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University. She holds a specialist diploma in law from the State University of Moldova (1994) and a diploma of doctor in international law from the International Independent University of Moldova (1998).

She has been a visiting professor in Newark (N.J., U.S.A.) – Rutgers University, New Haven (Ct., U.S.A.) – Yale University and Geneva (Switzerland) – Geneva University to study methodology of teaching and research. Starting from 2006 she holds a position of visiting professor at the European Humanities University in Vilnius (Lithuania). The main scientific interest: recognition of states in international law.

Urs Unkauf

Urs Unkauf studied from 2013 to 2016 history and sociology with a focus on international relations at the Universities of Tübingen and Aix-en-Provence/Marseille (B.A./Licence d'Histoire). Since 2016, he studies Contemporary History at the Humboldt University of Berlin. He is member of the German Council on Foreign Relations and the Academic Association for Security Studies. His scientific interest is focused on diplomacy, energy policy, and the post-Soviet space (including Russia, Eastern, Europe, South Caucasus, and Central Asia). Academic Projects brought him to Armenia, Israel, Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus.

Ernest Vardanean

Born in Yerevan, Armenia, lives in Kishinev (Chisinau), Republic of Moldova.

PhD student and University lecturer in Political Science at the Moldova State University. Speaks Armenian, Russian, Romanian, English, French (fluently); Italian, Spanish, German, Polish, and Turkish (intermediate level). Main areas of interest: post-Soviet space, 'frozen' conflicts, Black sea region, 'Eastern partnership', Russian-American and Russian-European relationship. 15 years of overall professional experience.

Harutyun Voskanyan

Harutyun Voskanyan is an independent researcher and civil activist, who graduated from Yerevan State University, Russian-Armenian (Slavonic) University in Yerevan and Belarus State University in Minsk. He has received BA in Political Science. He has also MA in European Studies (Human Rights and Democratization) and Political Science. Recently, he has finished doing research at the University after Adam Mickiewicz in Poznan, Poland. His academic and research interests include the problems of ethnic conflicts and the aspects of their resolution, phenomenon of non-recognized states, problems of national security and defence, perspectives of EU and the policy of enlargement of Eastern Partnership as well as civil society development in Post-Soviet region. Currently, he is managing the foreign partnership department at "Civil Consciousness NGO" in Armenia.

Oleksandr Yaroshchuk

Oleksandr Yaroshchuk is a journalist from Ukraine and a PhD Candidate at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. In 2017 he received a master degree in media and communications in the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy School of Journalism. His main spheres of interest include investigative journalism, war and peace journalism, media in transition states and media in the post-Soviet space. He writes for major Ukrainian online media outlets, with the focus on media, agriculture, energy reforms, and international politics.

Valentin Yakushik

Professor of political science at NaUKMA, Ph.D. (Doctor of Sciences) in Political Science (political institutions and processes), Institute of State and Law, Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Ph.D. (Candidate of Sciences) in Law (theory and history of state and law; history of legal and political thought), Kiev State University.

L.L.M. in International Law, Kiev State University (Faculty of International Relations and International Law).

Alina Zubkovych

Alina Zubkovych is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Centre for Baltic and East European Studies (CBEES), Södertorn University, Stockholm.

She is also a Non-Resident Associate Fellow of the Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation (IEAC) at Kyiv and of the Ukrainian Institute of Sweden. Alina has published a number of articles and several books, including "Dealing with the Yugoslav past: exhibitions reelections in the successor states", ibidem-Verlag, 2017 and edited volume "Late Modernity in Transformation: Migrations, Culture and Economics", Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 2015 in co-authorship with M. Makarovic and E. Danilova.

EVERYTHING YOU NEED TO KNOW

How to get from the hotel to the workshop venue?

The workshop venue is on the old campus of the Mohyla Academy with the official address Hryhoriya Skovorody Street 2. The entrance is not so easy to find. Therefore, someone will take the whole group from the hotel to the venue on the first workshop day on Friday the **26th**, **12:30 pm** (meeting point in hotel lobby). On Saturday, you can walk there alone. It is an easy walk of about 25 minutes. We would not recommend taking the metro as it would take you more time. Even in the night this walk should be safe. This map shows the way (blue route

recommended):



Hotel

The hotel "Dnipro" is located right at the end of the famous Kreshchatyk Street on Evropeyska Ploshcha, the site of the so called "Anti-Maidan" during the "Euromaidan" in autumn 2013 and later one of the main hot spots of the "Revolution of Dignity". The Maidan Nezaleshnosti (Independence Square) is just nearby. The hotel is paid for you and breakfast is included. It is an average-priced hotel with 3 stars (booking.com).



Legend:

04 = Cooperation Office

10 = Antonovych-Library

14 = NaUKMA Historical and Museum Centre

Meals

We can guarantee to cover your travel costs up to a certain amount and the accommodation. We will also make dinner reservations at reasonably priced restaurants for Friday and Saturday and for lunch on Saturday. For all your meals during your stay, you will receive 60 € on Friday in the late afternoon. Please expect to cover the costs until Friday afternoon on your own and change some money directly after your arrival.

How do you get back to the airport?

We advise to order a taxi at the hotel reception. It would cost at least 300 UAH to Borispil airport. You need approx. 30 min for the trip, if traffic is normal.

Other Useful Information

Emergencies: Please check before your departure whether you have a world-wide applicable health-insurance also covering Ukraine. In any case if something happens to you during your stay, you should call André Härtel first. (+380996216527

Transport/Security: Kyiv is a major city but not to be compared with other major European capitals. Most events of significance take place on a small territory in the so called "upper town" and the old district Podil, where the Academy is located. All major sights are very near to your hotel and in walking distance.

The metro runs till app. 1 am and costs 5 UAH a trip. Taxis are cheap (app. 50 UAH for an inner-city trip) but foreigners are often over-charged. So, agree on the price before taking the taxi; most drivers speak a bit of English. Crime is not a problem, but keep an eye on your belongings in crowded places and the metro. The police is generally very friendly and approachable for foreigners.

Money: The exchange rate Euro/Hryvnya is app. 1:34 these days. You can take money from ordinary cash machines, but we would recommend you doing it in safe places such as inside banks or hotels.

Weather: Please bring warm clothes and shoes – the temperature can get well below zero degrees in January.

Addresses and Telephone Numbers

Conference Venue:

Museum of National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy Hryhoriya Skovorody St, 2, Kyiv, 04655

Office of the Project inside NaUKMA:

National University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy", Dept. of Political Science

Voloska St, 8/5 (building 4, office 224), Kyiv, 04070 UA Національний Університет "Києво-Могилянська-Академія", Кафедра Політології

вул. Волоська 8/5 (корпус 4, кімн. 224), Київ, 04070, Україна

Dnipro Hotel:

Khreshchatyk St, 1/2, Kiev, 01001, Ukraine

Tel: +380 44 254 67 77

E-Mail: info@dniprohotel.ua

Website: http://www.dniprohotel.ua

Hospital (private medicine, but covered by most West-

ern health insurances):

Boris-Klinik

Prospekt Mykola Bashan, 12a, Kyiv, 02140, Ukraine

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"German and European Studies"-Program

One of the most important parts of the long-term cooperation project between the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (NaUKMA) and the Friedrich-Schiller-University of Jena (FSU) is the two-year social science master's program "German and European Studies". The postgraduate course is conducted at both NaUKMA and the FSU.

Germany and the European Union do not only belong to the most important trading partners of Ukraine, but also play an important role in the political sphere, especially for external relations and the future development of the country. The master program provides the scientific requirements to analyze critical political, legal and economic aspects connected to Germany's and the European Union's historical and contemporary development. It also focuses on the international relations of Germany as well as of the EU.

The program has been created by the University of Jena and the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy with the help of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and was started in 2007. It is designed as a two-year postgraduate course. The first year of the program takes place at the NaUKMA and courses are taught at least to 50% in German. In the second year students can spend a semester abroad in Jena. In addition to the Master's degree in Political Science of NaUKMA there is the possibility to acquire a Jena Master's degree in Political Science (MPOL) after spending a semester abroad. Alumni have extraordinary opportunities to work in both the Ukrainian governmental, nongovernmental, corporate business or in the intergovernmental sphere.

Other parts of the program include a regular Research Colloquium for PhD students, study trips, German language courses, academic conferences and simulation games. The program is represented in Kyiv by a permanent coordinator sent from Jena University, a DAAD lecturer in "German and European Studies", and by a DAAD language assistant.

For more information, see:

Deutschland- und Europastudien Kiew
www.facebook.com/DSG.NaUKMA/