Publications

# A: scientific monographs (vědecké monografie)

Kazharski, Aliaksei. 2022. *Central Europe Thirty Years After the Fall of Communism: A Return to the Margin?* Rowman & Littlefield

Kazharski, Aliaksei. 2019. *Eurasian Integration and the Russian World. Regionalism as an Identitary Enterprise.* Budapest & New York: Central European University Press.

# B: book chapters (kapitoly v monografiích)

Kazharski, Aliaksei & Katsiaryna Lozka. Belarus-Russia relations: identity as product and factor. In: Arkady Moshes & Ryhor Nizhnikau. (eds) *Russian policy toward Belarus after 2020 : at a turning point?* Rowmand&Littlefield, 2023. [Authorship: 50%, corresponding author: Aliaksei Kazharski]

Kazharski, Aliaksei. Die »Westsplainers« erklären: Kann ein Wissenschaftler aus dem Westen eine Autorität für Zentral- und Osteuropa sein? In Aleksandra Konarzewska et al. (eds) *„ALLES IST TEURER ALS UKRAINISCHES LEBEN“ – Texte über Westsplaining und den Krieg*, Berlin: Edition.fotoTAPETA, 2023.

Kazharski, Aliaksei, Tatsiana Kulakevich & Katsiaryna Lozka. “Belarus-Ukraine Relations“. In: Malek M. and Schäffer S. (eds) *Ukraine in Central and Eastern Europe*, ibidem Press, 2022. [Authorship: 33%, corresponding author: Aliaksei Kazharski]

Kazharski, Aliaksei & Clarissa do Nascimento Tabosa (2018) New Patterns of Securitization in Central and Eastern Europe. In: Turcsányi R. Q. & M. Vorotnyuk (eds.) *Theorizing Security in the Eastern European Neighborhood: Issues and Approaches.* Bratislava&Kyiv, 2018. [Authorship: 50%, corresponding author: Aliaksei Kazharski]

Kazharski, Aliaksei. On "East", "Central" and "Eastern" Europe: Belarus and Central European politics of identity. In Moskalewicz M, Przybylski W (eds.) *Understanding Central Europe.* London and New York: Routledge, 2018.

Kazharski, Aliaksei. The Kundera paradox: dying for Ukraine and EUrope? What the Ukrainian crisis can tell us about European power. In Moskalewicz M, Przybylski W (eds) *Understanding Central Europe*. London and New York: Routledge, 2018.

Kazharski, Aliaksei. Belarus' Entry into International Society: Between a Small Nation-State and Big Narratives. In Ejdus F (ed.) *Memories of Empire and Entry into International Society. Views from the European periphery.* London: Routledge, 2017.

Kazharski, Aliaksei. From “colony" to “failing state"? Ukrainian sovereignty in the gaze of Russian foreign policy discourses. In Makarychev A., Yatsyk A. (eds.). *Vocabularies of International Relations after the Crisis in Ukraine*. London: Routledge, 2016.

Kazharski, Aliaksei. Eurasian integration. In: Karmo Tüür, Viacheslav Morozov (eds.) *Russian Federation 2014. Short-term Prognosis.* University Press of Estonia, 2014. ISSN 1736–9312.

# C

## C1: articles in journals with an impact factor (články v časopisech s impakt faktorem)

Kazharski, Aliaksei. Forthcoming 2023.“To whom the sirens wail.” Poland’s post-2022 geopolitical debates on Central and Eastern Europe. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political.* DOI: 10.1177/03043754231193612.IF: 1.3. 5-Year Impact Factor: 1.2. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS-SSCI(Q2)

Kazharski, Aliaksei. Forthcoming 2023. An Authoritarian Spectacle: Visual Biopolitics and the Dramaturgy of the Poland-Belarus Border Migration Crisis. *Visual Anthropology.* DOI: 10.1080/08949468.2023.2207452. IF: 0.2. 5-Year Impact Factor: 0.3. ANTHROPOLOGY- ESCI

Čanji, Danijela and Aliaksei Kazharski. 2023. When the “subaltern empire” speaks. On recognition, Eurasian integration, and the Russo-Georgian war. *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 64(5): 561-588. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15387216.2022.2040375>. IF: 3.8. 5-Year Impact Factor: 3.6. AREA STUDIES – SSCI(Q1). [Authorship: 50%, corresponding author: Aliaksei Kazharski]

Grančayová, Michaela and Aliaksei Kazharski. 2022. Authoritarian hegemonic masculinities and gendered rhetorics of the protest: 2020 Belarus Awakening and the Arab Spring in Egypt. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies.* <https://doi.org/10.1525/cpcs.2022.1713752>.IF: 0.9. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS -SSCI (Q4).[Authorship: 50%, corresponding author: Aliaksei Kazharski]

Kazharski, Aliaksei and Andrey Makarychev. 2022 From the Bronze Soldier to the “Bloody Marshal”: Monument Wars and Russia's Aesthetic Vulnerability in Estonia and the Czech Republic. *East European Politics and Societies: and Cultures,* 36(4): 1151–1176*.* <https://doi.org/10.1177/08883254211043856>. IF: 0.7. 5-Year Impact Factor: 1.1. AREA STUDIES – SSCI(Q2). [Authorship: 50%, corresponding author: Andrey Makarychev]

Kazharski, Aliaksei and Andrey Makarychev. 2021. Russia’s vaccine diplomacy in Central Europe: Between a political campaign and a business project. *Czech Journal of International Relations*, 56(4), <https://doi.org/10.32422/mv-cjir.1820>. IF: 0.4. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS -SSCI (Q3). [Authorship: 50%, corresponding author: Aliaksei Kazharski]

Kazharski, Aliaksei and Monika Kubová. 2021. Belarus as a liminal space for Russia's ontological security before and after the 2020 protests. *New Perspectives*, 29(3): 249-271. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2336825X211032900>. IF: 0.7. 5-Year Impact Factor: 0.7. POLITICAL SCIENCE - ESCI [Authorship: 50%, corresponding author: Aliaksei Kazharski]

Kazharski Aliaksei. 2021. Belarus’ New Political nation. 2020 anti-authoritarian protests as identity building. New Perspectives, 29 (1): 69-79 <https://doi.org/10.1177/2336825X20984340>. IF: 0.7 5-Year Impact Factor: 0.7. POLITICAL SCIENCE - ESCI

Kazharski, Aliaksei. 2021. Neonationalism and the metropolitan “coffee house” in Central Europe. *Political Geography*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2021.102432>. Impact Factor: 4.1. POLITICAL SCIENCE – SSCI(Q1).

Kazharski, Aliaksei & Andrey Makarychev. 2021. Belarus, Russia, and the escape from geopolitics. *Political Geography,* 89. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2021.102377>. Impact Factor: 4.1. POLITICAL SCIENCE – SSCI(Q1). [Authorship: 50%, corresponding author: Andrey Makarychev]

Kazharski, Aliaksei. 2020. An ad hoc Regionalism? The Visegrád Four in the “Post-Liberal” Age. *Polity*, 52, 250-272. IF: 1.7. POLITICAL SCIENCE – SSCI(Q3).

Kazharski, Aliaksei. 2020. Civilizations as ontological security? Stories of the Russian trauma. *Problems of Post-Communism,* 67(1): 24-36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2019.1591925>. IF: 1.6. 5-Year Impact Factor: 1.8. POLITICAL SCIENCE – SSCI(Q3).

Kazharski, Aliaksei. 2019. Two kinds of small? The ‘EU core’ in Slovak and Czech geopolitical imagination. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies,* 27(4): 424-438. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14782804.2019.1598340>. IF: 1.3. 5-Year Impact Factor: 1.4. AREA STUDIES - SSCI(Q2); INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS - SSCI(Q4); POLITICAL SCIENCE - SSCI(Q4)

Kazharski, Aliaksei. 2018. The End of ‘Central Europe’? The Rise of the Radical Right and the Contestation of Identities in Slovakia and the Visegrad Four. *Geopolitics,* 23(4): 754-780. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2017.1389720>. IF: 2.9. 5-Year Impact Factor: 3.0. POLITICAL SCIENCE - SSCI(Q2).

Kazharski, Aliaksei & Andrey Makarychev. 2015. Suturing the neighborhood? Russia and the European Union in a conflictual intersubjectivity. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 62:6. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2015.1057077>. IF: 1.6. 5-Year Impact Factor: 1.8. POLITICAL SCIENCE - SSCI(Q3). [Authorship: 50%, corresponding author: Andrey Makarychev]

## C2: articles in international peer-reviewed journals (články v zahr. rec. časopisech)

Kazharski, Aliaksei. 2023. Do ostriches live in Central Europe? Normalizing the Russian attack on Ukraine in the Visegrád Four. *Journal of Regional Security.* DOI: 10.5937/jrs18-43201

Kazharski Aliaksei and Silvia Macalová. 2020. Democracies: “sovereign” and “illiberal”. The Russian-Hungarian game of adjectives and its implications for regional security. *Journal of Regional Security,* 15(2): 235-262. <https://doi.org/10.5937/jrs15-24079>. [Authorship: 50%]

Kazharski, Aliaksei and Andrey Makarychev. 2020. Populism in Estonia and Slovakia: Performances, Transgressions, and Communicative Styles. *Populism*, 3(2): 165–185. [Authorship: 50%, corresponding author: Aliaksei Kazharski]

Golianová, Veronika and Aliaksei Kazharski. 2020. ‘The Unsolid.’ Pro-Kremlin Narratives in Slovak Cultural and Educational Institutions. *The RUSI Journal,* 165(4): 10-21. https://doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2020.1796521. [Authorship: 50%, corresponding author: Aliaksei Kazharski]

Kazharski, Aliaksei. 2019. Frontiers of hatred? A study of extreme right populism in Slovakia. *European Politics and Society*, 20(4): 393-405. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23745118.2019.1569337>.

## C3: articles in Czech peer-reviewed journals (články v českých rec. časopisech)

Grančayová Michaela and Kazharski Aliaksei 2020. ‘The Slovakebab’: Anti-Islam Agenda in Slovak Parliamentary Elections and Beyond. *Czech Journal of Political Science.* 27:3, 259-277.DOI 10.5817/PC2020-3-259. [Authorship: 50%, corresponding author: Aliaksei Kazharski]

## C5: peer-reviewed volume editor (editor recenzovaného sborníku).

Kazharski, Aliaksei, and Andrey Makarychev. 2020. The Coronavirus and the Future of Liberalism. Introduction to the Special Issue. *Mezinárodní vztahy. Czech Journal of International Relations*, 55(4): 5-10. <https://doi.org/10.32422/mv-cjir.1742>. [Authorship: 50%, corresponding author: Aliaksei Kazharski]

# E: other important publications (různé závažné práce)

Kazharski, Aliaksei. Authoritarian Spectacles and the Vulnerabilities of Interdependence. Policy Research Brief, January 2023. LSE Ideas & CSEEP, Jagiellonian University.

Kazharski, Aliaksei. Identity Politics of the Far Right in the Czech Republic. Freedom and Direct Democracy. In: Nina Mörner (ed.) *The Many Faces of the Far Right in the Post-Communist Space. A Comparative Study of Far-Right Movements and Identity in the Region.* CBEES, Södertörn University. ISBN 978-91-85139-13-2.

Kazharski, Aliaksei. The EU’s Neighborhood Policy and Authoritarian Regimes: a Mounting Security Challenge. *TEPSA Briefs,* February 2022. Trans European Policy Studies Association.

Kazharski, Aliaksei. 2021. Belarus and the EU after the 2020 awakening: Limited room for maneuver? Riga: Latvian Transatlantic Organisation. <https://www.lato.lv/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/WEB_LATO_Nr.2.Policy-Brief-.pdf>.

Kazharski, Aliaksei. Belarus’ Prospects After 2020. *Baltic Rim Economies,* June 2021, Issue # 3.

Kazharski, Aliaksei & Andrey Makarychev. The Hot August in Belarus: Post-Election Dynamics and Policy Options. Policy paper. PONARS Eurasia, August 18, 2020. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/the-hot-august-in-belarus-post-election-dynamics-and-policy-options/>. [Authorship: 50%, corresponding author: Andrey Makarychev]

Kazharski, Aliaksei, & Andrey Makarychev. “Europe in Crisis: ‘Old,’ ‘New,’ or Incomplete?” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo 515. March 2018. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/europe-in-crisis-old-new-or-incomplete/>. [Authorship: 50%, corresponding author: Andrey Makarychev]

Kazharski, Aliaksei. Belarus Inside the Bear Hug. And Its Geopolitical Predicament After the Ukraine Crisis. PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 553, December 2018. https://www.ponarseurasia.org/belarus-inside-the-bear-hug-and-its-geopolitical-predicament-after-the-ukraine-crisis/.

Kazharski, Aliaksei. Eurasian Union and Institutional Mimicry. *Working Papers of the Third International Congress of Belarusian Studies,* 3(2014): 93-96. ISSN 2351-6658.

Kazharski, Aliaksei. Pussy Ri(o)ghts: normative and legal implications of the “punk sermon”. *Human Rights News,* 1/2014. UNESCO Chair for Human Rights Education. Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences, Comenius University.

Kazharski, Aliaksei. Eurasian regionalism as an identitary enterprise: representations of European other in Russian discourse on Eurasian integration. CEURUS EU-Russia Papers, 2013/12. <https://www.digar.ee/arhiiv/en/nlib-digar:135797>.

Kazharski, Aliaksei. 2012. The Eurasian Union: rivalling the EU through institutional isomorphism. Institute of European Studies and International Relations Working Paper 4/2012.

Kazharski, Aliaksei. Line or frontier? The Visegrad countries and the shaping of the Eastern Schengen border. *Tantamount in Diversity*, Banská Bystrica: UMB, 2012. 48-64

# J

Kazharski, Aliaksei. *Regionalism as an Identitary Enterprise? The Social Construction of “Eurasian Union” and “Russian civilization” in Russia’s Foreign Policy Discourses.* Ph.D. Dissertation. Comenius University in Bratislava, 2015.

# L

Human-Machine Nexus and the Implications for the International Order, 2018-2022, UNCE/HUM/037, participant

Contested Heritage. A multilevel Analysis of the securitization of heritage and its challenges for EU and UN actorness (COHERE), 2021-2023, CELSA/21/009, principal investigator (Charles University).

# Significant publications 2018-2023

## Kazharski Aliaksei. 2022. Central Europe Thirty Years After the Fall of Communism: A Return to the Margin? Rowman & Littlefield

This book examines the politics and international relations of Central Europe (the Visegrád Four) three decades after the fall of communism. Once bound together by a common geopolitical vision of "returning to the West," the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia now find themselves in a more ambiguous position. The 2015 European migration crisis exposed serious normative differences with Western Europe, leading to a collective V4 rebellion against the European Union's migration policies. At the same time, as this book demonstrates—despite this normative rift with Western Europe and despite the democratic backsliding in some of the V4 states—they remain deeply dependent on the West in both symbolic and material terms. Furthermore, ways in which individual Central European states position themselves vis-a-vis the West exhibit notable differences, informed by their specific political and cultural legacies. The author examines these in separate country chapters. This book also contains a chapter that analyzes the effect of the COVID-19 crisis on political discourses in the V4.

In the reviewers’ opinion, “through a combination of rich empirical area studies and International Relations theorization, the book offers a unique and insightful contribution to the field. Furthermore, the study provides a necessary comparative basis for understanding the changes and continuities in Central European geopolitics after February 2022.” (Merabishvili 2023). Furthermore, according to the reviewers, the monograph “brings nuances and complexity to the frequently oversimplified picture of the region.” (Delcour 2023). The monograph received International Studies Association, Global International Relations Section 2022-2023 Book Award.

Merabishviili, Gela. 2023. Review in *Hungarian Geographical Bulletin*, 72: 87-90. https://doi.org/10.15201/hungeobull.72.1.6.

Delcour, Laure. 2023. Review in *Eurasian Geography and Economics.* https://doi.org/10.1080/15387216.2023.2170441.

## Kazharski Aliaksei. 2021. Belarus’ New Political nation. 2020 anti-authoritarian protests as identity building. New Perspectives, 29 (1): 69-79 <https://doi.org/10.1177/2336825X20984340>

This contribution focuses on symbolic politics of the protest movement as ‘‘signifying practices’’ and examines ways in which these practices reappropriate crucial symbolic legacies in order to articulate a new political subject through representations of an anti-authoritarian majority following the rigged 2020 presidential election in Belarus, as well as the disproportionate use of violence by the authorities. Following a discussion of the broader context of identity building in the post-Communist Belarus, I provide an empirical analysis of two key legacies recycled by the protests. The first one is the political legacy of Belarusian national revivalism and its symbols that quickly became the dominant visual theme in the protests. Though, in their origin, these symbols were closely linked to ethnocultural Belarusian nationalism, the protest movement has worked to resignify them into symbols of civic, anti-authoritarian moral solidarity that cut across linguistic or geopolitical divides. The second case which I address, and which is no less important, is the legacy of World War II or the so-called Great Patriotic War (GPW).

In 2022, the article was shortlisted by the International Congress of Belarusian Studies for the Congress Award for the best academic publication (article).

## Kazharski, Aliaksei. 2020. Civilizations as ontological security? Stories of the Russian trauma. Problems of Post-Communism, 67(1): 24-36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2019.1591925>.

The study addresses the phenomenon of civilizational discourses in Russia from the perspective of ontological security theories. It argues that the discourse on “Russian civilization” or the “Russian world” is a form of establishment identity-building practices that marries a culturalist vision of Russia to narratives of traumas or ruptures in its biographical narrative. Thus, the holistic notion of a civilization is an attempt to construct unity across ideological, spatial, and societal cleavages associated with the disintegration of the Soviet Union and earlier critical points in Russian history. The article further argues that much of the discourse on the “Russian world” produces a notably “securitized” or “closed” identity that resists change and inhibits Russia’s adaptation to its postimperial circumstances. The significance of the study lies in the input it makes in the developing literature on ontological security in IR connecting the Russian case and the discussions of the so-called “civilizational” rhetoric to the analytical toolkit of the ontological security theory.

## Kazharski, Aliaksei. 2019. Eurasian Integration and the Russian World. Regionalism as an Identitary Enterprise. [Working title: Regionalism as an Identitary Enterprise: Eurasian Integration and the ‘Russian World’ in Russia’s International Self]. Budapest & New York: Central European University Press.

Russian discourses of regionalism are examined as a source of identity construction practices for the country's political and intellectual establishment. The overall purpose of the monograph is to demonstrate that, contrary to some assumptions, the transition trajectory of post-Soviet Russia has not been towards a liberal democratic nation state that intended to emulate Western political and normative standards. Instead, its foreign policy discourses have been constructing Russia as a supranational community which transcends Russia's current legally established borders.

The study undertakes a systematic and comprehensive survey of Russian official (authorities) and semi-official (establishment affiliated think tanks) discourse for a period of seven years between 2007 and 2013. This exercise demonstrates how Russia is being constructed as a supranational entity through its discourses of cultural and economic regionalism. These discourses associate closely with the political project of Eurasian economic integration and the “Russian world” and “Russian civilization” doctrines. Both ideologies, the geoeconomic and culturalist, have gained prominence in the post-Crimean environment. The analysis tracks down how these identitary concepts crystallized in Russia's foreign policies discourses beginning from Vladimir Putin's second term in power.

The contribution of the monograph is in the pioneering effort to bridge the study of identity in IR and (discourses of) regionalism. It illuminates the processes of identity formation prior to the 2014 annexation of Crimea demonstrating how the assumptions of a linear post-Communist transition with respect to Russia were wrong. In the reviewers‘ opinion it is “a valuable addition to the large body of literature on how to understand the Russian nation“ (Blakkisrud 2020) and was deemed “particularly useful for researchers and students of foreign policy analysis, post-structuralist theories of IR, identity politics and Eurasian studies“ (Baratov 2021).

## Kazharski, Aliaksei. 2018. The End of ‘Central Europe’? The Rise of the Radical Right and the Contestation of Identities in Slovakia and the Visegrad Four. Geopolitics, 23(4): 754-780. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2017.1389720>.

The article analyses the effects of the migration crisis and the parallel rise of right wing parties on national and regional identities in Slovakia and the broader subregion of the Visegrad Four. It argues that the recent right wing political discourse around migration has been reshaping the meaning of ‘Central Europe’ as a normative project and an identity shared by the V4 countries. The post-Cold War narrative of Central Europe was a story of ‘returning to the West’, which in practice meant that normative conformity with the West was a precondition of membership in key Western institution. The situation has changed visibly after the migrant crisis, as the V4 political elites have now been constructing new identities, in partial juxtaposition with Western European liberalism. These new identities favour a culturalist, conservative interpretation of the nation and reject humanitarian universalism, epitomized by the European Union’s decision to welcome the refugees. This arguably devaluates the previous notion of ‘Central Europe’ as a region that seeks to identify itself firmly with the West. Slovakia is chosen as a case study because of the recent success of the radical right in the 2016 parliamentary elections. The article concludes that although the situation of being structurally locked into the EU does not allow the V4 countries to openly challenge its main principles, the V4 political elites pursue a counter-hegemonic strategy, subverting and resignifying some of its key political notions. One should, therefore, speak not of an end of ‘Central Europe’ but rather of its evolution into a new, hybrid stage, where normative conformity and identification with the West will only be partial. The article makes use of Laclau and Mouffe’s theory of discourse and related concepts as well as insights from constructivist geopolitics literature to track articulatory practices of the regional establishments. The study relies on evidence from recent political campaigning in Slovakia as well as official Visegrad Group documents from 2015 to 2016.  
The significance of this contribution is in mapping a key turning point in ‘East-West‘ relations inside the EU, with the subsequent rise of populism/“illiberalism“ in Central&Eastern Europe.

Scopus indexed citations: 39, FWCI: 4.61.