

# VELINA TCHAKAROVA

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## **Publications**

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Tchakarova, V. (2026). The EU–India Free Trade Agreement as a Geoeconomic Inflection Point. CUTS Monography.

Tchakarova, V. (2025). A Grand Strategy for Europe in the New Cold War. <https://therepublicjournal.com/essays/europes-grand-strategy-in-the-new-cold-war/>

Tchakarova, V. (2025). Europe Under Trump 2.0: In Search of an End to its Slow Agony. <https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/europe-under-trump-2-0-in-search-of-an-end-to-its-slow-agony>

Tchakarova, V. (2025). Trump 2.0 und die globale geopolitische Ordnung. <https://materie.at/gk/trump-2-0-und-die-globale-geopolitische-ordnung/>

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Tchakarova, V. (2024): Europas Stärkung: Geopolitische und geoökonomische Imperative. Die Materie. <https://materie.at/gk/europas-staerkung-geopolitische-und-geoekonomische-imperative/>

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Tchakarova, V. (2024): Black Sea Crossroads: Navigating the Future of Global Connectivity and Security. In: Mocanu, Oana-Mikaela and Sebe, Mihai (2024): From Synergy to Strategy in the Black Sea Region. Assessing Opportunities and Challenges. Working Papers Series, No. 51. [http://ier.gov.ro/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/WP51\\_BLACKSEA\\_FINAL\\_Clean.pdf](http://ier.gov.ro/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/WP51_BLACKSEA_FINAL_Clean.pdf)

Tchakarova, V. (2024): Austria: Austria's Navigation Act – Balancing Relations between Trump's America and Europe, in: Laura von Daniels, Claudia Major, and Nicolai von Ondarza (2024): European Perspectives on Potential Consequences and the Policy Areas Most Affected. Research Division: The Americas, International Security and EU/Europe. WP Nr. 01, March 2024. [https://www.swp-berlin.org/publications/products/arbeitspapiere/European\\_Perspectives\\_on\\_Trump\\_II\\_WP\\_von\\_Daniels\\_Major\\_von\\_Ondarza.pdf](https://www.swp-berlin.org/publications/products/arbeitspapiere/European_Perspectives_on_Trump_II_WP_von_Daniels_Major_von_Ondarza.pdf)

Tchakarova, V. (2024): Russlands Strategie im Schatten des Terrors. Die Materie. <https://materie.at/gb/russlands-strategie-im-schatten-des-terrors/>

Tchakarova, V. (2024): In The Shadow of the War: What does Putin want? NEOS Lab. <https://lab.neos.eu/blog/zwei-jahre-im-schatten-des-kriegs>

Tchakarova, V. (2024): India, a Bridge Between Antagonists, in: Harsh V Pant and Sameer Patil, (2024): The Making of a Global Bharat. Global Policy. GP-ORF Series. <https://www.orfonline.org/public/uploads/posts/pdf/20240220113216.pdf>

Tchakarova, V. (2024): Cold War 2.0: The US-DragonBear standoff in a bifurcated global system. Observer Research Foundation. <https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/cold-war-2-0-the-us-dragonbear-standoff-in-a-bifurcated-global-system>

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Tchakarova, V. (2023): Geopolitische Dynamiken: Der Globale Süden im Spannungsfeld zwischen Ost und West. Die Materie. <https://materie.at/gk/geopolitische-dynamiken-der-globale-sueden-im-spannungsfeld-zwischen-ost-und-west/>

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Tchakarova, V. (2022): Enter the 'DragonBear': The Russia-China Partnership and What it Means for Geopolitics, ORF Issue Brief No. 538, April 2022, Observer Research Foundation. <https://www.orfonline.org/research/enter-the-dragonbear/>

Tanchum, M., Tchakarova, V, et al. (2022): Towards an EU-India Indo-Pacific Connectivity Partnership for Effective Engagement with ASEAN, AIES/ORF. [https://www.aies.at/download/2022/ORF\\_Monograph\\_EU-India-Indo-Pacific-Connectivity-Partnership.pdf](https://www.aies.at/download/2022/ORF_Monograph_EU-India-Indo-Pacific-Connectivity-Partnership.pdf)

Tchakarov, V. (2022): Die Bifurkation des Globalen Systems und die Geburtsstunde des Drachenbären, CSA Kompakt Nr. 02/2022. [Link](#)

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Tchakarova, V. (2021): India and China: Geopolitics in the Indo-Pacific Decade - Part II" The Defense Horizon Journal Special Edition Special Edition 2/2021. Geopolitics, May 7, 2021.

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Tchakarova, V. (2021): EU-Trends 2021, AIES Fokus 01/2021.

Tchakarova, V. (2020): The EU-China Summit: Some progress with little deliverables. ORF Think Tank, September 2020.

Tchakarova, V. (2020): Covid-19 and the Indo-Pacific Decade. ORF Think Tank, July 2020.

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Tchakarova, V./Satanakis, S. (2020): EU – NATO Relations: Enhanced Cooperation Amidst Increased Uncertainty, AIES Fokus 04/2020.

Tchakarova, V./Tonchev, P. (2020): Bulgaria: Limited Dependence on Medical Supplies from China, but Proactive Chinese Public Diplomacy, in: Covid-19 and Europe-China Relations A country-level analysis European Think-tank Network on China (ETNC) Special Report - 29 April 2020.

Tchakarova, V. (2020): The Covid-19 crisis and the Austrian response, ORF, April 9, 2020.

Tchakarova, V./Satanakis, S./Zinkanell, M. (2019): EU-Trends 2020, AIES Fokus 14/2019.

Tchakarova, V. (2019): EU-Entwicklungsszenarien 2020, in: Bundesministerium für Landesverteidigung Sicherheitspolitische Jahresvorschau 2020, Direktion für Sicherheitspolitik, 2019, S. 104-109, Wien.

Tchakarova, V. (2019): Current state and developments regarding the military cooperation between the EU and NATO, Impulse Paper on behalf of the Austrian Ministry of Defence, September, Vienna.

Tchakarova, V. (2019): Global Outlook Around The World, (Helsinki 2.0, The Dragonbear and the Systemic Rivalry between USA and China: Implications for Europe), Librarium Insights, First Quarter, 2019, p. 31-37.

Tchakarova, V. (2018): Competitive interests and strategies towards the shared neighbourhood in Eastern Europe, in: Benkova, Livia/Rihtaric, Apolonija/Tchakarova, Velina Will the EU lose its East? AIES Studie, 6/2018, Wien.

Tchakarova, V. (2017): Competing geopolitical approaches towards Eastern Europe, AIES Fokus 4/2017.

Tchakarova, V. (2017): Gemeinsame Nachbarschaft: Die EU und Russland Interessenspolitik im Lichte der neuen US-Administration und deren geopolitischen Konsequenzen.

Implikationen für die Europäische Sicherheitsarchitektur und die Östliche Partnerschaft. AIES Arbeitspapier im Auftrag des Österreichischen BMLVS. September 2017, Wien.

Tchakarova, V. (2017): Global System Transformation: What to Expect from System Transition? In: Fritz, Judith/Tomaschek, Nino (Hg.) Veränderung. Bd. 5, Münster 2017.

Tchakarova, V. (2016): Bulgaria's accession to NATO – a short assessment of the first ten years of membership. In: Zyla, B./Kammel, A. (Ed.) Europe's Eastern strategic culture: NATO's new members and the Ukrainian crisis. Nomos.

Tchakarova, V. (2016): Das Globale System im Umbruch, AIES Fokus 8/2016.

Tchakarova, V. (2016): The Global System: ripe for a paradigm shift? June 15, 2016. Medium.

Tchakarova, V. (2016): Das Globale System und das äußerst problematische Beziehungsgeflecht zwischen der EU, der Ukraine und Russland. Eine Analyse aus europäischer Perspektive unter Berücksichtigung globaler und regionaler Konstellationen. AIES Studie im Auftrag des Österreichischen BMLVS. Juni 2016, Wien.

Tchakarova, V./Jaklin, D. (2016): Die Rolle der OSZE in der gegenwärtigen europäischen Sicherheitsarchitektur. Allgemeiner sicherheitspolitischer Bedeutungswandel der OSZE im Kontext neuer Bedrohungen. AIES Arbeitspapier im Auftrag des Österreichische BMLVS, Januar 2016.

Tchakarova, V. (2015): The Russia, China Alliance: What Does "The Dragonbear" Aim To Achieve In Global Affairs? September 8, 2015. Emerging Equity.

Tchakarova, V. (2015): What future for the Eastern Partnership? More than a partnership, less than a membership. AIES Fokus 5/2015.

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Tchakarova, V. (2015): Östliche Partnerschaft: Die Ukraine als Faustpfand zwischen Ost und West. Wirtschaftspolitische Integrationsoptionen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Beziehungsgeflechts Europäische

Union-Ukraine-Russland. AIES Studie im Auftrag des Österreichischen BMLVS. März 2015, Wien.

Tchakarova, V. (2014): The Eurasian union as a tool of Russian geopolitics in the Era of globalisation. In: Riegel, M./Landovsky, J./Valko, I. (Ed.) (2014): Strategic Regions in 21st Century Power Politics: Zones of Consensus and Zones of Conflict. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle, 201-220.

Tchakarova, V. (2014): Die Militärreform in Russland: eine Zwischenbilanz. AIES Studie im Auftrag des Österreichischen BMLVS. März 2015, Wien.

Thakarova, V. (2014): Chronologie der Krise in der Ukraine: eine aktuelle Bestandsaufnahme, Teil 1 und Teil 2. AIES Fokus 3 & 4/2014.

Tchakarova, V. (2013): The European Union and its European Neighborhood: Before and After the Vilnius summit of the Eastern Partnership. AIES Fokus 6/2013.

Tchakarova, V. (2013): Russlands sicherheitspolitische Paradigmen im 21. Jahrhundert: Optionen für die strategische Partnerschaft mit der Europäischen Union. AIES Studie im Auftrag des Österreichischen BMLVS, April 2013.

Tchakarova, V. (2013): Die Eurasische Union: eine Bestandsaufnahme zum Russlands neuesten geopolitischen Projekt. AIES Fokus 1/2013.

Tchakarova, V. (2013): Coping with the Geopolitical Shift from West to East: What Role for the EU in its European Neighborhood? In: Riegel, M./Landovsky, J. (Ed.) (2013): Strategic and Geopolitical Issues of the Contemporary World. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle, 33-52.

Tchakarova, V./Algieri, F. (2013): Sicherheitspolitische Interessen und Prioritäten der Visegrad-Länder im Vergleich: auf dem Weg zu mehr Konvergenz? In: Frank,

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Tchakarova, V. (2013): Die EU und Russland: strategische Partner ohne strategische Bindung, in: Wienerblätter, Wien.

Tchakarova, V. (2012): Die Zukunft der Erweiterungspolitik der EU: von normativer Macht zum geopolitischen Imperativ? AIES Fokus 2/2012. Tchakarova, V. (2012): Ausbau der sicherheitspolitischen Dimension der EU Politik gegenüber Osteuropa: ein geostrategischer Imperativ? AIES Studie im Auftrag des Österreichischen BMLVS, Mai 2012.

Tchakarova, V. (2011): Die EU-Politik gegenüber dem Schwarzmeerraum: Bestandsaufnahme und zukünftige sicherheitspolitische Herausforderungen. AIES Studie im Auftrag des Österreichischen BMLVS, Dezember 2011.

Tchakarova, V. (2011): Ein NATO-Raketenabwehrschild in Europa: Ambitioniertes Abrüstungsprojekt oder Auslöser eines neuen Rüstungswettlaufs? AIES Fokus 7/2011.

Tchakarova, V./Fuker, M. (2011): Indien und Pakistan – Atommächte im Spannungsfeld regionaler und globaler Veränderungen. Beiträge zur Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik Südasiens, Buchrezension in: Internationale Gesellschaft und Politik, 1/2011.

Tchakarova, V. (2010): Ist eine neue europäische Sicherheitsordnung zwischen der EU und Russland möglich? AIES Studie im Auftrag des Österreichischen BMLVS, Dezember 2010.

Tchakarova, V. (2010): Die Östliche Partnerschaft: ein Königsweg für Osteuropa zwischen europäischen Integrationsalternativen und russischen Machtaspirationen? AIES Fokus 9/2010.

Tchakarova, V. (2010): Zwischen Konkurrenz und Kooperation, Info EuropaSpezial 5/2010.

Tchakarova, V. (2010): Zwischeneuropa im Spannungsfeld außen- und sicherheitspolitischer Interessen der EU und Russlands, AIES Fokus 3.

### **Conferences and Global Forums**

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Panel Discussion on Asia at the Economic Chamber of Austria, 2024

Keynote Speech 2024 at the Industry Congress in Austria

Keynote Speech 2024 at Elara Capital Conference in Mumbai, India

Keynote Address 2024 at Global Strategy Conference organized by the International Association for Strategy Professionals (IASP) in Calgary, Canada

Participation in a panel discussion 2024 at a Conference on Europe-China Relations organized by the University of Nortre Dame in Dublin, Ireland

Keynote Address at Oestereich Energie Trendforum 2024 in Vienna, Austria

Panel discussion at the Delphi Forum 2024 in Greece

Keynote Address at the 9th EU Strategy for the Danube Region Speakers Conference (EUSDR-SC) 2024, Austria

Moderation of Panel Discussion and Panelist at Raisina Dialogue 2024 in New Delhi, India.

EU Policy Retreat 2023 Keynote and Participation in Workshop on Investing Into Green Transition and European Sovereignty in Austria

Keynote and panel discussion at European Forum Alpbach 2023, Austria

Panel Discussion 2023 at the Conference "Democratic Values: Challenges and Opportunities – a side event of the Three Seas Business Forum", Romania

Moderation of Panel Discussion at Raisina Dialogue 2023 in New Delhi, India.

Public Speaker at Raisina Dialogue 2022 in New Delhi, India between April 23 and April 26

2022 Moderation of the Launch of the Strategic Compass at the National Defense Academy, organized by the Austrian Ministry of Defense

2021 Participation in the conference on "The EU and India: A Geo-economic Approach towards Establishing a Far-Reaching Partnership in the Indo-Pacific" organized by the EEAS on November 10

2020 Participation in satellite session of a conference on complex systems organized by Alfredo Morales (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) on the topic of Geopolitics and Global System on December 9

2020 Moderation of a Digital Talk with Graham Connolly on "Australia: the Eagle and the Dragon", on May 26

2020 Moderation of a Digital Talk with Sune Sorensen on "Global Macro Outlook after Covid-19" on May 19

2020 Moderation of a Digital Talk with Samir Saran on "The Big Reset and India" on May 11

2020 Moderation of a Digital Talk with Mitchell Belfer and Michael Tanchum "Covid-19 and the Middle East" on May 6

2020 Moderation of a Digital Talk with Harald Malmgren and Albert Marko on "Disease, Disorder, Disunity" on April 30

2020 Moderation of a Digital Talk with James Rickards on "The Post-Coronavirus Financial and Monetary System" on April 24

2020 Moderation and Organization of Public Debate on the Geopolitical Implications of Nordstream 2.0 and its implications for the European energy security on March 18, 2020

2020 Moderation and Organization of Expert Workshop and Public Discussion on the Transatlantic Relations and EU-NATO Relations on March 6, 2020

2020 Moderation and Organization of Expert Workshop and Public Discussion on "Geopolitics in the Middle East" on February 5-6, 2020 (in cooperation with EGIC)

2019 Moderation and Organization of Expert Workshop on Central European Defence Cooperation in the field of Common Foreign and Security Policy in December

2019 Moderation and Organization of AIES Expert Workshop on US-Policy towards the Middle East with Peter Rough from Hudson Institute in November

2019 Participation as a speaker in a Public Discussion on 'Vienna and the Silk Road – a threat or a blessing?' organized by the 2050 Thinkers Club on November 14.

2019 Public Lecture on Global System Transformation at Security Policy Summit, organized by World Youth Academy on November 9.

2019 Participation as a speaker in a public discussion on "Rethinking Security and Defence" organized by the Austrian National Defence Academy on October 17.

2019 Participation as a speaker in a public discussion on 'The Multipolar world, the global power competition between the USA, China and Russia and Europe's role', organized by Alpbach Dialogue on October 15.

2019 Participation in Expert Workshop on 'EU-US-China Relations in the global affairs' organized by Clingendael Institute, September 30-October 1.

2019 Moderation of Public Event with James Rickards on Global Financial System and Repercussions for EU on September 23.

2019 Moderation and Organization of Expertworkshop on Transatlantic Relations with Stanley Sloan on September 20 in Vienna.

2019 Moderation and Organization of Public Event on EU-India with Britta Peterson on July 2 in Vienna.

2019 Participation as a speaker in public event on Europe Goes Silk Road with Bruno Macaes on June 3 in Vienna.

2019 Lecture on Global Trends and Global Power Competition at the International Security Policy Summit on May 31 in Vienna.

2019 Participation in the ETNC-Network Meeting on China on May 13-14 in Greece.

2019 Moderation and Organization of Expert Workshop on Eastern Partnership on May 8 in Vienna.

2019 Participation in a Conference on Past, Present and Future of International Order, organized by the Department of Political Science, University of Denmark on May 6 in Copenhagen.

2019 Moderation and Organization of Expert Workshop on EU-USA Relations with CNAS CEO Richard Fontaine on March 26 in Vienna.

2019 Moderation and Organization of Expert Workshop on Georgia-Russia-EU-USA Relations on February 22 in Vienna.

2018 Lecture on Global System Transformation at World Youth Academy, Vienna

2018 Lecture on The EU towards its Eastern Neighbourhood, Robert Schuman Workshop, Budapest, Hungary

2018 Lecture on Global System Transformation at Security Policy Summit, Vienna

2018 Lecture on The CSDP and Brexit, Political Academy, Tutzing, Germany

2017 Lecture on Global System Transformation at World Youth Academy, Vienna, Austria.

2017 Lecture on Global System Transformation at Security Policy Summit, Vienna, Austria.

2017 Guest lecture on 'EU and its eastern neighbourhood' at Robert Schuman Program, Vienna, Austria.

2017 Guest speaker and presentation on 'The Global System Transformation' at a Seminar for military officers at the Theresian Military Academy, Austria.

2017 Participation in a press conference on the outcome of the Bulgarian Parliamentary elections 2017 in Presseclub Concordia, Vienna, Austria.

2016 Guest speaker and presentation on The Global System Transformation at a Seminar for military officers at the Theresian Military Academy, Austria.

2016 Participation in the conference Build Peace 2016 in Zurich, Switzerland.

2016-2013 Participation in four annual SGICW conferences (with a guest lecture) in Prague, Czech Republic.

2015 XVI Summer Seminar for Young Public Policy Professionals from Southeastern Europe and the Black Sea Region

2014 Guest lecture at the NISA Winter Session at NATO International School of Azerbaijan

2013 Teaching course on Eastern Europe in cooperation with the Munich International Summer University in Vienna

2012 Teaching course on Eastern Europe in cooperation with the Munich International Summer University in Vienna

2012 EU Trainer Certificate Get on Board on EU enlargement of Western Balkan

2012 Stanford Game Theory Online Class Certificate

2003-2009 Conflict Barometer Database Certificate

2004-2006 Teaching course on Introduction to Political Science for students from the first and second semester at the South Asian Institute, University of Heidelberg, Germany

2005 Soft Skills certificates in academic writing, time management, rhetoric and presentation