

# Russia's Challenge and the West's Response

International Roundtable Seminar organised jointly by the Association for International Affairs and the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) with the kind support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, the Embassy of Poland in Prague and the British Embassy in Prague.

**Prague, 20 October 2009**

**Venue:** Mirror Hall, Czernin Palace, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic



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# Conference Synopsis

The foreign policy of Russia grows ever more assertive with each passing day and represents a growing challenge to the interests and security of the West. Yet there is a debate in Europe and the USA as to the roots and character of Russia's foreign policy and to the extent to which it threatens Western interests. Some analysts believe that there is a risk of a new Cold War emerging as a result of what they deem to be Russia's increasing aggressiveness; and that the latter results from systemic features of contemporary Russian politics. Others argue that the international system is becoming increasingly multipolar, closer to the 19th century model, and moving away from bipolar Russia-West confrontation. They argue that it is possible and expedient to reach a *modus vivendi* with the Kremlin, and that predictions of a new Cold War are a product of outmoded thinking.

Fostering of impartial analysis of Russia's foreign policy based on facts rather than on opinions and wishful thinking is thus particularly important for the West. It is of real importance to Europe and the USA whether Moscow is able and willing to use the 'energy weapon' against neighbouring countries – including the EU – or to use military force with a view to establishing its dominance in the former Soviet Union. Furthermore, is Russia capable of providing assistance on issues such as Iran, Afghanistan and the Middle East? Or is Russia content to play a parasitic role in relation to the world's trouble spots and Western - above all, American - involvement in them. These issues will be examined during this conference.

However, the central focus of the conference is what should be the Western response to Russian foreign policy. Some believe that the West needs to engage with Russia to develop cooperation based on mutual interests. According to this view, it is argued, the West should respect the complexity of the Russia's post-Soviet development; respect its national interests and the specifics of the Russian 'political psyche' inherited from the Soviet and Imperial past and deeply affected by the loss of Empire, and to treat Moscow as an 'equal partner'. This is a very attractive theory; yet there is evidence that the opposite view may be more appropriate. In view of this, the search for a proper balance between engagement, containment and deterrence is expected to feature prominently in today's discussion.

**Yury Fedorov,**

Associate Fellow, Association for International Affairs/Chatham House

# Sessions

## Session 1 - Russian Foreign and Security Policy

Is Russia interested in cooperation with the West in order to deal with common threats? Or does Moscow take advantage of the West's involvement in trouble-spots, such as Afghanistan and Iran? Does Russian 'assertiveness' result from a sense of insecurity and a distorted perception of the West, as some believe, or is its policy aimed at re-establishing the Russian Empire, enfeebling transatlantic solidarity and consolidating itself as a power with decisive influence in Europe? These questions are of principle importance for the West. In this light, the first session focuses on a few basic issues: what are the roots of Russia's increasing assertiveness? Does Russian policy result from a rational attempt to maximize some values such as national security; or is it a product of a chaotic compromise between a few interests groups in the top circles? What are its goals in Europe and Eurasia? And what are the tools that Moscow will use in order to achieve these goals?

## Session 2 - The 'Neighbourhood'

Moscow's stubborn and strong opposition to Ukraine's and Georgia's possible membership of NATO has become a source of dispute between Russia and the West, and within the Western community of nations as well. What is the role of the states located between Russia and the EU in the European strategic landscape? How important is the independence and territorial integrity of these countries for the security of the EU, especially those member states in Central and Central Eastern Europe? What is the likelihood of another military confrontation, potentially drawing Ukraine into armed conflict with Russia over Crimea, another war with Georgia or military intervention elsewhere on Russian borders?

## Session 3 – Energy

Moscow's handling of energy, above all gas supplies, and attempts to acquire pipelines, distribution facilities, and downstream networks in energy import countries in order to exert political influence upon its partners and neighbours are well known. At the same time Russia's economy depends to a large extent on energy export revenues from oil and gas supplies to the EU countries and on the import of advanced technology from Europe, including the import of dual-use technologies. Thus an asymmetric interdependence between Russia and Europe has emerged. In this light, the crucial yet open questions are: how far will Moscow go in trying to influence EU or specific European countries through manipulations of energy supplies and prices? What is the balance between economic and political interests in Russia's energy export policy? What are the goals of Russia's energy policy? Are there some European countries that are especially vulnerable to Russia's 'energy weapon'?

## Session 4 – The Western response

Undoubtedly, the West is interested in engaging Russia to promote cooperation in fighting common threats, such as nuclear proliferation, terrorism and climate change, and to secure energy supplies. Yet Russia's current foreign policy gives grounds to believe that instead of cooperating Moscow challenges the West in more ways than one. Should the EU and the US accept Russia's concept of a new Yalta style pact granting Russia's dominance in the post-Soviet space? If so, then what benefits would the West draw? And if not, then how can the EU, NATO and/or the US guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of the newly independent states, Ukraine and Georgia above all? How can the West possibly decrease its energy dependence on Russia? What should be the European and American reaction to any future outbreak of hostilities in the South Caucasus or over Crimea, Russia's declared intention to deploy Iskander missiles in the Kaliningrad area, et cetera? The main difficulty when addressing these and similar questions is the disagreement within the West regarding the appropriate combination of engagement, deterrence and containment of Moscow. Therefore this issue may form the principal point of debate during the fourth, and perhaps the central session of the seminar.

## **The Meeting is held under the Chatham House Rule**

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# Programme

- What is the most appropriate policy towards an increasingly assertive Russia? Deterrence? Engagement? Containment? How, realistically, can we do better?
- Current trends of Russia's foreign policy; Russia's foreign policy resources, including energy export and military potential.
- Russia's role in the European strategic and economic environments with a focus on Central Europe (energy security; military security and the future of the CFE Treaty, Missile Defence; controversies within the post-Soviet space).

**Venue:** Mirror Hall, Czernin Palace, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic

9:30 - 9:50

## INTRODUCTION

**Tomáš Pojar**, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

**Michal Thim**, Research Director, Association for International Affairs

**James Sherr**, Head, Russia and Eurasia Programme, Chatham House

10:00 - 11:15

## SESSION 1

### Russian Foreign and Security Policy

*Chair*

**James Nixey**, Research Fellow, Chatham House

*Speakers*

**Yury Fedorov**, Associate Fellow, Association for International Affairs/Chatham House

**Mykhailo Samus**, Deputy Director, Center for Army, Conversion and Disarmament Studies

**James Sherr**, Head, Russia and Eurasia Programme, Chatham House

11:15 - 11:30

## COFFEE BREAK

11:30 - 12:45

## SESSION 2

### The 'Neighbourhood'

*Chair*

**Jiří Schneider**, Program Director, Prague Security Studies Institute

*Speakers*

**Petr Kratochvíl**, Deputy Director, Institute for International Relations

**Oleksandr Pavlyuk**, Head of External Cooperation, OSCE Secretariat

**Arkady Moshes**, Head of Russia and EU Program, Finnish Institute of International Affairs

12:45 - 13:30

## LUNCH

13:30 - 14:45

## SESSION 3

### Energy

*Chair*

**Karel Svoboda**, Research Fellow, Association for International Affairs

*Speakers*

**Václav Bartuška**, Ambassador-at-large for Energy Security, Czech MFA

**Antje Nötzold**, Technical University Chemnitz

14:45 - 15:00

**COFFEE BREAK**

15:00 - 16:30

**SESSION 4**

**The Western Response**

*Chair*

**Karel Kovanda**, Deputy Director-General, External Relations DG, European Commission

*Speakers*

**James Sherr**, Head, Russia and Eurasia Programme, Chatham House

**Marek Menkiszak**, Director, Department of Russian Studies, Center for Eastern Studies

**Victoria Scola**, Ambassador at Large, responsible for relations with Russia during the Spanish Presidency of the European Union

**Svenja Sinjen**, Head, Program ‚Berliner Forum Zukunft‘, Research Institute, German Council on Foreign Relations

17:00

**DINNER**

# Speakers

## **Vaclav Bartuska, Czech Republic**

Vaclav Bartuska is the Czech Ambassador-at-Large for Energy Security, working at the Foreign Ministry in Prague, directly reporting to the Foreign Minister (since 2006). It is the second best job in his life – the absolute highlight was in 1989-1990, when at the age of 21 he was one of the student leaders of the revolution which ended communism in then Czechoslovakia. Graduated from Charles University in Prague (1992), Fulbright Visiting Scholar at Columbia University (1994-95), Marshall Fellow (1999). After working on dissolution of the Secret police, he published in 1990 his first book, *Polojasno*, which sold 230,000 copies and made him independent enough to spend most of the 1990's travelling, writing three more books and basically avoiding any serious work.

## **Yury Fedorov, Russia**

Yury Fedorov is an Associate Fellow of the Russia and Eurasia Program in The Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House), London and Associate Fellow of the Association for International Affairs (AMO). Before January 2006 he lectured at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO). Currently living in Prague, he is the author and editor of a number of books and numerous articles and research papers published in Russia, the USA and Europe. His main research interests are focused on Russia's strategic culture, foreign and security policy.

## **Karel Kovanda, Czech Republic**

Karel Kovanda has been the Deputy Director General in the External Relations DG of the European Commission since April 2005. His areas of responsibility include the European common foreign and security policy, multilateral relations, human rights, and relations with non-EU developed countries of the world. Mr. Kovanda is also the Political Director for the European Commission. In this capacity, he has dealt with various Asian countries, including Japan, Korea, India, Pakistan, Indonesia and Sri Lanka. From 1991 to 2005, Kovanda held various senior positions with the Czech Foreign Service, including Ambassador to the UN and its Security Council and to NATO.

## **Petr Kratochvíl, Czech Republic**

Petr Kratochvíl works as the Deputy Director of the Institute of International Relations and as a lecturer at several Czech universities. He obtained his PhD in Political Science in Prague in 2004, but he studied and did research abroad (Germany, Belgium, Russia), as well. He is a member of the European Commission's Expert Pool Team Europe, a consultant for the European Parliament, a member of the U.S.-based International Studies Association, the IIR's official representative to the European Consortium for Political Research, the IIR's representative to the Trans-European Political Studies Association, and an editor-in-chief of the scholarly journal *Perspectives*. He has extensively published on European integration, EU-Russian relations, European Neighbourhood Policy and International Relations. He is frequently consulted by the state authorities of the Czech Republic (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Office of the Government, Parliament) and has appeared on numerous TV and radio programmes.

## **Marek Menkiszak, Poland**

Marek Menkiszak is the Head of the Russian Department at Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW), Warsaw, Poland. He holds M.A. in International Relations from the University of Warsaw (1995). From 1995 to 2003 he was a faculty member of the Institute of International Relations and Strategic Studies Study Group; since 2000 he has been working in the Center for Eastern Studies (OSW), Russian Department. He specializes in foreign and security policy of the Russian Federation, NIS area problems, European security and strategic studies. Mr. Menkiszak wrote numerous articles on these topics including: "Troubled Neighborhood: Security Issues in Relations between Poland and USSR/Russia 1989-2000", in: R. Kuzniar (ed.).



## **Arkady Moshes, Russia**

Arkady Moshes is the Programme Director for Russia in the Regional and Global Context research programme at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs in Helsinki. Before moving to Finland in 2002, he worked in the Institute of Europe in Moscow. His expertise areas include Russian-European relations, Russia's policy towards the Western CIS and Baltic States, internal and foreign policy of Ukraine and Belarus, and region-building in the Baltic and Black Sea regions. He lectured at several universities and institutes and has authored over 100 academic and analytical publications. He holds a Ph.D in History of International Relations from the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Recent publications include „Practise what you preach. The prospects for visa freedom in Russia-EU relations“ (FIIA Report no. 18, 2009) and „EU-Russia relations: unfortunate continuity“ (European Issues, no. 129, 2009).

## **James Nixey, United Kingdom**

James Nixey is the Programme Manager and Research Analyst of the Russia and Eurasia Programme at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House). He holds degrees in Russian and International relations. Previously he has been with Goldman Sachs and as a journalist in Moscow. His recent research and primary expertise focuses on the domestic and international politics of former Soviet Central Asia with briefing papers and several articles published in national journals and newspapers, although he maintains a strong interest in Russian foreign policy as well. He has commented frequently on the former Soviet Union in national and international media.

## **Antje Nötzold, Germany**

Antje Nötzold has been a lecturer at the Department for International Relations at the Chemnitz University of Technology (CUT) since 2007. Simultaneously, she is working on her PhD. thesis “European Energy Supply Security and the Challenge of the Energy Policy of the People's Republic of China” at the same department. Ms. Nötzold's research focuses on European Energy Policy, Chinese Energy Policy, Energy Supply Security, European Neighbourhood Policy and the Middle East. She has also published numerous articles on these topics.

## **Mykhailo Samus, Ukraine**

Mykhailo Samus is the Deputy Director in Center for Army, Conversion and Disarmament Studies (CACDS), Ukraine. He has written extensively on defense, security, armed forces and defense industry issues as well as on transatlantic relations. He is responsible in CACDS for international relations and NATO projects. Mr. Samus is permanently based in Prague since September 2009 as the head of European office of CACDS and Defense Express magazine. Previously, from 2002 till 2004, he worked as a journalist and observer of Defense Express magazine (Ukraine). Before 2002 he was a member of Ukrainian Armed Forces and an editor of Export Control Newsletter (Ukraine). He holds a master degree in Journalism from Kiev National University and a bachelor degree in military from Kiev Naval Academy. He speaks Ukrainian, Russian, and English.

## **James Sherr, USA/United Kingdom**

James Sherr is the Head of the Russia and Eurasia Programme at Chatham House in London. Between 1995 and 2008, he was a Fellow of the Advanced Research Assessment Group and Conflict Studies Research Centre of the UK Defence Academy, and he is now a Senior Visiting Fellow of the institution. He is also a member of the Social Studies Faculty of Oxford University. Over many years, he has served as a consultant to parliamentary and other official bodies on Russia and Ukraine. From 1998 to 2000, he acted as a Specialist Adviser to the House of Commons Defence Committee. He is the author of over 100 publications on Russia, Ukraine and European security.

## **Jiří Schneider, Czech Republic**

Jiří Schneider is the Program Director of the Prague Security Studies Institute (PSSI). He is the former Political Director of the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the former head of its Policy Planning



Department. From 1995 until 1998, Schneider served as the Ambassador of the Czech Republic to Israel. From 1990 until 1992, Jiri Schneider was the Member of the Czechoslovak Federal Parliament. In 2002, Ambassador Schneider served as an International Policy Fellow at the Open Society Institute in Budapest. He also lectures at Charles University and New York University in Prague. Since 2006 he has coordinated a joint project of V4 think-tanks to strengthen the Eastern dimension of the EU's policy which has recently taken shape of the Eastern Partnership project.

### **Svenja Sinjen, Germany**

Svenja Sinjen is Head of the Program 'Berliner Forum Zukunft', Research Institute, German Council on Foreign Relations. She has been Assistant Professor on Institute for Political Science at Christian-Albrechts-University in Kiel, where she had graduated in Political Science, History and International Law. Ms. Sinjen's research focus is Security, Defence and Military Policy / NATO / USA. She passed numerous research stays in the USA, Israel, South Africa and in the International Staff, NATO HQ (Brussels / Belgium), she had been also Visiting Research Fellow at Department of Defense and Strategic Studies, Southwest Missouri State University.

### **Karel Svoboda, Czech Republic**

Karel Svoboda is a research fellow at the Institute of International Studies at the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Charles University and an analyst for the Association for International Affairs. He specializes in the field of economic transformation in the post Soviet area. His articles appeared in Czech and foreign journals, for example Politex, Slovanský přehled, Slovanské historické studie, Mezinárodní vztahy, and other scholarly magazines. He is also a frequent commentator of current issues for the Czech media.

### **Michal Thim, Czech Republic**

Michal Thim has been the Director of the Research Center of the Association of International Affairs (AMO) since August 2007. Mr Thim graduated from Political Sciences at the Faculty of Social Sciences at Charles University in Prague. The main areas of his interest as an analyst include Turkish foreign policy, the region of South Caucasus and the European Neighbourhood Policy. He was the Program Director of the „South Caucasus in 2008 and Beyond: Frozen Conflicts or Frozen Peace?“ – the AMO's international conference.

# Conference Team



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**We would like to thank all those whose help and cooperation have made this conference possible.**

# Association for International Affairs

Association for International Affairs (AMO) is a preeminent independent think-tank in the Czech Republic in the field of international affairs and foreign policy. The mission of AMO is to contribute to a deeper understanding of international affairs through a broad range of educational and research activities. Today, AMO represents a unique and transparent platform in which academics, business people, policy makers, diplomats, the media and NGO's can interact in an open and impartial environment.

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- create vital conditions for growth of a new expert generation
- support the interest in international relations among broad public
- cooperate with like-minded local and international institutions

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**Russia's Challenge and the West's Response**  
**Prague, 20 October 2009**

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