

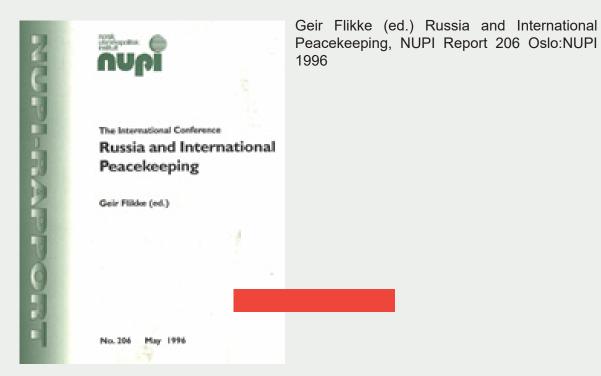
# The Russia Conference

1995-2020

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#### The Russia Conference 1995: Russia and International Peacekeeping



Irina Kobrinskaya: Russia and UN Peacekeeping

Sergey Tolstov: Ukraine and UN Peacekeeping

Astrid von Borcke: Russia and the Civil Wars in Tajikistan and Afghani-

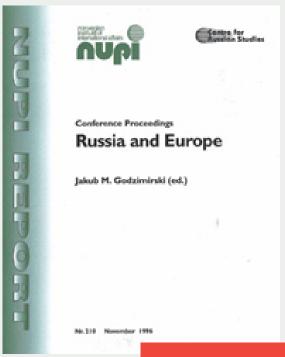
stan

Lena Jonson: Russian Peacekeeping in Tajikistan

Pavel K. Baev: Russia and CIS Peacekeeping in the Caucasus

Mark Baskin: Russia's Double Edged Diplomacy in the Balkan War

#### The Russia Conference 1996: Russia and Europe



Jakub M. Godzimirski (ed.), Russia and Europe. Conference proceedings, NUPI Report nr 210, Oslo: NUPI, 1996

Iver B. Neumann: Russia and Europe

Mark Bassin: Eurasianism and Geopolitics in Post-Soviet Russia

Pavel Baev: The Russian Debate about the Near Abroad

Marit Christensen: Soviet Roots of Russia's Policy towards 'Near Abroad'

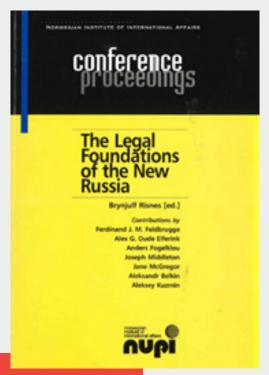
**Commentators:** Odd Arne Westad and Jakub M Godzimirski

Nils Morten Udgaard: Concluding remarks

### The Russia Conference 1997: The Legal Foundations of the New Russia

The adoption of the new Russian Constitution in December 1993 symbolised a fundamental change in the ideas and values underlying the Russian legal system. Having gradually set aside the constitutional order of the Soviet Union under Gorbachev, the Russian leadership in the early 1990s committed itself to building a new legal system based on the rule of law, basic human rights and a market economy.

The articles compiled in this book were resented at the international conference - 'The Legal Foundations of the New Russia' - held in Oslo on 20-21 November 1997. Attended by both Russian and West European experts on Russian law, the conference focused on three different aspects of Russian law. Where the Russian



Federation is situated in international law, the development of the rule of law, and the legal relations between federal and regional authorities? The principal aim of the conference was to assess some of the main trends in the evolving legal system in Russia four years after the new constitution was adopted.

Brynjulf Risnes (ed.) The Legal Foundations of the New Russia. Conference Proceedings. Oslo: NUPI, 1997

**Ferdinand J M Feldbrugge:** Russia and the CIS. The Genesis of a Crisis of Legal Identity

**Alex G Oude Elferink:** The Legal Regime of the Caspian Sea. Are the Russian Arguments Valid?

Anders Fogelklou: Constitutionalism and the Russian Constitutional Court

**Joseph Middleton:** Institutionalising Democracy. Regulating the Russian Electoral Process

**Jane McGregor:** Dealing with Citizens' Complaints against Public Bodies. The Approach in the New Russia

Aleksandr Belkin: Perspectives of Russian Federalism. The Legal Aspect

**Alexey S Kuzmin:** Relations between Regions and the Federal Centre in the Russian Federation. Legal Framework and Political Practices

### The Russia Conference 1998: New and Old Actors in Russian Foreign Policy



Brynjulf Risnes (ed.) The Legal Foundations of the New Russia. Conference Proceedings. Oslo: NUPI, 1997

**Astrid Tuminez:** Imperialism, Great Power Thinking and Nationalism. Persistent Ideas and Change in Russian Foreign Policy

Irina Kobrinskaya: The Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process in Russia

**Suzanne Crow:** The Role of the Presidential Administration

Geir Flikke: The Peoples' Orchestra: The Fifth State Duma and Identity Policies

Andrey Makarychev: Foreign Policies of Sub-national Units - the Case of the

Russian Regions

Mark Galeotti: The 'Power Ministries' and Russian Foreign Policy

Christer Pursiainen: The Role of Civil Society in Russian Foreign Policy. Actor,

Factor, or Outsider?

**Dmitny Gornostayev:** Russian Mass Media and Foreign Policy

**Yuriy Y. Fyodorov:** Russian New Industrialists and Foreign Policy

Walter Carlsnaes: Summing Up: A European Point of View

The Russia Conference 1999: Caucasus – Ethnicity Geopoliticized?

Sverre Lodgaard, (NUPI)

Christoph Zürcher, (Freie Universität, Berlin)

Willy Olsen, (Statoil, Stavanger)

Elkhan Mekhtiev, (Peace and Conflict Resolution Center, Baku)

Bruno Coppieters, (Vrije University, Brussels)

Helge Hveem, (University of Oslo)

Pavel Baev, (PRIO, Oslo)

Nadir Devlet, (Marmara University, Istanbul)

Helge Blakkisrud, (NUPI)

Raoul Motika, (Heidelberg University)

George Khelashvili, (Foreign Policy Research and Analysis Center, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tbilisi)

**Edmund Herzig, (University of Manchester)** 

### The Russia Conference 2000: Prospects for the Rule of Law in Russia – The Implications for Foreign Investment

Hosted by the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House, London.

William Butler, (University of London)

Aleksandr Domrin, (Institute of Legislation & Comparative Law, Moscow)

**Bernard Rudden, (University of Oxford)** 

**Brynjulf Risnes**, (NUPI)

Louis Skyner, (NUPI)

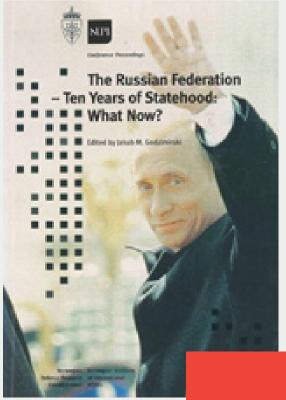
Alena Ledeneva, (London University)

Joseph Middleton, (OSCE)

Peter Solomon, (University of Toronto)

**Bill Bowring, (University of North London)** 

The Russia Conference 2001: The Russian Federation – Ten Years of Statehood: What Now?



Jakub M. Godzimirski (ed.). The Russian Federation. Ten Years of Statehood: What Now? Conference Proceedings, Oslo: NUPI, 2003

**Jakub M. Godzimirski:** Preface, or some thoughts on what brought the Soviet empire down and what is the future of Russia

Kristian Gerner: The Soviet Union - a Case of Imperial Overstretch

**Ian Bremmer:** The National Factor in the Former Soviet Union: Reasons, Forces, and Consequences

Pavel Baev: The Russian Military: Too Many Wars, Too Little Politics

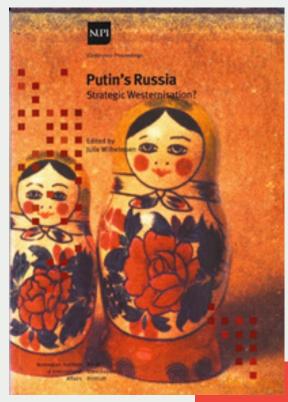
**Stefan Hedlund:** A Decade of Betrayals - On the Role of Trust in Russian Economic Reform

**Aleksander Sergounin:** Russia and the World: Changing Paradigms of Russian Foreign and Security Policy under Yeltsin and Putin

Martin Nicholson: The Russian State in 2001: Stability or Rigor Mortis?

**William V. Smirnov:** The Russian Federation: The Ten Past and Future Years of Statehood

The Russia Conference 2002: Putin's Russia – Strategic Westernisation?



Julie Wilhelmsen (ed.) Putin's Russia. Strategic Westernisation? Conference proceedings, Oslo: NUPI, 2004

**Julie Wilhelmsen and Jakub M. Godzimirski:** Putin's Russia: Strategic Westernization?

Allen C. Lynch: General Patterns of Russian Foreign Policy

Oksana Antonenko: Implications of Putin's Westward Turn

Andres Kasekamp: Baltic EU Membership

**Arkady Moshes:** The Baltic states in the EU: Implications for Russia and Russian-Baltic Relations

Marius Vahl: EU Policy towards the Baltics and the Near Abroad

Jacques Sapir: Russia's Economic Growth and European Integration

**Vladimir Mau:** Russia's Economic Achievements and Prospects for Strengthening Growth

**Kathryn Hendley:** Steps Forward or Backwards? An Assessment of Russian Legal Reform From a Business Perspective

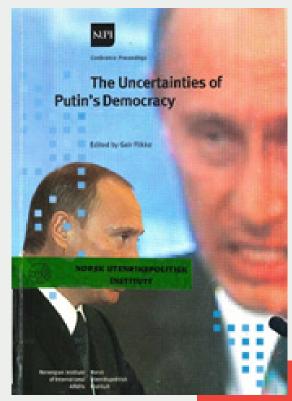
The Russia Conference 2003: Norway's Strategy towards Russia – Need to Rethink?

Olav Berstad, Special Advisor, (UD)

Jon Vea, Director, (NHO)

Hans-Wilhelm Steinfeld, (NRK)

The Russia Conference 2004: Putin's Democracy – Trantional, Managed or Illiberal?



Geir Flikke (ed.). The Uncertainties of Putin's Democracy. Conference Proceedings, Oslo: NUPI 2004

Panel 1:

**Moderator Pål Kolstø** 

**John P Willerton:** Uncertainties of the Putin Hegemonic Presidency **Graeme Gill:** The Presidency and Russia's Stunted Civil Society

Panel 2:

**Moderator Geir Flikke** 

**Richard Sakwa:** Russia's Political Parties Do Parties Matter in Russia **Nikolai Petrov:** Putin's Party of Power A Reflection of Presidency?

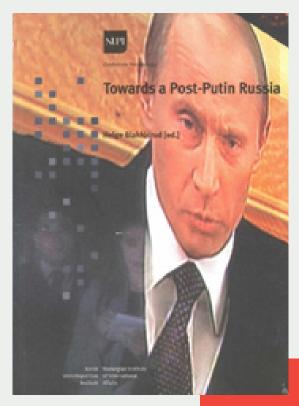
Panel 3:

**Moderator Pavel Baev** 

Sarah Oates: Putin's Use of the Media Campaign Framing and Party Building

Daniel Kimmage: Putin's Restoration Consolidation or Clan Rivalries

#### The Russia Conference 2005: Towards a Post-Putin Russia



Blakkisrud, Helge (ed.). Towards a Post-Putin Russia. Oslo: NUPI, 2006.

Introduction:

Helge Blakkisrud: Towards a Post-Putin Russia: Parting with Putin

Konstantin Eggert: Russian Democracy: Today's Deterioration and Prospects

for a Renaissance

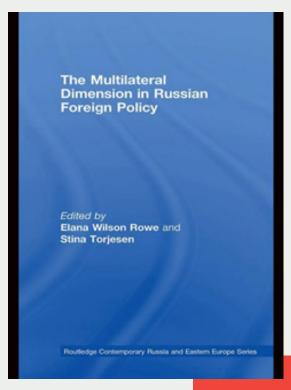
Vladimir Gel'man: The Politics of Recentralization in Contemporary Russia

**Rudiger Ahrend:** Towards a Post-Putin Russia: Economic Prospects

Bobo Lo: Evolution or Regression? Russian Foreign Policy in Putin's Second

Term

The Russia Conference 2006: The Multilateral Dimension in Russian Foreign Policy



E. Wilson Rowe and S. Torjesen (eds.) The Multilateral Dimension of Russian Foreign Policy, London and New York: Routledge 2009.

Elana W. Rowe and Stina Torjesen: Key features of Russian multilateralism

**Robert Legvold:** The role of multilateralism in Russian foreign policy

Andrei Zagorski: Multilateralism in Russian foreign policy approaches

**Pavel K. Baev:** Leading in the concert of great powers: Lessons from Russia's G8 chairmanship

**Alexander A. Pikayev:** Russia's attitude towards nuclear non-proliferation regimes and institutions: An example of multilateralism?

**Margot Light:** Russia and Europe and the process of EU enlargement

Hannes Adomeit: Inside or outside? Russia's policies towards NATO

**Jakub M. Godzimirski:** Russia and the OSCE: From high expectations to denial?

**Elana Wilson Rowe:** Russian regional multilateralism: The case of the Arctic Council

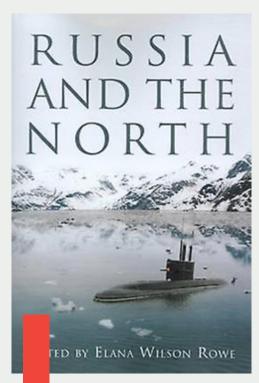
**Stina Torjesen:** Russia, the CIS and the EEC: Finally getting it right?

**Julian Cooper:** Russia's trade relations within the Commonwealth of Independent States

**Stina Torjesen:** Russia as a military great power: The uses of the CSTO and the SCO in Central Asia

#### The Russia Conference 2007: Russia and the North

Russia has a key role to play in the international politics of the North, being the largest 'Arctic' state geographically and an important regional and global actor in an energy market that is increasingly looking northwards. Russia, unlike Norway, does not have a single strategy outlining economic and political aims for the North. Rather, Putin's administration has aimed to handle development issues and challenges in this area through channels not specific to the North. However, a number of opportunities and challenges unique to the northern areas remain, requiring specifically northern policy responses. Consequently, the outline of what could be called a Russian northern policy is dispersed across a variety of fields from domestic migration politics to oil and gas development.



The aim of this conference was to pick up these threads of northern policy to present a picture of the key features of Russian northern politics. Conference papers and panel discussions examined both the main factors driving the need for specifically northern policy responses and the structure and effectiveness of these policy responses themselves.

Wilson Rowe, Elana (ed.). 2008. Russia and the North. University of Ottawa Press: Ontari

**Elana Wilson Rowe, NUPI:** Introduction Policy Aims and Political Realities in the Russian North

**Pavel K. Baev:** Troublemaking and Risk-Taking: The North in Russian Military Activities

**Geir Hønneland:** Cross-Border Cooperation in the North: The Case of Northwest Russia

**Craig ZumBrunnen: C**limate Change in the Russian North: Threats Real and Potential

**Anne-Kristin Jørgensen:** Recent Developments in the Russian Fisheries Sector

**Arild Moe and Elana Wilson Rowe:** Northern Offshore Oil and Gas Resources: Policy Challenges and Approaches

**Timothy Heleniak:** Growth Poles and Ghost Towns in the Russian Far North

Indra Øverland: Indigenous Rights in the Russian North

**Anna A. Sirina:** Oil and Gas Development in Russia and Northern Indigenous Peoples

Elana Wilson Rowe: The Intersection of Northern and National Policies

#### The Russia Conference 2008: The Return of Russia

The Georgian-Russian crisis of August 2008 marked the return of Russia's ability to underpin political demands with forceful diplomatic and military action. During the conference, we explored how we can best understand Russia's re-emergence as a potent player in world affairs and what the potential implications are. Our aim was to critically assess recent developments in Russia's involvement in international affairs and to identify key trends and nuances.

**Julie Wilhelmsen, (NUPI):** Soft and hard power: exerting effective power in the 21st century

**Giorgi Gogia, (HRW Georgia):** Re-claiming great power status: Russia's aims and actions

**Gabriella Melloni, (OECD):** Russia and the EU: difficult relaions among dissimilar partners?

Investments, Energy, The 2008 downturn

Panelists:

Stefan Meister, (German Council on Foreign Relations) Jakub M. Godzimirski, (NUPI)

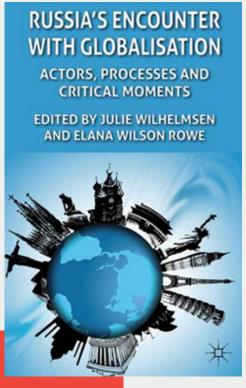
The view from Russia: an outlook on key trends in world affairs

Panelists:

Andrei Makarychev, (Nizhnii Novgorod Linguistic University) Stina Torjesen, (NUPI) Elana Wilson Rowe, (NUPI)

# The Russia Conference 2009: How Russia Decides – Actors, Processes and Critical Moments in Russia's Encounter with Globalisation

Issues of heavy interdependence – transboundary environmental problems, migration, and trade to name just a few – have traditionally occupied a low priority position on the Russian foreign policy agenda. Yet the increasing importance of these issues and linkages to "classical" high political concerns have made them impossible to ignore. Conference speakers analysed policy making processes and examine governing logics in Moscow when it comes to coping with the interdependence that characterises international relations today. In other words, how do Russia's foreign policy actors and institutions step up to the political challenges of the 21st century?



The event was made possible with support from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and from the RUSSCASP project.

Julie Wilhemsen and Elana Wilson Rowe (eds.), Russia's Encounter with Globalization. Actors, Processes and Critical Moments, Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2011

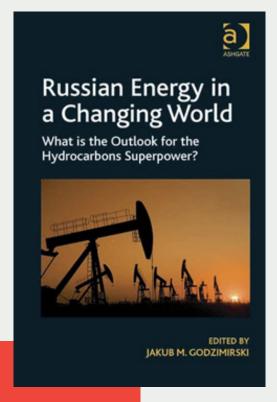
**Keynote speech: Professor Robert Legvold, (Columbia University):** Managing US-Russian Relations

Panel 1 - Cross-Cutting Issues: Climate, Health and Internationwal Terroism Elana Wilson Rowe, (NUPI)
Nikita Lomagin, (St. Petersburg State University)
Julie Wilhelmsen, (NUPI)

Panel 2- The Financial Crisis, Trade and Energy Julian Cooper, (University of Birmingham) Samuel Charap, (Center for American Progress) Louis Skyner, (Chatham House)

### The Russia Conference 2010: Russia, Europe and Energy – Rule of Power or Power of Rules?

In recent years, Russia and the EU have launched many joint projects, including the Energy Dialogue and the Four Common Spaces, and energy cooperation has become the backbone of the Russia-EU relationship. However, the two partners are still unable to agree on a basic set of principles that are to regulate their relations. The EU is often described as a soft power, while Russia often seems more prone to use other power tools. How can these two actors come up with a set of rules they both can subscribe to? – these are central topics underlying the issues addressed at our annual conference.



Jakub M. Godzimirski (ed.). Russian Energy in a Changing World: What is the Outlook for the Hydrocarbons Superpower? Farnham and Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2013

Welcome address: Arild Moe, (FNI)

Keynote address: Iver B. Neumann, (NUPI): Russia and Europe: Drawing Long

Lines?

**Session I:** Russia and Europe: Mapping the Issue

Derek Averre, (CREES): Western View: A Wester Look at Russia

Irina Busygina, (MGIMO): Russian View: A Russian Look at Europe

**Session II:** Russia, Europe and Energy

Tatyana Mitrova, (Center for International Energy Markets Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences): The Russian Energy Strategy and Europe: A Russian View

**Kari Liuhto, (Turku School of Economics):** Europe and the Russian Energy Strategy: A European View

Morten Anker, (Pöyry/RUSSCASP): Gazprom and the European Energy Market

**Session III and Panel Discussion** 

**Pavel Baev, (PRIO/RUSSCASP):** The Southern Corridor in the Russian Energy Strategy

**Indra Øverland, (NUPI/RUSSCASP):** The Northern Dimension in the Russian Energy Strategy

### The Russia Conference 2011: Russian Elections – Parties, Parliament and Power

The 2011 conference was dedicated to discussing the possible results and broader significance of the parliamentary elections in December and the presidential elections in March 2012. Among the questions discussed in the conference were: How do the opposition parties approach the elections? Which role do the parliamentary elections play in current Russian politics? How does the election result and Duma composition influence Russian policies?

**Session 1:** Russia's political parties: United Russia, loyal and real opposition

Chair: Indra Øverland, (NUPI) Sean Roberts, (Aleksanteri Institute) Geir Flikke, (NUPI) David White, (CREES)

Session 2: The elections and election campaign

Chair: Julie Wilhelmsen, (NUPI)
Derek Hutcheson, (University College Dublin)
Regina Smyth, (Indiana University)
Pavel Baev, (PRIO)

**Session 3:** Looking ahead: the aftermath of the Duma elections and the March 2012 presidential election.

Chair: Arkady Moshes, (Finnish Institute of International Affairs) John Willerton, (University of Arizona) Andrey Ryabov, (Carnegie Moscow Center) Paul Chaisty, (Oxford University)

## The Russia Conference 2012: Norway's Russia policy – Realistic or idealistic?

How has Norway's Russia policy developed during the past 20 years? Is Norwegian policy based on interests, values, or both? And how successful is this policy?

The 2012 Russia Conference took a closer look at different aspects of Norway's Russia policy, including trade, resource management, environmental cooperation and human rights. These topics were discussed through a number of case studies.

Welcome address – Ulf Sverdrup, (NUPI)

Øyvind Nordsletten, (General Consul in Murmansk), Norway and Russia:

Neighborhood in development

Halvard Leira, (NUPI): Russia policy from a wider perspective

Panel 1: Three case studies

Moderator: Heidi Kjærnet, (NUPI)

Lars Petter Lunden, (Sigra Group): Business

Steve Olsen, (Forsvarets Operative Hovedkvarter): Military cooperation

Ann Kristin Jørgensen, (FNI): Fishery

Panel 2: Three case studies

Moderator: Tor Bukkvoll, (FFI)

Elana Wilson Rowe, (NUPI): The Arctic Council

Jørgen Holten Jørgensen (Riksantikvaren): Svalbard

Indra Øverland, (NUPI): Energy

Panel 3: Three case studies

**Moderator: Anja Kristine Salo, (The Barents Secretariat)** 

Lars Rowe, (FNI, IFS): Environmental cooperation

Kirsti Stuvøy, (Høgskolen i Lillehammer): Civil society support

Aage Borchgrevink, (Den norske Helsingforskomiteen): Human Rights

#### **Panel Debate**

Torgeir Larsen, (AP, State Secretary at the Norwegian MFA)

Ane Tusvik Bonde, (Human Rights House Oslo)

Morten Høglund, (FrP, member of the Norwegian Parliament Committee on

Foreign Affairs and Defence)

Morten Jentoft, (NRK)

Kristian Krohg-Sørensen, (NRK)

## The Russia Conference 2013: What happened to Russia's modernization?

The term "modernization" was the main buzzword during Dmitri Medvedevs's presidency. "Modernization" supplanted and to some extent subsumed other slogans about Russia's development – transition, westernisation, privatisation, rule of law, democratisation or sovereign democracy. However, the choreographed switching of political roles between Medvedev and Putin in 2012 dampened the hopes of those who saw Medvedev as an independent and more progressive political force in Russia.

In light of these events, the conference discussed several questions: Was "modernization" first and foremost a rhetorical tool, or was substantial change on the agenda? Is "modernization", as formulated by Medvedev, a dead project? The challenges that modernization was meant to address have not disappeared – what is the place of these challenges on the Russian political agenda today.

This conference was the capstone event of the project Modernization and the Russian North (MODNORTH, 2011-2013) led by Elana Wilson Rowe at NUPI and involving a network of national and international partners. The project was supported by the NORRUSS programme of the Norwegian Research Council.

Welcome address – Indra Øverland, (NUPI)

**Dmitri Trenin:** Russia and the world: The importance of being modern

Panel 1: Political modernization?
Chair: Julie Wilhelmsen, (NUPI)

Vladimir Gel'man: "Freedom is better than non-freedom": unintended

consquences of rhetorical liberalization

**Irina Busygina:** The Open Government initiative

Natalia Moen-Larsen: Mr. President: Modernization and social media

Panel 2: Modernization in the regions. The case of North-West Russia

Chair: Kirsti Stuvøy, (HiL)

Andrei Mineev/Anatoli Bourmistrov: Modernization of business practices from

the bottom-up. The case of North-West Russia

Helge Blakkisrud: New approaches to regional governance

Panel 3: Modernizing state-business relations?

**Chair: Jakub Godzimirski, (NUPI)** 

Richard Sakwa: State-business relations and the dual state

Richard Connolly: On the doorstep of modernity? Economic development in

Putin's Russia

Alena Ledeneva: Modernization and sistema

Closing remarks: Indra Øverland, (NUPI)

#### The Russia Conference 2014: Russia and global (dis)order

2014 has been characterized by international conflict, in Ukraine and elsewhere and dramatically increased tensions between the West and Russia. Why has the relationship between Russia and the West gone so sour? How does this development manifest itself in wider international relations? How does Russia perceive world order, and do they have a distinct vision of it? What does Russia want with international institutions?

Welcome address – Helge Blakkisrud, (NUPI)

**Keynote Speaker: Sergei Karaganov** – Russia's foreign affairs: domestic drivers and the international environment

Panel 1: Russia and the West Chair: Iver B. Neumann

Arkady Moshes - The "weak" and the "assertive": why the EU Russian "strategic

partnership" was buried

Thomas Ambrosio: Authoritarianism and Foreign Policy: The Growing Divide

Between Russia and the West

Alexander Lukin: Russia turning to Asia after the Ukrainian Crisis

**Panel 2:** Russia, global economy and the non-West

Chair: Elana Wilson Rowe, (NUPI)

Julian Cooper: Globalisation on one's own terms? Russia in a changing world

economy

**Aglaya Snetkov:** Russia, the internal-external nexus and foreig relations **Marc Lanteigne:** Shattered Mirror Put Back Together'? Reconsidering the Si-

no-Russian Relationship under Xi and Putin

Panel 3: Russia and global governance Chair: Ole Jacob Sending, (NUPI)

Julie Wilhelmsen: Russia, International Law, and international institutions

Maxim V. Bratersky: Transformation of Russia's Foreign Policy

Viatcheslav Morozov: Aimed for the better, ended up with the worst: Russia and

the global chaos

Closing remarks: Helge Blakkisrud, (NUPI)

### The Russia Conference 2015: Today's Russia, and where to next?

20 years ago, NUPI both established a Russia department and organized our first annual Russia Conference. The anniversary conference was organized in collaboration with the NORRUSS program - the Research Council of Norway's program for research on Russia and the High North/the Arctic. We aimed to give an overview of developments both within Russia and within Norwegian research on Russia over the past twenty years and to give a status report with regards to Russian politics today. Which trends do we see? Where is Russia headed?

The conference focused on three broad topics: Russia and international politics, Russian domestic politics and the relationship between Norway and Russia in the High North.

State secretary Tore Hattrem, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Clifford Gaddy of the Brookings Institution each gave a keynote address. The three panels contained prominent experts on Russian politics, from Russia, Norway, Great Britain and the U.S.

Welcome address – Ulf Sverdrup, (NUPI)

Keynote Speaker: Tore Hattrem, (State Secretary, MFA, Norway)

**Keynote Speaker: Clifford Gaddy, (Brookings Institution)** 

Panel 1: Russia and the World Chair: Julie Wilhelmsen, (NUPI)

Lilia Shevtsova, (Chatham House and Brookings Institution): Russia's doctrine

of the hybrid world order: to be with the West and to be against the West

**Roy Allison, (Oxford University):** Russia's new interventions: Ukraine, Syria and global order

Iver B. Neumann, (LSE and NUPI): Russia and the idea of Europe

**Natasha Kuhrt, (King's College London):** The threat that dare not speak its name: Russia's China policy

Panel 2: Domestic Russian politics

Chair: Pål Kolstø, (University of Oslo)

**Natalia Zubarevich, (Moscow State University):** Russia's regions: crisis, trends and prospects

**Helge Blakkisrud, (NUPI):** Blurring the boundary: the Kremlin's new approach to national identity

**Regina Smyth, (Indiana University):** The unexpected strength of weak oppositions **Geir Flikke, (University of Oslo):** Resurgent authoritarianism: power and societal resistance in Putin's third period

Panel 3: Russia and Norway

Chair: Alyson Bailes, (University of Iceland)

**Arild Moe, (FNI):** Russia's economic aspirations in the Arctic – implications for Norway

**Aileen Espiritu**, **(University of Tromsø)**: Between a rock and a hard place: Russian-Norwegian relations in the High North

**Tormod Heier, (Norwegian Defence University College):** Security challenges in the High North

Kristian Åtland, (Norwegian Defence Research Establishment): Norwegian-Russian security relations after the conflict in Ukraine: continuity or change?

Closing remarks: Rainer-Elk Anders, (Staffordshire University/NORRUSS Program Board)

## The Russia Conference 2016: Russia's Turn to the East - Promises and pitfalls

In the wake of the Ukraine conflict, the eastern vector in Russian politics is becoming more and more significant. What consequences will this have for Russian domestic development and international relations?

The event was a capstone conference for the TIGER project («Trade Integration, Geopolitics and the Economy of Russia»), funded by NORRUSS programme of the Research Council of Norway, and for the project «Developments in the Russian Far East», funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The 2016 conference was also supported by the Korea Foundation through the project "Gateway or Garrisson? The Russian Far East and East Asian regional cooperation in changing geopolitical times".

#### Welcome address - Ulf Sverdrup, director of NUPI

Panel 1: The Russian perspective on the Far East and East Asia

Chair: Elana Wilson Rowe, (NUPI)

**Timofey Bordachev, (Higher School of Economics):** Anchoring Far East and Siberia to Global Economy: investment, transportation and cooperation

**Natasha Kuhrt**, **(King's College):** Russia's East Asia policy: rebalancing away from or towards China?

Pavel Baev, (PRIO): Russia and the stepping up of military posturing in East Asia Tamara Troyakova, (Far Eastern University): The Russian Far East cooperation with China, Republic of Korea, and Japan: opportunities and challenges Indra Øverland, (NUPI): East-West index: assessing Russia's easter pivot

**Panel 2:** The international and regional politics of Russia's turn to the East **Chair: Tom Røseth** 

**Yang Cheng, (East China Normal University):** Russia's Eastward Pivot and Prospects for Sino-Russian Relations: The Chinese View

Kim Seok Hwan, (Korea Institute of Eurasian Studies and Hankuk University of Foreign Studies): Korea's Russian policy and Russia's Pivot to Asia

**Sharyl Cross, (St. Edwards University and Wilson Center):** China, Russia, and twenty first century global geopolitics

Marcin Kaczmarski, (Institute of International Relations, University of Warsaw): The failed act of balancing: the implications of Russia's growing Sinocentrism for East Asian political order

Panel 3: Trade integration, geopolitics and the economy of Russia

Chair: Laura Solanko

**David Tarr, (Consultant and former lead economist of the World Bank, US):** The Eurasian Economic Union: Can it succeed where its predecessor failed?

**Arne Melchior, (NUPI):** Trade integration and the economic geography of Russia **Natalia Volchkova, (CEFIR):** Capital Structure and Exporting: Evidence from Import Tariff Changes

**Roman Vakulchuk, (NUPI):** Import Substitution, Barriers to Trade and Path-Dependence in Russian Far East Fishing Industry

#### The Russia Conference 2017 - Competing realities

The use of hybrid warfare in the 2014 conflict in Ukraine and the leaking of hacked documents in order to influence the outcome of the 2016 US presidential election campaign have sparked a renewed debate about Russia's use of propaganda, disinformation and influence operations. Media have always and everywhere been used for political purposes. However, the mentioned examples hint at a specific Russian take on the use of social and traditional media when it comes to exercising political control and influence. And as the Internet becomes increasingly important in our daily lives, social media are likely to become an even more relevant domain for political conflict.

At the 2017 Russia Conference, we took the discussion of these topics one step further. We discussed the important, but frequently overlooked, domestic dimension of Russian authorities' use of propaganda and disinformation. To what extent are such operations guided by domestic concerns? In addition, we examined the international dimension: What does the use of – and the discussion about – propaganda, disinformation and influence operations tell us about Russian foreign policy and the relations between Russia and the West?

In each panel, we aimed to bring in different in perspectives to tease out the real from the hype and thereby contribute to a more nuanced discussion about the strategic rationale and potential effects.

#### Welcome address by Helge Blakkisrud, (NUPI)

Panel 1: Internet, Media and Politics in Russia Chair: Dr. Mette Skak, (Aarhus Universitet)

Daniel Treisman, (UCLA): Russia and the Informational Autocracy

Iliya Kiriya, (HSE Moscow): Internet and New Media as Alternative Media in

Russia

Andrej Soldatov and Irina Borogan, (indeprendent journalists): The Kremlin's

Wars on the Internet

Panel 2: Russia, the West and the Competition over Narratives in International

Affairs

Chair: Lars Rowe, (FNI)

Sarah Oates, (University of Maryland): Russian Propaganda and American

Media: A Parasitic Relationship

Julie Wilhelmsen, (NUPI): The Dynamics of Russian-Western Intaction – the

Case of Norway

Kadri Liik, (European Council of Foreign Relations): What Does Russia

Want?

Panel 3: Competition over Narratives: Case Studies

Chair: Cristina Archetti, (University of Oslo)

Joanna Szostek, (Royal Holloway, University of London): Russia, Ukraine

and Strategic Narratives

Jakub Godzimirski, (NUPI): Russian Strategic Communication and Political

Ambitions in Europe

Hanna Smith, (Hybrid Coe): Hybrid Warfare

#### The Russia Conference 2018: Cold peace in the Arctic?

How does the conflict between Russia and the West affect the situation in the Arctic? The Arctic has long been a region characterized by international cooperation both at the bi- and multilateral level. While the relationship between Russia and the West has worsened dramatically in the aftermath of the crisis in Ukraine, many observers believed that constructive cooperation in the Arctic could largely continue as before.

How does the conflict between the West and Russia affect cooperation in the Arctic? Is it possible to shield this cooperation from the general deterioration in relations, or are we heading for a political cooling in the North?

The conference presented findings from the NRC funded CANARCT project, which aimed to investigate how tensions in Russia's relations with the West after the outbreak of the conflict in Ukraine have affected cooperation between Russia and other actors in the Arctic.

#### Opening remarks by NUPI Director Ulf Sverdrup

Panel discussion 1: The Arctic as a domestic issue in Russia

Chair: Arild Moe, (FNI)

Helge Blakkisrud, (NUPI): Defining the Arctic the Russian way Nina Poussenkova, (IMAMO, Moscow): Russia's Arctic Energy

Dmitriy Tulupov, (St Petersburg State University): The concept of "opornayazo-

na" in the Russian Arctic

Panel discussion 2: The Arctic as a meeting place

Chair: Anja Salo, (Barents Secretariat)

Aleksander Sergunin, (St Petersburg State University): The Russian perspec-

tive

Kristian Lundby Gjerde, (NUPI): Interaction Effects in the Arctic

Heather Conley (CSIS): The US perspective on the Arctic

**Key note speech, Ine Eriksen Søreide (Minister of Foreign Affairs)** 

Panel discussion 3: Arctic Futures

Chair: Katarzyna Zysk, (IFS)

Pavel Baev (PRIO): Hard security challenges in the Arctic

Konstantin Zaikov, (Arctic Strategic Center, NARFU): The future of internation-

al cooperation in the Arctic: a view from the region

Jakub M. Godzimirski, (NUPI): Arctic futures – three basic scenarios

#### The Russia Conference 2019: The Return of Russia – Identity and Foreign Policy

During Putin's years in power, Russia has made a comeback as a European great power with global ambitions. What are the Kremlin's long-term foreign policy objectives? How does Russian self-understandings affect this policy? And what implications may this have for Russia's neighbors, including for Norway?

The nexus of identity, foreign policy and international ambitions was the theme of NUPI's 24th Annual Russia Conference. We invited some of the world's leading experts on the topic of identity and Russian foreign policy to share their insights.

Opening remarks by NUPI Director Ulf Sverdrup

Part 1: Russian Foreign Policy and Identity: Goals and Norms

Moderator: Jakub Godzimirski (NUPI)

Conversation with Ted Hopf (National University of Singapore) and Valenti-

na Feklyunina (Newcastle University)

Part 2: Russia's Key Others and Foreign Policy

**Moderator: Elana Wilson Rowe (NUPI)** 

Iver B. Neumann (NOVA, OsloMet): Europe as Russia's Other: Long Lines and

Recent Developments

Jeff Mankoff (CSIS): Russia's Best Enemy: Russian Policy towards the United

States in the Putin Era

Igor Denisov (MGIMO, Moscow): China: Friend or Foe?

Part 3: Russian Foreign Policy: What to Expect?

**Moderator: Ingerid Opdahl (IFS)** 

Olga Malinova (Higher School of Economics, Moscow): What Can We Learn

from Contemporary Russia's Uses of the Past?

Julie Wilhelmsen (NUPI): Russian Foreign Policy and Interaction Effects Viacheslav Morozov (University of Tartu): Moscow's View of the Emerging

New Global Order

Sergey Utkin (IMEMO, Moscow): Russia's Global Positioning

Closing remarks by Helge Blakkisrud (NUPI)

Established in 1959, the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs [NUPI] is a leading independent research institute on international politics and areas of relevance to Norwegian foreign policy. Formally under the Ministry of Education and Research, NUPI nevertheless operates as an independent, non-political instance in all its professional activities. Research undertaken at NUPI ranges from shortterm applied research to more long-term basic research.

#### **NUPI**

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