

# “Russia between East and West, and the future of Eurasian Order”

A joint UPTAKE/GCRF COMPASS workshop

13 December 2018

LSE IDEAS

Room B13, 32 Lincoln’s Inn Fields, London WC2 3TL



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*Concept:* Over the past several centuries, many have come to believe that as goes Russia, so goes the world. Russia's victory over Napoleon was decisive in inaugurating the conservative and diffused hegemony of the Metternich era, while the Russian Revolution gave life to an ideology that came to encompass half the world for a time, only later to "return to Europe" on the wings of a seemingly triumphant liberal international order upon the Soviet Union's demise. Now that attempts to create a Greater Europe from Lisbon to Vladivostok have come to a halt in the wake of the Ukraine crisis, being replaced by new visions emanating from Moscow of a Greater Eurasia, many have begun to speculate about what impact the end of Russia's attempts to join the West will have on the future of international order.

Russia has been torn between West and East for much of modern history, oscillating between periods of emulating and resisting Europe. Its latest pivot away from Europe, however, is accompanied not only by a desire to forge its own path but also the articulation of a "Greater Eurasian" concept – a vision to pursue an integrated supercontinent – although some observers doubt Russia's commitment to pursuing it in earnest. What are the factors driving Russia's oscillation between West and East? Is its eastward pivot sustainable, or could it be followed by a renewed turn toward Europe in the future? Is the Russian Federation, a new state, finally maturing enough to provide its society with greater confidence in its identity, thus slowing the pace of this East-West oscillation? And what does this oscillation portend for the future of emergent order(s) in wider Eurasia? Is a new equilibrium being ushered in between the supercontinent's principal actors (the EU, Russia, China, India, etc.), and if so, to what extent is there potential for cooperation between them?

The workshop is supported by two projects – GCRF COMPASS and H2020 UPTAKE.

The [GCRF UKRI COMPASS project](#) (ES/P010849/1, 2017-21) is an ambitious UK government capacity-building initiative, aiming to extend UK research globally, to address the challenges of growth and sustainability in the developing countries. Notably, the COMPASS project, together with Cambridge University as its research partner, seeks to establish '**the hubs of excellence**' at the top-level HEIs in Belarus, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, to enable them to act as nodes for knowledge sharing and transfer along the following three dimensions, namely **research integration, impact governance, and sustainable communities**.

The [H2020 UPTAKE](#) (691818, 2016-19) is a twinning project between three EU universities – Tartu in Estonia, Uppsala in Sweden and Kent in the UK – aiming to develop research excellence in Russian and East European Studies. The goal of the consortium is to increase research productivity and excellence through a diverse programme of joint activities, including the launch of new academic conference series, the organisation of workshops and post-graduate training schools, extensive inter-institutional mobility, joint supervision of doctoral students and postdoctoral fellows, and coordinated promotion of research outputs.

**\*\*\*Herewith we would like to acknowledge the support of LSE Ideas – Michael Cox, Emilia Knight and Dora Hedegus especially; as well as the local organisers – Zach Paikin, Muzaffer Kutlay, Rob Chapman and Eske van Gils. This workshop would have not been possible without the GCRF COMPASS (ES/P010849/1) and UPTAKE (691818) fundng\*\*\***

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09.00 – 09.30	<b>Registration/Coffee, with welcome Introduction from Professor Michael Cox, Director LSE IDEAS</b>
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9.30-11.30	<b>Roundtable: Russia between East and West: challenges and opportunities for the future of cooperative orders in the wider Eurasia</b>
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*Roundtable participants are invited to briefly present their positions (5 mins) to be followed by Q&A*

**Moderator: Michael Cox (LSE IDEAS)**

Dmitry Suslov (HSE), Tatiana Romanova (SPBU), Richard Sakwa (Kent), Kristi Raik (ICDS), Derek Averre (CREES, B'ham)

11.30-12.00	<b>Coffee break</b>
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12.00-13.30	<b>Panel I: Domestic dynamics driving Russia's eastward turn... and possible westward return?</b>
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*Panel participants are invited to speak for 12 minutes max to be followed by Q&A*

**Moderator: Adrian Pabst (Kent)**

*Tomila Lankina (LSE) 'Russian Society, Mobilization, Protest'*

*Paul Chaisty (Oxford) 'Public Opinion towards East-West Relations in Russia'*

*Pete Duncan (UCL SSEES) 'Between politics, geoeconomics and geopolitics: Ideas and interests in Russia's orientations towards West & East'*

*Mathieu Boulegue (Chatham House) 'The role of domestic factors in Russia's foreign policy'*

*Tony van der Togt (Clingendael) 'Putin 4.0: Ruxit for real? Self-isolation, renationalisation of the elite and the need for a foreign enemy'*

13.30-14.30	<b>Lunch break</b>
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14.30 – 16.30	<b>Panel II: The Eurasian Economic Union's strengths and weaknesses, Russia-China relations, and the strength of Russia's eastern policy vector</b>
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*Panel participants are invited to speak for 10 minutes max to be followed by Q&A*

**Moderator: Zachary Paikin (Kent)**

*Roy Alison (Oxford) 'The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation as an expression of Eurasian Order: A Fragile Normative Consensus'*

*Moritz Pieper (Salford) 'The Linchpin of Eurasia: Kazakhstan and the Eurasian Economic Union between Russia's defensive regionalism and China's new Silk Roads'*

*Rilka Dragneva-Lewers (Birmingham) 'Can the Eurasian Economic Union make a difference in Eurasia?'*

*Natasha Kuhrt (KCL) 'An expanded SCO in the time of the BRI: reinvigorated, or on the road to redundancy?'*

*Yu Jie (LSE IDEAS/Chatham House) 'Money, Might and Mindset: how does the Sino-Russia relations evolve in Central Asia?'*

*David Lewis (Exeter) 'Russian Foreign Policy and the "Greater Eurasia Partnership"'*

16.30-16.45	<b>Coffee break</b>
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16.45-18.15	<b>Panel III: Russia's shared neighborhood with Europe: Drivers of contestation and prospects for the future</b>
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*Panel participants are invited to speak for 12 minutes max to be followed by Q&A*

**Moderator: Elena Korosteleva (Kent)**

*Tom Casier (BSIS) 'The neighbourhood and Russia's counter-hegemonic strategy'*

*Laure Delcour (CoE, Bruges) 'Domestic and external drivers of change in the 'contested neighbourhood': squaring the circle'*

*Kataryna Wolczuk (CREES Birmingham) 'The non-rivalry between Russia and the EU in the Post-Soviet space'*

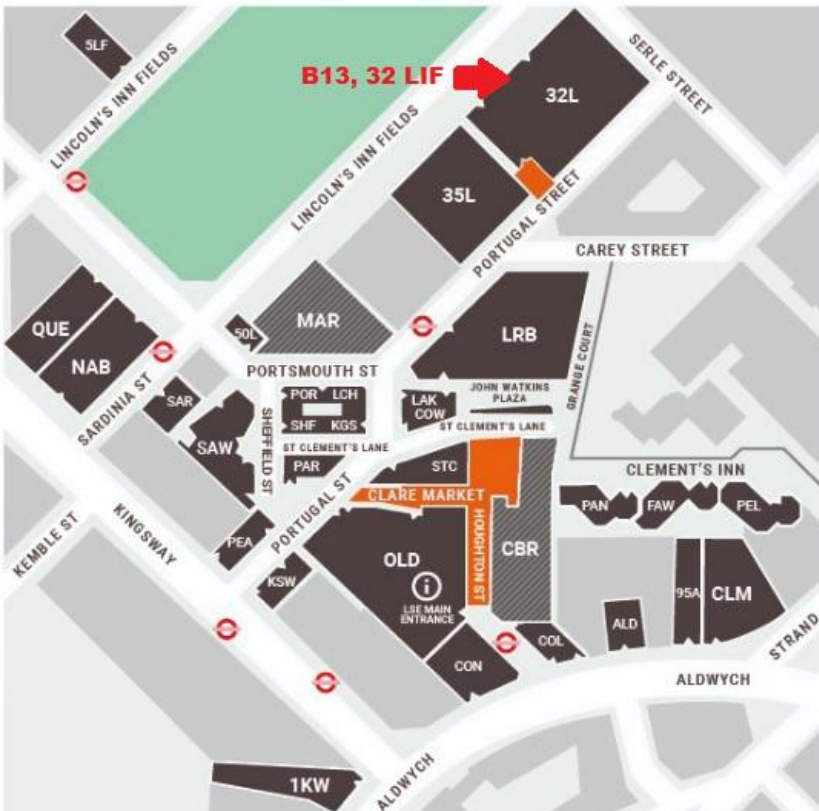
*Cristian Nitoiu (Loughborough, London Campus) 'The rise of hybrid geopolitics in Russia's shared neighbourhood with Europe'*

18.15-18.20	<b>Concluding remarks by Professor Elena Korosteleva &amp; Zach Paikin (Kent)</b>
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18.45	<b>Dinner (by invitation) at Smith &amp; Wollensky, Covent Garden</b>
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## ITINERARY



ADDRESS OF THE WORKSHOP  
**VENUE: Room B13, 32 Lincoln's  
 Inn Fields, London WC2A 3TL**

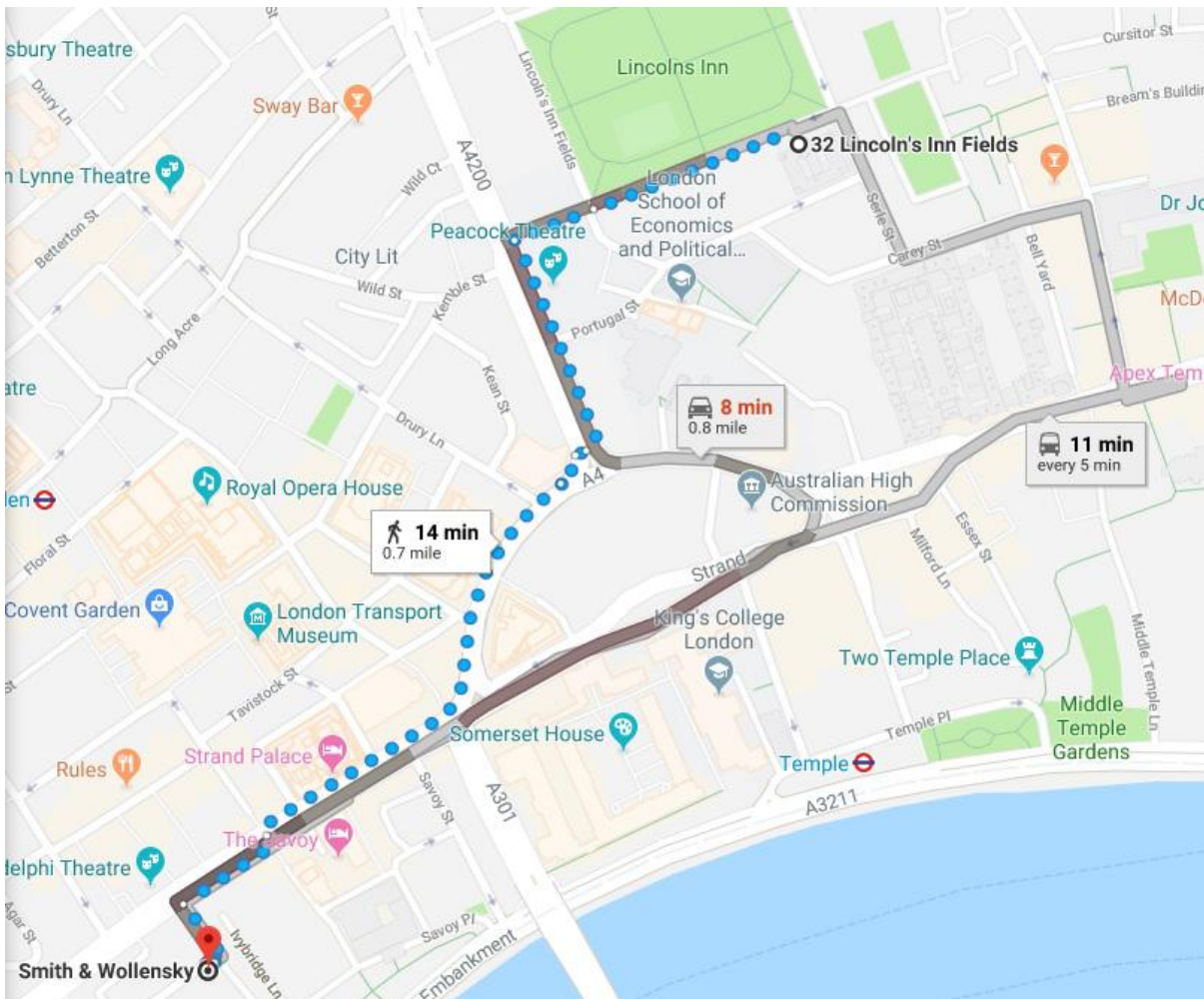


ADDRESS OF THE LUNCH VENUE  
**Directors Dining Room (DDR) and  
 Chairmans Dining Room (CDR),  
 5th Floor, Old Building, Houghton  
 Street, London WC2A 2AE UK**  
*Please note that the Old Building  
 has two entrances: one on  
 Portugal Street at the back, and  
 one on Houghton Street, at the  
 front of the building.*

**ADDRESS OF THE DINNER VENUE:**

Smith & Wollensky, Covent Garden

**The Adelphi Building, Covent Garden Riverside, 1-11 John Adam Street, London WC2N 6HT**



*Emergency Contact Numbers:*

Elena Korosteleva (Kent): 07973161736 (general issues)

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Dora Hegedus (LSE IDEAS): 02078494918 (general logistics)

Muzaffer Kutlay (Kent): 07472550060 (travel and accommodation logistics)

# Russia between East and West, and the Future of Eurasian Order

## Abstracts

**Roundtable discussion:** some general tentative questions for guidance only

1) There has been much talk of the "Putin synthesis" in Russian politics and society, creating a governing consensus and national identity that unifies (or at least consolidates) Russia's Westernizing and more "nationalist" forces. Is this synthesis durable? Will it last beyond Putin's tenure as president?

2) This decade has seen Putin adopt an increasingly conservative political vocabulary, in place of the pragmatism that characterized his first two terms in office. Does this represent a genuine strengthening of Russia's post-Cold War nationhood (civic or otherwise) that will act as a brake on the forces that have caused Russia to oscillate between East and West throughout its history? Or is this just a new expression of pragmatism from Putin to suit the times?

3) From Skripal to the recent Sea of Azov incident, relations between Russia and the West have worsened even further than their low point following the annexation of Crimea, the onset of the war in the Donbass and the allegations of interference in the 2016 US presidential election. It is difficult to imagine any significant amelioration of US-Russia relations at this point. But have EU-Russia relations now reached a point of no return, and if so, when was this point reached? Will even a modest reconciliation between Russia and the EU now prove impossible as long as Putin is president? How long before we see any genuine improvement in relations between Brussels and Moscow, and will this ultimately require (over the long term) each side to revise the norms and principles it expects to govern the European security order?

4) It is difficult to imagine a Greater Eurasia constructed in which Russia is not a second-class or junior player. Does this mean that Russia's natural synergies and place in the world still lie with Europe over the long term? Is Russia content to be a secondary player to China, Japan and India in Asia over the long term? Is rising Chinese influence in Central Asia a threat to Russia's perception of itself as the security guarantor of that region, even if it strengthens the authoritarianism and stability of Central Asia states? Is Russia genuinely prepared to create a free-trade zone with China and eventually spanning all of Eurasia, or is Moscow more interested in using Eurasian integration to insulate itself and other post-Soviet states from more economically competitive forces in Asia?

### **1st Panel: Domestic factors driving Russia's eastward turn...and possible westward return?**

- Mathieu Boulègue, *Chatham House (The Royal Institute of International Affairs)*

*The role of domestic factors in Russia's foreign policy:* Domestic and internal factors play an important role – if not a key factor – in Russia's foreign policy decisions. This presentation will outline some of the main political and social drivers defining the Kremlin's foreign policy identity and vectors of engagement.

- Pete Duncan, University College London (School of Slavonic and East European Studies)

*Between politics, geoeconomics and geopolitics: Ideas and interests in Russia's orientations towards West and East:* It has long been argued that Russia tends to expand to the West, towards Europe, and when it is checked, it turns to the East. So after the Crimean War and the Russo-Turkish wars of

the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Russia turned towards Central Asia and Japan. In 2014, following the sanctions, Russia increased its economic and political involvement with China. Debates about Russia's geographical orientation, however, have in the past been as much about what sort of society Russia should be as about geopolitics and geoeconomics. What factors push Russia back towards the West? The more dynamic and modernizing parts of society have always looked to Europe. Ruling groups from before Peter I to Brezhnev have always looked to the West for technology, while preventing dangerous ideas about representation infiltrating into Russia. Those hoping for a free Russia have looked to the more democratic societies of Western Europe.

- Tony van der Togt, Clingendael Institute

*Putin 4.0: Ruxit for real? Self-isolation, renationalisation of the elite and the need for a foreign enemy:* In my presentation I will argue that there seems to be a rather low probability at present that Russia would return to modernisation, linked to a new period of detente with the West. On the contrary, the ruling elite, which is already preparing for a post-Putin period, fears possible destabilisation, if more structural reforms would be implemented. Russia's "pivot to Asia" and its strategic relationship with China can only partly compensate for the economic, financial and especially technological benefits of a constructive relationship with the EU. Therefore, in order to justify a prolonged period of stagnation, the present regime needs a foreign enemy as a scapegoat for disappointing the Russian electorate. In this context, some form of self-isolation (as indicated in a recent article by Surkov) seems to be a more realistic possibility, in as far as economic interdependence (energy relations in particular) would allow. This could also imply a further renationalisation of the elite, also stimulated by (threat of) Western sanctions, and protectionism (both within the context of the Eurasian Economic Union and in trade relations with third parties, including China and the EU). In the meantime, no early resolution of conflicts, like with Ukraine, are to be expected.

- Tomila Lankina, London School of Economics (Department of International Relations)

*Russian Society, Mobilization, Protest:* Tomila Lankina will discuss the dynamics of contentious politics and civic activism in Russia and their implications for regime stability, vulnerabilities and resilience.

- Paul Chaisty, University of Oxford (SIAS)

*Public Opinion towards East-West Relations in Russia:* Professor Chaisty will present findings from survey research on public opinions towards international relations in Russia. Based on surveys conducted since the early 1990s, his analysis will focus on the factors that have shaped mass understanding of Russia's relations with the West.

## **2<sup>nd</sup> Panel: The Eurasian Economic Union's strengths and weaknesses, Russia-China relations, and the strength of Russia's eastern policy vector**

- Roy Allison, University of Oxford (SIAS)

*The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation as an expression of Eurasian Order: A Fragile Normative Consensus:* The SCO predates the EEU by more than a decade and has sometimes been viewed as the principal multilateral structure which ties Russian into a larger Eurasian order including China – in other words a manifestation of Russian eastern policy vector aspirations. It is an organisation

which developed something of a normative consensus around common approaches to regional security and intra-state challenges, especially extremism, terrorism and separatism. However, this consensus has frayed since 2014, partly since one of the principal powers and a core member, Russia, has chosen to empower separatist movements, unsettling both China and Central Asian SCO member states. China has also grown frustrated with aspects of SCO economic policy and now chooses increasingly to work bilaterally with Central Asian states in advancing its BRI plans. SCO enlargement to India and Pakistan has imported further disputes into the organisation. However, the political function of the SCO in presenting an international performance of collective Eurasian solidarity still matters for Russia, and arguably for China and some other member states.

- Moritz Pieper, University of Salford

*The Linchpin of Eurasia: Kazakhstan and the Eurasian Economic Union between Russia's defensive regionalism and China's new Silk Roads:* This paper introduces a single in-depth case study to analyse the extent to which China's 'Belt and Road' initiative clashes with Russian models of politico-economic integration in Central Asia. Kazakhstan sees itself as the linchpin of Eurasia, as the centre of a globalizing world, and at the heart of new trans-Eurasian trade connections. Astana has therefore embraced the construction of new rail and road links as part of China's Single Road Economic Belt (SREB), and has aligned its 'Nurly Zhol' domestic stimulus programmes with the SREB. At the same time, Kazakhstan's membership in the Russian-dominated Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) introduces questions of institutional compatibility with these Chinese-sponsored economic corridors. The paper contrasts Russian perceptions of China's connectivity narrative with Kazakh perceptions of both Russian and Chinese geopolitical constraints imposed on Kazakhstan to understand the partially competing logics behind Russian defensive regionalism and Kazakhstan's professed multi-vector foreign policy. It will be shown how Kazakhstan is a microcosm for the dynamics of a new Eurasian Order in the making.

- Rilka Dragneva-Lewers, University of Birmingham (POLISIS)

*Can the Eurasian Economic Union make a difference in Eurasia?:* The Eurasian Economic Union has styled itself as a desired and dynamic partner operating in the Eurasian space in pursuit of its member states' common economic objectives. It has signed several international agreements and boasts a long list of countries interested in establishing trade relations. A closer inspection of the bloc's external relations, however, reveals that they predominantly serve Russia's strategic interests. Based on the bloc's current record, its external deals are unlikely to either engender a significant boost in trade or further functional connectivity outside of Russia's political motivations.

- Yu Jie, LSE IDEAS/Chatham House

*Money, Might and Mindset: how does the Sino-Russia relations evolve in Central Asia?:* Much discussion about closer relationship between Beijing and Moscow are looking into the security aspects of their bilateral partnership. However, as Chinese investments grow exponentially in Central Asia under the BRI, will Russia ready to accept China acting as both economic power and security facilitator in the region?

- David Lewis, University of Exeter

*Russian Foreign Policy and the "Greater Eurasia Partnership":* Since 2015 Russian foreign policy thinkers have articulated a new spatial imaginary for Russian foreign policy, that of 'Greater Eurasia'. This geopolitical vision asserts a central role for Russia in a region that extends beyond Central Asia



to South and East Asia. Not only does the ‘Greater Eurasia’ idea claim a new role for Russia in international affairs, but it also makes far-reaching claims about the nature of the emerging, post-liberal world order. This paper examines whether this idea represents a significant strategic shift for Russia, or represents an unrealistic and unsustainable foreign policy initiative.

- Natasha Kuhrt, King’s College London (War Studies Department)

*An expanded SCO in the time of the BRI: reinvigorated, or on the road to redundancy?:* Underlying tensions remain in Chinese and Russian political visions for Central Asia, between constituting this as an open or closed region: with India (and Pakistan’s) entry into the SCO and its interest in a free trade agreement with the EEU, India is now being drawn into the ‘Greater Eurasian’ region. For both Russia and India, uncertainty regarding the nature and timing of any power transition from the United States to China presumes the need to continue to maintain a distance from China. This raises the question regarding the longer-term perspective for the SCO: will it be the security provider for China’s BRI in ‘Greater Eurasia’? The paper looks at how India might fit into Chinese designs and how this connects to Russian regional thinking. Does this signal the emergence of a new regional order in Eurasia and acceptance of a Chinese-led cooperative arrangement? It raises the question also not only of the relationship of the Russian- sponsored EEU, and Indian regional initiatives in South Asia but also of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) vis-a-vis the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). India’s membership of the SCO contrasts with its hostility to the BRI.

### **3rd Panel: Russia’s shared neighbourhood with Europe: drivers of contestations and prospects for the future**

- Tom Casier, University of Kent (Brussels School of International Studies)

*The neighbourhood and Russia’s counter-hegemonic strategy:* Russia’s policies in the post-Soviet space have varied over approaches as diverse as integration, passportisation, annexation and war. How to make sense of these diverging policy choices and of the wide array of power means employed? To what extent can they be understood as part of Russia’s broader counter-hegemonic strategy against the Euro-Atlantic ‘liberal’ order? These questions are analysed against the background of Russia’s global position and aspirations and in the context of debates about what Vladislav Surkov called Russia’s return to ‘one hundred years of geopolitical solitude.

- Laure Delcour, College of Europe (Bruges)

*Domestic and external drivers of change in the ‘contested neighbourhood’: squaring the circle:* The presentation examines how internal and external drivers of change interact in Eastern Europe and the South Caucasus. While in the early 2010s the “shared neighbourhood” turned into a “contested neighbourhood” – thereby suggesting a growing importance of geopolitics in the region – the presentation argues that neither the EU nor Russia is currently able or willing to act as a game changer in the region. This context calls for an in-depth analysis of the domestic drivers of change (or lack thereof) in Eastern European and South Caucasian countries. However, closer scrutiny of the domestic contexts points to a high degree of political polarisation and patchy reforms as a result of vested interests and struggles for power in most countries. This, in turn, fuels domestic contestation but also increased sensitivity to external actors in Eastern Europe and the South Caucasus.

- Kataryna Wolczuk, University of Birmingham (CREES)

*The Non-Rivalry between Russia and the EU in the Post-Soviet space:* The focus in this presentation will be on the apparent rivalry between Russia and the EU. It will be argued that in fact the two powers do not share the same objectives and instruments and operate in different domains. This incongruence stems from fundamentally different perspective on power, sovereignty and rules, something which is manifested most vividly in the post-Soviet countries.

- Cristian Nitoiu, Loughborough University (London)

*The rise of hybrid geopolitics in Russia's shared neighbourhood with Europe:*

Since the start of the Ukraine crisis, many voices in the academic and policy world have argued that geopolitics has reemerged as a key driving force in relations between Russia and the European Union (EU). The shared neighbourhood between the two actors has been the main space where both the EU and Russia have had to adapt to geopolitical

constraints, as well as to act in what can be perceived as a geopolitical manner. In this context, the paper claims that Russia and the Europe have developed their own distinct approaches to geopolitics, which tend to match their identities in international relations. The focus is thus on the way the hybrid identities of both Russia and the EU have influence their approach to geopolitics and their interactions in the shared neighbourhood. While traditional geopolitics is predicated upon mutually exclusive claims to influence in a certain political space, Russia and the EU's approaches are more flexible and unsettled, which leaves more room for compromise and cooperation.

# Russia between East and West, and the Future of Eurasian Order

*Speakers' Biographies (in an alphabetical order)*

## Roy Allison



Roy Allison is Professor of Russian and Eurasian International Relations at the School of Global and Area Studies, University of Oxford. He directs the Centre for Russian and Eurasian Studies at St. Antony's College. His former positions include Reader in International Relations, London School of Economics (2005-11) and Head of the Russia and Eurasia Programme, Chatham House (1993-2005). His ten books (sole author, co-authored or edited), include most recently *Russia, the West and Military Intervention* (OUP, 2013). His most recent article is 'Protective integration and security policy coordination: comparing the SCO and CSTO', *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, vol. 11, no. 3, September 2018. His research interests broadly cover the international relations, foreign and security policies of Russia and post-Soviet Eurasian states.

## Derek Averre



Derek Averre has been a member of the University of Birmingham's Centre for Russian, European and Eurasian Studies (CREES) since 1991, first as a Research Fellow / Senior Research Fellow working on a long-running (1991-2015) UK Government-funded project on arms control and economic transition, and latterly as Senior Lecturer and Reader. From August 2008 to August 2012 Derek was the Director of CREES. In recent years he has been leader of a work package on a project *Exploring the Security-Democracy Nexus in the Caucasus* (CASCADE), funded under the FP7 Programme (total value of award around €400,000); coordinator for CREES on International Research Staff Exchange Scheme project *EUropeanIdentity, Cultural Diversity and Political Change* (IRSES), funded under the FP7 Programme (total value of award to UoB €123,500); and grant holder for Advanced Research Workshop '*NATO and Russia: Towards Common Perceptions of Emerging Security Challenges*', supported by the NATO-Russia Council Science for Peace and Security Programme (total value of award to UoB: €36,900). He has published three co-edited books: *New Security Challenges in Postcommunist Europe: Securing Europe's East* (Manchester University Press 2002, with Andrew Cottey), *The Ukraine Conflict: Security, Identity and Politics in the Wider Europe* (Routledge 2018, with Kataryna Wolczuk) and *Security, Society, and the State in the Caucasus* (Routledge 2018, with Kevork Oskanian), as well as numerous journal articles in *International Affairs*, *European Security*, *Problems of Post-Communism*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, *Demokratizatsiya* and other journals and several book chapters.

## Mathieu Boulègue



Mathieu is a Research Fellow at the Russia and Eurasia Programme at Chatham House. His research focus is on Russian foreign policy, defence and military affairs as well as on security issues in Eurasia, post-Soviet conflicts, and NATO-Russia relations. Before joining Chatham House, Mathieu was a partner at the risk management and strategic research consultancy AESMA, where he worked as director of Eurasian affairs for various business interests and government institutions. Having trained as a policy and security analyst in the field of post-Soviet affairs, Mathieu regularly publishes articles and papers on Eurasian security and foreign policy questions. He is also a frequent invited speaker at conferences and events around the world as well as a commentator in international media on Former Soviet Union issues. He graduated from Sciences Po Toulouse in France and King's College London (M.A. International Conflict Studies).

## Tom Casier



Dr Tom Casier is Jean Monnet Chair and Reader in International Relations at the Brussels School of International Studies (BSIS), the Brussels campus of the University of Kent. He led BSIS as Academic Director from 2014 to 2017 and is currently Director of the Global Europe Centre. He is also Visiting Professor at the University of Leuven. Tom Casier teaches on Russian foreign policy, International Relations and Political developments in Central and Eastern Europe. Tom Casier's research focuses mainly EU-Russia relations and Russian foreign policy, with a particular interest in power and identity. An edited volume (with Joan DeBardeleben) entitled *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis: Understanding Diverging Perceptions* was published with Routledge in 2018. Recent articles have appeared in *Cooperation and Conflict*, *Geopolitics*, *International Politics*, *Contemporary Politics*, and *Europe-Asia Studies*.

## Paul Chaisty



Paul Chaisty is Professor of Russian and East European Politics at the University of Oxford. His publications include *Legislative Politics and Economic Power in Russia* (Palgrave, 2006) and (co-author) *Coalitional Presidentialism in Comparative Perspective: Minority Executives in Multiparty Systems* (Oxford University Press, 2018), plus articles in journals such as *Electoral Studies*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *Government and Opposition*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Party Politics*, *Political Studies*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*. His research interests cover legislative, party and interest group politics in post-communist Russia; political attitudes in Russia; nationalism in Russia and Ukraine; and comparative presidentialism.

### Michael Cox



Professor Michael Cox is Director of LSE IDEAS and Emeritus Professor of International Relations at LSE. He helped establish the Cold War Studies Centre in 2004 and expand it into IDEAS, a foreign policy centre based at the LSE which aims to bring the academic and policy words together, in 2008. In a 2017 international survey, IDEAS was ranked 2nd in the world amongst the best university affiliated Think Tanks. Since joining the LSE he has also acted as Academic Director of both the LSE-PKU Summer School and of the Executive Summer School. In 2011, he launched a new Executive Masters in Global Strategy designed to teach senior foreign policy practitioners.

### Laure Delcour



Laure Delcour is a Research Fellow (FMSH, Paris) and a Visiting Professor at the College of Europe (Bruges). Her research interests focus on the diffusion and reception of EU norms and policies as part of the European Neighbourhood Policy, as well as region-building processes in Eurasia. She has been involved in EU-funded projects on the ENP/Eastern Partnership, both as a researcher under the H2020 project EU-STRAT and as a scientific coordinator of the FP7 project “Exploring the Security-Democracy Nexus in the Caucasus” (CASCADE, FMSH, Paris). She has lectured on EU institutions and decision-making, the European Neighbourhood Policy, EU-Russia relations and Russia’s foreign policy (College of Europe, Bruges; Sciences-Po Paris; Sciences-Po Strasbourg; INALCO Paris; MGIMO, Moscow). Her recent publications include: “Dealing with the elephant in the room: the EU, its ‘eastern neighbourhood’ and Russia”, *Contemporary Politics*, 24 (1), 2018; “You can lead a horse to water, but you can’t make it drink’: the EU’s and Russia’s intersecting conditionalities and domestic responses in Georgia and Moldova”, *European Politics and Society*, 19(4), 2018; *The EU and Russia in their “Contested Neighbourhood: Multiple External Influences, Policy Transfer and Domestic Change*, London: Routledge, 2017; “Beyond geopolitics: exploring the impact of the EU and. Russia in the “contested neighborhood” (special issue co-edited with E. Ademmer, K. Wolczuk), *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, (57) 1, 2016.

### Rilka Dragneva-Lewers



Rilka Dragneva-Lewers is Professor of International Legal Studies at Birmingham Law School. She works on regional integration, EU external policy, legal reform and international diffusion of norms with a special reference to Eastern Europe. Her recent publications focus on Eurasian economic integration and its overlaps with EU initiatives in the post-Soviet region. Rilka’s work has strong comparative and interdisciplinary elements. Her expertise in the field has enabled her to engage in interactions with policy-makers and leading think-tanks, law reform technical assistance projects, and professional training activities.

### Pete Duncan



Before coming to SSEES in 1988, from 1986 to 1988 I was a Research Associate on the Soviet Foreign Policy Programme at Chatham House. I have published six books on Russian and European politics, foreign policy and political thought, including (sole author) *Russian Messianism: Third Rome, Revolution, Communism and After*; (sole author) *The Soviet Union and India*; co-authored *The Road to Post-Communism: Independent Political Movements in the Soviet Union 1985-1991*; edited *Convergence and Divergence: Russia and Eastern Europe into the Twenty-First Century*; co-edited *Soviet-British Relations since the 1970s* and *Towards a New Community: Culture and Politics in Post-Totalitarian Europe*, as well as written numerous academic journal articles and book chapters.

### Elena Korosteleva



Professor of International Politics and Jean Monnet Chair of European Politics, at the School of Politics and International Relations, University of Kent. She is the Principal Investigator of the GCRF UKRI COMPASS project (2017-21), and a Co-I for the H2020 UPTAKE project grant (2016-19). Elena's research presently focuses on the concepts of governance/governmentality; resilience; local ownership and capacity-building in wider Eurasia. Most recent monographs include 'The Politics and The Political of the Eastern Partnership Initiative: re-shaping the agenda' (Routledge 2018, co-editor & author); 'The European Union and its Eastern Neighbours: towards a more ambitious partnership?' (Routledge 2014); and 'EU Policies in the Eastern Neighbourhood: the practices perspective' (Routledge 2014; co-editor & author).

### Natasha Kuhrt



Natasha Kuhrt is lecturer in the Department of War Studies, King's College London. Her main research interests are Russia's Asia policy, as well as broader issues of international law, sovereignty and intervention. She has published widely on Russia's Asia policy, including the book, *Russian Policy Towards China and Japan* (Routledge 2011).

**Tomila Lankina**


Tomila Lankina is Professor of Politics and International Relations at the LSE's International Relations Department. Her current research focuses on comparative democracy and authoritarianism, mass protests and historical patterns of human capital and democratic reproduction in Russia and other states. Tomila is author of *Governing the Locals: Local Self-Government and Ethnic Mobilization in Russia* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006); and *Local Governance in Central and Eastern Europe*, with Anneke Hudalla and Hellmut Wollmann (Palgrave and University of Oxford St. Antony's Series, 2008). She received her DPhil from the University of Oxford (St Antony's and Balliol Colleges), an MA in International Relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University in America and a BA in linguistics (Urdu and Hindi) from the Tashkent Institute of Oriental Studies in Uzbekistan. She has held research appointments at the Humboldt University in Berlin, at Stanford University, and at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC. Areas of expertise: *Democratization, sub-national governance, Russia, Central Europe and Eurasia, India, legacies of colonialism and empire.*

**David Lewis**


David has a broad range of research interests in international relations and peace and conflict studies, with an additional strand of research focusing on the politics of authoritarian states. In regional terms, most of his research has explored post-Soviet politics, notably in Central Asia and the Caucasus, but he retains a strong interest in the politics of Sri Lanka. In 2012-16 he was co-investigator on an ESRC-funded research project entitled 'Rising Powers and Conflict Management in Central Asia'. The project explores divergent approaches to conflict among major powers and actors in the Central Asian region (notably the US, the EU, Russia and China) and investigates diverse policy responses to outbreaks of armed violence in Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan in 2005-2012. Before joining the University of Exeter in September 2013 he was a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford. He completed his PhD in the Department of Government at the LSE, and subsequently worked in political risk analysis in the private sector. He spent several years working for the Brussels-based think-tank, the International Crisis Group, in their research programmes in Central Asia and in South Asia.

**Cristian Nitoiu**


Cristian's research has been guided by an interdisciplinary ethos, with insights from various disciplines (international relations, policy studies, media studies, or communication), with the long-term goal to uncover the links between the nature of political systems and foreign policy, with a focus on Europe, Russia, Eurasia and the BRICS countries. He has recently edited a series of special issue looking at the rise of strategic thinking and geopolitics in EU foreign policy, and Russia's influence on

the development of foreign policy in Central Asia and the post-Soviet space. Before joining the Institute for Diplomacy and International Governance, Cristian was a Lecturer in Politics and International Relations at Aston University. He also held a Postdoctoral Fellow in EU-Russia relations and Ukraine at LSE IDEAS, as well as research positions at Trinity College Dublin and the College of Europe (Natolin campus, ENP Chair). He was awarded a PhD in 2014 from Loughborough University working on a project on the legitimacy of the foreign policy of the European Union. He also gained a MA in International Relations from the University of Nottingham and a BA in International Relations and European Studies.

### Adrian Pabst



Adrian's main research interests are in political thought, political economy and contemporary European and international politics. He joined the School in 2009 as lecturer in politics, and was promoted to Senior Lecturer in 2013 and to Reader in 2016. Previously he gained a PhD in political thought and philosophy of religion from the University of Cambridge (2002-06) and held a Leverhulme Early Career Fellowship at the University of Nottingham (2007-09). In political thought, Adrian's research focuses on liberalism and its modern critics, in particular Edmund Burke and Alexis de Tocqueville, as well as thinkers in the conservative and the socialist tradition. In political economy, he has written on the moral philosophy underpinning Adam Smith's conception of the market, the 'civil economy' tradition, in particular Antonio Genovesi, and contemporary questions – including the role of civil society. In addition to articles, this work has led to Adrian's co-authored book *The Politics of Virtue : Post-liberalism and the Human Virtue* (Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016). Other recent work include a co-edited collection *Blue Labour: Forging a New Politics* (I.B. Tauris, 2015) and *The Demons of Liberal Democracy* (Polity, 2018).

### Zachary Paikin



Zachary Paikin is a PhD Candidate and Assistant Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Kent and a junior scholar at the UPTAKE consortium. His research interests include Russia-West relations, Russia-China relations, and the future of Eurasian and world order (from an English School perspective). He holds a BA in Middle East Studies from McGill University and a Master of Global Affairs degree from the University of Toronto's Munk School. His writings have appeared in several newspapers and political publications, and he has also published a number of analyses for think tanks in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom. His recent co-authored peer-reviewed publication, entitled "Russia's Eurasian Past, Present and Future: Rival International Societies and Moscow's Place in the Post-Cold War World", is forthcoming in *European Politics and Society* in 2019.



### Moritz Pieper



Dr Moritz Pieper is a Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Salford, Manchester, UK. He holds a PhD from the University of Kent and has completed his postgraduate studies in Canterbury, Moscow, and Brussels. He has been a visiting Research Fellow at China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU), Beijing, at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Brussels, and at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London. His works have been published in *Geopolitics*, *European Security*, *International Politics*, *European Foreign Affairs Review*, *Alternatives-Turkish Journal of International Relations*, and the *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, among others. His monograph on Russian, Chinese, and Turkish foreign policies towards the Iranian nuclear programme was published in 2017 with Routledge.

### Kristi Raik



Dr Kristi Raik is the Director of the Estonian Foreign Policy Institute at the International Centre for Defence and Security since 1 February 2018. She is also an Adjunct Professor at the University of Turku. Kristi has previously served inter alia as a Senior Research Fellow and Acting Programme Director at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs in Helsinki; an official at the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union in Brussels; and a Visiting Fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies in Brussels and the International Centre for Policy Studies in Kyiv. Kristi's latest publications include [‘The security strategies of the US, China, Russia and the EU: Living in different worlds’](#), co-authored with Mika Aaltola, Jyrki Kallio & Katri Pynnöniemi (FIIA Report 56, Helsinki: Finnish Institute of International Affairs, 2018); [‘EU-Russia Relations in the New Putin Era: Not much light at the end of the tunnel’](#), co-authored with András Rácz (Report, Tallinn: International Centre for Defence and Security/ Estonian Foreign Policy Institute, June 2018); and [‘The Ukraine Crisis as a Conflict over Europe’s Political, Economic and Security Order’](#), an article published in *Geopolitics*, December 2017.

### Tatiana Romanova



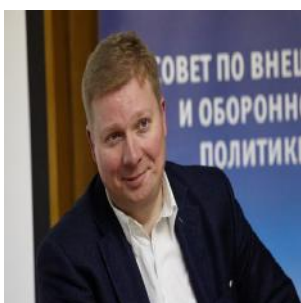
Tatiana Romanova is an associate professor at the School of International Relations, St. Petersburg State University. She holds there Jean Monnet Chair (awarded in 2011). She is also a visiting associate professor in a number of institutions, including the Higher School of Economics and European University in St. Petersburg. She holds Ph.D. in Political Science (St. Petersburg State University, Russia, 2002); Master in European Political and Administrative Studies (College of Europe, Belgium, 2001), and Diploma with honours - Specialist in International Relations (St. Petersburg State University, Russia, 2000).

### Richard Sakwa



Richard Sakwa is Professor of Russian and European Politics at the University of Kent and an Associate Fellow of Chatham House. He is a graduate of the LSE (BA Hons) and the University of Birmingham (PhD). He held lectureships at the Universities of Essex and California, Santa Cruz, before joining the University of Kent in 1987. He has published widely on Soviet, Russian and European affairs. Books include *Communism in Russia: An Interpretative Essay* (Macmillan, 2010), *The Crisis of Russian Democracy: The Dual State, Factionalism and the Medvedev Succession* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), *Putin and the Oligarch: The Khodorkovsky - Yukos Affair* (IB Tauris, 2014), *Putin Redux: Power and Contradiction in Contemporary Russia* (Routledge, 2014), and *Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands* (IB Tauris, 2016). His latest book is *Russia against the Rest: The Post-Cold War Crisis of World Order* (Cambridge University Press, 2017). He is currently working on *Deception: Russiagate and the New Cold War*.

### Dmitry Suslov



Dmitry Suslov is Deputy Director of Centre for Comprehensive European and International Studies, and senior lecturer at the School of World Economy and International Affairs at the National Research University Higher School of Economics in Moscow. He is also expert and member of the Valdai International Discussion Club and Deputy Director for Studies of the Council on Foreign and Defence Policy. His research focuses on US foreign policy and Russia's relations with the US and the EU, as well as Russian foreign policy in general. Dr Suslov serves as a regular consultant to Russian government institutions and private companies on US-Russia and EU-Russia relations.

### Tony van der Togt



Tony van der Togt is an Associate Fellow at the Clingendael Institute in The Hague and simultaneously works as a Strategic Policy Adviser for the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Before his secondment to Clingendael as a Senior Research Fellow (2014-18), he held different positions in the Dutch Foreign Ministry, both in The Hague and at Dutch representations abroad, dealing with Eastern Europe and Central Asia. More recently, he served as Dutch Consul-General in St Petersburg (2008-2011) and as Special Representative for the Netherlands-Russia bilateral year in 2013. He is (co-)author of the Clingendael Reports: "From Competition to Compatibility. Striking a Eurasian balance in EU-Russia relations", "The Europeanisation of Moldova: Is the EU on the right track?" and "The "Belarus factor". From balancing to bridging geopolitical dividing lines in Europe?". Most recently, he contributed a paper: "Hybrid conflict: the roles of Russia, North Korea and China." For full list see expert page at [www.clingendael.org/experts](http://www.clingendael.org/experts). He served as a member of the core group of the EU-Russia Experts Network (EUREN), participating in dialogue with Russian experts from the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC) on topics of common interest and is a regular contributor to the Minsk Dialogue.

## Kataryna Wolczuk



Professor Wolczuk specialises in East European politics. Currently she is researching relations between the EU and the post-Soviet countries within the framework of the ENP and the EaP. She is also conducting research on Russia's role in the 'shared neighbourhood' and any potential impact for EU's role and policies in the post-Soviet space. Previously she studied the dynamics of state-building in Ukraine (especially constitutional reforms, institutional framework, legislative-executive relations), as well as the conception of nationhood and national identity in Central and Eastern Europe. Her research interests also included Polish-Ukrainian relations in the context of EU enlargement and relations between Ukraine and the enlarged EU. Professor Wolczuk contributed to numerous policy-related initiatives and cooperated with and advised a number of UK governmental bodies, international organisations and think-tanks on East European politics, the consequences of EU enlargement and the relations between the EU and its eastern neighbours. In 2002-03 she was Jean Monnet Fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, the European University Institute, Florence.

## Yu Jie



Dr Yu Jie is Head of China Foresight at LSE IDEAS and teaches at LSE. Her research focuses on the decision-making process of Chinese foreign policy as well as China's economic diplomacy. She speaks frequently at public institutions and corporates; appears regularly at major media outlets such as the BBC, the Financial Times, the Independent, and the Washington Post. She also briefs China's foreign affairs to senior policy practitioners from the European External Action Services, Silk Road Fund in Beijing and the UK Cabinet Office. Yu Jie served as an expert witness at House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee. She gained her doctorate at the International Relations Department, LSE. Her thesis titles "Partnership or Partnerships: An Examination on China-EU relations by using China-EU collaboration on climate change and clean energy technology as a case study". Prior to LSE, she was a management consultant, specialising in Chinese investments in Europe and Chinese market entry strategies for European conglomerates at the London Office of Roland Berger Strategy Consultants. She worked extensively with leading European conglomerates on China market entry strategies and Chinese State Owned Enterprises on direct investments in Europe, including EADS, Shanghai Automotive (SAIC), China General Nuclear Group (CGN).

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