4th MGIMO-Fletcher Conference

Grand Challenges in Russia-U.S. Relations

Medford, MA

April 1-2, 2019

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Grand Challenges in Russia-U.S. Relations

April 1-2, 2019
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Welcome

The Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO University) of the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs and The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University welcome you to their fourth joint conference on Grand Challenges in Russia-U.S. Relations. The conference will focus on empirical, theoretical, normative, and legal questions related to the principle of non-interference in domestic affairs; Russia’s understanding of alliances, partnerships, and coalitions; and Russia-U.S. relations in the evolving world order.

The event is being organized by the two universities in partnership with the Alexander Gorchakov Public Diplomacy Fund and Carnegie Corporation of New York. The previous MGIMO-Fletcher conferences on Russia-U.S. relations held in November 2017, May 2018, and March 2019 provided an opportunity to clarify disagreements and potential areas of cooperation between the United States and Russia. The goals of the joint MGIMO-Fletcher conference series are to examine both the depth and scope of disagreements between the United States and Russia, assess the potential for bilateral cooperation in the areas of shared interests, educate future U.S. and Russian decision-makers, and foster mutual understanding between Russian and American scholars and practitioners.
## Schedule

### Monday, April 1  
**Cabot 702, The Fletcher School**

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<tr>
<td>8.30-9.00</td>
<td>Breakfast and Registration</td>
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<td>9.00-9.15</td>
<td>Welcome Session</td>
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<td>9.15-12.00</td>
<td>Session 1. Understanding the Principle of Non-Interference in Domestic Affairs</td>
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<td>Lunch</td>
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<td>Session 2. Russia's Understanding of Alliances, Coalitions, and Partnerships</td>
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### Tuesday, April 2  
**Cabot 702, The Fletcher School**

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<tr>
<td>17.00-17.30</td>
<td>Coffee Break</td>
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<td>17.30-19.00</td>
<td>Session 3. Russia and the United States in the Evolving World Order</td>
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<tr>
<td>19.00-20.00</td>
<td>Dinner</td>
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Directions

The conference is being held at The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University at 160 Packard Avenue, Medford, MA. Abundant, all-day parking can be found in Tufts’ Dowling Parking Garage at 419 Boston Avenue.
The welcome session will feature statements by Ian Johnstone, Dean ad interim of The Fletcher School, and Andrey Baykov, Vice President for Graduate and International Programs and Associate Professor of International Affairs at MGIMO University. They will be introduced by Daniel Drezner, Professor of International Politics at The Fletcher School.

**Ian Johnstone** currently serves as Dean ad interim at The Fletcher School as well as Professor of International Law. From 2013-2015, he was also Academic Dean. Prior to joining Fletcher in 2000, he served in the United Nations’ Executive Office of the Secretary General. His most recent books include *The Oxford Handbook on International Organizations* (2016); *Law and Practice of the United Nations, 2nd edition* (2016); and *The Power of Deliberation: International Law, Politics and Organizations* (2011). From 2005-2007, he was the lead author and founding editor of the *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations*. He is currently on the editorial boards of *Global Governance Journal* and *International Organizations Law Review*. Johnstone, recipient of the James L. Paddock Teaching Award in 2005, teaches courses in international organizations and peace operations. He continues to serve as a regular consultant to the United Nations and is a Non-Resident Senior Fellow at the Center on International Cooperation, New York University. A citizen of Canada, he holds an LL.M degree from Columbia University and JD and B.A. degrees from the University of Toronto.
Andrey Baykov is Vice President for Graduate and International Programs and Associate Professor of International Affairs at MGIMO University. He is also editor-in-chief of *International Trends*, a member of the International Studies Association, a member of the Executive Board of the Russian Political Science Association, and Director of the Academic Educational Forum on International Relations. In 2017, he was elected to the Youth Council on Education and Science Policy of the President of the Russian Federation, which brings together some 30 bright scholars in Russia across all disciplines in the age range of up to 35 years old. Baykov earned his master’s degree in International Relations in 2007 and his Ph.D. in Political Science in 2009 at MGIMO University. For his research of comparative regional integration in East Asia and Europe, he was awarded the First Prize of the Russian Academy of Sciences in 2013. He was the recipient of the Donald Robertson Award of the U.S. International Studies Association in 2013 for his paper on Eurasian integration.

Daniel Drezner is Professor of International Politics and Co-Director of the Russia and Eurasia Program at The Fletcher School. He is a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and a contributing editor at *The Washington Post*. Previously he taught at the University of Chicago and at the University of Colorado at Boulder. He has held positions with Civic Education Project, the RAND Corporation, and the U.S. Department of the Treasury, and received fellowships from the German Marshall Fund of the United States, Council on Foreign Relations, and Harvard University. Drezner has written six books, including *The Ideas Industry* (2017) and *The System Worked* (2014). He has published articles in numerous scholarly journals as well as in *The New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Politico,* and *Foreign Affairs,* and has been a contributing editor for *Foreign Policy* and *The National Interest.* He received his B.A. in Political Economy from Williams College and his M.A. in Economics and Ph.D. in Political Science from Stanford University.
Session 1. Understanding the Principle of Non-Interference in Domestic Affairs

How do the United States and Russia define foreign “meddling” in domestic affairs, “hybrid warfare,” and “active measures”? What is the role of diasporas, foreign media, “undesirable organizations,” and “foreign agents” in influencing domestic politics? Are civil society protests and political candidates compromised by relations with foreign actors? What role does foreign influence play in “color revolutions”? What are the similarities and differences in Russian and American strategies in response to perceived threats of subversion? What role does cyberspace play in threats to domestic orders today? How are information and communication technologies distinct from past tools of influence operations?

The panel will be moderated by Chris Miller, Assistant Professor of International History at The Fletcher School.

Chris Miller is Assistant Professor of International History and Co-Director of the Russia and Eurasia Program at The Fletcher School. He has previously served as Associate Director of the Brady-Johnson Program in Grand Strategy at Yale, a lecturer at the New Economic School in Moscow, a visiting researcher at the Carnegie Moscow Center, a research associate at the Brookings Institution, and a fellow at the German Marshall Fund’s Transatlantic Academy. He has written two books, The Struggle to Save the Soviet Economy: Mikhail Gorbachev and the Collapse of the USSR (2016) and Putinomics: Power and Money in Resurgent Russia (2018). He received his Ph.D. and M.A. from Yale University and his B.A. in history from Harvard University.
Tatyana Shakleina is Chair of the Department of Applied Analysis of International Issues at MGIMO University. She also serves as a Leading Research Associate at the Institute of the U.S. and Canada Studies at the Russian Academy of Sciences, where she earned her Ph.D. in World History and International Relations in 1984 and became a Professor of Political Science in 2003. She is the author or editor of over 200 publications on contemporary international relations, U.S. and Russian foreign policy, Russia-U.S. relations, American think tanks, Russian studies in the United States, and U.S. studies in Russia, including Russia and the United States in World Politics (2012), Foreign Policy of the Bush Administration: Concepts and Practice (2003), and Russia and the United States in the New World Order (2002).

Carolyn Gideon is Assistant Professor of International Communication and Technology Policy. She is also director of the Hitachi Center for Technology and International Affairs. Gideon’s research focus is policy, access, and industry structure issues of information and communication technology. She has been a fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs and at the Center for Business and Government at Harvard Kennedy School, and a research affiliate with the MIT Program on Internet and Telecoms Convergence. Previously she served as assistant vice president of Parker/Hunter Incorporated, manager of Manville Personal Injury Settlement Trust, and consultant with Strategic Planning Associates (now Mercer Management Consulting). She is a member of the International Telecommunication Society, International Communications Association, Society for Benefit Cost Analysis, and president-elect of the Transportation and Public Utility Group of the American Economic Association.
Richard Weitz is Senior Fellow and Director of the Center for Political-Military Analysis at Hudson Institute. His current research includes regional security developments relating to Europe, Eurasia, and East Asia as well as U.S. foreign and defense policies. Previously Weitz worked for shorter terms at the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Defense Science Board, Harvard University, and other research institutions, and the U.S. Department of Defense. Dr. Weitz is a graduate of Harvard University (Ph.D. in Political Science), Oxford University (M.Phil. in Politics), the London School of Economics (M.Sc. in International Relations), and Harvard College (B.A. with Highest Honors in Government), where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. He is proficient in Russian, French, and German.

Susan Landau is Bridge Professor in Cyber Security and Policy, and she splits her time between The Fletcher School and Tufts University’s School of Engineering (as a professor of Computer Science). Landau works at the intersection of cybersecurity, national security, law, and policy. She has testified before Congress, written for the Washington Post, Science, and Scientific American, and frequently appears on NPR and BBC. Her previous positions include senior staff privacy analyst at Google, distinguished engineer at Sun Microsystems, and faculty member at Worcester Polytechnic Institute, the University of Massachusetts Amherst, and Wesleyan University.
Igor Istomin is Associate Professor at the Department of Applied Analysis of International Issues at MGIMO University. He holds Ph.D. and M.A. degrees from MGIMO University as well as an undergraduate degree from Saint Petersburg State University. Istomin teaches undergraduate and graduate classes in methods of applied analysis of international affairs. He is an executive editor at International Trends, a leading Russian academic journal. He is also a visiting fellow at the School of International and Public Affairs at Jilin University in China. Istomin is the author of more than 50 publications on U.S. foreign policy, relations in the Euro-Atlantic space, and international security. His most recent book is The Logic of State Behavior in International Politics (2017). He has also prepared policy reports and papers for the Russian International Affairs Council, the Valdai Discussion Club, the Center for Strategic Research in Moscow, and the European Leadership Network.
Richard Shultz is Lee E. Dirks Professor of International Politics and Director of the International Security Studies Program at The Fletcher School. He has held three chairs: Olin Distinguished Professor of National Security, U.S. Military Academy; Secretary of the Navy Senior Research Fellow, Naval War College; and Brigadier General Oppenheimer Chair of War-fighting Strategy, U.S. Marine Corps. Since the mid-1980s, he has served as a security consultant to various U.S. government agencies concerned with national security. He published in the academic year 2013 a book on the U.S. Marine Corps' 2004-2008 counterinsurgency campaign in Iraq titled The Marines Take Anbar: The Four-Year Fight to Defeat al Qaeda in Iraq. He has recently published with Dr. Querine Hanlon of the United States Institute of Peace a study focused on designing a new U.S. approach to Security Sector Reform. The study was published as a book in 2016 by the United States Institute of Peace under the title Prioritizing Security Sector Reform: A New U.S. Policy.
To what extent are Russia and the United States properly assessing threats to domestic orders? How are the concepts of “public diplomacy,” “soft power,” and “sharp power” understood in the Russian Federation and the United States?

Marina Lebedeva is Professor and the Head of the World Politics Department at MGIMO University. She graduated from Moscow State University and defended her thesis in psychology on the problems of international negotiations. In 1993, Lebedeva received her second degree (Doctor of Science) in international relations from MGIMO University. She is the author and editor of more than 350 academic works, including more than 30 books. Her works were published in the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Romania, South Africa, Latvia, Czech Republic, Sweden, and China. Lebedeva has been a panel organizer at many international conferences, including ISA, RISA, ECPR, WISC, and others.

Joseph Nye is Distinguished Service Professor, Emeritus at Harvard University and a former Dean of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government. He received a bachelor's degree summa cum laude from Princeton University, won a Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford University, and earned a Ph.D. in Political Science from Harvard. He has served as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, Chair of the National Intelligence Council, and Deputy Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology. His most recent books include The Powers to Lead (2010), The Future of Power (2012), Presidential Leadership and the Creation of the American Era (2014), and Is the American Century Over? (2015). He is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the British Academy, and the American Academy of Diplomacy.
What are the Russian and American approaches and interpretations of the legal principle of non-interference in domestic affairs? How is it applied in the post-Soviet region, Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East? What do the United States and Russia agree and disagree are legitimate activities by foreign actors domestically? What is the likelihood that common norms will be developed on foreign interference in domestic affairs?

Andrey Sushentsov is Director of the Institute of International Studies at MGIMO University and heads the MGIMO consulting branch Eurasian Strategies. He is also a Program Director of the Valdai Discussion Club. His research concentrates on U.S. foreign policy in international conflicts in South Caucasus, Ukraine, and the Middle East. In his studies, he examines the spheres of conflicting interests of Russia and the United States in Europe, the Middle East and the post-Soviet space. His key publications include monographs “America’s Small Wars”, “Essays on U.S. Policy in the Regional Conflicts of the 2000s”, and the collective monograph “Russia and the World in 2020”. He is also an editor of the annual forecast “International Threats”. Sushentsov was a Visiting Professor and Research Fellow at Georgetown University, Johns Hopkins University, Guido Carli Free University of International Studies, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Harvard University, and Middlebury Institute for International Studies in Monterey. He is a member of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy and a member of the Working Group on the Future of Russian-American Relations.
Session 2. Russia’s Understanding of Alliances, Coalitions, and Partnerships

How have the aspirations of the United States toward liberal hegemony affected the rise of counter-ideological alignments on the international arena? How do asymmetric alliances function in international politics? How does alliance formation differ for continental and maritime powers, and what are the consequences for Russia?

Igor Istomin, Associate Professor in the Department of Applied Analysis of International Issues at MGIMO University (please see page 9 for his biography), will be on the panel.

Andrey Sushentsov, Director of the Institute of International Studies at MGIMO University (please see page 12 for his biography), will be on the panel.

Andrey Baykov, Vice President for Graduate and International Programs at MGIMO University (please see page 5 for his biography), will be on the panel.
**Monica Toft** is Professor of International Politics and Director of the Center for Strategic Studies at The Fletcher School. She is also a research associate at the Blavatnik School of Government at the University of Oxford and at the Harvard Kennedy School’s Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. While at Harvard, she directed the Initiative on Religion in International Affairs and served as Assistant Director of the John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies. Toft’s areas of research include international security, ethnic and religious violence, civil wars, and demography. Her most recent books include *Securing the Peace* (2011), *Political Demography* (2012), and *God’s Century* (2012). Toft holds an M.A. and Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Chicago.

**Mihaela Papa** is Adjunct Assistant Professor in Sustainable Development and Global Governance at The Fletcher School and an overseas member at the Center for BRICS Studies at Fudan University in Shanghai. She is also Co-Investigator at Rising Power Alliances project. She specializes in analyzing policy conflict and strategizing in complex negotiations, especially on environmental regulation and the rise of new powers. As a postdoctoral fellow at Harvard Law School, she examined India, China and Brazil in global legal governance, spent six months in China as a visiting researcher, and embarked on a BRICS-focused research agenda.
Session 3. Russia and the United States in the Evolving World Order

What role do Russia and the United States play in the formation of the international order? How do ideological disagreements between Russia and the United States on the international arena affect bilateral relations? How can students and experts in the United States and the Russian Federation develop a better understanding of the foreign policies of each other’s countries?

Tatyana Shakleina, Chair of the Department of Applied International Political Analysis at MGIMO University (please see page 7 for her biography), will be on the panel.

Igor Istomin, Associate Professor in the Department of Applied Analysis of International Issues at MGIMO University (please see page 9 for his biography), will be on the panel.

Andrey Baykov, Vice President for Graduate and International Programs at MGIMO University (please see page 5 for his biography), will be on the panel.

Chris Miller, Assistant Professor of International History at The Fletcher School (please see page 6 for his biography), will be on the panel.
Acknowledgments

The conference was convened by Daniel Drezner, Professor of International Politics at The Fletcher School, and Andrey Baykov, Vice President for Graduate and International Programs at MGIMO University. The event was coordinated by Arik Burakovsky, Assistant Director of the Russia and Eurasia Program at The Fletcher School.

Daniel Drezner
Conference Convener

Andrey Baykov
Conference Convener

Arik Burakovsky
Conference Coordinator

The conference is part of a larger, multiyear, overarching U.S.-Russia Relations Initiative of The Fletcher School and MGIMO University. Igor Istomin, Chris Miller, Ani Sargsyan, Lisa May, and Maria Burakovsky also helped organize the conference. We are thankful for the support of our sponsors, partners, and volunteers.