



# OPENHAGEN CONFERENCE ON WESTERN-RUSSIAN RELATIONS

November 21st 2020

Johan Borups Højskole

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## ABOUT THE CONFERENCE

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It is when we disagree the most that dialogue is mostly needed. This conference aims at exposing fundamental disagreements and forwarding mutual understanding between the West and Russia by inviting a wide spectrum of speakers and participants from both blocs. CPH Conference on Western-Russian Relations will give insight into different perspectives on the most pressing and relevant issues of Western-Russian relations including the discussion on disinformation, value-based ideological differences, the Arctic and the emergence of a new world order where both the West and Russia are struggling to find their place.

The conference consists of two keynote-speeches and four debate sessions. The group of speakers and moderators have been selected from broad range of fields to increase diversity in experiences and perspectives, why most sessions will have a mix of either journalists, diplomats, politicians or academics. All debate sessions will be joined by digital speakers from Russia or elsewhere for a part of the session. It will be possible to ask questions during the last part of all panel debates. Everyone is encouraged to have a critical mind but a constructive tone when taking part in the debates.

## CONFERENCIERS

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**Celine Emma la Cour** studies political science at University of Copenhagen specializing in International Relations and Conflict Resolution. Besides studying she works in the International Consultancy Unit at the secretariat of The Danish Parliament where she assists in advising members of parliament on international affairs. Previously, she worked almost 3 years in the Communication Section of the Danish Defence Command working with strategic communication, journalistic products, and social media campaigns. She has written several freelance articles for Danish online magazines about Western-Russian relations. She has also participated in several summer schools and NGO-programs in Russia studying both Russian language and Russian foreign policy. She has been an active member of International Debat since March 2018 and was Vice President of the association from May 2019 to September 2020.



**Jonas Bredal Juul** is board member of Humanity in Action DK, a political science student at University of Copenhagen and currently enrolled in an internship at the Royal Danish Embassy in Kyiv, Ukraine. He has previously interned Humanity in Action DK and been a student assistant at the Danish MFA UN-Team within the Department for Multilateral Cooperation. He has moderated both local and international events for organizations such as RÆSON. In 2019, he co-founded Nordic Convention on International Affairs (NCIA) which was later nominated for the European Charlemagne Youth Prize. From 2016-18 he studied European Business at Copenhagen Business School and from 2017-18 he was President of International Debate CBS. His Arctic experience includes participating in Arctic Youth Media School by A. Gorchakov Diplomacy Fund last year in Murmansk, Russia, and currently being enrolled in Harvard Kennedy School Arctic Initiative Podcast.

# COVID-19 RULES

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**For physical participants: COVID-19 guidelines for cultural events with seated audiences (+ lunch in the dining room) at Johan Borup University College. The points below must be read and complied with when visiting the folk high school. We look forward to seeing you in our beautiful mansion.**

- If possible, please transport yourself by bicycle, car or on foot to the folk high school. Try to avoid using public transportation.
- It is mandatory to wear a facemask when walking and standing. Once you are seated, feel free to take the facemask off. Please keep the same seat throughout the conference.
- There will be sanitizers available all around the conference venue that you are asked to use when you arrive, leave and during the day – both before and after you have a cup of coffee, in eating situations, when you go in and out of rooms, and after coughing or sneezing.
- We ask you to show consideration and distance to the other guests when you go to and from your seat and when queuing to get lunch/coffee or to guest toilets.
- Please always follow the instructions on the signs we have hung up and accept additional instructions that you receive from the organizers.
- The recommendation from the National Board of Health of 1 meter distance applies to all your movement around the mansion. In addition, a distance of 2 meters from the stage must be kept at all time.

**If you feel sick or lethargic you should stay home**, likewise you should go straight home if you feel sick or lethargic while you are in high school. You must notify the organizers by e-mail immediately if you have been taken home from the folk high school, with COVID-19 symptoms.

**COVID-19 symptoms are:** dry cough, fever and fatigue. Other symptoms include general soreness, sore throat, diarrhea, cataracts, headache, decreased sense of smell and taste, skin rash on hands and feet. More severe symptoms are difficulty breathing, shortness of breath, pain or tingling sensations in the chest, speech or movement difficulties.

## **More info**

In addition, we recommend that you keep yourself informed about general guidelines at [www.politi.dk](http://www.politi.dk) and [www.sst.dk](http://www.sst.dk).

(For your information, the students at Johan Borups University College are divided into primary groups with whom they might keep a closer distance).

# CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

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## CENTRAL EUROPEAN TIME

<i>09:00-09:30</i>	Welcome – Small breakfast & coffee	
<i>09:30-09:35</i>	Opening	By conferenciers
<i>09:35-10:00</i>	Keynote speeches	Mr. Martin Lidegaard, Member of Parliament and Chairman of The Foreign Policy Committee, Denmark Mr. Vladimir Barbin, Russian Ambassador to Denmark
<i>10:00-11.15</i>	<b>Session 1: New Security Threats – A talk on digital diplomacy, information security and hybrid warfare</b>	
<i>11.15-11.45</i>	Coffee break	
<i>11.45-13.10</i>	<b>Session 2: Value Based Differences – A talk on political culture and different world views</b>	
<i>13.10-14:10</i>	Lunch	
<i>14.10-15.30</i>	<b>Session 3: Ambitions in the Arctic – Is the Arctic the battleground for a new cold war?</b>	
<i>15.30-16:00</i>	Coffee break	
<i>16:00-17.30</i>	<b>Session 4: The Future World Order - Cooperation, competition, or conflict?</b>	
<i>17.30-17:40</i>	Closing remarks	By conferenciers
<i>17.40-18.00</i>	Goodbye	

# COLLABORATING PARTNERS

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**International Debat (ID)** is a politically independent student organization based at University of Copenhagen, Department of Political Science. Our mission is to inform and engage students in international politics and provide a platform for networking and critical thinking. We arrange a variety of events including conferences, panel debates, lectures and study trips where the aim is to bring forward different perspectives on relevant issues within international affairs and thus also provide inspiration for future research agendas within the field.



**Creative Diplomacy** is a Moscow-based nongovernmental organization committed to developing and supporting civil initiatives in public diplomacy and foreign affairs. Their key event is called “Meeting Russia”, which is a public diplomacy program for young leaders from the United States and Europe.



**DRJUG e.V.** is a German-Russian international NGO primarily focused on the promotion, support and development of Russian-German friendship and cooperation at the level of young adults. DRJUG e.V. primarily concentrates on one-week international youth forums.



**Humanity in Action Denmark** is the national department of HIA which is an international nonprofit organization that educates and connects young people seeking to become leaders in issues related to human- and minority rights.



**Magasinet rØST** is a magazine that aims to offer well-founded knowledge of Central and Eastern Europe, disseminated and explained so that both nerds and novices can participate. In short, we want to nuance the debate to promote understanding.



DET UDENRIGSPOLITISKE SELSKAB  
THE DANISH FOREIGN POLICY SOCIETY

**The Foreign Policy Society (DUS)** is a private, non-profit association with the aim of promoting awareness and raising interest in foreign policy issues in Denmark. The Foreign Policy Society regularly holds events with prominent Danish and foreign speakers.



IPmonopolet

**IPmonopolet** is a student magazine about international affairs based at University of Copenhagen driven by students. The magazine aims at producing exciting and relevant articles about international politics with the combination of contributions from students, professionals and debaters, IPmonopolet strives for a nuanced coverage of international issues.

# SPONSORS

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Wistifonden  
Folmer & Helle Wisti Fond for International Forståelse, København  
The Folmer & Helle Wisti Foundation for International Understanding

The purpose of the **Wisti Foundation** is to contribute to international understanding and enlightenment, especially within popular circles, among the youth and in provincial areas, with societal culture as a central theme and reciprocity and openness as a prerequisite.

**Djøf** is a professional union for social science and business economics academics and students. They represent 100,000 members who work at all levels in the private and public sector in Denmark and abroad



## KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

### H.E. MR. VLADIMIR BARBIN

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From 2019 till present day Mr. Vladimir Barbin (born in 1957) serves as Ambassador of the Russian Federation to Denmark;

Mr. Barbin graduated in 1979 from the Moscow State Institute of International Affairs (MGIMO University). Ever since 1979 he has been on diplomatic service:

1979-1981, 1988-1993, 1996-1999 – Embassy of the USSR/Russian Federation in Finland;

2002-2006 – Embassy of the Russian Federation in Sweden;

2009-2014 – Ambassador of the Russian Federation to Ghana;

2014-2018 – Ambassador at large, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation;

Mr. Vladimir Barbin has a diplomatic rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary;

He Speaks Russian, English, Swedish and Finnish.

### MR. MARTIN LIDEGAARD

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Mr. Martin Lidegaard (born 1966) is a member of the Danish Parliament (Folketinget) for Radikale Venstre (Radical Left) – a social liberal party.

He holds a M.Sc. in communications.

Martin Lidegaard was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs from 3. of February 2014 to 28. of June 2015.

From September 1<sup>st</sup> 2008, he was co-founder and working chairman of Denmark's green think tank CONCITO.

After the parliamentary elections in 2011, he was appointed Minister of Climate and Energy and Minister of Building.

He was Re-elected to Folketinget in 2015.

From 2019 till today he serves as Chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee from 2019.

# SESSION 1: NEW SECURITY THREATS

## NEW SECURITY THREATS: A TALK ON DIGITAL DIPLOMACY, INFORMATION SECURITY AND HYBRID WARFARE

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Within the last three decades social media and new digital technologies have had an immense impact on our lives. These new technologies make way for previously inconceivable possibilities within areas such as data gathering, information sharing, digital diplomacy and even military strategy. So forth, a world of new possibilities also entails a world of new dangers. Though neither cyberattacks on critical infrastructure nor disinformation campaigns are new to the world, digital development allows for a completely new playing field in the gray zone between war and peace; hard and soft power. Countermeasures are already being taken and include offensive cyber capabilities and introduction of censorship and public awareness towards foreign influence. In this session we seek to understand the greater picture. What exactly does these new threats consist of, how dangerous are they for the West, Russia and the countries in between and what should we do to avoid further conflict in this gray zone?

### MODERATOR: SIMON KRUSE

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Simon Kruse covers the cross field between foreign affairs and technology at the Berlingske Tidende newspaper. He was a Moscow correspondent 2006-2018 and formerly a fellow at the Reuters Institute, Oxford University and at Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington.

He graduated from the Danish School of Journalism, 2003. He is Cand. public. from the University of Southern Denmark and stayed at the European University in Skt. Petersburg, Russia. He was awarded the Berlingske Foundation's Journalist Prize in 2015.

He has covered issues like US diplomatic conduct in Greenland, Chinese cyber activism, surveillance capitalism, artificial intelligence, the hybrid threat, Russia's role in the Syrian war and the annual military conflict in Ukraine.

### **What are some of the major misconceptions of respectively Russia and the West you often hear?**

*“That Russia or the West is monolithic. Misinformation online and the mix of US election campaigning and foreign policy for example vis-a-vis Ukraine.”*

### **Which issues do you expect will define the Western-Russian relations in the years to come?**

*“One important issue is the Arctic, which relates directly to the Nordic countries by way of the maritime borders in the Arctic Ocean. Developments in Syria and the wider Middle East as well as the US and China relations will have far-reaching consequences for Moscow.”*

## PANELIST 1 (DIGITAL): PROFESSOR IVAN V. SURMA

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Ivan V. Surma is Head of the Department of Public Administration in Foreign Policy Activity of the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. He has a Ph.D. and holds lectures at the training and consulting Center of the Russian Foreign Ministry. He is also a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, member of the Group of experts on international anti-extremist cooperation and counter-terrorism at the Russian Foreign Ministry, Coordinator of educational programs and certification programs of the European Economic Committee in Russia. He is also honorary Professor and head of the course DBA "Corporate governance" at the British Academy of Business, member of the Council of the Union of Lawyers of Moscow, and member of the Expert Council of the Financial Market Committee of the State Duma (5, 6 and 7 convocations).

Ivan V. Surma graduated from Lomonosov Moscow State University, All-Russian Academy of Foreign Trade, post-graduate Institute of legislation and comparative law under the Government of the Russian Federation. He defended his thesis at the Diplomatic Academy of the Russian Foreign Ministry in 2011.

Prof. Ivan V. Surma is the author of courses and training programs of the following topics: Digital Diplomacy; Modern strategic analysis; Soft power and Strategic Management; Global security: innovative methods of conflict analysis; Information technology in the forecasting and analysis; International Management and Foreign Trade; Information systems and technology in public administration and etc.

### **What are some of the major misconceptions of respectively Russia and the West you often hear?**

*“That Russia as well as the West respectively are perceived as aggressors (political, economic, geopolitical, cybernetic, etc.). Most likely, this is due to a crisis of confidence, and the crisis of confidence is caused by the erosion of sovereignty (including the role of individual countries in extending their jurisdiction to other countries and disregard for the foundations of international law, violation of political sovereignty, information sovereignty, etc.).”*

### **Which issues do you expect will define the Western-Russian relations in the years to come?**

*“First of all, the issue of a new world order and, most likely, its main features will not be monopoly, but competition between development models, not bipolarity, but a flexible adaptive structure. Secondly, in the conditions of isolation and a pandemic, the role of information and communication technologies (ICT) will increase and, as a result, the role of international information security will increase. And thirdly, the struggle for resources and, as a consequence, the strengthening of the sovereignty of countries (economic, political, information sovereignty, etc.).”*

*The trigger for these transformations was, among other things, COVID-19, and the dynamics and intensity of these changes will depend not only on the state of relations between Russia and the West, but also on the role of other global actors.”*

## PANELIST 3: SØREN LIBORIUS

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Mr. Søren Liborius is based in Brussels as Deputy Head of Division in the EU's External Action Service, Security and Peace Directorate. He has a diverse background in diplomacy and crisis management in several different countries and regions.

Having specialised since 1986 in academic studies of Soviet, Eastern European and Russian history and society Mr. Liborius has extensive knowledge and practical experience from working in Russia, in the post-Soviet space as well as in the Balkans during and after the conflict in the 1990'ies.

Mr. Liborius has worked 10 years in Russia; as Deputy Head of Mission at the Danish Embassy in Moscow 2006-2010 and from 2011-2016 as EU Spokesperson in Russia. Prior to this, Mr. Liborius worked with the Danish MFA in various assignments esp. Danish-Russia relations and at NATO Headquarters 2001-2004.

### **What are some of the major misconceptions of respectively Russia and the West you often hear?**

*“I’m not sure we can speak of the “West” as one homogeneous body. It is a frequently heard notion in upper circles in Russia but in my view, it’s more complex and could lead to wrong assumptions. Similar for Russia; not one monolith. But, if I accept the definitions:*

*Misconceptions heard in Russia about the West:*

- (1) The West is one homogeneous entity who is out to get Russia and organizes color revolutions in and around Russia.*
- (2) Europe is the puppet of the US.*
- (3) The West is a depraved ‘Abend-Land’, its civilization going under in political correctness dominated by ‘Gayropa’.*

*Heard in (parts of) the West about Russia:*

- (4) Russia is a mystery. Hard to understand and behaving irrationally.*
- (5) Russia is on the brink of collapse with its hydrocarbon-economy doomed for decline.*
- (6) Most Russians prefer an authoritarian rule and watching State TV Pervoy Kanal.*

*Heard in everywhere about the other: it’s unsafe to travel / go to the other.”*

### **Which issues do you expect will define the Western-Russian relations in the years to come?**

- (1) In our ideology: Our ability to resist falling victim to stereotypes about the other*
- (2) On global challenges: The degree to which we can uphold multilateral organizations*
- (3) In the economy: Our willingness to allow level playing field, fair competition in trade and investments.*
- (4) In all of the above: Our creativity in diplomacy and keeping bridges and contacts open.*

Concretely:

- *how the conflict in Ukraine will develop. Remains a “litmus-case”.*
- *If our trade balance will keep being “low-performance” or even stagnate*
- *if Russia will be a partner for the Green economy perhaps re-live the investment influx like in the early millennium.*
- *If China will be the future main reference point / orientation for Russia*
- *if we can contain regional conflicts e.g. in the Middle East/ Africa and avoid a spill-over to larger conflict zones.”*

## PANELIST 2: FLEMMING SPLIDSBOEL HANSEN

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Flemming Splidsboel Hansen is a Senior Researcher at the Danish Institute for International Studies. He was previously Head of the Politico-Military Department at the OSCE in Tajikistan, Associate Professor at the University of Copenhagen, Research Director at the Danish Defence College and an Assistant Professor at the Central European University in Budapest. His research interests include Russian politics, disinformation and resilience.

Flemming Splidsboel Hansen is currently working especially with information operations, including the use of mis- and disinformation. He aims at increasing our understanding of both the theoretical basis of the operations as well as their practical application.

He also looks at the use of new technology (especially artificial intelligence) for e.g. dissemination and combating of misinformation and for the collection and processing of data on the military battlefield.

His research fields more broadly include Russian domestic and foreign policy, Russian national identity, Ukraine, Belarus, CIS, Caucasus, Central Asia, EU partnership policy, NATO, OSCE, Arctic and sanctions.

### **What are some of the major misconceptions of respectively Russia and the West you often hear?**

*“There is a basic misconception about “guilt” dating back to the end of the Cold War and the handling of the collapse of the former Soviet Union. Much could have been handled differently, but we are not, where we are today, because of this. We are, where we are, because of deliberate subsequent policy choices.”*

### **Which issues do you expect will define the Western-Russian relations in the years to come?**

*“I see a few: The Russian understanding of “Self” in relation to the West is crucial. If this is continued as it is today, then this may fuel a continued problematic relationship. Related to this are Russian actions in various domains, including (dis-) information operations (the cognitive domain) and hacking (the cyber domain). Additionally, developments in the post-Soviet space (for instance Belarus) may also play an important role.”*

## SESSION 2

### VALUE BASED DIFFERENCES – A TALK ON POLITICAL CULTURE AND DIFFERENT WORLD VIEWS

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It is often stated that Russians and Westerners have fundamentally different values and that Western liberal individualism and Russian conservative collectivism are ultimately incompatible. Many of the current political clashes between the West and Russia have often been credited to these very differences - but where do they come from, and does it even make sense to talk of such intrinsic values anymore? What are the differences and similarities in civic and political culture and is it possible to find common ground in the future or will we be forever more divided? In this session we dive into the history of ideas and try to understand the current perceptions of Russia and The West.

#### MODERATOR: JENS WORNING

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Jens Worning has analyzed Russian politics and international relations for more than 30 years and has vast professional experience from business, projects and diplomacy in Russia since the mid-1990'ies.

He is former H.M. Consul General to St. Petersburg and a frequent speaker on Russia, international relations and security politics. Since 2014 he has been a frequent guest speaker and lecturer on international politics at Institute for Political Science at Copenhagen University. He has been a contributing foreign policy analyst at the Christian Daily (Kristeligt Dagblad) since 2015 and is Partner and Director at Policy Group A/S.

#### **What are some of the major misconceptions of respectively Russia and the West you often hear?**

*“I wouldn't like to talk too much about misconceptions – we have stereotypes in our perceptions on both sides and it has been so for centuries. To me the central issue is lack of interest – in the dying years of the Soviet Union and afterwards in Russia's transition to market economy and a new political system there were a genuine interest not only in politics, but in trade and investment, in education etc. There were a sense of having a shared future, I felt it myself clearly for many years first as a student and later on in business and diplomacy – that has been lost even though we have never been more interdependent when it comes to trade and investment. And been replaced by conflicts that will evolve for many years to come.”*

#### **Which issues do you expect will define the Western-Russian relations in the years to come?**

*“Security, Arctic, energy, climate, Covid-19 and geo-political conflicts in the post-Soviet space. Our relations are not about to improve but more pragmatism in relations could develop – the key will be if Russia continues its' pivot to China and decides to close the door on Europe. There is plenty of*

*opportunity for areas of European-Russian cooperation but historic low levels of political trust on both sides makes it difficult.”*

## DIGITAL SPEAKER: DENIS VOLKOV

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Mr. Denis Volkov is Deputy director at the Levada-Center. He joined the Levada Center, an independent Moscow-based polling organization, as an analyst and head of the department in 2007. Since then he participated in more than a hundred quantitative and qualitative research projects as a researcher, analyst or organizer. He is Deputy director of the Levada Center since 2019.

He authored publications with particular focus on civil society, protest activities, elections and political attitudes of the general public and of young people, business and elites’ opinion in Russia. He is a columnist at Vedomosti, RBC and The Moscow Times newspapers, Forbes.ru and Carnegie.ru of Carnegie Moscow Center.

In 2019 he presented his work at seminars at NUPI (Oslo), FIIA (Helsinki), SWP (Berlin), Dundee University (Dundee), Link Campus University (Rome), University of Prague (Prague), George Washington University, the Brookings Institution and CSIS (Washington DC).

He holds an M.A. in Political Science from Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences / University of Manchester, UK. Faculty of Sociology and Political Science. 2006-2007.

Mr. Denis Volkov will be giving a 15 minutes speech about his work as a starting point to a following debate.

### **What are some of the major misconceptions of respectively Russia and the West you often hear?**

*“You can often hear people talk about “mysterious Russian soul”, “Russia’s unique path”, claims that the West has always wanted to humiliate and weaken Russia, and that people in Russia and in the West are completely different. In my short speech, I will try to tackle these misconceptions and show that Russia and the West have quite a bit in common.”*

### **Which issues do you expect will define the Western-Russian relations in the years to come?**

*“I believe that such issues as Western mass culture, vicinity of Russia and the EU, Russian-European trade, cultural and educational exchange, and global environment and security will define the Western-Russian relations in the years to come.”*

## PANELIST 1: CHARLOTTE FLINDT PEDERSEN

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Charlotte Flindt Pedersen (born 1965) is the Executive Director of the Danish Foreign Policy Society.

Charlotte Flindt Pedersen holds a M.A. degree in East-European studies from the University of Copenhagen (1994). During her years as a student she lived and traveled extensively in the Soviet Union experiencing Glasnost and Perestroika firsthand. In 1990, she published the following books: “Experiment – pictures from the Soviet Union” (original title in Danish “Eksperimentet – billeder fra Sovjetunionen”) in cooperation with photographer Stig Stasig, and “Being young in Moscow” (original title in Danish “Ung i Moskva”) jointly with journalist Lisbeth Jessen.

In 1996, Pedersen began her career at the Danish Institute for Human Rights working with human rights, police and justice sector reform in cooperation with civil society organisations and government agencies mainly in the Balkans and former Soviet Countries. From 2009-2015, she was Deputy Director and Head of the International Division at the Danish Institute for Human Rights.

Since May 2015, she functions as the Executive Director of the Danish Foreign Policy Society. She is an associate partner at Nordic Consulting Group and board member at the Ebbe Munck Memorial Foundation, the Danish Egyptian Dialogue Initiative, Chairs the Folmer Wisti Foundation and sits on the board of UN-Live: [museumfortheun.org](http://museumfortheun.org).

### **What are some of the major misconceptions of respectively Russia and the West you often hear?**

*“We still think of Russia and the Russian people in the same way as we did with people living in the Soviet Union. Russia is not a totalitarian as was the USSR, and Russia and its citizens are not governed by one ideology. It is an autocratic state and the rulers of this autocratic state pursue their own interests rather than that of the people. Russians of today are pursuing their own happiness, travelling abroad, watching western media and know that there are other views than Mr. Putins. But after the chaos under Yeltsin and Gaidar in the 1990s people don` t necessarily see political freedoms as the big goal. It seems, however, as if it is changing with a new generation who understands the connection between political freedoms and government accountability towards citizens.*”

*Russia on the other hand has problems understanding how the EU works. It`s difficult to understand that it is not the biggest power deciding everything.”*

### **Which issues do you expect will define the Western-Russian relations in the years to come?**

*“The political developments in the EU neighborhood will continue to be an issue of tension with Russia. I think climate change, Arctic and the Baltic Sea will serve as a platform for cooperation. Hopefully this will also include people to people exchange, university and science cooperation, cooperation on sustainable development and urban design and cooperation on the level of cities.”*

## PANELIST 2: FLEMMING ROSE

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Flemming Rose is an experienced journalist, author and Senior Fellow at the American think tank Cato Institute.

He is a graduate of Russian language and literature at University of Copenhagen and from 1980 to 1996 he was the Moscow correspondent at the Danish newspaper Berlingske Tidende before becoming Washington correspondent. He later served as foreign affairs editor and culture editor at the Danish newspaper Jyllands-Posten.

During his tenure, he was principally responsible for the publication of the Muhammad cartoons in 2006. Since then, he has been an international advocate for freedom of speech and written a number of books.

He is on the board of the organization Bridge Builders which promotes “the Danish tradition of difference and disagreement, whereby all feel equal and welcome to take part in critical, constructive dialogue”.

Mr Rose has received the Publicist Prize from Denmark’s national press club and the Honor Award for defending free speech from the Norwegian Fritt Ord Foundation. In 2016 he received the Milton Friedman Prize for Advancing Liberty from the Cato Institute.

### **What are some of the major misconceptions of respectively Russia and the West you often hear?**

*“Three widespread misconceptions of Russia in the West articulated by President Barack Obama in 2014:*

- *Russia doesn’t produce anything*
- *Russians are dying out*
- *Immigrants aren’t rushing to Russia”*

## PANELIST 3 (DIGITAL): NATALIA BURLINOVA

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Natalia Burlinova is Director and founder of the Russian NGO Creative Diplomacy also referred to as “PICREADI”. PICREADI is one of the leading Russian organizations working in the field of public diplomacy. In 2017, it was mentioned among the five important Russian soft power agencies in a study commissioned by the British Council from the University of Edinburgh.

Formerly she was a program director of The Gorchakov Public Diplomacy Foundation, a Moscow-based GONGO established by the Russian MFA. She also worked as an expert at The Foundation for Historical Outlook and has a profound radio experience as a host of the analytic programs on Russian domestic and foreign policy. With PICREADI team she made a «Meeting Russia» show, a series of interviews on YouTube with the leading Russian experts on the current topics of international relations.

She holds a BA degree in International Relations and MA degree in Regional Studies from MGIMO University (Moscow State University on International Relations, Russia) and a Ph.D from Moscow State University - Higher School of Economics. The topic of the thesis was "NATO in Afghanistan (2003 - 2009): Problems of the Creation and Implementation of the Political Strategy".

### **What are some of the major misconceptions of respectively Russia and the West you often hear?**

*“The biggest misconception about Russia and the West is that these relations must always be a little bit hostile. They can never be 100 percent OK. Meanwhile, our entire Christian civilization, which includes both the West and Russia, today and in the near future will face challenges that will demand us to stop quarreling and solve problems together”.*

### **Which issues do you expect will define the Western-Russian relations in the years to come?**

*“The issues such as the global economic recession, COVID pandemia and its consequences for our life, poverty and the problem of migration - these are the pressing topics that are already defining our relations. At the same time, the traditional issues of the Russia-West relations, such as disarmament, control over offensive armaments, are still important, but today they take second place to more pressing problems related to the economy and the new world that is emerging before our eyes.”*

## SESSION 3

### AMBITIONS IN THE ARCTIC – IS THE ARCTIC THE BATTLE GROUND FOR A NEW COLD WAR?

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Until the twentieth century, the Arctic was widely dismissed as a freezing and faraway wasteland. But as the ice is melting away the region is gaining the world's attention and is often framed as the setting for an intensifying struggle between "Western" Arctic states and Russia. Suddenly the Arctic is an area of increasing interest among policymakers, journalists, and scholars because of its political, economic, and strategic importance for the entire globe. Earlier ambitions to keep the region demilitarized is long gone and we seem to find ourselves in a security dilemma where military buildup is seen as an offensive by one side and as a defensive by the other. In this session we turn to the important questions: Why is the Arctic experiencing such military activity? Why is the Arctic described as the setting for a New Cold War? What are the prospects for peaceful outcome?

MODERATOR: JONAS BREDAL JUUL

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CV under *Conferenciers* on page 2.

#### **What are some of the major misconceptions of respectively Russia and the West you often hear?**

*"I have at a number of occasions heard the argument that people of Russia and the West are fundamentally different. I disagree. I believe we are fundamentally alike caring about basic needs, our closest and the principles we are raised with. Underneath differences in language, culture and influence from domestically shaped narratives the regular person is very much the same. Additionally, I believe the state leader is generally influencing our*

*perception of another people way too much."*

#### **Which issues do you expect will define the Western-Russian relations in the years to come?**

*"The information war will be central. As information get more accessible around the world on various platforms it will be increasingly important to control the narrative. Hence the digital arena will become of outmost importance."*

## DIGITAL SPEAKER: MRS. MARIA LAGUTINA

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Dr. Maria Lagutina is Associate Professor, World Politics Department at St.Petersburg State University. She holds a Ph.D. in Political Science and a Doctoral Degree from St. Petersburg State University.

Ms. Lagutinas current research interests are oriented towards Global Governance, Comparative regionalism, Eurasian integration, BRICS and Russia's Arctic Policy. She is a member of the International Studies Association. Dr. Lagutina is an expert of Arctic.ru; a member of the PRPI – BRICS Engagement Forum Steering Committee, the Polar Connection.

She is the author of more than 20 articles, book chapters and working papers (in Russian and English) on the Arctic topic. Her latest publications: *Russia's Arctic Policy in the Twenty-first Century. National and International Dimensions*. Lexington Books, Rowman and Littlefield, 2019; "A World of Global Regions? Is Regionalization 20 Possible?" in *The Regional World Order Transregionalism, Regional Integration, and Regional Projects across Europe and Asia*. Lexington Books, Rowman and Littlefield, 2019; "BRICS countries' strategies in the Arctic and the prospects for consolidated BRICS agenda in the Arctic" in *The Polar Journal*, Volume 9, 2019 – Issue 1: Special Issue: The Asian View on Polar Research (co-author – Y.Leksutina). In 2016 she was invited as a Visiting Professor at Carleton University (Ottawa, Canada).

### **What are some of the major misconceptions of respectively Russia and the West you often hear?**

*"Firstly, there are mutual misconceptions about the militarization of the Arctic. For example, recently some Western experts and politicians (the Chatham House report 'Russian military presence in the Arctic', M. Pompeo's speech, etc.) accuse Russia of an expansionist aggressive policy in the Arctic and militarization of the region. Besides, some Western experts suppose that Russia will promote military agenda during its Presidency in the Arctic Council 2021-2023. In its turn, Russia is concerned about NATO's military activity in the region.*

*Secondly, some Western countries (primarily the United States) are concerned about the prospects of Sino-Russian cooperation in the Arctic, but in practice the interests of Russia and China in the Arctic do not always coincide and often even contrast."*

### **Which issues do you expect will define the Western-Russian relations in the years to come?**

*"Firstly, the results of the US elections. Secondly, the activity of non-Arctic countries in the region and especially the role of China. Thirdly, the COVID-19 pandemic: there is every reason to assume that the Russo-Chinese rapprochement in the Arctic will continue and perhaps at an even faster pace than before, as the recession of the Russian economy contributes to this. Thus, the development of the Arctic will increasingly be determined by relations within the so-called 'US-Russia-China triangle' (as well as world politics in general)."*

## PANELIST 1: MRS. ANNA KNYAZEVA

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Mrs. Anna Knyazeva (born in 1977) is Minister-Councillor at the Embassy of the Russian Federation to the Kingdom of Denmark and has been so since February 2020.

In 2001 she graduated from the Lomonosov Moscow State University, Faculty of Law, with a specialization in International Public Law. Mrs. Knyazeva speaks English and German.

From 2003 she has been part of the Russian diplomatic service:

2003-2005, 2008-2010 – Legal Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation;

2005-2008 – Permanent Mission of the Russian Federation to the UN, New York;

2010-2020 – Head of Public Law Section, Legal Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation;

## PANELIST 2: H.E. MR. THOMAS WINKLER

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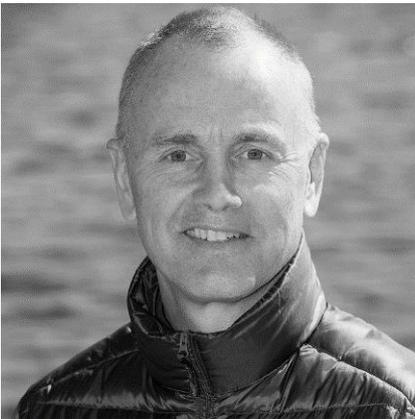
Mr. Thomas Winkler is an experienced Danish diplomat currently serving as Arctic Ambassador and Head of Department of Arctic and North America at the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

His previous experience includes being Danish Ambassador to respectively the Russian Federation and Canada. Former positions to this include having served at the Danish embassies in both Stockholm and Kyiv as well as a number of different departments within the home service.

Mr. Winkler is a Law graduate from University of Copenhagen. He has been decorated as both Commander of the Order of the North Star; Sweden, and as Knight 1st degree of the Order of Dannebrog.

## PANELIST 3: MARTIN BREUM

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Martin Breum is an award-winning Danish journalist/author specializing in geopolitics and Arctic affairs. He currently runs his own enterprise writing and producing for Danish and international media outlets.

His latest books *If Greenland secedes* (Denmark) and *Cold Rush* (UK, Canada) were published in 2018. He currently works on two tv-documentaries about the Danish royal family and its relations to Greenland and the Faroe Islands and on a book on the involvement of the US in Greenland. He also continues to moderate large political and commercial events.

For more than ten years Mr. Breum hosted the current affairs programme *Deadline* from the Danish Broadcasting Corporation. As former political correspondent, Martin Breum once served as deputy director of *International Media Support*, an international NGO, executing media projects in Afghanistan, Sudan, the Middle East and China.

### **What are some of the major misconceptions of respectively Russia and the West you often hear?**

*“I believe lack of nuances and ignorance are perhaps greater issues than misconceptions. In western public discourse a widespread tendency to portray Russia as inherently aggressive makes it hard for more nuanced images of Russia's core interests to find room. Likewise, in Russia, influential media and politically motivated actors have a tendency to communicate simplistic images of the west as inherently hostile towards Russia. Both tendencies are unhealthy and dangerous in times of increasing tension - now also in the Arctic.”*

### **Which issues do you expect will define the Western-Russian relations in the years to come?**

*“As other international relations, interaction between Russia and the west will be coloured by China's growing global influence. This is also the case in the Arctic. Russia is presently reluctant, I believe, to move beyond the current economic cooperation with China in the Arctic, but this may change. If friction with the west increases to a degree where Russia's economic development of its Arctic and Far Eastern provinces is threatened, stronger ties with China might be the chosen alternative; paving the way for increased Chinese presence in the Arctic.”*

## SESSION 4

### THE NEW WORLD ORDER – COOPERATION, COMPETITION OR CONFLICT?

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The world is changing but is it for better or for worse? The US is stepping down as unipolar power, globalization is in reverse and multiple actors have already set their minds on an emerging multipolar world dominated by at least three large regions: America, The European Union and a China-centric Asia. They will most likely take very different approaches to economic policy, liberty, warfare, technology, and society. Emerging actors like Russia will make new coalitions to place themselves on the world stage. Meanwhile the Middle East is still struggling from conflict and a whole new region, The Arctic, is gaining importance. The question is if the new world order and new coalitions in the making will foster cooperation, competition, or conflict? Can the West compete with emerging actors, can we cooperate in the Arctic, can we fight terrorism, and most importantly: Can we avoid deadly confrontation in the shaping of a new world order?

#### MODERATOR: MATILDE KIMER

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Matilde Kimer is Russia and Ukraine Correspondent for the Danish Broadcasting Cooperation (DR).

Since 2009 she has been covering Russia and Ukraine for the public broadcaster in Denmark DR. Additionally, she is often used to cover conflicts in neighboring countries such as Belarus.

Ms. Kimer holds a BA in journalism and has studied Russian Language and Literature at University of Southern and Russian Foreign Politics at MGIMO in Russia. In 2016 she published the book “The War Within” about the revolution in Ukraine. In 2017 she received Berlingske Media’s ‘Journalist Prize’ for her coverage in and around Ukraine.

#### **What are some of the major misconceptions of respectively Russia and the West you often hear?**

*“The argument that Russians somehow have a genetic programming for subservience. Or that Russians have no sense of humour. From Russian side there is a great mismatch between how much they think the West pays attention to Russia and reality.”*

#### **Which issues do you expect will define the Western-Russian relations in the years to come?**

*“I expect increased competition/confrontation in Arctic as well as a continued arms race within both conventional, nuclear and cyber capabilities. In the best of cases, some sort of treaty on cyber can be negotiated instead of the anarchy existing now.”*

## PANELIST 1 (DIGITAL): DR. OLEG P. IVANOV

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Dr. Oleg P. Ivanov is Vice-Rector of Research at Diplomatic Academy of The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

He is a graduate from the Moscow State Linguistic University, the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey (USA), and Postgraduate Department at the Russian Diplomatic Academy. He holds the degree of the Master of Arts in National Security Affairs and a Ph.D. in Political Science.

Dr. Ivanov is responsible for the research work and runs the MA program of International Security at the Diplomatic Academy. His teaching and research area includes the US foreign and defense policy, Russian-US relations, European security and theory of international relations.

He delivers lectures and holds classes on the above mentioned topics at the Diplomatic Academy to Russian and international students and diplomats. Dr. Ivanov is an expert of the Political Science Board, Highest Certification Committee, Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation and a member of the dissertation boards of the Diplomatic Academy, the Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences and Federal State Far East University (Vladivostok).

Dr. Ivanov has several academic records. He participated in the International Visitor Leadership Program, US State Department in 2011. In 1997 he received an award of Freedom Support Act of the Contemporary Issues Program from the US Information Agency and International Research and Exchanges Board. He had a fellowship at John Olin Institute of Strategic Studies at Harvard University, Moscow Branch, in 1995.

### **What are some of the major misconceptions of respectively Russia and the West you often hear?**

*“First of all, that Russia lost the Cold War thus its interests may be ignored. Second, that Russia intends to undermine the Western world order based on international rules. Third of all, that Russia has a desire to restore the brand new Soviet Union by participating in the Eurasian Economic Union. And finally, that the West is to blame for all misfortune that Russia faces today.”*

### **Which issues do you expect will define the Western-Russian relations in the years to come?**

*“Western sanctions and Russian counter sanctions; Lack of Europe’s independence in determining its foreign, defense, trade and economic policy; Demonization of Russia; NATO’s strategy towards Russia; The West’s ability to fulfil the EU guiding principles in relations with Russia.”*

## PANELIST 2 (DIGITAL): TOM CASIER

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Dr. Tom Casier is Reader in International Relations at the University of Kent's 'Brussels School of International Studies' (BSIS). He led BSIS as Academic Director from 2014 to 2017 and is currently Director of the Global Europe Centre. Tom Casier's research focuses mainly on EU-Russia relations, Russian foreign policy and hegemony.

Recent articles have appeared in *Cooperation and Conflict*, *Geopolitics*, *East European Politics* and others. A book 'Hegemony and world order' (co-edited with Piotr Dutkiewicz and Jan Aart Scholte) was published by Routledge in September 2020.

Tom Casier has provided policy advice for different institutions, including the European Parliament, House of Lords and the US State

Department.

## COMMENT

*"Relations between Russia and the West got entangled in a logic of competition long before the Ukraine crisis. This logic has spiralled out of control, resulting in a systemic crisis of the post-Cold War order. Without a structural rethinking of this order, we run the risk of running from incident to incident. However, reconceptualizing this order will be difficult: the world has changed and new global actors, like China, need to be involved in new negotiations in fields like arms control. Also the current polarisation makes any steps in the direction of rethinking the post-Cold War order difficult."*

## PANELIST 3: THOMAS C. VAN HARE

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Thomas C. Van Hare presently serves as the Director of the Defense Technology Innovation Program (DTIP), a public-private partnership that scouts, identifies, and brings breakthrough technologies from around the world to the Department of Defense and Intelligence Community. Previously, he worked with the Pentagon R&D center, Institute for Defense Analyses, providing research on manpower and defense readiness.

Mr. Van Hare is a three-time White House appointee working in senior levels of foreign policy, security, and defense. He is the former CEO of a \$240 million airline (annual operations) and headed an Internet media, design, and advertising firm that boasted a client list that ranged from IBM, KPMG, and Goldman Sachs to numerous others.

He served as Executive Director of TF Hawk, Inc., developing innovative aircraft technologies to support DoD ISR missions and is the inventor of C3D, a breakthrough technology that converts 2D video imagery to 3D output with 100% visual acuity to the actual stereoscopic characteristics of the objects and people being filmed.

Previously, he served on the Executive Committee for Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and as the Director for Organizational Assessment. He served on the Coalition Provisional Authority and was responsible

for recruiting and training/advising senior advisors and staff for deployment to Iraq and Afghanistan on behalf of the Secretary of Defense.

He is Publisher & CEO of Historic Wings Magazine, one of the world's leading aviation adventure publications. In the 1990s, he was Chairman of Freedom Flight International, Inc., and flew as a command pilot and mission director on search and rescue missions over the Straits of Florida, saving the lives of more than 3,000 Cuban refugees.

He has received four citations for his work supporting US national security affairs, including the Secretary of Defense Meritorious Service Medal, awarded by the Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld. He is a graduate of Michigan State University's James Madison program (International Relations) and studied at Lund University in Sweden for his Masters. He speaks five languages and is a certified commercial, instrument and multiengine pilot with global flight operations experience.

### **What are some of the major misconceptions of respectively Russia and the West you often hear?**

*“Americans often demonize and distrust Russia. In US Government circles, knowledge of Russian policies, goals, and methods runs deep. Russia remains an Intelligence Community focus. We track actions, but do not understand Russia's motivations. Ongoing commitments to Assad in Syria, the intervention and meddling in Ukraine, and the private forces commitment in Libya appear irrational, carrying exorbitant financial and political costs. Russia appears to wrongly see the West as an unending threat, particularly from NATO, despite that the West is primarily focused on its own future. We perceive that Russia's emerging role in world politics is uncertain and changing rapidly.”*

### **Which issues do you expect will define the Western-Russian relations in the years to come?**

*“Americans often demonize and distrust Russia. In US Government circles, knowledge of Russian policies, goals, and methods runs deep. Russia remains an Intelligence Community focus. We track actions, but do not understand Russia's motivations. Ongoing commitments to Assad in Syria, the intervention and meddling in Ukraine, and the private forces commitment in Libya appear irrational, carrying exorbitant financial and political costs. Russia appears to wrongly see the West as an unending threat, particularly from NATO, despite that the West is primarily focused on its own future. We perceive that Russia's emerging role in world politics is uncertain and changing rapidly.”*

## PANELIST 4: MIKHAIL POLIANSKII

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Mikhail Polianskiy is a Doctoral Researcher and Junior Research Associate at the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF). His research interests are primarily centered on Russian foreign policy, as well as NATO/EU-relations in the context of European security and Russian Position in the evolving world order. Mr. Polianskiy is currently also Board Member at the German-Russian Youth Organisation DRJUG e.v.

He has made an internship at the International Affairs Council (RIAC) at the European Department (2016), and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (CIS Department in 2018 and European Department in 2019).

His academic publications include: "Russia's Ambivalence on Southeast Europe Strategy" in *Competing External Influences in South East Europe – Implications for Regional Consolidation* (2019); "Russia and the West: from tensions-filled separation to co-existence?" in *PRIF 2020 Report* (in German); "Institutional Peace Securement: Who Orders the World? New Powers and Old Institutions" (in German) In *Friedensgutachten 2020*.

### **What are some of the major misconceptions of respectively Russia and the West you often hear?**

*“One of the most frustrating things I keep hearing about Russia is when the whole country is equaled with Putin and his inner circle. I believe that it's misleading and sends a wrong message. However significant the president's influence on foreign affairs might be, Russia is much more than its politicians and high politics in general. Civil society and business' representatives play an enormous role in keeping up relations with Europe on an acceptable level, for which they do not get enough recognition.”*

### **Which issues do you expect will define the Western-Russian relations in the years to come?**

*“I believe that a lot in the upcoming years will depend on the readiness of both sides to recognize the new status quo and respectively adjust their (unjustifiably high) mutual expectations. Doing this will enable both Russia and countries of the West to focus on the "deliverables", albeit on a "thinner" institutional basis.”*

