

TASK FORCE ON RUSSIA AND U.S. NATIONAL INTERESTS REPORT

**RUSSIA AND U.S.  
NATIONAL INTERESTS**  
WHY SHOULD AMERICANS CARE?

Graham Allison and Robert D. Blackwill, *Chairs*  
Dimitri K. Simes, *Project Director*  
Paul J. Saunders, *Senior Advisor and Editor*

OCTOBER 2011





TASK FORCE ON RUSSIA AND U.S. NATIONAL INTERESTS REPORT

# RUSSIA AND U.S. NATIONAL INTERESTS

## WHY SHOULD AMERICANS CARE?

Graham Allison and Robert D. Blackwill, *Chairs*

Dimitri K. Simes, *Project Director*

Paul J. Saunders, *Senior Advisor and Editor*

Center for the National Interest

Belfer Center for Science  
and International Affairs

**Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs**

Harvard University

79 JFK Street

Cambridge, MA 02138

617-495-1400

<http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu>

**Center for the National Interest**

1615 L Street, NW, Suite 1250

Washington, DC 20036

202-887-1000

[www.cftni.org](http://www.cftni.org)

© 2011 Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs and Center for the National Interest.  
All Rights Reserved.

*Russia and U.S. National Interests: Why Should Americans Care?*

*A Report of the Task Force on Russia and U.S. National Interests*

## **BELFER CENTER FOR SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

The Belfer Center is the hub of the Harvard Kennedy School's research, teaching, and training in international security affairs and diplomacy, environmental and resource issues, and science and technology policy. Graham Allison is the Center's director.

The Center has a dual mission: (1) to provide leadership in advancing policy-relevant knowledge about the most important challenges of international security and other critical issues where science, technology, environmental policy, and international affairs intersect; and (2) to prepare future generations of leaders for these arenas. Center researchers not only conduct scholarly research, but also develop prescriptions for policy reform. Faculty and fellows analyze global challenges from nuclear proliferation and terrorism to climate change and energy policy.

The Belfer Center is grateful to the Stanton Foundation and the Nuclear Threat Initiative for their support of its work on the nuclear security and arms control aspects of U.S.-Russian relations.

## **CENTER FOR THE NATIONAL INTEREST**

The Center for the National Interest is a Washington-based non-partisan foreign policy research institute committed to the pragmatic analysis of U.S. foreign and security policy opportunities, challenges and options. Maurice R. Greenberg is the Center's chairman; Henry Kissinger is its honorary chairman.

In addition to U.S.-Russian relations, Center programs focus on U.S. foreign policy, China, Japan, the Middle East, and Mexico as well as arms control and non-proliferation, energy and climate change, terrorism, and immigration. The Center also publishes the prominent foreign policy magazine *The National Interest*.

The Center for the National Interest is grateful for the support of the United States Institute of Peace for its support of its work on arms control and non-proliferation in the U.S.-Russian relationship. The Center also appreciates the support of Carnegie Corporation of New York for its wider U.S.-Russian dialogue programs.

# TASK FORCE ON RUSSIA AND U.S. NATIONAL INTERESTS

Task force members endorsed “the general policy thrust and judgments reached by the group, though not necessarily every finding and recommendation.” They participated in the task force in their individual, not institutional, capacities. Institutional affiliations are for identification purposes only.

**GRAHAM ALLISON**  
Belfer Center for Science and International  
Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School

**ROBERT BLACKWILL**  
Council on Foreign Relations

**CHARLES BOYD**  
Center for the National Interest

**RICHARD BURT**  
McLarty Associates

**JAMES COLLINS**  
Carnegie Endowment for  
International Peace

**JOHN DEUTCH**  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

**RICHARD FALKENRATH**  
Chertoff Group

**THOMAS GRAHAM**  
Kissinger Associates, Inc

**MICHAEL GREEN**  
Center for Strategic and International Studies

**MAURICE GREENBERG**  
C.V. Starr & Co., Inc.

**FIONA HILL**  
Brookings Institution

**KENNETH JUSTER**  
Warburg Pincus

**ZALMAY KHALILZAD**  
Khalilzad Associates LLC

**JAMES JONES**  
Jones Group International

**RICHARD MYERS**  
Kansas State University

**SAM NUNN**  
Nuclear Threat Initiative

**PAUL J. SAUNDERS**  
Center for the National Interest

**DIMITRI SIMES**  
Center for the National Interest

**ASHLEY TELLIS**  
Carnegie Endowment for  
International Peace

**J. ROBINSON WEST**  
PFC Energy

**DOV ZAKHEIM**  
Center for Strategic and  
International Studies

**PHILIP ZELIKOV**  
University of Virginia  
Corcoran Department of History

Simon Saradzhyan of Harvard University’s Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs served as a consultant during the preparation of this report.

# CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY .....	2
RUSSIA AND U.S. NATIONAL INTERESTS .....	8
Introduction .....	8
America's Vital National Interests .....	8
Why Russia Matters to the United States .....	9
Can and Should the United States Seek to Work with Russia? .....	10
Russia's National Interests .....	16
Recommendations for U.S. Policy toward Russia .....	18
The United States, Russia, and Nuclear Proliferation .....	19
Arms Control and Missile Defense .....	23
The United States, Russia, and Geopolitics .....	25
The United States, Russia, and Energy Security .....	27
The United States, Russia, and Counter-Terrorism .....	30
The United States, Russia, and Central Asia, including Afghanistan .....	31
The United States, Russia, and Trade and Investment .....	32
The United States, Russia, and Democratic Values .....	34
The Consequences of Failure .....	37
TASK FORCE MEMBERS .....	38

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Two decades after the collapse of the Soviet Union and Russia's emergence as an independent state, Moscow is no longer America's strategic rival. Yet, while Russia is not our enemy, neither has it become a friend. Washington and Moscow have succeeded in overcoming Cold War confrontation, but have not developed sustainable cooperative relations. A better-managed bilateral relationship is critical for the advancement of America's vital national interests.

Prime Minister Vladimir Putin's decision to return to the Kremlin as Russia's President next year does not change U.S. national interests with respect to Russia or, for that matter, Russia's national interests with respect to the United States. Still, at a minimum, Russia's rhetoric vis-à-vis America and the West may become tougher under Putin. Under the circumstances, maintaining the proper focus in U.S.-Russian relations will likely require particular care and determination from U.S. policymakers.

This report, the result of deliberations by a distinguished working group of former senior officials and military officers, business leaders, and top experts, analyzes the U.S.-Russia relationship through the lens of American national interests; argues that Russia is a pivotal country in promoting these U.S. national interests; and offers prescriptions for U.S. policy toward Russia in the period ahead.

We believe Russia must be a top priority for the United States because its conduct can have a profound impact on America's vital national interests:

- Nuclear weapons
- Non-proliferation
- Counter-terrorism
- Geopolitics, including managing China's emergence as a global power
- Afghanistan
- Energy
- International finance, in the G8 and the G20
- Strategic geography

Reviewing these areas makes clear that Russia's choices and actions impact the full range of vital U.S. national interests significantly and directly. Few other nations are as important to the United States.



The Obama Administration's reset policy has contributed to significant improvements in the U.S.-Russian relations. Unfortunately, the reset is still fragile and what remains to be done is likely to be much more difficult than what has been accomplished so far. Twice before, under the Clinton and George W. Bush Administrations, the U.S. and Russia moved in the direction of a new and different relationship—yet both times, the efforts stalled.

In some respects, the difficulty in sustaining improvements in the U.S.-Russia relationship has had less to do with specific differences and more to do with an inability to break down lasting mutual distrust. This suspicion of one another's motives may in fact be a greater obstacle to cooperation than sometimes divergent national interests and values.

Domestic politics in each country makes this even more challenging. When U.S. and Russian leaders seek to portray their improving relations as important diplomatic successes, their political opponents naturally take a contrary view.

More generally, even in the absence of partisan political differences, U.S. leaders have often fueled unrealistic expectations about the U.S.-Russian relationship and developments in Russia. This leads inevitably to disillusionment and frustration that weaken any administration's ability to conduct a sustainable policy in service of U.S. national interests.

Because U.S. and Russian interests and values are not aligned, and perspectives and strategies are often even farther apart, Washington and Moscow at best will make progress in some areas and see setbacks in others—a reality that makes mutual trust even more important for managing differences.

Finally, given the disparities between U.S. and Russian interests and governance, lasting cooperation is unlikely if not impossible without determined leadership from far-sighted leaders in the executive and legislative branches, particularly the President. And even a purposeful U.S. policy is in itself insufficient to ensure sustainable cooperation in the absence of Russian efforts to make a cooperative relationship succeed. Having worked with Russia over the past two decades, members of this group are painfully aware of how difficult Russian policy and action can sometimes be.

## **SELECTED POLICY PRESCRIPTIONS FROM THE REPORT**

- The United States should engage Russia to develop and implement a jointly produced and concrete roadmap with a firm timeline to attaining the highest possible standards of security for all stocks of weapons, weapons-usable plutonium, and highly enriched uranium (HEU) everywhere in the world.

- The United States should engage Russia to orchestrate international consensus that there will be no new national HEU enrichment or plutonium reprocessing.
- The United States should explore with Russia a new strategic stability concept that reflects the fact that Washington and Moscow are no longer enemies prepared to destroy each other, but rather potential partners.
- The next round of U.S.-Russian nuclear arms reduction should combine deployed and non-deployed weapons to lower the ceiling of strategic warheads to 1,000 or fewer.
- In discussing tactical nuclear weapons with Russia, the United States should focus first on negotiating consolidation, transparency and verification measures rather than reductions.
- The United States should proceed with developing anti-missile systems in Europe and globally, in line with the realistic assessment of existing and future threats and available technologies and funds.
- The United States should be prepared to launch a genuine and substantive dialogue first with its NATO allies and then with Russia about a new inclusive European security system that would give Russia a meaningful voice and that would include an effective rapid response mechanism of conflict prevention, interdiction and resolution.
- In making major international policy decisions, the United States should consider whether U.S. actions could consolidate Russian-Chinese cooperation at the expense of wider U.S. goals.
- As long as it appears feasible, achieving broader U.S. objectives vis-à-vis Russia should have priority over expanding NATO membership in ways that could undermine cooperation on greater U.S. priorities.
- The United States should raise the priority of the U.S.-Russian energy dialogue and focus on removing obstacles to bilateral investment, trade, and research.
- The United States should press Russia to improve investment conditions in the energy sector and in Russia's overall economy and make clear to Moscow that mistreating U.S. and Western companies damages Russia's investment climate and international image, and is an obstacle to improving relations with the United States.
- The United States should strengthen joint capabilities with Russia to collect and analyze intelligence on terrorist threats, including nuclear, biological, and conventional catastrophic terrorism threats to the two nations and their allies.

- The United States should seek to harmonize U.S. and Russian government lists of terrorist organizations subject to sanctions.
- The United States should engage Russia in pressing Pakistan to end sanctuaries and support for groups fighting in Afghanistan and for promoting a diplomatic settlement of Afghanistan-Pakistan differences.
- The United States should intensify discussions of the end-game in Afghanistan with the Russian government, including military-to-military talks.
- The United States and Russia should rapidly complete the U.S.-Russian agreement on Russia's WTO accession.
- The United States should work with the European Union to press Russia to negotiate seriously with Georgia to complete a Georgia-Russia WTO agreement, while encouraging Georgia to limit talks to issues that are within the scope of the WTO's work.
- The United States Congress should graduate Russia from the Jackson-Vanik Amendment's restrictions and develop new legislation on Russian corruption and human rights.
- In reviewing the Magnitsky bill, the U.S. Congress should focus on discouraging large-scale corrupt practices and major human rights violations in Russia by identifying those responsible and applying appropriate penalties, while ensuring due process to the accused, providing good safeguards, and allowing sufficient flexibility for the executive branch.
- The United States should revive efforts to sign the bilateral investment treaty negotiated in the mid-1990s, in order to address some of the primary concerns U.S. investors face in Russia and to provide them with recourse in the event of nationalization of U.S. companies' investments in Russia, or other actions that are tantamount to nationalization.
- When Russia violates international commitments or its own laws through its domestic practices, the United States should express U.S. concerns while avoiding a patronizing tone. U.S. leaders should also avoid appearing to endorse Russian domestic practices that conflict with basic American values and Russia's international obligations.
- The United States should accept that democratic political change within Russia will likely occur gradually and need not necessarily lead to American-style democracy.
- The United States should support Russian-led efforts at democratic and market reform when they occur, but should avoid steps likely to be viewed as interference in Russia's domestic politics, which are often counterproductive.

- In view of the vital American interests at stake in the U.S.-Russian relations, and Washington's limited leverage over Russia's slow domestic transition, the United States should not allow democracy promotion to dominate its approach to Russia.

## **THE CONSEQUENCES OF FAILURE**

Just as the United States should expect Russia to adjust many of its policies to achieve a sustainable cooperative relationship, Washington should recognize that Moscow is unlikely to support U.S. policy goals if the U.S.-Russian relationship significantly deteriorates. As a result, the failure to establish an ongoing working relationship with Russia would be quite costly for the United States.

As a practical matter, even a stalled relationship could be problematic. The United States and Russia are both motivated to improve relations largely on the basis of hopes for what a stronger relationship could produce. If the prospects for realizing those hopes become too remote, it is uncertain whether what has been accomplished so far is sufficient to prevent our substantial remaining differences from tearing the U.S.-Russian relationship apart.

U.S. officials must carefully weigh not only the American national interests in working more closely with Russia, but also the costs and benefits of failing to do so, keeping in mind Moscow's capacity to act as a spoiler in a number of areas and on a number of issues that are of vital national interest to Washington. In our considered judgment, the choice is clear: the United States should pursue a sustainable cooperative relationship with Russia to advance vital American national interests, but do so without illusions regarding either Moscow's sometimes neo-imperial ambitions, or the pace of democratic change in Russia.



# RUSSIA AND U.S. NATIONAL INTERESTS

## INTRODUCTION

Two decades after the collapse of the Soviet Union and Russia's emergence as an independent state, Moscow is no longer America's strategic rival. Yet, while Russia is not our enemy, neither has it become a friend. Washington and Moscow have succeeded in overcoming Cold War confrontation, but have not developed sustainable cooperative relations. A better-managed bilateral relationship is critical for the advancement of America's vital national interests.

Prime Minister Vladimir Putin's decision to return to the Kremlin as Russia's President next year does not change U.S. national interests with respect to Russia or, for that matter, Russia's national interests with respect to the United States. Still, at a minimum, Russia's rhetoric vis-à-vis America and the West may become tougher under Putin. Under the circumstances, maintaining the proper focus in U.S.-Russian relations will likely require particular care and determination from U.S. policymakers.

This report, the result of deliberations by a distinguished working group of former senior officials and military officers, business leaders, and top experts, analyzes the U.S.-Russia relationship through the lens of American national interests; argues that Russia is a pivotal country in promoting these U.S. national interests; and offers prescriptions for U.S. policy toward Russia in the period ahead.

## AMERICA'S VITAL NATIONAL INTERESTS

Although politicians and pundits routinely invoke the concept of vital national interests to justify virtually any desired course of action, we hold to a narrow view of U.S. vital interests. Specifically, vital national interests are conditions that are strictly necessary to safeguard and enhance Americans' survival and well-being in a free and secure nation.

From this perspective, we can identify five American vital national interests:

- Preventing the use and slowing the spread of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, securing nuclear weapons and materials, and preventing proliferation of intermediate and long-range delivery systems for nuclear weapons;

- Maintaining a balance of power in Europe and Asia that promotes peace and stability with a continuing U.S. leadership role;
- Preventing large-scale or sustained terrorist attacks on the American Homeland;
- Ensuring energy security; and
- Assuring the stability of the international economy.

## **WHY RUSSIA MATTERS TO THE UNITED STATES**

In view of Russia's difficult history, sometimes troubling behavior, relatively small economy, and reduced international role since the collapse of the Soviet Union, it is reasonable to ask whether the United States needs Moscow as a partner.

We believe Russia must be a top priority for the United States because its conduct can have a profound impact on America's vital national interests:

- **Nuclear Weapons.** President Barack Obama and former President George W. Bush each identified nuclear terrorism as the number one threat to American national security. The United States and Russia together possess 95% of the world's nuclear weapons and most of the world's weapons-usable material, and both are major suppliers of civilian nuclear technologies around the world. Also, Russia is the only nation that could destroy America as we know it in thirty minutes. Russia's meaningful assistance and support is critical to preventing nuclear war.
- **Non-Proliferation.** Russia plays a key role in U.S.-led international efforts to inhibit the spread of nuclear weapons, weapons-usable materials and technologies, which are sought not only by nation states, but also by non-state actors. Moscow has generally supported American initiatives to combat nuclear terrorism and shared intelligence on al Qaeda with Washington. Without Russia's assistance, the United States will face considerable additional difficulties in seeking to slow down nuclear proliferation and prevent nuclear terrorism.
- **Geopolitics.** Russia is an important nation in today's international system. Aligning Moscow more closely with American goals would bring significant balance of power advantages to the United States—including in managing China's emergence as a global power. Ignoring Russian perspectives can have substantial costs. Russia's vote in the United Nations Security Council and its influence elsewhere is consequential to the success of U.S. international diplomacy on a host of issues.

- **Afghanistan.** Al Qaeda operatives have engaged in terrorist attacks against the United States and have encouraged and supported attacks by domestic terrorist groups in Russia. Russia has provided the United States with access to its airspace and territory as a critical alternative supply route for U.S. forces in Afghanistan, something that has grown in importance as America's relations with Pakistan have deteriorated. Moscow has also shared intelligence on Afghanistan and al Qaeda, helps to train Afghan law enforcement officers, and supplies hardware to them and to the Afghan National Army.
- **Energy.** Russia is one of the world's leading energy producers and is the top holder of natural gas reserves. Russia thus has a substantial role in maintaining and expanding energy supplies that keep the global economy stable and enable economic growth in the United States and around the world.
- **Finance.** Russia's membership in the G8 and the G20 gives it a seat at the table for the most important financial and economic meetings and deliberations.
- **Strategic Geography.** Russia is the largest country on Earth by land area and the largest in Europe by population. It is located at a strategic crossroads between Europe, Asia, and the greater Middle East and is America's neighbor in the Arctic. As a result, Russia is close to trouble-spots and a critical transit corridor for energy and other goods.

Reviewing these areas makes clear that Russia's choices and actions impact the full range of vital U.S. national interests significantly and directly. Few other nations are as important to the United States.

### **CAN AND SHOULD THE UNITED STATES SEEK TO WORK WITH RUSSIA?**

Some acknowledge that Russia matters to the United States, but argue that the Russian government's foreign and domestic conduct prevents the U.S. from cooperating effectively with Moscow. Having worked with Russia over the past two decades, members of this group are painfully aware of how difficult Russian policy and action can sometimes be. Nevertheless, we believe strongly that America can engage effectively with Moscow in ways that advance U.S. national interests and values. Where best efforts by the United States are rebuffed, Washington should act to achieve what it can and continue to engage toward further progress.

Those who dismiss efforts to collaborate with Moscow typically argue that the U.S. cannot collaborate with Russia because:

- American and Russian national interests diverge so substantially that cooperation is impractical and unlikely to achieve substantial results.



- American and Russian values differ so significantly that cooperation is impossible without sacrificing key U.S. principles.
- The possible benefits to the United States will not justify the effort, either because Russia is too difficult or unreliable an interlocutor or, alternatively, because Moscow is not able to deliver on important issues.

*This section briefly responds to each of these objections.*

First, U.S. and Russian national interests do indeed diverge in many areas. Despite this, however, the United States and Russia share many common interests, including some which are vital: slowing the spread of nuclear weapons; combatting international terrorism; promoting a reliable international energy system; and sustaining a prosperous world economy.

Of course, American and Russian national interests, priorities, and perspectives will likely always differ in significant respects. Thus U.S. leaders must recall clearly that their obligation is to advance American national interests rather than U.S.-Russian relations. Sustainable cooperative relations with Moscow are an instrument to achieve key U.S. goals, not an end in themselves, and Washington must be prepared to confront Russia when U.S. national interests require it.

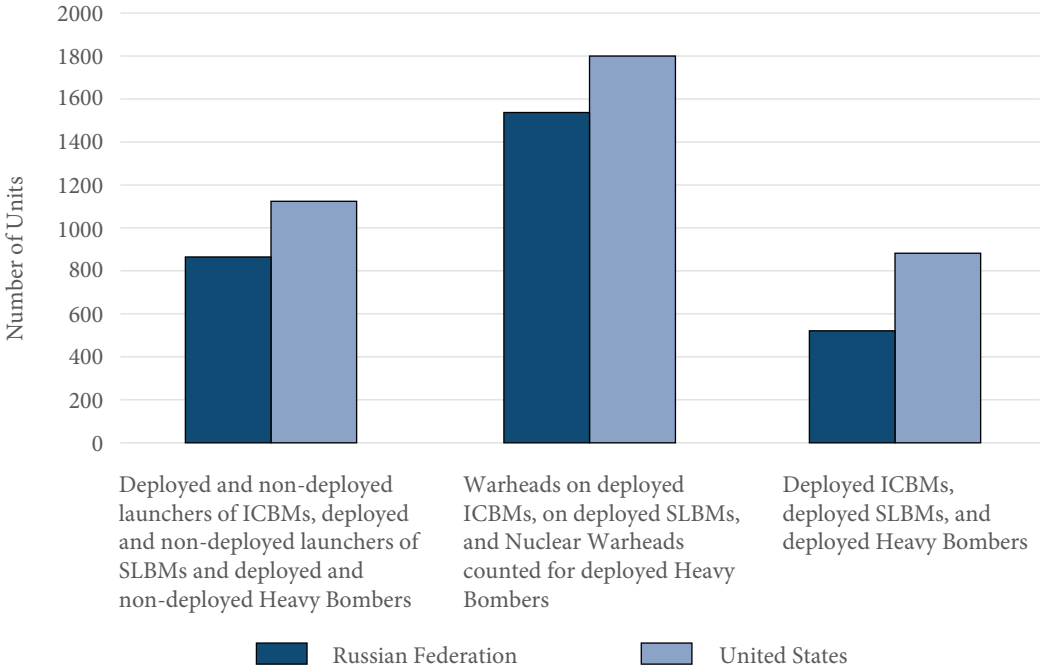
Second, the fact that the United States and Russia have different political systems, and that many Americans see considerable flaws in how Russia is ruled, should not prevent cooperation with Moscow to advance American national interests. The first responsibility of the U.S. government is to ensure the security and prosperity of the American people. Because many nations important to the United States are governed differently, the U.S. government continues to have no alternative but to work with undemocratic governments when important national interests are at stake. In this context, there is no real substitute for dealing with Russia, in particular on countering proliferation, combating international terrorism and enhancing energy security.

Finally, concerns about Russia's present unreliability or long-term prospects are not entirely misplaced. Russia is not an easy partner. Moreover, while Russia has considerable strengths, including its nuclear arsenal, vast energy reserves, still-considerable military power in Eurasia, and a highly developed scientific establishment, it also faces enormous challenges, including shrinking population, low life expectancy, dilapidated infrastructure, and massive corruption. The charts on the following pages illustrate these enduring contradictions.

Category	Russia from the perspective of U.S. interests	USA from the perspective of Russian interests
Deployed strategic nuclear weapons	No. 2 (1,537)	No. 1 (1,800)
Oil production	No. 1 (9,934 thousand barrels per day)	No. 3 (9,141 thousand barrels per day)
Natural gas production	No. 2 (21,545 billion cubic feet)	No. 1 (21,577 billion cubic feet)
GDP (dollar exchange rate)	No. 11 (\$1,479,819 million)	No. 1 (\$14,582,400 million)
GDP (PPP)	No. 6 (\$2,812,383 million)	No. 1 (\$14,582,400 million)
Global exports	No. 10 (\$ 400,100 million)	No. 3 (\$1,289,000 million)
Global imports	No. 18 (\$ 248,700 million)	No. 1 (\$1,936,000 million)
Bilateral trade	No. 24 on the list of U.S.' trading partners	No. 11 on the list of Russia's trading partners
Population	No. 9 (141.7 million)	No. 3 (309.7 million)
Total area	No. 1 (17,098,242 sq. km.)	No. 3. (9,826,675 sq. km.)
Life expectancy	No. 161 (66 years)	No. 50 (78 years)

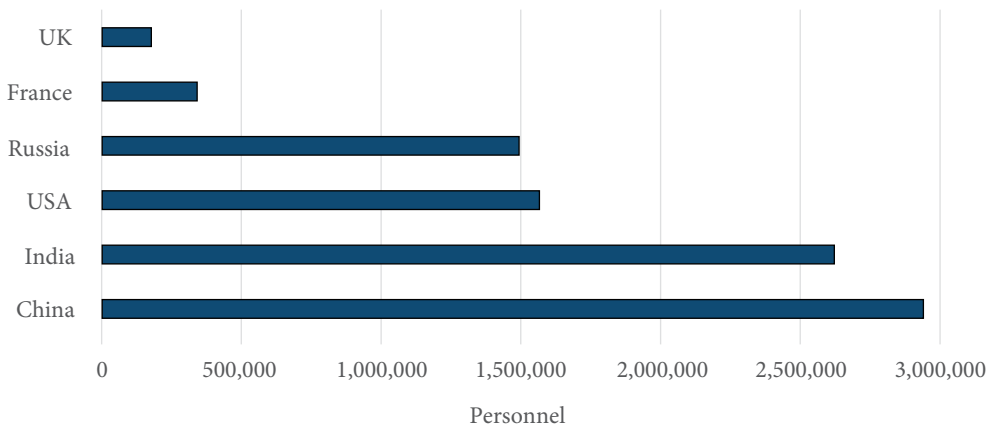
Sources: U.S. Department of State, 2011; U.S. Energy Information Administration, 2009; Central Intelligence Agency, 2010; Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, 2011; Federal Customs Service of Russia, 2011; World Bank 2010.

### New START Treaty Aggregate Numbers of Strategic Offensive Arms



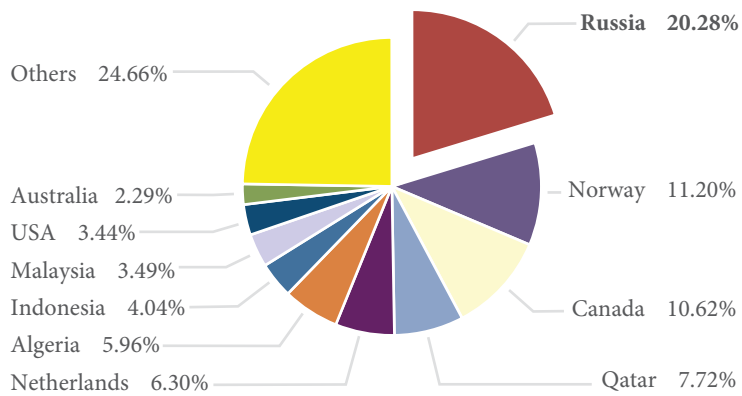
Source: U.S. Department of State

### Total Armed Forces Personnel (2009)



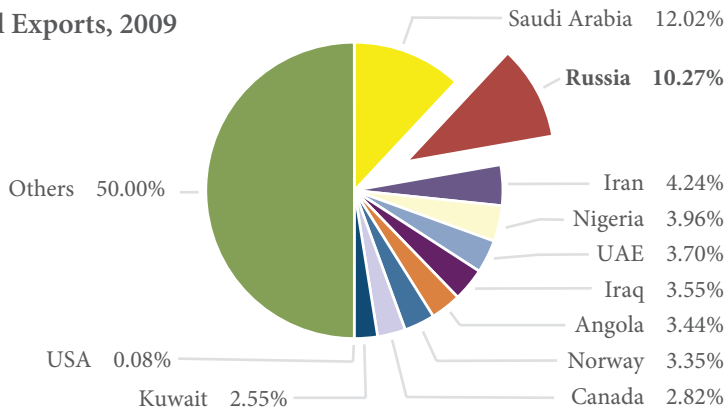
Source: World Bank.

### Natural Gas Exports, 2009



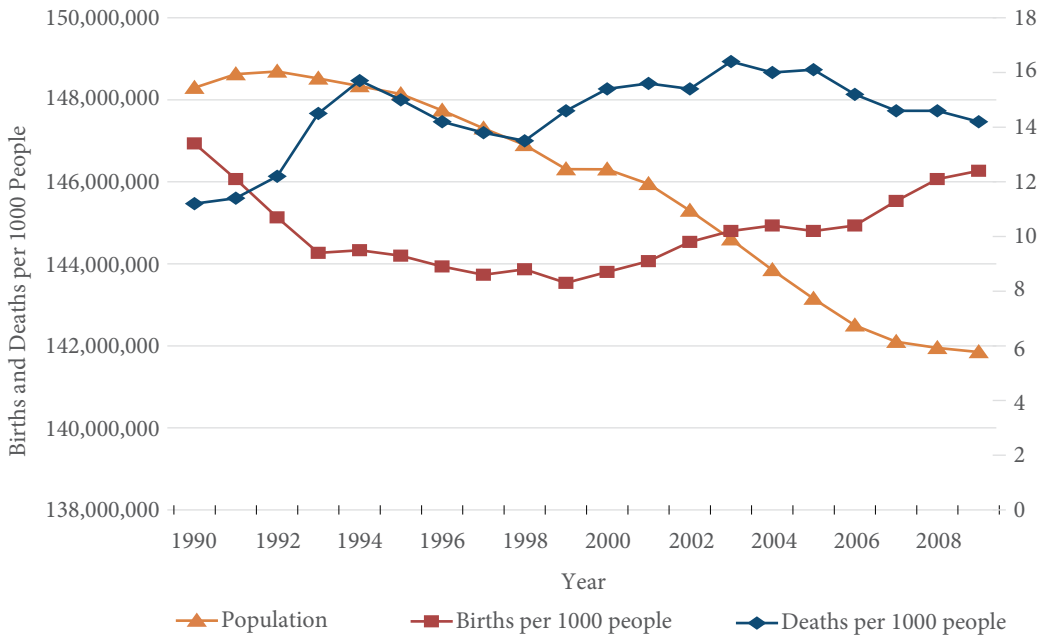
Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration.

### Crude Oil Exports, 2009



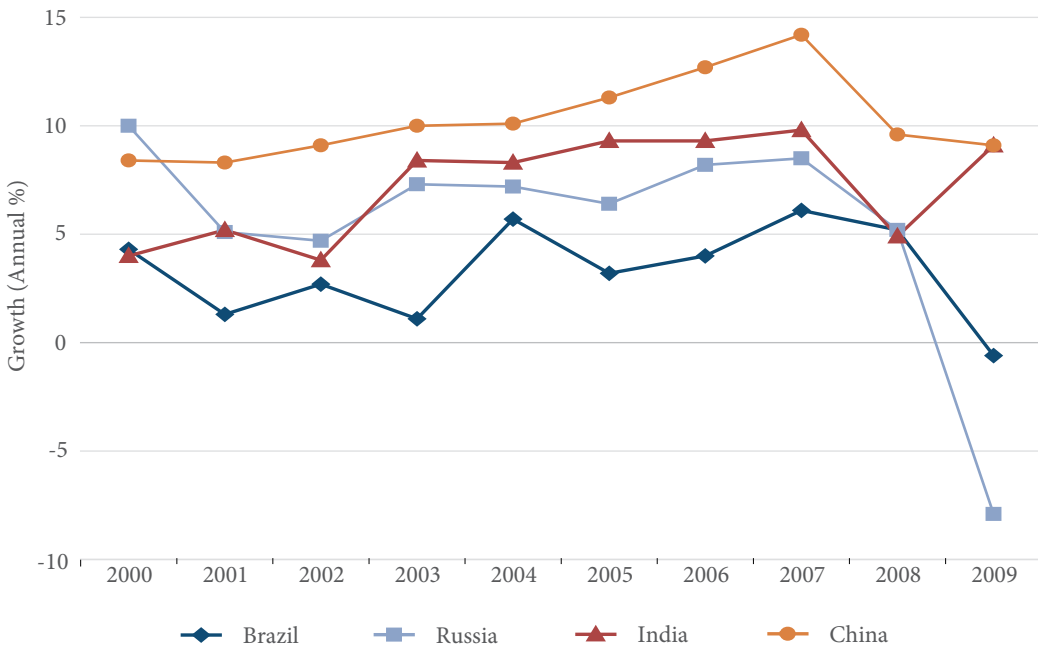
Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration.

### Russian Demographic Data, 1990–2009



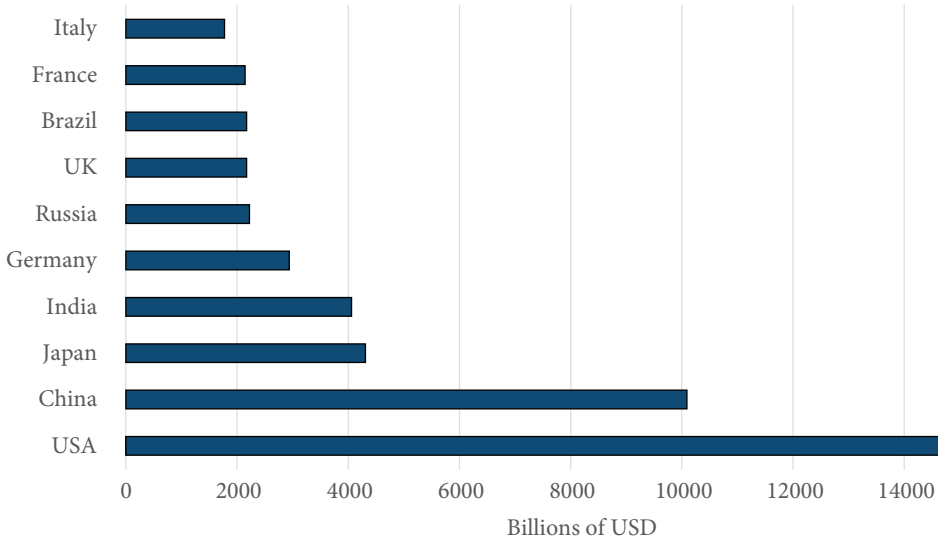
Source: Central Intelligence Agency.

### GDP Growth of BRIC Countries, 2000-2009



Source: World Bank.

### GDP (PPP) in 2010 USD (2010 est.)



Source: Central Intelligence Agency.

### Freedom House Rankings, Russia 2010



Civil Liberties score: 5  
Political Rights score: 6  
Status: Not Free

Levels of political rights and civil liberties are scored on a scale from 1 (most free) to 7 (least free). Depending on the ratings, the nations are then classified as “Free”, “Partly Free”, or “Not Free”.



Score: 81  
Rank: 175  
Status: Not Free

Levels of freedom and editorial independence enjoyed by the press are scored on a scale from 1 (most free) to 100 (least free).

### Transparency International - Corruption Perceptions Index 2010, Russia



Score: 2.1

The 2010 Corruption Perceptions Index ranks countries on a scale from 10 (highly clean) to 0 (highly corrupt).

Americans often tend to focus on either Russia's strengths or its weaknesses without seeking an integrated understanding of the real Russia. This is problematic, because it leads to dangerous assumptions about Russia's motives and conduct. For example, those who focus on Moscow's strengths frequently see an assertive and dangerous rival without recognizing Russia's profound insecurity. Conversely, those who concentrate on Russia's shortcomings see a defeated power ill-prepared to resist American pressure or preferences. While these descriptions are clearly caricatures, views like those described above can produce damaging misjudgments.

Russia is grappling with the contradictions between imperial nostalgia, on the one hand, and the dramatic decline in its power after the Soviet collapse, on the other. The Russian government's failure to present a credible plan to reverse Russia's decline or to develop a successful foreign policy strategy that strengthens the country's international role makes this only more difficult and contributes to a sense of insecurity. Nevertheless, the United States has the opportunity to manage its relations with an evolving Russia in a manner that advances America's vital national interests.

The stakes are high. Russia is more than sufficiently powerful to create a host of costly—and even devastating—problems for the United States if Russian leaders believe that Washington has a hostile, or casual, disregard for Russian national interests and priorities. This is true even though most in Russia's elite recognize that today's Russia is not sufficiently strong to challenge American global leadership without the support of other major powers.

## **RUSSIA'S NATIONAL INTERESTS**

Developing U.S. policy toward Russia requires an understanding of Russia's objectives and its likely reactions to particular American actions. This in turn necessitates an assessment of Russia's national interests as they are defined by Russian leaders in Moscow. Unfortunately, it is not always easy to identify Russia's interests clearly, due to differing perspectives within the Russian elite, Moscow's less-than-transparent political process, and the Russian government's tendency to focus on immediate tactical issues at the expense of strategic thinking.

Vladimir Putin's almost assured return to Russia's presidency next year is likely to end the duality in Russia's leadership and, as a result, to make Russia's foreign policy more coherent and predictable. Though Mr. Putin has clearly supported the basic outlines of President Dmitry Medvedev's diplomacy, his unapologetically tough and skeptical style could affect how Moscow's positions are presented as well as his government's flexibility in talks with the United States.

The Russian leadership appears to consider the following to be among Russia's principal national interests:

- Preventing the use of nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction against Russia and preventing proliferation of nuclear weapons and delivery systems in the post-Soviet space;
- Maintaining Russia's nuclear deterrent capability as a guarantor of Russia's sovereignty and great power status;
- Preventing major terrorist attacks in Russia;
- Sustaining Russian influence in the post-Soviet space and denying competing powers or alliances the ability to dominate the post-Soviet space;
- Assuring continued revenue flows from Russia's energy exports and ensuring that other states are not able to exercise leverage over Russia's energy exports;
- Protecting the security and stability of Russia's current political system, something made more difficult because it does not derive its legitimacy from either tradition or democratic procedures; and,
- Protecting and advancing the economic interests of major political-business alliances within Russia's elite.

U.S. and Russian interests clearly overlap in several areas, including their shared desire to avoid nuclear war, prevent proliferation, and limit terrorism. However, U.S. and Russian interests also differ in important ways, particularly with respect to the post-Soviet space and in the commitment of Russia's leaders to maintaining their country's current system of government and to protecting the economic interests of groups in Russian elite.

More generally, Russia's determination to be treated like a great power can contribute to tension with the United States. For example, Russian leaders appear to see their desire to maintain an unquestioned nuclear deterrent capability as being at odds with Washington's and NATO's missile defense plans. Similarly, Russia's need for a strong voice in influencing UN Security Council decisions often conflicts with America's efforts to win Security Council support in advancing its foreign policy objectives and values.

The United States and Russia can overcome the gap between their national interests in the name of cooperation to advance more important or vital interests, but their differences are serious and real. And many of these differences are likely to endure as long as Russia's current political arrangements remain in place and possibly beyond. Therefore, even a purposeful U.S. policy is in itself insufficient to ensure sustainable cooperation in the absence of Russian efforts to make a cooperative relationship succeed. The United States can and should work to encourage those efforts, but cannot guarantee them.

## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR U.S. POLICY TOWARD RUSSIA

The Obama Administration's reset policy has contributed to significant improvements in the U.S.-Russian relationship. Unfortunately, the reset is still fragile and what remains to be done is likely to be much more difficult than what has been accomplished so far. Twice before, under the Clinton and George W. Bush Administrations, U.S.-Russian relations moved in the direction of a new and different relationship—yet both times, the efforts stalled.

In some respects, difficulty sustaining improvements in the U.S.-Russia relationship has had less to do with specific differences and more to do with an inability to break down lasting mutual distrust. This suspicion of one another's motives may in fact be a greater obstacle to cooperation than sometimes divergent national interests and values. Some of the most challenging problems, like missile defense, are quite hard to manage without mutual confidence, but failure to manage them only creates further doubt in the minds of leaders in both capitals. Addressing these difficult issues requires a process of dialogue that works simultaneously toward building more trust and toward developing practical policy solutions. Shared success in tackling hard problems can create its own momentum.

Domestic politics in each country makes this even more challenging. When U.S. and Russian leaders seek to portray their improving relations as important diplomatic successes, their political opponents naturally take a contrary view. Politics can play a considerable role in shaping U.S.-Russian relations, something that became apparent during the 2010 debate over the New START Treaty in the United States.

More generally, even in the absence of partisan political differences, U.S. leaders have often fueled unrealistic expectations about the U.S.-Russian relationship and developments in Russia. This leads inevitably to disillusionment and frustration that weaken any administration's ability to conduct a sustainable policy in service of U.S. national interests.

Because U.S. and Russian interests and values are not aligned, and perspectives and strategies are often even farther apart, Washington and Moscow at best will make progress in some areas and see setbacks in others—a reality that would make mutual trust even more important for managing differences.

Finally, given the disparities between U.S. and Russian interests and governance, lasting cooperation is unlikely if not impossible without determined leadership from far-sighted leaders in the executive and legislative branches, particularly the President. To take the difficult steps necessary to build a foundation for a sustainable U.S.-Russian relationship, the White House must not only discipline the executive branch and focus its efforts, but also spend political capital in the U.S. Congress. Preoccupation with domestic priorities in a highly polarized domestic political environment cannot



but limit the administration's ability to build a bipartisan consensus on a controversial topic like American policy toward Russia.

## **THE UNITED STATES, RUSSIA, AND NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION**

The overriding priority of U.S. national security policy must be to prevent the use and spread of nuclear weapons. This task is extremely difficult without Russia's cooperation.

The fact that the United States and Russia continue jointly to possess the vast majority of the world's nuclear weapons, and a capability to annihilate one another—or any other nation—many times over, puts nuclear issues at the top of the bilateral agenda. Unlike the Cold War era, however, today a U.S.-Russian nuclear war seems almost inconceivable. The United States faces much greater risks from hostile states with small nuclear arsenals and from terrorist groups seeking nuclear weapons.

In the security environment of the early twenty-first century, America has four specific vital national interests related to countering nuclear proliferation that Russia can help to advance:

- Securing all nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons-usable material to a gold standard—beyond the reach of terrorists and thieves;
- Limiting the spread of nuclear weapons, weapons-usable materials and technologies globally;
- Maintaining and strengthening strict Russian government controls over nuclear weapons, weapons-usable materials, and technologies inside Russia; preventing them from falling into the hands of those who could threaten the United States; and avoiding accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons; and,
- Pursuing further U.S.-Russian nuclear force reductions and working with Russia to involve other nuclear weapons states in talks on reductions.

The future of the global nuclear order will be determined to a large extent by whether Washington and Moscow agree on the diagnosis of the threat and jointly develop and apply a remedy. As the world's leading nuclear weapons states, the United States and Russia have a unique ability, and a unique responsibility, to cooperate to manage the threat of nuclear proliferation.

The United States and Russia are already playing lead roles in building and maintaining an international counter-proliferation regime. Washington and Moscow have decades of experience crafting requirements and perfecting methods of ensuring nuclear security, including the securing of stockpiles and disposing of decommissioned weapons and materials, that can be used as a model by other countries. Moscow has already helped importantly in denuclearizing Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus.

Russia's capabilities as an exporter of nuclear power plants and related equipment and technologies and as a processor of nuclear fuel and nuclear waste are also central to global non-proliferation. Finally, further consolidation of stockpiles remains necessary in Russia, which still has the world's largest number of facilities containing nuclear weapons and weapons-usable nuclear materials.

Iran's efforts to acquire nuclear weapons are and should be of special concern to the United States in view of the potential missile threat to U.S. forces and U.S. allies in the Middle East and Europe, as well as the dangers of further proliferation in the Middle East or nuclear terrorism. Russia's geographic location, regional influence, role as a veto-wielding permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, and relationship with Iran make it an important potential partner in managing these problems. However, while Russia shares many U.S. concerns about Iran, Russia's perceptions, priorities and strategies are not fully in alignment with America's.

In the United States, preventing Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon is one of our highest foreign policy priorities, because some believe that Iran might use nuclear weapons against a U.S. target in the region or against a U.S. ally and that Iran's possession of nuclear weapons would change the regional balance of power, emboldening Tehran, deterring Washington, and intimidating U.S. allies and friends. Many Americans are also concerned that if Iran should develop nuclear weapons, other states in the region might also seek them.

In Russia, the emergence of a nuclear Iran is seen as a serious threat to Russia's vital interests, but many are skeptical that Tehran's drive for nuclear weapons can be stopped. Russians recognize that Iran can affect other vital Russian interests, including extremist Islamist terrorism in Russia's North Caucasus region, stability in the South Caucasus, Central Asia and Afghanistan, and energy interests in the Caspian. Like China, Russia sees the benefits of trade in technology and arms as more immediate than an Iranian nuclear weapon, particularly given its judgment that the only strategies the United States is willing or able to implement are unlikely to change Iranian behavior. Despite differences, the Russian government has been more supportive of American policy toward Iran than China, usually when the United States, in concert with European allies, has demonstrated the benefits of closer U.S.-Russian cooperation or when Iran's actions have provoked Russian concern, as when Iran's deliberate efforts to conceal enrichment facilities were exposed. Senior Russian officials have explicitly stated that Russia could work more closely with the United States on Iran if America and Russia were genuine partners—in other words, if the benefits of the overall U.S.-Russian relationship offset the possible damage to Russian interests resulting from deterioration in Moscow's ties to Tehran. This suggests that the United States does have some influence over Russia's hierarchy of priorities.

While Washington should continue to explain its perspective as persuasively as possible, U.S.-Russian differences of opinion over Iran seem unlikely to change substantially in the absence of new facts or changes in Iran's behavior. With this in mind, efforts to secure greater and more consistent Russian support for America's approach to Iran are likely to succeed to the extent that they occur in the context of an improving U.S.-Russian relationship that addresses not only U.S. priorities but also Russia's aims. For example, Russian concerns about the impact of unilateral U.S. sanctions against Russian firms that are observing UN Security Council sanctions on Iran could become an obstacle to further Russian cooperation, particularly when the United States holds European companies to a different standard.

In addition to Iran, North Korea is the world's other major state-driven nuclear proliferation challenge. Needless to say, North Korea differs fundamentally from Iran in that Pyongyang already possesses nuclear warheads. Unfortunately, while Russia has limited influence over Iran, it seems to have even less influence over North Korea. Both the United States and Russia appear in some respects to have ceded leadership in dealing with North Korea to China. But fearing instability in North Korea, Beijing has been reluctant to apply pressure to the world's last totalitarian communist state. Still, Pyongyang's economic troubles and particular interest in Russian energy may provide Moscow with some leverage. Furthermore, as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, participant in the six-party talks and North Korea's neighbor, Russia can do more to encourage the DPRK to make a deal that would reduce the nuclear threat emanating from its fledgling arsenal in a transparent and verifiable way.

In assisting Russia to secure its own arsenal, the United States has advanced its national interests through the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program. While this assistance contributed substantially to American security at a reasonable cost—particularly in comparison to the potential impact of an attack employing stolen weapons or materials—concern over deficits in the United States, along with Russia's economic recovery, has made it timely to move beyond an economic assistance philosophy to a jointly funded and managed cooperative undertaking that not only sustains current programs in Russia, but also addresses equivalent challenges in other countries.

### ***Policy Prescriptions***

- The United States should engage Russia to develop and implement a jointly produced and concrete roadmap with a firm timeline to attaining the highest possible standards of security for all stocks of weapons, weapons-usable plutonium, and highly enriched uranium (HEU) everywhere in the world. In doing so, the two nations should use their nuclear establishments' experience, technologies, criteria, and best practices as a basis to operationalize United Nations Security Council Resolution 1540.

- The United States should engage Russia to orchestrate international consensus that there will be no new national HEU enrichment or plutonium reprocessing, using strict criteria for restraining the sale of these technologies, ensuring the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) cooperates only with states that comply with international laws and regulations, and promoting nuclear fuel assurances and cradle-to-grave fuel cycle services.
- The United States and Russia should lead international efforts to control production and consolidation of fissile material, encouraging China, Pakistan, and India to announce a moratorium on production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons and pressing for a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty; phasing out use of HEU in civil commerce and removing weapons-usable uranium from research facilities around the world.
- The United States should intensify discussions with Russia on global nuclear energy, especially with respect to procedures and technologies to reduce proliferation risks, possibly including internationalization of the fuel cycle.
- The United States should continue to engage Russia in a conversation about alternative approaches to the Iran challenge, including possible joint support for a regional security system that could create incentives for Iran to abandon its nuclear program or, alternatively, demonstrate to Iran that pursuing nuclear weapons could undermine rather than improve its security.
- The United States should seek to enlist Russian cooperation in pressing China to work more assertively to persuade North Korea to surrender its nuclear weapons, noting the potential positive impact on regional perceptions of Chinese conduct.
- The United States should forcefully advocate for Russian assistance vis-à-vis Pakistan and Afghanistan (see section on Central Asia), not least to ensure the security of Pakistan's nuclear arsenal and to reduce the risk of further proliferation from Pakistan.
- The United States should encourage Russia to enforce UN Security Council sanctions against Iran and North Korea and to avoid actions that provide material economic support to Tehran or Pyongyang.
- The United States should seek to limit the harmful impact of U.S. economic sanctions on Russian firms that are observing existing UN Security Council sanctions against Iran as part of wider efforts to secure Moscow's cooperation in dealing with Iran's nuclear weapons program.
- The United States should encourage Russia to continue to observe President Dmitry Medvedev's decree banning the sale of S-300 anti-aircraft missile systems to Iran and to avoid sales of other potentially destabilizing arms or technologies to Iran or North Korea.

- The United States should encourage Russia to observe strict safeguards consistent with or exceeding existing international agreements to which Moscow is a party in its sales of nuclear power equipment or technologies.
- The United States should secure the Russian government's consent to extend the Cooperative Threat Reduction programs, which expire in 2013, with a view to attaining Russian financing to sustain and internationalize the programs, allowing Moscow and Washington to share best practices with other countries. The United States should also encourage Russia to further consolidate its nuclear stockpiles.

## **ARMS CONTROL AND MISSILE DEFENSE**

The United States and Russia are no longer enemies. Despite this, both maintain strategic nuclear forces at levels that would, if ever used, assure destruction of both. The probability of a Russian nuclear attack on the United States as a result of an accident or false warning has decreased compared to the years immediately following the disintegration of the Soviet Union. But the potentially catastrophic consequences of such an accident require more effort to reduce the risk further.

America's current inventory of strategic nuclear weapons is a legacy of the Cold War; as noted by the Congressional Commission on the Strategic Posture of the United States, the U.S. needs relatively few nuclear weapons to deter China or other nations and can reduce its arsenal if Russia is prepared to do the same. Such reductions can also strengthen Washington's negotiating position in seeking to tighten the global non-proliferation regime. Nevertheless, while the United States and Russia have successfully concluded the New START treaty, further bilateral arms reduction agreements appear unlikely in the foreseeable future due to ongoing differences over tactical nuclear weapons and missile defense.

Eliminating American and Russian tactical nuclear weapons could contribute usefully to nuclear security simply by reducing the number of warheads to secure. However, in view of Moscow's reliance on these weapons to compensate for the weakness of its conventional forces (particularly those in the Russian Far East) relative to China, a U.S.-Russian tactical nuclear arms reduction treaty appears improbable in the short-to-medium term. A U.S.-Russian agreement that bundles together deployed and non-deployed nuclear weapons for reductions and provides for some transparency for tactical arsenals would be easier to attain.

The United States has important interests in pursuing missile defense in Europe and elsewhere in order to improve the security of the United States, its deployed military forces, and its allies. However, protecting against attack is not the sole purpose of missile defense. Missile defense could not only deter a nuclear Iran from launching a missile attack, but also discourage Tehran from believing that the threat of such an attack could deter the United States or coerce its neighbors or others.

Russia's principal concerns about missile defense appear to relate to the purpose and eventual capabilities of planned and potential future systems. Because many in the Russian government do not see an imminent missile threat to Europe—they insist that Iran is far from developing a nuclear device, and even farther from placing a usable nuclear warhead on a missile capable of reaching European targets—they suspect that the threat from Iran is America's justification for building a missile defense system rather than its reason for doing so. The fact that the global system Washington plans could cost hundreds of billions of dollars only increases Russian skepticism; why, they ask, would the United States spend so much for the capability to shoot down a dozen nuclear missiles that do not yet exist?

Because of this, many in Russia's military-political leadership appear seriously concerned that America's open-ended missile defense architecture may eventually evolve to undermine the retaliatory capability of Russia's strategic nuclear forces through a future "surge" in interceptor production. This concern about the system's potential in one to two decades is driving Moscow's desire for guarantees that existing or future U.S. missile defense systems will not target Russia.

Missile defense cooperation could be one way of addressing Russia's concerns, though such collaboration is a politically sensitive topic in Washington. President Obama has promised to the Senate that the United States will not accept any restrictions on its missile defense from Russia, and thirty-nine Republican Senators have written to the President expressing their opposition to sharing sensitive missile technology with Russia or granting Moscow a veto over the U.S. use of a missile defense system.

In Europe, missile defense generates different political challenges. Though America's NATO allies appear somewhat less interested than Washington in the concept of missile defense, some new NATO members in Central Europe seem to welcome an opportunity to host U.S. systems and personnel that, in their view, strengthen U.S. security guarantees. As a result, once these arrangements have been made, some in these nations might interpret an agreement with Russia that eliminates or scales back the planned facilities as sacrificing their interests in favor of Moscow's or, more starkly, as U.S. abandonment.

Given current plans for missile defense and uncertainty about its effectiveness, its significance appears at times to be overstated for varying political reasons in both the United States and Russia. Nevertheless, effective missile defenses on the scale currently envisioned could contribute valuably to the security of the United States and its allies without compromising Russia's nuclear deterrent capabilities. The challenge for the United States lies in finding an approach that balances U.S. national interests, the concerns of U.S. allies in Central Europe, and Russia's sensitivities. This should be possible through some combination of data-sharing, transparency, and specific assurances to Moscow.

### ***Policy Prescriptions***

- The United States should explore with Russia a new strategic stability concept that reflects the fact that Washington and Moscow are no longer enemies prepared to destroy each other, but rather potential partners.
- The next round of U.S.-Russian nuclear arms reduction should combine deployed and non-deployed weapons to lower the ceiling of strategic warheads to 1,000 or fewer. The United States should also work with Russia to draw other nations into nuclear arms reduction talks.
- In discussing tactical nuclear weapons with Russia, the United States should focus first on negotiating consolidation, transparency and verification measures rather than reductions.
- The United States should strive to negotiate reciprocal and verifiable measures with Russia to increase the warning and decision times for their nuclear missile forces.
- The United States should proceed with developing anti-missile systems in Europe and globally, in line with the realistic assessment of existing and future threats and available technologies and funds.
- The United States should lead NATO in completing a joint assessment of missile threats with Russia as a basis for a NATO-Russia agreement on missile defense cooperation. Building on the 1997 Founding Act on NATO-Russian relations, this agreement should declare that its signatories «have no intention, no plan and no reason» to deploy missile defense assets in Europe in such a way that they would target or intercept strategic delivery vehicles of each other. The agreement should, to the extent feasible, provide for continuous sharing of data; exchanges of liaison officers, and joint exercises in detecting and intercepting missiles.
- The United States should encourage transparency regarding Russian forces, actions, and plans that is equivalent to U.S. transparency towards Moscow.
- The United States should press Russia to refrain from potentially destabilizing changes in its strategic nuclear posture and plans.

### **THE UNITED STATES, RUSSIA, AND GEOPOLITICS**

Since the end of the Cold War, the United States, Russia, and NATO have been unable to develop a mutually-acceptable European security system. Many in America and Europe have taken the view that as the victors in the Cold War, Washington and its allies alone should define the structures of European security and that any role for Moscow is a concession to Russia. This is a mistake, because it will not be possible to establish enduring security, peace, and prosperity on the whole in Europe on the basis of a security system that antagonizes Russia. Russia is geographically within Europe

and its decisions can have a significant impact on Europe and European security whether or not Russia belongs to any particular institution or arrangement.

While President Medvedev's proposed security treaty is not the solution, refusing to discuss a new security system effectively excludes Russia from European security and encourages Moscow to balance against the United States and NATO. This does not advance U.S. national interests. The existing system also leaves many disputes and frozen conflicts unresolved. Both the United States and its European allies should welcome a new mechanism of conflict prevention, interdiction and resolution in Europe, including post-conflict stabilization, that would be less prone to deadlocks similar to those seen in the UN Security Council over Kosovo, and that could be employed in a timely manner to prevent conflicts similar to the August 2008 war in which Russia sided with Georgia's separatist provinces of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. Integrating Russia into the European security system in a mutually-acceptable manner, or even consulting more frequently and intensively with Moscow, could contribute valuably to security and stability in a strategically and economically critical region.

A more effective security architecture in Europe could also help win Russian cooperation in other areas, including vis-à-vis China. Moscow is very unlikely to take any chances with Beijing when it is simultaneously insecure to the West. Yet, China's rapid economic growth, along with its increasing regional and global political influence, seems likely to be a central challenge facing the United States and Russia in the coming decades. America's critical task in managing China's rise is to shape the international environment in ways that will encourage Beijing to work within and adapt to the existing global order rather than seeking to redefine it substantially at America's expense. This in turn requires the United States to work closely with the world's other major powers, including Russia. Needless to say, pursuing such discussions with Moscow will not be easy; any effort to work with Russia to manage China's rise will require patient and careful diplomacy, clear demonstration of the potential benefits to Russia, articulation of an approach that will not alienate Beijing, and a deeper sense of trust than currently exists.

Despite significant disagreements over policies and the proper role of the United Nations, Washington has been successful at times in winning Moscow's support for U.S. goals in the UN Security Council—something that has generally facilitated China's support as well. This serves important U.S. national interests by enhancing the international legitimacy of American action. It also enlists Moscow and Beijing in pursuing American objectives and seeks to avoid the establishment of an enduring anti-American voting bloc in the UN Security Council—something that would return the body to its Cold War era dysfunction.



A more proactive U.S. approach to discussion of potential trouble spots with Russia could lay the groundwork for accelerated Security Council deliberations and improve prospects for U.S.-Russian agreements in the future, including in areas of disagreement.

### ***Policy Prescriptions***

- The United States should be prepared to launch a genuine and substantive dialogue first with its NATO allies and then with Russia about a new inclusive European security system that would give Russia a meaningful voice and that would include an effective rapid response mechanism of conflict prevention, interdiction and resolution.
- In making major international policy decisions, the United States should consider whether U.S. actions could consolidate Russian-Chinese cooperation at the expense of wider U.S. goals.
- As long as it appears feasible, achieving broader U.S. objectives vis-à-vis Russia should have priority over expanding NATO membership in ways that could undermine cooperation on greater U.S. priorities.
- The United States should discourage Russia and Georgia from any further confrontation and work toward a peaceful, long-term solution to the status of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, recognizing legitimate interests of all parties.
- The United States should agree with Russia and leading European states on what additional measures the Minsk Group should take to discourage resumption of hostilities between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorny Karabakh and work toward a peaceful, long-term resolution of this conflict as well as the Transdniestrian conflict, recognizing the legitimate interests of all parties.
- The United States should encourage Russia to refrain from destabilizing arms or technology sales to China.
- The United States should encourage Russia to pursue consultation and transparency regarding the activities of its conventional forces in Europe and Asia equivalent to U.S. efforts.

## **THE UNITED STATES, RUSSIA, AND ENERGY SECURITY**

As one of the world's single most important energy producers, Russia plays a central role in international energy markets. Russia's investment and regulatory decisions will have a profound impact on global energy supplies in the years ahead, particularly in light of its aging energy infrastructure and limited investment in future production opportunities. Thus, Moscow's

economic choices could substantially affect the prices American consumers and companies will pay for energy on world markets in the future. Aside from investment and economic decisions, Russian political decisions can distort markets, including through efforts to use energy exports for political leverage.

The United States has four national interests with respect to Russia and energy security:

- Expanding Russian energy production and exports, which will likely require improved investment conditions, adoption of new technologies and management techniques, and reduction of waste and inefficiency;
- Avoiding Russian use of energy as political leverage to restrict the independence of other nations and disrupt markets;
- Strengthening the overall security environment in Central Asia and the Caspian Basin; and
- Ensuring fair treatment for American companies in Russia.

Although Russia's energy sector is the most significant in its economy by far, its output remains constrained by poor infrastructure, old technology, and ineffective management practices. Russia's energy companies are unlikely to be able to address these problems on their own anytime soon, because they lack the funds, the technology, and the experience. Notwithstanding some new agreements, investment conditions in Russia have not attracted foreign investment on the scale necessary to overhaul the energy sector. In fact, Russia's investment conditions are not sufficient even to attract large-scale *Russian* investment.

Poor investment conditions in the energy sector reflect the wider weakness of the rule of law in Russia as well as the Russian government's desire to retain considerable control over energy, which is seen as both a principal vehicle for Russia's national greatness in the twenty-first century and a key instrument of internal political influence because of the wealth it generates. Lingering mistrust of market mechanisms among some Russian officials necessitates deep state involvement in the energy sector in order to produce desired outcomes. Moscow has been similarly unwilling to cede control or influence over its energy policy to external actors. This is apparent in Russia's lack of interest in joining OPEC (despite the group's weak enforcement of production quotas), on the one hand, and its determined and at times counterproductive efforts to prevent Ukraine or other transit countries from having leverage over Russian energy exports via pipelines, on the other.

Simultaneously, with few other effective foreign policy tools, particularly in Europe, the Russian government has relied heavily on its energy policy as an "equalizer" in dealing with leading Western governments and as a form of pressure on smaller nations. While this has limited direct impact on

the United States, it has undermined European energy security and is a cause of serious concern among many U.S. allies.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia's scientific establishment has faced declining resources and prestige—and large-scale emigration of talented researchers—but nevertheless Russia continues to possess considerable potential for advanced research in energy extraction, energy efficiency, alternative energy, and other high-technology fields. President Medvedev has emphasized encouraging innovation as a central policy goal, though it is unclear whether this initiative can succeed absent improvements in the rule of law and progress in deregulation. Russia could become a valuable partner in reducing consumption of fossil fuels and greenhouse gas emissions from the United States and Russia, both of which have very high per capita emissions rates.

Thus far, U.S.-Russian engagement on energy issues has been sporadic and largely technical with the exception of the nuclear sphere, where Moscow and Washington have been making such strides as the U.S.-Russia 123 Agreement. It also suffers from a mismatch between American and Russian approaches to the role of government in the energy sector. Broadly speaking, the U.S.-Russian energy relationship has not received priority proportionate to what is at stake for the United States.

### ***Policy Prescriptions***

- The United States should raise the priority of the U.S.-Russian energy dialogue and focus on removing obstacles to bilateral investment, trade, and research.
- The United States should press Russia to improve investment conditions in the energy sector and in Russia's overall economy and make clear to Moscow that mistreating U.S. and Western companies damages Russia's investment climate and international image, and is an obstacle to improving relations with the United States.
- The United States should continue to support eventual Russian membership in the Organization for Economic and Cooperation and Development and the International Energy Agency as a means to improve policy coordination and transparency.
- The United States should incorporate discussions of energy security into dialogue with Russia regarding key global energy regions, e.g. the Middle East.
- The United States should encourage Russia to resolve energy-related disputes through dialogue, arbitration, litigation, or other means typical in addressing commercial disagreements rather than through efforts at intimidation.

## **THE UNITED STATES, RUSSIA, AND COUNTER-TERRORISM**

The United States and Russia have each endured major terrorist attacks by Islamist extremists and remain under threat of further terrorism. Although specific groups target the two countries for particular reasons, there are links between extremist networks that attack each country. Al Qaeda has displayed consistent interest in acquiring nuclear weapons, exploring opportunities for such acquisition in former Soviet Union and other parts of the world. Terrorist groups based in Russia's North Caucasus that conduct attacks on Russia have established ties with and sought financing from al Qaeda affiliates. Al Qaeda operatives have engaged in terrorist attacks against the United States and have encouraged attacks on Russia. In addition, Washington and Moscow share concerns about the potential impact of terrorism in other regions, especially in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Central Asia as America and NATO gradually draw down forces in Afghanistan.

Despite these common concerns, and a shared interest in combating terrorism, the United States and Russia have different priorities; unsurprisingly, each government is most focused on immediate threats to its people, its territory, and, in the U.S. case, its military forces deployed overseas. America and Russia likewise take different approaches to combating terrorism, including in how they define the sources of terrorism, how they seek to reduce it, and how they establish the balance between security and liberty within their societies.

These differences have limited U.S.-Russian cooperation in fighting terrorism. The United States has been reluctant to provide Moscow assistance in combating terrorism in the North Caucasus, primarily due to concerns about Russia's approach to instability in the region, especially its human rights practices. At the same time, Russia has been deeply skeptical of U.S. military interventions and American claims that democracy promotion can reduce extremism and terrorism. Each government likely believes that the other's policies actually cause rather than prevent terror. Because neither government trusts the other's approach, each is reluctant to share highly sensitive intelligence.

The underdevelopment of U.S.-Russian counterterrorism cooperation harms U.S. national interests. In Afghanistan, for example, Russia still has some potentially important intelligence resources due to its long presence there and its ongoing engagement with the country's non-Pashtun ethnic groups. Though substantive cooperation may develop slowly, it is essential to accelerate efforts to secure Russian cooperation.

### ***Policy Prescriptions***

- The United States should strengthen joint capabilities with Russia to collect and analyze intelligence on terrorist threats, including nuclear, biological, and conventional catastrophic terrorism threats to the two nations and their allies. The United States and Russia should

also consider establishing joint counter-terrorism teams modeled on U.S. and Russian forces that have conducted counter-narcotics raids in Afghanistan.

- The United States should seek to harmonize U.S. and Russian government lists of terrorist organizations subject to sanctions. Begin by encouraging Russia to conduct a joint U.S.-Russian global terrorism threat assessment with the U.S., focused on developing a list of the world's most dangerous terrorist organizations and their targets.
- The United States should pursue more extensive joint counter-terrorism exercises with Russia.

## **THE UNITED STATES, RUSSIA, AND CENTRAL ASIA, INCLUDING AFGHANISTAN**

Europe was the central region of competition among the world's great powers during the twentieth century. While competition in Europe has declined, the contest for influence in Central Asia has intensified. Outside powers seek access to Central Asia's energy—and unlike past iterations of the scramble for resources, China is a key player. At the same time, the United States and those in neighboring territories share concerns about instability, terrorism, and drug trafficking.

Fortunately, U.S.-Russian rivalry in Central Asia appears to have receded somewhat in the last few years, as Moscow's anxiety over what it saw as U.S.-sponsored "color revolutions" in the former Soviet Union has subsided. The United States and Russia cooperated during instability in Kyrgyzstan in 2010, largely avoiding the bilateral tension that previous instability there and elsewhere had produced. Some in Moscow also appear increasingly to appreciate the value of the U.S. presence in Afghanistan.

As the United States and NATO draw down their military forces in Afghanistan, regional states including Russia will only grow in importance to Afghanistan's stability. Transit routes through Russia have become a key component the American logistics line of communication to Afghanistan and may be even more crucial during the American and NATO withdrawal, in view of intensified military logistics requirements and ongoing worries about routes through Pakistan. This will require close and sustained engagement between Washington and Moscow. If the U.S.-Russian relationship deteriorates, Russia may limit its cooperation on Afghanistan, which could harm U.S. national interests.

### ***Policy Prescriptions***

- The United States should expand U.S. briefings of Russian civilian and military officials regarding U.S. plans in Afghanistan as part of a broader effort to build further cooperation there, including greater use of supply routes through Russia.

- The United States should engage Russia on pressing Pakistan to end sanctuaries and support for groups fighting in Afghanistan and for promoting a diplomatic settlement of Afghanistan-Pakistan differences.
- The United States should intensify discussions of the end-game in Afghanistan with the Russian government, including military-to-military talks.
- The United States should propose a strategic dialogue on “rules of the road” to avoid zero-sum approaches to Central Asia. As a part of this, the United States should encourage Russia to respect the sovereignty of Central Asian states and to pursue its interests transparently and without the threat or use of force.
- The United States should explore opportunities for military cooperation with Russia based on the unique circumstances that have led each to have military bases in Kyrgyzstan.
- The United States should work to increase Russia’s participation in counter-narcotics operations in Afghanistan, in part to give Russia a greater stake in U.S. success in Afghanistan.
- The United States should seek to consult with Russia on infrastructure and other investments in Central Asia, particularly those connecting Afghanistan with the rest of the region.

## **THE UNITED STATES, RUSSIA, AND TRADE AND INVESTMENT**

Russia ranks 24th among U.S. trading partners and 25th on the list of direct investments in America. The United States is Russia’s 11th largest trading partner and 10th largest source of foreign direct investment into Russia. In contrast, Germany is Russia’s third largest trading partner and fifth largest source of foreign investment.

There are many reasons for the slow development of U.S.-Russian economic relations, including most notably Russia’s business environment, which is poor in many respects due to weak rule of law and widespread corruption.

Bilateral U.S.-Russian trade and investment remains politically charged to a degree no longer seen in Russian trade with Europe, where economic interaction with Russian companies—state-owned or independent—appears more routine. The continuing application of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to Russia in the United States is perhaps the key example. Congressional reluctance to graduate Russia from Jackson-Vanik, a strictly symbolic Cold War relic that imposes no substantively meaningful restrictions, suggests a wider U.S. resistance to deeper economic engagement to many in Russia. This deters both American and Russian firms from working with one another.

Russia's entry into the World Trade Organization and finally granting Russia Permanent Normal Trade Relations (thereby removing Moscow from the Jackson-Vanik process) could provide an important boost to bilateral trade and investment by clearing away some of today's psychological obstacles. Moreover, expanding trade and investment can create their own self-reinforcing dynamics as firms in each country become more comfortable in the economic relationship, and as the political constituency for economic engagement in each country grows and acquires critical mass.

Of course, Russia's WTO membership will require Moscow to conclude an agreement with Georgia, the sole outstanding WTO member after the United States without an accession agreement with Russia. Georgia has attempted to use its WTO negotiations with Russia to address wider issues in Georgian-Russian relations, including the status of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. We consider this approach more likely to exacerbate existing tensions than to facilitate the return of those two regions to Georgia's control.

While Russia's WTO membership would serve U.S. national interests, it would not adequately address shortcomings in Russian domestic practices or the interests of American companies trying to work in Russia's corrupt business environment. Russia's current inconsistent and sometimes harsh treatment of foreign investors undermines sustainable U.S.-Russian economic partnership.

Despite this, bills on Russian corruption and human rights before the U.S. Congress are dangerously broad. The version of the Sergei Magnitsky Rule of Law Accountability Act under discussion when we prepared this report is intended to impose visa bans and asset freezes on officials associated with the death of Sergei Magnitsky, a lawyer jailed after accusing Russian officials of massive corruption. However, it could do significant damage to the U.S.-Russian relationship by allowing individual members of Congress to initiate proceedings against Russian officials or others whom they accuse of involvement in Magnitsky's death or other significant human rights violations. But a narrower law with better safeguards could be an acceptable replacement for Jackson-Vanik and, together with the Obama Administration's recent decision to block visas for some Russian officials involved in the detention and death of Magnitsky, would send a clear message that corruption affecting U.S. and Western companies and their employees, both foreign and Russian nationals, has consequences.

The effort to deter corruption and reinforce the rule of law in Russia is ultimately important not only to U.S. national interests and values, but also to Russia's future. In addition to its contribution to human rights in Russia, the rule of law is essential to Russian efforts to build a diversified economy that creates a foundation for sustained economic growth. This in turn is likely to expand Russia's middle class and, over time, strengthen the forces in Russian society pressing for political and economic reform.

### ***Policy Prescriptions***

- The United States and Russia should rapidly complete the U.S.-Russian agreement on Russia's WTO accession.
- The United States should intensify bilateral consultations to address remaining obstacles to U.S.-Russian trade and investment, particularly to promote the rule of law and reduce corruption in Russia.
- The United States should work with the European Union to press Russia to negotiate seriously with Georgia to complete a Georgia-Russia WTO agreement, while encouraging Georgia to limit talks to issues that are within the scope of the WTO's work.
- The United States Congress should graduate Russia from the Jackson-Vanik Amendment's restrictions and develop new legislation on Russian corruption and human rights.
- In reviewing the Magnitsky bill, the U.S. Congress should focus on discouraging large-scale corrupt practices and major human rights violations in Russia by identifying those responsible and applying appropriate penalties, while ensuring due process to the accused, providing good safeguards, and allowing sufficient flexibility for the executive branch.
- The United States should revive efforts to sign the bilateral investment treaty negotiated in the mid-1990s, in order to address some of the primary concerns U.S. investors face in Russia and to provide them with recourse in the event of nationalization of U.S. companies' investments in Russia, or other actions that are tantamount to nationalization.
- The United States should endorse the Russian government's stated objective of privatizing large state-owned firms, including energy companies.
- The United States should pursue further liberalization of the bilateral visa regime with Russia to foster tourism, education and commerce.
- As the United States conducts its major review of export controls, it should consider controls in trade with Russia in a manner designed to facilitate exchanges of technology and direct investments in both countries.
- The United States should work with the European Union to press Russia to protect the rights of foreign firms doing business in Russia and should separately press Russia to protect the rights of American companies operating there.

### **THE UNITED STATES, RUSSIA, AND DEMOCRATIC VALUES**

Russia's political system incorporates some elements of democracy, but is certainly not democratic. Perhaps the greatest weakness in Russia's governance is lack of the rule of law, which undermines



the accountability of the country's leadership to its people. Elections are deeply flawed and weak legislative and judicial branches fail to place checks on executive power. (As noted above, the underdevelopment of the rule of law also impedes Russia's economic development.) Russia's current system is sustained in part by a population that remains leery of change after past disappointments. Russia's governance is and should be a serious concern to the United States and constrains the development of the U.S.-Russian relationship.

Despite this, it is important to place Russia's governance in historical perspective. Unlike many former Soviet bloc countries in Central Europe, pre-1991 Russia had very limited experience with democracy. And while Russia's leaders bear responsibility for their decisions, post-1991 Russia did not always receive the best advice from the United States in implementing political and economic reforms. Today, Russia lacks the rule of law, checks and balances and meaningful political freedom; nevertheless, Russian citizens enjoy historically unprecedented personal freedom and better economic prospects than any time since Russia's independence.

Some trends in Russia today reflect in part social reactions to the country's experience in the 1990s, a time of unrealistic expectations in both countries about Russia's future. Americans should recognize that building modern democratic institutions is a generational task in Russia and other countries in transition. Indeed, enforced democratic freedoms without strong institutions and a tradition of compromise and tolerance could bring anti-American nationalists to power, which is not in the U.S. national interest. Lasting change will be driven by the gradually increasing demands of Russia's expanding middle class rather than by foreign pronouncements.

Vladimir Putin's carefully-orchestrated emergence as the United Russia Party's candidate—arranged in deep secrecy and avoiding public discussion even at the United Russia Party Congress—further vivifies that Russia is nowhere near a Western-style democracy. And during his previous term as President, Mr. Putin showed no interest in external guidance on Russia's domestic arrangements.

Unfortunately, while strengthening the rule of law, democracy, and adherence to international human rights standards in Russia serves American national interests and values, the United States has limited tools at its disposal to facilitate this in the absence of active broad-based policy engagement with the Russian government. American political and rhetorical pressure can at times contribute to marginal changes in the Russian government's domestic practices; however, its impact is generally peripheral and limited to isolated and lower-profile cases. Real democratization will not occur in Russia in the absence of powerful internal forces calling for it. Those forces are still weak at this time. Unfortunately, visible U.S. support for specific individuals and groups can often be counterproductive and may put advocates of political reform within Russia at risk.

In the decade following Russia's independence, American expectations for Russian democracy were overly optimistic. Still, broadly speaking, the Western approach to Russia since that time has been correct: the United States and the West have sought to promote economic development in Russia to expand and empower the middle class, based on a belief that rising expectations among a large middle class will be a key driver of democratization. With this in mind, Russian membership in the World Trade Organization should be a high priority, given the WTO's rule-setting functions and the potential economic benefits for the United States, Russia, and other countries in bringing the largest remaining economy outside the WTO into its framework. However, if Russia does not pursue economic reform, and especially if energy prices fall, Russia could experience political instability. Serious instability would be particularly worrisome, as it could be detrimental to vital U.S. national interests, possibly even including the security of Russia's nuclear arsenal.

Recognizing the realities of Russian politics and society, Russia's governance generally does not determine its foreign policy conduct, though Russia at times seems more comfortable interacting with authoritarian leaders—particularly on its periphery. This is a fundamental difference from the past, when the Soviet Union's foreign policy was animated by Soviet communist ideology and efforts to spread Soviet-style government around the globe. Today, Moscow is essentially pragmatic, seeks to cooperate with democracies and non-democracies alike, and has abandoned Soviet-era messianic aims. Recently, Russia collaborated with the United States in Kyrgyzstan's transition after its 2010 revolution.

However, Russian officials have clearly stated their deep reservations about American efforts to promote democracy. Russian leaders make clear that their opposition to U.S. democracy promotion is not opposition to American democracy or to democracy per se but instead reflects (1) suspicion of American motives (particularly in the former Soviet Union, where U.S. democracy promotion has been viewed as a façade for efforts to undermine Russia's role), (2) anxiety about American methods and the destabilizing impacts of political change, and (3) general discomfort with the idea that one country should involve itself in another's internal affairs.

### ***Policy Prescriptions***

- When Russia violates international commitments or its own laws through its domestic practices, the United States should express U.S. concerns while avoiding a patronizing tone. U.S. leaders should also avoid appearing to endorse Russian domestic practices that conflict with basic American values and Russia's international obligations.
- The United States should accept that democratic political change within Russia will likely occur gradually and need not necessarily lead to American-style democracy.
- The United States should support Russian-led efforts at democratic and market reform

when they occur, but should avoid steps likely to be viewed as interference in Russia's domestic politics, which are often counterproductive.

- The United States should continue official dialogue with Russia on human rights issues.
- The United States should make very clear in private discussions with Russian officials that Russian violations of international human rights norms can harm Russian national interests.
- In view of the vital American interests at stake in the U.S.-Russian relations, and Washington's limited leverage over Russia's slow domestic transition, the United States should not allow democracy promotion to dominate its approach to Russia.

## **THE CONSEQUENCES OF FAILURE**

Just as the United States should expect Russia to adjust many of its policies to achieve a sustainable cooperative relationship, Washington should recognize that Moscow is unlikely to support U.S. policy goals if the U.S.-Russian relationship significantly deteriorates. As a result, the failure to establish an ongoing working relationship with Russia would be quite costly for the United States.

As a practical matter, even a stalled relationship could be problematic. The United States and Russia are both motivated to improve relations largely on the basis of hopes for what a stronger relationship could produce. If the prospects for realizing those hopes become too remote, it is uncertain whether what has been accomplished so far is sufficient to prevent our substantial remaining differences from tearing the U.S.-Russian relationship apart.

U.S. officials must carefully weigh not only the American national interests in working more closely with Russia, but also the costs and benefits of failing to do so, keeping in mind Moscow's capacity to act as a spoiler in a number of areas and on a number of issues that are of vital national interest to Washington. In our considered judgment, the choice is clear: the United States should pursue a sustainable cooperative relationship with Russia to advance vital American national interests, but do so without illusions regarding either Moscow's sometimes neo-imperial ambitions, or the pace of democratic change in Russia.

## TASK FORCE MEMBERS

### GRAHAM ALLISON

Director of Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Graham Allison has for three decades been a leading analyst of U.S. national security and defense policy with a special interest in nuclear weapons, terrorism, and decision-making. As Assistant Secretary of Defense in the first Clinton Administration, Dr. Allison received the Defense Department's highest civilian award, the Defense Medal for Distinguished Public Service, for "reshaping relations with Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan to reduce the former Soviet nuclear arsenal." Dr. Allison has served as Special Advisor to the Secretary of Defense under President Reagan. He has the sole distinction of having twice been awarded the Department of Defense's highest civilian award, the Distinguished Public Service Medal, first by Secretary Cap Weinberger and second by Secretary Bill Perry. He served as a member of the Defense Policy Board for Secretaries Weinberger, Carlucci, Cheney, Aspin, Perry and Cohen.

### ROBERT D. BLACKWILL

Robert D. Blackwill is the Henry A. Kissinger senior fellow for U.S. foreign policy at the Council on Foreign Relations. As deputy assistant to the president and deputy national security adviser for strategic planning under President George W. Bush, Ambassador Blackwill was responsible for government-wide policy planning to help develop and coordinate the mid- and long-term direction of American foreign policy. He served as presidential envoy to Iraq and was the administration's coordinator for U.S. policies regarding Afghanistan and Iran. Ambassador Blackwill went to the National Security Council (NSC) after serving as the U.S. ambassador to India from 2001 to 2003, and is the recipient of the 2007 Bridge-Builder Award for his role in transforming U.S.-India relations. Prior to reentering government in 2001, he was the Belfer lecturer in international security at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. From 1989 to 1990, Ambassador Blackwill was special assistant to President George H.W. Bush for European and Soviet affairs, during which time he was awarded Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit by the Federal Republic of Germany for his contribution to German unification.

#### **CHARLES G. BOYD**

General Charles G. Boyd, U.S. Air Force (Ret.), is the Starr Distinguished National Security Fellow at the Center for the National Interest. He was President and Chief Executive Officer of Business Executives for National Security (BENS) from 2002 to 2009. Before joining BENS, he served as Senior Vice President and Washington Program Director of the Council on Foreign Relations. He is the former Executive Director of the Hart-Rudman National Security Commission, which foresaw the growing terrorist threat to the United States well before the September 11, 2001 attacks and advocated priority attention be devoted to homeland security.

#### **RICHARD BURT**

Richard Burt serves as managing director at McLarty Associates, where he has led the firm's work in Europe and Eurasia since 2007. From 1992 to 1995, Ambassador Burt was a partner with McKinsey & Company, the global management consulting firm. Ambassador Burt came to McKinsey after successfully concluding a nuclear arms treaty as the U.S. chief negotiator in the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks with the former Soviet Union. Prior to this, Ambassador Burt was U.S. ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany from 1985 to 1989. Before Ambassador Burt served in Germany, he worked at the State Department as assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs from 1983 to 1985. From 1981 to 1983, Ambassador Burt was the director of politico-military affairs in the Department of State. From 1977 to 1980, Ambassador Burt worked in Washington as the national security correspondent for *The New York Times*. From 1973 to 1977, he worked for the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) in London, first as a research associate and then as assistant director.

#### **JAMES COLLINS**

Ambassador James F. Collins was appointed the director of the Russia and Eurasia Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in January of 2007. He is an expert on the former Soviet Union, its successor states, and on the Middle East. Ambassador Collins was the U.S. ambassador to the Russian Federation from 1997 to 2001. Prior to joining the Carnegie Endowment, he served as senior adviser at the public law and policy practice group Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, LLP. Before his appointment as ambassador to Russia, he served as ambassador-at-large and special adviser to the secretary of state for the New Independent States in the mid 1990s and as deputy chief of mission and chargé d'affaires at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow from 1990 to 1993. In addition to three diplomatic postings in Moscow, he also held positions in the U.S. Embassy in Amman, Jordan, and the Consulate General in Izmir, Turkey.

#### **JOHN M. DEUTCH**

John Deutch is an Institute Professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Mr. Deutch has been a member of the MIT faculty since 1970, and has served as Chairman of the Department of Chemistry, Dean of Science, and Provost. He has published over 160 technical publications in physical chemistry, as well as numerous publications on technology, energy, international security, and public policy issues. He served as Director of Central Intelligence from May 1995-December 1996. From 1994-1995, he served as Deputy Secretary of Defense and served as Undersecretary of Defense for Acquisition and Technology from 1993-1994. John Deutch has also served as Director of Energy Research (1977-1979), Acting Assistant Secretary for Energy Technology (1979), and Undersecretary (1979-80) in the United States Department of Energy.

#### **RICHARD FALKENRATH**

Dr. Richard A. Falkenrath is a Principal with The Chertoff Group. Dr. Falkenrath served as the Deputy Commissioner for Counterterrorism at the New York City Police Department (NYPD) from 2006 to 2010. During the George W. Bush administration, Dr. Falkenrath was Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy Homeland Security Advisor and previously Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Policy and Plans within the Office of Homeland Security. Dr. Falkenrath began his career at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. From September 1993 until December 2000, he served first as a postdoctoral research fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, and then as Executive Director, and finally as Assistant Professor of Public Policy.

#### **THOMAS GRAHAM**

Thomas Graham is a managing director at Kissinger Associates, Inc., where he focuses on Russian and Eurasian affairs. He was Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Russia on the National Security Council staff from 2004 to 2007 and Director for Russian Affairs on that staff from 2002 to 2004. From 2001 to 2002, he served as the Associate Director of the Policy Planning Staff of the Department of State. From 1998 to 2001, Mr. Graham was a senior associate in the Russia/Eurasia program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. From 1984 to 1998, he was a Foreign Service Officer. His assignments included two tours of duty at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, where he served as head of the political/internal unit and acting political counselor. Between tours in Moscow, he worked on Russian and Soviet affairs on the Policy Planning Staff of the Department of State and as a policy assistant in the Office of the Undersecretary of Defense for Policy.

#### **MICHAEL GREEN**

Michael J. Green is Senior Advisor and Japan Chair at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and Associate Professor of International Relations at the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. He served on the National Security Council Staff from 2001-2005 as Director for Asian Affairs (Japan, Korea, Oceania) and then Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Asian Affairs. He has also worked in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Institute for Defense Analyses and has taught at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at the Johns Hopkins University where he received his doctorate in 1994.

#### **MAURICE GREENBERG**

Mr. Maurice R. Greenberg is Chairman and CEO of C. V. Starr and Co., Inc. He joined C.V. Starr & Co., Inc. as Vice President in 1960 and was given the additional responsibilities of President of American Home Assurance Company in 1962. He was elected Director of C.V. Starr & Co., Inc. in 1965, Chairman and CEO in 1968 and continues in that role. Mr. Greenberg retired as Chairman and CEO of American International Group, Inc. (AIG) in March 2005, after serving as Chief Executive Officer from 1967 until March 2005. Under his leadership AIG became the largest insurance company in the world and generated unprecedented value for AIG shareholders. During the nearly 40 years of his leadership, AIG's market value grew from \$300 million to \$180 billion. AIG was created by C.V. Starr & Company.

#### **FIONA HILL**

Dr. Fiona Hill is director of the Center on the United States and Europe, and senior fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies Program at The Brookings Institution. From 2006-2009, Hill was on leave from Brookings as the national intelligence officer for Russia and Eurasia at the National Intelligence Council. Prior to joining Brookings, Hill was director of strategic planning at the Eurasia Foundation in Washington, D.C. From 1991-1999, she held a number of positions directing technical assistance and research projects at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government, including associate director of the Strengthening Democratic Institutions Project (SDI), director of the Project on Ethnic Conflict in the Former Soviet Union, and coordinator of the Trilateral Study on Japanese-Russian-U.S. Relations.

#### **JAMES JONES**

General James Jones, USMC (Ret) was appointed as the 22nd National Security Advisor to the President of the United States on January 20, 2009. General Jones previously served as president and chief executive officer of the U.S. Chamber Institute for 21st Century Energy. From July 1999 to January 2003, General Jones was the 32nd Commandant of the Marine Corps. After relinquishing command as Commandant, he assumed the positions of Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (SACEUR) and Commander of the United States European Command (USEUCOM), positions he held until December 2006. General Jones retired from active duty in the U.S. Marine Corps on February 1st, 2007, after more than 40 years of uniformed service to the nation.

#### **KENNETH JUSTER**

Kenneth I. Juster is a partner and managing director at the global private equity firm Warburg Pincus. He has previously served in the U.S. Government as Under Secretary of Commerce (2001-2005), Counselor (Acting) of the Department of State (1992-1993), and Deputy and Senior Adviser to Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger (1989-1992). In the private sector, Mr. Juster has been Executive Vice President of salesforce.com (2005-2010), a leading technology company that pioneered cloud computing for business enterprises, and a senior partner at the firm Arnold & Porter (1981-1989, 1993-2001), where he practiced international law. Mr. Juster also is a Trustee of the Asia Foundation and Freedom House, a Counselor of the American Society of International Law, and Chair of the Advisory Committee of Harvard's Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. Mr. Juster is the recipient of a number of awards, including the William C. Redfield Award and Medal from the Secretary of Commerce, the Distinguished Service Award and Medal from the Secretary of State, the Officer's Cross of the Order of Merit from the President of Germany, the Vasco Núñez de Balboa en el Grado de Gran Cruz Decoration and Medal from the President of Panama, and the Blackwill Award from the U.S.-India Business Council. Mr. Juster holds a JD from the Harvard Law School, an MPP from Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, and an AB from Harvard College.

#### **ZALMAY KHALILZAD**

Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad is a counselor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. He is also President of Gryphon Partners, an international advisory firm based in Washington, DC with offices in Iraq. From 2007 to 2009, Ambassador Khalilzad served as U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations. Prior to that, he served as U.S. Ambassador to Iraq (2005-2007) and U.S.



ambassador to Afghanistan (2003 to 2005). He also served as U.S. Special Presidential Envoy to Afghanistan (2001 to 2003) and Special Presidential Envoy and Ambassador at large for Free Iraqis. Ambassador Khalilzad sits on the boards of the National Endowment for Democracy, America Abroad Media, the Atlantic Council, the RAND Corporation's Middle East Studies Center, the American University of Iraq in Suleymania, and the American University of Afghanistan. He appears frequently on US and foreign media outlets to share his foreign policy expertise.

#### **RICHARD B. MYERS**

General Richard B. Myers retired as the 15th Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 2005. A 1965 graduate of Kansas State University, General Myers served over 40 years in the US Air Force. General Myers is on several public and non-profit boards and currently lectures on national security issues and leadership. He is Foundation Professor of Military History and Leadership at Kansas State University and holds the Colin Powell Chair of Leadership, Ethics, and Character at National Defense University.

#### **SAM NUNN**

Sam Nunn is Co-Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the Nuclear Threat Initiative, a charitable organization working to reduce the global threats from nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. He served as a United States Senator from Georgia for 24 years (1972-1996) and is retired from the law firm King & Spalding. His legislative achievements include the landmark Department of Defense Reorganization Act, drafted with the late Senator Barry Goldwater, and the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program, which provides assistance to Russia and the former Soviet republics for securing and destroying their excess nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. In addition to his work with NTI, Senator Nunn has continued his service in the public policy arena as a distinguished professor in the Sam Nunn School of International Affairs at Georgia Tech and as chairman of the board of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC.

#### **PAUL J. SAUNDERS**

Paul Saunders is Executive Director of the Center for the National Interest and Associate Publisher of *The National Interest*. He directs the Center's U.S.-Russian Relations Program as well as the Center's work on energy and climate change. Saunders served as Senior Advisor to the Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs from 2003 to 2005. He is the author and editor of numerous articles and reports, including most recently *Enduring Rivalry: American and Russian Perspectives on the Post-Soviet Space*.

#### **DIMITRI K. SIMES**

Dimitri Simes is President and CEO of the Center for the National Interest and Publisher of its foreign policy magazine, *The National Interest*. Mr. Simes was selected to lead the Center by former President Richard Nixon, to whom he served as an informal foreign policy advisor and with whom he traveled regularly to Russia and other former Soviet states, as well as Western and Central Europe. Before the Center was established, Mr. Simes served as Chairman of the Center for Russian and Eurasian Programs at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, where he was also a Senior Associate. Earlier, he worked at Johns Hopkins University's Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) and the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and taught at the University of California at Berkeley and Columbia University.

#### **ASHLEY TELLIS**

Ashley J. Tellis is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, specializing in international security, defense, and Asian strategic issues. While on assignment to the U.S. Department of State as senior adviser to the Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, he was intimately involved in negotiating the civil nuclear agreement with India. Previously he was commissioned into the Foreign Service and served as senior adviser to the ambassador at the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi. He also served on the National Security Council staff as special assistant to the president and senior director for Strategic Planning and Southwest Asia.

#### **J. ROBINSON WEST**

J. Robinson West is Chairman of the Board and CEO of PFC Energy as well as Chairman of the Board of The United States Institute of Peace. Before founding PFC Energy in 1984, Robin served in the Reagan Administration as Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Policy, Budget and Administration (1981-83), with responsibility for US offshore oil policy. Between 1977 and 1980, he was a First Vice President of Blyth, Eastman, Dillon & Co., Inc., an investment banking firm. Prior to that, he served in the Ford Administration as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Economic Affairs (1976-77) and on the White House Staff (1974-76). Robin has served on many government Boards and commissions in several administrations.

#### **DOV S. ZAKHEIM**

Dov S. Zakheim is Vice Chairman of the Center for The National Interest. He is also Senior Advisor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and Senior Fellow at CNA, a federally funded research and development center. From 2001 to April 2004 he was Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller) and Chief Financial Officer for the Department of Defense; from 2002-2004 he also served as DOD's coordinator of civilian programs in Afghanistan. During the 2000 presidential campaign, he served as a senior foreign policy advisor to then-Governor Bush. From 1985 until

1987, Dr. Zakheim was Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Planning and Resources in the Office of the Under Secretary of Defense (Policy). He is the recipient of numerous awards including the Defense Department's highest civilian award in 1986, 1987 and 2004 and has been elected a member of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences. His most recent book is *A Vulcan's Tale: How the Bush Administration Mismanaged the Reconstruction of Afghanistan*.

#### **PHILIP ZELIKOW**

Philip Zelikow is a professor of history at the University of Virginia, where he is also a dean leading the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. His stints of full-time federal government service were as Counselor of the Department of State (2005-07), executive director of the 9/11 Commission (2003-04), career diplomat and White House staffer (1985-91), and a teacher for the Navy (1984-85). He is currently a member of President Obama's Intelligence Advisory Board and also served on this board for President Bush (2001-03).

**Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs**

Harvard University

79 JFK Street | Cambridge, MA 02138

<http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu>

**Center for the National Interest**

1615 L Street, NW, Suite 1250 | Washington, DC 20036

[www.cftni.org](http://www.cftni.org)