



**20<sup>th</sup> Workshop of the PfP Consortium Study Group  
“Regional Stability in the South Caucasus”**

**“Concrete Steps to Break the Deadlocks  
in the South Caucasus”**

**– Programme and Workshop Outline –**

**07-10 November 2019**

Château Rothschild  
**Reichenau/Rax, Austria**

## Purpose

In 2012, the Austrian Ministry of Defence, through its National Defence Academy and the Directorate General for Security Policy, initiated a resume of the scientific work done by the PFP Consortium of Defence Academies and Security Studies Institutes on the South Caucasus. This initiative built upon a Study Group which began already in 2001 but was discontinued due to internal strife in the region in 2005. Since 2017, the work of the Regional Stability in the South Caucasus Study Group (RSSC SG) attracted the favourable attention of the Dialogue of Civilizations' Research Institute (DOC/RI) in Berlin, which has contributed intellectually and financially to the effort.

Past workshops held in Reichenau/Rax, Austria, since 2012 and the wider region (Tbilisi, Istanbul, Kyiv, Chisinau, Varna, Minsk and Berlin) have demonstrated that the RSSC SG had established a broad academic basis and the cohesion necessary to undertake more ambitious cooperative projects. Thanks to this cohesion, and our participants' direct and indirect access to decision-making circles in their respective power centres, the RSSC SG has been able to produce policy recommendations that are both constructive and practical. Some have been tested out.

For example, in 2015, the George C. Marshall Center held a high-level in-camera meeting for South Caucasus deputy ministers of defence, based on policy recommendations produced in November 2013. Armenia and Azerbaijan have enacted a crisis hotline, based on recommendations made in November 2016. There is evidence that public communication techniques suggested in 2015 and 2017 by the RSSC SG are being put in practice in Armenia. The RSSC SG is also leveraging the assistance of outside partners to accomplish a policy recommendation made in November 2017 pertaining to media literacy. The co-chairs are glad to pilot this effort, and to see that the work of the RSSC SG is finding a constructive outlet. Much remains to be done, however, and we expect this work to continue for the foreseeable future.

The 20<sup>th</sup> RSSC SG workshop resumes the program initiated under the guidance of the Austrian National Defence Academy, which aims at opening up space for dialogue on ever-narrowing subjects that pose a challenge to constructive conflict resolution. This workshop examines several aspects of each regional conflict, and leverages the good relationships built over the last several years among core RSSC SG participants to push original conflict resolution ideas farther. Some of these ideas have been voiced in earlier workshops. Some of the recommendations proposed by the RSSC SG have also been put in practice in the region. The co-chairs want to take advantage of this fragile momentum in regional stability in the South Caucasus to produce further realistic recommendations that are both creative as well as practical.

As the region's premier track-two diplomacy platform, the RSSC SG remains an essential tool to test out new ideas about conflict management and resolution, expert-networks building, and generally moving the region forward towards peace and regional stability. For this 20<sup>th</sup> workshop, the co-chairs have invited speakers to describe existing peace proposals or elicit original ones, to be debated and developed by the rest of the participants. Some proposals or solutions may have been used to great effect in historical contexts outside of the South Caucasus. The intent is to propel and support thinking "out of the box" in providing concrete and constructive temporary or permanent solutions that will be perhaps contemplated by the decision makers in the region. It is therefore with great pride and anticipation that we invite you to join us at the 20<sup>th</sup> workshop of the RSSC SG, entitled **"Concrete Steps to Break the Deadlocks in the South Caucasus"** to be held in Reichenau/Rax, Austria, 07-10 November 2019.

## **Partners**

- Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna
- Directorate General for Security Policy, Austrian Ministry of Defence, Vienna
- Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes, Garmisch-Partenkirchen
- Dialogue of Civilizations' Research Institute, Berlin
- European Geopolitical Forum, Brussels
- Security Governance Group, Kitchener, Ontario

## **Topic Outline**

The aim of this workshop is to achieve a series of constructive and concrete roadmaps for each of the major unresolved conflicts in the South Caucasus. These roadmaps will constitute the bulk of this workshop's policy recommendations. Interactive discussions, which we hope will be substantial, may be devoted to exploring particular aspects of a conflict, especially those aspects – such as the commitment to the non-use of force – that may be common to all conflicts in the region. Presentations, therefore, should be original thought experiments that propel thinking forward, including for those experts who will be asked to produce descriptions of workable historical models. This should greatly assist all participants during interactive and breakout group discussions.

It is not the first time that we have attempted this at the RSSC SG. The co-chairs and organisers have noticed that when experts speak about the ingredients for regional stability, they usually speak exclusively of what the *opposing* side must do. We would like to use another tack this time around. We will ask speakers from the region to concentrate on what outcomes and conditions – in their opinion – are required to break the current deadlocks in moving towards peace and regional stability. The co-chairs wish to start from operational conditions to reverse engineer the processes required to achieve this outcome during interactive and breakout group discussions. Speakers from a given country are asked not to produce papers that imperatively determine what other countries' (or international organizations) should do. We would hope, on the contrary, that incentives and a form of distribution of responsibilities might emerge from discussions during the workshop.

The co-chairs are proposing ideas here to spur thinking among invited speakers; can the experience of the relations between East and West Germany, or between Germany and France over the European Coal and Steel Community or other similar parcelling out of sovereignty be useful? Could we revisit previous solutions proposed by the RSSC SG to generate spill-over effects in the region, such as the workshops on energy security or those addressing the role of the media in conflict resolution? What are the solutions suggested by impartial participants to the peace process? Are the Madrid Principles dead? What other forms of autonomy simultaneously respectful of national aspirations can be reconciled with the concept of territorial integrity? Can “progressive (or temporary) autonomy” be considered? Should international legal constructs be redefined to account for different forms of statehoods? Could regional economic integration support the de-politicization of autonomous governance and territorial integrity? What would it take to overcome the post-Soviet legacy in terms of borders and regional integration? What temporary methods for achieving regional stability would be recommended until a new European order was built? We want to emphasize that these prompts are not aimed at constraining out of the box thinking in any way. On the contrary, they are designed to trigger positive, constructive, compromise-oriented dialogue among speakers and presenters. They are not indicative of any national policy nor are they prescriptions. For all the co-chairs know, they could also offer indications on what solutions cannot be pursued. That, too, is useful information in our quest for peace.

### **PANEL 1: Contemporary and Historical Examples**

There have been, of living memory, examples where ambivalent statuses have not been fully recognized (or achieved), and yet, relatively harmonious relations were nevertheless maintained so as to permit the accomplishment of individual rights. This panel will seek to explore those methods, and also seek the advice of actors from outside the region as to what they would recommend for the South Caucasus. Speakers are encouraged to expand on recent peace proposals.

### **PANEL 2: Scenarios for Conflict Resolution for Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia**

This panel seeks to renew the discourse on conflict resolution for each of the conflicts from the titular nations' point of view. We remind the speakers and participants that the aim is not to inform what the sides must do, but rather to describe the conditions or possible "carrots" that are required to move forward. Speakers are encouraged to address issues such as the non-use of force, confidence-building measures, the return of internally-displaced persons, peacekeeping force deployments, peace-building initiatives, scenarios planning, overcoming the legacies from the past, etc.

### **PANEL 3: Scenarios for Settling the Status of Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh**

As with panel 2 above, this panel should examine similar issues but from their point of view. Speakers in this panel are also encouraged to think of ways to conceive of issues pertaining to relative autonomy, short of nationhood. As they explore potential solutions, they may revisit peace proposals that have recently been made, and illustrate what would make those proposals more attractive. This may include novel conceptions of shared geographical and political space, shared autonomy, constitutional renewal and the like. In all cases, attention should be focused on producing outcomes that can withstand the test of the rule of law at national and international levels.

### **BREAKOUT GROUPS:**

As always, co-chairs and impartial participants will be on hand to moderate and move the discussion forward. We should like to see two breakout groups, one for the Western South Caucasus zone and one for the Eastern South Caucasus zone.

# Programme

## Thursday, 07 November 2019

till 18.30 Arrival of the participants

19.00 **Words of Welcome**

Andreas F. WANNEMACHER, Directorate General for Security Policy, Austrian Ministry of Defence, Vienna

**Official Dinner**

## Friday, 08 November 2019

07.00 – 09.00 Breakfast

09.00 – 09.30 **Introduction to the Study Group “Regional Stability in the South Caucasus” and Administrative Remarks**

Benedikt HENSELLEK, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna

09.30 – 10.00 **Opening Statements**

LTG Erich CSITKOVITS, Commandant, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna

10.00 – 11.30 **PANEL 1: Contemporary and Historical Examples**

**Chair:** Hans LAMPALZER, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna

Michael SCHMUNK, German Foreign Office (rtd.), Hamburg

Andrei RUSAKOVICH, Minsk University

Michael CECIRE, Eurasia Democratic Security Network, Washington, DC

Tomáš HOCH, University of Ostrava

11.30 – 12.00 Coffee Break

12.00 – 13.30 **PANEL 2:**  
**Scenarios for Conflict Resolution for Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia**

**Chair:** George NICULESCU, European Geopolitical Forum, Brussels

Stepan GRIGORIAN, Analytical Centre on Globalization and Regional Cooperation (ACGRC), Yerevan

Nilufer NARLI, Baceschir University, Istanbul

Olga DOROKHINA, Caucasus International University, Tbilisi

Elkhan NURIYEV, Centre for East European and International Studies, Berlin

13.30 – 14.30 Lunch

14.30 – 16.00 **PANEL 3: Scenarios for Settling the Status of Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh**

**Chair:** Frederic LABARRE, Security Governance Group, Kitchener

Georgi TURAVA, Federal Georgian National-Cultural Autonomy in Russia, Moscow

Hratchya ARZUMANYAN, “Ashkhar” Center for Strategic Studies, Stepanakert/Khankendi

Vagif JAHANGIROV, Baku

Laura TANIYA, Sukhum/Sukhumi

16.00 – 16.30 Coffee Break

16.30 – 18.00 **Interactive Discussion**

**Moderation:**

Elena MANDALENAKIS, McGill University, Montreal

## Saturday, 09 November 2019

07.00 – 08.30 Breakfast

### 08.30 – 10.30 **BREAKOUT GROUPS**

#### **Group Edison**

Moderator: Frederic LABARRE, Security Governance Group, Kitchener

Rapporteur: Elena MANDALENAKIS, McGill University, Montreal

#### **Group Da Vinci**

Moderator: George NICULESCU, European Geopolitical Forum, Brussels

Rapporteur: Hasmik GRIGORYAN, Analytical Centre on Globalization and Regional Cooperation (ACGRC), Yerevan

10.30 – 10.45 Coffee Break

### 10.45 – 11.15 **BREAKOUT GROUPS: Rapporteurs' presentations**

Edison Group: Elena MANDALENAKIS, McGill University, Montreal

Da Vinci Group: Hasmik GRIGORYAN, ACGRC, Yerevan

### 11.15 – 12.15 **Interactive discussion – Policy Recommendation Formulation**

#### **Moderation:**

Frederic LABARRE, Security Governance Group, Kitchener

### 12.15 – 12.30 **Official Closing Remarks**

#### **Moderation:**

George NICULESCU, European Geopolitical Forum, Brussels

Frederic LABARRE, Security Governance Group, Kitchener

12.30 Lunch

13.00 **Departure to the Side Programme/Individual Departures**

## Sunday, 10 November 2019

**Individual Departures**