

What a ‘New European Security Deal’ Could Mean for the South Caucasus

**17th Workshop of the “Regional Stability in the South Caucasus Study Group”,
Minsk, 18-20 April 2018**

Why this topic now? For what purpose?

In November 2014, the Policy Recommendations of RSSC SG10 on “Towards Europe?! Straddling Fault Lines and Choosing Sides in the South Caucasus” suggested that the international community should consider creating a new security architecture for the South Caucasus (SC).

The main thrust of such potential changes should aim at increasing the consistency of the regional security architecture built upon the “Paris Charter for a New Europe”, and described by the Inter-locking institutions charter, with the evolving post-Cold War realities: the emergence of the European Union; the break-up of the USSR, and of Yugoslavia and the ensuing management of unresolved conflicts; NATO and EU enlargements and their evolving partnerships with former Soviet and Balkan states; the attempts at re-integration within the former Soviet space: emergence of the CSTO, CIS, the Eurasian Economic Union; regional cooperation initiatives: the Vishegrad Group, various South Eastern European cooperation initiatives, Black Sea Economic Cooperation, etc.

Given the increased urgency of addressing such a critical topic within the deteriorating strategic context of the EU’s Eastern Neighbourhood, we thought that it might be timely to consider the need and feasibility of a “New Deal” on European security, and the role of the South Caucasus therein. Such a “New Deal” would govern Trans-Atlantic, European, and Eurasian relations within the context of a new European order resulting from a peaceful transformation process.

This workshop has two purposes:

- 1) lead the representatives of the SC to better consider the role of their region as a unified force to help shape security outcomes that matter to them.
- 2) consider developing an outline for a new workable agreement over European security, based upon a review of the reasons for failure of past attempts, and an assessment of potential implications for the SC region.

PANEL 1: Assessments and Diagnoses on European Security and Regional Stability in the South Caucasus

Speakers are invited to assess the changes in European security since the end of the Cold War, and to diagnose the status and the dynamics of regional stability. The discussion in this panel should focus on: the diverging perspectives in the West and in Russia over the implementation of the existing vs. developing new legal frameworks; the divisive interpretations of key security processes in Europe and in the South Caucasus, and of their impact on regional powers' interests and policies; the misunderstandings regarding the goals and the roles of newer (i.e. Eurasian Economic Union and the Collective Security Treaty Organizations) vs. older players (i.e. the OSCE, NATO and the European Union); the new security threats and challenges (terrorism, WMD, illegal immigration, cyber, hybrid) and how they could be tackled more effectively. The general aim of this panel is to identify the ensuing gaps between Western and Russian understandings and visions of the changes of European security over the last 25+ years, with due emphasis on the South Caucasus regional stability.

Key questions

- How did the European security change since the end of the Cold War (the big picture, with magnifying views on the South Caucasus)?
- How did the post-Cold War legal and institutional frameworks keep up with the ongoing structural changes of the power relations in Europe, and in the world?
- How can the political weight of the European states and institutions (EU, NATO, OSCE, EEU, CSTO) be assessed in a strategic era where power finds new definitions?
- What are the merits and the downsides of past proposals to reform the European security frameworks?
- What other realistic ideas to re-build/fix the European security order could be put on the table?
- How to further stimulate the resumption of a consistent and coherent European security dialogue?

Keynote speech: Peter SCHULZE, Dialogue of Civilizations Research Institute, Berlin on “A New European Security Model” and Interactive Discussion

It is now high time to attempt putting together the outcomes of our discussion during today’s three panels. To have them resumed in several statements and questions:

-we are facing a contested European order which endangers regional stability across the continent.

- the SC region, as an integral part of the older European order, is significantly affected by the current confrontation between Russia and the West.

- are we currently facing a new Cold War (as the Council on Foreign Relations concluded in a Special Report on “Containing Russia. How to Respond to Moscow’s Intervention in U.S. Democracy and Growing Geopolitical Challenge”, issued in January 2018)?

- or is the current confrontation between the West and Russia rather a “Hybrid War”- that is a new asymmetrical confrontation that features political adversity and mutual moral rejection, economic restrictions, intense information warfare, and cyber and other forms of sabotage (as suggested by D. Trenin in “Avoiding U.S.-Russia Military Escalation During the Hybrid War,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in January 2018)?

- or is it just a Western delusion and a hidden start-up of a new hegemonic war aiming to maintain “a *balance of military, political, economic, and moral power [that] has shifted too far away from the West to be reversed*” (as seen by Sergey Karaganov in a March 2018 op-ed called “The West’s Unilateral Cold War” on the Project Syndicate website)?

Irrespective of how we see the **current crisis in Western-Russian relations**, this could only come to an end by agreeing upon a new European security model, hopefully reflecting a ‘new European security deal’. Such a new model should re-balance the international system at both global and regional (European) levels, and should reintroduce predictability in international relations by means of new international law or other political, economic or military tools.

Several writers on both sides have proposed their views on how this new European security model might look like, and on how it may be developed and put to work. You might have seen the recommended readings by Brookings Institute’s Michael O’Hanlon, and Carnegie Endowment’s Dimitri Trenin, that we circulated to all of you under the heading: examples of a ‘new European security deal’. Right now, we’ll have the pleasure to listen to the views of Dr. Peter Schulze from the Dialogue of Civilizations Research Institute in Berlin on this essential topic. We could afterwards continue our interactive discussion on issues, such as:

- Is a “New Deal” on European security necessary today? How could it look like?
- What would be the potential benefits, costs and risks of such a “New Deal” for the SC?
- Should regional powers decide behind the other European states’ back? Should regional powers jointly guarantee the indivisibility of European security?

**Guidelines for the Breakout Group “Malta” on:
“Making a New European Security Deal Possible”**

Minsk, 20 April 2018, 08:30- 10:00

Purpose: To consider the feasibility of a “New Deal” on European security, and the role of the South Caucasus therein. Such a “New Deal” should govern Trans-Atlantic, European, and Eurasian relations within the context of a new European order resulting from a peaceful transformation process.

Why “Malta Group”?

A summit meeting of U.S. President George W. Bush and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev took place on December 2–3, 1989, on warships anchored at Malta, in the Mediterranean. Most historians consider the Malta summit as the key historical event that triggered the end of the Cold War, and the shift to the post-Cold War era.

Your Task is to suggest policy recommendations on how to promote a “New Deal” on European security that would meet the common interests of all SC international actors, and help them deal with their individual or regional security challenges, by means of a SWOT analysis on the prospects for the US-Russia relationship evolving towards a potential trigger/enabler of such a “New Deal”.

General Questions:

-What are the pros and cons for the US-Russia relationship becoming a potential trigger/enabler of a “New Deal” on European Security? What are the ensuing opportunities and threats?

- What would be the potential benefits, costs and risks of such a “New Deal” for the South Caucasus?

- Should the US and Russia decide behind the other European states’ back? Should they jointly guarantee the indivisibility of European security?

Please DON’T:

- discuss the sensitive parts of the political solution to particular conflicts (e.g. status or territorial issues);
- assess/blame the external and security policies of other regional, or external actors.
- take an emotional stance against specific events or processes going on in European, Eurasian, or global security. Please focus on rational solutions to the given task.

