The European security order is in crisis. Its institutional structure has become fragile. Conflict and disagreements between Russia and other European and Western states are undermining the capacity of major European security organisations, such as the OSCE and the Council of Europe, to take action. None of the sides has revoked the basic post-Cold War security treaties and arrangements, such as the Charter of Paris or the NATO-Russia Founding Act. However, their content and the principles they have enshrine for a common European peace and security order have become contentious.

Tensions have been building up at the regional level since the early 2000s. In 2008 and most profoundly in 2014, violent conflict returned to Europe; broader military confrontation can no longer be ruled out entirely. At the same time the transatlantic and international context of European security is also in flux. Crumbling international arms control regimes have further increased the risk of an arms build-up and confrontation in Europe. Information warfare as well as hybrid attacks and threats are contributing to internal and transnational polarisation of societies, thereby undermining the very foundation of a peaceful European order.

Russia and the EU disagree on the root causes of the current crisis, as well as on possible solutions. Many in Russia feel that Western policy has not taken Russian security interests into account sufficiently over the past 30 years. On the contrary, Western actors, according to this view, have been aiming to establish a security order which excludes Russia. From this perspective, an improvement in relations requires an overhauled Euro-Atlantic security system that is based on the principle of the indivisibility of security. This also implies at the very least a reinterpretation of the existing legal documents (Helsinki 2 debate). In the EU, on the other hand, the Charter of Paris remains the foundation to preserve peace and stability in Europe together with standards and values jointly shared in the CoE context. From this perspective, Russia’s aggressive policy is the root cause of the crisis, including Russia’s claim for a sphere of privileged interest in its neighbourhood. This especially holds for Russian policies and actions vis-à-vis Ukraine since 2014 that led to a spiral of mutual sanctions unthinkable previously. Therefore, a change in Russian policy is seen as being the key to improving the situation.

Against this background, the meeting will focus on three specific levels of European security: the institutional, the regional, and the societal. Discussions should analyse both EU and Russian perceptions and approaches to European security, and should establish the differences and explore overlaps which could serve as the basis for more constructive engagement in the future.
Thursday, 4 July 2019

12.00 - 12.30 Registration and welcome coffee

12.30 - 13.30 Internal brainstorming on recent developments (core group only)

13.30 - 14.30 Lunch

14.30 - 15.00 Welcoming remarks
Monika SIE DHIAN HO, Clingendael Institute, The Hague (TBC)
Markus EDERER, EU Ambassador to the Russian Federation, Moscow
Andrey KORTUNOV, Russian International Affairs Council, Moscow

15.00 - 17.00 Opening Plenary: The EU, Russia, and European Security – Past, present and future

What are the main challenges to peace and security in Europe as seen by Moscow and Brussels?
"Colored revolutions" and "hybrid attacks" - symptoms of a more profound systemic conflict or root cause for trust lost?
What are the EU’s and Russia’s main priorities regarding European Security? What solutions do they propose to the current challenges? Where are Russian and EU positions irreconcilable, where do they overlap? Is there space for cooperation, and if so, in which areas?

Speakers
Alexander GRUSHKO, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow (TBC)
Thomas MAYR-HARTING, European External Action Service, Brussels
Andrey KORTUNOV, Russian International Affairs Council, Moscow

Chair: Sabine FISCHER, Public Diplomacy. EU and Russia, Moscow/SWP, Berlin

17.00 - 17.30 Coffee break
18.30 - 20.00 Public event: The EU and Russia in an international rules-based order

Speakers
Markus EDERER, EU Ambassador to the Russian Federation, Moscow
Marieke DE HOON, Amsterdam University (TBC)
Tatiana ROMANOVA, St. Petersburg State University
Mark ENTIN, MGIMO, Moscow (TBC)

Chair: Rem KORTEWEG, Clingendael Institute, The Hague

20.30 Dinner

Friday, 5 July 2019

09.00 - 11.00 Parallel Workshops

11.00 - 11.30 Coffee break

11.30 - 12.30 Continuation of workshops

12.30 - 13.30 Lunch

13.30 - 15.00 Concluding plenary: Conclusions from workshops
(plus concluding brainstorming)

15.00 End of meeting

Workshop 1: The institutional level

In the optimistic 1990s, existing European security institutions were developed further in order to build the foundation of the post-Cold War European security order. The CSCE transformed into the OSCE on the basis of the Charter of Paris for a New Europe. Most former Socialist and post-Soviet states joined the Council of Europe. The Russia-NATO Founding Act was concluded in 1996 as a basis for cooperation. The EU, EU Member States and Russia were deeply involved in these processes. This included addressing the security aspects when developing their bilateral relationship. The post-Cold War European security order already started to show signs of wear in the 2000s. Events in Ukraine in 2014 finally plunged it into a deep crisis. While security threats continue to grow in Europe and beyond, the existing institutions have not regained their capacity to take action and new institutions have not emerged. Cracks in the transatlantic relationship and
a new ice age in Russian-American relations have added to the volatility of the situation. The workshop will tackle the following questions:
- How do the EU and Russia perceive European security institutions today? How do they perceive their own role and policies within European security institutions/structures?
- Which institutions, in their own respective views, have the most potential to solve the current crisis? How can trust be rebuilt in times of hybrid threats?
- Where could Russia and the EU cooperate to mitigate the current crisis and strengthen European security institutions?
- What role does the US play in the European security order – and what role is it likely to play in the future?

Speakers
Valery GARBUZOV, ISKRAN, Russia
Olga OLIKER, International Crisis Group, Brussels
Jana PUGLIERIN, German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin

Moderators
Kadri LIIK, ECFR, Berlin
Larisa DERIGLASOVA, University of Tomsk

Workshop 2: The subregional level
Tensions have been building up in several regional theatres in Europe. The Baltic Sea region has seen an increase of military activity and the Black Sea region boasts several unresolved conflicts, including the war in Donbas. The Kerch incident in November 2018 demonstrated yet again the volatility of the situation in this region. In contrast, the Arctic stands out as an area where geostrategic conflict has not (yet?) taken root. However, key actors have become more active there and it seems likely that tensions will rise in the future. The workshop will address the following questions:
- What are EU and Russian perceptions and priorities regarding developments in the regional theatres under discussion?
- What steps should be taken to decrease tensions in the Baltics and the Black Sea region?
- What measures should be taken to prevent the Arctic region from turning into a new area of conflict?

Speakers:
Andrey ZAGORSKI, Primakov Institute for World Economy and International Relations RAN, Moscow
Kristi RAIK, ICDS, Tallinn
Tony VAN DER TOGT, Clingendael Institute, The Hague

Moderators:
Natalia VIAKHIREVA, Russian International Affairs Council, Moscow
Laure DELCOUR, IRIS, Paris
Workshop 3: The societal level
In the age of hybrid attacks, fake news, information and cyberwar, societies are subject to rapid polarisation, both internally and transnationally. Particularly in Western democracies, this fundamentally affects political institutions, parties and public trust in election results or the media. Societies across Europe increasingly exist in separate and isolated information spaces and echo chambers. Perceptions are drifting apart and narratives have become irreconcilable, thereby undermining the very idea of a common European space, including in the area of security. The shared ambition to conduct facts based and honest debates and to search for compromise is increasingly being submerged by divisive and nationalistic narratives meant to please specific audiences. The workshop will focus on the following questions:
- How do the processes described above affect societies in Russia and the EU? How have they impacted on societal coherence over the past years? What role does the state (and in the EU: the EU) as well as state-society-relations play in this regard? What are the prospects for societal coherence in the short and medium term?
- How have relations between societies evolved in times of political crisis in relations between the EU and Russia? What are the implications of their development for coherence, stability and peace in Europe?
- How can trust be (re)built and coherence be forged within and between societies across Europe?

Speakers
Ivan TIMOFEEV, RIAC, Moscow
Hanna SMITH, Hybrid CoE, Helsinki
Maria SHTEYNMAN, Higher School of Economics, Moscow

Moderators
Rem KORTEWEG, Clingendael Institute, The Hague
Nataliya MARKUSHINA, St. Petersburg State University