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Between «Realpolitik» and Co-operative Security; the Rules-based Security Order in Europe

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Outline

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- The path to the crisis – different narratives
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Challenges at the outset

- Consensus on European security as a common project based on the Helsinki Final Act (1975) and according to the Charter of Paris (1990) has eroded.
- Braking commitments, principles and taboos has become the rule of the day and the loss of trust leads to dangerous dynamics in tense and conflict-prone situations.
- Rebuilding trust has to overcome the dilemma of «ethics of principles» versus «ethics of responsibility» (Max Weber) – putting human security at the core of our concerns.
- History shows, to what extent security goes beyond our national and regional borders. Thus, for Europe, co-operative security is the only sustainable «Realpolitik».

The path to the crisis – various narratives

- There is no single truth regarding the path to the crisis. Narratives differ in the West, in Russia or in the states inbetween – but also within every single state.
 - Since 2014 the crisis in and around Ukraine is an indicator of the general security crisis in Europe. We are not making progress in implementing the Minsk-agreement.
 - Since 2015 terrorism, violence and interventions of Russia, the US and others in Syria are triggering chain reactions in the Middle East in alliances reflecting patterns of the cold war.
 - Migration related to the conflict in the Middle East has increased internal political tensions in Europa.
- Accepting different narratives regarding the past is a precondition to move forward and to rebuilding trust.

OSCE/Ukraine – lessons learnt

- **Primacy of politics:** Every operation designed to build / keep peace has to be backed by a political strategy. Reciprocally, political work has to be informed by operational realities on the ground.
- **Capacities:** An operation of size and complexity of the SMM depends on strengthening the operational and planning capacities of the OSCE Conflict Prevention Centre.
- **Limits to SMM:** The SMM is capable to secure a fragile stability in the region and to mitigate the risk of escalation.
- **UN-Mission:** We need a peace keeping mission able to impose the implementation of the Minsk agreements.

We are at the end of our comfort zone

- Today's situation as the most dangerous for decades. Security in Europe is uncertain and precarious.
 - There is no accepted status quo.
 - Russia, the US, Turkey and others are neglecting international security frameworks for the sake of national interests.
 - The EU as well as its' MS are internally weakened politically.
- We are losing fundamental values and principles developed in Europe since the age of enlightenment.
 - Pluralism, freedom of speech and criticism within countries...
 - Democratic debates on interests and values...
 - Sovereignty of states, rule of law...
- We are also losing scope for humanitarian action.

Where to go from here?

- For the coming years there may be no chance for progress on the normative level.
- Nevertheless, the particular framework of the OSCE offers many paths to contribute to peace and stability in Europe:
 - Dialogue is the essence of the OSCE. The Structured Dialogue in capitals format contributes to rebuilding trust and to put security and co-operation on a more stable basis.
 - Military-to-military contacts reduce the risks of military accidents that could lead to an unintended escalation of violence.
- A complete implementation of the Minsk agreements will be a turning point – for the Ukraine and beyond.

A new start for Ukraine

- The implementation of the Minsk Agreements will be the starting point for the development of a sustainable political, military and economic settlement of the crisis in and around Ukraine including human rights issues.
 - UN-Mission to strengthen stability in the region
 - Massive demining in the interest of human security
 - Addressing the risks of flooded coal-mines in Eastern Ukraine and thus contributing to environmental security
 - A strong role for the OSCE including humanitarian aid and support for economic connectivity in the whole region
- Human security and the normalization of peoples lives on the ground have to be our core concern.

Europe at a turning point

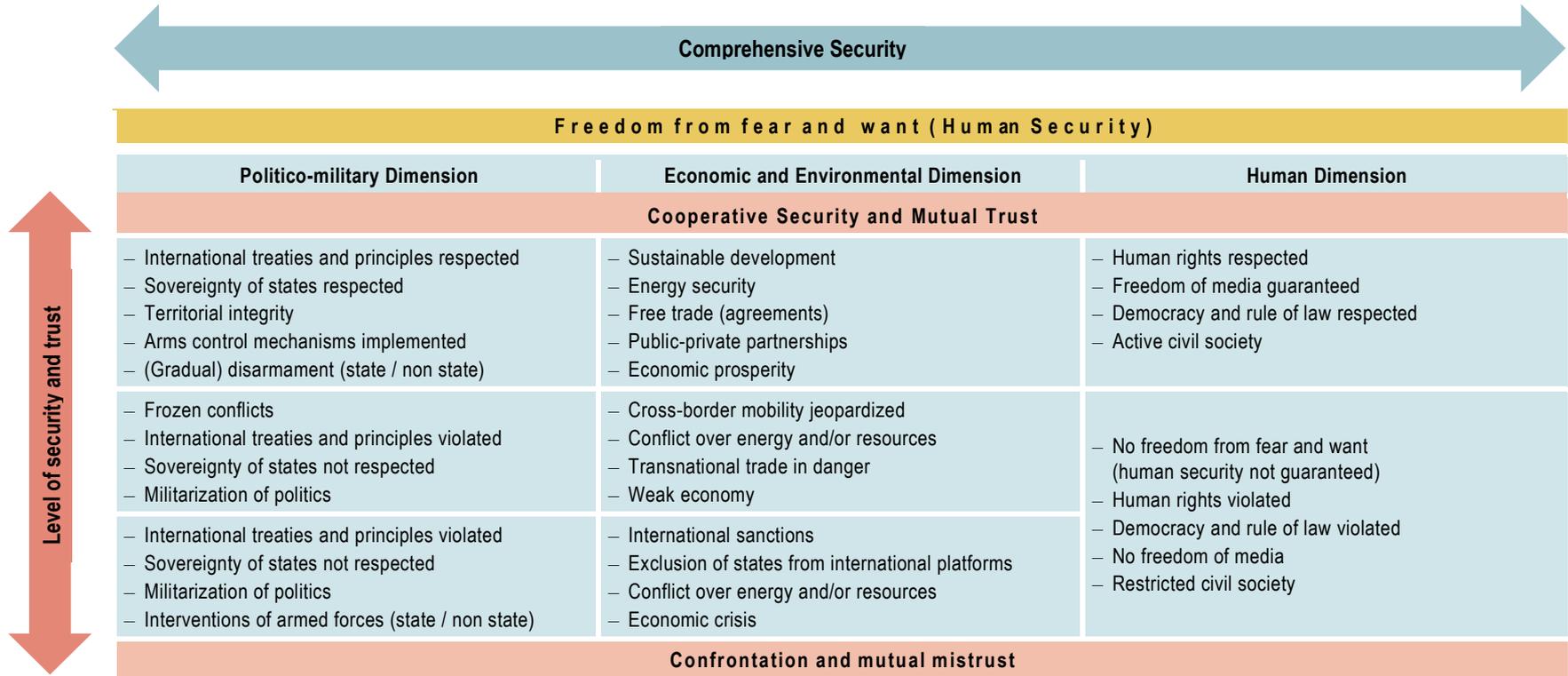
- The notion of «countries in between» does no longer apply solely for countries between Russia and the EU – but for whole Europe between USA and Russia.
- We have homework to do in Europe!
 - Strengthening the awareness of our fundamental values
 - Fostering the links between foreign and domestic policies
 - Overcoming the European paralysis with one strong voice
 - Working towards an EU as a federal state
- The conflicts in the Middle East and the migration crisis show to what extent our own security is impacted by crises beyond Europe.

Yes we can!

- Also today, there are positive examples of conflict mitigation and solution in the region. Success stories 2017:
 - Conflict settlement in Moldavia
 - Prevention of a crises in Macedonia
 - Positive developments in Uzbekistan
 - Exchange of prisoners in the Ukraine
 - Military-to-military contacts avoiding accidents and incidents
 - OSCE Structured Dialogue / mapping process
 - Appointments of senior OSCE functions / budget for SMM
- The Structured Dialogue is a start and hopefully leads to an next phase where tangible results can be achieved.
 - Updating the OSCE 2011 Vienna Document
 - Addressing the security status of countries where contested
 - Disentangling the question of protracted conflicts

Security Matrix as a comprehensive framework

- A comprehensive security approach offers many opportunities to work towards stability and peace.



Questions to the panel (I)

- *Some states in the OSCE region have moved to the definition of interest based on geopolitical advantages thus weakening regional security arrangements and institutions. How is cooperative security to be pursued in a world of a multiplicity of powers of widely varying capabilities and geopolitical interests?*
- ➔ Geopolitics is always an equation of politico-military, economic and normative interests. Today politico-military interests are predominant in Russia, the US and in other states.
- ➔ Cooperative and comprehensive security is the only way to cope with a multiplicity of powers and geopolitical interests.
- ➔ For the coming years there may be no chance for progress on the normative level. We have to concentrate on: Dialogue and de-escalation / military-to-military contacts / implementation of Minsk / working together on issues of common interests.

Questions to the panel (II)

- *At global level, we are facing more explicit geopolitical competition and increased risk of conflict. This is also manifested in the challenges to established international norms, institutions, alliances and regimes. How can the international rules-based order find a way to accommodate different political systems to ensure peace and prosperity?*
- ➔ We have to accept different narratives regarding the past.
- ➔ The Structured Dialogue may lead to a second phase where tangible results can be achieved.
- ➔ Rebuilding trust has to overcome the dilemma of «ethics of principles» versus «ethics of responsibility» (Max Weber) – if not by politicians so at least on the diplomatic level.

Outlook in a nutshell

- Europe is at a turning point. We are losing fundamental values developed since the age of enlightenment.
- For the coming years there may be no progress on the normative level. Nevertheless, the cooperative and comprehensive security framework of the OSCE offers opportunities for dialogue, military-to-military contacts as well as action on the ground in view of increasing human security.
- The EU has to develop into a federal state to become a truly global actor defending our values.
- The Middle East needs an «Organization for Security and Cooperation in the Middle East» breaking up cold war alliances and including a dialogue of Israel and Iran.