

NAVIGATING THE GEOPOLITICAL TURNING POINT

Foresight Workshop on the Future of the War in Ukraine and the Upcoming (In)Security Order of the Black Sea Region

Wednesday 4th – Friday 6th MAY 2022
Protestant Academy Loccum (Northern Germany)

Russia's invasion of Ukraine signifies a major turning point. While it was clear to many observers that Europe's security architecture has become brittle in recent years and that the territorial conflicts in the Post-Soviet space posed a considerable escalatory risk, the very high degree of military aggression with alarming numbers of civilian casualties we daily witness in Ukraine is nevertheless a shock for most experts. Swift reassessments of security and foreign policy priorities are now underway in many European capitals. This transformative geopolitical process is in full flight, although bumpy and wobbling in some countries – especially in Germany!

The aim of this foresight workshop is to analyze major trends and developments that currently shape the war as well as the larger conflict and to extrapolate contrasting scenarios about the future which then might provide orientation and indicators for potential policy options.

The war of aggression in Ukraine has many consequences (for example, for the NATO or for the Scandinavian countries). But when focusing in particular on Eastern Europe and the Post-Soviet Black Sea region there are at least four interrelated policy-questions that promise to have high relevance in the medium term future:

- What are realistic avenues to work towards an end of the current war?
- What place for Ukraine in the upcoming European (in)security architecture?
- How to avoid regional spillovers and assure that other countries in the Post-Soviet Black Sea region – namely Moldova and Georgia – are not drawn into the military conflict and have instead a solid place in the future European order?
- How to contain successfully and enduringly the Kremlin's aggression without further cutting ties to the Russian civil society and without risking large-scale escalation?

This foresight workshop will bring together experts from EU countries (especially from the Weimar Triangle Countries – France, Poland, and Germany) as well as from Ukraine, Moldova, and Georgia.

To allow a free exchange of thoughts, the conference is a non-record, off-camera event and is strictly following the Chatham House rules. The working language is English (If demanded, we will provide German-English Translation in a whisper interpretation mode).

We have planned this conference quite a while but given the sad dynamic, it was difficult to take concrete steps. However, in early May 2022 it seems possible to have such a foresight event.

Originally, we planned to have also some liberal Russian voices present on the conference. But given the harsh suppression, this has become more and more difficult – although we continue to try.

Once the list of invitees is completed, we will ask participants whether they stand ready to give brief kick-off inputs at the different sections of the conference (see draft program)

List of Invitees

Vano Chkhikvadze Open Society Georgia Foundation, Tbilisi (confirmed)

Rémi Duflot	Deputy Head, The Delegation of the European Union to Ukraine, Brussels/Kyiv (prel. confirmed)
Christine Dugoin	Centre d'Analyse de la Politique Etrangère (CAPE), Paris (invited)
Sabine Fischer	Senior Fellow, Research Division „Eastern Europe & Eurasia“, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin (prel. confirmed)
Jean P. Froehly	Head, Department „Ukraine, Moldova and Black Sea Cooperation“, German Foreign Office, Berlin (confirmed)
Andreas Heinemann-Grüder	Adjutant Professor and Senior Research, Bonn International Centre for Conflict Studies (BICC), Bonn (confirmed)
Oskana Huss	Bottom-Up Initiatives and Anti-Corruption Technologies (BIT-ACT), University of Bologna (confirmed)
Winfried Jilge	Mediation Advisor Ukraine, Project “Strengthening of Mediation Capacities”, Center for International Peace Operations (ZIF), Berlin (confirmed)
Nikolas Keßels	Senior Manager External Economic Policy, BDI (Bund Deutscher Industrie), Berlin (confirmed)
Maxim Kruschwitz	Conference and Project Assistant, Center for International Peace Operations, Berlin (confirmed)
Wojciech Lorenz	Analyst at the International Security Program, The Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM), Warsaw (confirmed)
Ljudmyla Melnyk	Research Associate, Institut für Europäische Politik, Berlin (confirmed)
Thomas Müller-Färber	Program Director, International and Security Affairs, Protestant Academy Loccum (confirmed)
Mattia Nelles	GIZ (German Corporation for International Cooperation), Kyiv/Düsseldorf (confirmed)
Inna Nelles	Reform UkrOboronProms, Kyiv/Düsseldorf (confirmed)
Victoria Nemerenco	Project Manager at Institute for European Policies and Reforms (IPRE), Chişinău (confirmed)
Victoria Olari	Project Coordinator, Institute for Strategic Initiatives (IPIS), Chisinau (confirmed)
Witold Rodkiewicz	Senior Fellow, Russia Department, Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW), Warsaw (invited)
Mariusz Ruszel	Professor at the Rzeszow University of Technology and President of the Ignacy Lukaszewicz Institute for Energy Policy Rzeszów (invited)
Mikheil Sarjueladze	Visting Fellow, German Institute for International and Security Affairs

Stanislav	Seceriu	Senior Analyst, EU Institute for Security Studies, Paris (confirmed)
Maria	Shagina	Diamond-Brown Research Fellow for Economic Sanctions and Visiting Senior Fellow at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs, Zurich/Helsinki (confirmed)
Iryna	Solonenko	Senior Fellow at the Center for Liberal Modernity, Kyiv/Berlin (confirmed)
Mariam	Tsitsikashvili	Project manager and Research Fellow, Georgia's Reforms Associates, Tbilisi (confirmed)
Andreas	Umland	Analyst, Stockholm Centre for Eastern European Studies (SCEEUS) at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Associate Professor at the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy, Kyiv (confirmed)
Viola	von Cramon	MdEP (the Greens/European Free Alliance) Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Vice-Chair of the Delegation of the EU-Ukraine Parliamentary Association Committee, Brussels/Göttingen (confirmed)
Christian	von Soest	Head, Research Group „Peace and Security“, GIGA (German Institute for Global and Area Studies), Hamburg (confirmed)
Mariia	Zolkina	Political Analyst, Public Opinion Researcher, Expert on Donbas-related issues, Former Member of the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation, Wasaw/Kyiv (confirmed)

THIS CONFERENCE IS FUNDED BY:



Corvinus-Stiftung



DAY 1 WEDNESDAY 4 MAY 2022

14:30 REGISTRATION

15:00 WELCOME COFFEE & CAKE

15:30 WORDS OF WELCOME

Thomas Müller-Färber, Program Director International Affairs, Protestant Academy Loccum

15:40 **INTRODUCTORY SESSION | Recapping the Steep Geopolitical Learning Curve: What Strategic Assumptions to Keep and What to Toss?**

The war of aggression in Ukraine has put cherished certainties into question. Swift learning curves are visible within many organizations across Europe. New priorities, beliefs, and world views are spreading. This process faces resistance and necessarily goes hand in hand with the debunking of beloved assumptions. In this introduction session, we want to go jointly on a journey and reflect on how and to what degree our views and those of our co-fellows changed in recent weeks – or where and didn't. What strategic assumptions do we keep and what do we toss – and why? What did we learn and what did we already know? Where were our assessments correct? What did astonish and/or shock us – and how is the view of co-fellows on that? Apart from providing intriguing insights, this self-reflecting opening round serves as a "warm-up exercise" for the out-of-the-box thinking later needed in the scenario session.

Input statement by:

Tbc

--- followed by plenary discussion ---

16:30 Coffee & Tea Break

16:45 **EXPLORING DRIVERS OF BLACK SEA REGION'S CHANGING (IN)SECURITY ARCHITECTURE**

Before moving to the scenario session, it is important to get a clear picture about the most crucial drivers that currently shape, the war in Ukraine, the ongoing conflict with Russia, and the future of the Post-Soviet Black Sea region. In this part of the conference, we therefore will try to identify these drivers and aim to evaluate to what degree and into which direction they will influence the situation on the ground in the future.

We will discuss topic-wise five different clusters of potential drivers: (1) strategic concepts & foreign policy ideas (2) the military situation (3) economic war consequences & sanctions (4) still a chance for diplomacy? (5) the role of civil society.

Following the interactive and open logic of our workshop, we will apply the *fishbowl method* in which all participants – invited speakers as well as members of the audience – are highly welcomed to contribute to the discussion. To document the findings, we will draw in parallel to the discussion a "*driver map*" which will later serve as a starting point for the scenario development.

16:50 **EXPLORING MAJOR DRIVERS PART 1 | Strategic Concepts & Foreign Policy Ideas (Fishbowl Discussion)**

In the current debate about the conflict with Russia, the war in Ukraine, and the future situation in the Black Sea regions, we see a high-frequency circulation of different sometimes contrasting strategic concepts and foreign policy ideas: NATO extension, EU enlargement, neutrality, security guarantees, "Finlandization", systemic rivalry and imperial aggression, Cold War 2.0, restart of cooperative security in European, new concepts of containment, national security vs. regime survival ... The list of ideas and concepts is long and seems to grow constantly. Moreover, the proposals are not only relevant for Ukraine, Russia and Western Europe but also affect Georgia and Moldova. As of early May 2022, what ideas and concepts are the most relevant currently in the strategic debate and therefore likely to shape the upcoming course of the conflict?

Brief Kick-off Impulses by:

Tbc

--- followed by Intervention of Invited Speakers and Participants (fishbowl discussion) ---

18:30 DINNER

19:30 EXPLORING MAJOR DRIVERS PART 2 | The Military Situation (Fishbowl Discussion)

Putin's original plan of a swift special operation in Ukraine seems to have failed within days if not hours. While Russia has by far a superiority in terms of manpower and military hardware, the Ukraine defense against the aggression is perplexingly strong – partly because of logistical problems and limited fighting moral on the Russian side and partly due to high fighting spirit among Ukrainians and ongoing supply for Kyiv's troops by NATO weaponry. At crucial points at the front line the war seems currently to enter into a stalemate with urban battlefields at the center of the action – sadly, with terrible consequences for noncombatants. The military situation is highly dynamic with potentials of further escalation – which could also affect Georgia and/or Moldova. And at the moment it is difficult to foresee who will in the end have the upper hand. As of May 2022, what are the major trends and developments on the battlefield, and do they have the potential to shape the future development of the military theater in Ukraine and the region?

Brief Kick-off Impulses by:

Tbc

--- followed by Intervention of Invited Speakers and Participants (fishbowl discussion) ---

21:00 FINALE AND INFORMAL COME-TOGETHER

DAY 2 THURSDAY 5 MAY 2022

8:30 BREAKFAST

9:30 EXPLORING MAJOR DRIVERS PART 3 | The Economic War Consequences & Sanctions

Economic aspects – especially fossil energy including the difficult decision-making on the Nord Stream II pipeline – has been a major factor already in the run-up of the Ukrainian war. The Russian invasion has triggered a massive package of sanctions as well as some countermeasures coming from Moscow. Efforts to accelerate the reduction energy dependency from Russia are hastily taken across Europe and the de-globalization of Russia has become within a couple of weeks a tentative outcome. While it is, thus far, difficult to foresee all economic consequences of the war in Ukraine, it has nevertheless become clear that its results are tremendous and have global implications – yet its consequences are most felt in Ukraine, Russia, and the Black Sea region. Which economic developments and sanctioning trends are likely to be the most dominant factors in the future?

Brief Kick-off Impulses by:

Tbc

--- followed by Intervention of Invited Speakers and Participants (fishbowl discussion) ---

11:00 Coffee & Tea Break

11:15 EXPLORING MAJOR DRIVERS PART 4 | Still a Chance for Diplomacy?

Despite the high level of military violence and even though de-escalation diplomacy did fail in the run-up of the war, negotiation efforts are still ongoing between Russia and Ukraine. Proposals are exchanges and the possibilities of a ceasefire are discussed at different venues. Behind the scenes, diplomatic interventions from the US, Turkey, Israel, France, and other European countries are undertaken. And while it is currently uncertain whether there is enough willingness to find a solution at the negotiation table, think-tankers and foreign policy intellectuals across the globe ponder about potential negotiation solutions. What are the patterns, actors, formulas, proposals, venues, and forums within the diplomatic process on the Ukraine war that are most dominant in May 2022 and therefore likely to shape the future of the conflict?

Brief Kick-off Impulses by:

Tbc

--- followed by Intervention of Invited Speakers and Participants (fishbowl discussion) ---

12:30 LUNCH

14:00 EXPLORING MAJOR DRIVERS PART 5 | The Role of the Civil Societies

Civil society plays a key role in the conflict. In Ukraine as they form a completely underestimate resource of resistance to the Russian aggression. In Western European countries (in particular in Germany) where the civil society shows mixed results between full-hearted solidarity with Ukraine on the one hand and reluctant acknowledgement for the upcoming era of confrontation on the other hand. In Russia where high Western expectations for large-scale civil protests against the Kremlin's course were disappointed – partly because of harsh suppression and partly because of mindsets boosted by government-related media outlets, shared by ordinary Russians. And in Moldova and Georgia, civil society actors' express solidarity with Ukraine but also fear growing instability. What are the major drivers in the narratives and actions of the affected civil society in the concerned countries?

Brief Kick-off Impulses by:

Tbc

--- followed by Intervention of Invited Speakers and Participants (fishbowl discussion) ---

15:30 Coffee & Cake

FORESIGHT WORKSHOP: The War in Ukraine and the Future of the Black Sea Region

16:00 PLENARY | Introduction & Constitution of Scenario Working Groups

16:10 BREAKOUT SESSION | Looking into the Future: Development of Contrasting Scenarios

Dark Sky Scenario Group Version 1

Blue Sky Scenario Group Version 1

	Dark Sky Scenario Group Version 2	Blue Sky Scenario Group Version 2
17:15	COFFEE & TEA BREAK	
17:30	BREAKOUT SESSION Scenario Development in Parallel Working Groups continues	
18:30	DINNER	
19:30	PLENARY Presentation of the Scenarios & Discussion	
	--- Followed by Plenary Discussion ---	
20:30	FINALE AND INFORMAL COME-TOGETHER	

DAY 3 FRIDAY 6 MAY 2022

8:30	BREAKFAST
9:30	BREAKOUT SESSION Road-Mapping Workshop: How to Move Away from <i>Dark Sky</i> and towards <i>Blue Sky</i> ? – Policy Proposals (<i>World Café Method</i>)
	<i>Forum I: What are realistic avenues to work towards an end of the current war?</i>
	<i>Forum II: What place for Ukraine in the upcoming European (in)security architecture?</i>
	<i>Forum III: How to contain successfully and enduringly the Kremlin's aggression without further cutting ties to the Russian civil society and without risking large-scale escalation?</i>
	<i>Forum IV: How to avoid regional spillovers and assure that other countries in the Post-Soviet Black Sea region – namely Moldova and Georgia – are not drawn into the military conflict and have instead a solid place in the future European order?</i>
11:00	COFFEE & TEA BREAK
11:15	PLENARY SESSION Presentation & Discussion of Workshop Results
12:30	GOODBYE LUNCH
13:20	DEPARTURE Shuttle Service to Wunstorf Train Station & Hannover Airport (HAJ)

This is a preview program and as such may be subject to change

Inquiries about the program to: Dr. Thomas Müller-Färber, Program Director
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FORMAT:

Conferences at the Protestant Academy Loccum, founded 1946 as the Protestant Church's contribution to the Germany's denazification and democratization effort after World War II, provide forums for open-minded discussions on urgent and pressing issues. They endeavor to establish dialogues between actors from different fields and backgrounds with the intention to provide impetus to "think out of the box". The Protestant Academy Loccum hosts meetings over 48 hours/two nights for between 60 to 80 participants and is open to those with the expertise to share or an interest in the subject. To allow a free exchange of thoughts, simultaneous translation will be provided throughout the conference (English ↔ German). The conference is off-camera and off-record and strictly follows the Chatham House rules which allow participants to use the information received freely but neither reveal the identity nor the affiliation of the speakers or any other participant.

VENUE:

The village of Loccum (about 3000 inhabitants) is part of the small rural town Rehburg-Loccum. It is situated about 50 kilometers west of Hannover in Lower Saxony/Germany, and about 10 kilometers west of the "Steinhuder Meer", the largest lake in Northwestern Germany. Loccum is famous for its medieval Cistercian monastery, and the Protestant Academy as a place for highly regarded conferences and seminars of public interest.

ACCOMMODATION & FEE

Participants who are not listed as speakers are welcomed to lodge at the conference venue (<http://www.tagungsstätte-loccum.de/>).

- For a two-night stay including all meals (breakfast, lunch, cake, dinner) we charge **210 Euro**.
- For students, we offer a reduced fee of **95 Euro**.

Conference fees are to be paid in cash at the check-in or transferred in advance to: Kirchliche Verwaltungsstelle, IBAN DE36 5206 0410 0000 0060 50, Evangelische Bank eG Kassel, SWIFT/BIC GENODEF1EK1. When choosing transfer, please include your name and the reference number **16385**

REGISTRATION:

Please register with name, email, address, institution/organization by e-mail to Miriam Kamber (Miriam.Kamber@evlka.de). Registrations will be confirmed by email. Should you need to cancel, please contact us as soon as possible. Cancellations after 20th April 2022 will cause compensation of 25 % of the fee.

ARRIVAL/DEPARTURE:

Loccum is located 50 kilometers west of Hanover in Lower Saxony, Germany. The nearest airport is Hanover (HAJ). The nearest train stations are in Wunstorf, Stadthagen, Minden and Leese or Nienburg. Detailed travel directions will be sent to all registered participants.

SHUTTLE BUS:

(Please book a seat in advance!): Wednesday, 5 May 2022, departing in Wunstorf train station at 14:00 (please follow the station exit marked "ZOB"). Friday, 6 May 2022, arriving in Wunstorf at approx. 13:50h.

COVID-19 REGULATIONS

The conference is strictly following the hygiene guidelines. In particular we have cut the number of participants in order to allow at all circumstances the required social distancing rules (Further information are available at [Robert Koch Institute](https://www.kochinstitute.de/)). Since our conference compound is spacious and located at the rural and sparsely populated countryside of Northern Germany, we are well prepared to hold this conference even under the current situation of the COVID-19 crisis. <https://www.loccum.de/aktuelles/aktualisierte-massnahmen-der-akademie-zum-infektionsschutz/>

INTERPRETATION

The working language is English (If demanded, we will provide German-English Translation in a whisper interpretation mode).