

## NAVIGATING WITHIN THE GEOPOLITICAL TURNING POINT

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

Wednesday 4<sup>th</sup> – Friday 6<sup>th</sup> 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 progressive 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. 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.

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.

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)

THIS CONFERENCE IS FUNDED BY:

## DAY 1

WEDNESDAY 4 MAY 2022

14:30 REGISTRATION

15:00 WELCOME COFFEE & CAKE

15:15 WORDS OF WELCOME

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

15:25 INTRODUCTORY SESSION | What Strategic Assumptions to Keep and What to Toss? – Recapping the Steep Geopolitical Learning Curve

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 introductory 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 it 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 was our assessment 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.

*Kick-off Input Statement by (approx. 12 Min):*

**Ljudmyla Melnyk**, Research Associate, Institute for European Politics (IEP), Berlin

**Wilfried Jilge**, Historian of Eastern European and Expert on Ukraine at the Berlin Center for International Peace Operations (ZIF), Berlin

**Vano Chkhikvadze**, Open Society Georgia Foundation, Tbilisi

**Petro Burkovsky**, Research Fellow, Democratic Initiative Foundation, Kyiv

--- followed by plenary discussion ---

16:45 Coffee & Tea Break

17:00 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 consequences & sanctions (4) diplomatic efforts and negotiation initiatives and (5) the role of civil society.

Following the interactive logic of our workshop, we will apply the *fishbowl interview method* in which all participants – invited interviewees 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.

17:05 EXPLORING MAJOR DRIVERS PART 1 | The Military Situation (Fishbowl Interview 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. 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.

Kick-off Interview Round: *What are the major trends and developments on the battlefield as of early May 2022 and to what degree are they (i.e. the trends and development) likely to shape the Ukraine war in the future?*

**Christine Dugoin**, Centre d'Analyse de la Politique Etrangère (CAPE), Paris

**Wojciech Lorenz**, Analyst at the International Security Program, The Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM), Warsaw

**Tobias Schneider**, OSINT expert and Research Fellow at Global Public Partnership Institute (GPPi), Berlin

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

18:30 DINNER

19:30 **EXPLORING MAJOR DRIVERS PART 2 | Strategic Concepts & Foreign Policy Ideas** (Fishbowl Interview Discussion)

In the current debate about the war in Ukraine, the Western-Russian conflict, 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, etc. ... 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 directly affect Georgia and Moldova. And as strategic concepts and ideas mostly do, here too they have a double intent – providing a) an analysis of the situation and b) advise a set of political actions.

Kick-off Interview Round: *As of early May 2022, what ideas and concepts are the most dominant in the strategic debate? And what analytical and behavioral implications are suggested by these ideas and concepts?*

**Sabine Fischer**, Senior Fellow, Research Division „Eastern Europe & Eurasia“, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin

**Victoria Olari**, Project Coordinator, Institute for Strategic Initiatives (IPI), Chişinău

**Witold Rodkiewicz**, Senior Fellow, Russia Department, Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW), Warsaw

**Stanislav Secieru**, Senior Analyst, EU Institute for Security Studies, Paris

--- 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 | Economic 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.

Kick-off Interview Round: *Which economic developments and sanctioning trends are the most crucial, according to your opinion?*

**Oksana Huss**, Researcher at University of Bologna and Lecturer at the Kyiv School of Economics, Kyiv/Bologna

**Nikolas Keßels**, Senior Manager, External Economic Policy, BDI (Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie), Berlin

**Maria Shagina**, Visiting Senior Fellow at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs/Adjunct Fellow at the Center for a New American Security, Helsinki

**Christian von Soest**, Head, Research Group „Peace and Security“, GIGA (German Institute for Global and Area Studies), Hamburg

--- 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 exchanged and the possibilities of a ceasefire are discussed at different venues. Behind the scenes, diplomatic interventions with the aim to deescalate are undertaken – recently from the UN General Secretary. 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.

Kick-off Interview Round: *According to your opinion, is there still a chance for diplomacy? And what diplomatic pattern is most likely to shape the future of the conflict?*

**Jean P. Froehly**, Head, Department „Ukraine, Moldova and Black Sea Cooperation“, German Foreign Office, Berlin

**Rémi Dufлот**, Deputy Head, The Delegation of the European Union to Ukraine, Brussels/Kyiv

**Mattia Nelles**, GIZ (German Corporation for International Cooperation), Kyiv/Düsseldorf

**Mikheil Sarjveladze**, Postdoc at the Friedrich Schiller University Jena

**Iryna Solonenko**, Senior Fellow at the Center for Liberal Modernity, Kyiv/Berlin

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

12:30 LUNCH

14:00 **EXPLORING MAJOR DRIVERS PART 5 | The Role of 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.

*Kick-off Interview Round: What are the major drivers in the narratives and actions of the affected civil society in the concerned countries? And what patterns are most dominant in public opinion?*

**Julia Friedrich**, Research Fellow, Peace and Security Program, Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi), Kyiv/Berlin

**Inna Nelles**, Co-Founder, Public Interest Journalism Lab, Kyiv/Düsseldorf

**Victoria Nemerenco**, Project Manager at Institute for European Policies and Reforms (IPRE), Chişinău

**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

--- 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

*Comments on the Foresight Results by: 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

--- Followed by Plenary Discussion ---

20:45 FINALE AND INFORMAL COME-TOGETHER

## DAY 3 FRIDAY 6 MAY 2022

8:30 BREAKFAST

9:30 PARLIAMENTARY INPUTS

**Mariia Ionova**, Member of the Ukrainian Parliament (European Solidarity), Member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Committee for inter-parliamentarian cooperation, Kyiv

**Mariia Mezentseva**, Member of the Ukrainian Parliament (Servant of the People), Head of the Ukrainian Delegation to the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly and Deputy Head of the Committee on European Integration, Kyiv

**BREAKOUT SESSION | Road-Mapping Workshop: How to Move Away from Dark Sky and towards Blue Sky? – Policy Proposals (World Café Method)**

*Forum I: What are realistic avenues to work towards an end of the current war?*

*Forum II: What place for Ukraine in the upcoming European (in)security architecture?*

*Forum III: How to contain successfully and enduringly the Kremlin's aggression without further cutting ties to the progressive Russian civil society and without risking large-scale escalation?*

*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?*

COFFEE & TEA BREAK

11:45 PLENARY SESSION | Wrap Up: The Way Ahead

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. The working language is English (If demanded, we will provide

German-English Translation in a whisper interpretation mode). 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.tagungsstaette-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 transferal, 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](mailto:Miriam.Kamber@evlka.de)). Registrations will be confirmed by email. Should you need to cancel, please contact us as soon as possible. Cancellations after 20<sup>th</sup> 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 (HA). 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, 4 May 2022, departing in Wunstorf train station at 13:30 and 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](#)). 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).