

# *How to Revive Cooperative Security in Europe?*

**2<sup>nd</sup> Meeting of the Advisory Board  
FES Regional Office for Cooperation and Peace in Europe (FES ROCPE)**

**13th of October 2020, 15:00h**

via **Zoom**:  
<https://zoom.us/j/95696005358>





**INTRODUCTION** > *How to Revive Cooperative Security in Europe?*  
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Still influenced by the divisions in Europe following the 2003 Iraq war, British historian Timothy Garton Ash wrote in 2004: “The whole of the new, enlarged Europe is engaged in a great argument between the forces of Euro-Gaullism and Euro-Atlanticism. This is the argument of the decade. On its outcome will depend the future of the West.”

It was an accurate analysis of the two driving forces within the EU and of their potential discord. More than a decade has passed since this observation was made, but what remains is Donald Rumsfeld’s famous dichotomy between “old and new Europe”. Although much has changed institutionally in the EU since then (Common Foreign and Security Policy, Eastern Partnership, Permanent Structured Cooperation – PESCO, BREXIT), this line of conflict is still clearly visible today. Almost every month there is a headline in the political reporting that focuses on the topic of disunity in the EU, and how to position the region in the long term vis-à-vis China and Russia.

This challenge should not be underestimated, because tensions with Russia have increased and the future of the transatlantic relationship has become unclear. Accordingly, the EU is sometimes unsure whether interests in Washington are congruent with its own interests. Finding such congruence has never been easy in some fields, such as energy foreign policy for instance (witness American aversion to Soviet pipelines in the 1970s and 1980s). On the other hand, through Commission President Ursula von der Leyen, the EU has proclaimed higher security policy ambitions and a “more geopolitical EU”. The claim of former EU President Jean-Claude Juncker – that the global political capability of the EU can only arise from a more united EU, at the level of the European Council – emphasizes this.

Just how ambitious this is can be seen in the quote from the farewell speech of the former President of the European Council of the EU, Donald Tusk: “...when I am asked what my term has been about, I answer without hesitation: ‘Unity’ – a leitmotif, a task, almost my obsession, from the very beginning.” Unity to bring cooperative security within and outside the EU back to the fore in Europe. 30 years after the Paris Charter. But how is this to be achieved given the known challenges? Is the status quo perhaps acceptable? Or is politics overburdened in trying to overcome a fragile security order? Must we, the citizens of Europe, accept that the relatively peaceful years since 1989 are over and that European politics has given up thinking about security in a cooperative way?



**AGENDA** > *How to Revive Cooperative Security in Europe?*  
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**Tuesday**  
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15:00h

**Welcome Remarks**

Reinhard Krumm, Head of FES ROCPE

15:10h

**Session 1:**

**Four Years of FES ROCPE – the Cooperative Security Initiative (CSI)**

Input: Walter Kemp, Special Adviser for CSI

15:30h

**Session 2:**

**European Security: Anything new on that Topic**

Input by Ambassador Pierre Vimont, Special Envoy of the French President for  
Strategic Dialogue with Russia

Discussion with Members of the Advisory Board

16:25h

**Final Remarks**

Reinhard Krumm, FES ROCPE



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**Arjen Berkvens**

is Director of the Foundation Max van der Stoep, a social democratic political foundation from the Netherlands, and the secretary general of the European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity. He is a historian who graduated in 1993 from the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam.

**Ireneusz Bil**

is Director of the Amicus Europae Foundation of Aleksander Kwaśniewski in Warsaw and secretary general of the European Council on Tolerance and Reconciliation (ECTR), an NGO based in Brussels. Between 1997 and 2006 he served in high-ranking advisory and executive positions in the National Security Bureau, Office for European Integration and Office of International Affairs in the Chancellery of the President of Poland. He is a graduate of the Warsaw School of Economics (WSE) and until 2006 was Assistant Professor (PhD) at his alma mater.

**Carmen Claudín**

is Senior Research Fellow Associate at CIDOB, Barcelona Centre for International Affairs, where she has been the Director of Research and previously Deputy Director. She has written various chapters for books and articles in magazines and newspapers on Soviet and post-Soviet issues. She is a member of the Editorial Board of the Spanish edition of Foreign Policy, Madrid. She was awarded a Master's in Philosophy from the University of the Sorbonne, Paris, where she also did postgraduate work in History, specializing in Russian and Soviet history.

**Alexandra Dienes**

is Senior Researcher at FES ROCPE. She focuses on economic aspects of regional security and cooperation and coordinates the network of young experts FLEET. Previously, she taught international relations and political economy at the University of Amsterdam and worked for German political foundations in Georgia and China, the European Parliament in Brussels and the German Development Agency GIZ.

**Sabine Fischer**

is Team Leader of the Public Diplomacy EU and Russia Project in Moscow. She is also a Senior Fellow at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) in Berlin. Previously, she worked at the European Union Institute for Security Studies in Paris. Areas of Expertise: foreign and security policy of Russia, EU-Russia relations, unsolved conflicts in the EU's Eastern Neighborhood, and regional relations in Eastern Europe and Eurasia.

**Thomas Greminger**

was Secretary General of the OSCE from 2017-2020. Ambassador Greminger joined the diplomatic service of the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) in 1990 and has held numerous senior management positions during his career. From 2010 to 2015, Greminger was the Permanent Representative of Switzerland to the OSCE, serving as Chair of the Permanent Council during Switzerland's 2014 OSCE Chairmanship.



### **Walter Kemp**

is Senior Fellow at the Global Initiative against Transnational Organized Crime. In 2018 and 2019 he established and led the Strategic Policy Support Unit in the OSCE Secretariat. Between 2010 and 2016 he was Director for Europe and Central Asia and then Vice President of the International Peace Institute (IPI). Previously he served for four years as spokesman and speechwriter at the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). He has also been Senior Adviser to OSCE Chairmanships, the Secretary General and High Commissioner on National Minorities.

### **Andrey Kortunov**

is Director General of the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC), a non-profit partnership established by order of the President of the Russian Federation. Previously he was Deputy Director of the Institute for US and Canadian Studies. He is the founder and first president of the Moscow Public Science Foundation. He graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) and did postgraduate studies at the Institute for US and Canadian Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences. He has a PhD degree in History.

### **Reinhard Krumm**

heads FES ROCPE in Vienna. He is a lecturer on Russian and Eastern European History at the Regensburg University since 2007. Since 2011 he holds an honoree professorship from the department of Political Science at Moscow State University. From 1991 to 1998 he worked as a journalist in the former Soviet Union, being the Moscow correspondent of Der Spiegel magazine from 1996 to 1998. He then joined the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, serving as the Head of the Regional Central Asian office in Tashkent/Uzbekistan, the Russian office in Moscow and the Department of Central and Eastern Europe, Berlin.

### **Stephanie Liechtenstein**

has been working since 2013 as Web Editor-in-Chief of the Security and Human Rights Monitor, a quarterly print publication and online platform that brings to light current developments affecting peace and security in the Euro-Atlantic area. Previously she worked for six years at the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) in Vienna, including as senior political assistant in the Office of the OSCE Secretary General. She studied history of international relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE).

### **Maria Maltschnig**

is Director of the Karl-Renner-Institute, an Austrian think tank. She previously worked for the Austrian Chamber of Labor and the Federal Ministry of Finance, was an Assistant to the CEO of the Austrian Federal Railways and headed the cabinet of the Austrian Chancellor Christian Kern. She studied Socio-economics in Vienna.



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### **Uwe Optenhögel**

is CEO of the publishing house J.H.W. Dietz Nachf. in Bonn. He currently serves as Vice President of the Foundation of European Progressive Studies (FEPS). He has worked for the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) in various capacities, serving as head of the Department for Central and Eastern Europe and as International Director of the Foundation. His latest posting abroad for FES was in Brussels as director of the EU office in Brussels. Apart from his work for FES, Uwe Optenhögel has been a freelance political analyst and consultant for public and private organizations.

### **Matthew Rojansky**

is Director of the Kennan Institute at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, D.C. He has advised governments, intergovernmental organizations, and major private actors on conflict resolution and efforts to enhance shared security throughout the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian region. Previously, he was Deputy Director of the Russia and Eurasia Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Matt Rojansky is an adjunct professor at Johns Hopkins SAIS. He holds a B.A. from Harvard University and a J.D. from Stanford Law School.

### **Gwendolyn Sasse**

is Director of the Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOIS), Berlin. She is also Professor of Comparative Politics at the University of Oxford, a Professorial Fellow at Nuffield College, and a non-resident Senior Fellow at Carnegie Europe. Her research interests include post-communist transitions (with a particular focus on Ukraine), the comparative study of democracy and authoritarianism, ethnic conflict and war, and migration. Her most recent monograph *The Crimea Question: Identity, Transition, and Conflict* won the Alexander Nove Prize of the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies.

### **Andris Sprūds**

is Director of the Latvian Institute of International Affairs. He also holds the position of professor at Riga Stradins University. He has an M.A. in Central European History from the CEU in Budapest, Hungary and in International Relations from University of Latvia. He has also obtained a PhD in Political Science from Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland. Andris Spruds has been a visiting student and scholar at Oxford, Uppsala, Columbia and Johns Hopkins University, as well as the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs and Japan's Institute of Energy Economics.

### **Fred Tanner**

is currently Senior Adviser of the Director of the Conflict Prevention Center/ OSCE in Vienna. Previously he was Senior Adviser to the Crisis Management Centre of the Swiss Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bern, Switzerland. From 2013 to 2016 he was Senior Adviser to the OSCE Secretary General in Vienna and OSCE Project Leader of the "Panel of Eminent Persons for European Security as a Common Project". He also served on the UN Secretary General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters. He previously served as Director of the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSF).





### **Pierre Vimont**

is Special Envoy of the French President for strategic dialogue with Russia. Vimont was the first executive secretary-general of the European External Action Service (EEAS), from December 2010 to March 2015. During his thirty-eight-year diplomatic career with the French foreign service, he served as ambassador to the United States from 2007 to 2010, ambassador to the European Union from 1999 to 2002, and chief of staff to three former French foreign ministers. He holds the title, Ambassador of France, a dignity bestowed for life to only a few French career diplomats.

### **Simon Weiß**

is Senior Researcher at FES ROCPE. He studied political science and sociology at the Ruprecht-Karls-University in Heidelberg. Between 2011-2015 he taught international relations and Russian foreign policy and was a research associate at the Institute for Political Science at the University of Heidelberg. As a research associate and project coordinator at FES ROCPE, he focuses on security and defence policy aspects in the region and on questions of arms control in Europe.

### **Julie Wilhelmsen**

is Senior Research Fellow at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs and former head of the Russia program at the Norwegian Defense Research Establishment. The two post-Soviet Chechen wars have been a constant focus in her research and she heads projects aiming to facilitate research on the North Caucasus. Wilhelmsen has been editor of the journal *Internasjonal Politikk*. She was a member of the Norwegian Government Expert Group for the Defense of Norway.