Minsk Dialogue Forum

*Eastern Europe: In Search of Security for All*

May 23-25, 2018

*Minsk Marriott Hotel (20 Pobeditely Av.)*

*In partnership with:*

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*Media partners:*

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The post-Cold War international order continues to generate contradictions and vulnerabilities. Stability and predictability based on trust and effective institutions are being undermined by both old and new conflicts. Cooperation increasingly gives way to unilateral actions as states and societies face a broadening spectrum of security threats.

One of the epicenters of international tensions lies in Eastern Europe – a region marking a geopolitical fault line. Here, the status quo looks particularly perilous since the erosion of the rules of international conduct is taking place in the absence of a meaningful dialogue. Even expert forums, which are intended to seek solutions in the interests of peace and cooperation, have become part of the propaganda and information war. Essentially, existing expert platforms only generate more mutual accusations and thus further elevate international tensions. As a result, no real discussion about Eastern Europe’s present or future takes place.

Belarus is located at the heart of Eastern Europe. The country’s geographic position makes it particularly vulnerable to negative developments in the region. Escalating international tensions automatically amplify threats to Belarus’s security and complicate the country’s economic development. Moreover, historically, Belarus repeatedly fell victim to great power confrontation and became a battleground where rival armies clashed. Therefore, it has a strong “vested interest” in the prevention of major conflict in Eastern Europe.

Since the beginning of 2015, the Minsk Dialogue Track-II Initiative has provided an expert platform to explore ways of minimising regional tensions. Eleven international conferences and numerous thematic discussions have taken place and gathered representatives from various countries and international organisations. The Minsk Dialogue Forum will represent the next milestone in the initiative’s development. It will launch a large annual gathering of leading experts from Eastern Europe, the EU, Russia, the United States, and China. It will provide a prominent forum for discussions about present and future challenges to regional and international security.
AGENDA

Wednesday, May 23

14.00-15.00  Registration of the participants

15.00  Forum begins

15.00-15.30  Welcome remarks

Yauheni Preiherman  
*Head, Minsk Dialogue Track-II Initiative*

Wolfgang Sender  
*Belaarus Country Director, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Germany*

Opening address

Vladimir Makei  
*Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belarus*

15.30-17.00  Inaugural plenary  *What Does the Changing World Order Hold for Eastern Europe?*

The system of international relations faces its most dramatic challenge for decades. Geopolitical turbulence has spread to more and more parts of the world, which poses a question about whether the world order is undergoing a fundamental change and, if so, what this change is all about. The inaugural session will focus on the main trends in international affairs and their immediate and longer-term implications for Eastern Europe.

Sergey Glaziev  
*Advisor to the Russian President, Russia*

Erkki Tuomioja  
*Member of the Parliament of Finland; Minister of Foreign Affairs of Finland (2000-2007; 2011-2015), Finland*

Alexandre Guessel  
*Director of Political Affairs, Council of Europe*

Thomas Graham  
*Managing Director, Kissinger Associates, USA*

Sun Zhuangzhi  
*Director, Institute of Russian, Eastern European and Central Asian Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China*
Hannes Swoboda  
*Director, International Institute for Peace; former Member of the European Parliament, Austria*

**Moderator**  
**Jovan Kovačić**  
*President, East-West Bridge, Serbia*

17.00-17.30  
Coffee break

17.30-19.00  
**Plenary session**  
*Looking inside the “Black Box” of East European Security.*

Whereas most international discussions about European security are dominated by great power narratives, little or no attention is paid to what smaller East European states think. In spite of multiple differences in threat perceptions and security narratives, these states are usually treated in security debates as “black boxes”. The session will examine the common and the divergent in how East European states feel about their own security and will look for common denominators in the region.

Oleg Kravchenko  
*Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belarus*

Volodymir Khandogyi  
*President, Ukrainian Foreign Policy Association; acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (2009), Ukraine*

Vladislav Kulminski  
*Executive Director, Institute for Strategic Initiatives; former Political Advisor to the Prime Minister of Moldova, Moldova*

Gwendolyn Sasse  
*Director, Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOiS), Germany*

Vyacheslav Kholodkov  
*Head, Centre for the Near Abroad Studies, Russian Institute for Strategic Studies, Russia*

Eugene Rumer  
*Director and Senior Fellow, Russia and Eurasia Programme, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, USA*

**Moderator**  
**Wolfgang Sender**  
*Belarus Country Director, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Germany*

19.00-21.00  
Reception
Parallel night-owl sessions (under the Chatham House Rule)

Session 1. How Deeply Frozen is Transnistria?

Dirk Schuebel
*Head of Division, Eastern Partnership Bilateral, European External Action Service*

Timur Onica
*Programme Officer East, European Endowment for Democracy, Belgium-Moldova*

Andrey Devyatkov
*Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Economy, Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia*

Tony van der Togt
*Senior Research Fellow, Clingendael Netherlands Institute of International Relations, Netherlands*

Eugene Chausovsky
*Senior Eurasia Analyst, Stratfor, USA*

Jörg Radeke
*Managing Economist, Berlin Economics, Germany*

**Moderator**

Elena Korosteleva
*Professor of International Politics, Director of the Global Europe Centre, University of Kent, UK*

Session 2. Minsk Accords and a Peacekeeping Mission in the Donbas: Mission (Im)Possible?

Hanna Shelest
*Editor-in-Chief, UA: Ukraine Analytica, Ukraine*

Sergey Markedonov
*Associate Professor, Russian State University for the Humanities; Expert, Russian International Affairs Council, Russia*

Jana Kobzova
*Policy Director, Rasmussen Global, Slovakia*

Andrew Wilson
*Senior Policy Fellow, European Council on Foreign Relations, UK*

Vladimir Socor
*Senior Fellow, Jamestown Foundation, USA*
Session 3. What Can We Learn from Past Failures to Modernise European Security Arrangements?

Sir Roderic Lyne
Adviser, Russia and Eurasia Programme, Chatham House; UK
Ambassador to Russia (2000-2004), UK

Alexander Iskandaryan
Director, Caucasus Institute, Armenia

Andrey Sushentsov
Head, Analytical Agency “Foreign Policy”; Programme Director, Valdai Discussion Club, Russia

Valbona Zeneli
Director of the Black Sea and Eurasia Program, College of International and Security Studies at the George C. Marshall European Center, Germany-Albania

Paul Révay
Member of the Board of Trustees, “Friends of Europe” (Belgium), France

Moderator
Tatiana Romanova
Associate Professor, Jean Monnet Chair, School of International Relations, St. Petersburg University, Russia

**Thursday, May 24**

07.00-08.00 **Breakfast for international participants** (Minsk Marriot Hotel’s restaurant, ground floor)

8.30 **Transfer from the Minsk Marriott Hotel to the Exhibition Centre** (14 Pobeditely Avenue)

10.00-12.30 **Plenary session** How to Make Eastern Europe an Area of Cooperation rather than Confrontation?

Alexander Lukashenko
President of the Republic of Belarus

Thomas Greminger
Secretary General, Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
James Appathurai  
*Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs and Security Policy, NATO*

Nikolai Bordyuzha  
*Secretary General, Collective Security Treaty Organisation (2003-2017), Russia*

Maira Mora  
*Director General, Council of the Baltic Sea States*

Christine Muttonen  
*President of the Parliamentary Assembly, Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (2016-2017), Austria*

*Moderator*  
Yauheni Preiherman  
*Head, Minsk Dialogue Track-II Initiative*

12.30  
**Transfer to Minsk Marriott Hotel** (20 Pobeditely Avenue)

13.00-14.00  
**Lunch**

14.00-16.00  
**Break-out interactive sessions** organised by the Forum’s partners

**Break-out session 1. Getting out from in-between.**

In partnership with the RAND Corporation (USA) and Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Germany)

Samuel Charap  
*Senior Political Scientist, RAND Corporation, USA*

Andrey Zagorskiy  
*Head, Department of Arms Control and Conflict Resolution Studies, Institute of World Economy and International Relations; Professor, MGIMO-University, Russia*

Oleksiy Semeniy  
*Director, Institute for Global Transformations, Ukraine*

*Commentator*  
Alexander Iskandaryan  
*Director, Caucasus Institute, Armenia*

*Moderator*  
Reinhard Krumm  
*Head of Office, FES Regional Office for Cooperation and Peace in Europe, Germany*
Break-out session 2 Making Conventional Arms Control Fit for the XXI Century.

In partnership with the European Leadership Network (UK)

Werner Fasslabend
President, Austrian Institute for European and Security Policy; Federal Minister of Defense of Austria (1990-2000), Austria

Andrei Tsarik
Head, Verification Directorate, International Military Cooperation Department, Ministry of Defence, Belarus

Joris Voorhoeve
Chair, Netherlands Advisory Commission on Peace and Security AIV; Minister of Defence of the Netherlands (1994-1998), Netherlands

Łukasz Kulesa
Research Director, European Leadership Network, UK-Poland

Aliaksandr Alesin
Military expert, Belarus

Moderator
Sir Adam Thomson
Director, European Leadership Network; UK Permanent Representative to NATO (2014-2016), UK


In partnership with the Austro-French Centre for Rapprochement in Europe (Austria-France) and Centre international de formation européenne (CIFE) (France-Germany)

Valery Varanetsky
Chairman, Standing Committee on International Affairs, House of Representatives of the National Assembly, Belarus

Thomas Buchsbaum
Special Envoy for the Eastern Partnership, Austrian Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs, Austria

Ghia Nodia
Director, International School of Caucasus Studies; Minister of Education and Science of Georgia (2008), Georgia

Céline Marangé
Research Fellow, Institute of Strategic Research at the French Ministry of Defence (IRSEM), France

Hovhannes Nikoghosyan
Adjunct Lecturer, American University of Armenia, Armenia
The Belt and Road Initiative raises extraordinary expectations but, at the same time, causes serious concerns in different parts of Eurasia. Some believe that China’s grand projects will alter the geopolitical map of the continent by embedding mutually beneficial cooperation beyond existing divides. Others worry that Beijing’s strategic ambitions will only add to present-day geopolitical tensions. This session will discuss the implications of the Belt and Road Initiative and other China-led cooperation projects for various aspects of security in Eastern Europe.

Munira Shahidi
Professor, Tajik National University, Tajikistan

Andrey Sushentsov
Head, Analytical Agency “Foreign Policy”; Programme Director, Valdai Discussion Club, Russia

Li Qinggong
Director, Centre for National Security, Eurasian System Science Research Association, China

Anar Valiyev
Associate Professor, ADA University, Azerbaijan

Trine Flockhart
Professor, University of Southern Denmark, Denmark

Suren Sargsyan
Co-founder, International and Comparative Law Centre of Armenia; former advisor to the Prime Minister of Armenia, Armenia

Eugene Chausovsky
Senior Eurasia Analyst, Stratfor, USA
18.00-19.00  **In conversation (Dis)Continuity in the EU's Foreign and Security Policy?**

*Johannes Schraps*
*Member of Bundestag, Germany*

*Charles Grant*
*Director, Centre for European Reform, UK*

**Moderator**
*Tobias Flessenkemper*
*Programme Director and Senior Fellow, Centre international de formation européenne (CIFE), France-Germany*

19.00-19.20  **Presentation of the GCRF COMPASS Project** implemented by the University of Kent and University of Cambridge in cooperation with the Belarusian State University, ADA University (Azerbaijan), Tajik National University, and the University of World Economy and Diplomacy (Uzbekistan).

*Elena Korosteleva*
*Professor of International Politics, Director of the Global Europe Centre, University of Kent, UK*

*Siddharth Saxena*
*Director, Central Asia Programme, University of Cambridge, UK*

19.20-21.00  **Reception**

**Key-note address**
*Baroness Suttie*
*Lords Spokesperson, House of Lords, UK*

21.00-22.30  **Parallel Night-Owl Sessions (under the Chatham House Rule)**

**Session 1. Implications of the Sanctions War between Russia and the West for Eastern Europe.**

*Valery Kantorov*
*Advisor to the Executive Director, Alexander Gorchakov Public Diplomacy Fund, Russia*

*Volodymir Fesenko*
*Chairman of Board, Penta Centre, Ukraine*

*Joseph Vann*
*Director of the Counter Transnational Organised Crime Programme, George C. Marshall European Centre for Security Studies, USA*

*Ulf Schneider*
*Managing Partner, Schneider Group; Co-Chairman, Working group on the common economic space from Lisbon to Vladivostok, Germany*
Jacek Giedrojć  
*Founding Partner, Warsaw Equity Group, Poland*

**Moderator**  
Daniel Krutzinna  
*Managing Partner, Civitta; Supervisory Board Member, Development Bank of the Republic of Belarus, Belarus*

**Session 2. NATO’s Enhanced Forward Presence: Implications for Eastern Europe?**

**Vladimir Senko**  
*Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belarus (1994-1997), Belarus*

**James Appathurai**  
*Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs and Security Policy, NATO*

**Nadezhda Arbatova**  
*Head, Department for European Political Studies, Primakov National Research Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia*

**Oleksiy Semeniy**  
*Director, Institute for Global Transformations, Ukraine*

**Tobias Bunde**  
*Head of Policy and Analysis, Munich Security Conference Foundation, Germany*

**Moderator**  
Anna Maria Dyner  
*Head, Eastern Europe Programme, Polish Institute for International Affairs (PISM), Poland*

**Session 3. Belarus’s Foreign Policy in the Regional Context**

**Pyotr Krauchanka**  
*Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belarus (1991-1994)*

**Grigory Ioffe**  
*Professor, Radford University, USA*

**Balázs Jarábik**  
*Nonresident Scholar, Russia and Eurasia Programme, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Slovakia*

**Kamil Kłysiński**  
*Senior Fellow, Department for Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova, Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW), Poland*
Andrey Kazakevich  
*Director, Institute of Political Studies “Political Sphere”, Belarus*

**Commentators**

Paul Hansbury  
*Associate Fellow, Minsk Dialogue Track-II Initiative, UK*

Andrey Vardomatsky  
*Founder, “NOVAK”, Belarus*

**Moderator**

Wolfgang Sender  
*Belarus Country Director, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Germany*

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**Friday, May 25**

08.30-09.30  **Working breakfast**  *Common Economic Space from Lisbon to Vladivostok: a Fantasy or a Future Reality? (in partnership with the Schneider Group)*

Tony van der Togt  
*Senior Research Fellow, Clingendael Netherlands Institute of International Relations, Netherlands*

Bernhard Thies  
*President, European Committee for Electrotechnical Standardization (CENELEC); Chairman of the Board of Directors, DKE, Germany*

Kamil Klęsiński  
*Senior Fellow, Department for Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova, Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW), Poland*

**Commentators**

Sergey Shukhno  
*Director, Department of Integration Development, Eurasian Economic Commission*

Alexandra Dienes  
*Research Associate, Friedrich Ebert Regional Office for Cooperation and Peace in Europe, Austria*

**Moderator**

Ulf Schneider  
*Managing Partner, Schneider Group; Co-Chairman, Working group on the common economic space from Lisbon to Vladivostok, Germany*

9.30-10.30  **Morning session**  *The Eurasian Economic Union: Current and Future Trajectories*
Sergey Shukhno  
*Director, Department of Integration Development, Eurasian Economic Commission*

Aleksey Matsevilo  
*Head, General Department of Economic Integration, Ministry of Economy of Belarus*

Michael Emerson  
*Associate Research Fellow, Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), Belgium*

Dmitry Chervyakov  
*Economist, German Economic Team Belarus, Germany*

Kirill Entin  
*Counsellor, Court of the Eurasian Economic Union*

**Moderator**

Viktor Shadurski  
*Dean, Faculty of International Relations, Belarusian State University, Belarus*

**10.30-12.00**  
*Plenary session*  
**Gaps in Security Regimes and Institutional Lacunae in Eastern Europe: Can Regional and Sub-Regional Organisations Do More?**

Existing security regimes have been highly instrumental in restraining provocative behaviour by state actors. Yet, they have obviously lagged behind today’s security environment. Growing military and political tensions point to the necessity to close multiple gaps and adapt security regimes to the needs of the present day. This, in turn, leads to the discussion about the relevance and effectiveness of regional and sub-regional international organisations in the realm of security. The session will explore Eastern Europe-specific gaps in security regimes and which institutional lacunae can be addressed as a matter of priority.

Joris Voorhoeve  
*Chair, Netherlands Advisory Commission on Peace and Security AIV; Minister of Defence of the Netherlands (1994-1998), Netherlands*

Ivan Antonovich  
*Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belarus (1997-1998), Belarus*

Tinatin Khidasheli  
*Minister of Defence of Georgia (2015-2016), Georgia*

Andrey Zagorskiy  
*Head of Department of Arms Control and Conflict Resolution Studies, Institute of World Economy and International Relations; Professor, MGIMO-University, Russia*

Bruce McClintock  
*CEO, Zenith Advisors Group; policy analyst, RAND Corporation; former defence attaché in the US Embassy in Russia, USA*
Moderator
Dzianis Melyantsou
Belarus’s Foreign Policy Programme Coordinator, Minsk Dialogue Track-II Initiative

12.00-12.30  Coffee break

12.30-13.30  Plenary session  The Old and the New in East European Security: Discussing Ways Forward

Sir Adam Thomson
Director, European Leadership Network; UK Permanent Representative to NATO (2014-2016), UK

Samuel Charap
Senior Political Scientist, RAND Corporation, USA

Sergey Markedonov
Associate Professor, Russian State University for the Humanities; Expert, Russian International Affairs Council, Russia

Volodymir Fesenko
Chairman of Board, Penta Centre, Ukraine

Reinhard Krumm
Head of Office, FES Regional Office for Cooperation and Peace in Europe, Germany

Moderator
Yauheni Preiherman
Head, Minsk Dialogue Track-II Initiative

13.30  Closing remarks

13.45-14.45  Lunch

Excursion to the Strochitsy village (optional)
The Minsk Dialogue was launched as a Track-II initiative at the beginning of 2015. Its mission is to offer an open and geopolitically unbiased platform for research and discussions on international affairs and security in Eastern Europe. Regular Minsk Dialogue events gather international experts, as well as high-level officials and diplomats.

Since its inception, the Minsk Dialogue has hosted numerous conferences, briefings, and situational analysis sessions. Some of them were jointly organised with leading international research and policy institutions, including the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, Chatham House, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Austro-French Centre for Rapprochement in Europe, Giessen University, and the Jamestown Foundation.

The Minsk Dialogue’s team and its network of experts produce analytical reports, policy papers, comments,背景ers, and conference non-papers, which are widely distributed among relevant international stakeholders. All analytical publications and conference materials can be accessed at www.minskdialogue.by.