

Valdai 2014

Title of Valdai 2014 "no rules or new rules?" -

No rules is out of question - it would be a return to tribal anarchic times.

New rules ? Perhaps - but there is a third way: abiding by existing rules - well defined in UN Charter, CSCE Final Act, WTO, bi- and multilateral agreements.

I agree with President Putin - we have to strengthen multilateral institutions, OSCE - we must live up to our commitments. Let me remind: In 1975 all CSCE participating States agreed in Helsinki "to respect territorial integrity and political independence. They will respect each others right to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems. They consider that their frontiers can be changed, in accordance with international law, by peaceful means and by agreement. They also have the right to belong or not to belong to international organizations including the right to be or not to be a party to treaties of alliance; they also have the right to neutrality".

Everything is possible, but it must be negotiated and implemented by peaceful means!

At present, the crisis in and around Ukraine is undoubtedly the greatest challenge for the EU and Russia. Therefore, they should – together with the USA – support and accompany Ukraine in its efforts to find durable solutions to the military, political and economic problems it is presently facing. Such a political process must be launched without delay.

From the outset there should be no doubt that the principle of sovereign equality – a main pillar of international law – applies to all sovereign states. The idea that some countries on the European continent have spheres of influence or privileged interests limiting the sovereignty of neighboring countries is contrary to the international law and the CSCE Final Act and therefore unacceptable. What concerns us is the fact, that for the first time after World War II international borders were changed unilaterally.

Today's world is complicated. No hegemon anymore, a network of interests, conflicts, links...

And we are interdependent - economically, environmentally, politically. What happens in one place, has unintended consequences somewhere else. Especially large nations should be careful in dealing with separatist tendencies - China with Tibet, Xinjiang. India with Kashmir. Russia with the South. The problem is old and well known - a minority within a state, but a majority in a region. Take examples like the Balkans, Sudan, Palestine, Kurdish regions in 3

different states, the Caucasus - but also in several parts of Europe, like Scotland versus UK, Catalonia or the Basque country in Spain, Flanders in Belgium, South Tyrol or Veneto in Italy. Self-determination, autonomy, identity - burning issues! We should deal with them carefully and in accordance with international law.

Now to Ukraine: EU and Russia are neighbors, they are the most powerful entities on the European continent. For the sake of peace, stability and prosperity they have to cooperate and share responsibility in the resolution of problems in their common neighbourhood.

Being an optimist I see a possible positive scenario in the weeks to come.

- Sunday, 26 Oct - moderates win the parliamentary elections in Ukraine

- Thursday, 30. Oct - under the chairmanship of EC Commissioner Günther Oettinger Russia/Ukraine agreed on winter energy package

- local elections in Lugansk and Donetsk (better not just one week after the elections in Ukraine) - as agreed in Minsk - in accordance with Ukrainian legislation. Important to have elected and legitimate representatives who can negotiate with Kiev government urgent problems such as - transport of goods, coal; financial transactions; rebuilding destroyed infrastructure (as agreed in Minsk)

- OSCE monitoring ceasefire, separation line and Ukr/Russian border.

These steps should be supported by confidence- building measures finally leading to the lifting of sanctions. My answer to the question "no rules or new rules" can be summarized as follows: let us respect existing rules and international law, and strenghten multilateral institutions.

But the topic of this session makes us aware of new challenges not foreseen in Helsinki 40 years ago: Non- state actors undermining the integrity and sovereignty of nations; hybrid conflicts, regional tensions; terrorism and cyber threats; global challenges for health (Ebola), environment (climate), economy (financial crisis). Next year we will celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act. What about a Helsinki II dealing with these new problems? Vienna would be prepared to host such a conference.

Dr. Wolfgang Schüssel, Chancellor of Austria 2000-2007