

As of May 4

12th Annual Foreign Policy Conference

Ten Years After 9/11

An analysis of foreign and security policy of the last decade

In cooperation with the European Council on Foreign Relations

Date and Venue

Thursday, June 16 and Friday, June 17, 2011

Conference Floor /Beletage of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Schumannstraße 8, 10117 Berlin-Mitte

Conference language

Simultaneous interpretation from German into English and vice versa will be provided.

Conference management and information

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Background

The historic turning point of the terror attacks on September 11, 2001 accelerated a transition phase in foreign policy that has redrawn the global political map and left an enduring mark on world affairs. The new world order, which had slowly taken shape after 1989, has since been marked by a rapid transfer of economic and political power from the Western to the Eastern hemisphere. The subsequent loss of U.S. power has become just as evident as the rise of large emerging nations and the ever more assertive demands of new regional powers. Developments over the last few years and recent events support the historical experience that transformational changes of the world order by the rise of new powers often go along with power struggles. Particularly unclear is the future role of Europe in the new global arena. Without a European Union as a strong foreign policy actor or renewed transatlantic partnerships, European powers run the risk of becoming marginal actors in the global developments of the 21st century.

The decade thereafter

An assessment of the decade after September 11, 2001 has to involve the analysis and evaluation of the completely different perceptions of 9/11 and the political conclusions drawn from it in Europe and the United States. In the U.S., the terrorist attacks were perceived as a kind of second Pearl Harbor and as a result, foreign policy activities in Afghanistan and Iraq were more or less planned as military missions. The policy of "exporting democracy" is at the brink of tragically failing, particularly in Afghanistan, which even after ten years is still far from established peace, security and human rights. On the other hand, withdrawal scenarios without clearly defined minimum standards for an enduring regional order, strategies for inner-Afghan reconciliation strategies, or a minimum level of rule of law could become a risky political and moral endeavor for NATO and ISAF. Over the last ten years, as a consequence of 9/11, the policies of many Western countries vis-à-vis Arab and Islamic countries have largely been narrowed down to the fight against Islamist terror. Priority was given to assumed stability in these countries and to close alliances with authoritarian regimes without simultaneously fostering and demanding democracy and human rights. This approach has proven to be a miserable strategy in light of the political upheaval in the Arab world since early 2011.

The discourse of fear after 9/11

At the end of the Cold War a clash of civilizations was proclaimed as the new cradle of global conflict. Similarly, as a result of September 11, a clash of religions has seemingly determined the foreign policy analyses over the last decade. At least this has been the case when the Islamic world and "the West" are portrayed as the two largest antagonists in global policy. In the wake of 9/11 a culture of fear has played a much larger role in determining political responses in the U.S., Europe and Germany than confidence in western strengths, values and the principles of a resilient democracy.

The 12th Annual Foreign Policy Conference hosted by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, in cooperation with the European Council on Foreign Relations, aims to stimulate debate on the major changes since 9/11 and the reasons for the distortions mentioned above. We will also explore the conflict between morality and "realpolitik" and how it has been malpracticed in selective foreign policies over the last decade. But the main objective of the conference is to identify potential solutions for foreign policy dilemmas and to discuss lessons learned in light of the paradigm shift in the wake of 9/11. The conference will do this by taking into account both new challenges and old alliances as well as opportunities for foreign policy in a dramatically changed world.

DRAFT AGENDA

Day 1, Thursday, June 16, 2011

5:00 p.m. Registration

5:30 p.m. Welcome and introduction
Ralf Fücks, President, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin
and
Ulrike Guérot, Head of the Berlin Office, European Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin

5:45 p.m. Keynote
Terminology of the new world order

- How has the terminology of international politics changed since 9/11? What does "war on terror" mean today, how do we define security and international order against the backdrop of the last decade?
- Are there universal values and principles that could be used as foundation for a "new world order"?
- Old powers, new powers – the rise of the "others"

Anne-Marie Slaughter*, Dean, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs; Bert G. Kerstetter '66 University Professor of Politics and International Affairs, Princeton University

6:15 p.m. Political dialogue
September 11 – Lessons learned?

- 9/11 – a historic turning point? "War on terror" – a misguided strategy?
- Who are enemies of the "western values community" – and how should they be tackled?
- From "unconditional solidarity" (Gerhard Schröder 2001) to "I am not convinced" (Joschka Fischer 2003): are Europe and the U.S. drifting apart?
- Afghanistan as a litmus test for NATO: is the security of the West being defended at the Hindu Kush Range?

Daniel S. Hamilton, Executive Director, Center for Transatlantic Relations, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Washington D.C.

And

Wolfgang Ischinger, Chairman, Munich Security Conference; Diplomat

And

Radosław Sikorski*, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw

And

David Miliband*, Member of Parliament; Former Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, London

Moderated by: **Ralf Fücks**, President, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin

7:45 p.m. Reception

Day 2, Friday, June 17, 2011

9:00 a.m. Registration

9:30 a.m. Welcome

Gregor Enste, Department Head for Foreign and Security Policy, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin

9:35 a.m. Plenary Panel 1

Democratization from the Near and Middle East to Central Asia

- What has happened to the democratization agendas for Afghanistan and Iraq? Has "external democratization" failed?
- Endangered legitimacy of state building: which conclusions for the idea of externally strengthening democracy?
- Freedom movements and political upheaval in the Arab world – what lessons for EU policy?
- Is there any chance for the West to regain its credibility as an advocate for democracy and human rights?

Ahmed Rashid*, Journalist, Author, Lahore

Claudia Roth*, Federal Chairwoman, Alliance 90/The Greens, Berlin

Christoph Heusgen, Division Chief, Foreign and Security Policy, German Federal Chancellery, Berlin

Caroline Wadhams, Senior Fellow, Center for American Progress, Washington D.C.

Ahmed Badawi, Former Middle East and North Africa Senior Analyst, International Crisis Group, Jerusalem

Moderated by: **Barbara Unmüßig**, President, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin

11:00 a.m. Coffee Break

11:30 a.m.

Plenary Panel 2

New challenges and old alliances? EU, NATO and a security architecture for the 21st century

- Are the EU and NATO politically and structurally well-equipped to meet new challenges?
- Do we need a different European security architecture with respect to the Middle East, Central Asia and Russia?
- Multipolar or multilateral world order?

Marc Perrin de Brichambaut*, Secretary General, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, Vienna

Klaus Naumann*, Former Chief of Staff of the Bundeswehr; Former Chairman of the NATO Military Committee

Walter Stevens, Head, Crisis Management and Planning Department, European External Action Service, Brussels

Nick Witney*, Senior Policy Fellow, European Council on Foreign Relations, Paris

Soli Özel, Professor of International Relations and Political Science, Istanbul Bilgi University

Moderated by: **Ulrike Guérot**, Senior Research Fellow and Head of the Berlin Office, European Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin

1:00 p.m.

Lunch break

2:00 p.m.

Discourse of fear - Parallel forums

Forum 1

The fear of terror or the fear of „something different“?

- Why did the perception of "war on terror" turn into a "crusade against Islam"?
- Islam and the West: on their way to a "clash of civilizations"; responsibilities of the media?
- Islam, women and human rights
- What does the "naturalization of Islam" mean?

Patrick Bahners, Managing Editor, Arts Section, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Frankfurt

Cem Özdemir, Federal Chairman, Alliance 90/The Greens, Berlin

Geneive Abdo, Director, insideIRAN project; Fellow, National Security Network, Washington D.C.

Durre Ahmed, Senior Research Fellow, Center for the Study of Gender and Culture, Lahore

Moderated by: **Sylke Tempel**, Editor-in-Chief, Internationale Politik, Berlin

Forum 2

Fear of terrorism as a political pretext: cutting down of data protection laws, civil rights and encroachment in the private sphere

Peter Schaar, German Federal Commissioner for Data Protection and Freedom of Information, Berlin

Rena Tangens, Co-Founder and Chairwoman FoeBud e.V., Bielefeld

Anthony Dworkin, Senior Policy Fellow, European Council on Foreign Relations, London

John Ashcroft*, Consultant and Lobbyist, Arlington, VA

Moderated by: **N.N.**

Forum 3

Turning a blind eye? Fearful of crises and the truth

- Is there a resilience of moral and ethical values in the face of crisis situations?
- Is the "West" willing to sacrifice basic values for the sake of assumed political stability and economic interests?
- Can military intervention protect human rights?
- What can civil society contribute to safeguarding human rights in times of war?

Barbara Lochbihler, Member of the European Parliament, The Greens/EFA, Brussels

Stefanie Babst*, Acting Assistant Secretary General, Public Diplomacy Division, NATO, Brussels

Conrad Schetter, Department of Political and Cultural Change, Bonn Asia Center, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms University Bonn

Moderated by: **N.N.**

4:00 p.m. Coffee Break

**4:30 p.m. Closing plenary panel
10 years after 9/11 – lessons for the future**

- Which conclusions can we draw from 10 years of "war on terror"?
- Which security policy challenges will drive the agenda in the near future?
- Priority of crisis prevention: Impediments and risks?

Staffan de Mistura*, Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary General for Afghanistan

Oleh Rybachuk, Former Deputy Prime Minister of Ukraine, Kiev

Daniel S. Hamilton, Executive Director of the Center for Transatlantic Relations; Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Washington D.C.

Reinhard Bütikofer, Member of the European Parliament, The Greens/EFA, Brussels

Ulrich Stefan Schlie, Head, Policy Planning and Advisory Staff of the German Federal Ministry of Defense, Berlin

Moderated by: **Ralf Fücks**, President, Heinrich Böll Foundation

6:00 p.m. End of Conference

*Confirmation pending