

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.

Live-Stream

You can follow the conference live at our website <http://www.boell.de/stream>

Conference management and information

Gregor Enste, Department Head for Foreign and Security Policy, enste@boell.de, +49-30-285 34 393

Melanie Sorge, Political Consultant/Project Manager, melanie@boellstiftung.org, +49-30-311 63 485 or +49-179-871 60 93

Background

The historic turning point of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 accelerated a transitional phase 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. In the last decade, the subsequent relative 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 support the historical experience that the rise of new powers is often accompanied by phases of instability and geopolitical rivalry. The future international role that Europe will play remains particularly unclear. Without a European Union as a strong foreign policy actor and a renewed transatlantic partnership, European powers run the risk of becoming marginal actors in the global developments of the 21st century. This holds true all the more in the face of the political uprisings in the Arab world which are unfolding in our neighborhood.

The decade after 9/11

An assessment of the decade after September 11, 2001 has to involve the completely different perceptions of 9/11 in Europe and the United States as well as the political conclusions drawn from it. In the U.S., the terrorist attacks were perceived as a kind of second Pearl Harbor, and as a result, the reactions were primarily military in nature. Democracy was likewise to be exported to Afghanistan and Iraq through military interventions. The political, human, and financial costs of the policy of regime change were and remain high. Now the pendulum has begun to swing, and the new policy is aimed at military disengagement. As understandable as that is: withdrawal scenarios without clearly defined minimum goals, without inner-Afghan reconciliation strategies, without a minimum level of rule of law or a resilient regional arrangement can end in a political and moral disaster.

In other regions in the world, the West has for decades – also under the auspices of the fight against Islamic terrorism - opted for alliances with authoritarian regimes that were seen as a guarantor of stability without democracy. This policy has also proven to be imprudent in light of the political upheavals in the Arab world.

The discourse of fear

Since the end of the Cold War and more than ever since 9/11 we have observed a politicization of religious movements and conflicts. Occasionally an underlying religious “clash of civilizations” was posited as the new cradle of global conflict. This is always the case when the wrongly subsumed “Islamic world” and “the West” are portrayed as the two largest antagonists in global policy. Fear is as much a bad advisor in politics as it is in daily life. Yet precisely this discourse of fear has played a much larger role in the wake of September 11 in determining American and German political responses than the confidence in western strengths, values and the principles of a liberal democracy.

Outlook

After Osama bin Laden’s death by U.S. special forces, this conference offers the chance to take stock of ten years of the “war on terror” and to offer an outlook on future scenarios for Afghanistan, the Middle East, and on the future of international order. In cooperation with the European Council on Foreign Relations, we would like to highlight changes that have taken place since September 11, 2001, and draw conclusions from the successes and failures of the last decade. But above all the conference should identify a roadmap out of the current foreign policy stalemate, and discuss foreign policy strategies that consider the new challenges as well as the new opportunities in a changed world. Last but not least, the conference will deal with the question of democracy and human rights as guiding principles of action in western foreign and security policy.

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. Political dialogue
September 11 – Lessons learned?

Ralf Fücks, President of the Heinrich Böll Foundation

In conversation with

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

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

And

Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Member of the European Parliament, Co-chairman of the Group of the Greens/EFA, Brussels

7:45 p.m. Reception with Wine and Pretzels

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
Regime Change and Democracy Promotion - A questioning Analysis

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, Co-Executive Director, Transform - Centre for Conflict Analysis, Political Development and World Society Research, Berlin

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

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

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

Nick Witney, Senior Policy Fellow, European Council on Foreign Relations, London

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

Moderated by: **Ulrike Guérot**, 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?

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

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

Geneive Abdo, Director, Iran program, The Century Foundation, 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

Annegret Bendiek, Deputy Head of Research Division, Research Division EU External Relations, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin

Moderated by: **Miriam Janke**, Facilitator; Journalist, Berlin

Forum 3

Turning a blind eye? Fearful of crises and the truth.

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

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

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

Moderated by: **Rolf Clement**, Correspondent for Security Policy, Deutschlandfunk, Cologne

4:00 p.m. Coffee Break

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

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, Berlin

6:00 p.m. End of Conference