

Tiergarten Conference 2017

Crisis of Multilateralism? Peace Politics in the Age of Authoritarianism, Nationalism and Populism

**Expert Conference and Public Panel Discussion
Thursday, November 30, 2017**

Authoritarianism, nationalism and populism all over the world are putting multilateral peace and security policy to the test. In a world marked by nationalism and authoritarianism, international institutions and rules agreed upon by countries are shunned, at best only being held to apply to other states. If institutions of the liberal world order have offered at least a modicum of predictability and reliability, the emerging order of antagonistic nationalisms heralds an epoch of volatile complexity.

Sustainable peace politics presupposes a willingness to compromise, assume responsibility and an international commitment - predicates that are incompatible with an "*our country first*" attitude. The election of Donald Trump, which puts a preliminary end to the heyday of the global governance architecture of the 1990s and 2000s, is more of a symptom than cause of global upheavals. Violent societal and international conflicts have increased over the last few years, with expenditures on arms surging to new levels year after year. Conflicts in Europe that were thought to have been resolved have rekindled, even casting doubt on the viability of the European security architecture. National, ethnic and religious conflicts of identity are mobilising the masses in many regions of the world. All of these developments go hand in hand with a desire for strong leaders and national isolationism.

The organs of multilateral politics have themselves no doubt also contributed to their demise: Technocratic institutions were able to avoid urgently needed reforms in the direction of more transparency, effectiveness and accountability for too long - this also goes for the United Nations (UN) and the European Union (EU). Nevertheless, multilateralism based on values is and remains a precondition for sustainable peace to which there is no alternative: How else can the various transnational conflicts like the ones raging in Afghanistan, Iraq, Korea, Syria or Ukraine otherwise be resolved if not through rules that are jointly legitimised and enforced? Yet, the UN, the most important forum for the establishment and enforcement of global rules, and other regional cooperative alliances are only as effective as their members allow. Against the background of a re-nationalisation of politics, it is therefore not surprising that the UN and the European peace architecture face similar profound crises.

EXPERT CONFERENCE

9.00 a.m. – 4.00 p.m.

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Conference Room 1, Hiroshimastr. 17, 10785 Berlin

8.15 a.m. Registration

9.00 a.m. **Opening Remarks**
Ingrid Matthäus-Maier, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

**9.10 a.m. Keynote Speech: The erosion of the rule-based global order:
What future for peace and security in a renationalized
international system?**

Terje Rød-Larsen, International Peace Institute

In a world of global interdependencies, nationalist policies lead to political impasse and conflicts. With their purportedly simple solutions of isolationism and withdrawal, nationalists and populists offer what would appear to be solutions to complex global problems. National "go-it-alone" strategies and special deals based on parochial national interests discredit binding global and regional mechanisms in cooperation based on rules and values, however. As a result, cooperative structures founded on the basis of common values erode, only causing the discrepancy between global problems and global capacities to solve these problems to further widen. Democratic politics has run up against the wall, and is having major difficulties emerging from a permanent crisis mode. On the other hand, the world community has demonstrated through the conclusion of the Paris Climate Agreement, the Sustainable Development Agenda 2030 and the nuclear deal with Iran that it is certainly possible to negotiate a consensus for a more peaceful world.

- Given these countervailing tendencies, what future does a breed of multilateralism based on rules and norms have?
- What are the ramifications of nationalistic politics for effectively functioning international organisations and the development of global norms and standards?
- To what extent can the Paris Agreement and the Sustainable Development Agenda offer grounds for hope that international agreements will be forged in the future to deal with global problems?



9.45 – 11.15 a.m.

Panel I: 'Our country first': Is there a need for a reinvention of the multilateral conflict resolution system?

Participants

- **Richard Gowan**, European Council on Foreign Relations
- **Pang Zhongying**, Ocean University of China
- **Rouzbeh Parsi**, University of Lund
- **Tom Perriello**, former US Special Envoy for the Great Lakes Region of Africa and the Democratic Republic of Congo
- **Peter Schumann**, Designated UN Assistant Secretary General and Deputy Joint Special Representative UNAMID Sudan

Moderation

Bettina Luise Rürup, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

US President Trump's various assaults on multilateralism demonstrate a lacking political will to steer globalization and develop a cooperation-based peace and security architecture. The other members of the UN Security Council do not seem to be inclined or able to further develop the multilateral peace and security policy either. Under conditions of increased confrontation international conflict resolution mechanisms cannot effectively function as the wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, Nigeria, Syria and Yemen daily demonstrate. Whether European security partnerships with African countries, American and Russian interventions in the Near and Middle East or China's posturing in South and East Asia: National interests, which focus on short-term benefits, undermine the ideas and principles of multilateral policy.

- What are the consequences of increasingly nationalistic foreign policies for international security and peace?
- How important is the "liberal world order" to the preservation of international peace and security in 2017?
- Would China and Russia be willing and able to assume a greater role in shaping global politics? If so, what would this look like? What would be the repercussions for international cooperation and the UN peace and security architecture?



11.30 a.m. – 1.00 p.m. Panel II: Forging multilateral solutions without multilateralists: How to revive security cooperation in Europe?

Participants

- **Niels Annen**, Member of the German Bundestag (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
- **Pascal Boniface**, Institut de relations internationales et stratégiques (IRIS)
- **Patricia Flor**, German Federal Foreign Office
- **Yulia Nikitina**, Moscow State University of International Relations (MGIMO)

Moderation

Reinhard Krumm, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

Since the annexation of the Crimea and military conflict erupting in East Ukraine at the latest, the European peace and security order as enshrined in the Paris Charta from 1990 is under threat. Neighbours again feel threatened by each other. Tensions in the relations between “East” and “West” relate to a fundamental conflict over the structure and design of the European order. With the stabilizing role of the USA in question, Russia’s lack of constructive dialogue and amid mounting nationalisms in Europe, diplomatic efforts seem to have stalled finding solutions to stabilising the “European security order”. The longer it takes to reach an understanding, the greater the risk for growing fragmentation and polarisation in Europe, including (south) eastern European and Caucasus societies.

- Does the Paris Charta still serve as the foundation of European security?
- If not, who could be the champions for new trust-building and reconciliation initiatives?
- Or could it be that managing the security crisis is the best option for now?
- How can European voters be attracted to support and embark on new foreign policy directions in times of uncertainty and the retreat to the fortress of nationalism?

1.00 – 2.30 p.m.

Lunch



2.30 – 4.00 p.m.

**Panel III: 'Against the alliance of authoritarians' -
progressive domestic and foreign policy for a strong
multilateralism**

Participants

- **Matt Duss**, Foreign Policy Advisor to US Senator Bernie Sanders (VT)
- **Monica Herz**, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro
- **Inge Kaul**, Hertie School of Governance
- **Rolf Mützenich**, Member of the German Bundestag (Social Democratic Party of Germany)

Moderation

Jochen Steinhilber, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

In view of resurgent right-wing populism and authoritarianism throughout the world, German Social Democracy's leading foreign policy-makers are calling for the formation of an international "alliance against authoritarians". In its agenda for peace and justice, the *Progressive Alliance*, an amalgamation of approximately 130 Social Democratic and progressive parties and organisations from all over the world, are demanding the creation of a political and economic system that is designed to place people at the forefront in all political action. Specific demands and strategies for action aim at among other things an improvement in the effectiveness and efficiency of the United Nations (UN) and reforms of the UN peace and security architecture. As indispensable as these reforms are - they can only be successful if UN members expand their multilateral commitment.

- How can propositions like these be put into practice in an atmosphere of nationalism and isolationism?
- How can citizens be persuaded of the need for stronger international commitment to counter the enticements of nationalistic populist stances?
- How can progressive foreign policy overcome the dilemma that internationalism and globalism stand in opposition to desires for walls and a return to the nation?

4.00 p.m.

**End of the closed expert meeting of the Tiergarten
Conference**



PUBLIC PANEL DISCUSSION

Multilateralism in Crisis? Peace Politics in the Age of Authoritarianism, Nationalism and Populism

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Conference Room 2, Hiroshimastr.28, 10785 Berlin

- 6.00 p.m.** **Opening Remarks**
Kurt Beck, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
- 6.10 p.m.** **Keynote Speech**
Martin Schulz, Member of the German Bundestag (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
- 6.30 p.m.** **Panel Discussion**
- Participants**
- **Pascal Boniface**, Institut de relations internationales et stratégiques (IRIS)
 - **Richard Gowan**, European Council on Foreign Relations
 - **Rolf Mützenich**, Member of the German Bundestag (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
 - **Yulia Nikitina**, Moscow State University of International Relations (MGIMO)
 - **Rouzbeh Parsi**, University of Lund
 - **Tom Perriello**, former US Special Envoy for the Great Lakes Region of Africa and the Democratic Republic of Congo
- Moderation** **Vivian Perkovic**, Journalist / TV Presenter
- 8.00 p.m.** **End of discussion and reception**

A simultaneous English-German / German-English translation of both the expert conference and the public panel discussion will be provided.