

## 2017 Tiergarten Conference

### **“Crisis of Multilateralism? Peace Politics in the Age of Authoritarianism, Nationalism and Populism”**

**Conference and panel discussion  
Thursday, November 30, 2017**

**Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Hiroshimastr. 17, 10785 Berlin**

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 herald 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.



## Program schedule (draft)

### Thursday, November, 30<sup>th</sup>, 2017

8.15 a.m. Registration

9.00 a.m. Opening by the Board of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

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

#### Keynote speakers

- Maria Luiza Ribeiro Viotti (tbc), Chef de Cabinet, United Nations Secretary-General; Former Under-Secretary for Asia and the Pacific in the Government of Brazil

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: "National sovereignty first': Is there a need for a**

## reinvention of the multilateral conflict resolution system?"

### Panel participants

- Richard Gowan, Senior Policy Fellow, European Council on Foreign Relations
- Li Dongyan (tbc), Senior Fellow, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
- Rouzbeh Parsi (tbc), Senior Lecturer, Human Rights Studies, Department of History, University of Lund
- Tom Perriello, Former Representative of US Congress, Career Diplomat, Served as Advisor to the International Prosecutor of the Special Court of Sierra Leone and US Special Envoy for the Great Lakes Region of Africa
- Vera Songwe, Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
- Feodor Voytlovsky, Acting Director, Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IMEMO), Russia

### Moderation

- Bettina Luise Rürup, Executive Director, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, New York Office

US President Trump's various assaults on multilateralism, increased unilateral actions and a planned massive arms build-up accompanied by an aggressive rhetoric have triggered an international debate over America's intentions and its means to guide global policies in the future. A political will to steer globalization and a cooperation-based peace and security architecture is clearly lacking. 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 aggressive posturing in South and East Asia: National interests, which focus on short-term benefits, undermine the ideas and principles of multilateral policy.

In the panel discussion, the consequences of increasingly nationalistic foreign policies for international security and peace are to be explored from different regional perspectives. How important is the world order moulded by the West 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 (development) cooperation and the development of the UN peace and security

architecture?

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

**Panel participants**

- Niels Annen, Member of Parliament, Foreign policy speaker of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD)
- Pascal Boniface, Director, Institut de relations internationales et stratégiques (IRIS), France
- Patricia Flor (tbc), Commissioner and Head of the Federal Foreign Office’s Directorate-General for International Order, the United Nations and Arms Control
- Charles A Kupchan (tbc), Professor of International Affairs in the School of Foreign Service and Government Department at Georgetown University, USA
- Yulia Nikitina, Associate Professor of World Politics and Research Fellow at the Center for the Post-Soviet Studies at the Moscow State University of International Relations

**Moderation**

- Reinhard Krumm, Director, Regional Office for Cooperation and Peace in Europe (ROCPE), Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Vienna Office

Multilateralism has been the cornerstone of Germany’s post 1945-foreign policy. Regardless of their political affiliations German Foreign policy elites at least since Willy Brandt’s *Neue Ostpolitik* have constantly highlighted the importance of cooperative security not just as a method of foreign policy making but rather as a valued principle per se. Whilst Germany’s most important partners seem to re-embrace nationalism and challenge core elements of the liberal internationalists consensus, internationalists are looking to Germany and its closest ally France to step up and provide leadership for peace and stability in Pan-Europe. With the stabilizing role of the USA and the United Kingdom slowly eroding in Europe and eastern European countries’ increased focus on national politics, the Franco-German couple is particularly challenged to revive the negotiation process with its partners and Russia about the future of the European peace order. For the moment, amid mounting nationalism and a reluctant Germany, all diplomatic efforts seem to have stalled finding solutions to the “European security question” ever more difficult. The longer it takes to reach an understanding of common threats, the greater the risk for growing fragmentation and polarisation in (south) eastern European and Caucasus societies as populists and nationalists are taking advantage of the debate to boost their political capital.

In this panel discussion, innovative ideas on how to revive international cooperation in Europe are to be discussed. Who could be the champions for new trust-building and reconciliation initiatives if not convinced multilateralists from Germany and France? What role should the EU and OSCE play to contribute to a solution for the “European security question”? How can European voters and societies 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**

**Panel participants**

- Matt Duss, Foreign Policy Advisor to Bernie Sanders, US Senator for Vermont and former US presidential candidate
- Inge Kaul (tbc), Adjunct professor, Hertie School of Governance, Berlin; former positions, i.a. Director, Office of Development Studies, UNDP New York; Director, Human Development Report Office, UNDP, New York
- Dr. Rolf Mützenich (tbc), Deputy Chairman of the Parliamentary Social Democratic Party of Germany, Member of Parliament
- Terje Rød-Larsen, President of the International Peace Institute, New York; former Norwegian Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Planning and Cooperation

**Moderation**

- Jochen Steinhilber, Head of the Department for Global Policy and Development, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Berlin

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 and demonstrate an ability to take resolute action in fragile contexts



and in dealing with perpetrators of violent crimes. In extreme emergencies this also includes the deployment of military resources if this can help prevent or mitigate the worst excesses of violent crimes. Strengthening *global domestic policy (Weltinnenpolitik)* also means transferring national sovereignty to supranational organisations. But 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 a stronger international commitment to counter the enticements of nationalistic populist stances? How can progressive foreign policy face 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 non-public part of the Tiergarten Conference

**6.00 p.m.** **Public panel discussion\*: "Crisis of multilateralism? Peace politics in the age of authoritarianism, nationalism and populism"**

\*A separate program will be sent out in due course.

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