

## PROGRAM

### 13th Annual Foreign Policy Conference **Democracy and Security in the Middle East**

How are Germany and the EU responding to the upheavals in the Arab world?

#### **Date and location**

Thursday, November 8, 2012, 4 pm - 7.30 pm

Friday, November 9, 2012, 9 am – 6 pm

Beletage of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Schumannstraße 8, 10117 Berlin, Germany

#### **Conference languages are German and English**

Simultaneous interpreting will be provided

#### **Live stream**

A live stream of the conference will be available on our website: <http://www.boell.de/stream>

#### **Project management and information**

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#### **Background**

Recent developments in Syria and Egypt illustrate the profoundness of the upheavals in the Arab world and the uncertainty of the future in the region in the second year of the Arab Awakening. While in some countries the old authorities have been brought down, transformation processes have been moving forward hesitantly. Like recently in Cairo, this has led to further protests, as the peoples' economic, social and democratic participation has hardly changed for the better.

The outcome of the Arab Spring will be decided above all in Syria and Egypt, the key countries of the region. With the internationalization of the conflict in Syria and is threatening to evolve into a proxy war like those of the Cold War era, a possible regime change will affect the regional balance of power between Turkey, Iran and Saudi Arabia.

In Cairo, political Islam in the form of the Muslim Brotherhood appears to be establishing itself as the new political elite, serving as a beacon for other Arab countries and creating new challenges for Europe's foreign policy. Developments in both key countries will ultimately also have a direct impact on Israel and Palestine. In addition, the Gulf States have emerged as new foreign policy actors on the regional stage, and their role still seems ambivalent.

At the Heinrich Böll Foundation's 13<sup>th</sup> Annual Foreign Policy Conference, international experts will examine the current state of the upheavals in the Arab world. At the same time, they will discuss the necessary adjustment of the EU's foreign and security policy and the future German and European neighborhood policy.

What kind of expectations does the region have vis-à-vis the EU? Are an active European policy and presence actually welcomed? Where are joint interests and fields of action? How can we support the democratic development of the region, and who could be potential partners for a more intense cooperation? Will Europe be able to take a more active role in the region in light of its current performance?

Two days after the U.S. presidential election on the 6th of November 2012, further questions will be which interests and which kind of engagement the U.S. will pursue in the Middle East.

## Day 1 – Thursday, November 8, 2012

**4:00 pm**      **Registration**

**4:30 pm**      **Welcome and introduction**

**Ralf Fücks**, President, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin

**4:40 pm**      **Two years after the start of the Arab Awakening:  
A view from the European Union**

**Dr. Andreas Reinicke**, EU Special Representative for the Middle East Peace Process, European External Action Service, Brussels

**4:55 pm**      **Two years after the start of the Arab Awakening:  
A view from the immediate neighborhood**

**Prof. Soli Özel**, Columnist at Habertürk Daily newspaper and Professor for International Relations, Kadir Has University, Istanbul

**5:10 pm**      Open discussion  
**Democracy, stability and security in the region and the role of the EU**

*Only four of the experts will engage in the discussion at any given time. The presenter will take questions from the audience during the course of the discussions.*

**Wael Sawah**, Journalist and author, researcher and advisor at the Syrian League for Citizenship, Damascus

**Danny Rothschild**, Former General, Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy, Interdisciplinary Center (IDC); Chair, Herzliya Conference Series, Herzliya

**Minister Abdallah Frangi**, Personal Adviser on foreign affairs to the President of the Palestinian Authority, Mahmoud Abbas, Gaza

**Dr. Andreas Reinicke**, EU Special Representative for the Middle East Peace Process, European External Action Service, Brussels

**Dr. AbdulMawgoud R. Dardery**, Member of Parliament, Freedom and Justice Party (FJP), Cairo

**Prof. Soli Özel**, Columnist at Habertürk Daily newspaper and Professor for International Relations, Kadir Has University, Istanbul

**Doreen Khoury**, Research Fellow, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin

**Kerstin Müller**, Member of Parliament, Spokesperson on Foreign Policy, Alliance 90/The Greens, Berlin

**Barbara Unmüßig**, President, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin

Presenter: **Dr. Sylke Tempel**, Editor-in-Chief, Internationale Politik, Berlin

**7:30 pm**      **Conclusion with a glass of wine**

## Day 2 – Friday, November 9, 2012

**9:00 am**      **Registration**

**9:30 am**      Political dialogue  
**From Rabat to Riyadh?  
Partnerships for democracy and socio-economic development – a new start  
in European neighborhood policy for the region**

**Heba Morayef**, Researcher, Middle East and North Africa Division, Human Rights Watch, Cairo

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

**Michael Reiffenstuel**, Head of Division, Maghreb and Transformation in the Arab World, German Federal Foreign Office, Berlin

**Dr. Radwan Masmoudi**, Founder and President, Center of the Study of Islam & Democracy (CSID), Tunis

Chair: **Barbara Unmüßig**, President, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin

**11:00 am**      **Coffee break**

**11:30 am**      **Parallel forums: A question of security**

### Forum 1

#### **Syria**

#### **The internationalization of a special case**

**Wael Sawah**, Journalist and author, researcher and advisor at The Syrian League for Citizenship, Damascus

**Petra Stienen**, Author, Arabist, Former human rights diplomat for the Netherlands in Egypt and Syria, Amsterdam

**Prof. Soli Özel**, Columnist at Habertürk Daily newspaper and Professor for International Relations, Kadir Has University, Istanbul

**Omid Nouripour**, Member of Parliament, Spokesperson on Security Policy, Alliance 90/The Greens, Berlin

Chair: **Dr. Bente Scheller**, Director, Heinrich Böll Foundation MENA, Beirut

### Forum 2

#### **Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states in times of transformation Their new role as international actors**

**Prof. Mehran Kamrava**, Director, Center for International and Regional Studies (CIRS), Georgetown University, Doha

**Dr. Claire Beaugrand**, Policy analyst for the Gulf countries, International Crisis Group, Brussels

**Tomas Avenarius**, Middle East correspondent, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Cairo

Chair: **Olaf Böhnke**, Director European Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin office

Forum 3

**New regional arms races**

**Is there the danger of a nuclear escalation in the Middle East?**

**Dr. Oded Eran**, Senior Research Associate, Institute for National Security Studies, Tel Aviv

**Dr. Mohamed Kadry Said Abdelaal**, Military and Technology advisor, Head of military studies unit, Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Cairo

**Dr. Margret Johannsen**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy, University of Hamburg

Chair: **Dr. Oliver Meier**, International Representative, Arms Control Association, Berlin

**1:00 pm Lunch break**

**2:00 pm Parallel forums: Partnerships and dialogue**

Forum 4

**Cooperation with new Elites**

**Interacting with political Islam**

**Prof. Binnaz Toprak**, Member of Parliament of the CHP opposition party, Ankara

**Dr. Radwan Masmoudi**, Founder and President, Center of the Study of Islam & Democracy (CSID), Tunis

**Dr. AbdulMawgoud R. Dardery**, Member of Parliament, Freedom and Justice Party (FJP), Cairo

Chair: **Jörg Lau**, Foreign Policy Editor, Die Zeit

Forum 5

**The limits of democratization?**

**Political participation of women and respect for individual rights**

**Kristina Kausch**, Senior Researcher und Research Coordinator, FRIDE, Madrid

**Dr. Hossam Bahgat**, Founder and Director, Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights (EIPR), Cairo

**Dr. Mouna Ghanem**, Political activist and Vice-President of Building the Syrian State, Damascus

Chair: **Joachim Paul**, Director, Heinrich Böll Foundation MENA, Tunis

Forum 6

**Promising ties**

**Partnership and dialogue as exemplified by the energy partnership between Europe and North Africa**

**Paul van Son**, CEO, Desertec Industrial Initiative (Dii), Munich

**Saïd Mouline**, Director, National Agency for the Development of Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency, Rabat

Chair: **Dr. Martin Rocholl**, Political Director, European Climate Foundation, Berlin

**3:30 pm**      **Coffee break**

**4:00 pm**      Summary and outlook  
**Restart after a false start? The reorientation of the EU's foreign and security policy in the region**

**Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger**, Chairman of the Munich Security Conference

**Dr. Tamara Cofman Wittes**, Senior Fellow and Director, Saban Center for Middle East Policy, Brookings Institution, Washington, DC

**Ibrahim El-Houdaiby**, Senior researcher, House of Wisdom, Center for Strategic Studies, AMIDEAST, Cairo

**Dr. Franziska Brantner**, Member of the European Parliament, The Greens/EFA, Brussels

**Mohammed Ali Abdallah Addarrat**, Member, General National Congress and Founding Member and President, The National Front Party, Tripoli

**Dr. Oded Eran**, Senior Research Associate, Institute for National Security Studies, Tel Aviv

**Ralf Fücks** President, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin

**6:00 pm**      **End of conference**