



THE BUCERIUS SUMMER SCHOOL ON GLOBAL GOVERNANCE 2006



The World Ahead Challenges and Opportunities – Problems and Prospects August 13 - August 27

PROGRAM

THE BUCERIUS SUMMER SCHOOL ON GLOBAL GOVERNANCE 2006

A two-week seminar of the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, Hamburg in cooperation with the Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung, Essen

Dean: Theo Sommer,

Editor-at-Large, DIE ZEIT, Hamburg

The World Ahead Challenges and Opportunities – Problems and Prospects

The ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius holds its sixth Bucerius Summer School on Global Governance from August 13 to August 27, 2006 – for the third time in cooperation with the Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung.

Since 1971, the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, one of Germany's largest private foundations, has been involved in the funding of projects in various fields of science and research, arts and culture, as well as education and training. The ZEIT-Stiftung was established by Gerd Bucerius, the late founder and publisher of Germany's leading quality weekly, DIE ZEIT. Apart from the Bucerius Law School and the Bucerius Arts Forum, the Bucerius Summer School is the ZEIT-Stiftung's most important international project.

The Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung was established by the IT entrepreneur Heinz Nixdorf, who died in 1986. The Foundation promotes education, scientific research especially in the field of information technology, and projects devoted to the advancement of the liberal and democratic governmental system and of public health. Its Heinz Nixdorf MuseumsForum (HNF) in Paderborn is the largest computer museum in the world.

The Bucerius Summer School harks back to Henry Kissinger's renowned International Summer Seminar at Harvard University. In the nineteen-sixties, Kissinger brought together emerging leaders from all over the world for a summer course of debates and lectures. Many of the seminar's alumni went on to become ministers, renowned academics, prominent journalists – leaders in their respective fields.

Out of 275 applicants we have invited 58 promising junior business executives, politicians and academics from 30 different countries – young women and men between 28 and 35 years of age who have already acquired some professional experience but have not yet reached the peak of their careers.

The overall aim of the Bucerius Summer School is to foster leadership qualities in young professionals by involving them in an international dialogue on current political, economic, social and legal questions. Participants learn from and are inspired by high-profile speakers who are well-known public figures in politics, business, academia and the NGO sphere.

Theo Sommer, Editor-at-Large of DIE ZEIT, chairs the sessions of the Bucerius Summer School. This year, lectures and workshops will be held at the Hotel "Le Royal Meridien" in downtown Hamburg, at the German Foreign Office and the German Development Agency GTZ in Berlin, and at the Heinz Nixdorf MuseumsForum in Paderborn, Theo Sommer, Dean of the Bucerius Summer School, and Oliver Gnad, Director of the Bucerius Summer School, are responsible for the two-week program.

The list of speakers for the 2006 Bucerius Summer School includes Jürgen Fitschen, Board Member of Deutsche Bank; Timothy Garton Ash, Gerd Bucerius Senior Research Fellow in Contemporary History at the University of Oxford and one of the most eloquent essayists of our time; Irene Khan, Secretary General of amnesty international; Wim Kok, former Prime Minister of the Netherlands; William Kristol, Editor of *The Weekly* Standard and one of the key-figures of American neo-conservatism; Kishore Mahbubani, Dean of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy in Singapore and a former career diplomat: Richard Sennett, London School of Economics and one of the leading sociologists in the Western hemisphere: Anne-Marie Slaughter. Dean of Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs; Shashi Tharoor, UN Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information and nominee of the Indian Government for the succession of Kofi Annan as UN Secretary-General; as well as many other distinguished leaders from all over the world

The Bucerius Summer School's topics will touch upon the most urgent cross-border challenges of our time: terrorism, the proliferation of WMD, energy security, and the need for environmental sustainability. It will also deal with limits and criteria of military intervention; migration induced by civil wars, ethnic cleansing, starvation and enduring poverty; pandemics such as HIV/ AIDS, Malaria, or Avian Flu; climate change and the demographic problems of post-modern societies. This year's Bucerius Summer School promises to be especially interesting, as debates will focus on three geographical regions in particular: China, India, and Sub-Saharan Africa. While India and China are rising on the international power scale, Africa is getting increasingly marginalized – a phenomenon that will be carefully analyzed by the participants in workshops, simulations, case studies and plenary discussions.

But the Bucerius Summer School is more than just a two-week learning experience. Global governance in the 21st century is about building networks and enhancing cross-cultural cooperation of actors from all sectors of public life. This is what the Bucerius Summer School tries to achieve in the long run. To follow up on the annual meetings, the Bucerius Summer School runs an active alumni network. Roughly a dozen alumni chapters have sprung up worldwide. With the support of the ZEIT-Stiftung, alumni arrange regional follow-up seminars (so-called "Bucerius Governance Talks") to discuss current developments. The most recent example of alumni networking was a conference held in Geneva at the World Economic Forum; plans for further meetings in Frankfurt and Washington DC are in the making.

The ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius and the Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung welcome all speakers and participants. We wish them fruitful discussions, new insights and sustainable networking.

Prof. Dr. Michael Göring Chairman of the Executive Board ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung

Dr. Gerhard Schmidt Chairman of the Board of Directors Editor-at-Large

DIE ZEIT

6 7 Dinner

Arrival in Hamburg

19.00

 10.00 – 15.00 Arrival at Hotel Royal Meridien – Reception, Check-in
 15.00 – 17.30 Guided Bus and Walking Tour of Hamburg (optional) The World Ahead Challenges and Opportunities – Problems and Prospects

HOTEL ROYAL MERIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

09.00 – 09.15 **Michael Göring**, Chairman of the Executive Board, ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, Hamburg Welcome and Introduction

09.15 – 09.30 **Theo Sommer**, Editor-at-Large, DIE ZEIT Hamburg *Welcome and Introduction*

09.30 – 09.45 **Oliver Gnad**, Project Director, ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, Hamburg Summer School's Intention and Program 09.45 – 10.45 Introduction Round of Participants

10.45 – 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 – 11.30 **John G. Ruggie**, Kirkpatrick Professor of International Affairs, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University *Global Governance – Concept and Reality*

11.30 – 13.00 Plenary Discussion

13.00 – 14.30 Lunch

TOWN HALL - KAISERSAAL (EMPEROR HALL)

15.00 – 15.10 **Ole von Beust**, First Mayor of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg *Welcome*

15.10 – 15.20 **Manfred Lahnstein**, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, Hamburg

Welcome

15.20 – 16.00 **Timothy Garton Ash**, Gerd Bucerius Senior Research Fellow in Contemporary History, University of Oxford What Chance for a Free World?

16.00 – 16.30 Plenary Discussion

16.30 – 17.30 Reception

20.00 Welcome Dinner

After Dinner Speaker: **Nicole Gnesotto**, Director, EU Institute for Security Studies, Paris

The Matrix of Global Governance (I): The United Nations and the European Union

HOTEL ROYAL MERIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

09.00 – 09.30 **Shashi Tharoor**, UN Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information, New York

The United Nations in Crisis: How to Restore the

09.30 – 10.45 Plenary Discussion

10.45 - 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 – 11.30 **Wim Kok**, former Prime Minister of the Netherlands, Amsterdam *The European Union as Global Actor: How the EU Will Overcome Its Current Crisis*

World Assembly's Authority

11.30 – 12.45 Plenary Discussion

12.45 – 14.30 Lunch

HOTEL ROYAL MERIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

14.30 – 16.15 Working Groups

Shashi Tharoor, UN Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information, New York

The United Nations as Global Actor
Wim Kok, former Prime Minister of the
Netherlands. Amsterdam

The European Union as Global Actor

16.15 – 16.30 Coffee Break

16.30 – 18.00 Wrap-Up and Plenary Discussion
19.00 Drake Boat Race on the Alster River

The Matrix of Global Governance (II): The Private Sector – Business in a World Without Boundaries

HOTEL ROYAL MERIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

09.00 – 09.30 **Uwe Jean Heuser,** Chief-Business-Editor, DIE ZEIT, Hamburg

The Business of Business Is Good Business

09.30 – 10.45 Plenary Discussion

10.45 – 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 – 11.30 **Jürgen Fitschen**, Member of the Group Executive Committee, Deutsche Bank AG, Frankfurt/Main

How Globalization Has Changed the

Business World

11.30 – 12.45 Plenary Discussion

12.45 – 14.30 Lunch

HOTEL ROYAL MERIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

14.30 - 16.00 Working Groups I-IV

Summer School Participants lead off a discussion about their companies' experience

16.00 – 16.15 Coffee Break

16.15 – 16.45 Presentation of Working Groups

16.45 – 18.00 Plenary Discussion

19.00 Dinner

After Dinner Speaker: **Dennis J. Snower**, President, Kiel Institute for the World Economy

The Matrix of Global Governance (III): Civil Society and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

HOTEL ROYAL MERIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

09.00 – 09.30 **Richard Sennett**, Professor of Sociology, London School of Economics *Civil Society and NGOs: Interests, Influence, Impact*

09.30 - 10.30 Plenary Discussion

10.30 – 10.45 Coffee Break

10.45 – 11.15 **Irene Khan**, Secretary General, amnesty international, London

A View from the Inside: How amnesty

international Works

11.15 – 12.15 Plenary Discussion

12.15 - 14.00 Lunch

HOTEL ROYAL MERIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

14.00 – 15.30 Working Groups I-IV
Summer School Participants lead off a discussion about their NGO's experience

15.30 – 15.45 Coffee Break 15.45 – 16.45 Wrap-Up

17.00 – 20.00 Bus Ride from Hamburg to Berlin Free Evening

The Security of States: Traditional Concepts

FOREIGN OFFICE - EUROPA-SAAL

09.00 – 09.15 **Georg Boomgaarden**, State Secretary, Foreign Office, Berlin *Welcome and Introduction*

09.15 – 09.45 **Stephen F. Szabo**, Professor of European Studies, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Washington DC *The US National Security Strategy in Bush's Second Term*

09.45 – 10.45 Plenary Discussion

10.45 - 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 – 11.30 Christoph Bertram, former Director, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin The Role of NATO in the Security Architecture of the 21st Century

11.30 - 12.30 Plenary Discussion

12.30 – 15.00 Lunch

FORFIGN OFFICE - FUROPA-SAAL

15.00 – 15.10 **Georg Boomgarden**, State Secratary,

Foreign Office, Berlin Welcome and Introduction

15.10 – 16.15 Panel Discussion (moderated by **Josef Joffe**, Editor, DIE ZEIT, Hamburg)

Christoph Bertram, former Director, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin

Ivo H. Daalder, Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution, Washington DC

William Kristol, Editor, The Weekly Standard, Washington DC

Charles A. Kupchan, Professor of International Relations, Georgetown University, Washington DC *US Grand Strategy in the Age of Uncertainty*

16.15 – 17.15 Plenary Discussion

17.15 – 18.15 Reception

20.00 Dinner

Societal Security (I): Energy Security and the Environment

DEUTSCHE GESELLSCHAFT FÜR TECHNISCHE ZUSAMMEN-ARBEIT (GTZ) – GTZ-HAUS, BERLIN

09.00 – 09.15 Wolfgang Schmitt, Managing Director,

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, Eschborn

Welcome and Introduction

09.15 – 09.45 Ernst Ulrich von Weizsäcker, Dean,

Donald Bren School of Environmental Science and Management, University of California, Santa Barbara

Preventing the Climate Catastrophe: Why Kyoto Won't Do It Alone

09.45 - 10.45 Plenary Discussion

10.45 – 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 – 11.30 **Jeff Gedmin**, Director, Aspen Institute, Berlin *Energy Security for the 21stCentury*

11.30 – 12.30 Plenary Discussion

12.30 - 14.00 Lunch

Societal Security (II): Managing Global Public Goods

DEUTSCHE GESELLSCHAFT FÜR TECHNISCHE ZUSAMMEN-ARBEIT (GTZ) – GTZ-HAUS, BERLIN

14.00 – 17.00 "Fish Bank Ltd." – An Experiment in Sustainable Development

17.00 - 17.15 Coffee Break

17 15 – 18 00 Evaluation of "Fish Bank Ltd."

18 00 – 18 30 Bus Transfer from GTZ to Hotel

19.30 – 20.00 Bus Transfer from Hotel to the Pier

20.00 – 22.30 Dinner (Boat Tour on the Spree River)

After Dinner Speaker:

Catherine McArdle Kelleher, Director of Faculty Programs, Strategic Research Department, Center for Naval Warfare Studies, US Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island

Berlin Landmarks

10.30 – 13.00 Guided Bus and Walking Tour through Berlin

13.00 – 15.00 Lunch

15.00 - 15.30 Walk to the Reichstag

15.30 – 17.00 Guided Tour of the Reichstag

17.00 – 20.30 Bus Ride from Berlin to Paderborn

20.30 Dinner

Regional Realities and the Global Power Pattern (I): The Rise of China

HEINZ NIXDORF MUSEUMSFORUM – CONFERENCE ROOM

09.30 – 09.45 **Bernd Klein**, Managing Director, Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung, Essen

Welcome and Introductory Remarks

09.45 – 10.15 **Eberhard Sandschneider**, Director, Research Institute of the German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin

The Rise of China – Social, Economic and Political Factors

10.15 – 11.15 Plenary Discussion

11.15 – 11.30 Coffee Break

11.30 – 12.00 **Kishore Mahbubani**, Dean, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, Singapore The Rise of China and Its Impact on Asia

12.00 – 13.00 Plenary Discussion

13.00 - 14.30 Lunch

HEINZ NIXDORF MUSEUMSFORUM – CONFERENCE ROOM

14.30 – 15.00 **David M. Lampton**, Director of China Studies, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Washington DC Containment or Engagement: US Policy Towards China

15.00 – 16.00 Plenary Discussion

16.00 – 16.15 Coffee Break

16.15 – 18.00 Kurt Beiersdörfer and Nobert Ryska,

Managing Directors, Heinz Nixdorf MuseumsForum, Paderborn Guided Tour through the Exhibition

18.00 – 21.00 Bus Ride from Paderborn to Hamburg

Regional Realities and the Global Power Pattern (II): The Rise of India

HOTEL ROYAL MERIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

09.00 – 09.30 **T. N. Ninan**, Editor, Business Standard, New Delhi The Rise of India: Social, Economic and Political Factors

09.30 – 10.45 Plenary Discussion

10.45 - 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 – 11.30 **Rahul Gandhi**, Member of the Indian Parliament, New Delhi India 2050: A Vision for the Subcontinent

11.30 – 12.30 Plenary Discussion

12.30 – 14.00 Lunch

HOTEL ROYAL MERIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

14.00 – 16.00 Case Study

The Global Relocation Game –

A German Company Between China and India

(developed in cooperation with the Global
Public Policy Institute, Berlin)

16.00 - 16.15 Coffee Break

16.15 – 18.30 Presentation by Working Groups and Plenary Discussion

19.30 Dinner

Regional Realities and the Global Power Pattern (III): Capacity Building in Africa

HOTEL ROYAL MERIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

09.00 – 09.30 **Cord Jakobeit**, Professor of International Politics, University of Hamburg *Africa: Half a Century After Independence*

09.30 – 10.45 Plenary Discussion

10.45 - 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 – 11.30 **Peter Eigen**, Founder of Transparency International, Berlin Capacity Building in Africa: Good Governance and the Fight Against Corruption

11.30 – 12.45 Plenary Discussion

12.45 - 14.00 Lunch

HOTEL ROYAL MERIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

14.00 - 14.45 Panel Discussion

Peter Eigen, Founder of Transparency International, Berlin Tom Mshindi, Managing Consultant, Words Warehouse, Nairobi Bartholomäus Grill, Africa Correspondent, DIE ZEIT, Cape Town/Berlin The Media and Africa: A Story of Missed Opportunities?

14.45 – 16.00 Plenary Discussion

16.00 – 16.15 Coffee Break

Governance Beyond Governments: Social Capital and Global Public Networks

HOTEL ROYAL MERIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

16.15 – 16.45 **Anne-Marie Slaughter**, Dean, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs,

Princeton University

Governance Beyond Governments: Social Capital and Global Public Networks

16.45 – 18.00 Plenary Discussion

20.00 Dinner

After Dinner Speaker: **Andrew Moravcsik**, Professor of Politics, Princeton University

Risk Management: AIDS, Avian Flu and Other Pandemics

HOTEL ROYAL MERIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

09.00 – 09.30 **Christina Schrade**, Advisor to the Executive Director, The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, Geneva *Eradicating Pandemics – Key to Good Governance in Africa*

09.30 – 10.45 Plenary Discussion

10.45 – 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 – 11.30 **Reinhard Kurth**, President, Robert Koch

Institute, Berlin

The Coming Plagues – Consequences of the Next Influenza Pandemic

11.30 – 12.45 Plenary Discussion

12.45 - 14.30 Lunch

Risk Management: Tsunamis, Earthquakes, Global Warming and Other Catastrophes

HOTEL ROYAL MERIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

14.30 – 15.00 **Peter Höppe**, Director, Geo Risk Research, Munich Re Group Risk Assessment: What Catastrophes Will Mankind Have to Guard Against?

15.00 – 16.00 Plenary Discussion

16.00 – 16.15 Coffee Break

16.15 – 16.45 **Jochen Zschau**, Chairman, German Task Force

Committee for Earthquakes.

Geo Research Center, Potsdam University Early Warning in Case of Potential Tsunami

16.45 – 18.00 Plenary Discussion

19.00 Dinner

After Dinner Speaker:

Henning Mankell, Swedish Author,

Stockholm/Maputo

How AIDS Corrodes African Societies

The Future of the West: Global Governance and Global Leadership

HOTEL ROYAL MERIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

09.00 - 10.45 Evaluation / Feedback

10.45 – 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 – 12.00 **Theo Sommer**, Editor-at-Large, DIE ZEIT,

Hamburg

Oliver Gnad, Project Director, ZEIT-Stiftung

Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, Hamburg

Wrap-Up and Outlook

12 00–14 00 Lunch

BUCERIUS LAW SCHOOL - NIXDORF AUDITORIUM

15.00 – 15.30 Karl Kaiser, Ralph I. Straus Visiting Professor,

Weatherhead Center for International Affairs/Kennedy School of Government,

Harvard University

The World in 2020: Some Likely Scenarios and

What to Do About Them

15.30 – 16.30 Plenary Discussion

19.30 Dinner

Sailing Tour and Farewell Dinner

10.00 – 11.00 Bus Ride from Hamburg to Travemünde

11.00 – 16.00 Sailing Cruise on the Baltic Sea

16.00 – 17.00 Bus Ride from Travemünde to Hamburg

19.30 Farewell Dinner

SUNDAY, AUGUST 27 (HAMBURG)

Departure

08.00 – 11.00 Breakfast and Individual Departure

Kurt Beiersdörfer has been Managing Director of the Heinz Nixdorf MuseumsForum in Paderborn since 1997. Before joining the MuseumsForum in 1996, he served as Consultant and Associate Program Director at the Robert Bosch Foundation in Stuttgart.



Christoph Bertram served as Director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, SWP) from 1998 to 2005. As one of the largest and most influential think-tanks in Europe, the SWP is frequently consulted by the German Government and Parliament on questions of foreign and security policy. Previously, Bertram served as Director of the



International Institute for Strategic Studies and as foreign policy correspondent of the Hamburg-based weekly DIE ZEIT. Most recently (Spring 2006), he held the Steven Muller Chair in German Studies at the Bologna Center of the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University.

Georg Boomgaarden has been State Secretary in the Federal Foreign Office since 2005. Previously (2003-2005), he served as Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Kingdom of Spain. From 1999 to 2002, he was Director for Latin American Affairs in the Federal Foreign Office. Prior to that, he headed the Division for Southern Latin America in the Federal Foreign Office (1995-



1999). From 1992 to 1995, Boomgaarden was Head of the Economic Service at the German Embassy in Moscow. He served as Ambassador to Nicaragua from 1989 to 1992.



Ivo H. Daalder is Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution, Washington DC, where he also holds the Sydney Stein Jr. Chair in International Security. His current research focuses on the implications of globalization for US foreign policy, homeland security organization, and the role of the National Security Council. Prior to joining Brookings, he was Associate

Professor at the University of Maryland's School of Public Affairs. From 1995 to 1996, he served as Director for European Affairs on President Clinton's National Security Council staff. From 1998 to 2001, Daalder served as a member of the Study Group of the US Commission on National Security/21st Century (the Hart-Rudman Commission). He is a member of the Academy of Political Science, the Council on Foreign Relations, the International Institute for Strategic Studies, and serves as Special Adviser at the Center for American Progress.



Peter Eigen is founder and former chairman of Transparency International, a non-governmental organization promoting transparency and accountability in regional and international development. He currently serves as Visiting Lecturer in Political Science at the Free University Berlin. Eigen has worked in economic development for 25 years, mainly as a World Bank manager of programs in Afri-

ca and Latin America. Under Ford Foundation sponsorship, he provided legal and technical assistance to the governments of Botswana and Namibia. He has taught law at several universities, including Frankfurt/Main, Georgetown, Harvard and Johns Hopkins. In 2001, he joined the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace as Visiting Scholar.

Jürgen Fitschen is a Member of Deutsche Bank's Group Executive Committee. He is also Head of Regional Management worldwide and Chairman of the Management Committee Germany. He joined Deutsche Bank in 1987. Positions he has held within the Group since then include: General Manager and Deputy Director, Bangkok Branch (1987); General Manager for Japan, Tokyo



Branch (1990); and Executive Director, Regional Head Office Singapore (1993). He was a member of the Corporates and Real Estate Divisional Board (1997-98) and a member of the Global Corporates and Institutions Divisional Board (1998-2001). In March 2001, he was appointed to Deutsche Bank Group's Board of Managing Directors.

Timothy Garton Ash is Gerd Bucerius Senior Research Fellow in Contemporary History and Professor of European Studies at the University of Oxford; Director of the European Studies Centre at St. Antony's College, Oxford; and a Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University. He is the author of eight books of political writing or 'history of the present' which have charted the transforma-



tion of Europe over the last quarter-century. His essays appear regularly in *The New York Review of Books*, and he writes a weekly column in *The Guardian* which is widely syndicated in Europe, Asia and the Americas. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature, the Royal Historical Society, the Royal Society of Arts, and a Corresponding Fellow of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences.



Jeff Gedmin is Director of the Aspen Institute Berlin. Previously, he was a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington DC, where he coordinated and directed the New Atlantic Initiative, a coalition of international institutes, politicians, leading journalists, and business executives dedicated to the revitalization and expansion of the Atlantic community of democracies. His articles

on foreign and defense issues – including NATO, US-EU relations, missile defense, and Balkan security – have appeared in *The New York Times, The Washington Post, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, and other important periodicals.



Rahul Gandhi is a Member of the Indian Parliament from Amethi, a constituency with a population of 2.5 million. Prior to his election as a Member of Parliament, he specialized in Development Economics, which he studied at Cambridge University. For four years, he served as strategy consultant with the Monitor Company, working in the fields of telecommunications, automobile, retail,

and energy industries. In 2001, he also started a Business Process Outsourcing company in the field of engineering design, in which he continues to take an active interest.



Nicole Gnesotto is Director of the European Union Institute for Security Studies. She formerly (1994-99) served as professor at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques of Paris (Sciences Po) and as Chargée de Mission to the Director of the French Institute for International Relations (IFRI). A specialist in security issues, she was a member of the Institute's research team from 1990 to 1993, after having been

Deputy Head of the French Foreign Ministry's policy planning staff from 1986 to 1990. From October 1999 to December 2001, she was Director of the Institute for Security Studies of the Western European Union.

Michael Göring is Chairman of the Executive Board of the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius. Before joining the ZEIT-Stiftung in 1997, he was Head of Foreign and Overseas Affairs at the German National Merit Foundation (Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes) and Head of the Funding Department at the Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach Foundation. He is a member of various advi-



sory boards, primarily foundations and organizations of higher education

Bartholomäus Grill studied social education, sociology, and art history before becoming a journalist. He initially worked as cultural correspondent for the weekly *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt* in Hamburg, moving to the political desk of the weekly newspaper DIE ZEIT in 1987. From 1993, he was based in Johannesburg, South Africa, serving as the paper's Africa correspondent. He also wrote



foreign reports for *Profil*, Vienna, *Die Weltwoche*, Zurich, and reports on Africa for GEO magazine, Hamburg. He has headed the Africa office of DIE ZEIT in Cape Town since 2000. Recently, he was also appointed as DIE ZEIT's Berlin correspondent. Grill received the Journalists Prize for Development Policy in 1996, and the Media Prize of the German AIDS Foundation in 2005. This year he was honored with the Henri Nannen-Prize and also with the Wolfgang-Koeppen-Prize.



Uwe Jean Heuser is Chief-Business-Editor at the Hamburg-based weekly DIE ZEIT. He joined the editorial staff in 1992. Previously, he served as consultant and researcher with Bayerische Vereinsbank, Paris (1990), and with McKinsey & Company (1989). He has taught Economics, Communications, and Organization Theory at the University of Bonn (1984-86), Harvard College (1990-91),

and New York University (1995). His most recent book is entitled *Das Unbehagen im Kapitalismus – Die neue Wirtschaft und ihre Folgen* (Berlin 2000). Heuser holds a Ph.D. in Economics from Albertus Magnus University Cologne, and a Master of Public Administration from Harvard University.



Peter Höppe is Director of Geo Risks Research at the Munich Re Group, one of the world's largest reinsurers and the second-largest primary insurer in Germany. Previously (1979-2003), he held various positions as a professor at Ludwig Maximilians University Munich in the fields of bioclimatology, applied meteorology, and occupational and environmental medicine



Cord Jakobeit is Professor of International Politics at Hamburg University. He previously (2000-2002) directed the Hamburg-based Institute for African Studies, part of the German Institute of Global and Area Studies. From 1999-2000, he was a Fellow at the Berlin Institute for Advanced Studies. Among other areas, his research focuses on the political and socio-economic development in

Sub-Saharan Africa, democratization processes, and international economic relations. He has conducted studies for the World Bank, the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Federal Environment Agency, and other organizations.

Josef Joffe is Publisher-Editor of the German weekly DIE ZEIT. Previously, he served as columnist/editorial page editor of the Munich-based daily *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (1985-2000). Joffe is also active as an international relations scholar and has taught at various universities, among them Harvard, Princeton and Stanford. He has written numerous scholarly articles, contributing regularly to



journals like Foreign Affairs, The National Interest and International Security. Among his book publications are The Limited Partnership: Europe, the United States and the Burdens of Alliance (1987) and The Future of the Great Powers (1998).

Karl Kaiser is the Ralph I. Straus Visiting Professor at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, a joint appointment with the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, where he serves on the Visiting Committee and is now a Visiting Scholar. He has taught at the Universities of Bonn, Johns Hopkins (Bologna), Saarbruecken, Cologne, and the Departments of Government and



Social Studies of Harvard. He was Director of the German Council on Foreign Relations, Bonn/Berlin, for 30 years, and an adviser to Chancellors Brandt and Schmidt. He serves on the Board of Foreign Policy, Internationale Politik, Asian-Pacific Review, the Advisory Board of the American-Jewish Committee, Berlin, and is Chairman of the Board of the Federal Academy of Security Policy, Berlin.



Irene Khan has been Secretary General of amnesty international since 2001. Prior to that, she held various positions with the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. From 1991 to 1995, she was Senior Executive Officer to High Commissioner Mrs. Sadako. In 1995, she was appointed as the UNHCR Chief of Mission in India, and, in 1998, headed the UNHCR Center for Re-

search and Documentation. She led the UNHCR team in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia during the Kosovo crisis in 1999, and was appointed Deputy Director of International Protection later that year.



Bernd Klein is Managing Director of the Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung and partner of the law firm Schmidt, von der Osten & Huber in Essen. He is a member of the German-American Lawyers' Association and the German-British Jurists' Association. Klein holds a doctorate in law, which he studied at the universities of Bonn, Freiburg and Berkeley (LL.M.).



Wim Kok was Prime Minister of the Netherlands from 1994 to 2002. Previously, he served as Minister of Finance and Deputy Prime Minister (1989-1994). Since his withdrawal as Prime Minister, he has been active in European politics, advising the European Commission on the consequences of enlargement (2002-2003), acting as Chairman of the European Council's Employment Task-force

(2003), and as Chairman of the High Level Group on the Lisbon Strategy (2004).

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