THE BUCERIUS SUMMER SCHOOL ON GLOBAL GOVERNANCE



Times of Upheaval – Testing Global Governance 17 – 29 August 2014

PROGRAM





THE BUCERIUS SUMMER SCHOOL ON GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Times of Upheaval – Testing Global Governance

An initiative of the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, Hamburg in cooperation with the Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung, Essen

Moderators:

Theo Sommer, *DIE ZEIT*, Hamburg **Wolfgang Ischinger**, Ambassador, Chairman of the Munich
Security Conference, Munich **Eberhard Sandschneider**, Otto-Wolff-Director, Research

Eberhard Sandschneider, Otto-Wolff-Director, Research Institute, German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin

Program Director:

Sascha Suhrke, ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, Hamburg

Times of Upheaval - Testing Global Governance

From 17 to 29 August 2014, the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, in cooperation with the Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung, holds its fourteenth annual Bucerius Summer School on Global Governance (BSS). The original idea to create such an institution harked back to Henry Kissinger's famous International Summer Seminar at Harvard University. In the 1960s, 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 this year's 143 Bucerius Summer School candidates – nominated by government heads, ministers, company CEO's, university presidents, media leaders, and directors of international organizations – we have invited 60 promising business representatives, politicians, and academics from 28 different countries – young women and men between 28 and 36 years of age who have already acquired considerable professional experience.

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 juridical questions. Participants are inspired by – and learn from – distinguished speakers, well-known public figures in politics, business, academia, and the NGO sphere.

Theo Sommer, former Editor-in-Chief of *DIE ZEIT*, Wolfgang Ischinger, Ambassador and Chairman of the Munich Security Conference, and Eberhard Sandschneider, Otto-Wolff-Director of the Research Institute of the German Council on Foreign Relations chair the sessions of the Bucerius Summer School. The lectures and workshops take place at the Hotel Le Méridien on the banks of the Alster in Hamburg, at the German Bundestag, at the German Council on Foreign Relations and the Allianz Forum in Berlin, and at the Heinz Nixdorf MuseumsForum in Paderborn. Theo Sommer, Wolfgang Ischinger, Eberhard Sandschneider, and Program Director Sascha Suhrke with his team are responsible for the two-week program.

The Summer School's topics touch upon urgent challenges of our time. Debates this year focus on various geographical regions. The situation in the Near and Middle East, in Afghanistan, and in the Ukraine comes under special scrutiny, as well as the challenges

and prospects for the emerging powers. Participants discuss the implications of the rise of new powers in Asia as well as economic and political developments in Europe, the BRICS, and worldwide. In lectures and discussions, working groups and debates, this year's Bucerius Summer School examines these developments and discusses their impact on governance and leadership in the coming years.

The Bucerius Summer School has always been more than just a high-profile conference. It is about building networks and enhancing cross-cultural cooperation of representatives from all walks of public life. To follow up on the annual meetings, we run an active alumni network. Roughly a dozen alumni chapters have sprung into existence worldwide. With the support of the ZEIT-Stiftung, graduates arrange regional follow-up seminars. These Governance Talks have taken place in Paris, Geneva, London, Lisbon, Cairo, Belgrade, New York, New Delhi, and more recently in Washington, DC.

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 research, art and culture, as well as education and training. The ZEIT-Stiftung was established by Gerd Bucerius, the founder and publisher of Germany's leading quality weekly, *DIE ZEIT*. Apart from the Bucerius Law School, the Bucerius Kunst Forum in Hamburg, and other projects, the foundation runs a variety of international programs, of which the Bucerius Summer School is the most ambitious

The Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung was established by the IT entrepreneur Heinz Nixdorf. The foundation promotes education, scientific research, especially in the field of information technology, and projects devoted to the advancement of liberal democracy and public health. Its Heinz Nixdorf MuseumsForum in Paderborn is the world's largest computer museum.

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 valuable networking.

Prof. Dr. Michael Göring CFO and Chairman

ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius

Martin Nixdorf
Chairman of the Board of Directors
Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung

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SUNDAY, AUGUST 17 (HAMBURG)

ARRIVAL IN HAMBURG

10.00 – 15.00 Arrival and Check-in at Hotel Le Méridien 15.00 – 17.30 Optional: Guided Tour through Hamburg 18.45 – 19.00 Meeting in the Hotel Lobby and Walk to

Restaurant Kajüte

19.00 Buffet Dinner at Restaurant Kajüte

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TIMES OF UPHEAVAL – TESTING GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

HOTEL LE MÉRIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "PALAIS"

09.00 - 09.10 Welcome

Michael Göring, CEO and Chairman of the Executive Board, ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, Hamburg

Bernd Klein, Member of the Board, Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung, Munich

09.10 - 09.20 Introductions

Theo Sommer, DIE ZEIT, Hamburg

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

Eberhard Sandschneider, Otto-Wolff-Director, Research Institute, German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin

09.20 – 09.30 Summer School's Intention and Program

Sascha Suhrke, Program Director, ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, Hamburg

09.30 – 10.30 Introduction Round of Participants

10.30 - 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 - 12.30 Opening Session

Times of Upheaval – Testing Global Governance

Theo Sommer, DIE ZEIT, Hamburg

 $\textbf{Wolfgang Ischinger,} \, \textbf{Ambassador,} \, \textbf{Chairman of the}$

Munich Security Conference, Munich

Eberhard Sandschneider, Otto-Wolff-Director, Research Institute, German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin

Moderated by: **Sascha Suhrke**, Program Director, ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, Hamburg

12.30 - 14.30 Lunch

GRIDLOCKS AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

HOTEL LE MÉRIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "PALAIS"

14.30 - 15.00 Keynote:

Gridlock – Why Global Cooperation is Failing When

We Need It Most

David Held, Master, University College Durham,

Durham

15.00 – 16.00 Plenary Discussion

17.30 - 18.00 Walk to Pier

18.00 – 19.30 Dragon Boat Race to Boat House Silwar

19.30 – 22.00 Barbeque at Boat House Silwar

22.00 – 22.30 Bus Transfer to Hotel

TUESDAY, AUGUST 19 (HAMBURG)

SHIFTING PATTERNS OF POWER IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

HOTEL LE MÉRIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "PALAIS"

09.00 – 09.30 Keynote:

Geopolitical Dynamics in the Near and Middle East

Volker Perthes, Director of the German Institute

for International and Security Affairs / Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) and Executive Chairman of the Board of SWP, Berlin

09.30 – 10.30 Plenary Discussion

10.30 - 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 – 13.00 Breakout Sessions (Rooms to be announced)

I. Debating Current Issues in Iran

Cornelius Adebahr, Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC

II. Debating Current Issues in Syria, Israel and Palestine

Alastair King-Smith, Head of Strategic Campaigns and Planning, Communication Directorate, Foreign

and Commonwealth Office, London

III. Debating Current Issues in Egypt

Ashraf Swelam, Director, Cairo Center for

Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping in Africa, Cairo

13.00 – 14.30 Lunch

HOTEL LE MÉRIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "PALAIS"

14.30 – 16.00 Wrap-up of the Breakout Sessions and

Panel Discussion:

Debating Current Issues in the Near and Middle East

Cornelius Adebahr, Associate, Carnegie Endowment

for International Peace, Washington, DC

Alastair King-Smith, Head of Strategic Campaigns and Planning, Communication Directorate, Foreign

and Commonwealth Office, London

Ashraf Swelam, Director, Cairo Center for

Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping in Africa, Cairo

16.00 - 16.30 Coffee Break

SITE VISIT: INTERNATIONAL SUMMER FESTIVAL AT KAMPNAGEL

17.00 – 17.30 Bus Transfer to Kampnagel

17.30 – 20.00 Introduction and Talk

Amelie Deuflhard, Artistic and Managing Director,

Kampnagel

András Siebold, Artistic Director,

International Summer Festival

Dinner at Kampnagel

20.00 – 21.20 Concert / Performance by Phantom Ghost &

Cosima von Bonin

Retrospectres – Phantoms and Ghosts (1999-2013)

Drinks at Kampnagel

23.00 – 23.30 Bus Transfer to Hotel

AFGHANISTAN - AFTER THE DRAWDOWN

HOTEL LE MÉRIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "PALAIS"

09.00 - 11.00 Panel Discussion

Afghanistan – After the Drawdown

Graham Stacey, Air Marshall, Deputy Commander, NATO Allied Joint Force Command Brunssum **Husain Haqqani**, Senior Fellow, Director South and Central Asia, Hudson Institute, Washington, DC

Sediq Sediqqi, General Director of Public Diplomacy, Spokesman, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Islamic

Republic of Afghanistan, Kabul

11.00 - 11.30 Coffee Break

11.30 – 13.30 Preparation Time for Debating Clubs

13.30 - 14.30 Lunch

14.30 – 15.00 Coffee in the Lobby and Loading Luggage onto Bus

15.00 - 19.00 Bus Ride to Berlin

Free evening

HOTEL The Westin Grand

Friedrichstraße 158-164

10117 Berlin Tel: +49 30 2027 0

GERMANY AND EUROPE

GERMAN BUNDESTAG, PAUL LÖBE HAUS

08.15 – 08.45 Bus Transfer to German Bundestag

09.00 – 10.00 Keynote and Discussion

It's the Reforms, stupid!

Institutions and Economic Structures

for a Strong Europe

Wolfgang Schäuble, Federal Minister of Finance,

Berlin

10.00 - 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 – 12.00 Discussion on Foreign Policy

Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Federal Minister for

Foreign Affairs, Berlin

12.00 – 13.30 Lunch

RETHINKING EUROPE?

13.30 – 15.00 Panel Discussion

After the European Elections – Rethinking Europe?

Daniela Kolbe, Member of the German Bundestag,

Social Democratic Party, Berlin

Mark Leonard, Co-Founder and Director, European

Council on Foreign Relations, London

Almut Möller, Head of Program, Alfred von

Oppenheim Center for European Policy Studies, German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin

Paweł Świeboda, President, demosEUROPA, Warsaw

15.30 – 17.30 Optional: Guided Tour through Reichstag

19.30 - 20.00 Walk to Pier

20.00 – 23.00 Boat Tour and Dinner on the Spree River

SATURDAY, AUGUST 23 (BERLIN)

EUROPE, UKRAINE AND RUSSIA

GERMAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS (DGAP)

09.00 – 09.30 Bus Transfer to DGAP

09.30 - 11.30 Panel Discussion

Unresolved Issues: Europe, Ukraine and Russia

Josef Janning, Senior Policy Fellow, European Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin

Fyodor Lukyanov, Editor-in-Chief, *Russia in Global Affairs*, Chairman of Presidium of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy, Moscow

Jakob Preuss, Documentary Filmmaker, Berlin

11.30 - 12.00 Coffee Break

EMERGING POWERS AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE I

12.00 - 12.30 Keynote

Emerging Powers and Global Governance: India

Shashi Tharoor, Member of Indian Parliament,

New Delhi

12.30 – 13.30 Plenary Discussion

13.30 – 14.30 Lunch

14.30 – 16.30 Panel Discussion

Emerging Powers and Global Governance: China

Isabel Hilton, CEO, Chinadialogue.net, London

Christina Lin, Fellow at the Center for Transatlantic

Relations, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International

Studies (SAIS), Washington, DC

Cheng Li, Director, John L. Thornton China Center,

Senior Fellow, Brookings, Washington, DC

16.30 - 17.00 Group Photo

17.00 – 17.30 Bus Transfer to Hotel

19.00 – 19.30 Walk to Restaurant 12 Apostel

19.30 – 22.30 Dinner at Restaurant 12 Apostel

EMERGING POWERS AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE II

ALLIANZ FORUM

08.30 - 09.00 Walk to Allianz Forum

09.00 – 09.30 *Emerging Powers and Global Governance:*

Latin America

Keynote

The Economics and Politics of

Growing Social Demand in Latin America

Guillermo Larraín, Executive Vice President,

BancoEstado, Santiago de Chile

09.30 - 10.30 Plenary Discussion

10.30 - 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 – 13.00 Panel Discussion

Emerging Powers and Global Governance: BRICS

Renato Flôres, Professor, Graduate School of

Economics, Fundação Getulio Vargas (FGV/EPGE),

Rio de Janeiro

Samir Saran, Vice President, Observer Research

Foundation, New Delhi

Karen Smith, Senior Lecturer in International

Relations, University of Cape Town, Cape Town

Fyodor Lukyanov, Editor-in-Chief, *Russia in Global*

Affairs, Chairman of Presidium of the Council on

Foreign and Defense Policy, Moscow

13.00 – 14.30 Lunch

14.30 – 16.30 Panel Discussion

Emerging Powers and Global Governance: Africa

Christine Nkulikiyinka, Ambassador of the Republic

of Rwanda to Germany, Berlin

James Shikwati, Founder and Director, Inter Region

Economic Network, Nairobi

Karen Smith, Senior Lecturer in International

Relations, University of Cape Town, Cape Town

Free evening

MONDAY, AUGUST 25 (PADERBORN)

BERLIN LANDMARKS

10.00 - 10.30	Checkout and Loading Luggage onto Bus
10.30 - 11.00	Bus Transfer to Berlin Wall Memorial
11.00 - 12.30	Tour and Exhibition of the Berlin Wall Memorial
12.30 - 14.15	Free Exploration of Berlin
14.15	Meeting at Berlin Main Station
14.47 - 17.20	Train Ride from Berlin to Bielefeld
17.30 – 18.00	Bus Transfer from Bielefeld to Paderborn
19.30 – 22.00	Dinner at Hotel

HOTEL WELCOME HOTEL PADERBORN

Fürstenweg 13 33102 Paderborn Tel.: +49 5251 28800

CYBER GOVERNANCE

HEINZ NIXDORF MUSEUMSFORUM

08.30 - 09.00	Bus Transfer to Heinz Nixdorf MuseumsForum
09.00 - 09.15	Group Photo
09.15 - 09.30	Welcome
	Martin Nixdorf , Chairman of the Board of Directors,
	Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung, Munich
09.30 - 11.30	Panel Discussion
	Cyber Governance
	Sandro Gaycken , Technical and Security Researcher,
	Free University of Berlin, Berlin
	Bruce W. McConnell, Senior Vice President,
	Bruce W. McConnell , Senior Vice President, EastWest Institute, New York
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	EastWest Institute, New York
	EastWest Institute, New York Tatiana Tropina , Senior Researcher, Max-Planck-
11.30 – 12.00	EastWest Institute, New York Tatiana Tropina , Senior Researcher, Max-Planck-Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law, Freiburg i. Br.
	EastWest Institute, New York Tatiana Tropina , Senior Researcher, Max-Planck-Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law, Freiburg i. Br.
	EastWest Institute, New York Tatiana Tropina , Senior Researcher, Max-Planck- Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law, Freiburg i. Br. Coffee Break Guided Tour through the Computer Museum

Free evening and Preparation Time for Debating Clubs

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 27 (HAMBURG)

TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS

HOTEL LE MÉRIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "PALAIS"

09.00 – 09.30 Keynote:

Transatlantic Relations

Stephen F. Szabo, Executive Director, Transatlantic Academy, Washington, DC

09.30 – 10.30 Plenary Discussion

10.30 - 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 - 12.30 Panel Discussion

Does the Transatlantic Partnership need a

Younger Generation?

Metin Hakverdi, Member of the German Bundestag,

Social Democratic Party, Berlin

Bartłomiej Nowak, Chair of the International Relations Department and Assistant Professor,

Vistula University, Warsaw

12.20 14.00 Pus Transfor to Hamburg Boach Contor

Constanze Stelzenmüller. Senior Transatlantic Fellow and Director, Transatlantic Trends, The German

Marshall Fund of the United States, Berlin

HAMBURG BEACH CENTER

15.50 - 14.00	bus transfer to namburg beach Center
14.00 - 17.00	Beach Volleyball (Snacks will be served)
17.00 – 17.30	Bus Transfer to Hotel
18.30 - 19.00	Bus Transfer to Bucerius Kunst Forum
19.00 - 20.00	Exhibition "Kirchner. The Expressionist Experiment" at
	Bucerius Kunst Forum
20.00 - 20.30	Bus Transfer to ZEIT-Stiftung Headquarters
20.30 – 22.30	Barbeque
22.30 – 23.00	Bus transfer to Hotel

SIMULATION EXERCISE: HEXGAME

HOTEL LE MÉRIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "PALAIS"

09.00 - 13.00 Simulation Exercise: HexGame

HexGame is a powerful simulation about country management in a situation of crisis and scarcity. It shows management challenges at different levels of government. Participants represent administration officials; regional and local leaders. The goal of each team is to provide their settlements, regions, and the countries with necessary resources, infrastructure, and services. The game is played in a series of rounds representing consecutive years. A balance between short and long-term goals is required, as well as a balance between the goals of local regions and interests of the entire country. Players are faced with the challenges of negotiations, conflict resolution, strategy implementation, group leadership, and the allocation of resources.

13.00 - 14.30 Lunch

14.30 – 15.00 Debriefing Simulation Exercise

SITE VISIT: HAMBURG HAFENCITY - URBANIZATION

15.30 – 16.00 Bus Transfer to HafenCity

16.00 – 18.00 Presentations and Discussions

Daniel Kerber, Founder, morethanshelters, Hamburg Julian Petrin, Founder, Nexthamburg, Hamburg

18.00 - 19.30 Boat Tour on the Elbe River

19.30 – 22.30 Dinner at Restaurant Indochine

22.30 - 23.00 Bus Transfer to Hotel

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 29 (HAMBURG)

DEBATING CLUBS

HOTEL LE MÉRIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "PALAIS"

09.00 – 10.00 Preparation Time for Debating Clubs

10.00 - 10.30 Coffee Break

10.30 - 12.00 Introduction

Sascha Suhrke, Program Director, ZEIT-Stiftung

Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, Hamburg

Debating Club I:

Has the West Succeeded in Afghanistan?

Debating Club II:

Will the BRICS Play a Leading Role in

Global Governance?

Debating Club III:

Should We Fear the Power of Government over the

Internet?

12.00 - 12.15 Coffee Break

CLOSING SESSION

12.15 – 13.30 Closing Session and Hand-out of Bucerius Summer

School Certificates

Keynote

What Europe needs to do: Jobs and Investment

Jörg Asmussen, Permanent State Secretary, Federal

Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Berlin

13.30 - 14.30 Lunch

Free afternoon

FAREWELL PARTY ELB-PANORAMA

18.30 – 19.00 Bus Transfer to Elb-Panorama

19.00 – 00.00 Dinner and Dance at Elb-Panorama

00.00 – 00.30 Bus Transfer to Hotel

DEPARTURE

08.00 - 12.00 Breakfast and Individual Departure



Cornelius Adebahr is a political analyst and entrepreneur based in Washington, DC, and Berlin, Germany, working on European foreign policy in its broadest sense. He is an associate in the Europe Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace as well as an Associate Fellow of the Research Institute of the German Council on Foreign Relations. Until 2011, he also was a lecturer at the Willy Brandt School of Public

Policy at Erfurt University and a member of the Team Europe of the European Commission. In 2002/2003, he was a Fellow of the Robert Bosch Foundation's Post-Graduate Program in International Affairs. He studied Political Science (International Relations), Philosophy, Public Law, and International Economics in Tübingen, Paris, and at the Free University of Berlin, where he graduated in 2001 before receiving his PhD (Dr. rer. pol.) in 2008.



Jörg Asmussen has been Permanent State Secretary at the German Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs since January 2014. After having earned his degree in Economics, he was a project manager at the Institute for Social Policy and Social Research in Cologne from 1994 to 1996. From 1996 onwards, Jörg Asmussen worked as a policy officer in the Federal Ministry of Finance. From 1999 to 2002, he headed the Office of the

Federal Minister of Finance, Hans Eichel. In 2002, he was appointed head of the Directorate for General Issues Relating to European Policies and General Financial Issues Relating to European Policies. From 2003 to 2008, he headed the Directorate-General for Financial Market Policy. In 2008, he was appointed Permanent State Secretary at the Federal Ministry of Finance. From 2012 to 2013, Jörg Asmussen was a member of the Executive Board of the European Central Bank.

Renato Flôres works for the Fundação Getulio Vargas, where he is Professor at the Graduate School of Economics, Special Aide to the President, and Head of the International Intelligence Unit. Professor Flôres has an extensive academic career in Brazilian and European institutions with a large experience in teaching, research, and consulting. His interests encompass the areas of development economics/sustainable



growth, trade, the analytics of risk, as well as regional integration. Moreover, he works on the links amongst international law, politics, and economics within the context of globalisation. Mr. Flôres is part of the group of experts on the measurement and analysis of aspects related to the Convention on Cultural Diversity at UNESCO, Paris. A former member of the Permanent Group of Experts of the Committee on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures at the WTO, Geneva, he is – or has served as – a member of the board of several international institutions, as well as private businesses. He sits at the enlarged council of a well-known international bank, and nowadays serves at those of the Brazilian branch of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Germany, EUBRASIL, Brussels, and the International Forum for Clean Energy in Macao. He is also a member of the International Institute of Strategic Studies, London, UK.

Sandro Gaycken is technical and security researcher at the Free University of Berlin. His main areas of research are the foundations of security and war, the connection between technology and politics, strategy and technology, cyber security, hacking, cyber warfare, critical infrastructures, complexity and technology, societal and ethical consequences of information technology, technological surveillance and



privacy, data protection, ubiquitous computing, future research, and utopian thinking. Beyond that, he consults various civil and military institutions in Germany and abroad. Furthermore, he operates in policy panels on a federal and European level.



Since 1997, **Michael Göring** has been CEO and member of the Executive Board – since 2005 Chairman – of the Hamburg-based ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, one of the largest foundations in Germany. He is also Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Bucerius Law School and the Bucerius Kunst Forum. Since May 2014, he also serves as Chairman of the Board of the German Association of Foundations. As one of

Germany's philanthropic leaders, he is involved with numerous foundations and private organizations. Since 2000, he has taught as honorary professor at the Cultural and Media Management Institute at the Hamburg School of Music and Theatre.



Metin Hakverdi is a member of the German Bundestag for the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). He joined the SPD in 2002, two years after having been licensed to practise as a lawyer. Mr. Hakverdi has functioned as a member of the Parliament of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg and its Presidency, as a member of the Hamburg Parliament's Budget Committee and Committee of Public Companies and Assets,

and as spokesman of the SPD group on the Committee of Inquiry into the Elbe Philharmonic Hall. In the German Bundestag, he is a member of the Committee on Legal Affairs and Consumer Protection, the Finance Committee, and the Parliamentary Panel on Financial-Market Stabilisation. Moreover, Mr. Hakverdi serves as a substitute member in the Budget Committee and the Committee on the Affairs of the European Union.

Husain Haqqani served as Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States from 2008-2011 and is widely credited with managing a difficult partnership during a critical phase in the global war on terrorism. He is currently Director for South and Central Asia at Hudson Institute in Washington, DC, and Professor of the Practice of International Relations at Boston University. He has been a journalist, academic, and diplomat in



addition to serving as advisor to four Pakistani Prime Ministers, including the late Benazir Bhutto. His 2005 book *Pakistan Between Mosque and Military* was acclaimed for explaining the roots of Pakistan's foreign and domestic policies. His latest book *Magnificent Delusions: US, Pakistan and the Global Jihad* which came out in November 2013 has been described as "timely, valuable and objective" by former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright.

David Held has been Master of University College, Durham, and Professor of Politics and International Relations at Durham University since 2012. Prior to that, he was the Co-Director of the Centre for the Study of Global Governance at the London School of Economics (LSE), and Graham Wallas Professor of Political Science at LSE. His lectures and main research focus on rethinking democracy at transnational and



international levels, as well as on issues of international justice and globalization. He has strong interests both in political theory and in the more empirical dimensions of political analysis. He holds a BSc in Technology and Management Sciences from Manchester University (UK) and an MSc and PhD in Political Science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge (USA). He conducted post-doctoral research at Cambridge University, and has been Visiting Professor at Sciences Po in Paris since 2007.



Isabel Hilton is a London-based International Journalist, and the CEO and Editor of Chinadialogue.net. From 2005 to 2007, she was Editor and then Editor-in-Chief of the openDemocracy. net. A Sinologist by training, she has worked for various British newspapers and as a Presenter for the BBC. In 1999, she also joined *The New Yorker* as a Staff Writer. She has reported from all over the world and written several documentaries.



Wolfgang Ischinger has been the Chairman of the Munich Security Conference since 2008. He is also Global Head of Government Relations of Allianz SE and a member of the Supervisory Board of Allianz Deutschland AG. He served as Germany's Ambassador to the Court of St. James's (2006-2008) and to the United States of America (2001-2006). In 2007, he was the European Union's Representative in the Troika

negotiations on Kosovo. Mr. Ischinger was State Secretary of the German Foreign Office from 1998 to 2001, and has served in a number of posts in Bonn, Berlin, Washington, DC, New York, and Paris. From 1993 to 1995, he was Director of Policy Planning, and from 1995 to 1998, Political Director of the German Foreign Ministry. He is a member of the European Council on Foreign Relations and the Trilateral Commission, and serves on a number of non-profit boards.

Josef Janning joined the European Council on Foreign Relations in April 2014 as Senior Policy Fellow in the Berlin Office. 2013/2014 he was a Mercator Fellow at the German Council on Foreign Relations. Prior to that, he served as Director of Studies at the European Policy Centre in Brussels. Between 2001 and 2010, Mr. Janning led the international policy work as Senior Director of the Bertelsmann Foundation,



a major private German foundation. Earlier positions in his career include Deputy Director of the Center for Applied Policy Research at Munich University from 1995-2007. Previously, he held teaching positions at the University of Mainz, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and as Guest Professor at Renmin University of Beijing. He has worked with leading think tanks in Europe, the US, and Asia, and engaged in and led various international study groups, high-level groups and commissions on European affairs, global governance, transformation to democracy, security and defence policy, and transatlantic relations. Mr. Janning has published widely on European Affairs, International Relations, EU foreign and security policy, German foreign and European policy as well as global affairs. On these issues he also is a frequent commentator with German and international media.

Daniel Kerber is Founder and Director of morethanshelters in Hamburg, a social business that offers innovative architecture and social-design-concepts for humanitarian purposes. morethanshelters aims at designing decent temporary homes for people in distress. Kerber studied art in Paris and Düsseldorf, before working for different museums and universities around the world. During fieldtrips and research



stays, he became aware of poverty and other social injustices that many people are faced with every day. This led Kerber to shift his attention to the study of the so-called "informal architecture" of slums and refugee camps. In 2012, he then founded morethanshelters. Together with a team of 10 other people, Kerber currently works on transforming refugee camps into decent living spaces.



Alastair King-Smith is a British Diplomat, currently serving as Head of Strategic Campaigns and Planning at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. In that capacity he oversees the UK's communication campaigns on foreign policy issues, from tackling the civil war in Syria and Iraq, stabilising Ukraine and elaborating NATO's role in building stability around the world, to ending sexual violence in conflict

and generating the global conditions for growth. His postings overseas have been primarily in the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia, including short tours as Deputy High Commissioner to Nairobi over the Kenyan elections, as Deputy Ambassador to Tel Aviv working on the Israel-Palestinian conflict, as well as in Pakistan, Iraq, Sudan, Libya, and Egypt, where he studied Arabic. As Head of Near East Group, he was responsible for the UK's policy towards the Middle East Peace Process and relations with Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, and Palestine. Mr. King-Smith helped establish the UK Government's Stabilisation Unit to assist countries affected by conflict, and is a founding Trustee of the charity Kids for Kids, helping children in rural areas of Darfur.



Bernd Klein is Member of the Board 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. He holds a doctorate in law, which he studied at the Universities of Bonn, Freiburg, and Berkeley (LL.M.).

Daniela Kolbe is a member of the German Bundestag, since 2009. Born and raised in Thuringia, Kolbe studied Physics at the University of Leipzig, from where she graduated in 2008. Alongside her studies she became active in politics joining the social democratic youth movement and later the Social Democratic Party SPD. Currently, she is Vice-Chairwoman of the Social Democratic Party in Leipzig. Before having been



elected as an MP, Daniela Kolbe had worked as a freelance trainer and adviser for institutions of civic education. Her responsibilities in the Bundestag lie with labour and social affairs (vice speaker of SPD's respective working group) and the group of East German MPs of SPD, which she is the speaker of. Kolbe is also speaker of the group of young MPs of SPD, Vice-Chairwoman of the curatorship of the Federal Agency for Civic Education, and vice speaker of the SPD Group for strategies against right-wing extremism. During her last mandate, Kolbe was Chairwoman of the study committee on "Growth, Prosperity and Quality of Life" of the German Bundestag. The study commission's task was to reflect upon the benefits and risks of ongoing economic growth, to develop a new method of measuring progress and prosperity in a comprehensive way, and to discuss how economic growth can be decoupled from the consumption of resources.



Guillermo Larraín, is Executive Vice President of BancoEstado, holds a Doctorate in Economics from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris, and previously studied Economics at the Catholic University of Chile. He is Professor in the Department of Economics at the University of Chile, where he chairs the Centre on Regulation and Macrofinancial Stability. He has also been a Professor in the Department

of Industrial Engineering, University of Chile, Institute of Economics of the Catholic University of Chile, and Universidad Torcuato di Tella in Buenos Aires, Argentina. He is a member of the Advisory Board of the International Finance Corporation (the investment arm of the World Bank Group). Between 2007 and 2010, he held the position of Superintendent of Securities and Insurance of Chile and was President of the Emerging Markets Committee of the International Organization of Securities Commissions. Between 2003 and 2006, he was Superintendent of Pension Fund Administrators and between 1997 and 2000, he was Coordinator of Economic Policy, Ministry of Finance of Chile. In the private sector, he was Chief Economist of BBVA Chile between 2000 and 2003 as well as member of the board of Tanner Financial Services (2012-2014).



Mark Leonard is Co-Founder and Director of the European Council on Foreign Relations. Previously, he was Director of Foreign Policy at the London-based Centre for European Reform. Before, he was Director of the Foreign Policy Centre, a think-tank he helped to found under the patronage of the British Prime Minister Tony Blair. Mr. Leonard writes and broadcasts regularly on international affairs. He has been a Transat-

lantic Fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States in Washington, DC, and a visiting scholar at the Chinese Academy for Social Science in Beijing.

Cheng Li is Director and Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution's John L. Thornton China Center. Dr. Li is also a director of the National Committee on US-China Relations, a member of the Academic Advisory Team of the Congressional US-China Working Group, and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He is the author/editor of numerous books, including *China's Leaders: The New Generation* (2001),



China's Changing Political Landscape: Prospects for Democracy (2008), China's Emerging Middle Class: Beyond Economic Transformation (2010), The Road to Zhongnanhai: High-Level Leadership Groups on the Eve of the 18th Party Congress (2012), and China's Political Development: Chinese and American Perspectives (2014). Dr. Li is the principal editor of the Thornton Center Chinese Thinkers Series published by the Brookings Institution Press and is also a columnist for the Stanford University Journal, China Leadership Monitor. Li grew up in Shanghai during the Cultural Revolution. In 1985, he came to the University of California, and a PhD in Political Science from Princeton University.

Christina Lin is a Fellow at the Center for Transatlantic Relations at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, as well as 2013-2014 Senior Fellow at the German Marshall Fund's Transatlantic Academy, focusing on China's increasing footprint in the Mediterranean Basin and on ways that China, NATO, and US allies can cooperate to resolve regional security issues. She is a former Visiting



Fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy and was selected as a 2011 National Security Fellow at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies. Dr. Lin has extensive US government experience, having served at the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the National Security Council, the Department of State, the Export-Import Bank of the United States, and the federally funded Institute for Defense Analyses. She has a PhD and MSc from the London School of Economics, an MA from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, and a BA from the University of California, Irvine.



Fyodor Lukyanov is Editor-in-Chief of the *Russia in Global Affairs* journal published in Russian and English with the participation of *Foreign Affairs*. As head of *Russia in Global Affairs* since its founding in 2002, he greatly contributed to making this journal Russia's most authoritative source of expert opinion on Russian foreign policy and global development issues. Mr. Lukyanov has extended background in

different Russian and international media where he was working from 1990 to 2002. As a commentator on international affairs, he is now widely contributing to various media in the US, Europe, and China. He is one of the most known commentators of Russian foreign policy worldwide. His monthly "Geopolitics" column appears in the Russian edition of Forbes magazine and his regular foreign policy column is published at RIA Novosti web-edition. His articles appeared in academic journals such as Social Research, Europe-Asia Studies, the Columbia Journal of International Affairs, and Limes. He is Chairman of the Presidium of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy, an independent NGO providing foreign policy expertise. In 2011, Lukyanov received a special award from the Russian government for his personal contribution to international journalism. Fyodor Lukyanov holds a degree in Germanic Languages from Moscow State University.

Bruce W. McConnell is Senior Vice President of the EastWest Institute in New York. He is responsible for leading the institute's relationship-building with government and businesses around the world and also manages the institute's Cooperation in Cyberspace Initiative. Beginning in 2009, McConnell was a leader of the cybersecurity mission at the US Department of Homeland Security (DHS). He became Deputy



Under Secretary for Cybersecurity in 2013. Before DHS, McConnell served on the Obama-Biden Presidential Transition Team, working on open government and technology issues. From 2000-2008, he created, built, and sold McConnell International and Government Futures. consultancies that provided strategic and tactical advice to clients in technology, business, and government markets. From 2005-2008, he served on the Commission on Cybersecurity for the 44th Presidency. From 1999-2000, McConnell was Director of the International Y2K Cooperation Center, sponsored by the United Nations and the World Bank, where he coordinated regional and global preparations of governments and critical private sector organizations to successfully defeat the Y2K bug. McConnell was Chief of Information Policy and Technology in the US Office of Management and Budget from 1993-1999. McConnell is also a senior advisor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. He received a Master of Public Administration from the Evans School for Public Policy at the University of Washington, DC, where he maintains a faculty affiliation, and a Bachelor of Sciences from Stanford University.



Almut Möller has been head of the Alfred von Oppenheim Center for European Policy Studies at the German Council on Foreign Relations since 2010. From 2008 to 2010, she lived and worked as a freelance political analyst in London. Between 2002 and 2008, she was a researcher at the Center for Applied Policy Research at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich, and since 2007 as head of the Center's Euro-

Mediterranean Program. She was a guest researcher at the Renmin University of China in Beijing, Al Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies in Cairo, and at the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies at the Johns Hopkins University in Washington, DC. She is a non-resident fellow at the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, a member of the extended board of Women in International Security, and a member of the Advisory Board on questions relating to the "Internal Leadership" concept of the German Federal Ministry of Defence. Almut Möller holds an MA in Political Science from the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich (2002). She also studied at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität in Münster and at the Institut d'Études Politiques (Sciences-Po) in Aix-en-Provence.



Martin Nixdorf became Chairman of the Board of Directors of the foundations Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung and Stiftung Westfalen in 2009, having previously served on the boards for almost 25 years. He is the oldest son of Heinz Nixdorf, the founder of both foundations, who died in 1986. Traditionally, Mr. Nixdorf directed the Ahorn Sportpark, aside from the Heinz Nixdorf MuseumsForum the only subsidiary of the foundations.

dations, as well as projects focusing on sports. Now his responsibilities also include youth development projects and finance.

Christine Nkulikiyinka has been Ambassador of the Republic of Rwanda to Germany since 2009. Prior to that, she worked as a consultant in Germany from 2006 to 2009. From 2005 to 2006, she worked at the Planning Staff at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kigali, Rwanda. From 1991 to 2005, she worked at the Embassy of the Republic of Rwanda to Germany in different posts, from 2002 to 2005, as Second Counselor and



from 2000 to 2002, as First Secretary. She has studied Economy in Kigali, Mainz, and Ludwigshafen and holds a Diploma in Economy from the University of Applied Sciences in Ludwigshafen.

Bartłomiej Nowak is a political scientist. He holds a PhD in Economics from the Warsaw School of Economics and completed his executive studies at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government. He is a chair of the International Relations Department and Assistant Professor at the Vistula University in Warsaw. Nowak was Transatlantic Academy Fellow in Washington, DC (2013-14) and Executive Director at the Center



for International Relations (Warsaw, 2010-2013). Previously, he was working in the European Parliament (Brussels-Strasburg, 2004-2009) as a head of cabinet of EP Vice-President, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, and as a political advisor to Polish parliamentary delegates to the Convention on the Future of Europe (2002-2003).

Volker Perthes is Executive Chairman and Director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, SWP) in Berlin. He joined the SWP in 1992, where he headed the Research Group "Middle East and Africa" for several years while also being Assistant Professor at the American University of Beirut from 1991 to 1993. Mr. Perthes received his doctorate from the University of Duisburg in



1990 followed by his habilitation in 1999. He has held teaching positions at the Universities of Duisburg, Münster, and Munich. Currently, he is Professor of Political Science and International Relations at the Humboldt University Berlin and the Free University of Berlin. He has published profusely on Middle East and Greater Middle East political topics.



Julian Petrin is urbanist and expert for cocreative urban design and development. Since 1998, he advises municipalities and institutions in strategical urban planning and participation issues with his consultancy urbanista. In 2009, he founded Nexthamburg, a participatory think tank for the future city. With Nexthamburg, Petrin established a new model for urban cocreation in Germany that is starting to be trans-

ferred to other cities. Petrin is member of the German Academy of Urban Design and Planning, and he is convent member at the German Foundation for Building Culture. For his work at the intersection of urban design and participation, he has received several awards. Since 2013, he is Visiting Professor for Urban Management at the University of Kassel.



Jakob Preuss is a documentary filmmaker. His films, shot in Iran, Bosnia, and Ukraine, were broadcast in over nine countries and screened at numerous festivals. His last film "The Other Chelsea", about the coal-mining city of Donetsk in Eastern Ukraine, won the Grimme-Award in Germany. He is currently working on a film project on Europe's borderlands and migration policy for German public TV. In addition to his

activities as a filmmaker, Jakob Preuss also works in the political arena. He coordinated the writing of the electoral manifesto of Bündnis 90/ The Greens for the recent European Elections. He also worked for the Greens' parliamentary group as an adviser on European Affairs at the German Bundestag. Previous employment includes the NGO "Reporters without Borders", where he served as CIS-desk officer with a focus on Russia and Central Asia. He has also observed numerous elections for the OSCE (including Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Ukraine) and for the European Union in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2006. He ran the Berlin office of the Out-of-country-voting programme for the Iraq elections in 2005, organised by the International Organisation for Migration. Jakob Preuss holds a law degree from the Sorbonne in Paris and a Masters degree from the College of Europe, Natolin. After his studies he worked as a fellow of the Robert Bosch Foundation at the Delegation of the European Commission in Moscow and on the Policy Planning Staff of the German Foreign Ministry in Berlin. After this experience, he decided to split his professional life between filmmaking and working in the political field.

Eberhard Sandschneider is Otto-Wolff-Director of the Research Institute of the German Council on Foreign Relations. He graduated from the Saar University, Saarbrücken in 1981 in English Language and Literature, Latin, History, and Political Science. In 1986, he received his PhD in Political Science at the Saar University with a thesis on *The Political Role of the People's Liberation Army after the Cultural Revolution*. He



finished his habilitation on *Stability and Transformation of Political Systems* in November 1993. He held a position as Professor of International Relations between 1995 and 1998 in Mainz, before accepting a chair at the Free University of Berlin in 1998. Between March 2001 and March 2003, he served as Dean of the Faculty for Political and Social Sciences at the Free University. In August 2003, he succeeded Karl Kaiser as the Otto-Wolff-Director of the Research Institute of the German Council on Foreign Relations.

Samir Saran is Senior Fellow and Vice President responsible for Development Outreach and Communications at the Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi. An Electrical Engineer by training, he has a Masters in Media Studies from the London School of Economics and Political Science and has been a Fellow at the University of Cambridge Program for Sustainability Leadership. He is visiting Fellow at the



Australia India Institute and faculty at a number of other schools and programs. Some of his recent publications and research projects cover issues around the representation of Islam and radicalism, politics of climate change, and the implications of the emergence of BRICS.



Wolfgang Schäuble is a German politician of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), currently serving as the Federal Minister of Finance in the Third Cabinet Merkel. From 1984 to 1991, he was a member of Helmut Kohl's cabinet, first as Federal Minister for Special Affairs of Germany and Chief of the Chancellery and then as Federal Minister of the Interior. Between 1991 and 2000. he was Chairman of the CDU/CSU

group in the parliament, and from 1998 to 2000 also CDU party Chairman. He served again as Federal Minister of the Interior in the First Cabinet Merkel from 2005 to 2009, and served as Federal Minister of Finance in the Second Cabinet Merkel from 2009 to 2013. He has been a member of the German Bundestag since 1972. As Federal Minister of the Interior from 1989 until 1991, Dr. Schäuble was involved in the negotiations of the German Unification Treaty. He served as Head (1991-2000) and Deputy Head (2002-2005) of the CDU/CSU Parliamentary Group, and was also Chairman of the CDU between 1998 and 2000. Dr. Schäuble studied Law and Economics in Freiburg and Hamburg and holds a doctorate in Law.

Sediq Sediqqi is currently the General Director of Public Diplomacy at the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Afghanistan. The Public Diplomacy wing provides the policies and communication systems that will enable the Afghan National Police Force to develop into the finest professional institution. The GD plays an integral role in the creation of the Police Code of Conduct, and it also ensures that the Ministry of Internal Affairs



adapts transparent communication policies that will enhance public confidence in the Afghan Police Force. From 2009 to 2011, Mr. Sediggi was the Deputy Director of Programs at the Office of the Spokesperson to the President, Government Media and Information Center (GMIC), Afghanistan. The GMIC was established in 2007 to respond to the great information need of the Afghan public, media, and other national and international stakeholders. Prior to this, he was the Head of the Media Relations Committee at the Office of the Spokesperson for Hamid Karzai's election campaign, responsible for developing a comprehensive work plan for media relations and the coordination committee. His achievements include founding the Sela Foundation, a development organization which works to improve the livelihood of the Afghan people. He has written articles and has provided analyses to the Afghan Ministry of Internal Affairs on the transition of security responsibilities from NATO forces to the Afghan security forces as well as on issues related to Taliban and their sanctuaries in Pakistan, and has participated in conferences and seminars around the world



James Shikwati is the Founder and Director of the Inter Region Economic Network, Kenya, a think tank that focuses on and develops ideas and strategies to enhance the quality of life for people in Africa. He is also the founder and CEO of *The African Executive*, a leading online business opinion magazine that focuses on African issues and the Country Director of the Students in Free Enterprise program present in 16 Kenyan

universities. A self-taught Kenyan economist, his main area of focus is development economics in Africa. He is driven by a firm belief that a free human mind is the ultimate capital. He serves on a Pan Africa Select Committee that network African think tanks, research institutes, and scholars keen to evaluate Africa's engagement with China and other emerging economies. Mr. Shikwati has authored several books and hundreds of commentaries on public policy, economic development, environment, trade, and agriculture. He recently co-edited a book with Prof. Jürgen Runge on Geological Resources and Good Governance in Sub Saharan Africa.



Karen Smith teaches International Relations at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. She is also currently affiliated with the Institute for Global Dialogue as a research associate and is associate editor of the journal *International Political Sociology*. Between 2000 and 2010, she taught at the Universities of Stellenbosch and the Western Cape, South Africa, and served as Secretary-General of the United Nations Associ-

ation of South Africa from 2005 to 2006. Her current research focuses on South Africa's foreign policy, the emerging powers – especially India –, new global governance groupings like IBSA and BRICS, and Africa as an object and agent of International Relations theory.

Theo Sommer has been Editor-at-Large of the German weekly *DIE ZEIT* from 2000 to 2014. From 1973 to 1992, he served as Editor-in-Chief and held the position of publisher from 1992 to 2000. Mr. Sommer headed the Policy Planning Staff of the German Defense Ministry from 1969 to 1970, was responsible for the Defense Ministry's *White Book* in 1970, and since then has played a prominent part in his posts as



Vice-Chairman of the Commission on Common Security and Future of the German Army (Weizsäcker Commission). He was a member of the International Commission on the Balkans (1995-1996) and of the Independent International Commission on Kosovo (1999-2000).

Graham Stacey, Air Marshal of the Royal Air Force, serves since January 2013 as the Deputy Commander of the Joint Force Command Brunssum, the NATO "Out of Theatre" Command for Afghanistan. He spent much of the early part of his career in Air Defence and included tours in Belize and the Falkland Islands and Loan Service with the Indonesian Army. Follow on assignments include command of a SAM



Squadron, Liaison Officer at the UK Defence Research Agency working within the Counter-Terrorist Explosives Detection and Countermeasures field and 10 months as the Military Assistant of Carl Bildt, the then High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina. He served as the Assistant Director within the Directorate of Joint Warfare in the Ministry of Defence and commanded the Royal Air Force Honington, a large airbase in eastern England. This tour included a mid-term 4-month "sabbatical" to command the multinational ISAF 1 Detachment at Kabul Airfield in Afghanistan. In 2003, he took up post as the Deputy Senior British Military Representative based within the Combined Joint Task Force in Baghdad. After he attended the Royal College of Defence Studies, he took up appointment as Assistant Chief of Staff for Training/Director Joint Warfare Training Centre in 2004. He attended the UK Higher Command and Staff Course in January 2007 before joining NATO Joint Forces Command Brunssum to lead the Operations Division. Afterwards he joined US Central Command (Tampa) in February 2009 as Senior British Military Advisor to General David Petraeus. In November 2010, he was appointed Administrator of the Sovereign Base Areas and Commander British Forces Cyprus where he oversaw key support to operations in Afghanistan and Libya and provided the UK's Theatre Reserve Battalion.

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Frank-Walter Steinmeier is a German politician of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), currently serving as Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs in the third cabinet of chancellor Merkel. In 1991, he was Desk Officer for media law and policy in the State Chancellery of Lower Saxony, before becoming Head of the Office of the Minister-President of Lower Saxony in 1993. Between 1994 and 1996, Mr. Steinmeier served

as Head of the State Chancellery department responsible for policy guidelines and interministerial coordination and planning. From 1996 to 1998, he worked as State Secretary and Head of the State Chancellery of Lower Saxony. In 1998, he became State Secretary in the Federal Chancellery as well as Commissioner for the Federal Intelligence Services. A year later, he took up post as Head of the Federal Chancellery, where he worked until his nomination for Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs in the First Cabinet Merkel (2005-2009). From 2007 to 2009, Mr. Steinmeier also served as Deputy Chancellor. Between 2009 and 2013, he acted as Chair of the SPD parliamentary group, before becoming Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs for a second time in 2013. Mr. Steinmeier studied law and political science at the Justus-Liebig-Universität in Gießen.



Constanze Stelzenmüller is a Senior Transatlantic Fellow with the German Marshall Fund (GMF) in Berlin, and the director of GMF's survey program, Transatlantic Trends. Previously, she was Director of GMF's Berlin office (2005-2009), and a reporter and international security editor with the weekly *DIE ZEIT* in Hamburg (1994-2005). She is an international lawyer by training, and studied in Bonn, Geneva, and Harvard. She

speaks and publishes regularly on issues of German, European, and transatlantic strategy, as well as on foreign and security policy. She is regularly interviewed and quoted in European and American news media. She chairs the academic advisory council of the German Foundation on Peace Research, and was the Chairwoman of Women in International Security Germany from 2009 to 2013.

Sascha Suhrke has been Program Director Governance at the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius since 2010. He has a Master in Philosophy from the University of Hamburg and has been working for the ZEIT-Stiftung in various positions since 2006. He is responsible for the Governance Programs of the ZEIT-Stiftung, the Bucerius Summer School on Global Governance, the Asian Forum on Global Governance, and



the Latin American Forum on Global Governance. He also serves as the Chair of the Grantmakers East Forum at the European Foundation Center

Ashraf Swelam is an Egyptian diplomat and the Director of the Cairo Center for Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping in Africa. Before joining the Center, he served as Lead Counsel to the Constitutional Committee that drafted the new Egyptian Constitution. On leave from the EMFA during the period 2008-13, Swelam was Senior Policy Advisor to presidential candidate Amre Moussa (2011-12). He was the editor and



lead author of the candidate's presidential platform. He also held senior leadership positions with key business NGOs in Egypt, including serving as Senior Advisor to the Chairman of the Egyptian National Competitiveness Council (2012) and as Director General of Egypt's International Economic Forum (2009-11). Swelam's early assignments at the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (EMFA) focused on international political and economic issues, including advising the Minister of Foreign Affairs on Egyptian-American relations (2005-07), serving as a political and economic officer with the Egyptian Embassy in Washington, DC (2000-04), and serving in the economic and international cooperation departments of the EMFA. Swelam is a graduate of the Faculty of Economics and Political Sciences at Cairo University. He holds an LLM in International Economic Law from Warwick University (1999). Swelam is a Yale World Fellow (2007) and a Munich Young Leader (2012). He is a visiting lecturer of Foreign Policy at the American University of Cairo. He writes op-eds for Egyptian and international journals and newspapers, most notably the Financial Times (UK), Global Policy Journal (UK), the Yale Journal for International Affairs (USA), DIE ZEIT (Germany), and Süddeutsche Zeitung (Germany).



Paweł Świeboda is President of demosEUROPA – Centre for European Strategy. He is a graduate of the London School of Economics and the University of London. He served as the EU Advisor to the President of Poland in the years 1996-2000. He then headed the Office for European Integration in the Chancellery of the President. In the years 2001-2006, he served as Director of the Department of the European Union

in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he was responsible for EU accession negotiations and subsequently institutional reform in the EU and negotiations on the financial perspective. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Lisbon Council (Brussels), the Council of the European Council on Foreign Relations, the Advisory Board of the European Policy Centre (Brussels), the European Steering Committee of Notre Europe (Paris), the Advisory Board of the Baltic Development Forum (Copenhagen), the International Advisory Board of the Central European Policy Institute (Bratislava), and the Global Agenda Council on Europe of the World Economic Forum. Paweł Świeboda served on the Aviva/Economist Intelligence Unit Future Prosperity Panel. He was a member of the Advisory Group which assisted the Polish government in its preparations for the EU presidency in 2011. In 2010-2011, he chaired one of the four task forces of Poland's Strategic Review of National Security. He is now a member of the group of foreign policy advisors to the President of Poland. He also serves as a member of the Reflection Group on the "New Pact for Europe" created by the King Baudouin Foundation. In 2013-2014, he was Rapporteur of the Review of European Innovation Partnerships. He also works as a columnist for Gazeta Wyborcza.

Stephen F. Szabo is the Executive Director of the Transatlantic Academy in Washington, DC, a forum for research and dialogue between scholars, policy experts, and authors from both sides of the Atlantic (www.transatlanticacademy.org). Prior to joining the Transatlantic Academy in 2007, he was Academic Dean at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University and Director of Research at



the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies. He held the Steven Muller Chair in German Studies at the Bologna Center of Johns Hopkins University. He also served as Interim Dean of the Nitze School. He has also taught at the National War College, the Foreign Service Institute, US Department of State, the Hertie School of Governance, Georgetown and George Washington Universities, and the University of Virginia. He was a Bosch Public Policy Fellow at the American Academy in Berlin in the fall of 2002. He has held fellowships with the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung. His publications include *The Changing Politics of German Security, The Diplomacy of German Unification, Parting Ways: The Crisis in the German-American Relationship* and the forthcoming, *Germany, Russia, and the Rise of Geo-economics* (London: Bloomsbury, November 2014).

Shashi Tharoor is a member of the Indian Parliament from the Thiruananthapuram (Trivandrum) constituency in Kerala representing the Indian National Congress party. Earlier he was Minister of State for Human Resource Development (2012-2014) as well as Minister of State for External Affairs (2009-2010) in the Government of India. He has also served as the UN Under-Secretary General for Communica-



tions and Public Information under Kofi Annan as Secretary-General. He served on the boards of many international think tanks, NGOs, and educational institutions. He is a prolific author and columnist.



Tatiana Tropina is a senior researcher at the Max-Planck-Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law in Freiburg i.Br.. She has been conducting cybercrime research for more than 10 years, starting in Russia in 2002, where she became the first Russian researcher to defend a PhD thesis on cybercrime (2005). From 2003 to 2008, she worked full-time as a lawyer and then as head of the legal depart-

ments of a number of telecommunication companies. In 2008, she won the British Chevening Scholarship to study telecommunications management at the Business School of Strathclyde University, Glasgow. In 2009, she was awarded a German Chancellor Fellowship and moved to Germany to pursue her research on legal frameworks for cybercrime. Since 2009, Tatiana has been involved in both legal research and various applied cybercrime projects at the international level. This activity includes projects such as drafting model legislation on the interception of communication for the Caribbean states and adapting it via stakeholder consultations and carrying out a cybercrime study for the Global Symposium of Regulators. Recently, she served as a consultant to the UNODC Comprehensive Cybercrime Study (2012-2013). Tatiana has a number of publications to her credit, including a monograph on cybercrime. She is frequently invited to present her research at various international events.

NOTES NOTES





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