



BUCERIUS SUMMER
SCHOOL ON
GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Managing Growing Disorder
16 – 28 August 2015

PROGRAM



BUCERIUS SUMMER SCHOOL ON GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Managing Growing Disorder

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

Moderators:

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

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

Program Director:

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

Managing Growing Disorder

From 16 to 28 August 2015, the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, in cooperation with the Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung, holds its fifteenth 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 195 Bucerius Summer School candidates – nominated by government heads, ministers, company CEO's, university presidents, media leaders, and directors of international organizations – we have invited 56 promising business representatives, politicians, and academics from 29 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.

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 will be held at the Hotel Le Méridien on the banks of the Alster in Hamburg, at the German Council on Foreign Relations in Berlin, and at the Heinz Nixdorf MuseumsForum in Paderborn. 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 come under special scrutiny as well as the challenges and

prospects for the emerging powers. Participants discuss the implications of the rise of the emerging powers 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. With the support of the alumni, the ZEIT-Stiftung organizes regional follow-up seminars. These Governance Talks have taken place in various places in the world, most recently in Washington, D.C., Cape Town, and Warsaw.

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
CEO and Chairman of the Executive Board
ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius



Martin Nixdorf
Chairman of the Board of Directors
Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung

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 Hotel Lobby and Walk to Café Prüsse
- 19.00 Barbeque at Café Prüsse

MANAGING GROWING DISORDER

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*
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 – 11.30 Keynote
Managing the Perception and Reality of Frayed Global Governance
Daniel Drezner, Professor of International Politics, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Medford
- 11.30 – 12.30 Plenary Discussion
 12.30 – 14.30 Lunch

NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST I

HOTEL LE MÉRIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM “PALAIS”

- 14.30 – 15.00 Keynote
The End of the Middle East as We Know It
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
- 15.00 – 16.00 Plenary Discussion
 16.00 – 16.30 Coffee Break
 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

THE UN AT 70

HOTEL LE MÉRIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM “PALAIS”

- 09.00 – 09.30 Keynote
The UN at 70: Managing Disorder
Shashi Tharoor, Member of the Indian Parliament, Chairman of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on External Affairs, Delhi
- 09.30 – 10.30 Plenary Discussion
 10.30 – 11.00 Coffee Break
- ## NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST II
- 11.00 – 13.00 Panel Discussion
Debating Current Issues in the Near and Middle East
Muriel Asseburg, Senior Fellow, Research Division Middle East and Africa, German Institute for International and Security Affairs / Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin
Majed Bamyia, Director, International Treaties Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ramallah
Nicolette Boehland, Consultant on Syria, Amnesty International, Beirut
Yael Wissner-Levy, News Anchor, i24news, Tel Aviv
- 13.00 – 14.30 Lunch

BREAKOUT SESSIONS

- 14.30 – 16.00 Breakout Sessions
I. Middle East Conflicts (Room: Außenalster 1)
Muriel Asseburg, Senior Fellow, Research Division
Middle East and Africa, German Institute for
International and Security Affairs / Stiftung
Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin
II. Israel and Palestine (Room: Außenalster 2)
Majed Bamyä, Director, International Treaties
Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ramallah
Yael Wissner-Levy, News Anchor, i24news, Tel Aviv
III. Syria (Room: Winterhude)
Nicolette Boehland, Consultant on Syria,
Amnesty International, Beirut
- 16.00 – 16.30 Coffee Break
- 16.30 – 17.00 Wrap-up of the Breakout Sessions
(Conference Room “Palais”)

SITE VISIT: BUCERIUS KUNST FORUM AND ZEIT-STIFTUNG

- 18.30 – 19.00 Bus Transfer to Bucerius Kunst Forum
- 19.00 – 20.00 Exhibition “When Water Matters. Painting and
Photography from William Turner to Olafur Eliasson”
at Bucerius Kunst Forum
- 20.00 – 20.15 Bus Transfer to ZEIT-Stiftung Headquarters
- 20.15 – 22.30 Garden Dinner
- 22.30 – 23.00 Bus Transfer to Hotel

RETHINKING EUROPE?

HOTEL LE MÉRIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM “PALAIS”

- 09.00 – 10.30 Preparation Time for Debating Clubs
- 10.30 – 11.00 Coffee Break
- 11.00 – 13.00 Panel Discussion
Rethinking Europe?
Mark Leonard, Co-Founder and Director, European
Council on Foreign Relations, London
Almut Möller, Head, Alfred von Oppenheim Center
for European Policy Studies, German Council on
Foreign Relations, Berlin
Nereo Peñalver García, Policy Advisor, Foreign Affairs
Committee, European Parliament, Brussels
Fabian Zuleeg, Chief Executive, European Policy
Centre, Brussels
- 13.00 – 14.00 Lunch

SITE VISIT: KAMPNAGEL INTERNATIONAL SUMMER FESTIVAL

THE REFUGEE CATASTROPHE

- 14.00 – 14.30 Bus Transfer to Kampnagel
 14.30 – 16.30 Panel Discussion
The Refugee Catastrophe
Steffen Angenendt, Senior Associate, Research Division Global Issues, German Institute for International and Security Affairs / Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin
Lotte Leicht, EU Advocacy Director, Human Rights Watch, Brussels
Jakob Preuss, Documentary Filmmaker, Berlin
 16.30 *Site Visit Kampnagel*
Amelie Deuflhard, Artistic Director, Kampnagel, Hamburg
András Siebold, Artistic Director, Kampnagel International Summer Festival, Hamburg
 Snacks and Drinks

PUBLIC EVENT

- 18.00 – 19.30 Keynote
Which Future for Democracy in a Post-political Age?
Chantal Mouffe, Professor of Political Theory, University of Westminster, London
 19.30 – 20.30 Dinner
 20.30 – 22.00 Theatre: *Western Society* by Gob Squad Arts Collective
 23.00 – 23.30 Bus Transfer to Hotel

UNRESOLVED ISSUES: EUROPE, UKRAINE AND RUSSIA

HOTEL LE MÉRIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM “PALAIS”

- 09.00 – 11.00 Panel Discussion
Unresolved Issues: Europe, Ukraine and Russia
Wolfgang Ischinger, Ambassador, Chairman of the Munich Security Conference, Munich
Dmitri Trenin, Director, Carnegie Moscow Center, Moscow
Ivan Vejvoda, Senior Vice President for Programs, German Marshall Fund of the United States, Washington, D.C.
 11.00 – 11.30 Coffee Break

SECURITY AND GOVERNANCE CHALLENGES IN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN

- 11.30 – 13.30 Panel Discussion
Security and Governance Challenges in Afghanistan and Pakistan
Hans-Lothar Domröse, General, Commander, NATO Allied Joint Force Command, Brunssum
Husain Haqqani, Senior Fellow, Director for South and Central Asia, Hudson Institute, Washington, D.C.
Cameron Munter, President and CEO, EastWest Institute, New York
Mariam Tutakhel, Desk Officer, Culture and Media Cooperation with Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin
 13.30 – 14.30 Lunch
 14.30 – 15.30 Coffee in the Lobby and Loading Luggage onto Bus
 15.30 – 19.30 Bus Ride to Berlin

Free Evening

HOTEL The Westin Grand
 Friedrichstraße 158-164
 10117 Berlin
 Tel: +49 30 20270

TRANSATLANTIC TRADE AND INVESTMENT PARTNERSHIP: BLESSING OR CURSE?

GERMAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

- 09.00 – 09.30 Bus Transfer to German Council on Foreign Relations
 09.30 – 11.00 Panel Discussion
*Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership:
 Blessing or Curse?*
Josef Braml, Resident Fellow, Research Program USA /
 Transatlantic Relations, German Council on Foreign
 Relations, Berlin
Jackson Janes, President, American Institute for
 Contemporary German Studies, Johns Hopkins
 University, Washington, D.C.
Stormy-Annika Mildner, Head of Department External
 Economic Policy, Federation of German Industries, Berlin
Bartłomiej Nowak, Assistant Professor, Vistula University,
 Warsaw
 11.00 – 11.30 Coffee Break

ECONOMIC CHALLENGES

- 11.30 – 12.00 Keynote
Gridlock in Global Economic Governance
David Held, Master, University College Durham, Durham
 12.00 – 13.00 Plenary Discussion
 13.00 – 14.30 Lunch
 14.30 – 16.30 Panel Discussion
Global Economic Challenges
Elmar Brok, Member of the European Parliament,
 Chairman of the European Parliament Committee on
 Foreign Affairs, Brussels
David Held, Master, University College Durham, Durham
Steffen Kern, Chief Economist and Head of Financial
 Stability, European Securities and Markets Authority
 (ESMA), Paris
Manfred Lahnstein, Chairman of the Board of Trustees,
 ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, Hamburg
Susanne Schmidt, Business Journalist and Author,
 London
 16.30 – 17.00 Bus Transfer to Hotel
 18.30 – 19.00 Bus Transfer to Federal Chancellery
 19.00 – 20.30 Guided Tour through Federal Chancellery
 21.00 – 23.30 Boat Tour and Dinner on the Spree River

EMERGING POWERS AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

GERMAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

- 09.00 – 09.30 Bus Transfer to German Council on Foreign Relations
 09.30 – 11.30 Panel Discussion
BRICS: Political Governance
Thorsten Benner, Co-Founder and Director,
 Global Public Policy Institute, Berlin
Fyodor Lukyanov, Editor-in-Chief, Russia in Global
 Affairs, Chairman of the Presidium of the Council on
 Foreign and Defense Policy, Moscow
Nandan Unnikrishnan, Vice President and Senior
 Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, Delhi
Qingmin Zhang, Professor and Chair, Department of
 Diplomacy, School of International Studies,
 Peking University, Beijing
 11.30 – 12.00 Coffee Break
 12.00 – 14.00 Panel Discussion
BRICS: Social Policies and Economic Developments
Fyodor Lukyanov, Editor-in-Chief, Russia in Global
 Affairs, Chairman of the Presidium of the Council on
 Foreign and Defense Policy, Moscow
Karen Smith, Senior Lecturer in International Relations,
 University of Cape Town, Cape Town
Oliver Stuenkel, Assistant Professor of International
 Relations, Fundação Getúlio Vargas, São Paulo
Wei Wei Zhang, Professor of International Relations,
 Fudan University, Shanghai
 14.00 – 15.00 Lunch
 15.00 – 15.30 Bus Transfer to Hotel

Free Afternoon and Evening

BERLIN LANDMARKS

- 10.00 – 10.30 Checkout and Loading Luggage onto Bus
- 10.30 – 11.00 Subway Ride 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
- 14.52 – 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

DATA PROTECTION AND CYBER SECURITY

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
Data Protection and Cyber Security
Latha Reddy, Former Deputy National Security Advisor
of India, Bangalore
Elmar Theveßen, Deputy Editor-in-Chief,
Head of News, ZDF German Television, Mainz
Tatiana Tropina, Senior Researcher, Max Planck
Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law,
Freiburg i. Br.
- 11.30 – 12.00 Coffee Break
- 12.00 – 13.30 Guided Tour through the Computer Museum
- 13.30 – 14.30 Lunch
- 14.30 – 19.00 Bus Transfer to Hamburg

- Free Evening and Preparation Time
for Debating Clubs

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 the interests of the entire country. Players are faced with the challenges of negotiations, conflict resolution, strategy implementation, group leadership, and the allocation of resources.

Workshop by Pracownia Gier Szkoleniowych, Warsaw

13.00 – 14.30 Lunch

14.30 – 15.15 Debriefing Simulation Exercise

15.15 Coffee Break

Preparation Time for Debating Clubs

17.30 – 18.00 Bus Transfer

18.00 – 19.30 Boat Tour on the Elbe River

19.30 – 00.00 Dinner and Dance at Restaurant Au Quai

00.00 – 00.30 Bus Transfer to Hotel

TACKLING SOCIAL PROBLEMS WITH BUSINESS SOLUTIONS

HOTEL LE MÉRIDIEN

09.00 – 11.00 Breakout Sessions

I. Innovative Architecture and Social Design Concepts for Humanitarian Needs (Room: Außenalster 1)

Daniel Kerber, Founder and Director, morethanshelters, Hamburg / Berlin

II. Creating Economic and Social Stability in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Room: Außenalster 2)

Zoran Puljic, Director, Mozaik Foundation, Sarajevo
III. Causing Prosperity in Africa through Free Enterprise (Room: Winterhude)

James Shikwati, Founder and Director, Inter Region Economic Network (IREN), Nairobi

11.00 – 11.30 Coffee Break

HOTEL LE MÉRIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM “PALAIS”

11.30 – 13.00 Panel Discussion

Tackling Social Problems with Business Solutions

Daniel Kerber, Founder and Director, morethanshelters, Hamburg / Berlin

Zoran Puljic, Director, Mozaik Foundation, Sarajevo

James Shikwati, Founder and Director, Inter Region Economic Network (IREN), Nairobi

13.00 – 14.00 Lunch

HAMBURG BEACH CENTER

14.30 – 15.00 Bus Transfer to Hamburg Beach Center

15.00 – 18.00 Beach Volleyball

18.00 – 18.30 Bus Transfer to Hotel

19.45 – 20.00 Walk to Restaurant Hans im Glück

20.00 – 22.30 Dinner at Restaurant Hans im Glück

DEBATING CLUBS

HOTEL LE MÉRIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM “PALAIS”

- 09.30 – 11.00 *Introduction*
Sascha Suhrke, Program Director, ZEIT-Stiftung
Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, Hamburg
Debating Club I:
Will the European Union Fall Apart?
Debating Club II:
Will the BRICS Develop a Side World Order?
Debating Club III:
Should We Fear the Power of Government over the Internet?
11.00 – 11.30 Coffee Break
11.30 – 12.30 Hand-out of Bucerius Summer School Certificates
Vote of Thanks

CLOSING ADDRESSES

- 12.30 – 13.30 **Helmut Schmidt**, former Chancellor of the
Federal Republic of Germany, Hamburg
Theo Sommer, DIE ZEIT, Founding Dean of the
Bucerius Summer School, Hamburg
13.30 Lunch

Free Afternoon

FAREWELL DINNER

- 19.00 – 19.30 Bus Transfer to Restaurant Brook
19.30 – 23.00 Dinner at Restaurant Brook
23.00 – 23.30 Bus Transfer to Hotel

DEPARTURE

- 08.00 – 12.00 Breakfast and Individual Departure



Steffen Angenendt has been Senior Associate at German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, SWP) in Berlin since September 2006. Within the research division Global Issues, he is responsible for demography and migration. He published extensively on German, European, and international migration policy and demography. Before joining the Institute, he worked at the German

Council on Foreign Relations on international migration issues and was editor of the Yearbook on International Relations. From 2011 to 2013, Steffen Angenendt was released from his SWP position to advise the German Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation and Development on migration issues. In addition, he has worked as a consultant i.a. to the Federal Government's Independent Commission on Immigration Reform (Süssmuth-Kommission) and the High Council on Migration and Integration (Zuwanderungsrat), the Council for Asia-Europe Co-operation, the International Organization for Migration, UNICEF, UNHCR, and the World Bank. He taught Political Science and Political Sociology at the Free University and the Humboldt University in Berlin, and in 2011 as professor at the Vienna University in Austria. He holds a diploma and a Ph.D. in Political Science and is member of several advisory boards.



Muriel Asseburg is Senior Fellow in the Middle East and Africa division of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, SWP) in Berlin. Currently, she is the head of two research projects on "Elite Change and New Social Mobilization in the Arab world" and "The Fragmentation of Syria." She studied Political Science, International Law, and Economics and holds a Ph.D. from Munich's

Ludwig Maximilians University. She has lived in the U.S., Jerusalem, Ramallah, Damascus, and Beirut. Her current research focuses on the Arab-Israeli conflict, Syria, and the transformation processes in the Arab world. She also works on German, European, and U.S.-Middle East policies as well as questions of state building, political reform, and political Islam in the Arab world.

Majed Bamya is the Director of the International Treaties Department at the Palestinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is the General Coordinator of the International Campaign for the Freedom of Marwan Barghouti and all Palestinian prisoners. Majed Bamya served previously in the General Delegation of Palestine in Brussels, where he was in charge of EU-Palestinian bilateral relations and of the Euromed file. He holds a Master's degree in International Law from the Sorbonne University in Paris.



Thorsten Benner is Co-Founder and Director of the Global Public Policy Institute in Berlin. Prior to co-founding the Global Public Policy Institute in 2003, he worked with the German Council on Foreign Relations in Berlin, the UN Development Program in New York, and the Global Public Policy Project in Washington, D.C. His publications include *The New World of UN Peace Operations: Learning to Build Peace?* (Oxford University Press 2011). He is an adjunct faculty member at the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin, where he teaches in the Executive Master of Public Administration program. From 2011 to 2015, he worked with the founding team at the School of Public Policy at Central European University. He studied Political Science, History, and Sociology at the University of Siegen, the University of York, and the University of California at Berkeley. From 2001 to 2003, he was a McCloy Scholar at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, where he received a Master in Public Administration.





Nicolette Boehland is a Researcher for Amnesty International's Syria team, based in Beirut, Lebanon. Previously, she was a Harvard Law Fellow at the Center for Civilians in Conflict, where she led a study on civilian involvement in war and conducted fieldwork for case studies on Bosnia, Libya, Gaza, and Somalia; a Legal Fellow at the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission in Kabul; a Program Manager for Save the

Children in the West Bank and Gaza; a Fulbright Scholar in Jordan, where she worked with CARE International to coordinate resources for Iraqi refugees; and a Senior Associate in the legal and policy office at Human Rights Watch. Nicolette has a bachelor's degree in International Affairs and English literature from Lewis & Clark College and a law degree from Harvard Law School.



Josef Braml joined the German Council on Foreign Relations in October 2006 as Editor-in-Chief of the Council's Yearbook "Jahrbuch Internationale Politik," and he is also Resident Fellow in the Research Program USA / Transatlantic Relations. Prior to joining the German Council on Foreign Relations, Mr. Braml was a Senior Research Fellow at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin, the Project

Leader at the Aspen Institute Berlin, a Visiting Scholar at the German-American Center, a Consultant at the World Bank, a Guest Scholar at the Brookings Institution, a Congressional Fellow of the American Political Science Association, and a member of the Legislative Staff in the U.S. House of Representatives. He earned a Ph.D. in Political Science (2001) and a Masters in International Business and Cultural Studies, I.B.C.S. (1997) at the University of Passau. His areas of specialization include: American views on world order and transatlantic relations; U.S. security, energy, and trade policy; domestic, especially economic factors of U.S. foreign policy; comparative governance studies, especially German and U.S. political systems; religion and politics / policy-making in the United States; German and U.S. think-tanks. His recent book *Der amerikanische Patient* (Siedler Verlag, Berlin) received the renowned International Book Award at the Frankfurt Book Fair.

Elmar Brok is currently Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the European Parliament, a post he also held from 1999 to 2007. He joined the European Parliament during its first legislative period in 1980. Elmar Brok is also a member of the Committee on Constitutional Affairs, the European Parliament's delegation for the relations with the People's Republic of China. He is also Co-Chair of the Transatlantic Legislators Dialogue and a substitute member of the European Parliament's delegation for the relations with the USA. Elmar Brok has been negotiator of the European Parliament at several treaty-negotiations: EU-Treaties Amsterdam (1996/1997), Nice (2000), and Lisbon (2007), EU-Constitutional Convention (2001-2002), European Stability Mechanism (2011-2012), and the international treaty on the fiscal compact (2011-2012). Elmar Brok is a member of the board of the CDU and in the Federal Committee on Foreign and Security Policies of the CDU. Between 1996 and 2012, he was Chairman of the CDU in his home-district Ostwestfalen-Lippe. Brok is also President of the European Union of Christian Democratic Workers.



Amelie Deuflhard is the Artistic Director of Kampnagel Hamburg and a Theatre-Producer. Between 2000 and 2007, she directed the Sophiensaele in Berlin. In 2003, she became Chairwoman of the association "Zwischen Palast Nutzung e. V." (Temporary Palace Use) that aimed to enable an artistic program at the demolished Palace of the Republic in Berlin. In 2004/05, she was one of the Artistic Directors of the "Volkspalast" (People's Palace), a festival project at the demolished Palace of the Republic. Since 2007, Amelie Deuflhard is the Artistic Director of Kampnagel Hamburg, the biggest independent stage and production venue for international performing arts in Germany. She is (Co-)Editor of several publications, e.g. *VOLKSPALAST – Zwischen Aktivismus und Kunst* (2005), *Spielräume produzieren – Sophiensaele* (2006), and *ParCITYpate: Art and Urban Space* (2009). In March 2010, Amelie Deuflhard was awarded the Caroline-Neuber award of the city of Leipzig, and in November 2013, she received the insignia of the Chevaliers des Arts et Lettres from the French Ministry of Culture.





Daniel Drezner is Professor of International Politics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, a nonresident Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution, and the writer of Spoiler Alerts for the *Washington Post*. Prior to Fletcher, he taught at the University of Chicago and the University of Colorado at Boulder. He has previously held positions with Civic Education Project, the RAND Corporation, and the U.S. Department of the Treasury. Drezner has written five books, including *All Politics is Global* (Princeton, 2007) and *Theories of International Politics and Zombies* (Princeton, 2011), and edited two others, including *Avoiding Trivia* (Brookings, 2009). He has published articles in numerous scholarly journals as well as in the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Foreign Affairs*. His latest book, *The System Worked: How the World Stopped Another Great Depression*, was published by Oxford University Press in 2014.



Hans-Lothar Domröse has been Commander of Allied Joint Force Command, Brunssum, since December 2012. Prior he served as the Military Representative to NATO and the EU Military Committee in Brussels, after assignments as Commander of Special Operations Division in Regensburg (2006-2008) and as Commanding General of EUROCORPS in Strasbourg (2009-2011). He joined the German Federal Armed Forces in 1973 and received his degree "Diplom-Kaufmann" at the University of the German Federal Armed Forces in Hamburg in 1977. In 2011, he attended the Senior Education Program on "National and International Security" at Harvard Kennedy School. Besides holding different positions at the German Ministry of Defence and at the Chancellery of the Republic of Germany, he served as Chief of Staff Multinational Brigade South KFOR in Prizren, Kosovo (1999) and Chief of Staff HQ ISAF in Kabul, Afghanistan (2008).

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. 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. Michael Göring is also author of two novels.



Husain Haqqani served as Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States from 2008 to 2011 and is widely credited with managing a difficult partnership during a critical phase in the global war on terrorism. Considered an expert on radical Islamist movements, he is currently Director for South and Central Asia at Hudson Institute in Washington, D.C. Haqqani also co-edits the journal *Current Trends in Islamist ideology*. Haqqani has been a journalist, academic, and diplomat in addition to serving as advisor to four Pakistani Prime Ministers, including the late Benazir Bhutto. He received Hilal-e-Imtiaz, one of Pakistan's highest civilian honors for public service. His 2005 book *Pakistan Between Mosque and Military* was acclaimed for explaining the roots of Pakistan's foreign and domestic policies. His 2013 book *Magnificent Delusions: US, Pakistan and an Epic History of Misunderstanding*, which came out in 2013, has been described in the media as "the most clear-eyed history of the US-Pakistan relationship yet published."





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 B.Sc. in Technology and Management Sciences from Manchester University and an M.Sc. and Ph.D. in Political Science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge. He conducted post-doctoral research at Cambridge University and has been Visiting Professor at Sciences Po in Paris since 2007.



Wolfgang Ischinger has been the Chairman of the Munich Security Conference since 2008. 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, D.C., 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.



Jackson Janes is the President of the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies (AICGS) at the Johns Hopkins University in Washington, D.C., where he has been affiliated since 1989. Mr. Janes has been engaged in German-American affairs in numerous capacities over many years. He has studied and taught in German universities in Freiburg, Giessen, and Tübingen. He was the Director of the German-American Institute in Tübingen (1977-1980) and then directed the European office of The German Marshall Fund of the United States in Bonn (1980-1985). Before joining AICGS, he served as Director of Program Development at the University Center for International Studies at the University of Pittsburgh (1986-1988). He was also Chair of the German Speaking Areas in Europe Program at the Foreign Service Institute in Washington, D.C. from 1999 to 2000 and President of the International Association for the Study of German Politics from 2005 to 2010. Mr. Janes is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the International Institute for Strategic Studies, and the Atlantic Council of the United States. Dr. Janes has lectured throughout Europe and the United States and has published extensively on issues dealing with Germany, German-American relations, and transatlantic affairs. In 2005, he was awarded the Officer's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany, Germany's highest civilian award.

Daniel Kerber is Founder and Director of morethanshelters in Hamburg and Berlin. morethanshelters is a social business that offers innovative architecture and social-design-concepts for humanitarian purposes. It 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 facing 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.





Steffen Kern is Chief Economist and Head of Financial Stability of the European Securities and Markets Authority in Paris. Appointed in 2012, his responsibilities include the analysis of market developments and identification of risks and vulnerabilities in the securities and derivatives markets, the institutional investor industry as well as the financial market infrastructure of the EU. He is a technical advisor to the EU's

macro-prudential supervisory council (European Systemic Risk Board, ESRB), co-chairs the ESRB's Expert Group on Shadow Banking, and is a member of the International Organization of Securities Commissions' Committee on Emerging Risks. Before joining the EU's public service, he had worked for Deutsche Bank, including positions as Director for International Financial Market Policy, as Senior Economist at Deutsche Bank Research, and at the Group Board offices. Kern is a Professor at the University of Mainz teaching International Financial Market Development, Regulation, and Supervision, and has been appointed advisor to the World Economic Forum on global financial system reform. He served as a Senior Fellow of the Transatlantic Academy in Washington, D.C., and was appointed the 2011 Helmut Schmidt Fellow of the ZEIT-Stiftung and the German Marshall Fund. He holds academic degrees in Economics, Politics, and Philosophy from the Universities of Oxford and Leuven and a Doctorate from Erasmus University Rotterdam.



Bernd Klein is Member of the Board of the Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung and Stiftung Westfalen. He is partner of the law firm Schmidt, von der Osten & Huber in Essen and a member of the German-American Lawyers' Association. He holds a doctorate in Law and studied at the Universities of Bonn, Freiburg, and Berkeley (LL.M.).

Manfred Lahnstein is Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius. He served as Federal Minister of Finance in 1982, and was Head of the Federal Chancellery in Bonn from 1980 to 1982. Previously, he served as State Secretary of the Federal Ministry of Finance from 1977 to 1980. He was active in the private sector as a member of the Board of Directors for Bertelsmann AG from 1983 to 1994, where he was responsible for the development of the New Media sector. From 1994 to 1998, he was a member of Bertelsmann's Supervisory Board. In 1994, he founded Lahnstein & Partner, International Consultants, Hamburg.



Lotte Leicht, the European Union Advocacy Director and Director of Human Rights Watch's Brussels Office since 1994, has specialized expertise in European advocacy. Leicht, a lawyer by training who specialized in international human rights and humanitarian law, frequently testifies before international inter-governmental organizations, has conducted human rights and humanitarian law investigations in various conflict zones and written extensively on human rights issues for major publications. She is the co-editor of *Monitoring Human Rights in Europe: Comparing International Standards and Mechanisms*. Before joining Human Rights Watch, Leicht was Program Director of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights in Vienna and a staff member at the Danish Centre for Human Rights.





Mark Leonard is Co-Founder and Director of the European Council on Foreign Relations and Chair of the World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council on Geoeconomics. 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 Transatlantic Fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States in Washington, D.C., and a Visiting Scholar at the Chinese Academy for Social Science in Beijing.



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 U.S., Europe, and China. He is one of the most known commentators on 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.

Stormy-Annika Mildner is Head of the Department External Economic Policy of the Federation of German Industries (BDI). At BDI, she is responsible for the topics foreign trade, investment protection, export promotion, and North America. Before joining BDI in January 2014, Mrs. Mildner was a member of the Executive Board of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs. Prior to that, she worked for the German Council on Foreign Relations, where she headed the program Globalization and the World Economy (2000-2002). In spring 2010, she was a Visiting Fellow at the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies in Washington, D.C., where she is still a Non-Resident Senior Fellow. In fall 2011, she was a Visiting Fellow at the German Marshall Fund's Transatlantic Academy in Washington, D.C. She regularly teaches classes on International Economics and Trade at the Hertie School of Governance. Mrs. Mildner conducted her Bachelor studies in Economics and North American Studies at the Free University of Berlin and earned a Master of Science in International Political Economy from the London School of Economics. She wrote her Ph.D. thesis at the Free University of Berlin; during her Ph.D. studies, she temporarily attended the Yale Center for International and Area Studies of Yale University.



Chantal Mouffe is Professor of Political Theory at the Centre for the Study of Democracy at the University of Westminster in London. She has taught and researched in many universities in Europe, North America, and South America, and she is a corresponding member of the Collège International de Philosophie in Paris. She is the editor of *Gramsci and Marxist Theory* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1979), *Dimensions of Radical Democracy: Pluralism, Citizenship, Community* (Verso, London, 1992), *Deconstruction and Pragmatism* (Routledge, 1996), and *The Challenge of Carl Schmitt* (Verso, London, 1999); the co-author with Ernesto Laclau of *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy. Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (Verso, London, 1985) and the author of *The Return of the Political* (Verso, London, 1993), *The Democratic Paradox* (Verso, London, 2000), *On the Political* (Routledge, London, 2005), and *Agonistics. Thinking the World Politically* (Verso, 2013).





Almut Möller is a political analyst on European integration and foreign policy and has been the Head of the Alfred von Oppenheim Center for European Policy Studies at the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP) since 2010. Prior to joining the DGAP, she worked as a freelance political analyst based in London. Between 2002 and 2008, Almut was a Researcher at the Center for Applied Policy Research at Ludwig-

Maximilians-Universität in Munich. She was also a Guest Researcher at Renmin University of China in Beijing (2006), at Al Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies in Cairo (2007), and at the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies at Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C. (2008). Almut Möller holds an M.A. in Political Science from Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich (2002). She also studied at Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität in Münster and at the Institut d'Études Politiques (Sciences-Po) in Aix-en-Provence.



Cameron Munter is President and CEO of the EastWest Institute in New York. Prior to that, he taught International Relations at Pomona College in Claremont, California. Cameron Munter spent the previous three decades as a career diplomat in the U.S. Foreign Service. His last posting was as the U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan from 2010 to 2012. During this period, he guided U.S.-Pakistani relations through a

succession of crises, including the Ray Davis affair and the operation against Osama bin Laden. He previously served as U.S. Ambassador to Serbia from 2007 to 2009. Ambassador Munter also worked at the U.S. Embassy to Iraq and as Deputy Chief of Mission in the Czech Republic and Poland. He served as Director at the National Security Council under Presidents Clinton and Bush and held a number of other posts at the State Department and overseas. He was Dean Rusk Fellow at the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. and has taught at Columbia University School of Law in New York. Before joining the Foreign Service, Ambassador Munter taught European History at the University of California in Los Angeles and directed European Studies at the Twentieth Century Fund in New York. He graduated from Cornell University in Ithaca, New York and was awarded a doctoral degree in modern European History from the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland. He also studied at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland; at the University of Freiburg in Germany; and at the University of Marburg in Germany.

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



Bartłomiej Nowak is a political scientist. He holds a Ph.D. in Economics from the Warsaw School of Economics and completed his executive studies at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government. He is Assistant Professor at the Vistula University in Warsaw and also works as Global Ethics Fellow (non-resident) at the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs. Nowak was Transatlantic Academy Fellow in Washington, D.C. (2013-2014) and Executive Director at the Center for International Relations (Warsaw, 2010-2013). Previously, he was working in the European Parliament (Brussels-Strasbourg, 2004-2009) as 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).





Nereo Peñalver García is Policy Advisor at the Foreign Affairs Committee of the European Parliament, where he is responsible for Iran, Iraq, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and the Gulf countries. Mr. Peñalver has worked for front-rank European politicians such as Martin Schulz, President of the European Parliament, and Josep Borrell, former President of the European Parliament. He also served senior officials such as the spokes-

person of Javier Solana, former EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, the Parliament's Director General for External Relations and the United Nations' Communications Director for Western Europe. Besides, Mr. Peñalver worked in the European Parliament's Research Service. He has Master's degrees from the College of Europe in Bruges and from Pompeu Fabra University in Barcelona. Mr. Peñalver has also studied Political Sciences at the Institut d'Études Politiques in Toulouse and at Beijing University. He is the author, together with Sir Julian Priestley, of the book *The Making of a European President*, on the first pan-European presidential campaign (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).



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.

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 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 advisor 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 holds a law degree from the Sorbonne in Paris and a Master's degree from the College of Europe, Natolin.



He holds a law degree from the Sorbonne in Paris and a Master's degree from the College of Europe, Natolin.

Zoran Puljic is the Director of the Mozaik Foundation and a Schwab Social Entrepreneur. He successfully started several non- and for-profit organizations. All these initiatives aim towards the economic and social empowerment of disadvantaged groups, primarily youth and women in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Zoran served in and chaired numerous domestic and international boards, including the German Marshall Fund (Balkan Trust for Democracy), the European Foundation Centre (Grant-makers East Forum), Resource Alliance, Technical Assistance for Civil Society Organisations, Bigmev and others. He currently serves as the U.S. Global Good Ambassador for Central and Eastern Europe. Zoran recently completed the Harvard Kennedy School Program for late-stage social entrepreneurs. He was a Duke University Fellow in Civil Society, Harvard Business School and an INSEAD Fellow in Social Entrepreneurship and BoardSource Fellow in Non-Profit Governance. He holds an MBA and an M.A. certificate in Development.





Latha Reddy is the former Deputy National Security Advisor of India. In addition to assisting National Security Advisor Shiv Shankar Menon, she was responsible for cybersecurity and other critical internal and external security issues. Ms. Reddy joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1975 and has served on diplomatic assignments in Lisbon, Washington, D.C., Kathmandu, Brasilia, and as Consul General in Durban and Deputy

Chief of Mission in Vienna. She has also served at the Ministry of External Affairs and the Ministry of Commerce in New Delhi in various capacities. She has served as the Deputy Director General of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations and as the Head of the Administration Division in the Ministry of External Affairs. Latha Reddy was Ambassador of India to Portugal from 2004 to 2006 and Ambassador of India to the Kingdom of Thailand from 2007-2009. She served as Secretary (East) in the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi from January 2010 to March 2011. Ms. Reddy served as the Deputy National Security Advisor and the Secretary, National Security Council Secretariat, from March 2011 to March 2013.



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 Ph.D. 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.

Helmut Schmidt served as Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany from 1974 to 1982, and has been Co-publisher of *DIE ZEIT* since 1983. Mr. Schmidt had joined the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in 1946. From 1949 to 1953, he worked for the government of the city-state of Hamburg in the State Ministry for Economy and Transport. From 1953 to 1961, he was Member of the German Bundestag. From 1961 to 1965, he was Minister of the Interior of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, and then got re-elected in 1965 to the Bundestag. Before becoming Chancellor, he had also served as Minister of Defence and Minister of Finance, as well as briefly as Minister of Economics and as acting Foreign Minister. Mr. Schmidt studied Economics and Political Science and graduated in 1949. With Takeo Fukuda he founded the Inter Action Council (IAC) in 1983. Helmut Schmidt is member of the Board of Trustees of the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, and Honorary Chairman of the German National Foundation, which he founded in 1993. Mr. Schmidt is author of numerous articles and books.



Susanne Schmidt is a business journalist and author. She has written extensively about the financial industry and the requirement for and the demands from a respective new regulatory regime as well as about the current debt and political crisis in the Eurozone. For her book *Markt ohne Moral* (Market without Morale, Droemer Knauer, Munich, 2010) she was awarded the Deutscher Wirtschaftsbuchpreis 2010. Prior to becoming a freelancer, Schmidt worked for more than three decades in the financial sector, predominantly in the City of London. Her career comprised management functions in commercial banking, investment banking research as political analyst, and financial journalism as anchor with Bloomberg German TV. Schmidt holds a Ph.D. in Economics and lives in England.





James Shikwati is Founder and Director of the Inter Region Economic Network (IREN), 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. He runs a series of enterprises under the umbrella of IREN. He is the Country Director of

Enactus Kenya, a program present in 19 Kenyan universities (public and private). 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 networks 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 was named among the 100 most influential Kenyans in 2007 by the *Standard Newspaper* and recognized as a Young Global Leader by the *World Economic Forum* in 2008. He received his Bachelor of Education (Arts) degree in 1995 from the University of Nairobi.



András Siebold is the Artistic Director of the Kampnagel International Summer Festival. Prior to that, he was Head of Dramaturgy at Kampnagel. From 2003 to 2007, he worked as a dramaturg at the Berlin State Opera and in the same function at the Theater Basel for two years. He studied Philosophy, Music, and Cultural Sciences. He also worked for the artist Robert Wilson and two years for the contemporary art gallery Nordenhake in Berlin.

proprary art gallery Nordenhake in Berlin.

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 Association 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 Dean and Moderator of the Bucerius Summer School on Global Governance from 2001 to 2014. He 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).



Oliver Stuenkel is Assistant Professor of International Relations at the Fundação Getúlio Vargas in São Paulo, where he coordinates the São Paulo branch of the School of History and Social Science and the executive program in International Relations. He is also a Non-Resident Fellow at the Global Public Policy Institute in Berlin and a member of the Carnegie Rising Democracies Network. His research focuses on rising powers; specifically on Brazil's, India's, and China's foreign policy and on their impact on global governance. He is the author of *IBSA: The rise of the Global South?* (Routledge Global Institutions, 2014), *The BRICS and the Future of Global Order* (Lexington, 2015), and the forthcoming *Parallel Worlds: How emerging powers are remaking global order* (Polity, 2016).





Sascha Suhrke is Program Director Politics and Society at the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius. 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, i.e. the Bucerius Summer School on Global Governance and the Asian Forum on Global Governance. He also

serves as the Chair of the Grantmakers East Forum at the European Foundation Centre.



Shashi Tharoor is a member of the Indian Parliament from the Thiruvananthapuram (Trivandrum) constituency in Kerala representing the Indian National Congress party. He chairs the Parliament's External Affairs Committee. 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 also served as

the U.N. Under-Secretary General for Communications 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 bestselling author of fifteen previous books, both fiction and non-fiction, including the path-breaking satire *The Great Indian Novel* (1989), the classic *India: From Midnight to the Millennium* (1997), the visionary *Pax Indica: India and the World of the 21st Century* (2012), and most recently *India Shashtra: Reflections on the Nation in our Time*, besides being a noted critic and columnist.



Elmar Theveßen has been Deputy Editor-in-Chief and Head of News at the ZDF German Television in Mainz since 2007. He joined the ZDF in 1991 after completing his studies in Political Science, History, and German at the University of Bonn as well as studies in Foreign Policy and Journalism at the American University in Washington, D.C. Until 1995, Mr. Theveßen worked at the ZDF studio in Bonn reporting on domestic and educational policies before becoming foreign correspondent for North America at the ZDF studio in Washington, D.C.. Upon his return to Germany in 2001, he became Producer of the investigative news magazine "Frontal21" in Berlin and in 2003 Managing Director of the News Department in Mainz. Mr. Theveßen has written five books including *Terroralarm* (2005), *Al-Qaida* (2009), and *Nine Eleven* (2011). He has received several awards for his journalistic work.



Dmitri Trenin is the Director of the Carnegie Moscow Center. He has been with the Center since its inception in 1994. He also chairs the Research Council and the Foreign and Security Policy Program. Mr. Trenin retired from the Russian Army in 1993. From 1993 to 1997, he held a post as a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Europe in Moscow. In 1993, Mr. Trenin was a Senior Research Fellow at the NATO Defense College in Rome. He served in the Soviet and Russian armed forces from 1972 to 1993, including experience working as a liaison officer in the external relations branch of the Group of Soviet Forces (stationed in Potsdam) and as a staff member of the delegation to the U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms talks in Geneva from 1985 to 1991. He also taught at the War Studies Department of the Military Institute from 1986 to 1993.



Tatiana Tropina is 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 Ph.D. thesis on cybercrime (2005). From 2003 to 2008, she worked full-time as a lawyer and then as head of the legal departments 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).



Mariam Tutakhel is Desk Officer in charge of the cultural and media cooperation with Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan at the German Foreign Office in Berlin. Before changing to the cultural department, she worked for six years on Afghan domestic policy and human rights issues at the Task Force AFG-PAK. Her special expertise on Afghanistan has been a red line in all of her positions: After 09/11, she worked until

2004 in the diplomatic service of the German Foreign Office as a desk officer in the task force for the dialogue with the Islamic World. From January until July 2004, she worked in Herat, Afghanistan as deputy head of the German Diplomatic Extension Mission. Ms. Tutakhel then changed to the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Berlin and was seconded to the German Bundestag as foreign policy advisor to the head of the Green Party in the German parliament, Renate Künast. Mariam Tutakhel holds a Master's degree in Islamic Studies, Oriental Languages, and Educational Sciences and has studied in Bochum and Cairo.

Nandan Unnikrishnan is a Vice President and Senior Fellow at the Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi. He joined ORF in 2004. He looks after the Eurasia Programme of Studies. An alumnus of Jawaharlal Nehru University, he began his career as a journalist with the Press Trust of India (PTI). From 1985 to 1987, he was deputed by PTI to the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. In 1995, after 15 years in PTI culminating with a three-year posting to Moscow as the Bureau Chief, he moved to Business India's Television Channel – TVI. He joined TVI as the News Coordinator for International Affairs rising to head the channel by 1998. During his tenure with ORF, Nandan has participated in several National and International conferences, lectured in academic and specialised institutions in India and abroad.



Ivan Vejvoda is Senior Vice President for Programs at the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF). From 2003 to 2010, he was the Executive Director of the Balkan Trust for Democracy, a project of the German Marshall Fund dedicated to strengthening democratic institutions in Southeastern Europe. Mr. Vejvoda came to GMF in 2003 from distinguished service in the Serbian government as senior advisor on foreign policy and European integration to Prime Ministers Zoran Djindjic and Zoran Zivkovic. Prior to that, he served as Executive Director of the Belgrade-based Fund for an Open Society from 1998 to 2002. During the mid-1990s, Mr. Vejvoda held various academic posts in the United States and the United Kingdom, including one-year appointments at Smith College in Massachusetts and Macalester College in Minnesota, and a three-year research fellowship at the University of Sussex in England. Ivan Vejvoda was actively involved in the democratic opposition movement in Yugoslavia through the 1980s and 1990s, and co-founded in Belgrade the Democratic Forum (1989) and the Belgrade Circle of Independent Intellectuals (1992). He has widely published on the subjects of democracy, democratic transition, EU, Balkans, and political theory. Mr. Vejvoda holds a Diploma from Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris and completed postgraduate studies in philosophy at Belgrade University. He was awarded the French National Order of Merit in the rank of Officer (2006) and the Italian Order of the Star of Italian Solidarity rank of commander (2007).





Yael Wissner-Levy is a Speechwriter and Communications Consultant for leading Israeli government and business leaders. She has written for heads of state, international NGOs, and CEOs heading multi-billion dollar corporations. She is a News Anchor and Morning Show Host on i24news, an international television corporation. Yael is one of the Co-Founders of Radio TLV1 – an English language internet radio based in Tel

Aviv, which seeks to bring Israeli and regional news, culture, and music to listeners worldwide. Previously, she served as the UK correspondent for Israel's Channel 10 News, and prior to that reported for Channel 10's Foreign News desk and presented daily segments on the channel's morning show. Yael worked as a Staff Editor for the leading Israeli newspaper website Ha'aretz and worked for a U.S. Congressman as an advisor. She graduated from Tel Aviv University with a B.A. in Political Science and holds a Master of Science in International Relations from the London School of Economics.



Qingmin Zhang is Professor and Chair of the Department of Diplomacy in the School of International Studies at Peking University. His teaching and research interests include Chinese Foreign Policy, Diplomatic Studies, and Theory of Foreign Policy Analysis, and he has published more than 100 peer reviewed academic journal articles and book chapters on these topics both in Chinese and English. He has authored

China's Foreign Relations, U.S. Arms Sales Policy toward Taiwan: a Decision-Making Perspective, China's Diplomacy, and Contemporary China's Diplomacy. He has been a Fulbright Visiting Scholar at George Washington University from 2004 to 2005, a Visiting Professor at the Faculty Jean Monnet, University Paris Sud (2007), Niigata University, Japan (2008), University of Palermo, Italy (2009), and Visiting Professor at Tokyo University (2013) and Chengchi University in Taiwan. He lectures on Chinese foreign policy regularly to Chinese Government funded professional training programs. He has been on the editorial board of *Foreign Policy Analysis* and *The Hague Journal of Diplomatic Studies*. He received his M.A. from Brigham Young University in Utah, USA and his Ph.D. from China Foreign Affairs University.

Wei Wei Zhang is a distinguished Professor of International Relations at Fudan University, China. He is also Director of the Centre for China Development Model Research at Fudan University as well as Director of the Institute of China Studies at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences. He holds a Ph.D. in International Relations from the University of Geneva. A former Visiting Fellow at Oxford University, he was Professor of International Relations at the Geneva School of Diplomacy and International Relations and Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Asian Studies, University of Geneva. In the mid-1980s, he worked as a senior English interpreter for Deng Xiaoping and other Chinese leaders. His main publications include *Ideology and Economic Reform under Deng Xiaoping* (Kegan Paul, London, 1996), *Transforming China: Economic Reform and its Political Implications* (Macmillan, London and St. Martins, New York, 2000), *Reshaping Cross-Strait Relations: Ideas and Reflections* (CAS, Geneva, 2006), Zhongguo Zhenhan (*The China Wave: Rise of a Civilizational State*, World Century, New Jersey, 2012) and Zhongguo Chaoyue (*The China Horizon*), which won many prestigious prizes in China. He has written extensively in Chinese and English on China's political and economic reforms, the China model of development, China's foreign policy, and comparative politics.



Fabian Zuleeg is Chief Executive of the European Policy Centre (EPC), an independent, Brussels-based think-tank. He has overall responsibility for strategic direction, managing the EPC's staff and resources, and representing the EPC. He remains Chief Economist at the same time (a post he has held since January 2010), in charge of the Europe's Political Economy Programme. Fabian holds a Ph.D. on the political economy of EU accession from Edinburgh University. Before coming to the EPC, he worked as an economic analyst in academia, the public and the private sector. His research focuses on the political economy of European integration, the economic and Euro crises, the UK-EU relationship, the Single Market, EU energy policy, European labour markets, and the EU budget. He works closely with decision makers in the European institutions, the EPC members and partners, and the wider Brussels stakeholder community. Fabian regularly comments on current political and economic issues in the EU in the media. He also chairs and contributes to a wide range of debates, conferences, and seminars and has researched and published widely on European economic and social policies.







BUCERIUS SUMMER SCHOOL ON GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

For further information please contact:

Sascha Suhrke

Phone: +49 40 41336717

Email: suhrke@zeit-stiftung.de

ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius

Feldbrunnenstrasse 56

20148 Hamburg/Germany

Fax: +49 40 41336740

www.bucerius-summer-school.com

During the conference please contact:

The Bucerius Summer School Conference Office

Hotel Le Méridien

An der Alster 52-56

20099 Hamburg/Germany

Phone: +49 40 21002146 and 1155

Cell Phone: +49 15208668693

Fax: +49 40 21001160

Email: suhrke@zeit-stiftung.de

*The Bucerius Summer School on Global Governance is a project
of the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius in cooperation
with the Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung.*



ZEIT-Stiftung
Ebelin und Gerd
Bucerius



**Heinz Nixdorf
Stiftung**