



THE BUCERIUS SUMMER SCHOOL ON GLOBAL GOVERNANCE



A World in Flux: Shifting Patterns of Power, Governance, and Leadership 14 – 27 August 2011

PROGRAM

THE BUCERIUS SUMMER SCHOOL ON GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

A World in Flux: Shifting Patterns of Power, Governance, and Leadership

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

Moderators:

Theo Sommer, Editor-at-Large, *DIE ZEIT*, Hamburg **Wolfgang Ischinger**, Ambassador, Chairman of the Munich Security Conference, Munich

A World in Flux: Shifting Patterns of Power, Governance, and Leadership

From 14 to 27 August 2011, the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, in cooperation with the Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung, holds its eleventh 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 224 Bucerius Summer School candidates – nominated by government heads, ministers, company CEO's, university presidents, media leaders and directors of international organizations – we have invited 58 promising business representatives, politicians and academics from 31 different countries – young women and men between 28 and 35 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, Dean of the Bucerius Summer School and Editorat-Large of *DIE ZEIT*, and Wolfgang Ischinger, Ambassador and Chairman of the Munich Security Conference, chair the sessions of the Bucerius Summer School. The lectures and workshops will be held at the Hotel Le Royal Méridien on the banks of the Alster in Hamburg, at the Commerzbank and the German Development Agency GIZ in Berlin, and at the Heinz Nixdorf MuseumsForum in Paderborn. Theo Sommer, Wolfgang Ischinger and Program Director Sascha Suhrke with his team are responsible for the two-week program.

This year, we are honored to welcome back three former participants in the program as speakers: Jörg Asmussen (BSS 2001), State Secretary at the German Federal Ministry of Finance in Berlin, Muriel Asseburg (BSS 2003), Head of the Research Division Middle East and Africa at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, and Alastair King-Smith (BSS 2008), UK Provincial Representative for Punjab, British Mission in Pakistan, Lahore. We are equally pleased to have won Parag Khanna, Senior Research Fellow at the New America Foundation, Richard Burt, US Chair of the Global Zero Commission, Thilo Bode, former Director of Greenpeace, and Founder and CEO of Foodwatch, and Manfred Lahnstein, former German Minister of Finance and Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, for keynote speeches. The list of speakers furthermore includes Peter Bofinger, Professor of Economics at the University of Würzburg and Member of the German Council of Economic Experts, Jürgen Fitschen, Member of the Group Executive Committee and the Board of Directors of Deutsche Bank AG, Michael Hange, President of the Federal Office for Information Security, Isabel Hilton, CEO of Chinadialogue.net, Ambassador Gábor Iklódy, NATO Assistant Secretary General for Emerging Security Challenges, Sunjoy Joshi, Director, Observer Research Foundation, Roland Kather, Lieutenant General, German Military Representative MC/NATO and EU NATO, Vali R. Nasr, Advisor to the Obama Administration and Professor of International Politics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, Celina Realuyo, Adjunct Associate Professor of International Affairs, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, John G. Ruggie, UN Special Representative for Business and Human Rights, Takahiro Shinyo, Japan's Ambassador to Germany, and Wei-Wei Zhang, Professor of International Relations at the Geneva School of Diplomacy, and Guest Professor at Fudan University, Shanghai, and Tsinghua University, Peking. For the first time the Bucerius Summer School cooperates with the International Summer Festival at Kampnagel, an International Center for the contemporary representative Arts. We have invited the Indian academic Vandana Shiva for a public lecture together with the International Summer Festival

The Summer School's topics will touch upon urgent challenges of our time: the future of the world economy, cyberwar, energy security, nuclear power and renewables, and the vision of a nuclearfree world. Debates this year will focus on various geographical regions. The situation in the Near and Middle East, especially the rebellions in the Arab World will come under special scrutiny, as will the challenges and prospects in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Participants will discuss implications of the rise of China and India as well as economic and political developments in Europe and in the United States. In lectures and discussions, working groups and debates, this year's Bucerius Summer School will examine these developments and discuss their impact on governance and leadership in the coming years.

The Bucerius Summer School has always been more than just a two-week 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 Bucerius Governance Talks have taken place in Paris, Geneva, London, Lisbon, Washington DC, Cairo and Belgrade, and more recently in New York.

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 other projects, the foundation runs a variety of international programs, of which the Bucerius Summer School is the most ambitious. In October 2011 the foundation starts a new program together with the Observer Research Foundation in India. The Asian Forum on Global Governance in New-Delhi will take a close look at the Asian region and at the challenges facing the global community.

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 and sports. Its Heinz Nixdorf MuseumsForum in Paderborn is the world's largest computer museum.

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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.

Dr. Theo Sommer Editor-at-Large DIE ZEIT

CEO and Chairman

ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius

Wolfgang Ischinger

Ambassador

Chairman of the Munich Security Conference

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 Royal Méridien
 15.00 – 17.30 Optional: Guided Tour through Hamburg
 19.00 Buffet Dinner at Restaurant "Kajüte"

Global Responsibility and Global Governance

HOTEL LE ROYAL MÉRIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

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 and Managing Director, Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung, Essen

09.10 - 09.20 Introductions

Theo Sommer, Editor-at-Large, *DIE ZEIT*, Hamburg

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

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: Global Governance: Re-Inventing International Institutions

John G. Ruggie, UN Special Representative for Business and Human Rights, Boston

11.30 – 12.30 Plenary Discussion

12.30 - 14.30 Lunch

HOTEL LE ROYAL MÉRIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

14.30 – 15.00 Keynote: *How to Run the World* **Parag Khanna**, Director of the Global

Governance Initiative and Senior Research Fellow, New America Foundation, New York

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 - 23.00 Barbecue at Boat House "Silwar"

23 00 - 23 30 Bus Transfer to Hotel

The Future of the Global Economy

HOTEL LE ROYAL MÉRIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

09.00 – 09.30 Keynote: *The World Economy at a Turning Point* **Peter Bofinger**, Professor of Economics,

University of Würzburg, Member of the German
Council of Economic Experts, Wiesbaden

09.30 – 10.30 Plenary Discussion

10.30 - 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 - 13.00 Panel Discussion

Beyond the Crisis: Accountability in Financial Markets?

Jürgen Fitschen, Member of the Management Board, Deutsche Bank AG, Frankfurt am Main Christine Novaković, Head of Corporate & Institutional Clients business area, UBS, Zurich David Held, Co-Director, The Center for the Study of Global Governance, London School of Economics, London

13.00 – 15.00 Lunch

Run-Up to the US-Elections 2012

HOTELLE ROYAL MÉRIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

15.00 – 15.30 Keynote: Obama's Political Agenda

Charles A. Kupchan, Professor of International Affairs, Georgetown University, Washington DC

15.30 - 17.00 Panel Discussion

Charles A. Kupchan, Professor of International Affairs, Georgetown University, Washington DC **Michael Werz**, Senior Fellow, Center for American Progress, Washington DC

17.30 – 18.00 Walk to Bucerius Kunst Forum

18.00 – 22.00 Exhibition (Turner and the Elements) and Dinner at Bucerius Kunst Forum

The Rise of Asia

HOTEL LE ROYAL MÉRIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

09.00 – 09.30 Keynote: *International Relations in East Asia* **Patrick Köllner**, Director, Institute of Asian
Studies, GIGA German Institute of Global and
Area Studies, Hamburg

09.30 – 10.30 Plenary Discussion

10.30 - 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 – 13.00 Panel Discussion

Geopolitics, China and India in the 21st Century Sunjoy Joshi, Director, Observer Research Foundation. New Delhi

Wei-Wei Zhang, Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Asian Studies, Geneva

Isabel Hilton, CEO, Chinadialogue.net, London

13.00–14.30 Lunch

Demographic, Environmental and Social Challenges in Asia

HOTEL LE ROYAL MÉRIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

14.30 – 16.30 Working Groups

I. India's Demographic, Environmental and Social Challenges

Sunjoy Joshi, Director, Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi

II. China's Demographic, Environmental and Social Challenges

Wei-Wei Zhang, Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Asian Studies, Geneva

III. Asia and the West

Isabel Hilton, CEO, Chinadialogue.net, London

16.30 – 17.00 Coffee Break

17.00 - 17.30 Wrap-up

18.00 – 20.00 Optional: Soccer/Volleyball

20.00 – 20.30 Bus Transfer to ZEIT-Stiftung Headquarters

20.30 – 23.00 Barbecue at ZEIT-Stiftung Headquarters

23 00 Bus Transfer to Hotel

Shifting Patterns of Power in the Near and Middle East (I)

HOTEL LE ROYAL MÉRIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

09.00 – 09.30 Keynote: Geopolitical Dynamics in the Near and Middle East

Volker Perthes, Executive Chairman and Director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin

09.30 - 10.30 Plenary Discussion

10.30 - 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 - 13.00 Panel Discussion

Current Issues in the Arab World

Vali R. Nasr, Advisor to the Obama Administration and Professor of International Politics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, Medford/Somerville

Michael Thumann, Journalist, Middle East Bureau Chief, *DIE ZEIT*, Istanbul

Muriel Asseburg, Head of Research Division Middle East and Africa, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin

13 00 - 15 00 Lunch

15.00 – 16.30 Preparation Time for Debating Clubs

16.30 – 17.00 Coffee in the Lobby and Loading Luggage onto Bus

17.00 – 20.00 Bus Ride to Berlin Free Evening

Hotel: Relexa Hotel Stuttgarter Hof Berlin

Anhalter Straße 8-9 10963 Berlin

Phone: +49 30 264830

Shifting Patterns of Power in the Near and Middle East (II)

HAUS DER COMMERZBANK

09.00 – 09.30 Bus Transfer to Commerzbank

09.30 - 12.00 Panel Discussion

Afghanistan and Pakistan: Prospects for Security and Stability

Roland Kather, Lieutenant General, German Military Representative MC/NATO and EU NATO Headquarter, Brussels

Alastair King-Smith, Former UK Provincial Representative for Punjab, British Mission in Pakistan, Lahore

Rachel Reid, Senior Regional Advisor, Afghanistan Pakistan, Open Society Foundations, New York

12.00 – 13.00 Lunch

13.00 - 13.30 Group Photo

13.30 - 14.00 Bus Transfer to GIZ

GERMAN DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION, GIZ, BERLIN

14.00 – 17.30 **Simulation** *Global Governance*

Introduction and Workshops

19.00 - 19.30 Bus Transfer to Pier

19.30 – 22.30 Boat Tour and Dinner on the Spree River

22.30 - 23.00 Bus Transfer to Hotel Relexa

Simulation: Global Governance

GERMAN DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION, GIZ, BERLIN

09.00 – 9.30 Walk to GIZ 09.30 – 19.00 Simulation Exercise *Global Governance* Free Evening

Berlin Landmarks

10.00 – 10.30 Checkout and Loading Luggage onto Bus

10.30 – 11.00 Walk to Holocaust Memorial

11.00 – 11.30 Guided Tour of the Holocaust Memorial

11.30 – 15.20 Free Exploration of Berlin

15.20 Meeting at Berlin Main Station

15.41 – 18.29 Train Ride from Berlin to Bielefeld

18.40 – 19.15 Bus Transfer from Bielefeld to Paderborn

20.00 – 22.00 Dinner at the Hotel

Hotel: Best Western Premier Arosa Hotel

Westernmauer 38 33098 Paderborn Phone: +49 52511280

Cyberpolitics and Cyberwar

HEINZ NIXDORF MUSEUMSFORUM – CONFERENCE ROOM

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

Cyberpolitics and Cyberwar

Celina Realuyo, Adjunct Associate Professor of International Affairs, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, Washington DC Gábor Iklódy, Ambassador, NATO Assistant Secretary General for Emerging Security Challenges, Brussels

Michael Hange, President, Federal Office for Information Security Germany, Bonn Sandro Gaycken, Senior Researcher, Institute of Computer Science, Cyberwarfare,

Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin

11 30 - 12 00 Coffee Break

12.00 – 13.30 Guided Tour through the Computer Museum **Kurt Beiersdörfer** and **Norbert Ryska**,

Managing Directors, Heinz Nixdorf MuseumsForum, Paderborn

13.30 - 15.00 Lunch

15.00 – 19.30 Bus Transfer to Hamburg Free Evening: Preparation Time for Debating Clubs

The Future of Europe

HOTEL LE ROYAL MÉRIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

09.00 – 11.00 Panel Discussion

The EU, Eastern Europe and Russia

Nadia Arbatova, Head of Department on
European Political Studies, Institute for World
Economy and International Relations (MEMO),
Moscow

Paweł Świeboda, President of demosEUROPA – Centre for European Strategy, Warsaw Mark Leonard, Co-Founder and Executive Director of the European Council on Foreign Relations. London

11.00 - 11.30 Coffee Break

11.30 – 12.00 Keynote: *The Future of the Euro*Jörg Asmussen, State Secretary at the German
Federal Ministry of Finance, Berlin

12.00 – 13.00 Plenary Discussion

13.00 - 14.30 Lunch

14.30 – 16.00 Preparing Time for Debating Clubs

Arts and Politics – Site Visit to Kampnagel International Summer Festival

17.00 – 17.30 Bus Transfer to Kampnagel Introduction and Talk with **Matthias von Hartz**, Artistic Director, Kampnagel International Summer Festival, Hamburg

18.00 – 19.30 Keynote: To Whom Belongs the World? Vandana Shiva, Philosopher and Environmental Activist, New Delhi

20.00 – 21.15 Theater at Kampnagel International Summer Festival: "Enfant", Boris Charmatz/Musée de la Danse, Rennes

21.30 - 23.30 Dinner Party

23 30 - 24 00 Bus Transfer to Hotel

Nuclear Security Threats

09.00 - 11.00 Panel Discussion

Energy Security, Nuclear Power and Renewables

Thomas Birr, Vice President Group Strategy,

RWE AG, Essen

Reinhard Bütikofer, Member of the European

Parliament, The Greens, Brussels

Takahiro Shinyo, Ambassador of Japan to

Germany, Berlin

11.00 - 11.30 Coffee Break

11.30 – 12.00 Keynote: The Vision of a Nuclear-Free World

Richard Burt, US Chair, Global Zero Commission,

Washington DC

12.00 – 13.00 Plenary Discussion

13.00 - 14.30 Lunch

Hamburg Beach Center

15.00 – 15.30 Bus Transfer to Hamburg Beach Center

15.30 – 18.30 Beach Volleyball Tournament

18.30 – 19.00 Bus Transfer to Hotel

Free Evening: Preparation Time

for Debating Clubs

The Future Role of Civil Society and Non-Governmental Organizations

HOTEL LE ROYAL MÉRIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

09.00 – 09.30 Keynote: Global Civil Society – Changing the World?

Thilo Bode, CEO Foodwatch, Berlin

09.30 – 10.30 Plenary Discussion

10.30 - 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 - 13.00 Panel Discussion

Do NGOs Make a Difference?

Gerry Salole, CEO European Foundation

Centre, Brussels

Robert Parker, Head of Policy and Advocacy,

Saferworld, London

Lotte Leicht, European Union Advocacy

Director and Director of Human Rights Watch's

Brussels Office, Brussels

Haki Abazi, Program Officer, Western Balkans,

Rockefeller Brothers Fund, New York

13.00 – 15.00 Lunch

15.00 - 15.40 Debating Club I:

Is Nuclear Power on the Way out?

15.40 - 16.20 Debating Club II:

Will the Arab Revolutions lead to more

Democracy?

16.20 – 17.00 Debating Club III:

Can the West still win in Afghanistan?

17.00 - 17.30 Coffee Break

17.30 – 18.30 Hand-out of Bucerius Summer School

Certificates and Evaluation

19.30 – 20.00 Bus Transfer to Restaurant "Zippelhaus"

20.00 – 24.00 Dinner and Dance at "Zippelhaus"

24 00 Bus Transfer to Hotel

TOWN HALL - EMPEROR HALL

Free Morning

15.30 - 16.00 Walk to Town Hall

16.00 – 16.15 *Welcome*

Senator Jana Schiedek, Ministry of Justice and

Gender Equality, Hamburg

16.15 – 16.45 Keynote: The Necessity of De-Mystification

Manfred Lahnstein, former German Minister of Finance, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius,

Hamburg

16.45 – 17.30 Plenary Discussion

Moderation

Theo Sommer, Editor-at-Large, *DIE ZEIT*,

Hamburg

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

17.30 - 18.30 Reception

18.30 – 19.00 Bus Transfer to Restaurant "Indochine"

Farewell Dinner

19.00 – 22.00 Farewell Dinner at Restaurant "Indochine"

22.00 – 22.30 Bus Transfer to Hotel

Departure

08.00 – 12.00 Breakfast and Individual Departure



Haki Abazi has been Program Officer for Western Balkans at the Rockefeller Brothers Fund since 2007. Prior to that, he served as director of the Kosovo office for East West Management Institute, Inc. He developed and implemented a wide-range of programs addressing critical issues in Kosovo during the transition period and has played an important role in the development of the Civil

Society in the region. He has over six years experience in designing and managing development programs to support overall developments and increase the level of participation of citizens in the decision-making processes implemented through International Organization for Migration in Kosovo, Afghanistan and Indonesia. He was educated in Kosovo at Pristina University and has completed extensive training programs in the USA.



Nadia Arbatova is Head of the Department on European Political Studies at the Institute for World Economy and International Relations at the Russian Academy of Science in Moscow. She is furthermore a Member of the Russian Council on Foreign and Defense Policy and Director of the Foundation for European Integration. Other research foci of hers are terrorism and conflict prevention.



Jörg Asmussen is State Secretary at the German Federal Ministry of Finance. He started his career at the Federal Ministry of Finance in 1996 and held various positions, such as the Head of the Department for Financial Market Policy and Head of the Minister's Office. Before joining the ministry, he was a project manager at the Institute of Social Research and Social Policy in Cologne,

working on European economic, social, and labor market policy. He holds a MBA from the Luigi Bocconi University in Mailand and studied economics in Gießen and Bonn.

Muriel Asseburg is Head of the Research Division Middle East and Africa at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, SWP) in Berlin. Her focus is on the Middle East conflict and peace process, German, European and US Middle East policies, and on political change and political Islam in the Middle East. She has lived in the US, Jerusa-



lem, Ramallah, Damascus, and Beirut. Her expertise is reflected by a wide publication record. Prior to her current position, Dr. Asseburg worked as Project Coordinator and Deputy Head of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in East Jerusalem, where she was responsible for projects in the Palestinian territories with a focus on democracy support and institution building as well as for the analysis of current political developments.

Thomas Birr is Head of Group Corporate Development, RWE AG and currently responsible for the development of the strategy of the whole RWE Group. Having joined RWE in 1999 he has undertaken several management and board positions in the areas of key account management, sales and marketing. He also spent a period of time as CEO of one of the largest regional sales and grid compa-



nies within the RWE Group. Prior to joining RWE, Mr. Birr worked for the petrochemical contracting company Mannesmann KTI in different international positions within the fields of project management and sales. He holds a degree in Mechanical Engineering.



Thilo Bode is CEO of Foodwatch, a NGO dealing with transparency in the food sector. Before founding Foodwatch in 2001 he was Executive Director of Greenpeace International (1995-2001) and of Greenpeace Germany (1989-1995). In the nineteen-seventies and eighties he gained first-hand experience in planning, managing and monitoring infrastructure projects in developing countries

with Lahmeyer International, Frankfurt am Main, and at the German Bank for Reconstruction and Development (KfW).



Peter Bofinger is currently Full Professor of Economics, Money and International Economic Relations at the University of Würzburg, a position he has held since August 1992. Since March 2004, he has also been a Member of the German Council of Economic Experts. Aside from these positions, he has also been a Visiting Scholar in the Research Department at the International Monetary

Fund and at the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis. His main fields of research are monetary and exchange rate economics, financial markets and economic reforms in developed and emerging market economies



Richard Burt is a longstanding US diplomat and today serves as the US Chair of the Global Zero Commission. In 1991, Ambassador Burt successfully concluded a nuclear arms treaty as the US Chief Negotiator in the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks with the Former Soviet Union. Previously, he was Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany, and from 1977 to 1980, a national security corre-

spondent for the *New York Times* in Washington DC. He gained his BA from Cornell University, and a MA in International Relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

Reinhard Bütikofer was elected as a Member of the European Parliament for the Greens/ European Free Alliance in June 2009. Previously, he served as Chairman of the German Party Alliance 90/The Greens from 2002 until 2008. After studying Philosophy and History he began his political career in 1984 when he was voted into the local Parliament of Heidelberg. As a Member of Parliament of



the State of Baden-Württemberg he served as the spokesman for financial policy. After heading the Green Party in Baden-Württemberg for two years, Mr. Bütikofer became Secretary General of the National Green Party in 1998. In this role he considerably contributed to the formulation of the Party's new policies and principles. He served in a number of commissions to his party's platform and became a key campaigner in different national and state elections

Jürgen Fitschen has been a Member of Deutsche Bank Management Board since 2009 and has served as a Member of the Group Executive Committee for the past seven years. After joining Deutsche Bank in 1987, he held executive positions in Thailand, Japan and Singapore, before becoming a Member of the Global Corporates and Institutions Divisional Board in 1997. In 2001,



he was appointed to Deutsche Bank Group Board of Managing Directors. In 2005, Mr. Fitschen became Head of the newly established Regional Management worldwide and was appointed CEO Germany. In this capacity, he is also Chairman of the Management Committee Germany.



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, cybersecurity, hacking, cyberwarfare, 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. He studied philosophy, mathematics, ethnology, indology, theoretical and experimental physics at the Humboldt University of Berlin. He received his PhD from the Institute of Science- and Technology-Studies of the University of Bielefeld.



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 foun-

dations and private organizations. Since 2000, he has taught as honorary profesor at the Cultural and Media Management Institute at the Hamburg School of Music and Theatre.

Michael Hange is President of the Federal Office for Information Security (BSI). Since the beginning of his professional career in 1977, he has been active in the area of IT security. With the foundation of the BSI in 1991, he was the Head of the Consulting and Support department. From 1994 to 2009, Mr. Hange served as Vice President of the BSI, from 2009 onwards as Deputy



Director of the IT Director at the Federal Ministry of the Interior. Among his tasks were matters of IT security as well as international cooperation. He has been President of the BSI since 2009. Moreover, Mr. Hange is a Member of the Advisory Board of the European Network and Information Security Agency (ENISA) as well as of the steering committee for information technology of the German Institute for Standardization (DIN). He studied mathematics, computer science and economic science at Bonn University.

David Held has been Co-Director of The Center for the Study of Global Governance at London School of Economics (LSE) since 2003, and Graham Wallas Professor of Political Science at LSE since 2000. He is also Professor of Politics and Sociology at The Open University. 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 a MSc and PhD in Political Science from 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.

BIOGRAPHIES OF SPEAKERS



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.



Gábor Iklódy is NATO's Assistant Secretary General for Emerging Security Challenges. He is the Secretary General's primary advisor on emerging security challenges and their potential implications for the security of the Alliance and a Member of the Secretary General's senior management team. Before, he worked as Political Director and State Secretary at NATO. Between 1999 and 2009

he served two four-year terms in Scandinavia as Ambassador in Norway (accredited also in Iceland) and in Sweden. From 2003 to 2005 he filled the position of Director General for European Political Cooperation in Budapest. In 1996 he headed the Foreign Ministry's Security Policy and Arms Control Department and later, from 1997 through 1999 its NATO and WEU Department. From 1990 until the end of 1995, he worked in Vienna at the Hungarian CSCE/OSCE Mission, from 1992 as deputy head.

Wolfgang Ischinger has been the Chairman of the Munich Security Conference since 2009. 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 Repre-



sentative 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, 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.

Sunjoy Joshi is Director of the Observer Research Foundation. After serving in the Government for over 25 years, he took voluntary retirement from the Indian Administrative Service to follow his primary interests in energy and development studies. He has been speaking, writing and commenting regularly on development, energy and environment issues. He has recently co-edited a



publication titled "Climate Change and Sustainable Development". Mr. Joshi has a MA in English Literature from Allahabad University, India, as well as in Development Studies from University of East Anglia, Norwich. He also studied Upstream Economics and Risk Analysis at the Petroleum Economist, Woking, UK.

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Parag Khanna is Director of the Global Governance Initiative and Senior Research Fellow at the New America Foundation. He is author of the international bestseller "The Second World: Empires and Influence in the New Global Order" (2008) and "How to Run the World: Charting a Course to the Next Renaissance" (2011). In 2008, he was named one of Esquire's "75 Most Influential People

of the 21st Century", and one of fifteen individuals featured in WIRED magazine's "Smart List." He holds a PhD from the London School of Economics, and Bachelors and Masters degrees from the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. Born in India, he grew up in the United Arab Emirates, New York, and Germany. He has been named a Young Global Leader of the World Economic Forum



Roland Kather has been German Military Representative to the NATO and to the EU Military Committee in Brussels since 2010, after assignments as Chief of Staff at the German Army Forces Command (2001-2003), as Commander of the 13th Mechanized Division (2003-2006) and as Commander of the Allied Land Component Command in Heidelberg (2007-2010). He joined the Bun-

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Alastair King-Smith is currently Head of the Near East Group in Foreign and Commonwealth Office, covering UK policy towards the Middle East Peace Process, Israel/ Palestine and Syria/Jordan/Lebanon. Prior, he served as UK Provincial Representative for Punjab at the British Mission in Pakistan, on secondment to the Department for International Development. He was responsible for



leading the UK's development engagement in the province and building political and society support behind UKAid development assistance. He served as Deputy Political Counsellor at the British High Commission in Islamabad, Pakistan (2008-2011). Previously, he was seconded to the UK Stabilisation Unit (2005-2008). Furthermore, he worked on Iraq as Head of Political Planning (2003-2004), and as Political Advisor to the UK General in Southern Iraq.

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





Patrick Köllner is Director of the Institute of Asian Studies, part of the GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies, and a Professor of Political Science at the University of Hamburg. His research interests span Japanese, South and North Korean politics, political parties, and the interplay of formal and informal institutions. Current research focuses on authoritarian regimes in compa-

rative perspective, international-relations think tanks in Japan and South Korea, and South Korea's international leadership aspirations. Since 1996 he has edited or co-edited the "Korea Yearbook – Politics, Economy and Society". He holds a diploma in Politics and Management from the University of Konstanz, a MA in the Study of Contemporary Japan from the University of Essex, a PhD in Political Science from Humboldt University of Berlin and a venia legend in Political Science from the University of Trier.



Charles A. Kupchan is Professor of International Affairs in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service and Government Department at Georgetown University. He also holds the position of Senior Fellow and Director of Europe Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations. During the first Clinton administration, he was Director for European Affairs on the National Security Council

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Manfred Lahnstein is Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius. He served as German 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 is European Union Advocacy Director and Director of Human Rights Watch's Brussels Office. She frequently testifies before international intergovernmental organizations and has conducted human rights and humanitarian law investigations in various conflict zones. Before coming to Human Rights Watch, Ms. Leicht was Program Director of the International Helsinki Federation



for Human Rights based in Vienna and a staff Member at the Danish Center for Human Rights in Copenhagen. Ms. Leicht's articles have appeared in the *Wall Street Journal, International Herald Tribune* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. Among her wide publication record is her co-edited book "Monitoring Human Rights in Europe: Comparing International Standards and Mechanisms".



Mark Leonard is Co-Founder and Executive 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 interna-

tional affairs. He has been a Transatlantic 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.



Vali R. Nasr has been Senior Advisor to the Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan at the US State Department since 2009. He is Professor of International Politics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, Advisor to the Obama Administration, and since 2006 has also been Senior Fellow at the Belfer Center at Harvard University. Mr. Nasr is a Member of the Board

of Trustees of The Foundation for Iranian Studies and Member of the Advisory Committee at the Faris Center of Eastern Mediterranean Studies at Tufts University.



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. Christine Novaković is Head of the Corporate & Institutional Clients business area at UBS, Zurich. She started her career at the Dresdner Bank in 1990 and changed to UBS in Frankfurt in 1992. Since 1996 she held various leading positions for the Investment Banking Departments of the Citibank in Europe as well as in Asia. She took over the management of the whole retail section of the



Citibank in Germany. 2005 Christine Novaković changed to the HypoVereinsbank AG where she served as a Member of the Executive Board and was in charge of private and retail banking. In 2007 she set up her own business, the CNB AG, which has its focal point on business consultancy and art trade.

Robert Parker is Head of Policy and Advocacy at Saferworld, London, an independent NGO working to prevent and reduce violent conflict and promote co-operative approaches to security. He has 12 years' experience in the NGO sector conducting and managing research, advocacy, campaigning and programming on human rights, development, security and conflict for organisations such



as Amnesty International, Oxfam and more recently Saferworld. His current areas of responsibility include security and justice sector governance and development, aid effectiveness in conflict-affected and fragile contexts, and national and international conventional weapons control. He has a master degree in Area Studies from the University of London and experience of security and conflict-related policy and programming in the Horn of Africa, South Asia, the Western Balkans, Eastern Europe and the Caucasus

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Volker Perthes is Executive Chairman and Director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, SWP), 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 and 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 Humboldt University Berlin and Free University of Berlin. He has published profusely on Middle East and Greater Middle East political topics.



Celina Realuyo is an Adjunct Associate Professor of International Affairs, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, Washington DC. As a former US Diplomat, International Banker, US Counterterrorism Official, and Professor of International Security, she is considered an expert on globalization, geopolitical risk management, global supply chain security, counterterrorism, illicit

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Rachel Reid is Senior Regional Advisor for the Open Society Foundations, New York, overseeing their policy work on Afghanistan and Pakistan. She was until recently the Afghanistan analyst for Human Rights Watch, and spent three of the last four years living in Afghanistan. Her research areas include irregular armed groups, reconciliation, reintegration and women's rights, civilian



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John G. Ruggie is UN Special Representative for Business and Human Rights, Boston. He is furthermore Kirkpatrick Professor of International Affairs and Weil Director, Center for Business and Government, at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. From 1997 to 2001, he was United Nations Assistant Secretary-General and Chief Advisor for strategic planning to Secretary-General Kofi



Annan. As advisor, his responsibilities included the UN's Global Compact. He has been Dean of Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, where he taught for many years. He has also been on the faculty of the University of California's Berkeley and San Diego campuses, and directed the UC systemwide Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation.

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Gerry Salole was appointed Chief Executive Officer of the European Foundation Centre (EFC) in 2005. In previous posts, he served as representative of the Ford Foundation's Southern Africa office in Johannesburg, and as Director of the Department of Programme Documentation and Communication of the Bernard van Leer Foundation in The Hague. He also worked for Save the Children Fede-

ration (USA) in Ethiopia and Zimbabwe, OXFAM UK and UNHCR in Ethiopia. Mr. Salole is a social anthropologist and development worker. He studied Social Anthropology and African History at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. He holds a MA (Econ.) and PhD from the University of Manchester. He is the Chair of TrustAfrica, an independent private foundation set up in Dakar in 2006 to promote peace, economic prosperity, and social justice throughout the continent.



Takahiro Shinyo has been Ambassador of Japan to Germany since 2008. Previously, he was Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary and Deputy Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations. He joined the Foreign Service of Japan in 1972 and has served in Switzerland, China and repeatedly in Germany. Mr. Shinyo studied law in Osaka and Göttingen, and was Professor at the

Osaka School of International Public Policy (1993-1996). At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo, he served as Head of Division for Disarmament (later for UN-Policy) from 1989 to 1993, and as Deputy Director-General of the European Affairs Bureau (1999-2001).

Vandana Shiva is Philosopher and Environmental Activist. In 1982, she founded the Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Ecology, which led to the creation of Navdanya in 1991, a national movement to protect the diversity and integrity of living resources, especially native seed, the promotion of organic farming and fair trade. Dr. Shiva has also served as an advisor to govern-



ments in India and abroad as well as NGOs. She is a councilor of the World Future Council. Shiva has been a Visiting Professor and lectured at the Universities of Oslo, Norway, Schumacher College, UK, Mt. Holyoke College, US, and lectures at York University, Canada, University of Lulea, Sweden, University of Victoria, Canada. Among Vandana Shiva's many awards are the Right Livelihood Award in 1993, the Order of the Golden Ark, Global 500 Award of the UN, and the Sydney Peace Prize 2010. In 1979, she received her PhD in Philosophy at the University of Western Ontario

Theo Sommer is currently Editor-at-Large of the German weekly *DIE ZEIT*. From 1973 to 1992 he served as Editor-in-Chief and held the position of publisher from 1992 to 2000. 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).



Pawel Świeboda is President of demos-EUROPA — Centre for European Strategy, Warsaw. 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. He

is a Member of the Board of Directors of the Lisbon Council, the Advisory Board of the European Policy Centre, the European Steering Committee of Notre Europe, the Advisory Board of the Baltic Development Forum and a Member of the Advisory Group assisting the Polish government in its preparations for the EU presidency in 2011. In December 2010 he was appointed by the President of Poland to chair one of the four task forces in the Strategic Review of National Security. He writes a column on foreign policy in *Gazeta Wyborcza*, Poland's largest daily.



Michael Thumann has been the Middle East Bureau Chief of *DIE ZEIT* in Istanbul since October 2007. Prior to that, he served as the Foreign Editor of *DIE ZEIT* in Hamburg. Until 2001, he reported on Russia and Central Asia as the Moscow Bureau Chief of *DIE ZEIT*. During the Yugoslav succession war, he worked as *DIE ZEIT's* Correspondent for South Eastern Europe. Last year he has been

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Wei-Wei Zhang is Professor of International Relations at the Geneva School of Diplomacy and Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Asian Studies, Geneva. He is concurrently a Senior Fellow at the Equinox (Chunqiu) Institute and Guest Professor at Fudan University, China. A former Visiting Fellow at Oxford, he holds a PhD in International Relations from Geneva University. He has written extensively



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Michael Werz is Senior Fellow at the Center for American Progress, and Adjunct Professor at Georgetown University's BMW Center for German and European Studies. He is also Visiting Scholar at the Institute for the Study of International Migration at the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service and Government Department at Georgetown University. From 2005 to 2007, He served as Director of



the New York office of the Hessen Universities Consortium. He held different academic appointments at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington DC, at Harvard's Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, and at the University of Hannover in Germany. His research interests include race and ethnicity in the 20th century, minorities in Europe and the United States, ethnic conflicts as well as social and labour policy in Europe. He holds a PhD in Philosophy and a MA in Philosophy, Political Science and Latin America Studies from the Johann Wolfgang Goethe-University in Frankfurt am Main.

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