



# THE BUCERIUS SUMMER SCHOOL ON GLOBAL GOVERNANCE



Mapping the Global Future: Scenarios of Change – Challenges and Chances August 19 - September 2, 2007

**PROGRAM** 

THE BUCERIUS SUMMER SCHOOL ON GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Mapping the Global Future: Scenarios of Change – Challenges and Chances

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

Moderator: Theo Sommer, Editor-at-Large, DIE ZEIT, Hamburg

#### Mapping the Global Future: Scenarios of Change – Challenges and Chances

From August 19 to September 2, 2007, the Ebelin and Gerd Bucerius ZEIT Foundation, in cooperation with the Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung, holds its seventh Bucerius Summer School on Global Governance

Since 1971, the Ebelin and Gerd Bucerius ZEIT Foundation, one of Germany's largest private foundations, has been involved in the funding of projects in various fields of research and scholarship, art and culture, as well as education and training. The ZEIT Foundation 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 national 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 (HNF) in Paderborn is the largest computer museum in the world.

The Bucerius Summer School harks 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 275 applicants we have invited 60 promising junior business executives, politicians, NGO representatives and academics from 27 different countries – young women and men between 28 and 35 years of age who have already acquired some professional experience but have not yet reached the peak of their careers.

The overall aim of the Bucerius Summer School is to foster leadership qualities in young professionals by involving them in an international dialogue on current political, economic, social and 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, Editor-at-Large of DIE ZEIT, chairs the sessions of the Bucerius Summer School. This year, lectures and workshops will be held at the Hotel Le Royal Meridien in downtown Hamburg, at the German Bundestag and the German Development Agency GTZ in Berlin, and at the Heinz Nixdorf Museums Forum in Paderborn. Theo Sommer, Dean of the Bucerius Summer School; Oliver Gnad, Project Director; and Antje Uhlig as Project Coordinator are responsible for the two-week program.

The list of speakers for the 2007 Bucerius Summer School includes Egon Bahr (former German Minister for Special Affairs), Benita Ferrero-Waldner (EU Commissioner for External Relations and European Neighbourhood Policy), Joschka Fischer (former German Minister of Foreign Affairs), Jürgen Fitschen (Member of the Deutsche Bank's Group Executive Committee), Tom Koenigs (Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Afghanistan), Horst Köhler (President of the Federal Republic of Germany), Michael Mandelbaum (Director of the American Foreign Policy Program, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies), Volker Rühe (former German Minister of Defense), Abdulkarim Soroush (Iranian reformist intellectual). Shashi Tharoor (former UN Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information), James A. Thomson (President and CEO of the RAND Corporation), Klaus Töpfer (former Executive Director of the UN Environment Program), Dmitri Trenin (Deputy Director, Carnegie Moscow Center), and many other internationally renowned speakers.

The Summer School's topics will touch upon the most urgent cross-border challenges of our time: the continuing threat of terrorism, energy security, the need for environmental sustainability and climate protection, enduring starvation and poverty, and the demographic problems of post-modern societies. The Summer School will also deal with the criteria for and against military intervention. In this context, the Summer School will investigate the role of nation states, the UN system, the European

Union and NATO as well as other regional organizations. Against the foil of globalization, participants will discuss both traditional and new forms of governance.

Debates this year will focus on various geographical regions: The situation in the Near and Middle East will come under special scrutiny. Participants will analyze Russia's future position in the international system as well as the rise of China and India. Further agenda items are: The chances and challenges of economic development in Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa's continuous struggle with political and structural deficiencies. Participants of this year's Bucerius Summer School class will analyze these issues in plenary discussions with lecturers, but also in workshops, simulations and case studies.

But the Bucerius Summer School is more than just a two-week high-profile conference. Global governance in the 21st century is about building networks and enhancing cross-cultural cooperation of actors from all sectors of public life. This is what the Bucerius Summer School is trying to achieve in the long run. 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 Foundation, graduates arrange regional follow-up seminars. These "Bucerius Governance Talks" have taken place in Paris, Geneva, London, Lisbon, and more recently in Washington DC. Plans for further meetings in Belgrade and New York City are in the making.

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

Dr. Markus Baumanns
Executive Vice President

The Ebelin and Gerd Bucerius
7FIT Foundation

Dr. Theo Sommer Editor-at-Large DIE ZEIT Dr. Gerhard Schmidt Chairman of the Board of Directors Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung

#### **Arrival in Hamburg**

10.00 – 15.00 Arrival at Hotel Le Royal Meridien –
 Reception, Check-in
 15.00 – 17.30 Guided Bus and Walking Tour of Hamburg
 (optional)
 19.00 Dinner at Hotel Le Royal Meridien

#### Global Governance – Concept and Reality

HOTEL LE ROYAL MERIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

09.00 – 09.10 **Markus Baumanns**, Executive Vice President, ZEIT Foundation, Hamburg *Welcome* 

09.10 – 09.20 **Theo Sommer**, Editor-at-Large, DIE ZEIT, Hamburg

Introduction

09.20 – 09.30 **Oliver Gnad**, Project Director, ZEIT Foundation, Hamburg Summer School's Intention and Program

09.30 – 10.30 Introduction Round of Participants

10.30 - 11.00 Coffee Break

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

11.30 – 12.00 Plenary Discussion

12.00 – 14.00 Lunch

HOTEL LE ROYAL MERIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

14.15 – 14.30 Reinhard Stuth, State Secretary and Comissioner for Federal, European and Foreign Affairs, Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg Welcome

14.30 – 15.00 **Michael Mandelbaum**, Director of the American Foreign Policy Program, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Washington DC

The Prospects for Democracy in the 21st Century

15.00 – 16.00 Plenary Discussion

17.30 – 18.00 Bus Transfer from the Hotel to the Pier

18.00 – 19.30 Drake Boat Race to Boat House Silwar

19.30 Barbecue at Boat House Silwar

## Actors in Global Governance (I): The United Nations and the European Union

HOTEL LE ROYAL MERIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

09.00 – 09.30 **Shashi Tharoor**, former UN Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information, New York The UN's Role in Global Governance

09.30 – 10.30 Plenary Discussion

10.30 – 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 – 11.30 **Joschka Fischer**, former German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Berlin Overcoming Gridlock: The European Union – a Global Actor?

11.30 – 12.45 Plenary Discussion

12.45 - 14.30 Lunch

HOTEL LE ROYAL MERIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

14.30 – 16.15 Working Groups

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

The United Nations as Global Actor

Joschka Fischer, former German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Berlin

16.15 – 16.45 Coffee Break

16.45 – 18.00 Wrap-up and Plenary Discussion

19.00 Guided Tour through the Bucerius Kunst Forum

The European Union as Global Actor

20.00 Dinner at Café Canaletto

Dinner Speaker: **Manfred Lahnstein**, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, ZEIT Foundation,

Hamburg

Global Warming or Global Hysteria?

The View of a Scoffer

### Actors in Global Governance (II): The Private Sector

HOTEL LE ROYAL MERIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

09.00 – 09.30 **Thomas Mirow**, State Secretary, Federal Ministry of Finance, Berlin Global Financial Markets – Why Unfeeling Liberalism is not Enough

09.30 – 10.30 Plenary Discussion

10.30 - 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 – 11.30 **Jürgen Fitschen**, Member of the Group Executive Committee, Deutsche Bank AG, Frankfurt / M. How Globalization Has Changed the Business World

11.30 – 12.30 Plenary Discussion

12.30 - 14.00 Lunch

AIRBUS PLANT, FINKENWERDER

14.00 – 15.00 Bus Transfer to the Airbus Plant, Finkenwerder

15.00 – 16.30 The Airbus Production Scheme and Global Competitiveness

Guided Tour through the Airbus Plant

16.30 – 17.30 Bus Transfer to the Hotel

17.30 – 19.00 Soccer / Volleyball (optional)

20.00 Dinner at Literaturhaus

### Actors in Global Governance (III): Civil Society and Non-Governmental Organizations

HOTEL LE ROYAL MERIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

09.00 – 09.30 **Helmut K. Anheier**, Director of the Center for Social Investment and Innovation, Ruprecht Karls University, Heidelberg Governance beyond Governments:

The Role of Civil Society

09.30 – 10.30 Plenary Discussion

10.30 - 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 – 11.30 **Lotte Leicht**, Director, Human Rights Watch,

Brussels

A View from the Inside:

How Human Rights Watch Works

11.30 – 12.30 Plenary Discussion

12.30 – 14.30 Lunch

HOTEL LE ROYAL MERIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

14.30 – 16.00 Working Groups I-III

Summer School Participants lead off a discussion about their experiences in their respective NGO's, companies or political offices

16.00 - 17.00 Wrap-up

17.30 – 20.30 Bus Ride from Hamburg to Berlin

Free Evening

# Challenges for Global Governance (I): Foreign Aid and Development

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

08.00 – 08.30 Bus Transfer to GTZ-Haus

08.30 – 08.45 **Wolfgang Schmitt**, Managing Director, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, Eschborn *Welcome and Introduction* 

08.45 – 11.30 "Fish Bank Ltd." – An Experience in Sustainable Development

11.30 – 12.30 Evaluation of "Fish Bank Ltd."

12.30 – 13.30 Lunch

13.30 – 14.00 Bus Transfer to Bellevue Palace

BELLEVUE PALACE, BERLIN

14.30 – 15.30 **Horst Köhler**, President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin

of Germany, Berlin

Panel Discussion on the Initiative "Partnership with Africa"

"Partnership with Africa"

15.30 – 15.45 Group photo in front of Bellevue Palace

15.45 – 16.15 Transfer to the GTZ-Haus

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

16.15 – 16.45 **Michael Klein**, Vice President for Financial and Private Sector Development, World Bank / IFC, Washington DC

Comparative Development Experiences of Sub-Saharan Africa and East Asia: Why the Asian Tiger States Made it and Africa is still Lagging Behind

- 16.45 17.30 Plenary Discussion
- 17.30 17.45 Coffee Break
- 17.45 18.15 **Xuewu Gu**, Director, Institute of East Asian Politics, Ruhr University, Bochum

  The Chinese in Africa: What about Good
  Governance Standards?
- 18.15 19.00 Plenary Discussion
- 19.00 19.30 Bus Transfer from GTZ to the Hotel
- 20.00 20.30 Bus Transfer from the Hotel to the Pier at Berlin
- 20.30 22.30 Dinner (Boat Tour on the Spree River)
  Dinner Speaker: **Catherine McArdle Kelleher**,
  Senior Fellow, Brown University, Providence

#### Regional Realities and the Global Power Pattern (I): The Greater Middle East

GERMAN BUNDESTAG, PAUL-LÖBE-HAUS, BERLIN

08.15 – 08.45 Transfer to Paul-Löbe-Haus, German Bundestag 09.00 – 09.15 **Reinhard Silberberg**, State Secretary, Foreign Office, Berlin

Welcome and Introduction

- 09.15 09.45 **Tom Koenigs**, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Afghanistan, Kabul *Prospects and Problems in Afghanistan*
- 09.45 10.30 Plenary Discussion
- 10.30 11.00 Coffee Break
- 11.00 11.30 **Volker Rühe**, former German Minister of Defense, Hamburg *Iran as Test Case for the Nonproliferation Regime*
- 11.30 12.30 Plenary Discussion
- 12 30 13 45 Lunch

#### GERMAN BUNDESTAG, PAUL-LÖBE-HAUS, BERLIN

14.00 – 14.30 **Christoph Bertram**, former Director, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin When the US Leave Iraq: Regional and International Implications

14.30 - 15.30 Plenary Discussion

15.30 – 16.00 Bus Transfer to the Hotel

16.00 – 19.00 Free Afternoon

19.00 Dinner at Restaurant Lutter & Wegner
Dinner Speaker: **Charles A. Kupchan**,
Professor of International Relations,
Georgetown University, Washington DC

#### Berlin Landmarks

09.30 – 10.00 Bus	ranster to	Reichstag
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10.30 – 12.00 Guided Tour through the Reichstag

12.00 – 13.30 Lunch

13.30 – 16.00 Guided Bus and Walking Tour through Berlin

16.30 - 19.30 Train Ride from Berlin to Bielefeld

19.30 – 20.00 Bus Transfer from Bielefeld to Paderborn

20.00 Dinner at Restaurant Balthasar

#### Challenges for Global Governance (II): The IT Revolution

HEINZ NIXDORF MUSEUMSFORUM – CONFERENCE ROOM

09.00 – 09.30 Bus Transfer to Heinz Nixdorf MuseumsForum

09.30 – 09.45 **Bernd Klein**, Managing Director,

Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung, Essen

Welcome and Introductory Remarks

09.45 – 10.15 **Simon Head**, Senior Fellow, University of Oxford How Intelligence Technology has Changed the World

10.15 – 11.15 Plenary Discussion

11.15 – 13.30 Kurt Beiersdörfer and Norbert Ryska,

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

13.30 – 15.00 Lunch

#### Challenges for Global Governance (III): Religion – A Force for Peace or Confrontation?

HEINZ NIXDORF MUSEUMSFORUM – CONFERENCE ROOM

15.00 – 16.00 Panel Discussion

Religion – A Force for Peace or Confrontation?
Friedrich Wilhelm Graf, Chair, Institute of
Systematic Theology and Ethics, Ludwig
Maximilians University Munich
Dan Diner, Director, Simon Dubnow Institute
for Jewish History and Culture, Leipzig

Abdulkarim Soroush, Iranian Reformist

Intellectual, Leiden / Berlin

16.00 – 17.00 Plenary Discussion

17.00 - 18.00 Reception

18.00 – 21.30 Bus Ride from Paderborn to Hamburg

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

HOTEL LE ROYAL MERIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

09.00 – 09.30 **Cheng Li**, Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution, Washington DC The Rise of China – Social, Economic and Political Factors

09.30 - 10.30 Plenary Discussion

10.30 – 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 – 11.30 **Sachin Pilot**, Member of Parliament, India. New Delhi

The Rise of India – Social, Economic and Political Factors

11.30 – 12.30 Plenary Discussion

12.30 - 15.00 Lunch

HOTELLE ROYAL MERIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

15.00 – 15.30 Panel Discussion

Asia on the Rise – A Challenge for the West?

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

**Ronnie Chan**, Chairman, Hang Lung Group Ltd., Hong Kong

**Sachin Pilot**, Member of Parliament, India, New Delhi

15.30 – 16.30 Plenary Discussion

18.30 – 19.00 Bus Transfer to ZEIT Foundation Headquarters

Barbecue at the ZEIT Foundation Headquarters

# Regional Realities and the Global Power Pattern (III): Assertive Russia

HOTEL LE ROYAL MERIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

09.00 – 09.30 **Egon Bahr**, former German Minister for Special Affairs, Berlin Russia and Germany – A Special Relationship in Historic Perspective

09.30 - 10.30 Plenary Discussion

10.30 – 11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 – 11.30 **Ronald Asmus**, Executive Director, German Marshall Fund of the United States, Brussels Russia and the West. A Western View

11.30 – 12.00 **Dmitri Trenin**, Deputy Director, Carnegie Moscow Center, Moscow Russia and the West: A Russian View

12.00 – 13.00 Plenary Discussion

13 00 – 14 30 Lunch

14.30 – 15.00 Bus Transfer to Bucerius Law School

#### Challenges for Global Governance (IV): Climate Change

BUCERIUS LAW SCHOOL - AUDITORIUM MAXIMUM

15.00 – 15.30 **Hans von Storch**, Director, Institute of Coastal Research, GKSS Research Centre, Geesthacht Natural and Anthropogenic Causes of Climate Change

15.30 – 16.30 Plenary Discussion

16.30 - 17.00 Coffee Break

17.00 – 17.30 **Klaus Töpfer**, former Executive Director of the UN Environment Program, Höxter *The Economics of Climate Change* 

17.30 – 18.30 Plenary Discussion

18.30 – 19.00 Transfer to Hotel

19 30 Dinner at Restaurant Esskultur

19 00

#### Challenges for Global Governance (IV): Energy Security for the 21st Century

HARBURG HARBOR - VERITAS QUAY

09.00 – 09.30 Bus Transfer to Harburg Harbor – Veritas Quay

09.30 - 12.00 Beachball Tournament

12.00 – 12.30 Bus Transfer to Hotel

12.30 – 14.30 Lunch

HOTEL LE ROYAL MERIDIEN – CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

14.30 – 15.00 **Utz Claassen**, Chairman, Energie

Baden-Württemberg AG, Karlsruhe

Energy Security for Europe

15.00 – 16.00 Plenary Discussion

16.00 – 16.30 Coffee Break

16.30 – 17.15 **Reinhard Bütikofer**, Chairman of

Alliance 90/The Green Party, Berlin

Alternative Ways: Efficiency, Renewables, and

Nuclear Power Phase-Out

17.15 – 18.15 Plenary Discussion

18.30 – 19.00 Bus Transfer to Hofbräuhaus

19.00 Dinner at Hofbräuhaus

#### Mapping the Global Future – Some Likely Scenarios

HOTEL LE ROYAL MERIDIEN - CONFERENCE ROOM "BLANKENESE"

09.00 – 10.00 Working Group Presentations

10.00 – 10.30 Coffee Break / Jury Recession

10.30 – 11.00 Policy Recommendation Awards

11.00 – 11.30 James A. Thomson, President and CEO, RAND

Corporation, Santa Monica

The World in 2020 – Mapping the Global

Future: An American View

moderated by **Volker Rühe**, former German

Minister of Defense, Hamburg

11.30 – 12.00 **Nicole Gnesotto**, Special Advisor to the

General Secretariat of the Council of the

European Union, Brussels

The World in 2020 – Mapping the Global

Future: A European View

moderated by **Volker Rühe**, former German

Minister of Defense, Hamburg

12.00 – 13.00 Plenary Discussion

13.00 - 15.00 Lunch / Evaluation

15 30 - 16 00 Bus Transfer to the Town Hall

TOWN HALL - EMPEROR HALL

16.00 – 16.10 **Axel Gedaschko**, Senator of Urban

Development and Environment, Free and

Hanseatic City of Hamburg

Welcome

16.10 – 16.15 **Theo Sommer**, Editor-at-Large, DIE ZEIT,

Hamburg

Welcome and Introduction of Speaker

16.15 – 17.15 **Benita Ferrero-Waldner**. EU Commissioner for

External Relations and European Neighbourhood

Policy, Brussels

The Future of the European Union

17.15 – 17.45 Ouestions and Answers

17.45 – 18.45 Reception

18.45 – 19.00 Bus Transfer from the Town Hall to the Hotel

20.00 Dinner at Restaurant Rialto

#### **Sailing Tour and Farewell Dinner**

10.00 – 11.00 Bus Ride from Hamburg to Travemünde

11.00 – 16.00 Sailing Cruise on the Baltic Sea

16.00 – 17.00 Bus Ride from Travemünde to Hamburg 19.00 Farewell Dinner at Restaurant Engel

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 2 (HAMBURG)

#### **Departure**

08.00 – 11.00 Breakfast and Individual Departure

Wendy R. Anderson is a professional staff member on the US Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee, handling the international security portfolio for the Subcommittee on Federal Financial Management, Government Information, Federal Services, and International Security. She served as one of the Deputy National Security Issues Coordinators for the Natio-



nal Security Team in the early stages of John Kerry's presidential campaign. Ms. Anderson was Deputy Director for External Affairs for Women Waging Peace, working in conflict zones such as the Balkans, Burundi, Cyprus, Israel and the Palestinian territories, Northern Ireland, and Rwanda. As a Thomas J. Watson Fellowship recipient, she studied the prevention of deadly conflict in Russia, Israel, the Palestinian territories, and India. Ms. Anderson has a Masters in Philosophy and Religion from the Harvard Divinity School, and a Masters in International Affairs from Columbia's School of International and Public Affairs. She is a Term Member at the Council on Foreign Relations.

Helmut K. Anheier is Director of the Center for Social Investment and Innovation at Ruprecht Karls University, Heidelberg. Before that, he served as Director of the Center for Civil Society at the University of California's School of Public Policy and Social Research, where he was also a Professor of Social Welfare. From 1998 to 2002, he was founding director of the Centre for Civil Society at the



London School of Economics and Political Science, and a member of LSE's Department of Social Policy, where he now holds the honorary title of Centennial Professor. Previously, he was Senior Research Associate and Project Co-Director at the Johns Hopkins University Institute for Policy Studies, and Associate Professor of Sociology at Rutgers University. His research interests include: Civil society, nonprofit organizations, philanthropic foundations, NGOs, globalization, comparative social and cultural policy, research methodology, social movements and networks.



**Ronald Asmus** was appointed Executive Director of the German Marshall Fund's Transatlantic Center in Brussels in 2005. He previously worked as a senior transatlantic fellow at GMF's headquarters in Washington DC. Mr. Asmus has written widely on US-European relations and American foreign policy, as well as security and strategic issues in Central and Northern Europe, the Greater Middle

East, and the Black Sea region. Prior to joining GMF in 2002, Mr. Asmus worked as a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. From 1997 to 2000, he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs in the Clinton administration. During that time, he played a key role in the development of policies for the Madrid and Washington NATO summits. Mr. Asmus has also worked as a senior analyst at RAND Corporation and Radio Free Europe.



**Egon Bahr** is a German politician and member of the Social Democratic Party (SPD). As State Secretary under Chancellor Willy Brandt, he was the chief architect of the West German "Ostpolitik", negotiating the Moscow Treaty (1971), the Four Power Agreement for Berlin and the Basic Treaty with East Germany (1972), which recognized the de facto existence of the German Democratic Republic

and the Oder-Neisse-Grenze as the border between Germany and Poland, and gave up German reunification as a prerequisite for the normalization of relations. Mr. Bahr served as German Minister for Special Affairs under Chancellor Willy Brandt (1972-1974), and as Minister for Economic Cooperation under Chancellor Helmut Schmidt (1974-1976). A member of the German Parliament until 1990, he was Chairman of the Subcommittee for Arms Control and Disarmament before becoming member of the Steering Committee and Federal Secretary of the SPD. In 1998, he founded the Willy Brandt Circle together with Günter Grass and Peter Brandt.

Markus Baumanns has been the Executive Vice President of the Ebelin and Gerd Bucerius ZEIT Foundation since 2006 and is responsible for the initiatives of the Foundation in the field of Education and Research and the projects in America and Asia. He is also Chairman of the Executive Board of Bucerius Law School. He obtained a Masters in History, Political Science and Literature in 1990 and



a Ph.D. in History from the University of Cologne. He started his career in 1990 in the Press and Information Office of the German Federal Government. In 1995 he entered the German Foreign Service and served as diplomat at the German embassy in Bogotá, Colombia. In January 2000, he started at the ZEIT Foundation as Director for International Programs, and Head of Public Relations. From 2001 to 2006, he served as CEO and Provost of the biggest project of the Foundation, the Bucerius Law School.

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



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



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



**Reinhard Bütikofer** has been Chairman of Alliance 90 / The Green Party since December 2002. Prior to that, he had been the party's National Executive Director since December 1998. A member of the Greens since 1984, he was elected to the city council of Heidelberg the same year. In 1988, he was elected to the state parliament of Baden-Württemberg and became the Green parliamentary

group's Spokesman on budget issues and European affairs. Mr. Bütikofer served in several commissions to his party's platform and became a key point campaigner in different national and state elections. In 1997, he was elected Chairman of the state-level party organization of Baden-Württemberg.



Ronnie Chan is Chairman of Hang Lung Group Limited, a group of Hong Kong-listed companies dealing in real estate and property investment, development and management. He also co-founded the privately held Morningside group which, in the past two decades, has owned and managed businesses in manufacturing, public transport operations, media, healthcare, high-tech and biotech in-

vestments, developmental capital investments and other venture capital investments. Mr. Chan is Chairman of the Executive Committees of the One Country Two Systems Research Institute and of the Better Hong Kong Foundation. He founded and chairs the China Heritage Fund, and is an Advisor to the China Development Research Foundation of China's State Council. Internationally, Mr. Chan is a Vice Chairman of the Asia Society and Chairman of its Hong Kong Center, and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He serves or has served on the governing or advisory bodies of several think tanks and universities, including the University of Southern California, East-West Center, Pacific Council on International Policy, Eisenhower Fellowships, and The Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation.

**Utz Claassen** has been Chairman of Energie Baden-Württemberg AG, the third-largest energy provider in Germany, since 2003. Prior to that, he was Chairman of Sartorius AG (1997-2003). Mr. Claassen started his career in 1987 as a consultant at McKinsey after having studied economics in Oxford and Hannover. Upon completion of his dissertation in 1989, he worked for Ford Euro-



pe, Volkswagen and SEAT. Mr. Claassen served on the boards of the Federation of German Industries (BDI), the Georg-August-University of Göttingen and the Association of German Energy Providers, and was called into the Federal Chancellor's advisory body "Partner for Innovation" in 2004.

**Dan Diner** has been Director of the Simon Dubnow Institute for Jewish History and Culture at the University of Leipzig since 1999. Since 2002, he also holds a Chair in Modern European History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel. Before assuming the Directorship in Leipzig, he was Director of the Institute for German History at Tel Aviv University, and has been awarded several fellowships and



visiting scholarships in Europe and the United States. He is author and editor of numerous articles and books on the history of the 20th century, specifically German, Jewish and modern history of the Near East.



**Benita Ferrero-Waldner** has been European Commissioner for External Relations and European Neighbourhood Policy since 2004, and is a member of the conservative Austrian People's Party (ÖVP). After her legal studies and a career in the private sector, she joined the Austrian diplomatic service in 1984, serving in Madrid, Dakar and Paris. In 1994, she was Protocol Chief at the United Nations in

New York under Boutrous Boutrous-Ghali. Between 1995 and 2000 she was State Secretary at the Austrian Foreign Ministry and became Minister for Foreign Affairs in the government under Wolfgang Schüssel in 2004.



Joschka Fischer served as Germany's Minister of Foreign Affairs and Vice Chancellor from 1998 to 2005. Throughout his seven-year tenure as foreign minister and the leading figure of the German Green Party, Fischer was the most popular politician in Germany and was widely respected for leading the Green Party to the centre stage of German politics. Upon his appointment as Minister of

the Environment and Energy in the state parliament of Hesse in 1985, he was the first member of the Green Party to assume a government post. From 1987 to 1991, Fischer served in various capacities in the Hessian State Assembly; from 1991 to 1994 as Hessian Minister for the Environment, Energy, and Federal Affairs; and from 1994 to 1998 as parliamentary Spokesman for the Green Party in the German Bundestag. For the duration of the academic year 2006/2007, Joschka Fischer was Guest Professor at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

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



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

**Axel Gedaschko** became Senator of Urban Development and Environment of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg in January 2007, previously serving at the same Ministry as State Secretary. He is a lawyer by profession and served as Head of the Legal Department at Lüneburg District Council for seven years after taking the 2nd State Examination in 1992. In 2000, he was elected Principal



Municipal Councillor (Erster Kreisrat) of the Harburg County Council, and became Chairman of the Harburg County Council in a direct election in 2003.



**Nicole Gnesotto** has been Special Advisor to the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union since May 2007. Prior to that, she served as Director of the European Union Institute for Security Studies from 2002 to 2007. From 1994 to 1999, she was professor at the Institut d'Études Politiques of Paris (Sciences Po) and Chargée de Mission to the Director of the French Institute for

International Relations. A specialist in security issues, she was a member of the Institute's research team from 1990 to 1993, after having been Deputy Head of the French Foreign Ministry's policy planning staff from 1986 to 1990. From 1999 to 2001, she was Director of the Institute for Security Studies of the Western European Union.



Friedrich Wilhelm Graf has been Professor of Systematic Theology and Ethics at the Ludwig Maximilians university in Munich since 1999. He studied Protestant Theology, Philosophy and History at the universities of Wuppertal, Tübingen and Munich, and became Professor of Systematic Theology and Modern History of Theology at Augsburg University in 1988. In 1992, he became Professor

of Protestant Theology and Social Ethics at the University of the Federal Armed Forces in Hamburg. Professor Graf is a member of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities, a member of the selection committee of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, and editor of several periodicals on European Policy, History and Theology.

**Xuewu Gu** has been Chair of the Department of East Asian Politics and Director of the Institute of East Asian Politics of Ruhr University Bochum since 2002. He is also a Non-Residential Senior Research Fellow of the Center for European Integration Studies at the University of Bonn. He is a member of the German Council on Foreign Relations and of the German Society for Political Sci-



ence. After receiving his BA in Information and Documentation Sciences at the Wuhan University in 1982, he studied Political Science and International Relations at the universities of Cologne and Bonn. From 1991 to 1998, he served as Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Freiburg. In 1995, he was Visiting Scholar at the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of California in Berkeley, and Research Fellow at Harvard University's Fairbank Center. In 2000, he was Research Fellow at the Asia Research Centre of the London School of Economics and Political Science

**Simon Head** has been a Senior Fellow at the Rothermere American Institute at Oxford University since 2005. He holds a Masters in Political Science and Asian Studies from Berkeley, and has worked as a correspondent for the Financial Times in South East Asia (1970-1972) and as US correspondent of the New Statesman (1973-1976). Since 1973, he has been a contributor to the New York Re-



view of Books on issues of diplomacy and international economics. Mr. Head advised Senator Bill Bradley in the 2000 US presidential elections on issues of economics and diplomacy, and Senator John Kerry in 2004 on IT and Telecommunications.



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



**Michael Klein** is Vice President for Financial and Private Sector Development jointly for the World Bank and the International Finance Corporation (IFC). He is also the IFC's Chief Economist. He first joined the World Bank in 1982, serving as an economist on oil and gas projects, trade and industrial policy, financial sector reform and macro-economic analysis. He later became Senior Manager for Private Parti-

cipation in Infrastructure, focusing on regulation, privatization and project finance in the telecommunications, transport, energy and water sectors. Prior to his present post, he was Director of the joint Bank / IFC Private Sector Advisory Services Department covering advice on investment climate, corporate governance, corporate social responsibility, privatization transactions and foreign investment. Between 1997 and 2000, Mr. Klein was Chief Economist of the Royal Dutch / Shell Group. He is with Amnesty International since 1974 and served on its German Board (1977-1979) and in its International Executive Committee (1979-1982). Mr. Klein studied in Bonn, New Haven, and Paris and received his doctorate in economics from the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms University of Bonn.

**Horst Köhler** has been President of the Federal Republic of Germany since July 2004. In 1976, he joined the Federal Ministry of Economics, and since 1982 worked in the Federal Ministry of Finance. From 1990 to 1993, he served as State Secretary in the Federal Ministry of Economics. In this role he formulated the proposal for the German monetary union and negotiated the transitional agreement for



the departure of the Soviet troops from East Germany. He thereafter became President of the German Savings Bank Association, and in 1998, was named President of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. From 2000 to 2004, he was Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund.

**Tom Koenigs** was appointed Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Afghanistan and Head of the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) in 2006 after having been appointed in 2005 as Germany's Federal Government Commissioner for Human Rights Policy and Humanitarian Aid at the Federal Foreign Office. Mr. Koenigs was also Head of the UN Verification Mission in



Guatemala (MINUGUA, 2002-2005), and Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Kosovo (1999-2002). Prior to his employment in the UN, he was active in regional and municipal politics in the German federal state of Hesse. From 1989 to 1999, he was the elected Head of the Department for the Environment Frankfurt; he was Treasurer of Frankfurt (1994-1997) and acting Deputy Mayor. He was also Chairman of the Climate Alliance Commission (1990-1999), an international non-governmental organization for the protection of the global climate.



**Charles A. Kupchan** is Professor of International Relations at the 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. Before joining the NSC, he

was a member of the US State Department's Policy Planning Staff. Prior to government service, he was Assistant Professor of Politics at Princeton University.



Manfred Lahnstein is Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Ebelin and Gerd Bucerius ZEIT Foundation. 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 has been EU Advocacy Director of Human Rights Watch, Brussels, since 1994. Previously, she served as Program Director of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights based in Vienna (1991-1994), and as staff member of the Danish Center of Human Rights in Copenhagen (1987-1989). She has written several human rights reports and has conducted numerous human rights



and humanitarian law investigations in various conflict zones. Her articles on human rights issues have appeared in The Wall Street Journal, International Herald Tribune, and Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. She frequently testifies before international intergovernmental organizations and their specialized agencies.

**Cheng Li** is currently Professor of Government and Chair of the Asian Studies Program at Hamilton College, and a Non-Resident Senior Fellow at Brookings. He is Director of the National Committee on US-China Relations and a member of the Academic Advisory Group of the Congressional US-China Working Group, of the Council on Foreign Relations Task Force on US policy toward China,



and of the US National Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific. Professor Li grew up in Shanghai during the Cultural Revolution, and emigrated to the United States in 1985, where he received a Masters in Asian Studies at Berkeley, and a Ph.D. in Political Science at Princeton. From 1993 to 1995, he worked in China as a fellow of the US-based Institute of Current World Affairs. Professor Li has been a recipient of fellowships and research grants from numerous organizations, including the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, the United States Institute of Peace, and the Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange.



**Michael Mandelbaum** is Director of the American Foreign Policy Program at Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies in Washington DC. He has also held teaching posts at Harvard and Columbia Universities and at the US Naval Academy. A frequent foreign affairs columnist for Newsday, he is the Associate Director of the Aspen Institute's Congressional Project on Ame-

rican Relations with the former Communist world. He serves on the board of advisors of The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, a Washington-based organization sponsoring research and public discussion on American policy toward the Middle East. A graduate of Yale College, Professor Mandelbaum earned his Masters at King's College, Cambridge University and his doctorate at Harvard University. Professor Mandelbaum is the author and coauthor of numerous articles and of books on US Foreign Policy.



**Catherine McArdle Kelleher** is Professor for Strategic Research at the Center for Naval Warfare Studies, US Naval War College. A specialist in international relations, comparative defense studies and arms control, she is also Senior Fellow at Brown University's Watson Institute for International Studies. She served as Director of the Aspen Institute, Berlin (1998-2001); Deputy Assistant Secretary

of Defense (1996-1998); the Secretary of Defense's personal representative in Europe and Defense Adviser to the US Ambassador to NATO (1994-1996); Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution (1991-1994); and as Professor of International Relations at the University of Maryland (1982-1991). She is the 2004 recipient of the German Defense Department's Manfred Wörner Medal for Contributing to Peace and Freedom in Europe.

**Thomas Mirow** has been State Secretary in the Federal Ministry of Finance since 2005. He began his career after graduation as Assistant, and subsequently Chef de Cabinet of the Social Democratic Party's Chairman and former Chancellor Willy Brandt, a position he held until 1983. He then moved to become Director of the Hamburg Press Office until 1987. From 1988 to 1991, he worked as a political



and management consultant. In 1991 he was appointed as State Minister and Head of the Chancellery, Hamburg. In 1993, he also became State Minister for Urban Development. In 1997, Mr. Mirow became State Minister for Economics, a position he held until 2001. From 2002 to 2005, he worked as an independent advisor and manager, in various roles including as Senior Advisor to Ernst & Young AG, Advisor to MM Warburg Bank, and Manager of Alstertor Schienenlogistik Beteiligung GmbH. In 2004, he served as a Member of the EU Commission's High-level Group on the Lisbon Strategy chaired by former Dutch Prime Minister Wim Kok. In 2005, he was appointed as Personal Representative of the Federal Chancellor for the Lisbon Strategy and Director-General for Economic Policy in the Federal Chancellery.

**Sachin Pilot** is a member of parliament in India representing the state of Rajasthan. In 2004, he was the youngest MP elected at the age of 26 years. Mr. Pilot is a member of the Congress Party, the largest party in the Indian Parliament. He is also a member of the standing committee on Homeland Security and of the Civil Aviation committee. He holds a Masters in Management (MBA) from the



Wharton Business School at the University of Pennsylvania, and a BA (Hons) in English Literature from Delhi University. He has worked at the General Motors' corporate office in the department of Marketing and Planning. He has also worked for BBC (news and current affairs) at the Delhi bureau.



John G. Ruggie is 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 adviser for strategic planning to Secretary-General Kofi Annan. As adviser, 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 system-wide Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation.



**Volker Rühe** is a German politician and member of the Christian Democratic Party (CDU), and served as German Minister of Defense under Chancellor Helmut Kohl (1992-1998). A member of the German Bundestag from 1975 to 2005, he served as Deputy Head of the CDU / CSU parliamentary group (1982-1989 and 1998-2002), and headed the parliamentary Council on Foreign

Relations (2002-2005). Mr. Rühe was General Secretary of the CDU between 1989 and 1992, and Vice Chairman of the party between 1998 and 2000. He currently works as consultant and lecturer



**Norbert Ryska** is Managing Director of the Heinz Nixdorf MuseumsForum, Paderborn. From 1992 to 1996, he headed the Executive Committee to establish the Museums Forum which opened in 1996. Before that, Mr. Ryska worked for the Nixdorf Computer AG as a software engineer specializing in cash machines. He holds a university diploma in Mathematics and Software Engineering

from the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelm University of Bonn.

**Eberhard Sandschneider** has been Otto Wolff Director of the Research Institute of the German Council on Foreign Relations since 2003. He concurrently serves as Professor of Chinese Politics and International Relations and as Director of the Center for Chinese and East Asian Studies at the Free University Berlin, where he is also Dean of the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences. He is a Member



of the Board of the German Association of Political Science, and of the German Association for Asian Studies. From 1997 to 1998 he served as Professor of Political Science at Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz.

Wolfgang Schmitt has been Managing Director of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (Germany's Development Agency / GTZ) since 2000. Prior to joining the GTZ, he belonged to the German Bundestag from 1994 to 1998, serving as a member of the Committee on Economic Cooperation and Development, and of the Working Group for International Politics of



the Alliance 90/The Green Party's parliamentary group. He was parliamentary group Spokesman for issues concerning international financial, trade and economic policy. He is a member of the German-Japanese Dialogue Forum and the Advisory Council for International Politics of the Heinrich Böll Foundation.

Reinhard Silberberg was recently appointed State Secretary of the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin. Previously, he served as Director-General for European Affairs in the Federal Chancellery (1998-2005), as Head of the Federal Foreign Office Task Force for EU Enlargement (1997-1998), and as Head of the Federal Foreign Office Task Force for the EU Intergovernmental Conference / Treaty of Amsterdam (1996-1997).





**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).



**Abdulkarim Soroush** is a religious intellectual reformer from Iran. He studied pharmacology and analytical chemistry in London, and later history and philosophy of science in Chelsea. After the 1979 Revolution, Mr. Soroush returned to Iran, where he became Director of Tehran's Teacher Training College. He was also appointed by Ayatollah Khomeini as a member of the Cultural Revolution

Institute, which was to bring about the re-opening of the universities and a restructuring of the syllabi. In 1983, he resigned from this council, and has since held no official position within the ruling system of Iran. He published controversial articles on religious pluralism, hermeneutics, tolerance, clericalism, thus becoming subject to harassment and state censorship. Since 2000, Mr. Soroush has been a Visiting Professor in Harvard University, teaching Islam and Democracy, Quranic Studies and Philosophy of Islamic Law. He also taught Islamic Political Philosophy at Princeton University as scholar in residence at Yale University (2002-2003), and was a visiting scholar at the Wissenschaftskolleg in Berlin (2003-2004).

**Reinhard Stuth** has been State Secretary and Commissioner for Federal, European and Foreign Affairs of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg since 2001. Prior to that, he was Adviser of the CDU / CSU parliamentary group in the German Bundestag. A lawyer by training, he first headed the Department of Foreign and Security Politics and Intra-German Relations at the CDU Federal Party



Headquarters in Bonn before becoming Personal Assistant to Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker (1985-1989). From 1990 to 1995, he worked at the Federal Chancellery at the European Affairs Section and later became Head of the Section for European Affairs at the Representation of the State of Berlin to the Federation in Bonn. Between 1995 and 1999, he headed the regional offices of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Prague and Bratislava. He serves as Advisor and Trustee on numerous boards, most notably the German Institute for Human Rights, the Atlantik Brücke and the Körber Foundation

**Shashi Tharoor** was UN Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information and led the Department of Public Information from 2001 until 2007. Prior to that, he served as Director of Communications and Special Projects in the Office of the Secretary-General and as Executive Assistant to the UN Secretary-General (1997-2001). As Special Assistant to the Under-Secretary-



General for Peacekeeping Operations (1989-1996), he assisted two successive heads of UN peacekeeping operations in managing the challenges of peacekeeping at the end of the Cold War. From 1991 to 1996, he led the team in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations responsible for UN peacekeeping activities in former Yugoslavia. In 2003, he was appointed UN Coordinator for Multilingualism. Mr. Tharoor is the author of eight books, uncounted articles, op-eds, and literary reviews. He is also a columnist for Delhi's Times of India.



James A. Thomson has been RAND's President and CEO since August 1989. A member of the RAND staff since 1981, Mr. Thomson has served the institution in a variety of roles including that of Director of RAND's research programs, Vice President in charge of the Project AIR FORCE division, and Executive Vice President. From 1977 to 1981, he was a member of the National Security Council staff at

the White House, where he was primarily responsible for defense and arms control matters related to Europe. From 1974 to 1977, he was on the staff of the Office of the Secretary of Defense. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the International Institute for Strategic Studies, and the board of the Los Angeles World Affairs Council. He is a director of AK Steel Corporation, Encysive Pharmaceuticals, and Object Reservoir. He holds a B.S. in physics from the University of New Hampshire (1967) and an M.S. and Ph.D. in physics from Purdue University. He was a post-doctoral research associate in physics (1972) and did basic research in experimental nuclear physics (1972–1974) at the University of Wisconsin.



Klaus Töpfer is a German politician (CDU) and environmental politics expert. From 1998 to 2006, he was Executive Director of the UN Environment Program. He had a key role in gauging and attempting to remedy the environmental costs of the 2004 Asian tsunami. Mr. Töpfer studied economics in Mainz, Frankfurt and Münster. After serving as government official, professor and adviser on

development politics, he became Minister for the Environment and Health in the regional government of Rhineland-Palatinate in 1985. In 1987, Mr. Töpfer became German Federal Minister for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety under Chancellor Helmut Kohl. From 1994 to 1998, he served as Federal Minister for Regional Planning, Civil Engineering and Urban Development. He was member of the German Bundestag from 1990 to 1998 and member of the Steering Committee of the CDU from 1992 to 1998. In 2006, Mr. Töpfer declined running for the office of Mayor of Berlin. He is currently teaching on issues of sustainable development at Shanghai University.

**Dmitri Trenin** is Deputy Director of the Carnegie Moskow Center. From 1973 to 1993, he served the USSR / Russian Armed Forces in various positions including: Liaison Officer, External Relations Branch, Group of Soviet Forces, Germany (1978-1983); Senior Lecturer, The Military Institute (1983-1993); Staff member, USSR Delegation to US-Soviet Nuclear & Space Arms Talks in Geneva (1985-



1991). He is a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies and the Russian International Studies Association.

**Hans von Storch** is Director of Institute of Coastal Research of the GKSS Research Centre and Professor at the Meteorological Institute of the University of Hamburg. He is also a lead author of the Third Assessment of the International Panel on Climate Change. From 1987 to 1995, he was Senior Scientist and leader of the Statistical Analysis and Modelling group at the Max Planck Institute for



Meteorology. His research interests are climate diagnostics and statistical climatology, specifically detection and attribution of anthropogenic climate change, variability and change in storminess, regional climate change, and the study of climate variability and change in a transdisciplinary context. He has published numerous books and articles on these issues, and is a member of the advisory boards of Journal of Climate, Meteorologische Zeitschrift, and Annals of Geophysics.

NOTES NOTES





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