

# THE BUCURIUS SUMMER SCHOOL ON GLOBAL GOVERNANCE 2004



Good Governance.  
The Problems, the Institutions, the State and Non-State Actors  
9 - 21 August 2004

Program

## THE BUCERIUS SUMMER SCHOOL ON GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

is a two-week seminar organized by the  
ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, Hamburg,  
in cooperation with the Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung, Essen.

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

## Good Governance: The Problems, the Institutions, the State and Non-State Actors

The ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius holds its fourth Bucerius Summer School on Global Governance from 9 August to 21 August 2004 – this year in cooperation with the Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung.

Since 1971, the ZEIT Foundation, Germany's fifth-largest private foundation, has funded projects in various fields of science and research, education and training, as well as arts and culture. The Foundation was established by Gerd Bucerius, the late founder and publisher of Germany's leading quality weekly, DIE ZEIT. Among others, Roman Herzog, former German President, Helmut Schmidt, former German Chancellor, and Theo Sommer, Editor-at-Large of DIE ZEIT, serve on its Board of Trustees. The Board's chairman is Manfred Lahnstein, former German Minister of Finance.

The Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung – together with the Foundation Westphalia – is one of two non-profit foundations established by the IT entrepreneur Heinz Nixdorf, who died in 1986. The Foundation promotes professional education, scientific research and teaching, liberal and democratic governmental systems and public health. The Heinz Nixdorf MuseumsForum (HNF) in Paderborn/Westphalia uniquely combines the classic historical dimension of a museum with the current and future-oriented topics of a forum. The HNF is the largest computer museum of the world.

The Bucerius Summer School harks back to Henry Kissinger's renowned International Summer Seminar at Harvard University. In the 1960s, Kissinger brought together young leaders from all over the world for a summer course of debates and lectures. Many of the seminar's alumni and alumnae rose to important national or international positions.

The overall aim of the Bucerius Summer School is to foster leadership qualities in young professionals by opening a cross-border dialogue on current political, economic, social and jurid-

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ical questions. Participants are inspired by – and learn from – high-profile speakers who are eminent public figures in politics, business, academia and the NGO sphere.

The list of keynote speakers in the 2004 Bucerius Summer School will include Professor Gesine Schwan, President of Europe University Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder, and recently candidate of the German Social Democratic Party for the Federal Presidency; Professor John Ruggie from the Kennedy School of Government; Professor Lester Thurow from MIT in Boston; Richard Perle, former advisor to U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and now with the American Enterprise Institute in Washington DC; State Secretary Dr. Klaus Scharioth from the German Foreign Office; Abderrahim Foukara from Al-Jazeera; Abdel Bari Atwan, Chief-Editor of Al-Quds Al Arabi; Professor Anne-Marie Slaughter, Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University; Dr. h.c. Horst Teltschik, erstwhile National Security Advisor to former Chancellor Kohl and presently President of Boeing Germany, and many other distinguished speakers from all over the world.

This year's Bucerius Summer School is the fourth in a series that the ZEIT-Stiftung offers on an annual basis. Its focus on "Global Governance" reflects the necessity to deal with the structure, the extent and the side-effects of globalization. This year's program covers a wide range of topics: international terrorism and security, the "clash of civilizations" and the changing roles of states and markets, the North-South divide, the WTO regime after Cancún and the search for a new world order in the age of American supremacy.

From some 300 applicants this year we invited 60 promising junior executives, politicians and academics from 26 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.

To follow up on the annual Summer School we run an active alumni network. With the support of the ZEIT-Stiftung alumni

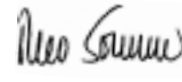
arrange follow-up seminars (so-called "Governance Talks") to discuss current developments. Recently such gatherings took place in Warsaw to celebrate (and discuss) Poland's accession to the European Union and at BASF Headquarters in Ludwigshafen with the focus on "Corporate Governance". The next alumni reunion will take place in Lisbon in mid-September.

Theo Sommer, Editor-at-Large of DIE ZEIT, chairs the sessions of the Bucerius Summer School. Lectures and workshops are held at the Steigenberger Hotel in downtown Hamburg, and – for a one-day session – at the German Foreign Office in Berlin. This year the Summer School also includes a one-day visit to Munster and the Heinz Nixdorf MuseumsForum in Paderborn. Theo Sommer, Dean of the Bucerius Summer School, and Oliver Gnad, Director of the Bucerius Summer School, are responsible for the two-week program. Anne Spinder will see to it that everything runs smoothly and will lend a friendly ear to everyone with a problem, a suggestion or a complaint.

The ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius and the Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung extend a cordial welcome to all speakers and participants. We wish them many fruitful discussions, a host of new insights and, above all, a pleasant stay in the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg.



Prof. Dr. Michael Göring  
Managing Director  
ZEIT-Stiftung



Dr. Theo Sommer  
Editor-at-Large  
DIE ZEIT



Dr. Gerhard Schmidt  
Chairman of the Board  
Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung

## Global Governance: Who Governs the World of the 21st Century?

Hotel Steigenberger – Conference Room

- 9.00–9.30 Welcome and Introduction:  
**Prof. Dr. Michael Göring**, Managing Director,  
ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, Hamburg  
**Dr. Bernd Klein**, Managing Director,  
Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung, Essen  
**Dr. Theo Sommer**, Editor-at-Large,  
DIE ZEIT, Hamburg
- 9.30–10.30 Introduction Round of Participants
- 10.30–10.45 Introduction of Program:  
**Dr. Oliver Gnad**, Project Director, ZEIT-Stiftung  
Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, Hamburg
- 10.45–11.15 Coffee break
- 11.15–11.45 **Prof. Dr. John Ruggie**, Kennedy School of  
Government, Harvard University, Cambridge  
*Global Governance: Concept and Reality*
- 11.45–13.00 Plenary Discussion
- 13.00–14.15 Lunch

Hamburg City Hall – Kaisersaal

- 16.00–16.10 Welcome: **Jörg Dräger, PhD**, Senator for Public  
Health and Science, Free and Hanseatic City of  
Hamburg
- 16.10–16.20 Welcome: **Prof. Manfred Lahnstein**, Chairman  
of the Board of Trustees, ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und  
Gerd Bucerius, Hamburg
- 16.20–16.30 Welcome: **Dr. Gerhard Schmidt**, Chairman of the  
Board of Directors, Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung, Essen
- 16.30–17.15 **Prof. Dr. Gesine Schwan**, President, Europe  
University Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder  
*Global Governance in the Age of American  
Supremacy. Challenges and Responses*
- 17.15–17.45 Discussion
- 17.45–19.00 Reception
- 20.00 Dinner  
After Dinner Speaker: **Prof. Manfred Lahnstein**,  
Chairman of the Board of Trustees, ZEIT-Stiftung  
Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, Hamburg  
*Some Pitfalls of “Global Governance” –  
The View of a Heretic*

## The Institutional Framework of Global Governance.

### Global and Regional Structures and Organizations

Hotel Steigenberger – Conference Room

- 9.00–9.30 **Shashi Tharoor**, UN Under-Secretary-  
General for Communications  
and Public Information, New York  
*The Existing Structures of Global Governance:  
The United Nations System*
- 9.30–10.30 Discussion
- 10.30–11.00 Coffee break
- 11.00–12.00 Discussion
- 12.00–14.00 Lunch
- 14.00–14.30 **Elmar Brok**, Chairman, Committee on Foreign  
Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and  
Defence Policy, European Parliament,  
Strasbourg  
*The European Union as Global Actor*
- 14.30–15.30 Discussion
- 15.30–16.00 Coffee break
- 16.00–17.00 Discussion
- 19.00 Dinner  
After Dinner Speech: **Nicholas Teller**,  
Member of the Board of Managing Directors,  
Commerzbank, Frankfurt/Main  
*Banks and Businesses:  
Capitalising on Global Governance*

**Making the World Safe for Democracy:  
“Clash of Civilizations” or Peaceful Coexistence?**

Bucerius Law School – Auditorium maximum

- 10.00–10.10 Welcome and Introductory Remarks:  
**Prof. Dr. Michael Göring**, Managing Director,  
ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius,  
Hamburg
- 10.10–11.45 Panel Discussion:  
**Abdel Bari Atwan**, Chief Editor,  
Al-Quds Al-Arabi, London  
**Abderrahim Foukara**, UN Correspondent,  
Al-Jazeera, New York  
**Prof. Dr. Charles A. Kupchan**, Chair for  
International Relations, Georgetown  
University, Washington DC  
**Prof. Dr. Harald Müller**, Executive Director,  
Peace Research Institute Frankfurt,  
Frankfurt/Main  
**Richard Perle**, Resident Fellow, American  
Enterprise Institute, Washington DC
- 11.45–12.30 Plenary Discussion
- 12.30–14.00 Lunch

Hotel Steigenberger – Conference Room

- 14.30–16.00 Workshops (with morning speakers)
- 16.00–16.30 Coffee break
- 16.30–18.00 Wrap-up with Rapporteurs and Plenary  
Discussion
- 19.30 Dinner  
After Dinner Speaker: **Dr. Thomas C. Mirow**,  
former Senator of Economics of Hamburg  
*Hamburg and the World*

**Global Markets and Nation States:  
Who has the Last Word?**

Hotel Steigenberger – Conference Room

- 9.00–9.30 **Dr. h.c. Horst Teltschik**, President, Boeing  
Germany, Berlin  
*Global Markets: Beyond the Reach of  
National Governments?*
- 9.30–10.00 **Sir Peter Torry**, British Ambassador to the  
Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin  
*Why Governments and the Nation State  
Still Matter*
- 10.00–11.00 Discussion
- 11.00–11.30 Coffee break
- 11.30–12.00 **Prof. Dr. Lester Thurow**, Massachusetts  
Institute of Technology, Boston  
*Markets vs. National Governments.  
Who Rules the World in the 21st Century?*
- 12.00–13.00 Discussion
- 12.30–14.00 Lunch

Hotel Steigenberger – Conference Room

- 14.00–15.30 Workshops
- 15.30–16.00 Coffee break
- 16.00–17.30 Wrap-up with Rapporteurs and  
Plenary Discussion
- 18.00–21.00 Bus ride from Hamburg to Berlin

## Security in the 21st Century: New Challenges and New Approaches

German Foreign Office – Europa-Saal

- 10.00–10.30 Welcome and Introductory Remarks:  
**Dr. Klaus Scharioth**, State Secretary of the Foreign Office, Berlin
- 10.30–11.00 **Prof. Dr. Stephen Szabo**, Professor of European Studies, Nitze School of Advanced and International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC  
*Security Challenges – The American Point of View*
- 11.00–11.15 Coffee break
- 11.15–11.45 **Prof. Dr. Eberhard Sandschneider**, Director, German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin  
*Beyond Traditional Transatlantic Relations*
- 11.45–13.00 Discussion
- 13.00–15.00 Lunch at the Foreign Office
- 15.00–17.00 Workshop I (Foreign Office – Rathenau-Saal)  
**Dr. Ivo H. Daalder**, The Brookings Institution, Washington DC  
*The Road to Sovereignty in Iraq*
- 15.00–17.00 Workshop II (Foreign Office – Stresemann-Saal)  
**Prof. Dr. Stephen Szabo**, Professor of European Studies, Nitze School of Advanced and International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC  
*North Korea and Iran. Test Cases for an Improved Proliferation Regime*
- 17.00–18.00 Wrap-up with Rapporteurs and Plenary Discussion
- 19.00 Dinner  
After Dinner Speaker: **Prof. Dr. Catherine McArdle Kelleher**, Director of Faculty Programs, Strategic Research Department, Center for Naval Warfare Studies, U.S. Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island

## Good Governance: Winners and Losers in a Globalized World

KfW Banking Group – Conference Center

- 9.30–10.00 **Wolfgang Kroh**, Member of the Board of Managing Directors, KfW Banking Group, Frankfurt/Main  
*International Cooperation for Sustainable Development*
- 10.00–10.30 **Prof. Dr. Shalini Randeria**, University of Zurich  
*Winners and Losers of Globalization: A Southern View*
- 10.30–11.00 **Christoph Keese**, Chief Editor, Welt am Sonntag, Berlin  
*Winners and Losers in a Globalized World: A Northern View*
- 11.00–11.15 Coffee break
- 11.15–12.30 Discussion
- 12.30–14.00 Lunch
- 14.00–19.00 Free afternoon
- 19.00 Dinner

## Sunday, 15 August (Berlin/Munster)

10.30–12.30	Tour of the Reichstag
12.30–14.00	Lunch
14.45–18.25	Train ride from Berlin to Munster/Westphalia

Park Hotel Schloss Hohenfeld, Munster

20.00	Dinner After Dinner Speaker: <b>Prof. Dr. Detlef Junker</b> , Heidelberg Center for American Studies, Heidelberg <i>The Westphalian Peace – Three-and-a-half Centuries of International Stability?</i>
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## Monday, 16 August (Munster/Paderborn)

### After 9/11: The End of the Westphalian Order?

Town Hall, Munster

9.00–9.15	Welcome and Introductory Remarks: <b>Dr. Berthold Tillmann</b> , First Mayor, City of Munster
9.15–9.45	<b>Prof. Sir Lawrence Freedman</b> , King's College, Oxford <i>Problems of War in our Time</i>
9.45–10.15	<b>Prof. Dr. William R. Smyser</b> , Georgetown University, Washington DC <i>Problems of Peace in our Time</i>
10.15–10.30	Coffee break
10.30–11.30	Discussion
11.30–12.00	<b>General Harald Kujat</b> , Chairman, Military Committee NATO, Brussels <i>NATO's Strategy for Coping with Rogue States and Terrorism</i>
12.00–12.45	Discussion
12.45–15.00	Bus ride from Munster to Paderborn

### The Network State: Risks and Opportunities in Cyberspace

Heinz Nixdorf MuseumsForum, Paderborn

15.15–15.30	Welcome and Introductory Remarks: <b>Dr. Bernd Klein</b> , Managing Director, Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung, Essen
15.30–15.50	<b>Dr. Kurt Beiersdörfer</b> , Managing Director, Heinz Nixdorf MuseumsForum, Paderborn <i>The Heinz Nixdorf MuseumsForum</i>
15.50–17.00	<b>Dr. Kurt Beiersdörfer and Norbert Ryska</b> , Managing Directors, Heinz Nixdorf MuseumsForum, Paderborn <i>Guided Tour through the Museum</i>
17.00–17.20	Coffee break
17.20–17.50	<b>Heman Agrawal</b> , Lecturer and Associate Researcher, University Witten/Herdecke <i>Democratization through Digitalization? Dia- lectics of Cyberspace in Global Good Governance</i>
17.50–18.30	Discussion
18.30–19.30	Dinner
20.00–23.00	Bus ride from Paderborn to Hamburg



## Fair Trade? Problems and Prospects of the WTO Regime

Hotel Steigenberger – Conference Room

9.00–9.30	<b>Dr. Heribert Dieter</b> , Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin <i>The WTO Regime after Cancún: EU, US, and the Developing Countries' Interests</i>
9.30–10.30	Discussion
10.30–11.00	<b>Prof. Dr. Klaus Gretschmann</b> , Director-General, EU Council of Ministers, Brussels <i>Closed Shops? The EU, NAFTA and Other Regional Organizations</i>
11.00–11.15	Coffee break
11.15–12.30	Discussion
12.30–14.00	Lunch

## The International Financial Structure

Hotel Steigenberger – Conference Room

14.00–14.30	<b>Caio Koch-Weser</b> , State Secretary, Federal Ministry of Finance, Berlin <i>Global Financial Governance: A Government's Perspective</i>
14.30–15.00	<b>Naoki Tanaka</b> , President, The 21st Century Public Policy Institute, Tokyo <i>Existing Global Financial Structures</i>
15.00–16.00	Discussion
16.00–16.15	Coffee break
16.15–16.45	<b>Dr. Rolf Schneider</b> , Chief Economist, Dresdner Bank, Frankfurt/Main <i>Monetary Systems and Currency Competition: The Future of the Euro</i>
16.45–18.00	Discussion
19.00	Dinner

## Global Environmental Issues after Kyoto

Hotel Steigenberger – Conference Room

9.00–9.30	<b>Dr. Ernst-Ulrich von Weizsäcker</b> , Head of the Committee for Environment, German Parliament, Berlin <i>Rescuing the Environment: Next Steps – The Role of Governments</i>
9.30–10.00	<b>Imran Habib Ahmad</b> , UNFCCC Expert Group on Technology Transfer, Islamabad <i>The Climate Debate – Issues and Prospects for Achieving the Objectives of the UNFCCC</i>
10.00–11.00	Discussion
11.00–11.15	Coffee break
11.15–11.45	<b>Dr. Thilo Bode</b> , CEO, foodwatch, Berlin <i>Rescuing the Environment: Next Steps – The Role of NGOs</i>
11.45–12.30	Discussion
12.30–14.00	Lunch

## Corporate Responsibility in a Global Community

Hotel Steigenberger – Conference Room

14.00–14.30	<b>Dr. Klaus Kleinfeld</b> , Siemens AG, Munich <i>Corporate Governance in a Globalized World</i>
14.30–15.30	Discussion
15.30–16.00	<b>Dr. Kurt Bock</b> , Chief Financial Officer, BASF AG, Ludwigshafen <i>Corporations and Global (Social) Responsibility</i>
16.00–16.30	Coffee break
16.30–18.00	Discussion
19.30	Dinner
	After Dinner Speaker: <b>Georg Kell</b> , Executive Head, Global Compact Office of the UN Secretary-General, New York

## After Seattle, Genova, and Cancún: Globalization and its Critics

Hotel Steigenberger – Conference Room

9.00–9.30	<b>Prof. Dr. Dieter Rucht</b> , Head, Research Area Civil Society, Conflicts and Democracy, Social Science Research Center, Berlin <i>The Case of ATTAC</i>
9.30–10.30	Discussion
10.30–11.00	<b>Prof. Dr. Peter Eigen</b> , Transparency International, Berlin <i>Corruption: Stumbling Block for Good and Global Governance</i>
11.00–11.15	Coffee break
11.15–12.00	Discussion
12.00–13.30	Lunch

## The New World Order – Unilateralism vs. Multilateralism

Hotel Steigenberger – Conference Room

13.30–14.00	<b>Prof. Dr. Andrew Moravcsik</b> , Professor of Government, Center for European Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge <i>Grand Design for a New World Order: The Transatlantic Bargain</i>
14.00–15.00	Discussion
15.00–15.30	<b>Prof. Dr. Anne-Marie Slaughter</b> , Dean, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University <i>A New World Order through International Law?</i>
15.30–15.45	Coffee break
15.45–16.45	Discussion
17.30–20.30	Drake Boat Race on the Alster River
20.30	Picknick

## Enhancing Good Governance: Lessons Learned

Hotel Steigenberger – Conference Room

9.00–10.30	Workshops: Lessons Learned
10.30–10.45	Coffee break
10.45–12.30	Wrap-up with Rapporteurs and Plenary Discussion
12.30–14.00	Lunch
14.00–14.30	<b>Prof. Dr. Michael Nacht</b> , Dean, Goldman School of Public Policy, Berkeley <i>Security and Prosperity in the Globalized World</i>
14.30–15.30	Discussion
15.30–15.45	Coffee break
15.45–17.00	Evaluation/Feedback
18.30	Dinner

## Wind-up and Farewell in Lubeck

9.00	Departure by bus to Lubeck
11.00–16.30	Sailing tour on the Baltic Sea
16.30	Return to Hamburg
19.30	Farewell Dinner

**Heman Agrawal** has been Assistant Lecturer and Associate Researcher at the Chair for Economics and Philosophy of the Business Faculty at the University Witten/Herdecke, Germany, since 2003. His academic work focuses on Institutional Economics, Theories of Political Economy, Development Economics, Theories of International Relations, History of Economic Thought, Issues of North-South Relations, Globalisation and Global Governance Research. In 2002 his book “Fairness in a Fragile World” has been awarded as “best publication of the World Summit (WSSD)”.

**Imran Habib Ahmad**, an alumnus of the Bucerius Summer School class of 2002, is an experienced environment and development professional and an international resource person in the area of climate change and multilateral environmental agreements, the intergovernmental process on climate change, biodiversity, ozone and sustainable development. He is a member of the UNFCCC Expert Group on Technology Transfer. Currently he is undertaking independent study, teaching and research in the area of climate change and multilateral environmental agreements and is also an editor/writer for the Earth Negotiations Bulletin (ENB) published by the International Institute for Sustainable Development.

**Abdel Bari Atwan** is Chief Editor of the most influential arabic newspaper outside the arabic world, Al-Quds Al-Arabi, edited in London. From 1984 to 1988 he served as Managing Editor of Al-Sharq Al Awsat and Al Majala Magazine, London. Moreover he lectures on Middle East Politics at British and Arab universities and has published several studies about Middle East Politics and the role of the Media.

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

**Dr. Thilo Bode** is director of foodwatch, an NGO dealing with transparency in the food sector. Before founding foodwatch in 2001 he was Executive Director of Greenpeace International (1995 to 2001) and of Greenpeace Germany (1989 to 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/Main, and at the German Bank for Reconstruction and Development (KfW).

**Dr. Kurt Bock** is Member of the Board of Executive Directors and Chief Financial Officer of BASF AG, Ludwigshafen, Germany. Since he has been joining the finance division of the BASF AG in 1985, he has held several positions: President Logistics & Information Services, BASF AG, 2000; Chief Financial Officer, BASF Corporation, Mount Olive, New Jersey, USA, 1998; Managing Director, Robert Bosch Ltd., Campinas, Brazil, 1996; Senior Vice President, Finance and Accounting, Robert Bosch GmbH, Stuttgart, Germany, 1994; Head of Technology, Planning and Controlling, Engineering Plastics division, BASF AG, 1991.

**Elmar Brok** is chairman of the European Parliament's Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defense Policy. Since 1980, he is a member of the European Peoples Party (EPP) fraction in the European Parliament. Therein he holds several positions: Member of the board of the EPP, Deputy Member of the Committee on Constitutional Affairs and Member in the EU Convention on the Future of the Union. He is also President of the "Europa-Union" Germany, a pan-european, non-partisan association. Moreover, he is Vice Chairman of the European Movement Germany and Chairman of the Study Group "Enlargement" of the Institute for European Policy in Bonn.

**Dr. Ivo H. Daalder** is a Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution, where he also holds the Sydney Stein Jr. Chair in International Security. His current research focuses on the implications of globalization and American power for U.S. foreign policy, homeland security organization, and the past, present, and future of the national security council. Prior to joining Brookings, he was associate professor at the University of Maryland's School of Public Affairs. In 1995/96, he served as director for European Affairs on President Clinton's National Security Council staff. From 1998 to 2001, Dr. Daalder served as a member of the Study Group of the U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century (the Hart-Rudman Commission). He is a member of the Academy of Political Science, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the IISS.

**Dr. Heribert Dieter** is a Researcher at Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) in Berlin, where he is a specialist for International Economic Relations, Globalization and Regionalism as well as for Financial Markets. He has been an Associate Fellow of the Centre for the Study of Globalization and Regionalization of the World Economy, University of Warwick since 2000. He was Senior Fellow at the Institute for Development and Peace, University of Duisburg, Germany, from 1998 to 2001 and Programme Officer at the German Foundation for International Development from 1993 to 1997.

**Jörg Dräger, PhD**, has been Minister for Public Health and Science of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg since 2001. He served as General Manager of the Northern Institute of Technology, Hamburg, from 1999 to 2001 and as management consultant at Roland Berger Strategy Consultants, Frankfurt/Main from 1996 to 1998. From 1991 to 1996 he was scholar and research assistant at Cornell University, New York.

**Prof. Dr. Peter Eigen** is founder and chairman of Transparency International, a non-governmental organization promoting transparency and accountability in regional and international development. He has worked in economic development for 25 years, mainly as a World Bank manager of programs in Africa and Latin America. Under Ford Foundation sponsorship, he provided legal and technical assistance to the governments of Botswana and Namibia and taught law at the universities of Frankfurt/Main and Georgetown. From 1999 to 2001 he was Adjunct Lecturer at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. In 2001, he joined the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace as Visiting Scholar while teaching at Johns Hopkins University/The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies.

**Abderrahim Foukara** works since 2002 as the UN correspondent of Al-Jazeera, the most influential TV-channel in the Arabic world. He started his career at the BBC in 1990 joining BBC World Service. There he worked as producer, reporter and anchor in various departments, including the Arabic, African and French departments. In 1998, he became BBC World Service Training's Senior Instructor, designing and teaching journalism courses. From 1999 to 2001, he worked for The World, a Boston-based co-production of the BBC World Service, the American Public Radio International and WGBH Boston, as a producer, reporter and occasional host.

**Prof. Sir Lawrence Freedman** has been Professor of War Studies at King's College, London since 1982. He has recently been appointed to the position of Vice Principal (Research) at King's, having previously been Head of the School of Social Science and Public Policy. Before joining King's College he held research appointments at Nuffield College Oxford, IISS and the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1995, he has been awarded the CBE in 1996 and the KCMG in 2003. He was appointed Official Historian of the Falklands Campaign in 1997. Professor Freedman has written extensively on nuclear strategy and the cold war and is a frequent commentator on contemporary security issues.

**Prof. Dr. Michael Göring** has been Managing Director of the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius and member of its Board of Directors since 1997. Before entering the ZEIT-Stiftung Professor Göring was head of foreign and overseas affairs at the German National Merit Foundation (Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes) and head of the funding department at the Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach-Stiftung. He is a member of various advisory boards, primarily foundations and organisations of higher education.

**Prof. Dr. Klaus Gretschmann** has been Director-General of the Economic Policy Directorate at the Council of the European Union in Brussels since 2001. Prior to that engagement he has held several positions: Professor of Public Finance and General Economics, Aachen University of Technology, Germany; Professor of International Economics and Head, Community Policies and Economics Unit, European Institute of Public Administration, Maastricht, The Netherlands; Consultant for EU, OECD, IMF; Adviser on matters of European economics and EMU to the Austrian National Bank and the Finnish Central Bank; Project Director of several EU Commission Projects. Professor Gretschmann also held the positions of Director-General, Chief Economist and G8 Sherpa at the German Federal Chancellery in Berlin.

**Prof. Dr. Detlef Junker** is Curt-Engelhorn Professor at the University of Heidelberg for American History. A Yale post-doc, he has also taught at the Universities of Nebraska, Lincoln and Stuttgart. From 1994 to 1999 he was Director of the German Historical Institute in Washington DC. In 2003 he became Founding Director of the interdisciplinary Heidelberg Center for American Studies. His research has focused on German politics in the inter-war period, on American foreign policy in the twentieth century, on German-American relations and on the history of the Cold War.

**Christoph Keese** currently is Chief Editor of *Welt am Sonntag*, edited in Berlin. From 1997 onwards he was deeply involved in the creation process of the German edition of Great Britain's most famous business paper – *The Financial Times*. Before joining *Financial Times Deutschland* Mr. Keese worked as editor and chief of the business department at the daily paper *Berliner Zeitung*. He was Chief Editor of the *Financial Times Deutschland* from 2001 until May 2004.

**Georg Kell** is Executive Head of the UN Global Compact Office, overseeing a network that includes several hundred companies, international labour, non-governmental organizations and other civil society groups. He was one of the chief architects of the Global Compact initiative, launched by Secretary-General Kofi Annan in 1999 to promote good corporate citizenship and responsible globalization. Mr. Kell joined the executive office of the Secretary-General in 1997 as a senior officer responsible for fostering cooperation with the private sector. Prior to joining the United Nations, he worked as a financial analyst in developing countries, especially in Asia and Africa.

**Dr. Bernd Klein** is partner of the law firm Schmidt, von der Osten & Huber in Essen. Apart from other tasks he is responsible for the management of the Heinz Nixdorf Foundation. He studied law at the Universities of Bonn, Freiburg and Berkeley (LL.M.).

**Dr. Klaus Kleinfeld** has been member of the Corporate Executive Committee of Siemens AG since 2004. He served as President and Chief Executive Officer of Siemens Corporation, the U.S. branch of Siemens AG, and was also a member of the Managing Board of Siemens AG from 2002 to 2003. Prior to his U.S. assignment, he was executive vice president and a member of the executive board of the medical engineering group of Siemens AG in Germany. From 2005 onwards Dr. Kleinfeld will be heading Siemens as its CEO – the third largest German company with more than 400,000 employees in 190 countries.

**Caio Koch-Weser** is State Secretary at the Federal Ministry of Finance, Berlin. Prior to joining the Ministry in 1999, Mr. Koch-Weser served as Managing Director and as a member of the Executive Committee at the World Bank in Washington DC. From 1996 to 1999, he was head of the World Bank's working group for institutional renewal. As Managing Director, he assumed responsibility for a wide range of the World Bank's operations and operational policies: Decentralization, the Bank's relations with the Global Environment Facility (GEF), the supervision of the Vice-Presidencies for Europe and Central Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and North Africa, and of the networks for Human Development, Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development, and Operational Core Services.

**Wolfgang Kroh** has been member of the Board of Managing Directors of KfW Banking Group since 2000. After studying Business Administration in Frankfurt, he has been starting his carrier in KfW Banking Group. From 1996 to 2000 he was Senior Vice President of the Secretariat of International Credit Affairs, responsible for corporate and operations policy, principles and promotional concepts for Financial Cooperation with developing countries. Before he became KfW's First Vice President in 1988 he worked as a Project Manager in the Regional Department Africa for Financial Corporation projects in Nigeria, Ghana, Swaziland, Lesotho (1971 to 1976).

**General Harald Kujat** is Chairman of the NATO Military Committee and Inspector General of the German Armed Forces. Among other posts he was Director of the Policy and Advisory Staff to the German Minister of Defence, Berlin, from 1998 to 2000; Assistant Director, International Military Staff (Plans & Policy) and Deputy Director IMS, NATO Headquarters, Brussels from 1996 to 1998; Director, IFOR Co-ordination Centre (ICC) at SHAPE, Belgium, in 1996; Deputy Chief of Staff (Military Policy and Strategy), Armed Forces Staff, Federal Ministry of Defence, Bonn, in 1995 and Chief of Staff and Deputy German Military Representative to the NATO Military Committee and Western European Union, Brussels, from 1992 to 1995.

**Prof. Dr. 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 a 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 U.S. State Department's Policy Planning Staff. Prior to government service, he was Assistant Professor of Politics at Princeton University.

**Prof. Manfred Lahnstein** is Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius. Prior to being German Federal Minister of Finance (1982), he was chief of the Federal Chancellery in Bonn from 1980 to 1982 and State Secretary of the Federal Ministry of Finance from 1977 to 1980. He has been 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.

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**Dr. Thomas Mirow** was the top candidate of the Social Democratic Party for the election to the Hamburg Parliament in 2004. Since 2002, he has been Senior Advisor and Entrepreneur. Dr. Mirow served as spokesman of the Hamburg Senate from 1983 to 1987 and then worked as Political and Business Consultant before becoming Senator for Finance of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg in 1991. From 1975 to 1983 he was Assistant and Chef de Cabinet to former Chancellor Willy Brandt.

**Prof. Dr. Andrew Moravcsik** is Professor of Government and Director of the European Union Program at Harvard University, where he has taught international relations since 1992. During the academic year 2003/04 he is also Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the Department of Politics at Princeton University. Before coming to Harvard, he served as trade negotiator at the U.S. Department of Commerce, as editor-in-chief of a foreign policy journal in Washington DC, as speechwriter and editor of the National Economic Bulletin for the Deputy Prime Minister of South Korea in Seoul, and in other public- and private-sector positions. He has held research and teaching positions at the University of Chicago, Columbia University, New York University, as well as universities and research institutes in France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and Belgium.

**Prof. Dr. Harald Müller** has been Executive Director of the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF) since 1996 and Professor for International Relations at the Goethe University, Frankfurt/Main since 1999. The same year, he has been appointed Co-Chairman of the Advisory Council on Peace and Conflict at the German Foreign Office and since 2000 he is a member of the Advisory Council of the Federal Academy for Security Policy. Moreover, he is a member of the Council of the Federal Foundation for Peace since 2001. Since the beginning of this year he serves as Chairman of the UN's Advisory Board on Disarmament.

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**Prof. Dr. Anne-Marie Slaughter** is Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University. Previously, she was J. Sinclair Armstrong Professor of International, Foreign and Comparative Law at Harvard Law School. Since 1997, she has served as Director of Graduate and International Legal Studies. Her teaching and research are focusing on global governance, the politics of international tribunals, and interdisciplinary analyses of international legal issues. Prior to changing over to Harvard, she was Professor of Law and International Relations at the University of Chicago Law School. A highly regarded expert on international law, Slaughter serves as president of the American Society of International Law.



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**Dr. 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. Dr. Sommer headed the Policy Planning Staff of the German Defense Ministry from 1969 to 1970, was responsible for the 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". He was member of the International Commission on the Balkans (1995 to 1996) and of the Independent International Commission on Kosovo (1999 to 2000).

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**Prof. Dr. Lester Thurow** has been a professor of management and economics at MIT for more than 35 years. He was dean of the MIT Sloan School of Management from 1987 until 1993. He taught at Harvard from 1966 to 1968 after a term as a staff economist on President Lyndon Johnson's Council of Economic Advisers. His formal academic work focuses on globalization, economic instability and the distribution of income and wealth. He writes for the general public in a number of American and international newspapers. In the past Professor Thurow has served on the Editorial Board of the New York Times, as a contributing editor for Newsweek and as a member of Time magazine's Board of Economists. He is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and served as vice president of the American Economics Association in 1993.

**Dr. Berthold Tillmann** has been First Mayor of the City of Munster since 1999. He has been working for the municipal administration of Munster since 1980. He was City Treasurer from 1993 to 1999, Counsellor for the Directorate for Youth, Social Affairs and Health from 1984 to 1993 and personal assistant to the City Clerk in the Directorate for Education, Youth, Culture and Sports from 1980 to 1984.

**Sir Peter Torry** has been the British Ambassador to Germany since May 2003. He joined the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in 1970. One year later he went to Havana as Third Secretary and from 1974 he served as Second Secretary in Jakarta. In 1977 he returned to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office as a First Secretary. From 1981 to 1985 he served as First Secretary in Bonn. In 1985 he returned again to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office as First Secretary and later as Counsellor. In 1989 he was posted as Counsellor in Washington where he served for four years, returning to London Headquarters in 1993 as Director for Personnel and Security. From 1998 to 2003 Sir Peter was British Ambassador to Spain.

**Dr. Ernst Ulrich von Weizsäcker** has been member of the German Bundestag as a representative of the Social Democrats since 1998. He is Chairman of the Bundestag Committee on Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety. From 1999 to 2002 he headed the Enquête Commission "Globalization of the World Economy". Prior to that, he held the post of Director at the United Nation Centre for Science and Technology in New York and at the Institute for European Environmental Policies in Bonn, London and Paris. He is the recipient of several prestigious awards and is a prominent figure in German civil society.

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