

ANNEX

Participants



Prof. Dr. Egon Bahr

Born 1922

Journalist and Politician, Berlin

Former Positions: German Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation, Bonn; Director, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy, University of Hamburg; Member, Faction of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD), German Bundestag, Bonn; Chairman, Subcommittee for Arms Control, German Bundestag, Bonn; Member, Chairmanship of the SPD, Bonn; Federal Minister, Chancellery, Bonn; State Secretary, Chancellery, Bonn; Negotiator for the Moscow Treaty, the Four Power Agreement for Berlin, and the Basic Treaty with the GDR.

Selected writings: Zur Lage der Nation. Leitgedanken für eine Politik der Berliner Republik (2001); Deutsche Interessen. Streitschrift zur Macht-, Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik (1998); Zu meiner Zeit (1996).
Pages: 36–38, 42, 56, 60–64, 86



Prof. Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski

Born 1928

Counsellor and Trustee, Center for Strategic & International Studies, Washington D.C.; Professor of American Foreign Policy, Johns Hopkins University, Washington D.C.

Former Positions: National Security Adviser to the President of the United States; Member of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, Washington D.C.; Professor, Columbia University, New York.
Selected Writings: Second Chance: Three Presidents and the Crisis of American Superpower (2007); The Choice: Global Domination or Global Leadership (2004); The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and its Geostrategic Imperatives (1997); The Grand Failure: The Birth and Death of Communism in the 20th Century (1989).

Pages: 25–27, 32, 51–53, 58–59, 62–64, 71–72, 75, 77–78, 82–84, 86–87



VLR I Dirk Brengelmann

Born 1956

Head of Division 201, Defence and Security Policy, Foreign Office, Berlin.

Former positions: Head of Division 211, USA, Canada, Security and Disarmament Policy, West and South European States and Nordic Countries, Turkey, Federal Chancellery, Berlin; Deputy Director, Private Office of NATO Secretary General, Brussels; Political Counsellor, German Embassy, Washington D.C.; Deputy European Correspondent, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin; Political Counsellor, German Embassy, London; Deputy Charge de Mission, Port-au-Prince.

Pages: 38, 44–45, 52, 55, 57, 78–79, 88, 90



Dr. Marek A. Cichocki

Born 1966

Programme Director, The Natolin European Centre, Warsaw; Editor, "Nowa Europa", Warsaw; Lecturer, Institute for Applied Social Sciences, Warsaw University.

Former positions: Policy Director, Europe, Center for International Relations, Warsaw.

Selected writings: Die politische Romantik in Polen und in Deutschland, in: Deutsche Polenpolitik auf neuen Wegen (2006); Does the European Union need a Constitution? (2002); Zwischen dem Schweigen der Symbole und der Leere politischer Konzepte. Die deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen in den neunziger Jahren (2001).
Pages: 29–32, 36–37, 42, 48, 59, 60

**Dr. David F. Gordon**

Born 1950

Director of Policy Planning, U.S. Department of State, Washington D.C.

Former Positions: Vice Chairman, National Intelligence Council, Washington D.C.; Director, Office

of Transnational Issues, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Langley; National Intelligence Officer for Economic and Global Issues on the National Intelligence Council, Washington D.C.

Selected Writings: Managing Strategic Surprise. Lessons from Risk Management and Risk Assessment (forthcoming in 2008).

Pages: 32, 35–36, 44–45, 54, 63, 72–73, 76, 85–87, 89

**Ruprecht Polenz, MdB**

Born 1946

Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs, German Bundestag, Berlin; Member, CDU/CSU Faction, German Bundestag, Berlin; Head, TV Council, ZDF—German Television, Mainz.

Former positions: Secretary General, Christian Democratic Union (CDU), Berlin.

Selected writings: Eine faire Chance für die Türkei (2004); Das faule Versprechen—Die Türkei gehört in die EU (2003); Sicher nur mit Amerika: NATO, Terrorismus und eine neue Weltordnung (2002).

Pages: 49, 53, 71–72, 76, 79, 81–82

**Prof. Dr. Volker Perthes**

Born 1958

Chairman and Director, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin.

Former positions: Head, Middle East and Africa Research Group, SWP, Berlin; Assistant Professor, American University of Beirut.

Selected writings: The Syrian Solution (2006); Orientalische Promenaden (2006, Germ.); Syria Under Bashar al-Assad—Modernisation and the Limits of Change (2004); Arab Elites—Negotiating the Politics of Change (2004); Geheime Gärten—Die neue arabische Welt (2004, Germ.).

Pages: 29–31, 34–35, 37, 40, 48, 53–55, 57, 62–63, 80–81, 84, 86, 88, 90

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Director, European Union Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania, Vilnius.

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Pages: 31, 37–38, 41, 57, 67, 75, 76, 77

**Ambassador Janusz Reiter**

Born 1952

Ambassador, Embassy of the Republic of Poland to the United States of America, Washington D.C.

Former Positions: President and Founder, Center for International

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Selected Writings: Die Erweiterung der Europäischen Union. Und was kommt danach? (2003); Das Weimarer Dreieck. Die französisch-deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen als Motor der Europäischen Integration (2000); Die deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen—eine Interessen- und Wertegemeinschaft? (1999).

Pages: 24–25, 29, 35, 39, 42, 45–46, 51, 53–54, 57, 60, 66, 69, 73–74, 77, 79, 83–84, 86, 88

**John Roberts**

Born 1947

Energy Security Specialist, Platts, New York and London.

Selected writings: Pipeline Politics: The Caspian and Global Energy Security (forthcoming in 2008); Iranian Gas and the Iran Nuclear Imbroglio (2006); Mitigating Geopolitical Risks: Eurasian Energy Security in the Wake of the Russia-Ukraine Imbroglio (2006); The Black Sea and European Energy Security (2006); The Turkish Gate: Energy Transit and Security Issues (2004); Will the Middle East Maintain its Oil Supply Dominance in a Changing World? (2003); Oil and the Iraq War of 2003 (2003); Oil Prices and the Impact on Gulf and Western Security (2002); Caspian Pipelines (1996); Visions & Mirages: The Middle East in a New Era (1995); Lebanon: The Summer of '82 (1983).

Pages: 49, 66–71, 73–78, 80–82, 85

**Gary D. Robbins**

Born 1949

Director, European Security and Political Affairs, U.S. Department of State, Washington D.C.

Former Positions: Principal Deputy, European Security and Political Affairs,

State Department, Washington D.C.; Distinguished Graduate and Vice President, National War College, National Defense University, Washington D.C.; Counselor for Political-Military Affairs, U.S. Embassy, Rome; Counselor for Global Affairs, U.S. Embassy, The Hague; Attorney, Graham and Dunn, Seattle.

Pages: 42–43, 78

**Prof. Dr. Adam Rotfeld**

Born 1938

Special Envoy and Co-Chairman, Polish-Russian Working Group for Difficult Matters; Member, UN Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters, New York and Geneva; Chairman, International Consultative Committee, Polish Institute of International Affairs (PIIA).

Former Positions: Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw; Director, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI); Leader, SIPRI Research Project on Building a Co-operative Security System in and for Europe.

Selected Writings: Poland in an Uncertain World (2006); New Threats, New Responses. The Report of the Warsaw Conference (2004); Transatlantic Security: New Realities, Changing Institutions (2004);

Towards Complementarity of European Security Institutions (2005).

Pages: 32, 34, 36–41, 45, 59, 71–73, 80–81



Volker Rühe

Born 1942

Fmr. Minister of Defence of the Federal Republic of Germany; Lecturer and International Consultant, Hamburg.

Former positions: Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs, German Bundestag, Berlin; General Secretary, Christian Democratic Union (CDU), German Bundestag, Berlin.

Pages: 32, 43, 45–53, 55–56, 60, 64–65, 67, 70, 79–80, 87–88



Helga Maria Schmid

Director, Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit of the High Representative Javier Solana, General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union, Brussels.

Former Positions: Head, Minister's Office of Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer, Berlin; Member of Cabinet of Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, Bonn; Press and Public Affairs Officer, German Embassy, Washington D.C.; Assistant Private Secretary to the Minister for European Affairs, Bonn.

Pages: 31–33, 39–41, 58–59, 75–76, 89, 90



Prof. Dr. Gesine Schwan

Born 1943

President, European-University Viadrina, Frankfurt (Oder); Co-ordinator of the German Federal Government for Civil Society Cooperation between Poland and Germany;

Member of the Commission for Fundamental Values, Social Democratic Party (SPD); Professor of Political Science, European-University Viadrina, Frankfurt (Oder).

Former Positions: Candidate for the German Federal President in 2004.

Selected Writings: Demokratische Politische Identität (Ed., 2006); Politik und Schuld. Die zerstörerische Macht des Schweigens (1997); Antikommunismus und Antiamerikanismus in Deutschland. Kontinuität und Wandel nach 1945 (1999).

Pages: 30, 33–36, 39, 48, 67–69, 81



Colonel Philippe Steininger

Born 1960

Head of NATO/EU Branch of the Delegation for Strategic Affairs, Ministry of Defence of the French Republic, Paris.

Former Positions: Cazaux Base Commander, Cazaux; Inspection General of the Armed Forces, Paris; US and Canada desk officer, Joint Staff, Paris; Participation in air operations over former Yugoslavia, Chad and the Middle East; Commander of a Mirage squadron, Cambrai; Flight Safety Officer, Air Combat Command, Metz; Deputy Squadron Commander, 11th Fighter Wing, Toul; Exchange Pilot, German Air Force, 74th Fighter Wing, Neuburg; Flight Leader, 13th Fighter Wing, Colmar.

Pages: 32, 42–43, 45, 57–58, 63

**Dr. Richard von Weizsäcker**

Born 1920

Fmr. President of the Federal Republic of Germany (1984–1994); fmr. Governing Mayor of West Berlin (1981–1984); fmr. Vice President of the German Parliament (1969–1981); fmr. Member of the Federal Executive Board of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU); fmr.

President of the German Lutheran Church Council; Laureate of the Heinrich Heine (1991) and Leo Baeck Awards (1994); Chairman of the Bergedorf Round Table of the Körber Foundation.

Selected writings: Was für eine Welt wollen wir? (2005); Drei Mal Stunde Null? 1949–1969–1989 (2001); Vier Zeiten. Erinnerungen (1997); Richard von Weizsäcker im Gespräch (1992); Von Deutschland nach Europa (1991); Die deutsche Geschichte geht weiter (1983).

Pages: 23, 27–28, 91

**Karl-Georg Wellmann, MdB**

Born 1952

Member, German Bundestag, Berlin; Member, Committee on Foreign Affairs, German Bundestag, Berlin; Member, Subcommittee on the United Nations, German Bundestag, Berlin; Member, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, German Bundestag, Berlin.

Former Positions: Member, Berlin House of Representatives, Berlin; Spokesman on Urban Development for the CDU Parliamentary Group, Berlin; Personal Assistant to the Senator for Science, Research and to the Senator for Health and Social Services, Berlin.

Pages: 79, 81

**Paweł Zalewski**

Born 1964

Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee, Sejm, Warsaw; Member, Faction of the Law and Justice Party, Sejm, Warsaw.

Former Positions: Member, Board of the Law and Justice Party, Warsaw; Member, Board, Mazowiecki Voivodship, Warsaw; Managing Partner, Human Resources Company, Warsaw; Senior Assistant, Warsaw School of Economics, Warsaw; Adviser to the Minister of National Education, Warsaw; Founder and member, Domus Polonorum.

Pages: 33, 48, 49–50, 55, 57

**Dr. Witold Waszczykowski**

Born 1957

Under Secretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw.

Former Positions: Department of Strategy and Policy Planning, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Warsaw; Ambassador, Polish Embassy, Tehran; Deputy Head of Polish Mission to NATO, Brussels; Deputy Director, Security Policy Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Warsaw; Expert on disarmament and peace-keeping matters, Department of European Institutions, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Warsaw.

Pages: 34, 39, 44, 46, 51–52, 54, 56, 64, 66, 70–73, 79–80, 86, 89

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1961	1 Schwächen der industriellen Gesellschaft	F. W. Schoberth	H. B. Tolkmitt
	2 Kulturkrise in der industriellen Gesellschaft	Erik von Sivers	Fritz Voigt
	3 Glanz und Elend der Entwicklungshilfe	Fritz Baade	Günther Buch
	4 Gesellschaftliche Entwicklung im Osten	Helmut Gollwitzer	Eugen Kogon
1962	5 Die Fragwürdigkeit der Bildungspolitik	Rüdiger Altmann	Josef Müller-Marein
	6 Die Erziehung zum Europäer	Stéphane Hessel	François Bondy
	7 Die Bewältigung des Preis-Lohn-Problems	Theodor Pütz	Gottfried Bombach
	8 Die Preis-Lohn-Dynamik in der BRD	Hans-Constantin Paulssen	Fritz Voigt
1963	9 Maschine—Denkmaschine—Staatsmaschine	Pierre Bertaux	Arnold Gehlen
	10 Kybernetik als soziale Tatsache	O. W. Haseloff	Freiherr von Stackelberg
	11 Westliche Gesellschaft und kommunistische Drohung	Winfried Martini	Th. Eschenburg
	12 Wohin treibt die EWG?	U. W. Kitzinger, Roland Delcour	Eugen Kogon
1964	13 Planung in der freien Marktwirtschaft	Edgar Salin	Gottfried Bombach
	14 Wohin Deutschland in Europa?	Alfred Grosser, Karl Theodor Frhr. zu Guttenberg	François Bondy
	15 Entwicklungshilfe—Mittel des Aufstiegs oder des Verfalls?	Walter Rau E. F. Schumacher	Edgar Salin
	16 Industrielle Gesellschaft— Menschlich oder unmenschlich?	Raymond Aron	Ralf Dahrendorf
1965	17 Vermögensbildung in Arbeitnehmerhand	Helmut Meinhold H. J. Wallraff	Eugen Kogon
	18 Hemmen Tabus die Demokratisierung?	Alexander Mitscherlich	Hellmut Becker
	19 Automatisierung—eine gesellschaftliche Herausforderung?	Gottfried Bombach Günter Friedrichs Kurt Pentzlin	Hans Wenke

*A complete list of all participants since 1961 is available at www.bergedorf-round-table.org

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair
	20 Ein Dilemma der westlichen Demokratien	Leo H. Klaassen	Edgar Salin
1966	21 Die "unterentwickelten" hochindustrialisierten Gesellschaften	Friedrich Heer	Hellmut Becker
	22 Muss unsere politische Maschinerie umkonstruiert werden?	Rüdiger Altmann Joseph Rovan	Eugen Kogon
	23 Wissenschaftliche Experten und politische Praxis—Das Problem der Zusammenarbeit in der heutigen Demokratie	Helmut Schelsky Ulrich Lohmar	Hellmut Becker
	24 Ist der Weltfriede unvermeidlich?	Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker	Edgar Salin
1967	25 Bedroht die Pressekonzentration die freie Meinungsbildung?	Helmut Arndt	Hellmut Becker
	26 Neue Wege zur Hochschulreform	Ralf Dahrendorf	Hellmut Becker
	27 Beherrschen die Technokraten unsere heutige Gesellschaft?	Alfred Mozer	Eugen Kogon
1968	28 Freiheit als Störfaktor in einer programmierten Gesellschaft	Jeanne Hersch	Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker
	29 Fördern die Bündnissysteme die Sicherheit Europas?	Wladimir Chwostow	Alfred Grosser
	30 Haben wir im entstehenden Europa eine Chance für die freie Marktwirtschaft?	Hans von der Groeben	Hans Peter Ipsen
	31 Mögliche und wünschbare Zukünfte	Robert Jungk	Hellmut Becker
1969	32 Die Biologie als technische Weltmacht	Adolf Portmann	Hoimar von Ditfurth
	33 Verstärken oder verringern sich die Bedingungen für Aggressivität?	Friedrich Hacker	Eugen Kogon
	34 Welchen Spielraum hat die Entspannungspolitik?	Alfred Grosser	Theo Sommer
1970	35 Zugänge zur Friedensforschung	Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker Richard Löwenthal	Karl Carstens
Leningrad	36 Europäische Sicherheit und Möglichkeit der Zusammenarbeit	Alfred Grosser Nikolai E. Poljanow	Nikolai E. Poljanow
	37 Demokratisierung der Demokratie?	Joseph Rovan	D. Klaus von Bismarck
1971	Arbeitsgespräch: Aufgabenstellung und Verfahrensfragen einer internationalen Konferenz für Europäische Sicherheit	—	Franz Karasek

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38	Infrastrukturreform als Innenpolitik	Helmut Kohl	D. Klaus von Bismarck
39	Globalsteuerung der Wirtschaft?	Gottfried Bombach	Herbert Giersch
40	Der bevollmächtigte Mensch	Dennis Gabor	D. Klaus von Bismarck
1972	41 Sprache und Politik	Hans Maier	Hellmut Becker
	Arbeitsgespräch: Demokratie und Nationalbewusstsein in der BRD	Richard Löwenthal	François Bondy
42	Das erweiterte Europa zwischen den Blöcken	R. Dahrendorf Jean-Pierre Brunet Sir Con O'Neill	Rudolf Kirchschläger
43	Wo bleiben die alten Menschen in der Leistungsgesellschaft?	Helge Pross	D. Klaus von Bismarck
1973	44 Die "neue Mitte": Schlagwort oder Strukturwandel?	Richard Frhr. v. Weizsäcker	D. Klaus von Bismarck
45	Umsteuerung der Industriegesellschaft?	Hans-Jochen Vogel Hugo Thiemann	Gottfried Bombach
Vienna	46 Neutralität—Wert oder Unwert für die europäische Sicherheit	Rudolf Kirchschläger Gaston Thorn Józef Czyrek	Olivier Reverdin
1974	47 Revolution der Gleichheit—Ende oder Beginn der Freiheit?	Ralf Dahrendorf	D. Klaus von Bismarck
48	Rohstoff- und Energieverknappung	H. B. G. Casimir Manfred Schäfer	Gottfried Bombach
49	Entwicklungshilfe—Eine Illusion?	Peter T. Bauer Karl-Heinz Sohn	Max Thurn
Moscow	1975 Arbeitsgespräch: Entspannungspolitik, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Zusammenarbeit	Ralf Dahrendorf H. Ehrenberg Theo Sommer C.-F. Frhr. v. Weizsäcker G. Arbatow O. Bogomolow Schalwa Sanakojew Georgij Shukow	Kurt A. Körber Lew Tolkunow
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	54 Nach der Wahl '76: Welchen Spielraum hat die deutsche Innenpolitik?	—	Ralf Dahrendorf
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	57 Europa und die Weltwirtschaft <i>Luxemburg</i>	Claude Cheysson Herbert Giersch	Gaston Thorn
	58 Energiekrise—Europa im Belagerungszustand?	Guido Brunner	Hans K. Schneider
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		Joachim Gretz	Werner H. Bloss
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1982	71 Repräsentieren die Parteien unsere Gesellschaft?	Werner Remmers Richard Löwenthal	Hans Heigert
	72 Wirtschaftspolitik in der Krise? Zur Situation in den Vereinigten Staaten, Großbritannien, Frankreich und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland <i>Bonn</i>	J. Tobin M. Feldstein Sir Alec Cairncross A. A. Walters P. E. Uri P. Salin A. Gutowski H. Schulmann	Herbert Giersch
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	74 Die deutsche Frage—Neu gestellt <i>Berlin</i>	Richard Frhr. v. Weizsäcker	Karl Kaiser
1984	75 Zukunft Europas: Probleme der politischen und militärischen Entspannung. <i>Moscow</i>	Horst Teltschik Wadim W. Sagadin	Karl Kaiser Juri Shukow
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1986	79 Findet Europa wieder die Kraft, eine Rolle in der Weltpolitik zu spielen? <i>Brussels</i>	Jacques Delors Lord Carrington Helmut Schmidt	Karl Kaiser

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1987 81 <i>Moscow</i>	Die Beziehungen zwischen der Sowjetunion und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland	Volker Rühe Wadim W. Sagladin Egon Bahr	Valentin Falin Theo Sommer
82 <i>Geneva</i>	Die Modernität in der Industriegesellschaft—Und danach?	Hermann Lübbe	Luigi V. Ferraris
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1988 84 <i>Berlin</i>	Systemöffnende Kooperation? Perspektiven zwischen Ost und West	W. Leonhard Harry Maier	Jürgen Engert
85 <i>Munich</i>	Die ökologische Wende—Hat sie noch Chancen?	Frhr. v. Lersner Alois Glück	Hans Maier
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1991 92 <i>Moscow</i>	Perestrojka: Kontinuität, Ende oder Wende?	W. Wladislawlew F. W. Christians	Sir Ralf Dahrendorf
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96 <i>Tallinn</i>	Zwischen Integration und nationaler Eigenständigkeit: Wie findet Europa zusammen?	Jim Hoagland Dr. Krenzler Lennart Meri T. Örn B. Schmidbauer	Andreas Meyer-Landrut
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