

ANNEX

Participants



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Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Kuwait; editor of the Gulf Studies Series Journal; Independent Expert appointed by Kofi Annan on Human Rights in Somalia; member of the

Amnesty International Delegation in Iraq.

Selected writings: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: A Western Invention? (2003); “Human Rights in a Crisis: The Case of Kuwait After Occupation,” *Human Rights Quarterly* (2001); “Challenges Facing Kuwaiti Democracy”, *Middle East Journal* (2002).

Pages: 31, 59, 64, 71, 92



Dr. Farhad Atai,

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Pages: 37, 47, 60, 72, 89, 98



Ahmad Azizi

Deputy Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Tehran; 1997–2003 Ambassador to Germany; former Head of Commission of Iran’s Supreme National Security Council.



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Director, SWP—German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin; 1982–1998 Foreign Policy Editor, *DIE ZEIT*; 1974–1982 Director of the International Institute for Strategic

Studies (IISS) in London.

Selected writings: Inspection not Invasion (2003); Europe in Balance—Securing the Peace Won in the Cold War (1995).

Pages: 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 36, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 51, 57, 66, 80, 82, 86, 89, 92, 97, 99, 105



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Pages: 29, 30, 89, 93



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Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Cairo; 1998–2003 lecturer in the Departments of Social and Political Sciences and Islamic Studies,

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Selected writings: *Zivilgesellschaft im Nahen Osten* (2003, ed.).

Pages: 35, 45, 58, 77, 91, 10



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Pages: 71, 102



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Professor, Institut d’Études Politiques de Paris; Middle East expert; holds doctorates in political science and sociology; research on the Arab and Islamic World;

Visiting Professor at Columbia University and NYU.

Selected writings: *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam* (2002); *Allah in the West: Islamic Movements in America and Europe* (1997); *Muslim Extremism in Egypt* (1985).

Pages: 26, 34, 36, 48, 61, 68, 98



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Director, Institute for Political Science, University of Isfahan; Professor at the Universities of Isfahan and Shiraz; PhD in Political Science from the University

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Pages: 40, 77



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Program Officer, Stanley Foundation, Muscatine/Iowa; 1998–2000 policy work for NGOs in the fields of US foreign policy and international security; 1998–1999 Scoville Fellow at the British

American Security Information Council (BASIC); former lecturer in International Relations at the State University of New York, Buffalo.

Selected writings: *U.S. Strategies for Regional*

Security: Report of the 42nd Strategy for Peace Conference (2003, ed.).

Pages: 40, 46, 58, 63, 76, 90, 102



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Born 1974

Director, The Foreign Policy Centre, London; Advisor to several governments, international governmental organizations, and corporations on political and strategic issues; former Director of the European Programme at the think tank DEMOS; numerous publications on topics dealing with Europe, world governance, and the future of diplomacy.

Selected writings: Public Diplomacy and the Middle East (2003); Going Public: Diplomacy for the Information Society (2000).

Pages: 31, 46, 74



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Member of the German Bundestag, Free Democratic Party (FDP), Berlin; 1999 top candidate of the Berlin FDP in elections to the European Parliament; since 2001 member of the FDP Executive Board, since 2000 member of its foreign policy committee; since 2004 chairman of the Berlin branch of the FDP; spokesman for the FDP parliamentary group on Economic Cooperation and Development; member of the Committee for Economic Cooperation and Development; deputy member of the Bundestag Committee for External Affairs.

Pages: 44, 72, 99



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Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany in Tehran; 2000–2003 Ambassador in Cairo; lawyer; 1968–1969 Institut d' Etudes Politiques de Paris; since 1970 member of the diplomatic corps of the Federal Republic of Germany: service in Dublin, Beirut, Paris, Damascus, Algiers, and London.

Pages: 40, 63



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Pages: 28, 44, 45, 58, 88, 102



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Deputy Minister, Ministry for Science, Research and Technology, Tehran; Director, National Research Institute for Science Policy; PhD in Physics and Astronomy at the University of Vienna; scientific employment at University of Potsdam, Sharif University of Technology, University of Cologne, University of Vienna; former Alexander Hum-

boldt Fellow, recipient of the Abdus-Salam Prize for Iranian Scientists (1989).

Selected writings: A Test Theory of Special Relativity, I, II, III (1977); Spherical Symmetric Thick Branes in Vacuum (forthcoming).



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Born 1963

Professor, Stanford University; Helen and Peter Bing Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution; Research Associate at the Center for International Security and Arms Control; 1990–1991 visiting lecturer, Moscow State University.

Selected writings: Russia's Unfinished Revolution: Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin (2002); Power and Purpose: U.S. Policy Toward Russia After the Cold War (2003).

Pages: 30, 41, 58, 60, 76, 84, 91, 103



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Pages: 48, 60, 65, 75, 90, 99



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Pages: 39, 93, 101



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Pages: 38, 39, 82, 86, 104



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Pages: 51, 61, 67, 79, 87, 98



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Selected writings: A Journey to the Universe of the Philosophy of Science (forthcoming); Analytic Philosophy: Problems and Prospects (2003); Only Connect (CSD Bulletin 2002).

Pages: 37, 46, 56, 73



Giandomenico Picco

Born 1948
Chairman and CEO, GDP Associates, Inc., New York; 1973–1992 career at the United Nations, e.g. Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs; chief negotiator

for the release of Western hostages in Lebanon and cease fire negotiations between Iran and Iraq; numerous awards and honorary degrees, e.g. the President’s Special Award for Exceptional Service (US), and the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Selected writings: Man without a Gun (2000).

Pages: 33, 53, 62, 69, 78, 97



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Member of the German Bundestag, Christian Democratic Union (CDU), Berlin; lawyer; 1984–1994 CDU leader in the Münster city council; since 1994 member of

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Selected writings: Eine faire Chance für die Türkei (2004), The Empty Promise (2003), Sicher nur mit Amerika (2003); NATO, Terrorismus und eine neue Weltordnung (2002).

Pages: 66, 87, 92, 96



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Research Unit Middle East and Africa, SWP—German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin; Iran expert of the SWP, research on political, cultural, and social developments in the Islamic World; 1995 OSCE Observer in Dushanbe, Tajikistan.

Selected writings: Irans neues Parlament—Wie geht's weiter?, SWP-Studie (2004); "Europe and Iran: Critical Dialogue," in: Richard N. Haass and Meghan L. O'Sullivan (eds.), Honey and Vinegar—Incentives, Sanctions and Foreign Policy (2000).

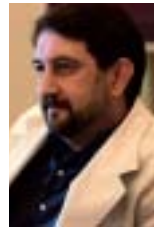
Pages: 25, 49, 70, 89, 100



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Pages: 23, 27, 32, 37, 41, 50, 54, 57, 60, 63, 66, 68, 69, 75, 76, 80, 82, 93, 95, 100, 104



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Pages: 23, 50, 69



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Senior Research Fellow, Economic Research Center, Fujitsu Research Institute, Tokyo; former Senior Economist at the Institute of Energy Economics, Japan;

Islamic Area Studies Project 2002; UNU International Conference on "Iran in a Globalizing World: New Horizons, New Perspectives" (1999).

Selected writings: Possibilities of Industrial Diversification in the Middle East Countries: Challenges for FTA with Asian Countries, Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies (2003); The Future of the Electric Power Industry, An Energy System for Local Independence, The Effect and Subject of Introducing Environmental System ISO 14001, Economic Review (2002).

Pages: 62, 96



Ulrich Tilgner

Born 1948

Middle East correspondent and head of the ZDF Tehran office; 1980–1981 correspondent in Iran for dpa, several newspapers, ARD Radio und Television; 1991 cor-

respondent on the Gulf War in Baghdad; 1995–2001 bureau in Amman, Jordan; since 2002 ZDF bureau in Tehran; ZDF correspondent during the Iraq war; recipient of the Hanns Joachim Friedrichs Prize for journalistic excellence.

Selected writings: Der inszenierte Krieg. Täuschung und Wahrheit beim Sturz Saddam Husseins (2003); Umbruch in Iran (1979).

Pages: 47, 63, 73, 101



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Born 1944

Member of the German Bundestag, Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), Berlin; Professor at the University of Applied Sciences Potsdam; Member of the

German Bundestag since 1976; since 1990 member of the External Relations Committee, deputy Member of the European Committee, 1993–1998 Spokesman for the Working Group “United Nations” of the SPD Parliamentary Group; since 1998 member of the SPD Parliamentary Group Executive Board, since 1999 Foreign Policy Spokesman of the SPD Parliamentary Group.

Selected writings: Ein schwieriges Bündnis. Das Verhältnis der sozialistischen Parteien zur Friedensbewegung in Europa (1998).

Pages: 28, 42, 55, 57, 71



Dr. Richard von Weizsäcker

Born 1920

Former President of the Federal Republic of Germany; Former Governing Mayor of West Berlin; former Member of the German Parliament; former Member of

the Federal Executive Board of the Christian Democratic Union; former President of the German Lutheran Church Council; Winner of the Heinrich-Heine (1991) and Leo-Baeck (1994) Awards; various international honorary doctorates; Chairman of the Bergedorf Round Table of the Körber Foundation.

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

Pages: 22, 33, 90, 105



Shihao Yu

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Deputy Secretary General and Senior Fellow, Institute of World Development, Development Research Center of the State Council, Beijing; 1998–2002 Counselor

of the Permanent Mission of the People’s Republic of China to the United Nations; 1992–1995 Consul in the Chinese Consulate in the USA; 1984–1988 Visiting Professor at several universities.

Pages: 43, 44

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Bryan S. Turner, *Orientalism, Postmodernism and Globalism*, London/New York: 1994.

Michael Walzer, *On Toleration*, New Haven: 1997.

Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge: 1999.

World Value Survey (Chairman: Ronald Inglehart)
www.worldvaluessurvey.org/



Glossary

Abdullah II bin Al Hussein (born 1962)

King of Jordan since 1999. Military training at Sandhurst, studied international politics at Oxford and Georgetown. Advocates a negotiated settlement to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

www.kingabdullah.jo

***Al-Jihad* → Islamist Groups**

***Al-Jama`a al-Islamiya* → Islamist Groups**

Al-Jazeera

Arabic-language satellite TV news network based in Qatar, founded in 1996 by Emir Sheik Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani. As the first uncensored Arabic news channel, it became an immediate competitor of CNN and is now watched by 40 million people. Al-Jazeera (“the island”) now has several Arab rivals, including *Al-Arabia*, *Abu Dhabi*, and, since March 2004, the US-funded *Al Hurra* (“the free”).

www.al-jazeera.com

Al Qaeda

Arabic for “the base.” → Islamist terrorist network founded by Osama → bin Laden during the 1980s in Afghanistan. Expanded its structures during the 1990s in failed states such as Somalia. Seeks to remove US military presence in Muslim states and overthrow Muslim regimes it considers degenerate, such as Saudi Arabia. Al Qaeda is held responsible for the attacks on the World Trade Center of 2001 and 1993, the US embassies in Nairobi and Dar es-Salaam in 1998, and on the Saudi National Training Center in 1995. It is also suspected in connection with recent attacks, in-

cluding on passenger trains in Madrid and targets in Iraq. During the US-led invasion of Afghanistan, many of its fighters were killed or taken prisoner. Yet the group remains viable and, thanks to its decentralized organization, can survive even without bin Laden.

Ashcroft, John (born 1942)

US Attorney General since 2001. Conservative and devoutly religious. His package of laws known as the Patriot Act, passed shortly after the 9/11 attacks, greatly expands state power of surveillance and prosecution over Americans.

“Axis of Evil”

Expression used by US President George W. Bush in 2002 to group together North Korea, Iran and Iraq. In his State of the Union Address, Bush accused these countries of threatening global security by seeking weapons of mass destruction and supporting terrorism. During World War II, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill coined the term “Axis” for the alliance of Germany, Italy, and Japan; President Ronald Reagan referred to the Soviet Union as the “evil empire” near the end of the Cold War.

Ayatollah

Iranian honorific for an important Shiite legal scholar. Ayatollah means “sign of God.” Those who carry the title are considered devout and learned, and the sign of God is said to be expressed through them. Prerequisite to gaining this title, as well as that of the “Hojjatoeslam” (“argument of Islam”), is the Hojtahed degree, which is taken only after long studies. Through

their great erudition, these people are given the right to reach their own conclusions (see also Ayatollah Ruhollah → Khomeini).

Belhadj, Ali (born 1956)

Leading functionary of the → Islamic Salvation Front. The FIS was banned as a party in 1991 after scoring successes in regional elections; Belhadj was sentenced to 12 years in prison and was placed under house arrest from 1994 to 2003.

Bin Laden, Osama (born 1957)

Leader of the Islamist terrorist network → Al Qaeda. Scion of a wealthy Saudi industrialist family, bin Laden joined the Afghan anti-Soviet resistance (→ Taliban) in 1979. He rose to a leadership position in the US-supported guerrilla conflict with the Soviets by providing financial support and establishing a chain of camps where thousands of fighters were trained. These provided the manpower pool for bin Laden's subsequent terrorist activities.

Bush, George W. (born 1946)

43rd President of the US (since 2001), Republican, former Governor of Texas. After the 9/11 attacks, Bush proclaimed a war against international terrorism and the proliferation of nuclear weapons. As part of its national security strategy, Bush's government attacked Afghanistan, removing the → Taliban regime there, and in 2003 toppled the Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein.

Cassin, René (1887–1976)

French jurist, Nobel Peace Prize winner, and first President of the European Court of Human Rights. Chairman of the French Consultative Committee for Human Rights and an influential member of the commission that produced the 1948 → Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

Cheney, Richard B. (born 1941)

US Vice-President under George W. → Bush. Congressman from 1978, 1989–1993 Defense Secretary under President George Bush Sr., 1993–2000 Chairman of oil services provider Halliburton Corp. Returned to politics as Bush's running mate. Credited with playing a decisive role in US decision to go to war against Iraq.

Chirac, Jacques René (born 1932)

Gaullist President of France since 1995. Colleague of Georges Pompidou in the 1960s and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing in the 1970s, thereafter Mayor of Paris (1977–95) and Prime Minister (1974–76, 1986–88).

“Clash of Civilizations”

1993 essay in “Foreign Affairs” (and a book in 1996) by Samuel P. Huntington (born 1927). Asserts that since the end of the Cold War, cultures have replaced the nation-state and ideological blocs as the focal point for identification. Cultures will inevitably see continuous conflict with each other, and cultural regions will determine the lines of political and military rivalry in the multipolar world of the 21st Century.

Convention on the Rights of Children

Passed by the UN General Assembly in 1989 and effective since 1990, the Convention has since become a global standard. It was the first document to elevate children's rights to the level of human rights protected by international law. With 190 signatory states, the Convention on the Rights of Children enjoys the greatest acceptance of all UN conventions. The sole non-signatories are Somalia and the United States, where the death penalty for minors in some states violates the Convention's terms.

www.unicef.org/crc/introduction.htm

CSCE—Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe

The CSCE was founded in 1973 as a forum for communication between the Cold War's two blocs. East- and Western European states, Canada, and the United States discussed three issue complexes ("baskets"): security, economics, and human rights. Because they were sometimes the sole mutual forums, the CSCE conferences contributed greatly to building up trust between the camps. In 1975, the members signed the Helsinki Final Act, a non-binding declaration of intent to maintain peace and the free exchange of opinion. After the dwindling of the East-West conflict, the CSCE professed its commitment to democracy, the rule of law, and the market economy. It became an international organization. (→ OSCE).

Cultural Studies

Interdisciplinary research field developed after World War II by Raymond Williams and Richard Hoggart. In contrast to classical literary analysis,

it examines not only texts but all cultural manifestations (i.e. television, fashion). Rather than looking to "high culture," cultural studies examines the diversity of cultures within society: "culture is ordinary" (Hoggart).

"Dialog of Civilizations"

With the election of Mohammed → Khatami as Iranian President in 1997, relations between Europe and Iran improved substantially. In contrast to the rhetoric of revolutionary leader and Khomeini-successor Ayatollah Ali Khamene'i of "the struggle against Western cultural aggression," Khatami placed his trust in a "dialog of civilizations" and de-escalation in foreign policy. Khatami also founded the Tehran "Center for Dialog Between Civilizations," which is now under the leadership of Ayatollah Mohajerani.

Dual Containment

Strategy announced by US President Bill Clinton for conduct towards Iraq and Iran. The two countries were no longer to be played off against each other, as they were until the end of the 1980s. Instead they were both to be weakened to the extent that they no longer posed a threat to US allies in the Gulf region. Critics pointed out that Iraq and Iran had to be treated as very different countries in their politics, culture, and societies.

Ethnocentrism

View of the world in which one's own ethnic group (*ethnos*, Greek for "nation") becomes the measure by which all others are judged. Characteristics of other groups (values, religion, skin

color) are judged by their proximity to this ideal and therefore often deprecated.

Frankfurt School

Group of researchers in philosophy and sociology around Max Horkheimer, who founded the Frankfurt School for Social Research in the 1930s and went into American exile during World War II. The group's "critical theory" combines elements of Marxism and psychoanalysis to analyze the repressive structures of modern capitalist societies and the destructive sides of the Enlightenment. Its leading figures such as Theodor W. Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Leo Löwenthal, Friedrich Pollock, and, today, especially Jürgen → Habermas produced highly individualized approaches.

Globalization

This relatively unselective term is used to denote the expansion of international economic relationships and the integration of markets, especially with the help of modern technologies, which have greatly facilitated the exchange of goods, services, ideas, and people compared with the past. It has been accompanied by growing international competition and global problems that are causing national governments difficulties in addressing the issues autonomously. Globalization also means the expansion of Western values and lifestyles throughout the world. The destruction of long-established societal models and the negative economic effects of globalization are considered by some a cause for the fundamentalist tendencies in poorer countries.

Gore, Albert A., Jr. (born 1948)

1993–2001 US Vice-President under Bill Clinton, 1977–85 Congressional Representative, and 1985–93 Senator of Tennessee. As the Democratic Party's presidential candidate in 2000, Gore was narrowly defeated by George W. → Bush in a controversial election. Gore has shown receptiveness towards multilateral organizations and issues such as the environment.

Gramsci, Antonio (1891–1937)

Italian politician and theorist, publisher of the journal "L'Ordine Nuovo." A co-founder of the Italian Communist Party, Gramsci was sentenced to 20 years in prison and died from the effects of incarceration. His concept of "cultural hegemony," developed during his imprisonment, explains why the proletarian revolution that orthodox Marxism considered inevitable did not take place in Germany and Italy. According to the theory, capitalism's hold on power is not only through political and economic instruments, but also through a hegemonic culture. Gramsci concluded that if Communism was to prevail, it would have to attain cultural hegemony.

Habermas, Jürgen (born 1929)

German philosopher and sociologist, one of the Federal Republic's most influential intellectuals (see also → Frankfurt School).

Hachani, Abdelkader (1956–1999)

Algerian politician and moderate representative of the → Islamic Salvation Front. Murdered in 1999 after being released from a five-year prison sentence in 1997. According to official accounts,

he was assassinated by radical → Islamists because of his willingness to negotiate with the government.

Haider, Jörg (born 1950)

Founder of the populist far-right Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ), 1989–91 and 1999-present State Premier (Landeshauptmann) of Carinthia. Under Haider's leadership, the FPÖ took second place in the 1999 parliamentary elections and joined a governing coalition with the Austrian People's Party (ÖVP). Accusing Haider of anti-Semitic and xenophobic tendencies, 14 EU states broke off bilateral ties with Austria, but were unable to force the Freedom Party from the coalition.

Headscarf Debate → Secularism Debate

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770–1831)

Chief figure of German Idealism. Hegel's philosophical system sought to explain all phenomena as constructs of the nature of the spirit: "The spiritual alone is real." Using the method of dialectics, his philosophy places the spirit's discovery of itself as the world's fundamental development. "Progress is through the spirit's awareness of its freedom." During this development, the spirit advances through numerous stages in its relationship to and awareness of itself and its environment. Intersubjective relationships play a central role: self-assurance requires recognition by another self-assured being. The objective spirit attains its highest manifestation through the state. The progress of the world-spirit necessarily determines historical development. Its growing self-assurance is manifested, in a west-

ward migration, in various states and is perfected in Europe.

Helsinki Treaty → CSCE

Hobbes, Thomas (1588–1679)

English philosopher and theorist, presents a pessimistic view of humanity ("homo homini lupus"). In his main work "Leviathan," he argued that man is basically a selfishly individualistic animal at constant war with others. Fear of violent death is the principal motive for man's surrender of his natural rights to the absolute sovereign, characterized as the Leviathan, a mythical monster. Hobbes' political philosophy marked a watershed in that it stated that all power is derived from the people instead of by divine right, and that its arguments were laid out on the basis of reason.

Hussein, Saddam (born 1939)

1979–2003 head of the Iraqi state and government and Baath Party General Secretary. Hussein's dictatorship and expansionist foreign policy (1980–88 war with Iran, 1990 invasion of Kuwait) ruined Iraq militarily and economically. A US-led coalition invaded Iraq after accusing Hussein of involvement in terrorist activities and producing weapons of mass destruction. Hussein's regime collapsed and he was later captured.

International Criminal Court (ICC)

The statute of the ICC, initiated by the UN General Assembly and formulated by its human rights commission, was passed in 1998. 139 states have signed it, 94 of which have also ratified it.

The statute went into effect in 2002. Since February 2003, 18 judges have been active at the ICC in The Hague. The ICC is responsible for the worldwide prosecution of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. It becomes active when national courts fail to prosecute or when the UN Security Council deems investigations necessary. The US has refused to ratify the statute because it has been unable to win any regulations granting American military personnel immunity from prosecution.

www.icc-cpi.int/

International Pact on Civil and Political Rights (Civil Pact) and International Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights

UN human rights conventions that augment the → Universal Declaration of Human Rights and contribute to an international consensus on values. They were approved in 1966. The Civil Pact went into effect in 1976 and has been signed by 148 states. It safeguards, among other things, the right to life, movement, freedom of opinion, of assembly, and trial according to the rule of law. The Social Pact (also effective since 1976, 145 signatory states) lays down the rights to work, social security, health, education, a certain standard of living, formation of trade unions, and the protection of the family.

Iran, political system

The 1979 constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, amended in 1989, guarantees the right to vote at age 16. The unicameral parliament with 290 deputies and a president is directly elected every four years. The elected representatives'

powers are doubly restricted: Governing authority lies with the supreme religious leader (currently Ayatollah Ali Khamene'i, earlier Ayatollah Ruhollah → Khomeini), who exercises this power during the Phase of Concealment of the 12th Imam (see teaching of the 12-Imam Shia by the → Shiites). Secondly, the Council of Guardians (six legal scholars appointed by the Supreme Religious Leader, six appointed by parliament) reviews all legislation regarding its fidelity to the Islamic law enshrined in the constitution. Reformist candidates faced massive obstructions during the 2004 elections.

Iran and EU, Pact on Nuclear Weapons

After fears of an Iranian nuclear weapons program drew threats from the US, three EU (Germany, France, Britain) foreign ministers flew to Tehran in October 2003. Joschka Fischer, Dominique de Villepin, and Jack Straw negotiated an agreement with the Iranian leadership. Iran agreed to stop enriching Uranium and sign the Additional Protocol to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The EU, in return, agreed to provide assistance in the transfer of modern technology. The US and the EU dispute whether Iranian actions since then indicate that the agreement was sustainable and successful.

www.ceip.org/files/nonprolif/countries/country.asp?ID=2&country=Iran

Islamic Revolution in Iran

In 1978, uprisings led by conservative → Shi'ite Muslims broke out in Iranian cities against the increasingly repressive rule of Shah Reza → Pahlavi. The Shi'ites demanded that Iran be trans-

formed into an Islamic republic. The oppositional movement was led by Ayatollah Ruhollah → Khomeini from his Parisian exile. By the end of the year, conditions resembling civil war existed in Iran. In 1979 the army declared its self-dissolution and the government installed by Pahlavi resigned; the Shah fled. In the subsequent year Khomeini established a clerical dictatorship.

Islamic Salvation Front / Front Islamique du Salut (FIS).

Algerian → Islamist party banned since 1992. After an economic crisis in Algeria since 1988 led to the beginnings of political pluralism there, the FIS, which had been officially listed as a party since March 1989, rapidly became the leading opposition party. Its objective was the establishment of a uniform and hierarchically structured Muslim society without Western influences, led by Muslim scholars. When elections were held in 1992 and a victory for the FIS became apparent, its leaders (including Abdelkader → Hachani and Ali → Belhadj) were imprisoned. The party's military arm, the Armée Islamique du Salut has since, together with other Islamist groups, waged a bloody terrorist war in which tens of thousands have been killed.

Islamist Groups

Groups are considered "Islamist" that support Islam as a pillar of society. These movements are divided into a broad spectrum of moderate and radical tendencies. The most moderate is perhaps Turkey's governing party, the AKP, while the most extremist could be Osama → bin Laden's → Al Qaeda. The origins of political Islamism lie in the

Muslim Brotherhood, founded in Egypt in 1928, which sought to establish an Islamic state. Its repression under President Nasser was relaxed by his successor Sadat, only to resume after his assassination. The Muslim Brotherhood claims to be moderate today, but the party remains banned. The Muslim Brotherhood led to other radical groups in the second half of the 20th century. These have fought both Western civilization, which they consider the epitome of depraved and infidel existence, and moderate Islamic rulers, through jihad, to restore a divine order to society. The Egyptian Al-Takfir wa al-Hijra carried out the 1981 assassination of Sadat. Al-Jama`a al-Islamiya was founded in the late 1980s by Sheik Umar Abd al-Rahman, who is believed to have helped plan the first attack on the World Trade Center in 1993. Al-Jihad under Abud al-Zumar emerged at the same time with similar goals, yet has rejected any public presence. Other Islamic groups outside Egypt include the Algerian → Islamic Salvation Front, Hamas in the Palestinian territories, and Hizbollah in Lebanon. Radical Islamists found refuge in the 1980s in Afghanistan under the → Taliban.

Jihad

Arabic for "effort to achieve something." Great Jihad means individual religious effort or moral action. Minor jihad means, in Islamic jurisprudence, one of the permissible forms of war to defend or expand the power of Islam. Jihad is a Muslim duty that must be constantly pursued.

Kant, Immanuel (1724–1804)

German philosopher considered to have both consummated and gone beyond the Enlightenment, and to have paved the way for German Idealism (see Hegel). His main oeuvre are the three “critiques” (Critique of Pure Reason, Critique of Practical Reason, Critique of Judgement). In his smaller work “On Eternal Peace” (1795), currently much discussed in the context of the debate on global governance, Kant identifies three logically essential conditions for a durable international peace. The actors must be republics (today mostly interpreted as democracies), for sovereign people are less disposed to waging war than are despots. These republics must establish a league of nations to place international relations on a legal basis, and finally, a world citizenry must be established. Kant leaves the question of implementation open and refers disparagingly to the “nice dreams” of philosophers.

Khatami, Mohammed (born 1942)

President of Iran since 1997. A religious scholar and proponent of democratization and liberalization, he was opposed from the outset by the conservative Guardian Council (see → Iran, political system). Since 2003, pro-democracy students have been demonstrating not only against the clerical regime, but also against Khatami, who they regard as weak and ineffectual. The conservatives’ victory in the grossly manipulated 2004 parliamentary elections further weakened Khatami’s position.

Khomeini, Ruhollah (1902–1989)

Former leader of the → Iranian Shi’ites and founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Ruled with the Shi’ite honorific → Ayatollah. After orchestrating the ouster of the despotic Shah Reza Pahlavi during the 1979 Islamic Revolution from exile in Paris, Khomeini returned to Iran, where the Islamic Republic was proclaimed. Ruled until his death in 1989. His successor is Ayatollah Ali Khamenei.

Locke, John (1632–1704)

English philosopher, political theorist, and statesman. Both a holder of high political office and political refugee, the Empiricist Locke wrote the influential political essay “Two Treatises on Government.” Like Thomas → Hobbes, Locke bases the state on a social contract, yet the people do not relinquish their sovereignty and the ruler’s power is limited by the separation of powers. In this way, Locke contradicts the state absolutism of Hobbes. Locke supported freedom and equality, the right to private property and the inviolability of the person. He is considered the founder of liberalism and an intellectual godfather of the American and French Revolutions.

Kurds

The Kurdish people live mainly in Turkey (7 million), Iran (5 m), and Iraq (4 m), others live in Syria and the Caucasus. Efforts in the last century to establish an independent nation state have repeatedly failed. The regime of Saddam Hussein was especially brutal against Kurdish separatists until a de facto Kurdish state was founded after the Gulf War in 1991–92 under the protection of

the international sanctions regime. In Turkey, which has discriminated against Kurdish culture in the past, initial reforms have been passed. The separatist Kurdistan Workers Party or PKK conducted a guerrilla campaign over decades. Although terrorist activities practically ceased with the capture of PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan, strong tendencies toward carving out a united Kurdish state still exist. There are also Kurdish resistance movements in Iran.

Madrid Donor Conference on Rebuilding Iraq

This conference convened by the United Nations secured commitments to provide \$33 billion (\$20 million alone from the US) for the reconstruction of Iraq. It was a success for American diplomacy and for the host country Spain, which managed to secure the financial support of the international community to remove the effects of the Iraq War. The US retained control of its contribution instead of depositing it in the multilateral fund established at Madrid. France and Germany, which opposed the war, likewise refused to pay into the fund.

Mossadeq, Mohammed (1883–1967)

Iranian politician, prime minister 1951–1953. His nationalization of the British Anglo-Iranian Oil Company led to conflict with the British in 1951. An oil boycott by Britain and the United States led to a rapid deterioration, overthrowing the socialist Mossadeq. After forcing Shah Reza → Pahlavi into exile in 1953, Mossadeq was himself ousted in a CIA-supported military coup. The Shah returned from exile and Mossadeq was imprisoned until his death.

Mubarak, Muhammad Husni (born 1928)

Egyptian President since 1981. After succeeding the assassinated Anwar Sadat, Mubarak maintained close ties with the United States, has supported contacts with Israel, and has played a significant role in efforts to pacify the Middle East. He has carved out an important mediating position in Mideast politics for himself and his country. Maintains a repressive stance towards → Islamist groups in Egypt, allegedly on grounds of national security (survived an assassination attempt in 1995). Mubarak is often criticized for his refusal to accept social reforms. Has always been the sole candidate in presidential elections he contested.

Musharraf, Pervez (born 1943)

Pakistani general who overthrew Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in a 1999 military coup. President since 2001. After the 9/11 terrorist attacks, Musharraf has entered into an alliance with the US, ended Pakistan's support for the → Taliban in Afghanistan, and has given the US logistical support in its campaigns. Other Western states and India accuse him of not acting resolutely enough, for domestic political accommodation of → Islamist groups, against terrorists who have taken refuge in Pakistan. Musharraf has not been democratically legitimated.

NGO

Non-Governmental Organization. Groups from civil society (as opposed to states and private corporations) that are active predominantly in social, humanitarian, ecological, and development policy fields. NGOs differ from citizens' initiatives

and movements in that they have durable, yet often loose organizational structures. Today, groups such as Greenpeace and Amnesty International operate effectively against human rights violations and environmental pollution through public pressure. In development policy they are even sought-after partners for states and corporations because they have expertise and competent personnel in the field.

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)

Successor organization to the → CSCE promoting domestic and external security, democracy, and rule of law in the Eurasian area. Its fields of operation include arms control, monitoring human rights and peacekeeping missions. With a 2000 budget of €208 million, the OSCE has about 4000 workers. Decisions are made at summit meetings of government and state heads, ministerial-level talks, in the Senior Council, and in the Permanent Council of OSCE ambassadors. The organization is based on the principle of consensus; therefore it is restricted to taking action against a member state only in cases of “clear, gross, and ruthless violations” of OSCE agreements.

www.osce.org/

Pahlavi Dynasty

Iran’s Pahlavi imperial dynasty was founded in 1925 by Shah Reza Pahlavi. His economic, social, and political reforms laid the foundations for a modern state. In 1934, Persia was renamed Iran. His son, Shah Mohammed Reza was forced into exile by Prime Minister Mohammed → Mossadeq

in 1953. After returning to power in the same year through a US-supported coup, he ruled using his feared secret police, the SAVAK, until he was dethroned by the Islamic Revolution. His death in 1980 ended the dynasty.

Popper, Sir Karl Raimond (1902–94)

Austrian-born philosopher and theorist of science who settled in Britain. Popper searched for reliable criteria for scientific rationality (falsification as principle) and defined the so-called Critical Rationalism. In his political writings he supported liberal democracy and rejected authoritarianism.

Power—hard and soft

Distinction coined by Joseph S. Nye. Soft power is a state’s capacity to influence other states and political conflicts through the attractiveness and persuasiveness of its culture, values, and political system, often with the help of international organizations. Hard power is conventional military might.

Realist School—Classical Realism

Important approach in the theory of international relations, pioneered in the 1940s by Hans Morgenthau. It postulates that all state activity is toward the safeguarding of national interests and self-preservation; in the end it is based on power. States behave as do people in a natural state (see → Hobbes). Morgenthau’s theory bases this assertion on the self-preservation instinct, which he calls an anthropological constant. Kenneth Waltz’ Neorealism, on the other hand, holds that states base their policies on power only because there is

no international monopoly on power, and therefore international politics is a zero-sum game. Willingness to compromise will, in principle, be punished. Realism does not advocate policies of strength but sober foreign policy that acknowledges the same motives with the adversary.

Rice, Condoleezza (born 1954)

US political scientist, director of Soviet and Eastern European policy at the US National Security Agency. National Security Adviser to President Bush since 2001. Rice is considered very conservative and a fervent supporter of foreign policy backed by American power. Her ideas have been important foundations for the Bush Administration's foreign policy.

Russian-Iranian Wars, 19th Century

The first Russian-Iranian War (1804–1813) began when Georgia, actually a vassal of the Persian Shah, grew increasingly close to the Russian Empire. In the war, Iran lost Georgia, northern Azerbaijan, and parts of Armenia to Russia. The second war (1826–28) broke out when the Azeri people sought Persian help in their revolt against Russian rule. Iran was again defeated and thereafter went into economic and political decline.

Secularism Debate

Europe is currently engaged in a debate over the religious neutrality of the state in increasingly multireligious societies. The conflict itself has crystallized around the Muslim woman's headscarf, which some see as more than religious garb. They consider it a symbol of female subordination. In France, a law that took effect in

2004 forbids the carrying of overtly religious symbols, be they headscarves, Jewish skullcaps, or Christian crosses, in public schools. France enshrined the principle of the secular state, in which church and state are separate, in 1905. In Germany in 2003, the Constitutional Court heard the case of a Muslim applicant for a teaching position who was refused employment because of her headscarf. The high court ruled that the issue would have to be decided by legislatures. Some federal states have since passed laws against headscarves, while Berlin is planning a school ban on all religious symbolism.

Shiites/Shia

Arab.: the "party" of followers of Ali ibn Abi Talib, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Mohammed. The smaller of the two main sects of Islam (appx. 110 million or 10–15% of total Muslims), the other being the majority Sunnis. The Shi'ites revere Ali as the sole rightful Caliph. The largest Shi'ite group are the Twelve-Imam Shia, also known as Imamites, with centers in southern Iraq, Iran, and South Asia. Other minority groups are in Afghanistan, Lebanon, Central Asia, Turkey, and the Arab Gulf States. The Twelve-Imam Shia considers the twelve successors of Mohammed through the line of Ali to be the sole rightful Muslim rulers (Imam). The last of them, according to the Shi'ites, did not die but lives in concealment, to reappear one day as a messiah (*Mahdi* or "divinely guided one").

Shah Reza Khan (1878–1944)

Persian officer and founder of the → Pahlavi dynasty. Influenced by the ideas of Kemal Atatürk,

modern Turkey's founder and first president (1923–1938), he introduced domestic reforms while maintaining an autocratic regime. His rule also marked the end of parliamentarianism in Iran. After British, US, and Soviet troops occupied the country in 1941, the Shah was forced to abdicate in favor of his son and exiled to South Africa.

Sunna

Arabic: “custom.” Generally, the exemplary (for all Muslims) deeds and sayings of the Prophet and his first successors, especially the first caliphs.

Sunnis

Members of the largest Muslim sect. In contrast to the minority Shi'ites, the Sunnis recognize the so-called Four Righteous Caliphs as the Prophet's true successors and not only Mohammed's cousin and son-in-law Ali ibn Abi Talib. Among Sunnis (literally: “people of the Sunna and community”) there are four schools of thought: those of the Hanafi, the Maliki, the Shafi'i, and the Hanbali. Over 85% of Muslims today follow the Sunni sect.

Taliban

Arabic: “students,” literally “seekers of the Islamic sciences.” Word for “religious students.” The Taliban were mainly Afghan refugees trained religiously (and often militarily) in madrasas or Islamist schools in Pakistan. During the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan (1979–89) they took part in the armed Islamic resistance (muhajideen). After the Soviet withdrawal, the Taliban gained control over increasing parts of Afghanistan, and marginalized the Russian-supported

Northern Alliance. They established a radical → Islamist regime that welcomed fugitive terrorists (e.g. Osama → bin Laden and his → Al Qaeda network). After the 9/11 attacks, the US destroyed the Taliban regime through air strikes while the Northern Alliance reconquered Afghanistan on the ground.

Talmud

The most important Hebrew religious writings besides the Tanakh (Hebrew Bible, i.e. the Christian Old Testament without the apocryphal books) The Talmud consists of commentaries on the Torah, the first five books of the Hebrew Bible and the basis for all Hebrew law.

UNDP—United Nations Development Program

The UNDP advises states in establishing and reforming governmental systems, fighting poverty, conflict prevention, and environmental- and health care policy. Focal points for the organization are to bring together representatives from different sectors and to finance innovative projects.

www.undp.org/

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

On December 10, 1948, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It anchored, for the first time in history, a comprehensive and internationally protected code of human rights. Written by an 18-person commission chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt (see also → Cassin), it was an expression of determination to prevent the atrocities of World War II from being repeated. It is not legally

binding, but its provisions have been incorporated into many international conventions. Together with the → International Pact of Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights and the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights, the Declaration constitutes the “International Code of Human Rights.”

www.un.org/Overview/rights.html

World Trade Organization (WTO)

The Geneva-based World Trade Organization was founded in 1995 as successor institution for the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT). The WTO’s fundamental principle is that free trade promotes economic growth and improves standards of living. In Doha in 2001, WTO states entered a new round of talks aimed at helping developing nations, yet real progress in the talks has been made only recently. Critics accuse the organization of neglecting development-, environment-, and health-related issues connected to trade.

www.wto.org/

Treaty of Westphalia

The Treaty of Westphalia ended the Thirty Years’ War in 1648 and established a new political system for Europe. It confirmed and extended to the Calvinists the principle “cuius regio, eius religio” (“the territorial ruler determines the religion”) of the Peace of Augsburg. It ended the conflict between Catholic and Protestant forces by determining the sovereignty of individual states, and restricted the power of the Holy Roman Emperor, thereby creating a power vacuum in the Empire that would last until its final dissolution in 1806.

In the theory of international relations, the “Westphalian system” signifies an international order based on sovereign states that are solely responsible for their domestic policies (“principle of non-intervention”).

Wolfowitz, Paul (born 1943)

Deputy US Secretary of Defense since 2001; leading representative of the so-called neoconservatives (neocons) in the administration of George W. Bush.

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1961	1	Schwächen der industriellen Gesellschaft	Prof. Dr. F. W. Schoberth	Dr. H. B. Tolkmitt
	2	Kulturkrise in der industriellen Gesellschaft	Prof. Dr. Erik von Sivers	Prof. Dr. Fritz Voigt
	3	Glanz und Elend der Entwicklungshilfe	Prof. Dr. Fritz Baade, MdB	Dr. Günther Buch
	4	Welche Fragen stellt uns die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung im Osten?	Prof. D. Helmut Gollwitzer	Prof. Dr. Eugen Kogon
1962	5	Die Fragwürdigkeit der Bildungspolitik	Dr. Rüdiger Altmann	Josef Müller-Marein
	6	Die Erziehung zum Europäer	Stéphane Hessel	François Bondy
	7	Die Bewältigung des Preis-Lohn-Problems	Prof. Dr. Theodor Pütz	Prof. Dr. Gottfried Bombach
	8	Die Preis-Lohn-Dynamik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland	Dr. Hans-Constantin Paulssen	Prof. Dr. Fritz Voigt
1963	9	Maschine – Denkmaschine – Staatsmaschine	Prof. Dr. Pierre Bertaux	Prof. Dr. Arnold Gehlen
	10	Kybernetik als soziale Tatsache	Prof. Dr. O. W. Haseloff	Dr. h. c. Freiherr von Stackelberg
	11	Die westliche Gesellschaft und die kommunistische Drohung	Winfried Martini	Prof. Dr. Th. Eschenburg
	12	Wohin treibt die EWG?	U. W. Kitzinger, Roland Delcour	Prof. Dr. Eugen Kogon
1964	13	Planung in der freien Marktwirtschaft	Prof. Dr. Edgar Salin	Prof. Dr. Gottfried Bombach
	14	Wohin Deutschland in Europa?	Prof. Alfred Grosser, Karl Theodor Frhr. zu Guttenberg, MdB	François Bondy
	15	Entwicklungshilfe – Mittel des Aufstiegs oder des Verfalls?	Dr. Walter Rau Dr. E. F. Schumacher	Prof. Dr. Edgar Salin
	16	Industrielle Gesellschaft – menschlich oder unmenschlich?	Prof. Dr. Raymond Aron	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf

* a complete list of all participants since 1961 is available at www.bergedorfer-gespraechskreis.de

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1965	17	Vermögensbildung in Arbeitnehmerhand	Prof. Dr. Helmut Meinhold Prof. Dr. H. J. Wallraff	Prof. Dr. Eugen Kogon
	18	Hemmen Tabus die Demokratisierung der deutschen Gesellschaft?	Prof. Dr. Alexander Mitscherlich	Prof. Hellmut Becker
	19	Automatisierung – eine gesellschaftliche Herausforderung?	Prof. Dr. Gottfried Bombach Dr. Günter Friedrichs Dr. Kurt Pentzlin	Prof. Dr. Hans Wenke
	20	Ein Dilemma der westlichen Demokratien: Kurzfristige Sozillösungen contra langfristige Regionalpolitik	Prof. Dr. Leo H. Klaassen	Prof. Dr. Edgar Salin
1966	21	Die “unterentwickelten” hochindustrialisierten Gesellschaften	Prof. Dr. Friedrich Heer	Prof. Hellmut Becker
	22	Muss unsere politische Maschinerie umkonstruiert werden?	Dr. Rüdiger Altmann Joseph Rowan	Prof. Dr. Eugen Kogon
	23	Wissenschaftliche Experten und politische Praxis – Das Problem der Zusammenarbeit in der heutigen Demokratie	Prof. Dr. Helmut Schelsky Dr. Ulrich Lohmar, MdB	Prof. Hellmut Becker
	24	Ist der Weltfriede unvermeidlich?	Prof. Dr. Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker	Prof. Dr. Edgar Salin
1967	25	Bedroht die Pressekonzentration die freie Meinungsbildung?	Prof. Dr. Helmut Arndt	Prof. Hellmut Becker
	26	Neue Wege zur Hochschulreform	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf, Ph. D.	Prof. Hellmut Becker
	27	Beherrschen die Technokraten unsere heutige Gesellschaft?	Alfred Mozer	Prof. Dr. Eugen Kogon
1968	28	Freiheit als Störfaktor in einer programmierten Gesellschaft	Prof. Dr. Jeanne Hersch	Prof. Dr. Carl-Friedrich v. Weizsäcker, Frhr.
	29	Fördern die Bündnissysteme die Sicherheit Europas?	Prof. Wladimir Chwostow	Prof. Alfred Grosser
	30	Haben wir im entstehenden Europa noch eine Chance für die freie Marktwirtschaft?	Dr. Hans von der Groeben	Prof. Dr. Hans Peter Ipsen
	31	Mögliche und wünschbare Zukünfte	Dr. Robert Jungk	Prof. Hellmut Becker

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1969	32	Die Biologie als technische Weltmacht	Prof. Dr. Adolf Portmann	Prof. Dr. Hoimar von Ditfurth
	33	Verstärken oder verringern sich die Bedingungen für Aggressivität?	Prof. Dr. Friedrich Hacker	Prof. Dr. Eugen Kogon
	34	Welchen Spielraum hat die Entspannungspolitik?	Prof. Alfred Grosser	Dr. Theo Sommer
1970	35	Zugänge zur Friedensforschung	Prof. Dr. Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker Prof. Dr. Richard Löwenthal	Prof. Dr. Karl Carstens
	36	Europäische Sicherheit und Möglichkeit der Zusammenarbeit	Prof. Alfred Grosser Nikolai E. Poljanow	Nikolai E. Poljanow
	37	Demokratisierung der Demokratie?	Prof. Joseph Rován	D. Klaus von Bismarck
1971		Arbeitsgespräch: Aufgabenstellung und Verfahrensfragen einer internationalen Konferenz für Europäische Sicherheit	—	Dr. Franz Karasek
	38	Infrastrukturreform als Innenpolitik – Möglichkeiten, Grenzen, Prioritäten	Ministerpräsident Dr. Helmut Kohl	D. Klaus von Bismarck
	39	Globalsteuerung der Wirtschaft?	Prof. Dr. Gottfried Bombach	Prof. Dr. Herbert Giersch
	40	Der bevollmächtigte Mensch – Kann sich die freie industrielle Gesellschaft zur Stabilität und Reife entwickeln?	Prof. Dr. Dennis Gabor	D. Klaus von Bismarck
1972	41	Sprache und Politik	Kultusminister Prof. Dr. Hans Maier	Prof. Hellmut Becker
		Arbeitsgespräch: Demokratie und Nationalbewusstsein in der Bundesrepublik	Prof. Dr. Richard Löwenthal	François Bondy
	42	Das erweiterte Europa zwischen den Blöcken	Prof. Dr. R. Dahrendorf Jean-Pierre Brunet Sir Con O'Neill	Bundesaußenminister Dr. Rudolf Kirchschläger
	43	Wo bleiben die alten Menschen in der Leistungsgesellschaft?	Prof. Dr. Helge Pross	D. Klaus von Bismarck

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1973	44	Die "neue Mitte": Schlagwort oder Strukturwandel?	Dr. Richard v. Weizsäcker, MdB	D. Klaus von Bismarck
	45	Umsteuerung der Industriegesellschaft?	Bundesminister Dr. Hans-Jochen Vogel Dr. Hugo Thiemann	Prof. Dr. Gottfried Bombach
	46	Neutralität – Wert oder Unwert für die europäische Sicherheit	Bundesaußenminister Dr. Rudolf Kirchschläger Außenminister Gaston Thorn Vizeaußenminister József Czyrek	Prof. Dr. Olivier Reverdin
	47	Revolution der Gleichheit – Ende oder Beginn der Freiheit?	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf	D. Klaus von Bismarck
	48	Rohstoff- und Energieverknappung	Prof. Dr. H. B. G. Casimir Dr. Manfred Schäfer	Prof. Dr. Gottfried Bombach
	49	Entwicklungshilfe – eine Illusion?	Prof. Dr. Peter T. Bauer Prof. Dr. Karl-Heinz Sohn	Dr. Max Thurn
1975		Arbeitsgespräch: Entspannungspolitik, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Zusammenarbeit	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf Dr. H. Ehrenberg, MdB Dr. Theo Sommer Prof. Dr. C.-F. Frhr. v. Weizsäcker Prof. Dr. G. Arbatow Prof. Dr. O. Bogomolow Schalwa Sanakojew Georgij Shukow	Dr. Kurt A. Körber Lew Tolkunow
	50	Kooperation oder Konfrontation – Stürzt die Wirtschaft in eine weltpolitische Krise?	Bundeskanzler Helmut Schmidt, MdB	Ministerpräsident Gaston Thorn
	51	Welche Zukunft hat die parlamentarische Demokratie westlicher Prägung?	Ministerpräsident Gaston Thorn	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf
	52	Ordnungspolitik oder Verteilungskampf?	Prof. Dr. Kurt H. Biedenkopf	Dr. Theo Sommer
1976	53	Die Berufsgesellschaft und ihre Bildung	Staatsminister Prof. Dr. Hans Maier	Prof. Dr. Hellmut Becker
	54	Nach der Wahl '76: Welchen Spielraum hat die deutsche Innenpolitik?	—	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf

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	55	Entspannungspolitik nach Helsinki	Prof. Dr. G. Arbatow Leonard H. Marks Dr. Theo Sommer Ryszard Wojna	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf
1977	56	Ein anderer "Way of Life" – Ist der Fortschritt noch ein Fortschritt?	Dr. E. F. Schumacher	Prof. Dr. Hans K. Schneider
	57	Europa und die Weltwirtschaft	Claude Cheysson Prof. Dr. Herbert Giersch	Ministerpräsident Gaston Thorn
<i>Bonn</i>				
	58	Energiekrise – Europa im Belagerungszustand?	Dr. Guido Brunner	Prof. Dr. Hans K. Schneider
<i>Luxemburg</i>				
1978	59	Terrorismus in der demokratischen Gesellschaft	Prof. Walter Laqueur	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf
		Arbeitsgespräch: Alternativenergien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sonnenenergie	Joachim Gretz	Prof. Dr.-Ing. Werner H. Bloss
	60	Europäische Arbeitslosigkeit als Dauerschicksal – oder brauchen wir einen anderen Arbeitsmarkt?	Bundesminister Dr. Volker Hauff, MdB Prof. Dr. Gerhard Fels Prof. Dr. Erich Streissler	Prof. Dr. Gottfried Bombach
	61	Wachstum und Lebensinn – Alternative Rationalitäten?	Prof. Dr. Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf
1979	62	UdSSR und Bundesrepublik Deutschland – wirtschaftliche und politische Perspektiven in den 80er Jahren	Staatsminister Dr. Klaus von Dohnanyi Alexander E. Bowin	Dr. K. A. Körber Boris A. Borrisow
<i>Moscow</i>				
	63	Jugend und Gesellschaft. Chronischer Konflikt – neue Verbindlichkeiten?	Univ.-Prof. Dr. Leopold Rosenmayr	Staatsminister Prof. Dr. Hans Maier
	64	Weltrezession 1980? Befürchtungen und Hoffnungen	Prof. Dr. Herbert Giersch Bundesbankpräsident Karl Otto Pöhl	Prof. Dr. Hans K. Schneider
1980	65	Der Westen und der Nahe Osten – Krise im Zeichen der islamischen Revolution?	Dr. Arnold Hottinger Prof. Dr. Hans A. Fischer-Barnicol M.A. H. Hobohm	Dr. Udo Steinbach

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	66	Europas Sicherheit	Dr. Christoph Bertram Dr. W. R. Smyser	Dr. Theo Sommer
	67	Voraussetzungen und Ziele der Entspannung in den 80er Jahren	W. A. Matweew Prof. Dr. Stanley Hoffmann	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser
1981	68	Der Ausbau des Sozialstaates und das Dilemma des Staatshaushaltes	Prof. Dr. R. Dahrendorf Parl. Staatssekretärin Anke Fuchs	Prof. Dr. Armin Gutowski
	69	Europe and America facing the crises of the 80's	Prof. Dr. R. Dahrendorf Prof. Dr. Stanley Hoffmann	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser
<i>Washington</i>				
	70	Was bleibt noch vom staatsbürgerlichen Grundkonsens?	Dr. Hans-Jochen Vogel Prof. Dr. E. Noelle-Neumann	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf
1982	71	Repräsentieren die Parteien unsere Gesellschaft?	Minister Dr. Werner Remmers Prof. Dr. Richard Löwenthal	Dr. Hans Heigert
	72	Wirtschaftspolitik in der Krise? Zur Situation in den Vereinigten Staaten, Großbritannien, Frankreich und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland	Prof. J. Tobin Prof. M. Feldstein Sir Alec Cairncross A. A. Walters Prof. P. E. Uri Prof. P. Salin Prof. A. Gutowski Dr. H. Schulmann	Prof. Dr. Herbert Giersch
<i>Bonn</i>				
1983	73	Die politisch-kulturelle Herausforderung Europas – Ein Weg zur Erneuerung der Industriegesellschaft	Präsident Gaston Thorn	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf
<i>Zurich</i>				
	74	Die deutsche Frage – neu gestellt	Regierender Bürgermeister Dr. Richard v. Weizsäcker	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser
<i>Berlin</i>				
1984	75	Zukunft Europas: Probleme der politischen und militärischen Entspannung.	Ministerialdirektor Horst Teltschik Wadim W. Sagladin	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser Juri Shukow
<i>Moscow</i>				
	76	Ist die Spaltung Europas das letzte Wort?	Franz Kardinal König Bundeskanzler a.D. Helmut Schmidt	S. E. Botschafter Prof. Luigi Vittorio Graf Ferraris
<i>Rome</i>				
1985	77	Neue Strukturen für die soziale Sicherheit?	Prof. Dr. Helmut Meinhold Senator Ulf Fink Senator a.D. Olaf Sund	Fides Krause-Brewer

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78 <i>Bonn</i>	10 Jahre Helsinki – die Herausforderung bleibt	Botschafter R. Burt Prof. Dr. S. Tichwinskij Dr. M. Szürös Botschafter Prof. L. V. Graf Ferraris Prof. Dr. M. Dobrosielski MinDir. H. Teltschik	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf
1986 <i>Brussels</i>	79 Findet Europa wieder die Kraft, eine Rolle in der Weltpolitik zu spielen?	Präsident Jacques Delors Gen.-Sekr. Lord Carrington Bundeskanzler a.D. Helmut Schmidt	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser
80	Bürger und res publica – die Zukunft der Verantwortung	Staatsminister Prof. Dr. Hans Maier	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf
1987 <i>Moscow</i>	81 Die Beziehungen zwischen der Sowjetunion und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland	Volker Rühle, MdB Wadim W. Sagladin Egon Bahr	Valentin Falin Dr. Theo Sommer
82 <i>Geneva</i>	Die Modernität in der Industriegesellschaft – und danach?	Prof. Dr. Hermann Lübke	Botschafter Prof. Luigi V. Ferraris
83 <i>Budapest</i>	Zusammenarbeit als Mittel zur Vertrauensbildung	Dr. M. Szürös Bundeskanzler a.D. Helmut Schmidt Prof. Dr. R. Bogdanow Prof. Dr. H. Sonnenfeldt	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser
1988 <i>Berlin</i>	84 Systemöffnende Kooperation? Perspektiven zwischen Ost und West	Prof. W. Leonhard Prof. Dr. Harry Maier	Jürgen Engert
85 <i>Munich</i>	Die ökologische Wende – hat sie noch Chancen?	Dr. H. Frhr. v. Lersner Staatsss. Alois Glück	Staatsminister a.D. Prof. Dr. Hans Maier
86 <i>Bonn</i>	Das gemeinsame europäische Haus – aus der Sicht der Sowjetunion und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland	Wadim W. Sagladin MinDir. Horst Teltschik	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser
1989 <i>Dresden</i>	87 Globale Umweltproblematik als gemeinsame Überlebensfrage	Prof. W. Mundt Prof. Dr. W. Haber	Prof. Dr. Max Schmidt

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88 <i>Bonn</i>	Auf dem Wege zu einem neuen Europa? Perspektiven einer gemeinsamen westlichen Ostpolitik	Stellvertr. Außenminister Lawrence Eagleburger Bots. Sir Christopher Mallaby MinDir. Horst Teltschik	Sir Ralf Dahrendorf
89 <i>Prague</i>	Chancen für die europäische Kultur am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts	Dr. Valtr Komárek Prof. Dr. Kurt Biedenkopf	Dr. Hans Heigert
1990 90 <i>Dresden</i>	Wie geht es weiter mit den Deutschen in Europa?	Bundeskanzler a.D. Willy Brandt Konsistorialpräsident Dr. Manfred Stolpe Ministerpräsident Dr. Lothar Späth	Sir Ralf Dahrendorf
91 <i>Moscow</i>	Europa im Aufbruch – auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Friedensordnung	Wadim W. Sagladin MinDir. Horst Teltschik	Staatssekretär Dr. Andreas Meyer-Landrut
1991 92 <i>Moscow</i>	Perestrojka: Kontinuität, Ende oder Wende?	Prof. W. Wladislawlew Dr. F. W. Christians	Sir Ralf Dahrendorf
93 <i>Berlin</i>	Nach dem "Sozialismus": Wie geht es weiter mit den neuen Demokratien in Europa?	Ministerpräsident a.D. Tadeusz Mazowiecki Sir Ralf Dahrendorf	Prof. Dr. Hans Maier
1992 94 <i>Dresden</i>	Wege zur inneren Einheit	Ministerpräsident Prof. Dr. Kurt Biedenkopf Wolfgang Thierse, MdB	Dr. Brigitte Seebacher-Brandt
95 <i>Paris</i>	Welche Antworten gibt Europa auf die neuen Einwanderungswellen?	Bundeskanzler a.D. Willy Brandt Präsident Jacques Delors	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser
96 <i>Tallinn</i>	Zwischen Integration und nationaler Eigenständigkeit: wie findet Europa zusammen?	Jim Hoagland Dr. Krenzler Präsident Lennart Meri Botschafter T. Örn Staatsmin. B. Schmidbauer	Staatssekretär Dr. Andreas Meyer-Landrut
97 <i>Kiev</i>	Energiesicherheit für ganz Europa?	Dr. Hermann Krämer Min. Prof. W. Skljjarow Helga Steeg Prof. Dr. Y. Rudenko	Staatssekretär Dr. Andreas Meyer-Landrut
1993 98 <i>Berlin</i>	Orientierungskrise in Politik und Gesellschaft? Perspektiven der Demokratie	Dr. Antje Vollmer Prof. Dr. Wolf Lepenies	Jürgen Engert

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99 <i>Ditchley Park</i>	Will the West survive the disintegration of the East?	Senator Bill Bradley Dr. W. F. van Eekelen Dr. H.-G. Poettering	Lord Ralf Dahrendorf
100 <i>Dresden</i>	Wie viel Gemeinsinn braucht die liberale Gesellschaft?	Ministerpräsident Prof. Dr. Kurt Biedenkopf Prof. Dr. Albert O. Hirschman	Prof. Dr. Dieter Grimm
1994 101 <i>St. Petersburg</i>	Russland und der Westen: Internationale Sicherheit und Reformpolitik	Minister A. A. Kokoschin BMin. Volker Rühle Bürgermeister Prof. A. A. Sobtschak	Staatssekretär Dr. Andreas Meyer-Landrut
102 <i>Friedrichsroda</i>	Zukunftsfähigkeit von Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft	Dr. Lothar Späth Leo A. Nefiodow	Jürgen Engert
1995 103 <i>Oxford</i>	Die Verfassung Europas	Prof. Jean-Claude Casanova Timothy Garton Ash Dr. Wolfgang Schäuble	Lord Ralf Dahrendorf
104 <i>Warsaw</i>	Europa – aber wo liegen seine Grenzen?	Prof. Bronislaw Geremek Anders Björck Senator J. François-Poncet	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser
105 <i>Munich</i>	Ein neuer Gesellschaftsvertrag?	Bundesminister Horst Seehofer Prof. Dr. Barbara Riedmüller	Prof. Dr. Hermann Korte
1996 106 <i>Jerusalem</i>	Europe and the Future of the Middle East—an Agenda for Peace	Dr. Mahdi F. Abdul Hadi Hanan Bar-On Prof. Leonard Hausman Jean-Paul Jesse Staatsminister Helmut Schäfer	Prof. Dr. Michael Stürmer
107	Medien – Macht – Politik	Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Donsbach Senator Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Hoffmann-Riem Dr. Theo Sommer	Thomas Kielinger
108 <i>Moscow</i>	Was bewegt Russland?	Sergej Baburin Sir Rodric Braithwaite	Staatssekretär a.D. Dr. Andreas Meyer-Landrut
1997 109 <i>Istanbul</i>	At the crossroads of geo-politics—Turkey in a changing political environment	Ilter Türkmen Morton Abramowitz Hans-Ulrich Klose	Prof. Dr. Curt Gasteyger

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110 <i>Berlin</i>	Wege aus der blockierten Gesellschaft	Dr. h. c. André Leysen Bundesminister Dr. Jürgen Rüttgers	Lord Ralf Dahrendorf
111 <i>Amsterdam</i>	Wie ist Europa zu sichern?	Dr. Ulrich Cartellieri Sir Christopher Mallaby Wolfgang Ischinger Marten van Heuven Frits Bolkestein Prof. David P. Calleo Max Kohnstamm Elmar Brok	Prof. Dr. Michael Stürmer
1998 112 <i>Leipzig</i>	Wachsende Ungleichheiten – neue Spaltungen?	Ministerpräsident Prof. Dr. Kurt Biedenkopf Prof. Dr. Heinz Bude Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Huber	Prof. Dr. Barbara Riedmüller
113 <i>Baku</i>	Energie und Geostrategie im kaspischen Raum	Dr. Terry D. Adams Botschafter Vafa Goulizade Paul Haseldonckx Staatssekretär Dr. Hans-Friedrich von Ploetz	Staatssekretär a.D. Dr. Andreas Meyer-Landrut
1999 114 <i>Magdeburg</i>	Welche gesellschaftliche Wertigkeit hat der Sport?	Prof. Dr. Hans Lenk Herbert Riehl-Heyse Prof. Dr. Jürgen Palm	Prof. Dr. Hermann-Anders Korte
115 <i>Berlin</i>	Neue Dimensionen des Politischen? Herausforderungen für die repräsentative Demokratie	Prof. Dr. Antonia Grunenberg Bundesministerin a.D. Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger, MdB	Prof. Dr. Jutta Limbach
116 <i>Moscow</i>	Russland in Europa: Zehn Jahre nach dem Kalten Krieg	Wolfgang Ischinger Oleg Morosow Dr. Ulrich Cartellieri Andrej A. Kokoschin	Dr. Andreas Meyer-Landrut
2000 117 <i>Berlin</i>	Modell Deutschland: Reif für die Globalisierung?	Dr. Henning Scherf Prof. Dr. Carl Christian v. Weizsäcker	Dr. Klaus v. Dohnanyi
118 <i>Berlin</i>	Ein föderatives Europa?	Sylvie Goulard Prof. Dr. Klaus Hänsch, MdEP Dr. Jerzy Kranz	Prof. Dr. Rudolf von Thadden

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119 <i>Beijing</i>	China: Partner in der Weltwirtschaft	Prof. Yang Qixian Minister Zheng Silin Minister Wang Chunzheng Vice Minister Shen Jueren Prof. Dr. Zhu Min Shi Mingde Song Jian Dr. Konrad Seitz Dr. Horst Teltschik Dr. Martin Posth	Präsident Mei Zhaorong Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser
2001 120 <i>Berlin</i>	Verhandlungsdemokratie? Politik des Möglichen – Möglichkeiten der Politik	Prof. Dr. Dieter Grimm Dr. Annette Fugmann-Heesing	Prof. Robert Leicht
121 <i>Helsinki</i>	The Baltic Sea—a Region of Prosperity and Stability?	Minister a.D. Bertel Haarder Botschafter Dr. Artur J. Kuznetsov Alar J. Rudolf Olljum Hans Olsson Timo Summa Außenminister Dr. Erkki Tuomioja Staatsminister Dr. Christoph Zöpel	Minister Dr. Jaako Iloniemi
122 <i>Moscow</i>	Russia's European Dimension	—	Sergej W. Jastrschembskij Dr. Sergej A. Karaganow
2002 123 <i>Belgrade</i>	The Future of Southeast Europe	Andy Bearpark Dr. Erhard Busek Nebojša Čović Bozidar Djelić Dr. Alexandra Jovičević Dr. Herwig Kempf Gerald Knaus Dr. Wolfgang Petritsch Goran Svilanović	Martti Ahtisaari Dr. Erhard Busek
124 <i>Berlin</i>	Contours of a “New World Order”?	Prof. Dr. Egon Bahr Prof. John L. Hirsch Dr. Peter W. Singer Prof. Paul W. Schroeder Prof. Georges-Henri Soutou Karsten D. Voigt Prof. Dr. Norbert Walter Prof. Samuel F. Wells Jr.	Lord Ralf Dahrendorf

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Bergedorf Round Table



USable
The Transatlantic Idea Contest



German-Turkish Dialog



History Network for Young Europeans



The Federal President's History Competition.
Students researching on site

Jugendliche forschen vor Ort



Koerber European Science Award



German Students Award
The Research Competition for Students



Theatre »Haus Im Park«



Körper-Photo-Award



Boy Gobert Prize



Citizen's Center »Haus im Park«

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