

ANNEX

Participants



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Professor, University of Kuwait; editor of the Gulf Studies Series Journal. UN Independent Expert appointed by Kofi Annan on Human Rights in Somalia; member of the Amnesty International Delegation and other UN and humanitarian missions in Iraq since April 2003.

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

Pages: 39, 40, 50, 77, 89, 115



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Born 1937

Director, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP)—German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin; former Director, International Institute for

Strategic Studies (IISS), London; former Foreign Policy Editor for *DIE ZEIT*.

Selected Writings: *Europe in Balance: Securing the Peace Won in the Cold War* (1995); *Inspection Not Invasion* (2003).

Pages: 23, 28, 33, 35, 39, 45, 46, 54, 55, 62, 66, 67, 70, 71, 76, 89, 93, 97, 114, 118



Ambassador Avis Bohlen

Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington D.C.; former Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control, U.S. Department of State; former U.S. Ambassador to Bulgaria; former

Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Paris; former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs; served on the Policy Planning Staff and as Executive Director on the U.S. Delegation for Nuclear and Space Talks in Geneva.

Selected Writings: “The Rise and Fall of Arms Control,” *Survival* (2003).

Pages: 36, 81, 93, 98, 116



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Zealand; former Visiting Professor at several universities; numerous publications on China and Japan in *The China Quarterly*, *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, etc.

Selected Writings: *Chinese Perspectives on International Relations* (1999); *China’s International Relations in the 21st Century* (co-ed., 2000).

Pages: 34, 76, 98



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Born 1972

Research Fellow, Humboldt University, Berlin and German Historical Institute London; former Post-Doctoral Fellow, Center for European Studies, Harvard University; D.Phil. at Lincoln and St. Antony's College, University of Oxford.

Selected Writings: "The First 'Real' Peace Settlements after the First World War," *Contemporary European History* (2003); *The Unfinished Peace. Britain, the United States and the International Stabilisation of Europe, 1919–1932* (2004).

Pages: 53



Dr. Elizabeth Economy

Born 1962

Senior Fellow and Director of Asia Studies, Council on Foreign Relations, Washington D.C.; member of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations; former Co-chair of the Woodrow Wilson Center Working Group on China and the Environment; former professorial lecturer at Johns Hopkins University, former research fellow at Columbia University.

Selected Writings: *The Internationalization of Environmental Protection* (co-ed., 1997); *China Joins the World: Progress and Prospects* (co-ed., 1999); *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future* (2004).

Pages: 50, 68, 97



Dr. Anthony Glees

Born 1948

Professor, Director, Centre for Intelligence and Security Studies, Brunel University, Uxbridge; senior politics chair; 1988–89 adviser to the UK governments on War Crimes; 1998–99 adviser to BBC Television on intelligence and subversion; Board Member Wilton British-German Forum; adviser to City University-ESCP-EAP European Management Programme, publications in *The Times*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Observer*, regular commentator on intelligence matters on BBC TV, BBC Radio (all stations), for Reuters, Sky TV and Swiss, Austrian and German national and local radio.

Selected Writings: *Reinventing Germany: German Political Development Since 1945* (1996); "Britain, Germany and the Problem of Russia," *German Politics* (1999); "Rechtsstaatlichkeit under challenge in the Berlin Republic: The Kohl Affair and the Stasi Legacy," in: E. Kolinsky/M. Dennis, *United and Divided—Germany Since 1990* (2002); *Spinning the Spies: Tony Blair and the Management of British Intelligence* (2004).

Pages: 40, 78, 91



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Deputy Director, Centre for European Reform, London; member of the Council of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the British Königswinter Committee, the Wilton Park Academic Council, and the Governing Body of the British Association for Central and Eastern Europe.

Selected Writings: Enlarging the EU Eastwards (with Kirsty Hughes, 1998); Germany and Britain: An Alliance of Necessity (with Wolfgang Münchau, 2001); The Constellations of Europe: How Enlargement Will Change the EU (2003).

Pages: 57, 87, 111



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Born 1971

Member of the German Bundestag, Berlin (CSU—Christian Social Union of Bavaria); member of the German Bundestag’s Foreign Affairs Committee and the subcommittee for disarmament and arms control; member of the German Council on Foreign Relations.

Pages: 40, 95



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Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science and Deputy Director, Center for European Studies, University of Cairo; former Assistant Professor, Otto-Suhr-Institute for Political Science, Free University, Berlin; expert on Middle Eastern politics for the Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation and Development.

Selected Writings: The Tension between Continuity and Change in Contemporary Arab Political Thought: Intellectual Debates of the 1990s (2002).

Pages: 44, 49, 83, 86, 113, 114



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Selected Writings: Violence and Peace: From the Atomic bomb to Ethnic Cleansing (1997); United States: The Empire of Force or the Force of Empire? (2002); Visions d’empire: anthologie du débat américain de politique étrangère (2003); Washington et le Monde. Dilemme d’une superpuissance (2003); America and the Use of Force (forthcoming).

Pages: 33, 49, 63



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Born 1956

Commissary (“Sherpa”) of the German Chancellor for the “Progressive Governance Network” in the Federal Chancellery, Berlin; journalist and editor (*taz*, *Trans-Atlantik*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Die Woche*, *Merian*, *Geo*), columnist (*openDemocracy.net*); as of 1998 head speech writer for Gerhard Schröder.

Selected Writings: Tatort Wort (1983), Reifeprüfung—Reformpolitik am Ende des Jahrhunderts; Und weil wir unser Land verbessern... 26 Briefe für ein modernes Deutschland (1993 and 1998, with Gerhard Schröder); Der ganz vernünftige Wahn. Sieben Gegendarstellungen zum Islam-

ischen Fundamentalismus (1998), *Ground Zero—Der Westen, die islamische Welt und der globale Jihad* (2002).

Pages: 42, 65, 66, 115



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Born 1936

Senior Fellow, International Peace Academy, New York; Adjunct Professor, Occidental College, Los Angeles; formerly United States Ambassador to the

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Selected Writings: *Somalia and Operation Restore Hope: Reflections on Peacemaking and Peacekeeping* (with Robert Oakley, 1995); *Sierra Leone: Diamonds and the Struggle for Democracy* (2001).

Pages: 43, 82, 110



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Professor of Geopolitics and Global Justice and Director, Mortara Center for International Affairs, Georgetown University, Washington D.C.; former Professor at Princeton University and the University of Pennsylvania; former Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; former member of the Policy Planning Department, U.S. State Department.

Selected Writings: *New Thinking in International Relations Theory* (co-ed., 1997); *After Victory: In-*

stitutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars (2001); *Reinventing the Alliance: U.S.-Japan Security Partnership in an Era of Change* (co-ed., 2003).

Pages: 34, 60, 118



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Born 1965

Foreign Editor, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich; former political correspondent in Bonn and correspondent in Washington D.C.; former Deputy Director of the

office of *Süddeutsche Zeitung* in Berlin; co-founder and chief editor of *Medium Magazin*, contributions to *Stern* magazine and BBC.

Pages: 48, 84, 112



Dr. Stephen Kraser

Born 1942

Professor of International Relations, Stanford University; Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Stanford Institute for International Studies and Senior Fellow, Stan-

ford Institute for Economic Policy Research (SIEPR).

Selected Writings: *Sovereignty—Organized Hypocrisy* (1999); *Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World Politics* (co-ed., 1999).

Pages: 32, 51, 67, 108



Dr. Nico Krisch

Hauser Research Scholar and Visiting Fellow, Institute for International Law and Justice, New York University School of Law; former Research Fellow, Max Planck Institute for International Law in Heidelberg, Germany .

Selected Writings: “Unilateral Enforcement of the Collective Will: Kosovo, Iraq, and the Security Council,” *Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law* (1999); *Selbstverteidigung und kollektive Sicherheit* (2001); “More Equal than the Rest? Hierarchy, Equality and U.S. Predominance in International Law,” in: M. Byers/G. Nolte (eds.), *United States Hegemony and the Foundations of International Law* (2003); “Amerikanische Hegemonie und liberale Revolution im Völkerrecht,” *Der Staat* (2004).

Pages: 53, 85



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Born 1958

Professor of International Relations, Georgetown University, Washington D.C.; Senior Fellow and Director of Europe Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations;

former Director for European Affairs on the National Security Council; former member of the Policy Planning Staff of the U.S. Department of State and Assistant Professor of Politics at Princeton University.

Selected Writings: *Atlantic Security: Contending Visions* (1998); *Civic Engagement in the Atlantic Community* (1999); *Power in Transition: The*

Peaceful Change of International Order (2001); *The End of the American Era* (2002).

Pages: 33, 73, 112



Lotte Leicht

Director of Human Rights Watch (HRW), Brussels; Member of the International Humanitarian Law Committee of the Danish Red Cross; former Program Director, International Helsinki Federation

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Selected Writings: “Monitoring Human Rights in Europe: Comparing International Standards and Mechanisms” (co-ed., 1993); “Droit de l’Homme & Démocratie: relativité ou universalité” (1998).

Pages: 52, 76, 79, 108



Tod Lindberg

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Selected Writings: “Service and The State,” *The*

Brookings Review (2002); “September 11 & September 10,” Policy Review (2001).

Pages: 77



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Secretary General, NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Brussels; former Deputy Secretary General, NATO PA; former Head of the Policy and Plans Section of NATO; former advisor on foreign

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Selected writings: “Relations between the European Union and NATO,” European Quality Publications (2001); Oversight and Guidance: The Relevance of Parliamentary Oversight for the Security Sector and its Reform (co-ed., 2003).

Pages: 95



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Born 1947

Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Great Britain, London; formerly responsible for the organization of the UN talks on Afghanistan in Bonn

in 2001; former Head of the Minister’s Office under Foreign Ministers Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Klaus Kinkel; former Deputy Chief of Mission, German Embassy Washington; former Director General for Political Affairs, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin.

Pages: 32, 70



Dame Pauline Neville-Jones

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Born 1939

Chair, QinetiQ Holdings Ltd., London; International Governor of the BBC with special responsibility for the BBC World Service

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Selected Writings: “Dayton, IFOR and Alliance Relations in Bosnia,” Survival (1996).

Pages: 28, 47, 74, 86



Vyacheslav Nikonov

President of the Politika Foundation, Moscow; President of Unity for Russia Foundation; Editor-in-chief of “Russia’s Strategy” journal; Dean of History and Political Science at International University in Moscow;

former Member of the State Duma and Chairman of the Subcommittee for International Security and Arms Control; former political advisor to Moscow Mayor Yury Luzhkov and to former Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov; former assistant to the Chief of Staff, Office of the President of the USSR; former Senior Fellow of the “Reforma Foundation.”

Selected Writings: Современная российская политика—Present Russian Policy (co-writer, 2003); Эпоха перемен Россия-х глазами консерватора—Russia in the 90's From a Conservative's Perspective (1999); "Belarus in Russian Foreign Policy," in: S. Garnett/R. Legvold (eds.), Belarus at the Crossroads (1998).

Pages: 35, 71, 96



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Born 1952

Head, Center for International Relations, Warsaw; former Polish Ambassador to Germany; regular contributor to "Rzeczpospolita"; former expert on Germany for Solidarnosc and Gazeta Wyborcza.

Selected Writings: Die deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen: Eine Interessen- und Wertegemeinschaft? (co-writer, 1999); Das Weimarer Dreieck. Die französisch-deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen als Motor der Europäischen Integration (2000).

Pages: 51, 85



David Rieff

Senior Fellow, World Policy Institute, New York; journalist, writer and policy analyst.

Selected Writings: Los Angeles: Capital of the Third World (1991); Exile: Cuba in the Heart of Miami (1993); Slaughterhouse: Bosnia and the Failure of the West (1995); Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis (2002).

Pages: 46, 55, 88, 91



Prof. Dr. Thomas Risse

Born 1955

Professor, Free University, Berlin; former Joint Chair in International Relations, European University Institute, Florence; former Professor of International Politics, Konstanz University; former Visiting Professor at Yale and Stanford; member of the Working Group on Peace and Conflict Research, Planning Staff, German Foreign Office.

Selected Writings: Bringing Transnational Relations Back In (1995); Cooperation Among Democracies—The European Influence on U.S. Foreign Policy (1995); Die Macht der Menschenrechte (co-writer, 2002), Handbook of International Relations (co-ed., 2002).

Pages: 35, 71, 77, 114



Jan Roß

Born 1965

Staff Writer, *DIE ZEIT*, Berlin; former Staff Writer, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Selected Writings: Die neuen Staatsfeinde (1998); Der Papst: Johannes Paul II, Drama und Geheimnis (2000).

Pages: 117



Dr. Michael Schaefer

Born 1949

Political Director, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin; former Special Envoy for Southeast Europe; Head of the Western Balkans Task Force, Foreign Office; Head of the

Political Department, Permanent UN Mission, Geneva; Head of Training for Senior Civil Servants, Foreign Office; Permanent Representative, Embassy Singapore; Adviser at UN Security Council Division, Foreign Office; Political Advisor, UN Permanent Mission New York; Office of the State Secretary, Foreign Office.

Pages: 37, 69, 93, 101, 107, 116



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Born 1965

Advisor on Foreign and European Affairs to the Minister-President of the State of Hessen, Berlin; member of the board, Carl Jacob Burckhardt Foundation; Lecturer at Erfurt University; former Alfred-Grosser-professor, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris (Sciences Po); former Visiting Fellow Peterhouse/Cambridge.

Selected Writings: Kein Friede mit Deutschland. Die geheimen Gespräche im Zweiten Weltkrieg (1994); Albert Speer—Alles was ich weiß (ed., 2000); Die Nation erinnert sich. Die Denkmäler der Deutschen (2002); Ulrich von Hassell, Römische Tagebücher und Briefe 1932–1938 (Hg., 2004).

Pages: 50, 107



Professor Paul W. Schroeder

Professor (emeritus) of History and Political Sciences, University of Illinois; former Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center and the United States Institute of Peace; Corresponding Fellow of the

Royal Historical Society; former member of the Advisory Council of the German Historical Institute, Washington D.C. .

Selected Writings: Austria, Great Britain and the Crimean War: The Destruction of the European Concert (1972); “Did the Vienna Settlement Rest on a Balance of Power?” American Historical Review (1992); The Transformation of European Politics, 1763–1848 (1994).

Pages: 23, 53



Ambassador Shimon Stein

Born 1948

Israeli Ambassador to Germany, Berlin; former Deputy State Secretary, Foreign Ministry, Jerusalem; former Director of the Department for Arms Control and Disarmament, Foreign Ministry; former Attaché at the Israeli Embassy in Washington D.C.; former Deputy Director, Foreign Ministry, Jerusalem; former member of the Israeli delegation to the CSCE, Mediterranean Section.

Pages: 38, 114



Karsten D. Voigt

Born 1941

Co-ordinator of German-American Cooperation, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin; former President, NATO Parliamentary Assembly; former Member of the German Bundestag and Foreign Policy spokesman of the Parliamentary Group of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD); former Member of the Executive Committee of the SPD and of the Social

Democratic Parties of the European Union (SPE); Member of the Board of the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP), Berlin; Member of the Board of Trustees of Atlantik-Brücke e.V. and of the Aspen Institute, Berlin.

Selected Writings: Conventional Defence in Europe: A Comprehensive Evaluation (1985); Mehr Vertrauen, weniger Waffen (1987).

Pages: 64, 101



Dr. Richard von Weizsäcker

Born 1920

Former President of the Federal Republic of Germany (1984–1994); former Governing Mayor of West Berlin (1981–1984); former Vice President of the German Parliament (1969–1981); former member of the Federal Executive Board of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU); former President of the German Lutheran Church Council; Winner of the Heinrich-Heine (1991) and Leo-Baeck Awards (1994); 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, 74, 81, 116, 119



Dr. Samuel Wells

Associate Director, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington D.C.; former Director of the Wilson Center's Working Group on Global Finance and International Security Studies Program; former Consultant to the Office of the Secretary of Defense; former Associate Professor of History, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Selected Writings: The Helsinki Process and the Future of Europe (1990); New European Orders, 1919 and 1991 (1996); The Quest for Sustained Growth: Southeast Asian and Southeast European Cases (1999).

Pages: 38



Dr. Katja Wiesbrock

Born 1971

Member of the Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations, New York; former member of the Planning Staff, Foreign Office, Berlin; former Research

Assistant, Institute for International Law, Göttingen.

Selected Writings: Schutz der Menschenrechte vor Verletzungen durch Privatpersonen (1999); "Testfall Irak – Von den Vorzügen abgestimmten multilateralen Verhaltens," Zeitschrift für die Vereinten Nationen (2003).

Pages: 45, 79, 80

Recommended Literature

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- Coral Bell, "The Normative Shift," *The National Interest* (Winter 2002/2003).
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- Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs About the Use of Force*, Ithaca: 2003.
- Judith Goldstein et al. (eds.), *Legalization and World Politics*, Cambridge/Mass.: 2001.
- Pierre Hassner, "Puissance et légitimité," *Commentaire* (Winter 2002/2003).
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- Charles Kupchan, *The End of the American Era*, New York: 2003.
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- Pew Global Attitude Survey:
<http://people-press.org>
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- Paul W. Schroeder, "Iraq: The Case Against Preemptive War," *The American Conservative* (October 21st, 2001).
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Glossary

Afghanistan

In response to the 9/11 terrorist attacks, an alliance led by the United States invaded Afghanistan to destroy the radical Islamist Taliban regime and eliminate the country's network of Al Qaeda terrorist training camps. The Taliban was toppled and replaced in January 2002 by the "Afghan Transitional Authority." UN Resolution 1386 mandated the establishment of an international security force (ISAF) for the capital Kabul and environs, so that a grand tribal council or Loya Jirga could safely appoint an interim government, of which Hamid Karzai became interim president. Smaller forces of "International Reconstruction Teams" provide security and promote reconstruction in more outlying areas. The rebuilding effort (reform of the police, army, and judiciary; demilitarization; fighting drugs production) is coordinated by the five "lead nations," Germany, Italy, the US, Britain, and Japan.

www.nato.int/issues/afghanistan/index.html

Al Qaeda

Arabic for "the base." Islamist terrorist network founded by Osama → bin Laden during the 1980s in Afghanistan, supported by the US. Expanded its structures during the 1990s in weak or failed states such as Somalia and Yemen. Fights the US and 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 according to experts the group remains viable and, thanks to its decentralized organization, can survive even without bin Laden.

Arab League

An association of 22 states in Africa and the Middle East founded to promote regional relations and independence for the Palestinians. The Arab League's work is often obstructed by conflicting national interests. Its summit in March 2004 in Tunis was supposed to demand democratic and human rights reforms, as well as an Arab contribution to the → Greater Middle East Initiative. The meeting was postponed and, after reconvening in May, produced only vague results with scaled-down attendance.

www.arableagueonline.org

ASEAN

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was founded in 1967 by Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand. Between 1984 and 1999, the Association was augmented by Brunei, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar and Cambodia. Its purpose is to promote economic, social, and cultural cooperation among its members, and thereby peace and security in the region. Efforts toward economic integration on the pattern of the EU were derailed by the 1997 Asian economic crisis. A closer union is also being hindered by deficits in mutual trust, differing values, and conflicting national interests.

www.aseansec.org

Aum Cult

On March 20, 1995, members of the cult Aum Shinri Kyo (today “Aleph”) carried out a nerve gas attack on the Tokyo metro system, killing 12 people and injuring 5500. The attack was directed at the state, the emperor, and the police. As of February 2004, cult leader Shoko Asahara and eleven cult members have been sentenced to death; none of which have been carried out. The Aum cult’s attack was the first extensive terrorist attack using weapons of mass destruction, and is thus considered as having ushered in a new era of terrorism.

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/3504237.stm>

“axis of evil”

Expression used by US President George W. Bush in his State of the Union Address in January 2002 to characterize North Korea, Iran, and Iraq as the countries that most threaten global security by proliferating weapons of mass destruction and support terrorism. During World War II, Winston Churchill used the term “Axis” for the alliance of Germany, Italy, and Japan. US President Ronald Reagan called the Soviet Union “the evil empire” in the 1980s.

www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html

Barcelona Process

Founded at the 1995 EU Foreign Ministers’ Conference in Barcelona, it cemented the partnership between the EU and Mediterranean states. The Barcelona Process, as it has come to be known, is meant to expand political and technical cooperation between the EU and ten states in

the southern and eastern Mediterranean. The process seeks to establish a common space of democracy, human rights, and free trade, with cultural exchanges and promotion of civil society. The unstable situation in the Middle East and stalled democratization in states such as Tunisia have laid doubt on the Barcelona Process’ chances for success.

http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/euromed/

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.

<http://observer.guardian.co.uk/focus/story/0,,582138,00.html>

Bolton, John (born 1948)

US Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security. He has vehemently opposed the → International Criminal Court, which he claims threatens to impair US sovereignty. Bolton maintains that the US must be able to defend its interests in the world in an unrestricted and sustainable manner. In 2003, Bolton considered expanding the “axis of evil” to include Syria, Libya, and Cuba.

www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/biog/2976.htm

Bush Doctrine → National Security Strategy

Chechnya

Guerrillas in this North Caucasian republic of the Russian Federation have been fighting since 1991 for independence, something which Moscow has refused. Full-scale war broke out in 1994 and ended temporarily with a compromise in 1996. Russian troops invaded Chechnya again in 1999 and have since been engaged in a low-level conflict there with Chechen rebels. In recent years, rebels have also carried out terrorist attacks elsewhere in the Russian Federation, notably in Moscow, to which the Kremlin has responded with increasing pressure in Chechnya itself. Russian conduct there has been criticized for its brutality and countless human rights violations (esp. torture and rape) that have mostly gone uninvestigated. The Russian government, on the other hand, calls Chechnya a → failed state and the rebels part of a network of international Islamist terrorists. The recent hostage taking in a school in Beslan, which ended in a massacre, has intensified both the Kremlin's rhetoric and international criticism of President Vladimir Putin's policy toward Chechnya.

<http://web.amnesty.org/report2004/rus-summary-eng>

Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) of the EU

The CFSP, established by the Treaty of Maastricht in 1993, coordinated the foreign and security policies of the EU's member states, promoting an increasingly unified European profile and enhanced European influence in foreign policy matters. The decision-making body of the CSFP is the

Council of Foreign Ministers. Institutionalized in 1999 in the Treaty of Amsterdam, the EU's senior diplomat is the High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (since 1999 Javier Solana), who is also Secretary-General of the Council of the EU. The → European Security Strategy was developed under his leadership, and within the framework of the European Security and Defense Policy, he coordinates the expansion of the EU's military capacities (→ Rapid Reaction Force). The EU's foreign policy is also the responsibility of the European Commissioner for External Relations. Once the European Constitution takes effect in 2007, Solana will become European Foreign Minister with the office's own diplomatic service.

<http://ue.eu.int>

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

1996 agreement that bans its 71 signatory states from conducting nuclear tests. It supports and complements the → Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The CTBT has not yet taken effect because important powers, including the United States and China, have not yet ratified it. The treaty also provides for a watchdog agency, the International Monitoring System in Vienna. It has taken up work despite the lack of ratifications.

www.ctbto.org

Congo Conference 1884–85

In a conference called by German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, representatives of the US, Turkey, the European powers, and Russia agreed in Berlin on the division of Africa into colonies. The final document, the Congo Act, included the

following provisions: Congo became the private property of the Belgian King, the power that first occupied a territory had the right to claim it as a colony, and the slave trade was banned.

Core Europe

The concept of a “core Europe” refers to a group of states within the European Union pursuing deeper and accelerated integration. Such a European avant-garde prevent, say its supporters, eurosceptic member states from determining the tempo of the integration process. The term first appeared in an essay written by the German CDU parliamentarians Wolfgang Schäuble and Karl Lamers. It gained renewed popularity in 2003 in the wake of the failure to agree a European constitution. Lands widely considered predestined for a core Europe include Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain, since these are all members of NATO and the Schengen Agreement, and have adopted the euro as their currency.

Council of Europe

Institution based in Strasbourg that monitors and promotes the rule of law and human rights in its 45 member states. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Council has pursued this goal particularly in Central and Eastern Europe, so as to make possible the close association of all European states in the longer term. The Council of Europe consists of the Committee of Ministers (foreign ministers of member states), the Parliamentary Assembly (626 parliamentarians from the member states and accession candidates, not identical with the European Parliament), the Congress

of Local and Regional Authorities, and the Secretary General. Its staff comprises some 1800 civil servants.

www.coe.int/DefaultDE.asp

CSCE → Helsinki Final Act of 1975

ECOSOC

The UN Economic and Social Council coordinates the activities of many of the world body’s subsidiary organizations. The Council is meant to improve living standards, increase employment, and find solutions to economic, social, and health-related issues. ECOSOC works closely with universities, the economic community, and NGOs. The various continents are represented according to their populations in the 54-seat Council.

www.un.org/esa/coordination/ecosoc/

European Security Strategy

Passed by the European Council in December 2003 in response to terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, and → failed states. The strategy meets these new threats of the 21st century with steps to safeguard security among Europe’s neighbors and promote a multi-lateral global order. One point of emphasis is on prevention. Civilian actions have priority, but the military option is not ruled out. The ESS is meant to give the → Common Foreign and Security Policy a clear direction for the 21st century, and is understood as an answer to the US → National Security Strategy. It also emphasizes the EU’s partnership with the United States and their common analyses of global threats. The ESS seeks to expand cooperation between the EU and NATO

that was decided in the so-called BerlinPlus Agreement of 1996, which stated that European military missions such as that in Kosovo can take advantage of NATO planning capacity. The ESS is considered the work of the EU High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy and designated EU Foreign Minister Javier Solana. Critics point out that it fails to provide approaches to resolving conflicts in the Mediterranean, the new EU states, and the Middle East.

<http://ue.eu.int/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>

www.aicgs.org/c/vanham.shtml

www.aicgs.org/c/schroerc.shtml

European Union

The European Union emerged from the European Community for Coal and Steel, founded in 1951 and consisting of Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. Since its eastward expansion on May 1, 2004, it counts 25 member states. The EU has five organs: The European Council of state and government heads, which meets at least twice annually to lay down political objectives; the European Commission, as the “engine of European integration,” promulgates legislation and, as the “guardian of the treaties,” implements EU law and treaties throughout the Union. In the European Parliament, 625 directly elected representatives exercise legislative, budgetary, and supervisory rights over the Commission. Additional organs are the European Court of Justice and the Court of Auditors. To enhance its foreign policy effectiveness, the Union established the → Common Foreign and Security Policy. According to the European Constitution agreed in 2004, the European Union

will have a single foreign minister beginning in 2007.

http://europa.eu.int/abc/index_en.htm

Failed States

Nominal political entities such as Sierra Leone or Somalia, where fundamental integrating forces such as governance and education have either ceased to exist or verge on collapse. Additionally, multiple and conflicting interest groups, extreme poverty, high violence thresholds, and ready availability of weapons help create a power vacuum in which organized crime and clan-based regimes gain ascendancy. Failed states are often threatened by humanitarian catastrophes. The UN often intervenes to prevent this from happening. In Somalia in 1995, a three-year UN mission was abandoned after US soldiers had been killed.

G8

The Group of Eight (G8) is a forum in which the heads of state and government of the eight most powerful industrialized nations meet to exchange views on ways to approach global problems. Besides the annual economic summits of government heads, foreign, finance, and environmental ministers also meet within the framework of the G8. Senior government officials (“sherpas”) prepare the meetings in a complicated procedure. G8 resolutions are non-binding, yet set the tone for member states in other multilateral organizations. Founded in 1975 by Germany, France, Britain, Italy, Japan, and the US, the group added Canada in 1976; Russia became a full member in 1997. The European Union is also represented in the G8. The organization is heavily criticized by

anti-globalization activists, who staged violent protests at the G8 summit in Genoa in 2001.
www.guardian.co.uk/G8/0,13365,967228,00.html

GATT → WTO

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.

<http://observer.guardian.co.uk/global0,10786,524208,00.html>

Greater Middle East Initiative

In November 2003, US President George W. Bush presented a plan to promote freedom, democracy, and prosperity in the Middle East. Political, social, and economic reforms would complement the military war on terrorism (→ National Security Strategy). The initiative expands the definition of the Middle East into the “Greater Middle East,” which in addition to the Arab world includes Islamic states such as Iran, Afghanistan, and Tur-

key. → G8 states, in collaboration with politicians and civil society, are to promote transformation in this region. Criticism from partners in the region and alternative suggestions (→ Arab League) led to changes of important passages (e.g. emphasizing the region’s responsibility for itself). At the G8 summit in June 2004, the “Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative” was resolved on this foundation. Throughout this process, critical voices have argued that the geographical definition of a “Greater Middle East” and the Initiative’s content are actually detrimental to peace.

www.meib.org/articles/0407_me2.htm

www.meib.org/documentfile/040213.htm

www.state.gov/e/eb/rls/fs/33375.htm

www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/06/20040609-29.html

Haiti

In 1990, Jean-Bertrand Aristide became the Caribbean country’s first elected president, after decades of dictatorship. In the hope he would encourage democratization, the US supported his election and returned him to power after a coup in 1994. Early in 2004, anti-Aristide unrest in Haiti grew so widespread that he was forced into exile in February. The former president of the supreme court, Boniface Alexandre, became interim president. The US, France, and Canada supported Aristide’s fall; he accuses them of directly removing him from the country.

Helsinki Final Act of 1975

In 1973 the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) was founded as a forum of communication between the Cold War’s two

power blocs. States in East and West Europe, Canada, and the USA discussed three issue complexes (“baskets”): security policy, the economy, and human rights. CSCE conferences were sometimes the only confidence-building forums between the two camps. In 1975, participants signed the Helsinki Final Act, a non-binding declaration of intent to promote peace and free exchange of ideas. After the end of the East-West conflict, the CSCE committed itself in 1990 in the Charter of Paris to the values of democracy, rule of law, and the market economy. The conference became an international organization (→ OSCE).
www.osce.org/docs/english/1990-1999/summits/helfa75e.htm
www.osce.org/docs/german/1990-1999/summits/helfa75g.htm
www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1007029393816

HIV/AIDS; Malaria

In 2002, nearly 3 million people died of AIDS and 1.2 million of malaria, making both diseases among the world’s five chief causes of death. In 2003, nearly 5 million people became infected with HIV; by 2010, at least 10 million additional infections are expected in the Asia-Pacific region alone. Despite the epidemic’s enormous dimensions and its devastating economic toll, the United Nations’ anti-AIDS program UNAIDS says that governments worldwide have yet to take adequate measures for prevention and treatment. Currently, 90% of all people infected with HIV do not receive proper treatment.
www.who.int
www.unaids.org/en/default.asp

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.

House of Saud

Arab aristocratic family that proclaimed the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932. King Fahd ibn Abd al-Aziz (born 1921) has been official monarch since 1982. In fact, his half-brother Abdallah exercises governmental power. Other important positions in the country are also filled by members of the family, which numbers about 5,000 people and bases its power on oil revenues. It governs as an absolute monarchy on a religious foundation, without parties or a parliament. An advisory body to the king is the *Madjlis al-Shura*, an assembly of 120 members appointed by the king. Crown prince Abdallah is considered the most reform-friendly member of the clan, which is often denounced as corrupt. Saudi Arabia has been censured for financially supporting terrorist organizations. However, Islamists also criticize the ruling family as US puppets and decry the stationing of US troops on Saudi territory. Recently the country has been the target of repeated terrorist attacks.
www.guardian.co.uk/suadi/0,11599,641778,00.html

International Criminal Court

The statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) was initiated by the UN General Assembly and drawn up by its Human Rights Commission, and passed in 1998. At present, more than 140 states have signed on, but only 94 have ratified it. The statute came into effect in 2002, and since 2003, 18 judges have been active at the ICC in the Hague, charged with prosecuting genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. It becomes active when national courts fail to prosecute such crimes or when prosecutors or the UN Security Council require its investigations. It thereby complements the International Court of Justice in the Hague, which rules on international disputes. Although it is not part of the UN as a person of international law (in contrast to the tribunals for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia), the ICC is bound to the UN through an international treaty. The US refuses to ratify the statute and instead seeks to gain exceptions for its soldiers.

www.icc-cpi.int/

International Monetary Fund

The Bretton Woods Conference of 1944 founded the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Under its present managing director, Rodrigo Rato y Figaredo, the IMF includes 184 member states. Its purpose is to coordinate monetary policies and promote global trade, stabilize exchange rates, and make credits available to member states in financial trouble. Voting within the organization is weighted according to the wealth of, and membership dues paid by each member. Presently the wealthiest member states

are the US, Japan, Germany, France, and Britain. Anti-globalization activists criticize the IMF, claiming that its criteria for granting credits, i.e. privatization and spending cuts, cause social upheavals in the receiver states. The IMF is also often made partially responsible for the Argentine financial and economic crisis since 1991.

www.imf.org

Iraq Conflict

In January 2002, US President George W. Bush named Iraq as part of the → “axis of evil.” On March 19, 2003, an alliance of US, British, Polish, Spanish, Danish and Australian troops among others (coalition of the willing) invaded Iraq in “Operation Iraqi Freedom”—the third Iraq war after the 1980–88 Iraqi-Iranian War and the 1991 US-led liberation of Kuwait from Iraqi occupation (Operation Desert Storm). The US’ stated war aims were to remove President Saddam Hussein from power, transform Iraq into a democracy and market economy, and to pre-empt the threat of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction (→ also National Security Strategy). The US government also believed Iraq had links with → Al Qaeda. On May 1, 2003, President Bush announced the conclusion of major combat operations. The UN has been taking part in the rebuilding of the country since June 2003, but pulled out its foreign workers after a terrorist attack that killed its chief envoy in Iraq. A coalition led by US, British, and Polish forces under US supreme command has been trying to safeguard public security. The “Coalition Provisional Authority” under US and British leadership provided an interim administration in the country until it was replaced in

June 2004 by an interim Iraqi government under Iyad Allawi. Elections have been scheduled for January 2005. Terrorist bombings and attacks on US troops have become commonplace, as have kidnappings of foreigners and intellectuals in Iraq. In Spring 2004 it became known that Iraqi prisoners had been tortured in US-run jails. US intelligence services have since concluded that Iraq had no weapons of mass destruction.

www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2003/iraq/war.tracker/

ISAF

The “International Security Assistance Force” was established at the Bonn → Afghanistan Conference in 2001. The force under UN mandate was meant to establish and safeguard security in Kabul and its environs while supporting the work of the “Provincial Reconstruction Teams” under ISAF command elsewhere in the country. The force was initially under British command until June 2002, then Turkish, then Dutch-German, then NATO, and finally, since August 9, 2004, has been under the command of the Eurocorps, consisting of German, French, Belgian, Luxembourg, and Spanish troops. The work of ISAF is supposed to end with the first free elections in Afghanistan. The force currently totals about 6500 soldiers. Twenty-seven had been killed as of May 2004. Especially in rural areas, ISAF soldiers are often powerless against conflicts between various ethnic groups and private armies.

www.afnorth.nato.int/ISAF/index.htm

Kagan, Robert

Neoconservative academic and publicist who calls for the imposition of democracy and human rights by military means throughout the globe. His essay “Of Paradise and Power” coined the phrase that “Europeans are from Venus; Americans are from Mars,” i.e. Europeans use power only according to internationally recognized norms and agreements, while Americans mistrust international agreements and recognize the right of the most powerful nations to defend and propagate their own ideas of order and security.

www.bbc.co.uk/bbcfour/documentaries/profile/robert-kagan.shtml

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 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.

Khan, Abdul Qadeer (born 1935)

Pakistani nuclear scientist and “father of Pakistan’s nuclear weapons program,” which culminated in successful tests of nuclear devices in May 1998. Khan’s work made him a national hero. In February 2004, Khan admitted to having sold nuclear material and technology for years to North Korea, Iran, and Libya. President Pervez Musharraf stripped Khan of all titles and offices, then pardoned him. Many analysts suspect that, from the beginning, Khan’s activities were known to the highest Pakistani political and military circles.

http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/3343621.stm

Kosovo Intervention

In February 1998, the government of Serbia launched a crackdown on Kosovo-Albanian guerrillas (KLA). In response, NATO initiated a military campaign from February to June 1999 to prevent a humanitarian catastrophe in the form of “ethnic cleansing.” On June 10, 1999, NATO ceased its bombing campaign and the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1244, which established the Kosovo protection force → KFOR and an interim civilian administration, → UNMIK. In 2000 and 2001 elections were held in Serbia and Montenegro; in 2003, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia became the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. In the province of Kosovo, ethnic Albanians predominate both demographically and politically, and many demand that Kosovo be annexed by Albania. The situation on the ground remains tense. Albanian pogroms against Serbs in the Spring of 2004 left 19 people dead and destroyed many Orthodox churches and monasteries. KFOR

troops were unable to stop the violence. The NATO operation to end the civil war in Kosovo took place without Security Council backing. NATO’s activities in Kosovo have sparked a debate over whether NATO’s role as a purely defensive alliance should be reconsidered.

www.guardian.co.uk/Kosovo/Map/0,3942,206602,00.html

Kyoto Protocol

After their third conference in Kyoto in 1997, the signatories to the UN Climate Framework Convention approved a protocol that has been called a “milestone of global climate protection.” The Protocol obligates industrialized nations to cut their CO² emissions between 2008 and 2012 to five percent below the level of 1990. The document represents recognition by industrialized states of their responsibility for global warming and towards developing nations, which are obligated to begin cutting their emissions beginning in 2012. The Protocol can take effect only if 55 industrialized nations accounting for at least 55% of global greenhouse gas emissions ratify the Kyoto Protocol. Yet the decisive countries, the United States (accounting for 36.1% of all emissions) and the Russian Federation (17.4%) refused to ratify, which threatened to prevent the Protocol from ever taking effect until Russia changed its mind in September 2004. In addition, many industrialized nations have failed to reach their emissions reduction targets.

<http://unfccc.int/resource/convkp.html>

Land Mine Treaty / Ottawa Convention

Treaty concluded in 1997 in Ottawa that 143 states have ratified. Through ratification they obligate themselves to stop developing and producing anti-personnel mines and to destroy existing stocks so that only a small amount remain for research purposes. However, the US, Russia, and China, three of the world's biggest producers of land mines, have yet to sign the treaty. They justify their stances by claiming the necessity of deploying mines along the border between North and South Korea (US), in the Chechen conflict (Russia), and along the Russian-Chinese border (China).

www.icbl.org

National Security Strategy (NSS)

The National Security Strategy of September 2002 integrates the various foreign- and security policy priorities of the Bush Administration. Its stated objective is to promote freedom and "American values" (i.e. human rights and democracy). Throughout the world, the US seeks to encourage democracies based on the US example while fighting international terrorism and tyranny. Pre-emptive use of force is permissible against both, according to the strategy. Terrorism should be deprived of its social roots by promoting prosperity, health, and education through development aid and market economics. The Strategy's detractors criticize its interchangeable use of the terms "preemption" (military action against imminent threats) and prevention (action against future threats), as well as its slant toward unilateral action outside of international institutions.

www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf

www.usembassy.de/policy/nss.pdf

NATO

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a collective defense alliance prompted by the perception of a direct threat from the Soviet Union, was established in 1949 by Belgium, Britain, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, and the United States. Other states joined in subsequent years. The revolutions of 1989 caused a strategic transformation of NATO that continues to this day (e.g. missions in → Kosovo and → Afghanistan). Its collective action clause, Article 5, was invoked for the first time after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001.

www.nato.int

Neoconservatives

School of political thought that emerged during the Vietnam War. Its exponents gained political influence during the Reagan Administration and have made a comeback under George W. Bush. The best-known "neocons" include Robert → Kagan, Michael Gerson, William Kristol, Paul → Wolfowitz, and Richard Perle. They consider the US social and political systems exemplary and support their dissemination, and that of "American values," throughout the world. The emphasis on a "missionary" US foreign policy in the → National Security Strategy indicates the strong influence of neoconservative ideas in the Bush Administration.

www.ipsnews.net/focus/neo-cons/index.asp

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.

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)

International agreement concluded in 1970 and signed by 43 states to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and encourage international cooperation in peaceful uses of nuclear technology. The treaty was extended indefinitely by all signatory states in 1995. States without nuclear arsenals agree to forego attempts to acquire them. The US-Soviet arms race during the Cold War, the entries of Pakistan and India to the "nuclear club" in the late 1990s and, most recently, threats involving North Korea and Iran have raised doubts over the NPT's effectiveness. North Korea withdrew from the NPT in January 2003. India, Pakistan, and Israel have yet to sign the treaty.

www.un.org/Depts/dda/WMD/treaty/

OECD

The Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development comprises 30 member states in Europe, the Americas, Asia, and Australia. The OECD seeks to increase employment and thus improve the standard of living in its member states by coordinating economic,

trade, and development policies and ensuring price stability and low inflation. The organization also seeks to promote economic growth by expanding and liberalizing global trade. Each member state is represented with one seat in the OECD Council; its General Secretary since 1996 has been Donald J. Johnson. The OECD cannot issue binding directives, but exercises considerable influence through its reports and recommendations.

www.oecd.org

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/

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 or-

ganizations. Hard power is conventional military might.

Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)

President George W. Bush announced this new proposal for international cooperation against proliferation of weapons of mass destruction on the seas and in the air. Seventy states have indicated readiness to join this informal agreement to train joint operations for seizing suspected WMD shipments at sea or at airports. Existing laws governing customs regulations remain unaffected.

www.armscontrol.org/pdf/psi%20at%20a%20glance.pdf

“Rogue States”

Term coined by the Clinton Administration used to describe those states that violate internationally accepted rules of conduct, and support international terrorism. A rogue state possessing weapons of mass destruction is considered a particularly acute threat. Since September 11, 2001, the threats emanating from such regimes are being taken so seriously, at least by the United States, that they have been regarded as sufficient cause for military intervention, as in the case of Iraq (→ Iraq Conflict and National Security Strategy).

<http://usinfo.state.gov>

Rwanda

From 1990 to 1994, the Rwandan civil war between ethnic Hutus and Tutsis claimed the lives of some 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus. In 1994, Tutsi rebels overthrew the Hutu regime. Nearly two million Hutus fled the country to neighboring Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda, and Za-

ire, fearing Tutsi reprisals. The role of the international community and its representatives in Rwanda shortly before the conflict is still disputed. Six months before large-scale massacres began in April 1994, the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) began attempts to stabilize the country, yet remained inactive during the carnage. In 1996 the UN admitted the mission had failed and disbanded UNAMIR.

www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/rw.html

Rumsfeld, Donald (born 1932)

US Defense Secretary since 2001, held the same office under President Ford (1975–77), then worked in the private sector and as US special envoy to Iraq, co-founded the conservative think tank “Project for a New American Century.” Rumsfeld is considered a hardliner in the Bush Administration. In January 2003 he famously differentiated between “old” and “new” Europe: Essentially, those European states that opposed the US invasion of Iraq, i.e. Germany, France, Belgium, etc. belonged to the former. He made clear that the US would seek stronger ties to “new” Europe, which supported the US in Iraq.

Rapid Reaction Force

Joint European military force established at the 1999 EU summit in Helsinki as a component of the → CFSP. Numbering 60,000 troops, it is supposed to take action when NATO either cannot or will not do so. For financial reasons and to avoid the impression of undermining NATO, the force uses NATO planning and command staff. Plans to have the Rapid Reaction Force in place by 2003 could not be kept. In February 2004, Germany,

France, and Britain announced the planned establishment of a highly mobile reaction force of seven to nine “battle groups” of 1500 troops each for deployment in jungle, desert, or mountainous areas, preferably under UN mandate. Even without these structures, the first European military operation has already begun: European troops have been monitoring the peace agreement in Macedonia since March 2003.

SFOR (Stabilisation Force)

In 1995, NATO received a UN mandate to restore and safeguard order and security in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1996, the Implementation Force there (IFOR) was replaced by a Stabilization Force (SFOR), which consists today of some 7000 troops from Europe and elsewhere. At the end of 2004, SFOR is to be replaced by a purely European force (EUFOR).

www.nato.int/sfor/

Srebrenica

The name of this eastern Bosnian city became the byword for perhaps the worst tragedy of the Bosnian War. On July 11, 1995, Bosnian Serb troops under General Ratko Mladic (see also SFOR) entered the UN-designated safe area of Srebrenica and massacred approximately 8,000 Bosnian Muslims. Dutch UN troops in the city remained powerless during the massacre because they had only a limited mandate in which use of their weapons was permitted only in self-defense or after prior announcement.

www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/unprof_b.htm

www.srebrenica.nl/en/a_index.htm

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.

UNDP

The United Nations Development Program was founded in 1965 to advise countries in building up and reforming their governmental systems, in fighting poverty, preventing conflicts, and environmental and health care policy. One focus of the UNDP and its 1300 staff is to bring together representatives of various sectors. Innovative projects receive financial support. The UNDP helps developing nations make the best use of UN and other aid programs, thereby helping these countries to help themselves. The organization is financed exclusively through the voluntary contributions of donor countries (2001 budget: \$672 million).

www.undp.org

hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2004/

UNECE

The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, founded in 1947, is one of five regional UN commissions (together with ECA, ECLAC, ESCAP, ESCWA), which are all part of → ECOSOC. The 55 member states of UNECE include some non-European nations; basically, all states have the right to observer status. Through its seven committees (e.g. for environmental policy or domestic transportation), UNECE provides a platform for European concerns at the UN. More than 70 nongovernmental organizations (→ NGOs) advise UNECE, which has about 220 staff. The organization also conducts economic and environmental analyses.

www.unece.org/

UNMIK (United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo)

In 1999, the UN Security Council empowered the Secretary General to establish a UN-led transitional authority in → Kosovo. The United Nations Interim Administrative Departments were founded in January 2000, regional elections were held in October, and in May 2001, a framework document for a new constitution was passed. UNMIK's four pillars are humanitarian aid, civil administration (both under UN leadership), democratization and building up of institutions (in collaboration with the → OSCE), and reconstruction and economic assistance (in cooperation with the EU). Four years after UNMIK began its work, Kosovo is still the scene of attacks and riots.

UN Security Council

One of a total of six chief UN bodies including the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council (→ ECOSOC), the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat. The Security Council consists of five permanent members with veto rights (Britain, China, France, Russia, and the US) and ten non-permanent members elected every two years by the General Assembly. The UN Charter gives the Security Council primary responsibility for maintaining international security. Its resolutions, which are binding for all states in the UN, require the approval of all permanent members and at least four non-permanent members. During the Cold War, tensions among the Security Council's permanent members largely paralyzed the organization, prompting the US, Britain, France, and other Western states to found → NATO in 1949. The UN Charter permits member states to form regional alliances for collective self-defense. Since the end of the Cold War, there have been repeated calls for a UN reform. International military operations by individual or several UN members without the Security Council's approval, including in Kosovo and Iraq, spread doubt in much of the world regarding the UN's effectiveness. Reform recommendations include expanding the number of permanent and non-permanent members in the Security Council.

www.un.org/Docs/sc/

World Bank

Special organization of the United Nations based in Washington, founded in 1944 at the Bretton Woods Conference. The World Bank is a multilat-

eral institution that seeks to help poorer countries develop their economies by providing cheap loans. Political reforms are often prerequisites for such credits. The World Bank is financed through membership dues from its 170 member states. It has been criticized for not acting in the people's interest in poorer states because its leading contributors, of whom the United States is by far the largest, largely determine its policies. Questions regarding the World Bank's effectiveness and necessity persist to the present day, both from anti-globalization activists and political conservatives in the United States.

www.worldbank.org/

World Trade Organization (WTO)

The Geneva-based WTO was founded in 1995 as the successor institution to the "General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade" (GATT). Its fundamental tenet is that free trade promotes economic growth, which, in turn, improves living standards. In 2001 in Doha, the WTO's member states opened a new round of negotiations meant to benefit developing nations by abolishing agricultural subsidies of the Western industrialized countries. After temporarily stalling at a meeting in Cancun, Mexico, an agreement was reached in Geneva. It was hailed by the "Group of 20" developing nations (G20), led by Brazil, as the beginning of the end for agricultural subsidies. Critics say the WTO largely ignores the development, environmental, and health care policy ramifications of world 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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Previous Round Tables*

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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
1965	17	Vermögensbildung in Arbeitnehmerhand	Prof. Dr. Helmut Meinhold Prof. Dr. H. J. Wallraff	Prof. Dr. Eugen Kogon

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

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	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 Rován	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
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

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	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
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

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46 <i>Vienna</i>	Neutralität—Wert oder Unwert für die europäische Sicherheit	Bundesaußenminister Dr. Rudolf Kirchschläger Außenminister Gaston Thorn Vizeaußenminister Józef Czyrek	Prof. Dr. Olivier Reverdin
1974 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 <i>Moscow</i>	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 <i>Bonn</i>	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
55	Entspannungspolitik nach Helsinki	Prof. Dr. G. Arbatow Leonard H. Marks Dr. Theo Sommer Ryszard Wojna	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf
1977 56 <i>Bonn</i>	Ein anderer "Way of Life"—Ist der Fortschritt noch ein Fortschritt?	Dr. E. F. Schumacher	Prof. Dr. Hans K. Schneider
57 <i>Luxemburg</i>	Europa und die Weltwirtschaft	Claude Cheysson Prof. Dr. Herbert Giersch	Ministerpräsident Gaston Thorn

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	58	Energiekrise—Europa im Belagerungszustand?	Dr. Guido Brunner	Prof. Dr. Hans K. Schneider
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
	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

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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>			
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	<i>Bonn</i>			
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	<i>Brussels</i>			
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	86 Das gemeinsame europäische Haus—aus der Sicht der Sowjetunion und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland	Wadim W. Sagladin MinDir. Horst Teltschik	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser
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1990 <i>Dresden</i>	90 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
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	93 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

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