

## ANNEX

## Participants



### **Ambassador Bagher Asadi**

Born 1951

Senior Expert, Department of International Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tehran; fmr. Member of Secretary-General's Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations-Civil Society Relations (2003–2004); fmr. Chairman, Group of 77, United Nations, New York (2001); Chairmanship of the Second Committee and Committee of Programme and Coordination (1998–1999), Co-chairmanship of the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests (IFF, 1997–2000) and Vice-chairmanship of the Preparatory Committee for the Five-Year Review of the Social Summit, New York (1999–2000); fmr. ECOSOC Ambassador, Iranian Mission to UN, New York (1996–2002); fmr. Charge d'affaires, Iranian Mission to UN, Geneva (1988–1990); Winner of Elizabeth Haub Award for Environmental Diplomacy (2002); B.A and M.A. (economics).

*Pages:* 35, 37, 43, 53, 65–55, 66, 67, 68, 70, 73, 84



### **Dr. Ghassan Atiyah**

Born 1940

Director, Iraq Foundation for Development and Democracy, Baghdad; Editor-in-Chief, Al-Malaf Al Iraq (Iraqi File), London; fmr. Founder and Director, LAAM Publications, London; fmr. Editor-in-Chief, Sh'un Arabiya' (Arab Affairs), London; fmr. Director, Arab League Journals and Research Department, League of Arab States, Tunis; fmr. Member, Iraqi Delegation to the U.N.; fmr. Professor, Political Sciences, Baghdad University, Baghdad; fmr. Director, Research Centre, Baghdad.

*Selected Writings:* The Making of Iraq: 1908–1921, (1974); Iran and the Region after Elections (2005); Wanted in Iraq: A Roadmap to Free Elections (2003);

Fixing it: The London Conference, Tehran Deal, And Beyond (2003).

*Pages:* 23–28, 36, 71–72, 77, 86, 100–101



### **Robert Cooper**

Born 1947

Director-General for External and Politico-Military Affairs, General Secretariat, Council of the European Union, Brussels; fmr. Head, Policy Planning Staff, Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FOC), London; fmr. Director for Asia, FOC, London; fmr. Deputy Secretary for Defence and Overseas Affairs, Cabinet Office, London; fmr. Special Representative for the British Government on Afghanistan; diplomatic service in New York, Tokyo, Brussels and Bonn.

*Selected Writings:* The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century (2003).

*Pages:* 32, 33, 35, 40–41, 42, 46, 49, 51, 52, 59, 62–63, 66, 67, 70, 72, 74, 76, 77, 80–82, 85, 90–91, 97, 99, 100



### **Karl-Theodor zu Guttenberg, MdB**

Born 1971

Member of the CDU/CSU Faction of the German Bundestag, Berlin; Member of the German Bundestag's Foreign Affairs Committee, Deputy Member of the Defence Committee and the Subcommittee for Disarmament and Arms Control; Chairman of the CSU's Foreign Affairs Committee; Member of the German Council on Foreign Relations.

*Pages:* 39, 50, 53, 62, 83, 94



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Born 1957

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*Selected Writings:* Seventh Majlis Election and the Emergence of 'Transitional Conservatives' in Iranian Polity (2004); Iran's Nuclear Program: Contexts and Debates, in: Kemp (ed.), Iran's Bomb: American and Iranian Perspectives (2004); US Policy Toward Iran Should Promote Civil Society (co-author) (2003).

*Pages:* 36, 37, 50, 52, 67, 70, 72, 73-74, 75, 86, 87, 89-90



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*Selected Writings:* Leben mit dem Kopftuchzwang (2005).

*Pages:* 37, 38, 69-70, 73, 91, 92, 97



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Director of Research, Chatham House, The Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA), London; fmr. Head, Middle East Programme, RIIA; fmr. Head, Middle East Programme, Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, London; fmr. Lecturer, Political Science and International Affairs, George Washington University, Washington, D.C..

*Selected Writings:* SIPRI Yearbook 2005: Arms, Disarmament and International Security, Ch. 5: The greater Middle East (2005); The Middle East Security Agenda Strategic Yearbook (2005); Europe in the Middle East, in: Louise Fawcett (ed.), The International Relations of the Middle East (2005); Iran and the United States: Terrorism, Peace in the Middle East and Iraq, in: Reissner/Whitlock, Iran and Its Neighbours: Diverging Views on a Strategic Region (2004).

*Pages:* 48, 49, 77, 83



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*Selected Writings:* Alternative Frameworks for Gulf Security (co-ed.) (2004); US-Arab Cooperation in

the Gulf (2004); Gulf Cooperation Council Threat Perceptions and Deterrence Objectives (2003); Contributions to various Jane's publications (Jane's Intelligence Review; Jane's Sentinel; Jane's Islamic Affairs Analyst) and Al-Hayat newspaper.

*Pages:* 33, 50, 54, 68, 69, 71, 75, 76, 82–83, 85, 87



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Editor-at-Large and fmr. Executive Editor, Daily Star Newspaper, Beirut; Member, Task Force on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World, Brookings Institution, Washington

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*Selected Writings:* Jacob's Bible, Esau's Bible: Reconsidering the Biblical Significance of the Land of Transjordan, in: Bienert/Müller-Neuhof (eds.), *At The Crossroads: Essays on the Archaeology, History and Current Affairs of the Middle East* (2001); *The Ancient Monuments of Jordan* (forthcoming 2007).

*Pages:* 32, 38–39, 41, 44–46, 54, 56–60, 75, 76, 77, 78, 84, 87



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Consul General of the Federal Republic of Germany, Dubai; fmr. Deputy Consul General, San Francisco; fmr. Head, Consular Assistance Unit, Federal Foreign Office,

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Born 1960

Member of the FDP Faction of the German Bundestag, Berlin; Vice-President, European ELDR-party; Chairman, FDP, Berlin; Spokesman on the Affairs of the European Union, FDP parliamentary group, German Bundestag; Member, Committee on the Affairs of the European Union, German Bundestag; Deputy Member, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Berlin.

*Pages:* 74



**Ambassador**

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Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Islamic Republic of Iran, Tehran; fmr. Ambassador to Cairo; previous postings in London,

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*Pages:* 42



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*Selected Writings:* Beyond Incrementalism—A New Strategy for Dealing with Iran (co-author, 2005); After the Collapse of Communism: Comparative Lessons of Transitions (co-author, 2004); Power and Purpose: American Policy towards Russia after the Cold War (co-author, 2003).

*Pages:* 33, 34–35, 46, 51, 52, 60–65, 68–69, 74, 75, 77, 91, 92, 93



**VLR I Matthias Meyer**

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Director, Middle East and Sudan Affairs, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin; fmr. Ambassador, German Embassy, Khartoum; fmr. Ambassador, German Embassy, Dushanbe;

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*Pages:* 50, 99



**Ambassador**

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Deputy for International Issues, Center for Strategic Research, Tehran; fmr. Head, Foreign Policy Committee, Supreme Council for National

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*Pages:* 79–80, 86, 87, 88, 92–93, 94, 95, 96–97



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Born 1959

Member of the SPD Faction of the German Bundestag, Berlin; Speaker for the Parliamentary Social Democratic Party for Disarmament, Arms Control and Non-Proliferation; fmr.

Assistant Head of Government Department, Staff of the President of the State Parliament of North Rhine-Westphalia; fmr. Member, State Parliament of North Rhine-Westphalia; fmr. Staff Member, SPD-Faction, State Parliament of North Rhine-Westphalia; fmr. Head, Advisory Department, State Parliament of North Rhine-Westphalia.

*Pages:* 98



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Vice President for Studies, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C.; fmr. Director, Secure World Program, W. Alton Jones Foundation; fmr.

Speechwriter and Foreign Policy Advisor to Senator Joe Biden.

*Selected Writings:* Iran is not an Island: A Strategy to Mobilizing the Neighbours (2005); Strengthening Non-Proliferation Rules and Norms—The Three State Problem (2004); India’s Nuclear Bomb: The Impact on Global Proliferation (2001).

*Pages:* 66, 69, 89, 95, 97



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Director, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin; fmr. Head, Research Unit Middle East and Africa, SWP; Member of Steering Committee, Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission (EuroMeSCO); Member of Advisory Board, International Spectator; fmr. Assistant Professor, American University of Beirut.

*Selected Writings:* Orientalische Promenaden: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten im Umbruch (2006); Syria under Bashar al-Assad: Modernisation and the Limits of Change, Adelphi Paper (2004); Arab Elites: Negotiating the Politics of Change (2004); Geheime Gärten: Die Neue Arabische Welt (2004); Germany and the Middle East Interest and Options (2002).

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

*Pages:* 43, 70, 89, 90, 98–99



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Head, Research Unit Near and Middle East and Africa, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin; Working Group Core Participant, TFPD-

Project “Iran and Its Neighbors: Diverging Views on a Strategic Region”; fmr. OSCE Monitor, Dushanbe.

*Selected Writings:* The New Gap between Iran and the West: The Presidential Election as an Expression of a Fundamental Shifting of Power (2005); Nuclear Issue instead of Iran Policy (2005); Iran and its Neighbours: Diverging Views on a Strategic Region – Vol II (2004); Europe’s ‘Critical Dialogue’ with Iran, in: Haas/O’Sullivan (eds.): Honey and Vinegar: Incentives, Sanctions, and Foreign Policy (2000).

*Pages:* 36, 47, 69, 77, 86



**Dr. Michael Schaefer**

Born 1949

Political Director, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin; fmr. Special Envoy for Southeast Europe; fmr. Head, Western Balkans Task Force, Federal Foreign Office; fmr. Head, Political Department, Permanent UN Mission, Geneva; fmr. Head of Training for Senior Civil Servants, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin; fmr. Permanent Representative, German Embassy, Singapore; fmr. Advisor, UN Permanent Mission, New York.

*Pages:* 28–32, 36, 39, 47, 48, 51, 52, 54, 83, 88, 92, 93, 95, 96, 98, 101



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*Pages:* 46, 83, 100



**Dr. Richard von Weizsäcker**

Born 1920

Fmr. President of the Federal Republic of Germany; fmr. Governing Mayor of Berlin (1981–1984); fmr. Vice President of the German Parliament (1969–1981); fmr. Member of the Federal Executive Board of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU); fmr. President of the German Lutheran Church Council; Laureate of the Heinrich Heine (1991) and Leo Baeck Awards (1994); Chairman of the Bergedorf Round Table of the Körber Foundation.

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

*Pages:* 22, 55, 102



**Mohsen Ziya**

Born: 1965

Senior Advisor to the Government of the Emirate Ras Al Khaimah and Special Advisor to Crown Prince and Deputy Ruler; Advisor to Al Mubadala Energy Company, UAE;

Partner and Chairman of Al Nasr Investment Group, UAE; Senior Advisor to CEO of Emirates National Oil Company, UAE.

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## Glossary

### **Arab League (AL)**

Also known as the League of Arab States (LAS), this regional organization was formed in Cairo in 1945. The founding members were Egypt (whose membership was suspended between 1979 and 1989 because it signed a peace treaty with Israel), Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Transjordan (now Jordan), Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. A large number of Arab states have joined the League since its founding, among them Libya, Sudan, Algeria and Morocco. In 1976, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) became a member. Today, the LAS has 22 members. Its goal is to deepen relations among members in the fields of politics, culture, social issues and trade. Its founding charter also identifies upholding members' independence and Arab external interests, recognizes Palestine as an independent state, and works to prevent and mediate conflicts among members. The highest body of the League is the Council, which consists of representatives of member states, usually the foreign ministers, their deputies, or permanent delegates. The Council meets twice a year and may convene a special session on request of two members. The day-to-day running of Arab League affairs is entrusted to the General Secretariat. Headed by a secretary-general, it is the administrative body of the League and the executive body of the Council and the specialized ministerial councils. The Arab League is based in Cairo; since 2001 the secretary-general has been the former Egyptian foreign minister, Amr M. Moussa. The League's resolutions are binding only for those member states that voted for them. Moreover, every member has the power of veto. Consequently, conflicts of interest often impair the League's effectiveness. The League has failed to coordinate Arab foreign, defense and economic policies, rendering core League documents like the Treaty of Joint Defense and Economic Cooperation, and key

bodies such as the Joint Defense Council, largely ineffectual. When members agree on a common position, such as support for the Palestinians, they rarely go beyond issuing a declaration.

*<http://www.arableagueonline.org>*

### **Bonyads**

Bonyads are Islamic charitable trusts, set up after the Iranian revolution of 1979 and the nationalization of most of Iran's major private enterprises. They were used to redistribute profits from oil exports among the Iranian population. Today, Bonyads such as the "Foundation for Oppressed and Disabled Veterans" are secretive and autonomous state-controlled conglomerates that control a large part of the Iranian economy. They are exempt from taxes and have strong ties to the highest religious leaders which enable them to dominate competition within the private sector. Economically, Bonyads are said to be overstaffed and prone to corruption according to Western experts. Politically, they are believed to be an important base of power of the ruling Shia clergy.

### **Failed States**

"Failed States" is a term used to describe states in which the central government no longer controls the state's territory and has lost its monopoly of power to various actors. As a result, a failed state is no longer able to externally act as a member of the international community, nor can it provide the most basic infrastructure internally such as security, governance or education. The term is nevertheless controversial because there is no clear, commonly accepted definition when a state should be described as a failed state. Therefore, failure is often measured gradually. The independent "Fund for Peace" lists twelve indicators in its "Failed States Index":

- Mounting Demographic Pressures
- Massive Movement of Refugees and Internally Displaced People
- Legacy of Vengeance-Seeking Group Grievance
- Chronic and Sustained Human Flight
- Uneven Economic Development Along Group Lines
- Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline
- Criminalization or De-legitimization of the State
- Progressive Deterioration of Public Services
- Widespread Violation of Human Rights
- Security Apparatus as “State Within a State”
- Rise of Factionalized Elites
- Interventions of Other States or External Actors

According to its first annual index from December 2004, Ivory Coast, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, Iraq and Somalia were the states closest to failure. Next on this list are Sierra Leone, Chad, Yemen, Liberia and Haiti. The fact that seven of these ten states are located in Africa hints at a widespread explanation of why states fail: the heritage of the colonial regimes and failure of modernization that followed. During the Cold War, regimes without true roots were often supported by the super powers, preserving them as potential allies. Those states, now without comparable support, are increasingly subject to attempts at destabilization by foreign governments, such as fuelling ethnic warfare or supporting rebel groups, thus causing the state to disintegrate. But even highly developed, democratic Western countries possess some traits of failed states. For example, the state’s monopoly of power is embattled in the suburbs of certain European cities or in some American inner-city districts. In Iraq, the unsatisfactory aftermath of the elections is increasing the momentum toward regionalism, encouraging the insurgency, delaying rebuilding and leaving the way open for intensified

inter-communal conflict, all of which would herald a failed state.

### **GCC—Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf**

Commonly known as the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). In March 1981, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates formed the GCC as a regional subsection of the Arab League to promote stability and cooperation in the Gulf region. Yemen is seeking membership, but has been excluded due to its weak economy and status as a republic. Despite their geographical location on the Persian Gulf, Iraq and Iran are not members, although there have been signs of closer cooperation with Iran. A communiqué issued September 2002 by the Ministerial Council following a visit of the King of Bahrain to Tehran refers to deeper relations between the GCC States and Iran in order to strengthen security and stability in the region.

The GCC was founded as a reaction to political and economic uncertainties: the Islamic revolution in Iran (1979) and the Iran-Iraq war (1980–1988) were the main political concerns whereas the falling price of oil posed the biggest economic peril at the time. According to the preamble of its Charter, special relations, common goals, and similar systems founded on the creed of Islam are the basis for the coordination of economic and defensive efforts. It is hoped that regional integration, based on strong religious and cultural ties, will prevail over old rivalries.

The GCC’s highest decision-making body is the Supreme Council, which meets once a year and is composed of its members’ heads of state. Decisions on substantive issues require unanimous approval. The Supreme Council also chooses the Secretary-General (currently Abd-al-Rahman al-Attiya, a former Qatari Foreign Ministry official). The Minis-

terial Council consists of foreign or other ministers, meets every three months and is responsible for the implementation of decisions. Other institutions include the Consultative Commission and the Secretariat-General. The former consists of five representatives from each member state and is responsible for selecting the Supreme Council. The latter, which is based in Riyadh, serves as the administrative body of the GCC; it prepares meetings and monitors the implementation of policy. The Commission for the Settlement of Disputes is formed on an ad hoc basis and works to seek solutions to problems occurring among member states.

Despite clear common goals, the GCC has proved to be a rather loose alliance for boosting economic cooperation between members and, through collective security, for guarding against threats from neighboring states and Islamic extremism. Economically, Bahrain's decision to seek a free trade deal with the US cast a shadow over the 2004 summit and caused a rift with Saudi Arabia. Despite these and other unsolved questions, there are plans to create a common market by 2007 and a single currency in 2010. Security has also played a role from the beginning and has grown even more important in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. Still, there is no consensus about strategy. Although the GCC wants to reduce its dependence on US troops for security, there's no alternative in sight. An attempt to create a significant collective defense force failed in the early 1990s.

<http://www.gcc-sg.org/Foundations.html>

#### **GCC—Cooperation with the EU**

The GCC is currently the EU's sixth largest export market. EU exports to the GCC are diversified. Roughly half are machinery and transport goods, such as power plants, locomotives, aircraft, electri-

cal machinery, and mechanical appliances. Due to the large quantity of fuel shipped from the Gulf (69% of all EU imports from the GCC countries), the GCC is the EU's 14<sup>th</sup> largest source of imports.

EU relations with Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates are channeled through a Cooperation Agreement signed in 1989 by the European Community and the GCC. The last EU-GCC ministerial meeting was held in Brussels in May 2004. Foreign ministers meet annually, most recently in Bahrain in April 2005. The aftermath of the Iraq war and EU efforts towards the establishment of an EU Strategic Partnership for the Mediterranean and the Middle East provoked a renewed interest in EU-GCC relations. Recently, the EU was criticized for maintaining a very narrow focus on trade relations with the GCC, ignoring important fields like education.

#### **International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)**

The IAEA was established in 1957 as an autonomous intergovernmental organization under the United Nations (UN). It is dedicated to promoting the peaceful use of atomic energy worldwide. Its statute outlines the three pillars of the Agency's work: nuclear verification and security, safety, and technology transfer. Growing support for international, legally-binding commitments and comprehensive safeguards to stop the spread of nuclear weapons and work towards their eventual elimination, led to the approval of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1968.

The IAEA is headquartered in Vienna. It currently has 139 member states, whose representatives meet annually for the General Conference where 35 members are elected to the Board of Governors. The Board is a consensual body which meets five times a year; it prepares material to be discussed at

the General Conference. It also approves safeguard agreements and the publication of the IAEA's safety standards and is responsible for appointing the Director General (with the approval of the General Conference). Currently, the Director General is the Egyptian Mohamed ElBaradei, who was appointed in 1997. To honor their commitment, the IAEA and its Director General, Mohamed ElBaradei, were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2005. In recent years, several countries have raised controversy over their aspirations to develop nuclear weapons, including Israel, North Korea and Pakistan. Most recently, Iran has been under suspicion of harboring such ambitions, despite having signed the NPT. In February 2003, ElBaradei traveled to Iran with a team of inspectors to begin probing Tehran's nuclear plans. The Agency has added some other urgent dimensions to its agenda in recent years, including countermeasures against the threat of nuclear terrorism. On January 10, 2006, Iran announced it would remove UN seals from sensitive nuclear research sites and resume enriching uranium. The move sparked an international crisis.

#### **NATO's Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (NATO-ICI)**

The NATO-ICI was launched on June 28, 2004 at NATO's summit meeting in Istanbul, extending the model of cooperation used in NATO's Mediterranean dialog to the Gulf region. It attempts to improve regional security by offering countries of the broader Middle East region practical bilateral security cooperation with NATO, starting with the member-states of the Gulf Cooperation Council. For example, the Initiative offers advice on defense policy, military-to-military cooperation, cooperation in the fight against terrorism, and civil emergency planning, as well as political dialog on issues of common con-

cern. To date, four of the six countries—Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates—have joined the Initiative; Oman and Saudi Arabia have shown interest in joining. Despite efforts of the GCC as a whole to institutionalize its cooperation with NATO, this is not on the agenda at present. The Initiative is open to all countries of the broader Middle East region (including the Palestinian Authority) that support the fight against terrorism and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

In order to avoid political problems, e.g. regarding Iraq or Israel, NATO has made clear that the ICI cannot be used to create a political debate over issues more appropriately handled elsewhere. The practical cooperation functions on a 26+1 basis: The 26 members of NATO work with each country on an individual basis. Furthermore, the process is distinct from yet takes into account and complements other international initiatives, including the G8 and international organizations such as the EU and the OSCE.

Following the launch of the ICI, NATO countries decided to establish the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative Group, composed of political counselors from the 26 delegations of member countries to NATO. The Group is in charge of defining the procedures for the development of a menu of practical activities with interested countries and ensuring its implementation.

#### **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)**

The NPT, the world's most widely accepted arms control agreement, was initiated in 1968 by the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union. It seeks to ban the proliferation of nuclear devices while encouraging international cooperation for the peaceful use of nuclear technology. The NPT entered into force in 1970 after the signature of 43 countries.

It was prolonged indefinitely by all member states in 1995. A vast majority of sovereign states, 189, are now parties to the treaty, while a few countries, most notably Israel, India, and Pakistan, which are all known or presumed to possess atomic weapons, are not. Their absence from the treaty, as well as recent events, have led to doubts as to whether the NPT will be able to reach its main goal of freezing the number of declared nuclear weapon states at five (USA, Russia, Great Britain, France and China). As a result, worldwide acceptance of the NPT is waning, especially since the end of the Cold War.

One reason for this increasing dissatisfaction, especially in the Muslim world, is the variety of ways the world has reacted to Israel's and North Korea's nuclear aspirations. Another reason is the so-called "Islamic bomb:" this term is used for a nuclear weapon acquired for broad ideological reasons, a bomb that supposedly belongs to the collective Muslim world and, as such, can be seen as the ultimate expression of Islamic solidarity. Concern about the Islamic bomb is at the heart of the intense effort to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to Muslim countries. The official justification is a general one: proliferation must be curbed globally. But unofficially, the Islamic bomb has received special attention. At first, this was mostly concerning Pakistan, a Western ally which never signed the NPT. But in recent years, Iran has received much more attention, especially since June 2005, when Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, the former mayor of Tehran and a political hardliner, became President. Although Iran signed the NPT in 1968 and its membership was never suspended, the United States and other countries now suspect that Iran has violated the treaty through an active program to develop nuclear weapons. These alleged violations are currently being investigated by the International Atomic Energy

Agency (IAEA). Iran insists that it merely wants to develop nuclear power for peaceful use, but there is a growing concern that Iran wants to gain time to present accomplished facts to the world. These fears heightened in January 2006 when Iran resumed nuclear research. According to intelligence sources cited by the German Magazine "Der Spiegel" in November 2005, Iran is already negotiating with North Korea to acquire more powerful carrier missiles, supposedly for the delivery of nuclear weapons. Despite these and other indications, intensive efforts, most notably from the so called EU-3 (Germany, France and Great Britain) and Russia, are being undertaken in order to reach a diplomatic solution for this ongoing international crisis.

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## Previous Round Tables\*

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

\*a complete list of all participants since 1961 is available at [www.bergedorf-round-table.org](http://www.bergedorf-round-table.org)

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

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	38	Infrastrukturreform als Innenpolitik	Helmut Kohl	D. Klaus von Bismarck
	39	Globalsteuerung der Wirtschaft?	Gottfried Bombach	Herbert Giersch
	40	Der bevollmächtigte Mensch	Dennis Gabor	D. Klaus von Bismarck
1972	41	Sprache und Politik	Hans Maier	Hellmut Becker
		Arbeitsgespräch: Demokratie und Nationalbewusstsein in der BRD	Richard Löwenthal	François Bondy
	42	Das erweiterte Europa zwischen den Blöcken	R. Dahrendorf Jean-Pierre Brunet Sir Con O'Neill	Rudolf Kirchschläger
	43	Wo bleiben die alten Menschen in der Leistungsgesellschaft?	Helge Pross	D. Klaus von Bismarck
1973	44	Die "neue Mitte": Schlagwort oder Strukturwandel?	Richard Frhr. v. Weizsäcker	D. Klaus von Bismarck
	45	Umsteuerung der Industriegesellschaft?	Hans-Jochen Vogel Hugo Thiemann	Gottfried Bombach
	46	Neutralität—Wert oder Unwert für die europäische Sicherheit	Rudolf Kirchschläger Gaston Thorn Józef Czyrek	Olivier Reverdin
Vienna				
1974	47	Revolution der Gleichheit—Ende oder Beginn der Freiheit?	Ralf Dahrendorf	D. Klaus von Bismarck
	48	Rohstoff- und Energieverknappung	H. B. G. Casimir Manfred Schäfer	Gottfried Bombach
	49	Entwicklungshilfe—eine Illusion?	Peter T. Bauer Karl-Heinz Sohn	Max Thurn
1975		Arbeitsgespräch: Entspannungspolitik, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Zusammenarbeit	Ralf Dahrendorf H. Ehrenberg Theo Sommer C.-F. Frhr. v. Weizsäcker G. Arbatow O. Bogomolow Schalwa Sanakojew Georgij Shukow	Kurt A. Körber Lew Tolkunow
Moscow				
	50	Kooperation oder Konfrontation—Stürzt die Wirtschaft in eine weltpolitische Krise?	Helmut Schmidt	Gaston Thorn
	51	Welche Zukunft hat die parlamentarische Demokratie westlicher Prägung?	Gaston Thorn	Ralf Dahrendorf
Bonn				

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	52	Ordnungspolitik oder Verteilungskampf?	Kurt H. Biedenkopf	Theo Sommer
1976	53	Die Berufsgesellschaft und ihre Bildung	Hans Maier	Hellmut Becker
	54	Nach der Wahl '76: Welchen Spielraum hat die deutsche Innenpolitik?	—	Ralf Dahrendorf
	55	Entspannungspolitik nach Helsinki	G. Arbatow Leonard H. Marks Theo Sommer Ryszard Wojna	Ralf Dahrendorf
1977 <i>Bonn</i>	56	Ein anderer "Way of Life"	E. F. Schumacher	Hans K. Schneider
<i>Luxemburg</i>	57	Europa und die Weltwirtschaft	Claude Cheysson Herbert Giersch	Gaston Thorn
	58	Energiekrise—Europa im Belagerungszustand?	Guido Brunner	Hans K. Schneider
1978	59	Terrorismus in der demokratischen Gesellschaft	Walter Laqueur	Ralf Dahrendorf
		Arbeitsgespräch: Alternativenergien	Joachim Gretz	Werner H. Bloss
	60	Europäische Arbeitslosigkeit als Dauerschicksal	Volker Hauff Gerhard Fels Erich Streissler	Gottfried Bombach
	61	Wachstum und Lebenssinn—Alternative Rationalitäten?	Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker	Ralf Dahrendorf
1979 <i>Moscow</i>	62	UdSSR und Bundesrepublik Deutschland—wirtschaftliche und politische Perspektiven in den 80er Jahren	Klaus von Dohnanyi Alexander E. Bowin	K. A. Körber Boris A. Borrisow
	63	Jugend und Gesellschaft	Leopold Rosenmayr	Hans Maier
	64	Weltrezession 1980? Befürchtungen und Hoffnungen	Herbert Giersch Karl Otto Pöhl	Hans K. Schneider
1980	65	Der Westen und der Nahe Osten	Arnold Hottinger Hans A. Fischer-Barnicol H. Hobohm	Udo Steinbach
	66	Europas Sicherheit	Christoph Bertram W. R. Smyser	Theo Sommer
	67	Voraussetzungen und Ziele der Entspannung in den 80er Jahren	W. A. Matweew Stanley Hoffmann	Karl Kaiser

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1981	68	Der Ausbau des Sozialstaates und das Dilemma des Staatshaushaltes	R. Dahrendorf Anke Fuchs	Armin Gutowski
	69	Europe and America facing the crises of the 80's	R. Dahrendorf Stanley Hoffmann	Karl Kaiser
	70	Was bleibt noch vom staatsbürgerlichen Grundkonsens?	Hans-Jochen Vogel E. Noelle-Neumann	Ralf Dahrendorf
1982	71	Repräsentieren die Parteien unsere Gesellschaft?	Werner Remmers Richard Löwenthal	Hans Heigert
	72	Wirtschaftspolitik in der Krise? Zur Situation in den Vereinigten Staaten, Großbritannien, Frankreich und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland	J. Tobin M. Feldstein Sir Alec Cairncross A. A. Walters P. E. Uri P. Salin A. Gutowski H. Schulmann	Herbert Giersch
1983	73	Ein Weg zur Erneuerung der Industriegesellschaft	Präsident Gaston Thorn	Ralf Dahrendorf
	74	Die deutsche Frage—neu gestellt	Richard Frhr. v. Weizsäcker	Karl Kaiser
1984	75	Zukunft Europas: Probleme der politischen und militärischen Entspannung.	Horst Teltschik Wadim W. Sagladin	Karl Kaiser Juri Shukow
	76	Ist die Spaltung Europas das letzte Wort?	Franz Kardinal König Helmut Schmidt	Luigi Vittorio Graf Ferraris
1985	77	Neue Strukturen für die soziale Sicherheit?	Helmut Meinhold Ulf Fink Olaf Sund	Fides Krause-Brewer
	78	10 Jahre Helsinki—die Herausforderung bleibt	R. Burt S. Tichwinskij M. Szürös L. V. Graf Ferraris M. Dobrosielski H. Teltschik	Ralf Dahrendorf
1986	79	Findet Europa wieder die Kraft, eine Rolle in der Weltpolitik zu spielen?	Jacques Delors Lord Carrington Helmut Schmidt	Karl Kaiser

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	80	Bürger und res publica—die Zukunft der Verantwortung	Hans Maier	Ralf Dahrendorf
1987	81 <i>Moscow</i>	Die Beziehungen zwischen der Sowjetunion und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland	Volker Rühle Wadim W. Sagladin Egon Bahr	Valentin Falin Theo Sommer
	82 <i>Geneva</i>	Die Modernität in der Industriegesellschaft—und danach?	Hermann Lübbe	Luigi V. Ferraris
	83 <i>Budapest</i>	Zusammenarbeit als Mittel zur Vertrauensbildung	M. Szürös Helmut Schmidt R. Bogdanow H. Sonnenfeldt	Karl Kaiser
1988	84 <i>Berlin</i>	Systemöffnende Kooperation? Perspektiven zwischen Ost und West	W. Leonhard Harry Maier	Jürgen Engert
	85 <i>Munich</i>	Die ökologische Wende—hat sie noch Chancen?	Frhr. v. Lersner Alois Glück	Hans Maier
	86 <i>Bonn</i>	Das gemeinsame europäische Haus—aus der Sicht der Sowjetunion und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland	Wadim W. Sagladin Horst Teltschik	Karl Kaiser
1989	87 <i>Dresden</i>	Globale Umweltproblematik als gemeinsame Überlebensfrage	W. Mundt W. Haber	Max Schmidt
	88 <i>Bonn</i>	Auf dem Wege zu einem neuen Europa? Perspektiven einer gemeinsamen westlichen Ostpolitik	Lawrence Eagleburger Sir Christopher Mallaby Horst Teltschik	Sir Ralf Dahrendorf
	89 <i>Prague</i>	Chancen für die europäische Kultur am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts	Valtr Komárek Kurt Biedenkopf	Hans Heigert
1990	90 <i>Dresden</i>	Wie geht es weiter mit den Deutschen in Europa?	Willy Brandt Manfred Stolpe Lothar Späth	Sir Ralf Dahrendorf
	91 <i>Moscow</i>	Europa im Aufbruch—auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Friedensordnung	Wadim W. Sagladin Horst Teltschik	Andreas Meyer-Landrut
1991	92 <i>Moscow</i>	Perestrojka: Kontinuität, Ende oder Wende?	W. Wladislawlew F. W. Christians	Sir Ralf Dahrendorf
	93 <i>Berlin</i>	Nach dem "Sozialismus": Wie geht es weiter mit den neuen Demokratien in Europa?	Tadeusz Mazowiecki Sir Ralf Dahrendorf	Hans Maier
1992	94 <i>Dresden</i>	Wege zur inneren Einheit	Kurt Biedenkopf Wolfgang Thierse	Brigitte Seebacher-Brandt

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95 <i>Paris</i>	Welche Antworten gibt Europa auf die neuen Einwanderungswellen?	Willy Brandt Jacques Delors	Karl Kaiser
96 <i>Tallinn</i>	Zwischen Integration und nationaler Eigenständigkeit: wie findet Europa zusammen?	Jim Hoagland Dr. Krenzler Lennart Meri T. Örn B. Schmidbauer	Andreas Meyer-Landrut
97 <i>Kiev</i>	Energiesicherheit für ganz Europa?	Hermann Krämer W. Skljjarow Helga Steeg Y. Rudenko	Andreas Meyer-Landrut
<b>1993</b> <i>Berlin</i>	98 Orientierungskrise in Politik und Gesellschaft? Perspektiven der Demokratie	Antje Vollmer Wolf Lepenies	Jürgen Engert
99 <i>Ditchley Park</i>	Will the West survive the disintegration of the East?	Bill Bradley W. F. van Eekelen H.-G. Poettering	Lord Ralf Dahrendorf
100 <i>Dresden</i>	Wieviel Gemeinsinn braucht die liberale Gesellschaft?	Kurt Biedenkopf Albert O. Hirschman	Dieter Grimm
<b>1994</b> <i>St. Petersburg</i>	101 Russland und der Westen: Internationale Sicherheit und Reformpolitik	A. A. Kokoschin Volker Rühle A. A. Sobtschak	Andreas Meyer-Landrut
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