

ANNEX

Participants



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Born 1934

Visiting Professor, Princeton University, Princeton; Honorary President, Syrian Human Rights Organisation.

Former positions: Professor, Damascus University; Visiting Professor, Antwerp University, American University Beirut, Humboldt University Berlin, Hamburg University; Fellow, Wissenschaftskolleg, Berlin and Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C.; Editor, Arab Studies Review, Erasmus Prize, The Netherlands, 2004; Dr. Leopold Lucas Prize, Tübingen University, 2004.

Selected writings: Islamic Fundamentalism Reconsidered (1997); Salman Rushdi and the Truth of Literature (1992); Materialism and History: A Defence (1990); Self-criticism after the Defeat (1968).

Pages: 25, 44, 45, 61, 62, 65, 74, 77, 95, 103, 106



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Born 1953

Member, Committee of Security Affairs, Al-Shura Council, Riyadh

Former positions: Member, Region Education Council, Riyadh; Member, Scientific Committee for the

International Conference on Fighting Terrorism 2005, Riyadh; Assistant Professor, College of Social Sciences, Imam Muhammad University, Riyadh; Advisor, Governor of the General Authority for Investment in Saudi Arabia; Riyadh; Vice-Director, Islamic Affairs Department, Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, Washington D.C.

Pages: 34, 38, 39, 41, 47, 48, 49, 51, 55, 57, 59, 64, 75, 80, 89, 92, 99



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Born 1967

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Selected writings: The Global Community and the War on Terrorism: Threat or Opportunity? (2005); Women's Political Status in the GCC States (2004); The Nature of Reform in the Arab Region (2004).

Pages: 41, 50, 54, 64, 65, 69, 71, 72, 92, 95, 98, 102



The Hon. Howard L. Berman

Born 1957

Congressman, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington D.C.; Member, Committee of International Relations and Subcommittee on the Middle East and Central Asia.

Former positions: Assembly Majority Leader, California State Assembly; Chair, Assembly Democratic Caucus and the Policy Research Management Committee of the Assembly.

Pages: 36, 53, 59, 63, 68, 90



VLR I Dirk Brengelmann

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Pages: 52, 59, 66, 84



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Fellow, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University; Research Fellow, Institut für Geschichtswissenschaften der Humboldt-Universität, Berlin.

Frühere Positionen: Post-Doctoral Fellow, Center for European Studies, Harvard University; Senior Associate Member, St Antony's College, Oxford; Scholar, German Historical Institute, London.

Selected Writings: The Unfinished Peace after World War I. America, Britain and the Stabilisation of Europe, 1919–1932 (2006); The Quest for a New International Equilibrium. British Pursuits of German Rehabilitation and European Stability in the 1920s (2004); “The First ‘Real’ Peace Settlements after the First World War”, Contemporary European History, 12,1 (2003).

Pages: 47



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Born 1940

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Former positions: Near Eastern Studies Department, Princeton University, Princeton; visiting Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C.; Journalist in Iran; Deputy Director Women's Organization of Iran.

Selected writings: Reconstructed Lives: Women and Iran's Islamic Revolution (book 1997), Iran After the June 2005 Presidential Election (2005); A Troubled Triangle: Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan (2005); The Status of Women in the Middle East (2005); Post-Khatami Iran (2004).

Pages: 44, 52, 61, 68, 88, 104



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Selected writings: Die Rückkehr der Geschichte: Die Welt nach dem 11. September und die Erneuerung des Westens (2005); Die Weisheit der Mitte: Deutschland, Nationalstaat und europäische Integration (2002).

Pages: 30, 31, 32, 41, 52, 59, 77, 79, 83, 98, 99



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Pages: 77, 89, 93



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Deputy Chairman and Spokesman for Foreign Affairs, Free Democratic Party (FDP) Parliamentary Group, German Bundestag, Berlin; Member, German Bundestag, FDP,

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Pages: 50, 51, 70, 80, 82, 91



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Chairman of the Board, The Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies (ICDS), Cairo; Professor of Political Sociology, American University, Cairo; Secretary General,

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Former positions: World Bank's Advisory Council for Environmentally Sustainable Development, Washington D.C.; Board of Minority Rights Group, London; Middle East International Forum, Terra Media; Transparency International's Council on Governance.

Pages: 43, 50, 60, 70, 89, 95, 96, 104



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Pages: 50, 53, 63, 64, 68, 72, 83, 89, 105



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Former positions: Convenor and Board Member, International Free Expression Exchange.

Pages: 34, 38, 42, 47, 48, 54, 57, 60, 62, 64, 66, 69, 72, 81, 92, 94



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Chair, Middle East and Mediterranean Studies, Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris; Director of Research, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, Paris.

Former positions: Director, Doctoral Program on the Muslim World, Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris; Visiting Professor, Columbia University, New York; Researcher, Egyptian-French Center for Scientific Cooperation (CEDEJ), Cairo.

Selected writings: The War for Muslim Minds: Islam and the West (2004); Bad Moon Rising: A Chronicle of the Middle East Today (2003); Jihad/The Trail of Political Islam (2002); Muslim Extremism in Egypt (1993).

Pages: 36, 70, 71, 90, 91, 104



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Vice Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee, German Bundestag, Berlin; Member, German Bundestag, Social Democratic Party (SPD), Berlin; Chairman, German-American Parliamentary Group.

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Pages: 24, 32, 35, 40, 53, 57, 58, 67, 69, 80, 81, 83, 87, 98



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Associate Professor, Faculty of Law and Political Science, University of Tehran; Deputy Director General and Member of Central Committee, Participation Front of Iran, Tehran.

Former positions: Director, Central Eurasia Program, Center for Graduate International Studies, Tehran; City Representative of Tehran, Iranian Parliament; Representative of the Parliament, Commission on Islamic Human Rights; Director General for Education, University of Tehran; Advisor, Center for Strategic Studies, Presidential Office, Tehran.

Selected writings: Myths of Colour Revolutions (2005); Sources of Islamic Fundamentalism in Central Asia (2005); Globalization and Islamic Democracy (2004); Neither East nor the West (2000).

Pages: 49, 51, 55, 58, 62, 68, 81, 87, 88, 91, 92



Professor Dr. Ernest May

Born 1929

Professor, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge.

Former positions: Consultant, Office of the Secretary of Defense and the National Security Council; Senior Advisor to the 9/11 Commission; Dean, Harvard College; Associate Dean, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University; Director, Institute of Politics, Harvard University; Chair, Department of History, Harvard University.

Selected writings: The Presidential Recordings: John F. Kennedy, Volumes 1–3, The Great Crises (co-author, 2001); Strange Victory: Hitler's Conquest of France (2001); The Dumbarton Oaks Conversations and the United Nations, 1944–1994 (co-editor, 1998).

Pages: 25, 33, 36, 46, 82, 91, 92, 96



Ghassan Moukheiber

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Member, Lebanese Parliament, Beirut; Member, opposition “Change and Reform” Parliamentary Bloc; Rapporteur, Human Rights Committee; Member, Finance Committee;

Founding Steering Committee member of the following two organizations: the Arab Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (“ARPAC”) and the Arab Chapter of the Parliamentary Network on the World Bank (“PnoWB”); University lecturer and a longtime civil society activist.

Pages: 24, 25, 51, 56, 58, 64, 65, 66, 67, 70, 71, 72, 73, 90, 94, 95, 102, 103



Dr. Marina S. Ottaway

Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C.

Former positions: Lecturer, African Studies, Paul H. Nitze School for Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington D.C.; Lecturer, University of Addis Abeba, the University of Zambia, the American University, Cairo, and the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa.

Selected writings: *Uncharted Journey: Democracy Promotion in the Middle East* (co-editor, 2005); *Democracy Challenged: The Rise of Semi-Authoritarianism* (2003); *Funding Virtue: Civil Society Aid and Democracy Promotion*, (co-editor, 2000); *Africa’s New Leaders: Democracy or State Reconstruction?* (1999).

Pages: 25, 33, 51, 63, 69, 96



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Parliamentary State Secretary, Federal Ministry of Defence, Berlin; Member, German Bundestag, Christian Democratic Union (CDU), Berlin; CDU Lead-Candidate for the

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Former positions: Foreign Policy and Disarmament Policy Spokesman, CDU/CSU Parliamentary Group; Chairman, Committee on the Affairs of the European Union, German Bundestag, Berlin.

Selected writings: *A New World War? The Challenge of Islamism* (2004); *Wake-Up Call for Europe—Constitution, Unification, Defence* (2002); *The Threat to Peace exists—European Security Policy in the 21st Century* (1998).

Pages: 34, 37, 40, 42, 46, 51, 56, 73, 76, 80, 82, 85, 91, 94, 96, 97, 101, 106



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Born 1958

Fellow, Wadham College and Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, Oxford University, Oxford; Member, Faculties of Social Studies and Oriental Studies, University of Oxford.

Former positions: Professor, Department of International Politics, University of Wales; Associate Professor, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, Washington D.C.; Research Fellow, Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London; Islam Team Director, Fundamentalism Project, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Cambridge.

Selected writings: *Monarchies and Nations: Globalisation and Identity in the Arab States of the Gulf* (2005); *Islam, Islamists, and the Electoral Principle*

(2000); *Transnational Religion and Fading States* (co-author, 1997).
Pages: 68, 105



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Born 1946

Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee, German Bundestag, Berlin; Member of the CDU/CSU Faction of the German Bundestag; Head, TV Council, ZDF-German Television; fmr. Secretary General, CDU, Berlin.

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

Pages: 25, 28, 39, 47, 49, 53, 56, 58, 69, 72, 77, 84, 88, 90, 91, 92, 94, 106



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Ambassador, Embassy of the Republic of Poland, Washington D.C. Former positions: President and Founder, Center for International Relations (CIR), Warsaw; Ambassador, Polish Embassy, Berlin; Co-Founder, Foundation for International Initiatives and the Independent Center for International Studies, Warsaw; Co-Chairman, Polish-German Forum; Board Member, National Council for European Integration; Columnist, *Rzeczpospolita*.

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

Pages: 42, 56, 61, 97, 106



Ambassador Eric Rouleau

Born 1926

Independent Author, Writer, Consultant.

Former positions: Visiting Professor, Princeton University; Executive Director, Centre for Global Dialogue, Nicosia; Guest Scholar, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C.; Ambassador, French Embassy, Turkey; Ambassador-at-Large, French Government and President of the Republic; Ambassador, French Embassy, Tunisia; Visiting Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations; Visiting Professor, University of California, L.A.; Editorial Writer, Special Correspondent, *Le Monde*, in Arab states, in North Africa and the Middle East, over and above Iran, Israel, Turkey, Greece and Cyprus.

Selected writings: *Middle East: Arab Nationalism is a Misnomer* (2005); *European Union and French Views of the Islamic Republic*, in Eric Hooglund: *The Twenty Years of Islamic Revolution. Political and Social Transition in Iran Since 1979* (co-author, 2002); *Iran's "referendum" for democracy* (2001); *Gulf States: Ambivalent Allies* (2001).

Pages: 32, 41, 47, 49, 52, 57, 77, 78



Ambassador Dr. Klaus Scharioth

Born 1946
Ambassador, German Embassy, Washington D.C.

Former positions: State Secretary, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin; Political Director and Head of the

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Pages: 68, 93



Dr. Peter W. Singer

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Director, Project on U.S. Policy Towards the Islamic World, Saban Center at The Brookings Institution, Washington D.C.; Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies, The

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Former positions: Doctoral Fellow, Harvard University; Action Officer, Balkans Task Force, Office of the Secretary of Defense; Special Assistant, International Peace Academy, New York.

Selected writings: Children at War (2005); The War on Terrorism: The Big Picture (2004); Corporate Warriors (2003); America and the Islamic World (2002).

Pages: 32, 33, 38, 45, 50, 59, 96, 102, 106



Professor Dr. William R. Smyser

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Adjunct Professor, Georgetown University, Washington D.C.

Former positions: U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Refugees, Assistant Secretary-General, United

Nations; Deputy U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees; Political Counselor, U.S. Embassy, Bonn; Senior Staff, National Security Council, Special Assistant to General Lucius Clay, Berlin.

Selected writings: The Humanitarian Conscience: Caring for Others in the Age of Terror (2004); How Germans Negotiate (2002); From Yalta to Berlin: The Cold War Struggle over Germany (2000).

Pages: 31, 34, 35, 54, 100



Dr. Theo Sommer

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Editor-at-Large, DIE ZEIT, Hamburg
Former positions: Editor-in-Chief and Publisher, DIE ZEIT, Hamburg; Chief of Planning Staff, German Ministry of Defence, Bonn; Member, International Independent Commission on the

Balkans; Deputy Chairman, Commission on the Future of the Bundeswehr; Lecturer, Political Science Department, University of Hamburg; Council Member, International Institute for Strategic Studies.

Selected writings: Phoenix Europe. The European Union: Its Progress, Problems and Prospects (2000); Toward the Future (1999); Journey to the other Germany (1986).

Pages: 24, 25, 30, 37, 39, 40, 44, 47, 51, 54, 56, 58, 59, 60, 64, 66, 69, 71, 73, 75, 76, 81, 86, 89, 91, 94, 95, 99, 103



Kurt Volker

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Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs, U.S. Department of State, Washington D.C.

Former positions: Acting Senior Director for European and Eurasian Affairs, National Security Council, Washington D.C.; Director for NATO and West Europe, National Security Council; Deputy Director of the Private Office of then-NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson; First Secretary at the U.S. Mission to NATO, Brussels; Assistant to U.S. Senator John McCain on Foreign Policy Matters; Deputy Political Counselor and Political-Military Officer, U.S. Embassy, Budapest; Special Assistant to the Counselor and Special Assistant to the U.S. Special Envoy for Bosnia negotiations, U.S. Department of State, Washington D.C.; Analyst at the CIA.

Pages: 31, 43, 44, 46, 53, 55, 57, 77, 78, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 93, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102



Dr. Richard von Weizsäcker

Born 1926

Fmr. President of the Federal Republic of Germany (1984–1994); 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: 23, 41, 83, 97, 107



Professor Dr. Samuel F. Wells

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Associate Director, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C.

Former positions: Director, Wilson Center's Working Group on Global Finance and International Security Studies Program; Consultant, Office of the Secretary of Defense; Associate Professor of History, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Selected writings: The Strategic Triangle: France, Germany, and the United States in the Shaping of the New Europe (2006); The Quest for Sustained Growth: Southeast Asian and Southeast European Cases (1999); New European Orders, 1919 and 1991 (1996); The Helsinki Process and the Future of Europe (1990).

Pages: 36, 86, 99

Recommended Literature

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Volker Perthes, *America's "Greater Middle East" and Europe: Key Issues for Dialogue*, in: *Middle East Policy* (Washington D.C.), 11 (2004) 3, pp. 85–97.

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United Nations Development Programme (ed.), *Arab Human Development Report 2004: Towards Freedom in the Arab World*, New York: 2004
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Glossary

Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative (BMENA)

The BMENA is a multilateral initiative for development and reform, initiated by the US launched to support economic growth and democratization in Arab and non-Arab states of the Middle East and North Africa.

In November 2003, US President George Bush announced an offensive strategy for peace in the Middle East that resembled US policy in Eastern Europe. More than six decades of forbearance towards the regimes of the Middle East because of security considerations had failed to stabilize the region, said Bush. A “Greater Middle East Initiative” would complement America’s military operations against terrorism with political, social, and economic reforms, he said. The Initiative was supposed to be unveiled at the 2005 G-8 summit, but a working paper on the project was leaked in early 2004. Together with NGOs, European and Arab governments criticized that the Initiative disregarded the distinctions within the region (i. e. between Arab and non-Arab, and Islamic and non-Islamic populations) as well as the Arab-Israeli conflict, and that it did not include sufficient initiatives for reform from the region itself. European governments also objected that the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) was not, in their opinion, given sufficient recognition. In March 2004, Arab civic activists formulated their own reform program, the “Alexandria Statement,” which included among its demands modern constitutions, independent media, and freedom to demonstrate. At the G-8 summit on Sea Island in the US state of Georgia, the US government presented its initiative in the presence of representatives from Jordan, Algeria, Yemen, Afghanistan, and Bahrain (Egypt (Arab Republic of Egypt), Saudi Arabia, Morocco, and Tunisia declined to attend). After extended con-

sultations, a text was approved that referred to the Arab-Israeli conflict and recognized the significance of the EMP.

The Initiative expands the geographical definition of the Middle East to include the non-Arab Islamic states of Afghanistan, Iran, and → Turkey (now considered a “partner” of the initiative, not a part of the BMENA region), but not Israel. In these states, the Initiative seeks to provide a catalyst for reform in cooperation with governments and civic actors. At the BMENA’s first “Forum for the Future” conference in Rabat in December 2004, ministers met from the G-8 countries, 21 regional states, as well as the so-called “partner states” of → Turkey and the Netherlands. The second Forum in Manama, Bahrain, in which Sudan also took part, established the “Foundation for the Future” (meant to finance democratic development and public participation in political systems) and the “Fund for the Future,” which will provide credits for regional businesses. The meeting also announced that two centers for training and promoting entrepreneurs would be founded. At conferences of the BMENA Initiative’s Democracy Assistance Dialogue in Istanbul, Venice, Sana’a, and Rabat, Western experts met with hundreds of civic activists from the region to offer support on elections and women’s rights, teaching people to read, and facilitate relations between governments and NGOs.

Critics say the BMENA initiatives will achieve only cosmetic results because the United States cannot apply the pressure necessary to force through real reforms. The US, say these voices, is dependent on these authoritarian regimes for support in its “war on terrorism.” These regimes would most probably fall from power under the reforms proposed by BMENA. For that reason, say the critics, BMENA conferences focus on issues such as education and

economic reforms, instead of more sensitive topics as constitutional change.

Egypt (Arab Republic of Egypt)

Egypt became a presidential republic in 1953. Since 1981 its president has been Hosni Mubarak. The parliament (“People’s Assembly”) has 444 directly elected representatives and 10 appointed by the president. Every six years it nominates a candidate (through a 2/3 parliamentary majority) who is then directly elected by the people. Ever since the assassination of President Sadat in 1981 the country has been under emergency law. The country’s population is growing rapidly (1900 c. 12.5 million; 2000 nearly 68 million; 2006 est. 79 million).

With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, Egypt became a focus of great-power politics. Britain, seeking to secure its maritime trade routes, gradually gained control of Egypt, which nominally remained part of the Ottoman Empire until 1914. The country was granted autonomy in 1922 and independence in 1952. After the fall of King Farouk a republic was proclaimed. Gamal Abdel Nasser, one of the officers who overthrew the king, became president in 1954. He combined modern reforms with pan-Arab nationalism to become a leader of the international non-aligned movement. Egypt fought three unsuccessful wars against Israel (1948, 1967, and 1973) but became the first Arab country to seek a settlement with the Jewish State. In 1979, Anwar al-Sadat (president since 1970) signed a peace treaty with Israel. This led to Egypt’s expulsion from the Arab League until 1989. Sadat was murdered by Islamic extremists in 1981.

His successor Hosni Mubarak has maintained a foreign policy based on mediation between the United States and other Arab states while taking a moderate line domestically. Since his election, Mu-

barak has based his rule on the emergency laws that were extended most recently in April 2006. Some observers therefore refer to Egypt as a democracy in name only. Among 167 states ranked according to press freedom by Reporters Without Borders, Egypt comes in 143rd place. However, some democratic reforms have been enacted in recent years, due largely to US pressure. In September 2005 for the first time, voters were able to choose among candidates for the presidency, albeit with some restrictions. In the parliamentary elections, the most important opposition group in Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood, was permitted to put up its candidates as independents only. So as not to provoke the government, the organization nominated only 150 candidates. Mubarak won re-election with 88.6% of the vote, yet the Muslim Brotherhood took 88 of parliament’s 444 seats. Secular opposition parties gained only 15 seats.

Euro-Mediterranean Partnership/ Barcelona Process

In 1995 the EU launched a regional policy framework for the Mediterranean region which it called the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP, often known as the Barcelona Process after the conference venue). The EMP encompasses the 25 EU states and 10 “Mediterranean third countries” (MTCs): Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt (Arab Republic of Egypt), Israel, Lebanon (Republic of Lebanon), Syria, Jordan, the Palestinian Autonomous Areas, and Turkey. Libya has had observer status since 1999. The EMP’s goals are the establishment of a common space of peace and stability (security, democracy, and human rights), economic cooperation and a free trade zone (by 2010), cultural exchange, and the promotion of civil society. Regional actors are supposed to be the engines of the process. Similarly to the Helsinki process, regional progress in the

region is to be accomplished in dialog within the region through economic incentives and political cooperation.

The EMP's instruments are, on the one hand, bilateral association agreements between the EU and the respective MTCs, and multilateral initiatives on the other. Association agreements are in force with Tunisia, Israel, Jordan, Morocco, Egypt and the Palestinian Authority. Negotiations have also been completed with Syria, but the agreement is currently on ice. Since 2004, the MTPs have also been included in the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP). Its action plans are meant to supplement the association agreements. The EMP is also institutionalized through regular meetings at the ministerial level, in EUROMED committees, and in a committee of senior officials. A parliamentary assembly of all EUROMED countries has been in existence since 2004, which includes 240 representatives. To strengthen the civic component, the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures was established in 2005.

Whereas economic ties have constituted the focal point from the beginning (more than half the region's trade is conducted with the EU), objectives such as security and political reform have risen on the EU's agenda since the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Reforms were supposed to be the focus at the conference in Barcelona in 2005 to mark the ten-year anniversary of the EMP's founding, to which the EU for the first time invited the partner countries' heads of state and government. Yet only two partner states were represented by such leaders: → Turkey and the Palestinian Authority. The conference's joint communiqué on fighting terrorism was diluted into a weak compromise, as even the mere definition of terrorism was bitterly disputed, with the EU and Israel on one side and the remaining states on the

other. The lack of participation at the senior level and the disappointing declaration were regarded as evidence of the EMP's lack of success. Reasons given included the reluctance of some of the region's state- and government heads to shift the accent toward political reforms. Critics have pointed out that the EMP does not give the EU any mechanisms for applying pressure because, with the exception of → Turkey, none of the states is even considering seeking EU membership.

Iran → Islamic Republic of Iran

Iran, Nuclear Program

With US support, Iran started a program for the civilian use of nuclear energy as early as 1959. 23 reactors were planned to be in service by the year 2000. In 1974 in Bushehr, a West German consortium led by the Siemens subsidiary KWU began construction of the first reactor. Iran ratified the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1970, having signed it two years before. Construction was halted during the Islamic revolution; Siemens withdrew from the project. Subsequent Iranian requests to resume building were rejected. In 1995, Iran commissioned a Russian company to complete the power plant. Another, underground installation—which was secret until 2002—was built in Natanz to enrich uranium with the use of gas centrifuges. Another facility was constructed in Isfahan to produce nuclear fuel rods and convert uranium into gaseous uranium hexafluoride. With this dual-use technology, Iran laid the technological foundation for producing both lower-enriched uranium to operate nuclear power plants, and highly-enriched uranium for nuclear weapons.

These secret activities have raised strong doubts among international observers that the country's nuclear program is civilian in nature. While Iran

insists on its right to enrich uranium for peaceful purposes, these observers point out that the country will not require enriched uranium for energy production for the foreseeable future. The goal of its nuclear program, they say, is to produce nuclear warheads.

In 2003, under international pressure, Iran signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty's Additional Protocol (without, however, having yet ratified it). The Protocol mandates unannounced monitoring checks. In September 2004, additional activities relating to uranium conversion in Iran became known. After the United States threatened Iran with international sanctions and the possibility of military action, Tehran took up negotiations with the EU, represented by the "EU-3" (Britain, France, and Germany) in late 2004. The Europeans, who since the beginning of the conflict have emphasized economic and political incentives, offered Iran support in technology transfers, including in the civilian use of nuclear power, if Iran provided "objective guarantees" that its program was peaceful in nature. Iran pledged to suspend uranium conversion in Isfahan and stop enrichment activities in Natanz, to accept the emplacement of IAEA seals in the facilities, and to ratify the Additional Protocol. Russia and China, both permanent members of the UN Security Council, criticized the United States' hard-line stance.

In March 2005 Washington declared its support for the European effort and gave up its principal objections to Iranian membership in the WTO, among other issues. In return for this support, the EU agreed to US demands that Iran's case be referred to the Security Council should the country be unwilling to compromise.

The nuclear dispute with Iran has escalated since Mahmud Ahmadinejad became Iranian President in August 2005. Using provocative rhetoric,

the Iranian government turned down both the European compromise package and Russian offers to transfer uranium enrichment to Russia. Saying it had a right to use nuclear energy peacefully, which included the right to enrich uranium, in January 2006 Iran resumed operation of the facilities that had been sealed by the IAEA. Subsequently, the IAEA Governing Council decided to take the matter to the Security Council.

In June 2006 the EU-3, the United States, China, and Russia (the so-called "Group of Six" or 3+3) made a new offer. By forswearing uranium enrichment, Iran would be given technological and economic support, including a modern light-water reactor and guarantees for supplying Iranian reactors with fuel rods, as well as, for the first time in 27 years, modern replacement parts for Iran's fleet of Boeing airliners. Additionally, Washington held out the offer of joining the direct negotiations for the first time. In case of rejection, the Group of Six threatened to pass a UN Security Council resolution under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, which would clear the path for international sanctions. On July 31, the Security Council ordered Iran to stop enrichment activities. Answering on August 22, Iran said it would actually expand enrichment whenever this was deemed necessary, in direct defiance of the resolution.

Iraq

Iraq was occupied from March to May 2003 after an invasion by the United States and its allies, preceded by US allegations that the Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein was partially responsible for the September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks and had been stockpiling weapons of mass destruction. Despite intensive diplomatic efforts, the Americans failed to gain the backing of the UN Security Council for an invasion. Without an international mandate, the US military

and its allies invaded Iraq in March 2003, overthrowing Saddam Hussein and his Baath Party regime.

After the invasion, an interim administration set up by the United States governed Iraq. Since June 28, 2004, the country has been again nominally fully sovereign, even though the US-led coalition has continued to maintain a large military presence there. According to the interim constitution of March 8, 2004, Iraq is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious parliamentary republic that respects fundamental human and civil rights, including those of free expression and freedom of assembly. On January 30, 2005, the Iraqi people elected an interim national assembly of 275 representatives (of whom at least a quarter had to be women), charged with drafting a constitution. The charter was approved in a referendum on October 15, 2005, by a majority of the population. The subsequent parliamentary elections in December 2005 were won by the Shi'ite "United Iraqi Alliance." On June 4, 2006, parliament elected the Kurdish leader Jalal Talabani president (with one Shi'ite and Sunni deputy each) and Nuri al-Maliki, a Shi'ite, prime minister. In June 2006, parliament approved the cabinet, the various portfolios of which had long been the subject of dispute among the Kurdish, Shi'ite, and Sunni factions, and in so doing completed Iraq's democratically elected government.

Iraq has a population of 27 million (2006), three-quarters Arab, one-fifth Kurdish, and the remaining 5% consisting mainly of Turkmen and Assyrians. 97% of the people are Muslim, of which two-thirds are Shi'ites and one-third Sunni. About 3% of the population is Christian. Its official languages are Arabic and Kurdish (in the northern province).

After its rapid military campaign, the US-led coalition has had to contend with a violent insurgency. For months the US leadership has tried to adapt its strategy to the conditions in the country as attacks

on the US military, the Iraqi population, and international aid organizations continue. Many experts claim that the violence has escalated to the brink of open civil war along ethnic and sectarian lines, especially between the formerly dominant Sunni minority and the majority Shi'ites.

Islamic Republic of Iran

Iran has a population of about 68 million (2005), half of which is ethnic Persian, one quarter Azeri, 7% Kurdish, 8% Gilaki and Mazandarani, about 3% Arab, 2% Turkmen, 2% Lurs, and 2% Baluchi. The overwhelming majority (89%) are Shi'ite Muslims, 9% Sunni, and 2% Christian.

The head of state and commander-in-chief of the military is the "Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution" (since 1989 Ayatollah Sayed Ali Khomeini). The Supreme Leader also sets policy in the areas of external security, defence policy, and foreign affairs. He is appointed for an indefinite term by the Assembly of Experts, a body of 86 clerics. The Assembly of Experts is elected every eight years by the people, whereby candidates must be approved by the Council of Guardians. Since 1989, the 12-member Council of Guardians has ensured the conformity of all laws passed by parliament with Sharia law. Six of its members are clerics appointed directly by the head of state, the other six are members of parliament subject to the approval of the head of the judiciary, who is also appointed by the Supreme Leader. The president (since 2005 Mahmud Ahmadinejad) is directly elected to a four-year term; all candidates must be cleared by the Council of Guardians. The parliament, or Majlis-e-Shura (Islamic Consultative Assembly), has 290 seats, five of which are reserved for religious minorities.

After the Shi'ite clergy took power in Iran in 1979 and Revolutionary Guards occupied the US em-

bassy in Tehran, the United States broke off relations with Iran and imposed economic and political sanctions that remain in force today. Since then Iran has been considered the leading sponsor of Islamic terrorist groups in the region, including the Shi'ite Hizbollah militia in Lebanon (→ Republic of Lebanon). Border disputes and Iraqi claims to the resource-rich Iranian province of Khuzistan led to the outbreak of the first Gulf War in 1980, which lasted eight years with → Iraq receiving Western support.

In 1997, with the election of the reformist president Mohammed Khatami, Western hopes for a gradual improvement in relations grew. These hopes were finally buried, however, with the August 2005 presidential election. Only seven of 1014 applicants were allowed to stand for office, which was won by the hard-line mayor of Tehran, Mahmud Ahmadinejad. He has since pushed forward Iran's nuclear program and provoked outrage in the West with his anti-Semitic remarks about Israel, which he says has no right to exist.

Lebanon, Republic of

The Republic of Lebanon has a population of appx. 3.8 million (2006). Some 95% percent of the people are Arabs, 4% Armenians. Also, some 360,000 Palestinian refugees live in Lebanon. The country includes 17 recognized religious communities, of which 60% are Muslim (Shi'ites, Sunnis, Ismaelis, Alevites, and Druze). Whether the Druze—a sect founded in the 11th century—can properly be called Muslims is a matter of dispute. About 40% of the population is Christian (Maronites, Catholics, Greek Orthodox, and Eastern Rites).

The 128 seats in the Lebanese parliament are reserved half each for Christians and Muslims. Its deputies elect the president every four years (since 1998 Emile Lahoud), who must be a Maronite Chris-

tian. Religious affiliations are also predetermined for the prime minister (Sunni Muslim) and speaker of parliament (Shi'ite).

The territory of modern Lebanon has been a crossroads of important trade routes between east and west since ancient times, leaving its mark on the country's still-active maritime and commercial traditions. Another distinguishing characteristic is Lebanon's large Christian community which, in contrast to those in all other Arab lands, survived the spread of Islam in the 7th century largely intact.

After decades of French domination, Lebanon gained independence in 1943. After World War II the country became the region's commercial center and, not least for this reason, maintained a policy of neutrality during the Cold War. During the 1950s and 1960s, Lebanon was regarded as the "Switzerland of the Orient." In the 1970s, the Middle East conflict and growing political demands among Muslims destroyed the delicate political balance between the Christian minority and the Muslim majority which was politically underrepresented in relation to their share of the population. A civil war broke out that continued to escalate, prompting the intervention of outside actors Syria, Israel, and the United States. After Israeli troops crossed into Lebanon in 1982, Shi'ite Muslims founded the radical Islamic Hizbollah militia to fight the Israelis.

The civil war ended in 1989 with the signing of the Taif Accords, in which religious parity and a special relationship with Syria was agreed. After Israeli troops withdrew from southern Lebanon in 2000, Syrian forces remained in the country to secure the influence of Damascus. In February 2005, the assassination of Rafik Hariri, a central figure in the political and economic reconstruction of Lebanon and an outspoken opponent of the Syrian military presence, many Lebanese demanded Syria's with-

drawal. Anti-Syrian demonstrations that attracted up to 1.5 million people at a time (the “Cedar Revolution”) and international pressure forced Syria to pull its troops out in April 2005. Parliamentary elections in May and June 2005 resulted in a two-thirds majority for a bloc led by Hariri’s son Saad. In February 2006, one year after Hariri’s murder and the “Cedar Revolution” (known in Lebanon as the “Uprising for Independence”), people took to the streets once more against Syrian influence.

In July 2006, the Shi’ite Hizbollah militia abducted two Israeli soldiers and fired missiles at Israeli territory. Israel then launched retaliatory air strikes followed by a land offensive. In heavy fighting between Israeli troops and the militia, which is widely believed to have received support from Iran and Syria, numerous people were killed on both sides, in addition to hundreds of Lebanese civilians. The West initially hesitated to pressure Israel for a cease fire, citing Israel’s right to self-defense as a sovereign state. After the UN agreed to strengthen international peacekeeping troops in Lebanon, Israel agreed to a truce and began to gradually withdraw its army from southern Lebanon, to be replaced by the Lebanese army—which, supported by the UN peacekeeping force UNIFIL, composed largely of troops from EU countries—is supposed to disarm Hizbollah.

Madrid Peace Conference (1991)

Sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union, the Madrid Conference in October and November 1991 was an early attempt at beginning a peace process between Israel and its Arab neighbors through bilateral and, later, multilateral talks. No Arab state except for Egypt (→ Arab Republic of Egypt) had ever conducted such talks before. The Palestinians could participate only as part of the Jordanian delegation, represented by figures without open PLO affiliation,

yet who were in constant communication with the PLO leadership in Tunis.

The purpose of the conference was to serve as an opening forum for the participants and had no power to impose solutions. Still, the Israeli-Palestinian talks led to secret negotiations in Oslo that would result in the signing, by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO leader Yasser Arafat on the White House lawn, of the Declaration of Principles on September 13, 1993, in which the two sides recognized each other as negotiating partners. The Israelis acknowledged for the first time the PLO as the official representative of the Palestinian people, while the PLO removed the destruction of Israel from its charter. The multilateral talks began in Moscow in 1992 and, after being broken off for several years—resumed in 2000. They were divided into five forums on the issues of water, the environment, arms control, refugees, and economic growth. Twelve bilateral talks in Washington included the signing of an Israeli-Lebanese peace accord among their results.

Saudi Arabia

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is an Islamic, absolutist monarchy. Its name derives from the al-Saud dynasty, which founded Saudi Arabia in 1932 and still rules the country today. The king (since August 2005 Abdullah ibn Abd al-Aziz, the 15th of the founding monarch’s 37 sons) is also spiritual leader (“Guardian of the Holy Sites”). He appoints the National Consultative Council (Majlis al-Shura) every four years. Of the country’s 27 million inhabitants (2006), 5.5% do not hold Saudi citizenship. 90% of the citizens are Arabs. The country is almost entirely Muslim. 73% are Wahhabi Sunnis, 5–10% Shi’ite, the rest belong to other Sunni groups.

Saudi Arabia’s significance for international politics is mostly due to its immense crude oil reserves,

which are estimated at 25% of the world's total. It is the world's largest oil exporter and therefore the leading member of OPEC.

Politically Saudi Arabia is traditionalist and uncompromisingly Muslim. Immigration restrictions for non-Muslims remain strict. Therefore, the decision during the 1990 Gulf War to accept not only Kuwaiti refugees but also Western soldiers was highly controversial. Continuing protests led to the nearly complete withdrawal of foreign forces to neighboring Qatar in 2003. After two terrorist attacks in December 2004, Saudi Arabia escalated its fight against terrorist groups. However, foreign observers believe that significant elements within the domestic security apparatus secretly sympathize with the Islamists.

Both repressive measures and compromises in domestic politics seek to keep a lid on tensions within the country. The compromises have mainly been in the area of press freedom and political participation among the population, which had previously been restricted to submitting petitions. Elections of municipal assemblies, announced in October 2003 but repeatedly postponed, took place between February and April 2005. Only Saudi males could vote; women's suffrage is scheduled for 2009 at the earliest. Also, only half of the seats were directly elected, even though the municipal assemblies have only very limited powers. All these reforms were enacted under significant US pressure.

Saudi Arabia's relationship with the West is an ambivalent one. The country is one of the region's most important Western allies, yet fifteen of the nineteen 9/11 terrorists were Saudis. Sermons at Friday prayer services are often venues for anti-Western propaganda. Saudi adherents of the conservative Wahhabi sect of Islam support the spread of Islam and the building of mosques worldwide. Recipients

of their support include groups banned in other Arab countries, such as the Muslim Brotherhood. On the other hand, the lifestyles of many members of the ruling family, widely regarded as antithetical to Muslim principles, polarize the population. Some Western observers have therefore been warning for some time of the possibility of a religiously motivated coup attempt.

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	2	Kulturkrise in der industriellen Gesellschaft	Erik von Sivers	Fritz Voigt
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1962	5	Die Fragwürdigkeit der Bildungspolitik	Rüdiger Altmann	Josef Müller-Marein
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	10	Kybernetik als soziale Tatsache	O. W. Haseloff	Freiherr von Stackelberg
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	12	Wohin treibt die EWG?	U. W. Kitzinger, Roland Delcour	Eugen Kogon
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*A complete list of all participants since 1961 is available at www.bergedorf-round-table.org

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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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	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
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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
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	54	Nach der Wahl '76: Welchen Spielraum hat die deutsche Innenpolitik?	—	Ralf Dahrendorf
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1977	56	Ein anderer "Way of Life"	E. F. Schumacher	Hans K. Schneider
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	57	Europa und die Weltwirtschaft	Claude Cheysson Herbert Giersch	Gaston Thorn
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<i>Zurich</i>			
	74 Die deutsche Frage—neu gestellt	Richard Frhr. v. Weizsäcker	Karl Kaiser
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1984	75 Zukunft Europas: Probleme der politischen und militärischen Entspannung.	Horst Teltschik Wadim W. Sagladin	Karl Kaiser Juri Shukow
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	76 Ist die Spaltung Europas das letzte Wort?	Franz Kardinal König Helmut Schmidt	Luigi Vittorio Graf Ferraris
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	78 10 Jahre Helsinki—die Herausforderung bleibt	R. Burt S. Tichwinskij M. Szürös L. V. Graf Ferraris M. Dobrosielski H. Teltschik	Ralf Dahrendorf
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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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	89 <i>Prague</i>	Chancen für die europäische Kultur am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts	Valtr Komárek Kurt Biedenkopf	Hans Heigert
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1992	94 <i>Dresden</i>	Wege zur inneren Einheit	Kurt Biedenkopf Wolfgang Thierse	Brigitte Seebacher-Brandt

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