

ANNEX

Participants



Dr. Nadia Arbatova

Born 1950

Head, Department on European Political Studies, Institute for World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; Director of Policy Studies and Editor, Committee “Russia in a United Europe”, Moscow.

Selected writings: Russia’s National Interests and Foreign Policy: European Direction (2005); Iraq as a Turning Point in the Postbipolar International Relations (2004); European Security and International Terrorism (2004).

Pages: 56, 80, 84, 92, 94



Dr. Christoph Bertram

Born 1937

Former positions: Professor, Bologna Center, Paul Nitze School for Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Bologna; Director, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin; Diplomatic Correspondent, Die ZEIT, Hamburg; Director, International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), London; Member, Policy Planning Staff, Federal Ministry of Defense, Bonn.

Pages: 27, 30, 32, 33, 35, 38, 39, 42, 49, 62, 69, 72



Dr. Laurens Jan Brinkhorst

Born 1937

Former positions: Minister of Economic Affairs, The Hague; Chair, Transnational and European Governance, University of Tilburg; European Affairs Advisor, NautaDutilh (law firm), Brussels; Minister of Agriculture, Nature Management and Fisheries, Den Hague; Member, European Parliament, Brussels; Director General of Environment, Nuclear Safety and Civil Protection and Director General of Environment, Consumer Protection and Nuclear Safety, European Commission, Brussels; Head of Delegation, European Commission, Tokyo; Leader, Democrats 66; State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, den Uyl Government, The Hague; Chair, European Law, Groningen University; Director, Europe Institute, Leiden University.

Pages: 59, 75, 77, 99, 106



Dr. Marek A. Cichocki

Born 1966

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

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

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

Pages: 29, 31, 84, 85, 91



H.E. Vladimir Chizhov

Born 1953

Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the European Communities, Brussels.

Former positions: Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Moscow; Director, European Multilateral Cooperation Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow; Director, European Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow; diplomatic posts in Moscow, Athens, Nicosia, Vienna, and Sarajevo (in the latter case as Deputy High Representative for Peace Implementation in Bosnia and Herzegovina).

Pages: 28, 33, 74, 79, 82, 84, 88, 90, 91, 92, 94, 96, 97



Sir Brian Crowe

Born 1938

Deputy Chairman, Royal Institute for International Affairs, Chatham House, London; European Director, Centre for Political and Diplomatic Studies, Oxford; Director of ITT Defence, UK.

Former positions: Director General for External and Politico-Military Affairs, EU Council of Ministers, Brussels; Deputy Under Secretary of State (Director General) for Economic Affairs, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London; C.; British Ambassador to Austria, Vienna; Economic Minister, British Embassy, Washington D.C.; other diplomatic posts including Brussels, Bonn and Moscow.

Pages: 28, 29, 34, 58, 67, 68, 70, 71, 83, 99, 106



Mehmet Dülger

Born 1940

Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee and Deputy of Antalya, Grand National Assembly, Ankara.

Former positions: Vice Chairman and Architect, Construction Company

SUMMA A.Ş., Ankara; Founder and Deputy Leader, True Path Party (DYP), Press and Public Relations; General Director, Tercüman (daily newspaper), Ankara; Chief Advisor to the Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel.

Pages: 100, 102



MDg Dr. Markus Ederer,

Born 1957

Head of Policy Planning, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin

Former positions: Director, Political/Economic Assessment, Federal Intelligence Service, Munich and Berlin;

Head of Cabinet of the Special Coordinator of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, Brussels; Deputy Head, South Eastern Europe Desk, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin; Deputy Spokesman, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin; Press Department with emphasis on Central and Eastern Europe, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin; Attaché, Economic Department, German Embassy Moscow; Personal Secretary to Minister of State Helmut Schäfer, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin.

Pages: 50, 77, 78, 83, 84, 88, 91, 96, 97, 101



Sylvie Goulard

Born 1964

Lecturer, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris (Sciences Po), Paris and College of Europe, Bruges; associated Senior Research Fellow, Centre d'études et de recherches

internationales (CERI), Paris.

Former positions: Member, Task Force Convention, European Commission, Brussels; Foreign Policy Advisor, Policy Planning Staff, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris.

Selected writings: EU-Türkei. Eine Zwangsheirat (2005); Allemagne: «Un siège à l'ONU, le paradoxe (2004); L'Allemagne, in: Les pays d'Europe occidentale (ed. A. Grosser 2000); Die Quadratur des Dreiecks. Deutschland, Frankreich und Großbritannien in einer engeren Union? (2000).

Pages: 32, 36, 51, 52, 59, 67, 68



Eric Gujer

Born 1962

Correspondent, Neue Zürcher Zeitung (NZZ), Berlin.

Former positions: Correspondent, Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Berlin (1989–1992), Jerusalem and Moscow,

Selected writings: Kampf an neuen Fronten. Wie sich der BND dem Terrorismus stellt (2006); Die neue Rolle Deutschlands (2002).

Pages: 48, 62, 73, 82, 87



Dr. Klaus Hänsch, MEP

Born 1938

Member, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy, European Parliament, Brussels.

Former positions: President, European Parliament, Brussels; Member of the Presidium, “Convention on the future of Europe”; Representative, European Parliament, Intergovernmental Conference on the European Constitution, Brussels; Officer, Ministry for Science and Research, North-Rhine-Westphalia, Dusseldorf; Honorary Professor, Duisburg University.

Pages: 28, 30, 58, 65, 78, 86, 91, 104



State Secretary Dr. Gert Haller

Born 1944

Head of the Office of the President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin; Chairman, Board of Wüstenrot & Württembergische AG, Stuttgart.

Former positions: Spokesman of the Board of Wüstenrot Holding AG, Ludwigsburg; State Secretary, Ministry of Finance and Personal Representative of the Federal Chancellor for the Preparation of the World Economic Summit, Berlin; Associate Chair for Economic Policy, University of Heidelberg.

Pages: 28, 45, 58, 65, 98



MD Dr. Christoph Heusgen

Born 1955

Foreign Policy and Security Advisor to the Federal Chancellor and Director General, Federal Chancellery, Berlin.

Former positions: Deputy Director-General, Head of the Policy Unit of the High Representative Javier Solana, General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union, Brussels; Deputy Director-General for European Affairs, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin; Deputy Head, Private Office of Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel in charge of European Affairs, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin; Deputy Head, special section in charge of negotiations of the Treaty of Maastricht, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin; Private Secretary, Coordinator for German-French Relations, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin; diplomatic posts in Paris and Chicago.

Pages: 37, 41, 53, 66, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76



Jim Hoagland

Born 1944

Associate Editor and Chief Foreign Correspondent, The Washington Post, Washington D.C.

Former positions: Assistant Managing Director for Foreign News, The Washington Post, Washington D.C.; Paris, Middle East, and Africa Correspondent, The Washington Post; Copy Editor, New York Times International Edition, Paris; Ford Foundation Fellow, Columbia University, New York.

Pages: 32, 34, 44, 49, 52, 53, 54, 57, 64, 74, 85, 91



Dr. Werner Hoyer, MdB

Born 1951

Deputy Chairman and Spokesman for Foreign Affairs, Free Democratic Party (FDP) Parliamentary Group, German Bundestag, Berlin; Deputy Chairman of the German-American Parliamentary Group; Member of the Board, German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin.

Former positions: Minister of State, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin; General Secretary, FDP, Berlin; President European Democrat and Reform Party, Brussels.

Pages: 29, 33, 42, 45, 52, 56, 70, 71, 75



Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger

Born 1946

Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Court of St. James, German Embassy, London.

Former positions: Ambassador, German Embassy, Washington D.C.; Deputy Foreign Minister (State Secretary), Director General for Political Affairs and Head of Planning Staff, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin; Head, Political Department, German Embassy, Paris, and Director of Cabinet and Parliamentary Affairs, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin; Chairman, Ambassadors Advisory Board of the Executive Council on Diplomacy, Washington D.C.; Member, Board of Overseers of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, the East-West Institute, the American Field Service (AFS) Germany, and the Alfred-Herrhausen-Foundation, Frankfurt.

Pages: 30, 39, 42, 49, 50, 61, 87, 89



MD Dr. Wolf Kischlat

Born 1944

Director-General for Foreign Affairs, Office of the President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin.

Former positions: Ambassador, German Embassy, Algiers; Deputy Head of Mission, German Embassy, London; Head of Political Section, Permanent Representation of the Federal Republic of Germany to the European Union, Brussels; Chair, EU-Enlargement Committee during German Presidency of the Council of the European Union 1999, Brussels; Head of Division, Bilateral Relations with the United States and Canada, Security and Disarmament Policy, Federal Chancellery, Bonn; Head of Division, Disarmament Division, NATO International Secretariat, Brussels.



Ali Kizilkaya

Born 1963

Chair, Islamic Council of Germany, Cologne.

Former positions: Member, Steering Committee, Conference “Muslims in Europe”, organized by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London; General Secretary, Islamic Community Milli Görüs (IGMG), Kerpen.

Pages: 46, 103, 104



Philipp Mißfelder, MdB

Born 1979

Member, Christian Democratic Union (CDU) Parliamentary Group, German Bundestag, Berlin; Federal President, Junge Union (Young Christian Democrats); Member, Konrad-Adenauer-Foundation, Berlin.

Former positions: Federal President, School Students Association, Junge Union (Young Christian Democrats).

Pages: 37, 45, 46



Professor Roger Morgan

Born 1932

Former positions: Deputy Director of Studies, Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London; Head, European Centre for Political Studies, London; Professor of Political Science, European University Institute, Florence; Holder of visiting appointments at London School of Economics, Oxford, Bonn, Harvard Universities, etc.

Selected writings: Großbritannien, in: Nationale Identität im vereinten Europa (ed. G. Buchstab & R. Uertz, 2006); Choice and Representation in the European Union (co-ed., 2003); New Diplomacy in the Post-Cold War World (co-ed., 1993); contribution to Germany Between East and West (ed. E. Moreton, 1987); West Germany’s Foreign Policy Agenda (1978); Britain and West-Germany: Changing Societies and the Future of Foreign Policy (co-ed., 1970).

Pages: 36, 60



General (ret.) Dr. Klaus Reinhardt

Born 1941

President, Clausewitz Society, Hamburg.

Former positions: Supreme Commander, Allied Land Forces Central Europe (LANDCENT), Heidelberg;

Commander, NATO-led Kosovo Force in Kosovo (KFOR), Pristina; Commander, Federal Armed Forces Command and Staff College, Hamburg; Chief of Staff, Section “Planning”, Armed Forces Staff, Federal Ministry of Defence, Bonn; Senior Military Assistant to the Minister of Defense, Dr. Manfred Wöerner, Bonn.

Pages: 29, 31, 34, 38, 42, 52, 61, 63, 72, 86, 97



Dr. Ulrich Schlie

Born 1965

Director, Policy Planning Staff, Ministry of Defence, Berlin.

Former positions: Advisor on Foreign and European Affairs to the Prime Minister of the State of Hessen, Berlin;

President of the Board, Carl Jacob Burckhardt Foundation; Lecturer at Erfurt University; Alfred-Grosser-Chair, Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Paris (Sciences Po); Visiting Fellow, Peterhouse College, Cambridge.

Selected writings: Horst Osterheld und seine Zeit (ed., 2006); Ulrich von Hassell, Römische Tagebücher und Briefe 1932–1938 (ed., 2004); Die Nation erinnert sich. Die Denkmäler der Deutschen (2002); Kein Friede mit Deutschland. Die geheimen Gespräche im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1941 (1994); Albert Speer—Alles was ich weiß (ed., 2000).

Pages: 35, 40, 47, 53, 58, 63, 69, 70, 78, 82, 86, 92, 94, 96



Tøger Seidenfaden

Born 1957

Executive Editor-in-Chief, Politiken, Copenhagen; Adjunct Professor, Copenhagen Business School (CBS); Member, Executive Committee, Trilateral Commission.

Former positions: Director General, TV2 (National TV-Broadcaster); Chief Editor and Foreign Editor, Weekendavisen Berlingske; Advisor, Commission on Security and Disarmament, Danish Government, Copenhagen; Lecturer, Copenhagen, Aarhus and Yale Universities and NATO Defense College, Rome.

Selected writings: The Caricature Crisis (2006); Europe Made Whole (1990).

Pages: 34, 39, 52, 69, 71, 72



Ambassador Shimon Stein

Born 1948

Ambassador of the State of Israel to Germany, Israeli Embassy, Berlin.

Former positions: Deputy State Secretary, Director, Department of CIS, Middle and Eastern European

States, Foreign Ministry of Israel, Jerusalem; Envoy, Director, Department for Arms Control and Disarmament, Foreign Ministry of Israel, Jerusalem; Attaché, Israeli Embassy, Washington D.C.

Pages: 32, 34, 36, 38, 39, 48, 51, 58, 60, 61, 68, 69, 76, 105



Professor Dr. Fritz Stern

Born 1926

Columbia University, New York

Former Positions: University Professor and sometime Provost of Columbia University, New York.

Selected writings: Five Germanys I Have Known (2006); Einstein’s German World (1999); Dreams and Delusions: The Drama of German History (1987); Gold and Iron: Bismarck, Bleichröder, and the Building of the German Empire (1977); The Politics of Cultural Despair. A Study in the Rise of Germanic Ideology (1961).

Pages: 24, 35, 36, 59



Roger de Weck

Born 1953

President, Graduate Institute of International Studies (HEI), Geneva;

Visiting Professor, College of Europe, Bruges and Warsaw; Columnist, contributions to German,

French and Swiss media; Moderator, television show “Sternstunden” (3Sat/SF1); Member PEN-Club and Board of Trustees, Charlemagne Award, Aachen.

Former positions: Editor-in-Chief, Die ZEIT, Hamburg and Tages-Anzeiger, Zurich.

Selected writings: France—Allemagne: Que désire-t-on vraiment? (2006); Vertrauen in Umbruchzeiten (2006); Sind die Medien neugierig? Warum der deutsche Journalismus innovationsfeindlich ist (2004); Kuhschweizer und Sauschwaben. Schweizer, Deutsche, und ihre Hassliebe (ed., 2003).

Pages: 23, 41, 44, 47, 51, 53, 54, 59, 60, 61, 64, 65, 68, 71, 74, 78, 80, 83, 85, 88, 89, 94, 97, 100, 104



Dr. Richard von Weizsäcker

Born 1920

Fmr. President of the Federal Republic of Germany (1984–1994); fmr. Governing Mayor of West Berlin (1981–1984); fmr. Vice President of the German Parliament

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

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

Pages: 23, 28, 30, 53, 57, 62, 68, 69, 70, 75, 83, 86, 103, 94, 105, 106

Recommended Literature

- Chava Arora, *Germany's Civilian Power Diplomacy. NATO Expansion and the Art of Communicative Action*, New York: 2006.
- Alyson J.K. Bailes, *The European Security Strategy. An Evolutionary History*, Stockholm: 2005 (Policy Paper/ Stockholm International Peace Research Institute; No. 10).
- Felix Sebastian Berenskoetter, *Mapping the Mind Gap. A Comparison of US and European Security Strategies*, in: *Security Dialogue* 36 (March 2005) 1, pp. 71–92.
- Sven Biscop, *The European Security Strategy. A Global Agenda for Positive Power*, Aldershot: 2005.
- Paul Cornish / Geoffrey Edwards, *The Strategic Culture of the European Union. A Progress Report*, in: *International Affairs* 81 (July 2005) 4, pp. 801–820.
- Roland Dannreuther, *Developing the Alternative to Enlargement: the European Neighbourhood Policy*, in: *European Foreign Affairs Review* (London), 11 (Summer 2006) 2, pp. 183–201.
- Tanguy De Wilde / Gaëlle Pellon, *The Implications of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) on the EU-Russian 'Strategic Partnership'*, in: *Helsinki Monitor* 17 (2006) 2, pp. 119–132.
- Scott Erb, *German Foreign Policy. Navigating a New Era*, Boulder/Col.: 2003.
- Federal Ministry of Defense, *White Paper 2006 on German Security Policy and the Future of the Bundeswehr. Summary*, 2006.
<http://www.weissbuch.de>
- Benita Maria Ferrero-Waldner, *The European Neighbourhood Policy: The EU's Newest Foreign Policy Instrument*, in: *European Foreign Affairs Review* 11 (Summer 2006) 2, pp. 139–142.
- Germany's place in the world. Merkel as a world star*, In: *The Economist* (16. November 2006).
- Charles Grant, *Europe's Blurred Boundaries. Rethinking Enlargement and Neighbourhood Policy*, London: 2006.
- Regina Cowen Karp, *The New German Foreign Policy Consensus*, in: *The Washington Quarterly* 29 (Winter 2005-06) 1, pp. 61–82.
- Iris Kempe, *The German Impact on the European Neighbourhood Policy*, in: *Foreign Policy in Dialogue* 6 (July 27, 2006) 19, pp. 26–33.
- Akan Malici, *Germans as Venutians: The Culture of German Foreign Policy Behaviour*, In: *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 1 (2006), pp. 37–62.
- Hanns W. Maull (ed.), *Germany's Uncertain Power: Foreign Policy of the Berlin Republic*, Houndmills: 2006.
- Volker Rittberger (ed.), *German Foreign Policy since Unification. Theory and Case Studies*, Manchester: 2001.

Peter Rudolf, *The Myth of the 'German Way': German Foreign Policy and Transatlantic Relations*, In: *Survival*, Spring 2005, vol. 47, no. 1, pp. 133–151.

Peter Schmidt, *European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP): German Priorities and Interests*, in: Bo Huldtt (ed.), *European Security and Defence Policy*, Stockholm: 2006 (Strategic Yearbook; 2006).

Dimitri Trenin, *Russia, the EU and the common neighbourhood*, In: *Centre for European Reform Essays*, 2005
http://www.cer.org.uk/pdf/essay_russia_trenin_sept05.pdf.

Richard Whitman, *Road Map for a Route March?: (De-)civilianizing Through the EU's Security Strategy*, in: *European Foreign Affairs Review* 11 (Spring 2006) 1, pp. 1–15.

Glossary

Bundeswehr Foreign Deployments

The first time soldiers of the Bundeswehr were deployed beyond Germany's borders was in 1991, when minesweepers were dispatched to the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf. Today Germany's armed forces take part in numerous foreign operations and have some 7,300 troops stationed abroad on missions with allied countries.

All such deployments are subject to the "parliamentary proviso" required since 1994 by Germany's Constitutional Court. The proviso requires parliamentary approval for all peacekeeping missions involving armed German troops. The Bundeswehr was founded in 1955 as a territorial defense force and remained strictly confined to that mission until 1990. When, after German reunification and the end of the Cold War, the transformed international context posed new challenges to the Bundeswehr, a constitutional clarification became necessary on dividing the power to authorize missions between the government and parliament. On July 12, 1994, the Constitutional Court ruled that the Bundeswehr is a parliamentary army for which a deployment overseas had to be approved by a constitutive parliamentary resolution (parliamentary proviso)—a procedure not found in the constitution. In December 2004 the Bundestag passed a parliamentary participation law that gave the Bundestag the power to, among other things, recall the Bundeswehr from a foreign mission at any moment. The Bundestag can pass or reject a foreign mission but cannot amend treaties or mission statements. On November 16, 2001, Chancellor Gerhard Schröder linked the Bundeswehr's participation in Operation Enduring Freedom with a parliamentary vote of confidence according to Article 68 of the German Basic Law.

One of the biggest challenges facing the Bundeswehr in the wake of its transformed mission pro-

file regards the effectiveness of its personnel and the yet-incomplete recalibration from a territorial defense force into a modern army with small, flexible, and rapidly-deployed units.

Germany's Bundeswehr has committed 2,800 troops to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan and Uzbekistan, thereby providing that force's second-largest contingent. The Bundestag extended the Bundeswehr's mandate for the ISAF mission in September 2006. The German armed forces' mission consists primarily of supporting the Afghan government in upholding human rights, safeguarding internal security, and regulating the return of refugees.

The Bundeswehr has also been present in Kosovo since June 12, 1999. The mandate for the German armed forces' participation in the NATO-led Kosovo Force (KFOR) was extended by the Bundestag for an additional 12 months on June 1, 2006. The Bundeswehr's mission in Kosovo essentially involves the military securing of a multi-ethnic, peaceful, law-based, and democratic environment with autonomous self-administration and its military safeguarding. Also, the 2,300 German troops work together with the civilian administration of the United Nations in Kosovo and provide support in rebuilding the region's infrastructure.

Some 850 Bundeswehr troops are taking part in Operation Althea of the European Union Force (EUFOR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Early in November 2006 the cabinet passed an extension of Germany's commitment to this, the EU's largest military operation to date. According to the Defense Ministry a gradual withdrawal of German troops beginning in 2007 is being considered. The Bundeswehr's mission consists primarily of providing military security for the Dayton Accords, in preventing hostilities between the ethnic communities, and in guaranteeing

freedom of movement for its own forces and international and non-governmental organizations.

On September 20, 2006, the Bundestag approved participation by German forces in the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) for an initial period of 12 months. The nearly 1000-strong naval force is assigned with securing the borders of Lebanon against weapons smuggling. The German force monitors maritime routes and, in suspicious cases, reroutes vessels.

On September 12, 2001, in reaction to the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the NATO member states activated Article 5 of the NATO Charter, which requires all members to come to the aid of a member under attack. On the basis of a mandate extended by parliament in November 2006, the German navy has been taking part in NATO's Operation Enduring Freedom off the Horn of Africa since February 2002. The 250 German troops' mission is to interdict trade and transport of goods that could serve to support international terrorism, including drugs, weapons, and munition.

Since October 2001, some 80 German sailors participating in NATO's Operation Active Endeavor have been on a similar mission, that of monitoring the Mediterranean in the fight against international terrorism.

In addition, 35 German troops have been operating as part of the UN Mission In Sudan (UNIMIS) with the purpose of securing peace in southern Sudan. Eleven Bundeswehr soldiers are in Georgia under the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG), with the assignment of helping defuse the conflict between Georgia and the breakaway region of Abkhazia on the basis of the so-called Moscow Agreement of 1994. Also, two officers of the German military are active as observers in the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UN-

MEE). This operation helps monitor the cease-fire between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

In December 2006, the EU-led mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (EUFOR DR CONGO) was completed. Within this operation 780 Bundeswehr troops stationed in the DR Congo and Gabon were charged with helping secure elections in the Congo and preventing violence.

European Security Strategy

Conceived at the informal EU foreign ministers' meeting in Kastelorizo (March 2–4, 2003) and developed by Javier Solana, High Representative of the Common European Foreign and Security Policy, the European Security Strategy (ESS) "A Secure Europe in a Better World" was approved on December 12, 2003 by the European Council in Brussels. It was preceded by the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, NATO and EU enlargement, passage of the US Security Strategy on September 20, 2002 (now superseded by the National Security Strategy of March 2006) and conflicting European positions on taking part in the invasion of Iraq.

The first part defines security as a requirement for overcoming global challenges including poverty, disease, and conflict, and five "key threats" for Europe: terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, state failure, and organized crime. "Large scale aggression against any member state is now improbable," the document says. However, "taking these different elements together—terrorism committed to maximum violence, the availability of weapons of mass destruction, organised crime, the weakening of the state system and the privatisation of force—we could be confronted with a very radical threat indeed," it concludes.

In a second part the EU defines three strategic objectives "to defend its security and promote its val-

ues:” to address these threats with a combination of political, economic, and military means; building security in the European neighborhood (the Balkans, Middle East, Mediterranean region); and achieving an international order based on effective multilateralism through organizations including the UN, WTO, NATO, and the OSCE.

The third part examines implications for European foreign policy, which the ESS says should become more active, coherent, and based on cooperation with partners. “We need to develop a strategic culture that fosters early, rapid, and when necessary, robust intervention,” it says. The EU must be capable of conducting several operations simultaneously, and could add value by developing operations involving both military and civilian capabilities, the ESS says. Member states should make available more resources for defense and pool their assets to reduce duplications. The EU must coordinate its instruments more strongly and the member states must better balance their foreign policies. The EU must work together with NATO in countering threats to its security.

With the ESS, the first document on security policy approved by the European Council, the EU explicitly stated its willingness to rise to its international obligations: “As a union of 25 states with over 450 million people producing a quarter of the world’s GNP... the European Union is inevitably a global player ... Europe should be ready to share in the responsibility for global security and in building a better world.”

<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/031208ESSIIDE.pdf>

German Foreign Policy:

Legal Foundations and Structures

Formal competence for German foreign policy is laid down in the German Basic Law (Article 32 (1)) and lies essentially at the federal level. The government takes an overriding position against the parliament and the federal president in this sphere. It possesses a comprehensive right of initiative and a corresponding mandate for action. The government decides whether to take up diplomatic relations, it negotiates treaties and pacts under international law, and decides on participation in international organizations. Within the government, the federal chancellor plays a predominant role (Article 65). The chancellor possesses the right of establishing policy guidelines which, according to the government’s rules of procedure, explicitly includes foreign and domestic affairs. In case of invasion, the chancellor automatically assumes authority of command from the defense minister. In order to secure the chancellor’s special authority, departments parallel to all cabinet portfolios operate within the federal chancellery. The chancellor also has at his or her disposal a personal foreign policy advisor (generally a senior diplomat, since 2005 Christoph Heusgen) and the chancellery’s Department 2 (Foreign-, Security-, and Development Aid Policy) with officers from the foreign office and defense ministry. A European Affairs department (Dept. 5) has also been established.

The chancellor’s powerful position within the cabinet is formally restricted on the one hand through the cabinet principle (a collective discussion and decision-making mechanism) and the portfolio principle (the authority of the individual ministers). In practice, the personalities of the chancellor and foreign minister, the balance of power in parliament, and the state of domestic affairs determine the ministers’ scope of action vis-à-vis the govern-

ment head. For thirty years the Federal Republic has been governed by various party coalitions in which the foreign minister has been named from the ranks of the junior party.

The federal president holds exclusive authority in representing Germany under international law. However, this authority is only of a formal and representative nature. Treaties under international law take effect only once the president has signed them, yet he or she may refuse to do so only with reference to constitutional objections, not through considerations based on foreign affairs. The federal president must coordinate speeches and other public pronouncements with the government and the foreign office; he or she is bound to supporting government policy. The stature of the serving president has determined how strictly he has adhered to these guidelines.

While the government actually articulates policy, the Bundestag reserves the rights of monitoring and co-determination. It ratifies international treaties. When, through a change in the contractual foundations of the EU, the German constitution or Basic Law requires amending, two-thirds of the federal parliament must approve the amendment. The Bundestag may, on its own initiative, discuss any issue from foreign affairs. Venues for such debate include the plenary session and the Foreign Affairs Committee (chairman since 2005: Ruprecht Polenz) and the Committee for the Affairs of the European Union (chairman since 2002: Matthias Wissmann).

White Book 2006

The “White Book on Security Policy for Germany and the Future of the Bundeswehr 2006” spells out Germany’s security and defense policy as well as the Bundeswehr’s role in national defense. First drawn up under then-defense minister Gerhard

Schröder (CDU) in 1969, the White Books have been still considered the German government’s security policy program. The latest edition, conceived by the defense ministry under Franz-Josef Jung (CDU) received cabinet approval on October 26, 2006.

In the more than ten years since its last publication, Jung said, the Bundeswehr has experienced the biggest transformation in its history, having increasingly developed, in the course of several foreign deployments, into an operations army. The White Book, he continued, takes this transformed profile of requirements and missions into account. Its fundamental principle is that of a “comprehensive idea of security.” It calls for responses to risks and threats using a balanced array of instruments including diplomatic, economic, development aid, law enforcement, and military means.

One of the White Book’s core subjects is formulating Germany’s national interest as the starting point for security policy. It identifies:

- Safeguarding democracy and freedom,
- Protecting the sovereignty of the Federal Republic and the integrity of German territory,
- Respect for human rights,
- Strengthening international order on the basis of international law,
- Securing free global trade as the foundation for German prosperity,
- Preventing and resolving regional crises that could affect Germany,
- Preventing proliferation of weapons of mass destruction,
- Defending against international terrorism,
- Defending against threats emanating from failed states,
- Securing energy supplies.

Germany’s security, according to the White Book, cannot be safeguarded solely at the national

level or only by the armed forces. Instead, the book sets out the concept of “integrated security” featuring enhanced collaboration among the Bundeswehr, development aid, other relevant departments, intelligence services, the EU, and the UN.

The White Book expresses commitment to German membership in NATO and cooperation with the United States. Transatlantic relations remain the “foundation of common German and European security” and NATO will continue to be the main anchor of German security and defense policy, it says. As a NATO member, Germany will also continue to trust in the deterrent value of nuclear weapons and take part in NATO’s nuclear arsenal. Germany’s long-term objective, however, is the global elimination of all weapons of mass destruction.

Regarding the responsibilities of the armed forces, the White Book determines that, despite the Bundeswehr’s transformation into an army in operation, classic defense of Germany’s borders and alliances remains one of its central tasks.

In the future the Bundeswehr should be used to ward off terrorist threats inside Germany’s borders, the book says. Current laws permit such deployment during natural disasters although the armed forces are permitted to use only weapons also used by the police and no military equipment. For this reason the White Book calls for an expansion of the constitutional framework for military deployments. This point is kept vague due to the government coalition partners’ conflicting positions on the matter.

The White Book demands that the Bundeswehr’s capabilities be expanded to allow up to five simultaneous foreign deployments using 14,000 troops in total. By 2010 the army should also be subdivided into 35,000 intervention-, 70,000 stabilization-, and 150,000 support troops. The resulting basic size of

the Bundeswehr of 250,000 soldiers would therefore be identical to current troop levels. Conscription, it says, has proven itself and must be maintained in the future.

Index

- 5+2 negotiations 96
- Abkhazia 94–96
- Afghanistan 31, 33, 38–39, 52, 54–55, 61–64
- Africa 30, 53–54, 100–101, 103
- Age of Enlightenment 59
- Ankara 102–103
- Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen
Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik
Deutschland (ARD) 45
- Asia 29, 100
- Australia 98
- Austria 73
- Balkans 33–34, 64, 66–67
- Baltic Sea 86
- Baltic Sea Pipeline 85
- Baltic States 31, 86
- BASF 98
- Belarus 81, 89–90, 92, 98
- Berlin 23, 26, 30, 36, 64, 73–74, 76–77, 79–80,
83–85, 104, 106
 - Deutsche Oper 45
- Berne 30
- Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) 78–79,
90–91
- Black Sea region 79–91
- Black Sea Naval Co-operation Task Group
(BLACKSEAFOR) 91
- Bosnia 52, 62
- Bosnia-Herzegowina 54, 70
- BP 99
- British Gas 99
- Bulgaria 54, 86, 91
- Brussels 36–37, 67, 69–70, 74–75, 88, 96, 100, 102
- Cable News Network (CNN) 30, 61
- Caspian Sea 73
- Caucasus 89–90, 93–94, 96, 103
- Central Asia 77, 83, 103
- Central Europe 26, 96
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) 53, 63
- Centrica 96
- Chechnya 87
- China 29, 51, 58, 67, 77
- Christlich Demokratische Union (CDU) 37
- Clermont-Ferrand 32
- Cold War/Iron Curtain 28, 44–45, 53, 55–56, 58,
106
- Collective Security Treaty Organization
(CSTO) 92–93
- Columbia University 85
- Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) 81,
90, 93
- Congo 31, 38, 40, 48, 54, 58, 77
- Copenhagen 30
- Conference for Security and Co-operation in
Europe (CSCE) 34, 40
- Cyprus 100, 102
- Czech Republic 31–32
- Darfur 54
- Dayton Accords (1995) 62
- Denmark 27, 30, 39
- Die Linke (PDS) 37
- E.ON 96
- Eastern Europe 26, 54, 82, 84, 90, 94
- Energy Charter (1991) 98
- Entente Cordial 70
- Estonia 93
- Eurasian Economic Council (EEC) 92
- European Aeronautic Defence and Space Company
(EADS) 98
- European Union (EU)
 - Common Foreign Security Policy (CFSP) 55
 - Common Market 71
 - Copenhagen Criteria (1993) 81, 93–94, 101, 103
 - EU Border Assistance Mission (EUBAM) 95
 - EU-Russia relations 74, 77, 80–86, 88–92, 94–95,
97, 99

- EU-US relations 28, 41, 48, 53–58, 62–63, 67, 70–71, 85, 88, 104, 106
- European Constitution 75–76
- European Council 68, 79
- European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) 78–79, 81, 83–86, 90–91
- European Political Cooperation (EPC) 105
- European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) 93, 97
- European Security Strategy (ESS) 41–42, 66–67, 71
- Four Common Spaces with Russia 88, 90
- German presidency (2007) 75, 102
- Helsinki Headline Goal (1999) 63
- Muslim Community 103–104
- New Ostpolitik 83–84
- Northern Dimension 30
- Partnership and Cooperation Agreements (PCA) 81, 88–89, 97
- St. Petersburg initiative 81
- The Hague summit (1969) 105
- Treaties of Rome (1957) 51
- Euroskepticism 26, 49, 77
- Eurosclerosis 37, 77
- Finland 30
- Florence 67
- Foreign Policy
 - Balance of Power 28, 31
 - Foreign policy expertise 38
 - Influence of geography 27–34, 38
 - Multilateralism 29, 42, 48, 50–54, 56, 81, 84–85, 89–91, 94, 99
 - Peacekeeping/Peace Enforcement 54, 60–62, 66, 95, 97
 - Populism 37–38
 - Realpolitik 88
- France 24–25, 27, 41, 44, 47–49, 51, 55–56, 66–68
 - French Revolution 100
 - Presidential elections (2007) 90
- Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP) 37
- G8 36, 106
- Gaza 106
- Gazprom 83, 98–99
- Geneva Convention 55, 57
- Georgia 57, 74, 81, 87, 93–95
- German History
 - Auschwitz 105
 - Berlin Wall 26
 - German Empire 25–26, 35
 - Nazism 26, 51
 - Ostpolitik 26
 - Reformation 25
 - Reunification (1990) 26–27, 34, 48, 52, 71, 106
 - Unification (1871) 28
 - Weimar Republic 26, 87
 - Wilhelmine Germany 26–28
 - Wirtschaftswunder 71
- Germany
 - Bundeswehr 31, 34, 42, 61–63
 - Federal Republic 26, 36–37, 59, 61, 87, 105
 - Foreign policy debate 34, 37–43, 48, 68, 73, 102–103
 - German-French relations 25–26, 68–70
 - German-Polish relations 26, 84, 86, 33
 - German-Russian relations 84–87, 97
 - Kommando Spezialkräfte (KSK) 61
 - Historical Responsibility 33–34
 - Identity 23, 27, 33, 36, 47
 - Inner unity 27
 - Interests 33, 36–38, 40, 42–43, 47–52, 55, 63, 70, 72, 106
 - Overseas military deployments 31, 37–38, 40, 62, 64, 66
 - Westward orientation 87
 - White Book (2006) 40, 42, 47
- Globalization 28–29, 32–33, 45, 51, 56–57, 65

Great Britain 26, 28, 30, 32, 41, 48–49, 55, 68, 70
 - Conservative Party 49, 76
 - Labour Party 49
 Greece 32
 Hindu Kush 48
 Hoboken, N.J. 24
 Hundred Years' War 70
 Hungary 31, 93
 Idomeneo 45–46
 India 29, 55–56, 58, 77
 Industrial Revolution 100
 International Court of Justice 57
 Iran 49, 57, 66–67, 74, 89, 105–106
 Iraq 36, 39, 41, 49, 55–58, 62, 64, 67–69, 71,
 104–105
 Ireland 30, 32
 Islam 46, 54, 102–104
 - Islamic Conference (2006) 46
 - Islamism 45–46, 60
 - Q'uran 46
 Israel 32, 36, 45, 49, 51, 57, 60, 62, 66–67, 104–106
 Italy 40, 55, 67
 Japan 30, 55
 Joint Control Commission (JCC) 95
 Kazakhstan 91–92
 Kodori Gorge 94
 Kosovo 52, 54–55, 64, 82, 95–97
 - Kosovo Force (KFOR) 97
 - UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) 64
 - UN Security Council Resolution 1244 96
 Kozak Memorandum (2003) 95
 Kurds 101
 Latin America 30, 53
 Lebanon 33, 37, 48, 54–55, 62, 64, 66, 67, 77, 105
 - Israeli-Hezbollah War 55, 68, 70, 105
 Lithuania 27
 London 68, 70
 Luxembourg 30
 Lviv 93
 Macedonia crisis 66
 Malmö 67
 Mazar-e-Sharif 38
 Mediterranean Sea 30
 Middle Ages 103
 Middle East 34, 39, 55, 66, 70, 100, 103, 105
 Middle East Quartet 89
 Minsk 90
 Moldova 81, 89, 95–96
 Monetary Union 65–66
 Moscow 44, 73, 80, 84–86, 88, 92, 94, 96, 97
 Mozart 45
 Netherlands 27, 40, 49, 75, 106
 New West 55–56, 58, 85
 New York 67–68, 93
 New Zealand 98
 Non-governmental organization (NGO) 63
 Nord Stream project 98
 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) 40, 45,
 48–54, 56, 58, 60, 86–87, 89–91, 93, 95–96
 - enlargement 81–82, 92–94
 - NATO-Russia council 89
 - Response Force 54
 Norway 86, 98
 Organization for Security and Co-operation in
 Europe (OSCE) 52
 Palestine 57
 Paris 27, 68–69, 76, 84
 Poland 27–28, 30–32, 85–86
 Portugal 30
 Princeton University 49
 Prussia 25, 35, 68
 - Prussian Reforms 25
 - Silesian Wars 35
 Regensburg Speech (2006) 46
 Romania 54, 86, 91
 Rome 25

Russia/Soviet Union 24, 26, 45, 48, 54, 56,-57, 59,
 73-74, 79-86, 90, 92-98, 106
 - energy politics 80, 82-83, 86, 98-99
 - post-Soviet space 85, 91-92, 94, 96
 Sakhalin projects 98
 Scandinavia 85
 Schwarzkopf Foundation 79
 Serbia 96
 Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) 90, 92-93
 Shell 99
 Slovakia 31, 86
 Slubice 30
 Somalia 39, 64
 South Ossetia 94-96
 Spain 27, 30, 31, 67
 Sukhumi 96
 Sweden 30
 Switzerland 73, 105
 Syria 57
 Tbilisi 95
 Tehran 66-67, 106
 Terrorism 45, 49, 51, 57-58, 63, 104
 - 9/11 55-56, 92
 - Al-Qaeda 55
 - Guantánamo 63
 - Jihad 44
 Thirty Years War 25
 Tiraspol 96
 Total 99
 Toulouse 32
 Transnistria 95-96
 Treaty of Rapallo (1922) 86
 Tskhinvali 96
 Turkey/Ottoman Empire 32, 54, 76-77, 100-104, 106
 Ukraine 48, 73-74, 76, 79, 81, 89-93, 95
 United States of America (USA) 28, 41, 44, 48-49,
 51, 53-59, 62-63, 67, 70-71, 74, 85, 88, 91-92,
 97, 104-106
 - National Security Strategy (2002) 71
 - Supreme Court 57
 United Nations (UN) 40, 48, 50, 52-54, 64, 68
 - UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) 70, 104
 - Security Council 53, 67-68
 Upper Volta 87
 Versailles Treaty (1919) 87
 Visegrád-Group 31, 84
 Volkswagen 100
 Warsaw 26, 43
 Washington, D.C. 38, 44, 54-55, 57-59, 68, 70, 97
 World Bank 44
 World Trade Organization (WTO) 70, 97-98
 World War I 24, 26
 World War II 29, 52, 100
 Yom Kippur War 105
 Yugoslavia 66
 Zurich Speech (1946) 51

Persons

Adenauer, Konrad 37
Ahmadinejad, Mahmud 67
Benedict XVI 46
Bismarck, Otto von 25, 28, 72
Blair, Tony 99
Bolton, John R. 53
Brandt, Willy 105
Bratkiewicz, Jaroslaw 84
Brundtland, Gro Harlem 86
Bush, George W. 56, 59, 91
Brzezinski, Zbigniew 85
Cameron, David 49
Chirac, Jacques 36, 84
Churchill, Winston 33, 51
Clinton, Bill 56, 91
Dahrendorf, Ralf 29
De Gaulle, Charles 47
Frederick the Great 47
Genscher, Hans-Dietrich 100
Gorbachev, Mikhail 87
Haftendorn, Helga 36
Hurd, Douglas 47
Ilves, Toomas Hendrik 93
Kennan, George F. 80
Kohl, Helmut 34, 37, 65, 72, 87
Kouchner, Bernard 64
Luther, Martin 25
MacShane, Denis 48
Major, John 47
Mandelson, Peter 70
Mann, Golo 24
Mann, Heinrich 24
Mann, Thomas 24, 35
Maximilian I 25
Merkel, Angela 66, 72–73, 75–76, 84, 87, 100, 106
Miller, Alexey 99
Moiseyev, Mikhail 87
Napoleon I 25
Nipperdey, Thomas 25
Olmert, Ehud 66
Palmerston, Henry Temple 47–48
Putin, Vladimir 84, 87
Rehn, Olli 102
Renan, Ernest 35
Sarkozy, Nicolas 76
Schäuble, Wolfgang 46
Schröder, Gerhard 36, 87
Solana, Javier 41, 64, 66–67
Spaak, Paul-Henri 29, 51
Steinmeier, Frank-Walter 79, 91
Strauss, Franz-Josef 70
Stresemann, Gustav 35
Struck, Peter 48
Thatcher, Margret 47, 99
Werfel, Franz 24
Wilhelm I 25
Yanukovych, Viktor 92
Yeltsin, Boris 82, 87

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

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

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair	
	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				

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair	
	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

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair
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
<i>Washington</i>			
	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
<i>Bonn</i>			
1983	73 Ein Weg zur Erneuerung der Industriegesellschaft	Präsident Gaston Thorn	Ralf Dahrendorf
<i>Zurich</i>			
	74 Die deutsche Frage—neu gestellt	Richard Frhr. v. Weizsäcker	Karl Kaiser
<i>Berlin</i>			
1984	75 Zukunft Europas: Probleme der politischen und militärischen Entspannung.	Horst Teltschik Wadim W. Sagladin	Karl Kaiser Juri Shukow
<i>Moscow</i>			
	76 Ist die Spaltung Europas das letzte Wort?	Franz Kardinal König Helmut Schmidt	Luigi Vittorio Graf Ferraris
<i>Rome</i>			
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
<i>Bonn</i>			
1986	79 Findet Europa wieder die Kraft, eine Rolle in der Weltpolitik zu spielen?	Jacques Delors Lord Carrington Helmut Schmidt	Karl Kaiser
<i>Brussels</i>			

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair	
	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

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair
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
1993 <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
1994 <i>St. Petersburg</i>	101 Russland und der Westen: Internationale Sicherheit und Reformpolitik	A. A. Kokoschin Volker Rühle A. A. Sobtschak	Andreas Meyer-Landrut
102 <i>Friedrichsroda</i>	Zukunftsfähigkeit von Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft	Lothar Späth Leo A. Nefiodow	Jürgen Engert
1995 <i>Oxford</i>	103 Die Verfassung Europas	Jean-Claude Casanova Timothy Garton Ash Wolfgang Schäuble	Lord Ralf Dahrendorf
104 <i>Warsaw</i>	Europa—aber wo liegen seine Grenzen?	Bronislaw Geremek Anders Björck J. François-Poncet	Karl Kaiser
105 <i>Munich</i>	Ein neuer Gesellschaftsvertrag?	Horst Seehofer Barbara Riedmüller	Hermann Korte
1996 <i>Jerusalem</i>	106 Europe and the Future of the Middle East—an Agenda for Peace	Mahdi F. Abdul Hadi Hanan Bar-On Leonard Hausman Jean-Paul Jesse Helmut Schäfer	Michael Stürmer

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair
107	Medien—Macht—Politik	Wolfgang Donsbach Wolfgang Hoffmann-Riem Theo Sommer	Thomas Kielinger
108 <i>Moscow</i>	Was bewegt Russland?	Sergej Baburin Sir Rodric Braithwaite	Andreas Meyer-Landrut
1997 109 <i>Istanbul</i>	At the crossroads of geo-politics— Turkey in a changing political environment	Ilter Türkmen Morton Abramowitz Hans-Ulrich Klose	Curt Gasteyer
110 <i>Berlin</i>	Wege aus der blockierten Gesellschaft	André Leysen Jürgen Rüttgers	Lord Ralf Dahrendorf
111 <i>Amsterdam</i>	Wie ist Europa zu sichern?	Ulrich Cartellieri Sir Christopher Mallaby Wolfgang Ischinger Marten van Heuven Frits Bolkestein David P. Calleo Max Kohnstamm Elmar Brok	Michael Stürmer
1998 112 <i>Leipzig</i>	Wachsende Ungleichheiten—neue Spaltungen?	Kurt Biedenkopf Heinz Bude Wolfgang Huber	Barbara Riedmüller
113 <i>Baku</i>	Energie und Geostrategie im kaspischen Raum	Terry D. Adams Vafa Goulizade Paul Haseldonckx Hans-Friedrich von Ploetz	Andreas Meyer-Landrut
1999 114 <i>Magdeburg</i>	Welche gesellschaftliche Wertigkeit hat der Sport?	Hans Lenk Herbert Riehl-Heyse Jürgen Palm	Hermann-Anders Korte
115 <i>Berlin</i>	Neue Dimensionen des Politischen? Herausforderungen für die repräsentative Demokratie	Antonia Grunenberg Sabine Leutheusser- Schnarrenberger	Jutta Limbach
116 <i>Moscow</i>	Russland in Europa: Zehn Jahre nach dem Kalten Krieg	Wolfgang Ischinger Oleg Morosow Ulrich Cartellieri Andrej A. Kokoschin	Andreas Meyer-Landrut
2000 117 <i>Berlin</i>	Modell Deutschland: Reif für die Globalisierung?	Henning Scherf Carl Christian v. Weizsäcker	Klaus v. Dohnanyi

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

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair
2003 125 <i>Hamburg</i>	Reinventing Europe— Cultural Dimensions of Widening and Deepening	Hélène Ahrweiler Üstün Ergüder Monika Griefahn Yudhishtir Raj Isar Hywel Ceri Jones Karl Schlögel Gary Smith Gijs de Vries	Otto von der Gablentz
126 <i>Florence</i>	The Future of Democracy—European Perspectives	Henri de Bresson Andrea Manzella Gesine Schwan Larry Siedentop Gijs de Vries Helen Wallace	Roger de Weck
127 <i>Isfahan</i>	The Middle East and Western Values: A Dialog With Iran	Gilles Kepel Michael McFaul Homayra Moshirzadeh Ahmad Nagheebzadeh Giandomenico Picco Johannes Reissner Hossein Salimi	Christoph Bertram Seyed Kazem Sajjadpour
2004 128 <i>Wilton Park</i>	Power and Rules—Elements of a New World Order	Paul Schroeder Dame Pauline Neville-Jones David Rieff Heather Grabbe Ghanim Alnajjar Michael Schaefer Avis Bohlen	Christoph Bertram
129 <i>Lviv</i>	Frontiers and Horizons of the EU—, The New Neighbors Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova	Ian Boag Gernot Erlner Yaroslav Hrytsak Danuta Hübner Evgenii M. Kozhokin Wolfgang Schäuble Oleksandr O. Tschaly Jakub T. Wolski	Roger de Weck
2005 130 <i>Cairo</i>	Forging a Just Global Order— Trade, Development, Political Strategies	Badria Al-Awadhi Mark Chingono Larry Diamond Rainer Forst Sheikh Ali Gom'a Amr Hamzawy Stefano Manservisi Norbert Walter	Theo Sommer

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair
131 <i>Berlin</i>	Russia and the West	Elmar Brok Vladimir Chizhov Vasili Likhachev Dmitri Rogozin Wolfgang Schäuble Manfred Stolpe	Wolfgang Eichwede
132 <i>Dubai</i>	Stability in the Persian Gulf	Ghassan Atiyyah Robert Cooper Rami George Khouri Michael McFaul Hossein Mousavian Michael Schaefer	Volker Perthes
2006 133 <i>Washington, D. C.</i>	Reforms in the Middle East— How Can Europe and the US Contribute?	Sadeq Al-Azm Khalil A. Al-Khalil Hisham Kassem Elaheh Koolae Ernest May Ghassan Moukehiber Friedbert Pflüger Ruprecht Polenz Kurt Volker	Theo Sommer
134 <i>Odessa</i>	The Black Sea Between the EU and Russia: Security, Energy, Democracy	Gernot Erler Konstantin Gabashvili Charles King Borys Tarasyuk Mihael-Răzvan Ungureanu Yaşar Yakış	Volker Rühle

Körper-STIFTUNG

Forum für Impulse

KörperForum Kehrwieder 12



BERGEDORFER GESPRÄCHSKREIS

Bergedorf Round Table



Körper-Netzwerk Außenpolitik

Körper Network Foreign Policy



*USable
The Transatlantic Idea Contest*



*Award for German-Turkish
Community Spirit*



History Network for Young Europeans



Geschichtswettbewerb des Bundespräsidenten

Jugendliche forschen vor Ort

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



KiWiss – Science for Young People



Körper European Science Award



Deutscher Studienpreis

*German Students Award
The Competition for Young Researchers*

theater haus im park

Theatre »Haus im Park«

KÖRBER FotoAward

Körper-Photo-Award

Boy Gobert Preis

Boy Gobert Prize



Citizen's Center »Haus im Park«

edition Körper-STIFTUNG

Dialog and understanding, education and science, integration and civic involvement, young culture: the Körper Foundation is active in these areas with many of its projects. It offers citizens who are not content with merely keeping the status quo the opportunity to participate actively, and provides them with ideas and initiatives.

Founded in 1959 by the activist entrepreneur Kurt A. Körper in Hamburg-Bergedorf, today the foundation operates with national and international projects and events from locations in Hamburg and Berlin.

The Bergedorf Round Table

Chairman	Dr. Richard von Weizsäcker, former President of the Federal Republic of Germany
Coordinator	Dr. Klaus Wehmeier (Deputy Chairman of the Executive Board) Dr. Thomas Paulsen (Managing Director)
Conference Management	Kristina Klein
Address	Bergedorf Round Table Berlin Office of the Körber Foundation Neustädtische Kirchstraße 8 D-10117 Berlin Phone: +49-30-20 62 67-60 Fax: +49-30-20 62 67-67 E-mail: bg@koerber-stiftung.de www.bergedorf-round-table.org

Imprint

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Bibliothek
Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie;
detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.ddb.de> abrufbar.

© edition Körber-Stiftung, Hamburg 2007

Editor	Dr. Thomas Weihe
Translations	Jonna Meyer-Spasche
Pictures	Marc Darchinger
Design	Groothuis, Lohfert, Consorten glcons.de
Printed	in Germany by creo Druck & Medienservice, Bamberg

ISBN 978-3-89684-364-7

All rights are reserved. These minutes may be reproduced upon request.
www.edition-koerber-stiftung.de

The Bergedorf Protocols are also published in German.
Both versions are available for download and research at www.bergedorf-round-table.org

