

12th Annual Foreign Policy Conference

Ten Years After 9/11

An analysis of foreign and security policy of the last decade

Beletage of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Thursday, 16 and Friday, 17, June 2011

Curriculum Vitae

Geneive Abdo, The Century Foundation, Washington D.C.

Geneive Abdo is the director of the Iran Program at The Century Foundation, a Washington and New York-based think tank. Her current research focuses on contemporary Iran and political Islam. She is the creator and editor of the newly launched website: www.insideIRAN.org

She was formerly the Liaison Officer for the Alliance of Civilizations, a U.N. initiative under Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

Before joining the United Nations, Abdo was a foreign correspondent. Her 20-year career focused on coverage of the Middle East and the Muslim world. From 1998-2001, Abdo was the Iran correspondent for the British newspaper the *Guardian* and a regular contributor to *The Economist* and the *International Herald Tribune*. Abdo is the author of *No God But God: Egypt and the Triumph of Islam* (Oxford University Press, 2000), a work that documents the social and political transformation of Egypt into an Islamic society. The book is the first to detail the leading figures and events responsible for giving moderate Islamists in Egypt enormous social and political power. Abdo is the co-author of *Answering Only to God: Faith and Freedom in Twenty-First Century Iran* (Henry Holt, 2003), a work that explains the theological struggle in Iran among the Shiite clerics and how this struggle has caused political stagnation. Her latest book on Muslims in America, *Mecca and Main Street: Muslim Life in America After 9/11*, was published in September 2006 by Oxford University Press. This book explained the changing identity among American Muslims as they struggle to keep true to their faith while deciding to what degree they will integrate into American society.

Durre Ahmed, Center for the Study of Gender and Culture, Lahore

Dr. Durre S. Ahmed is Chairperson and Senior Research Fellow at the Center for the Study of Gender and Culture, Lahore, Pakistan. From 1976-2009 she taught at the National College of Arts, Pakistan's premier arts institution where she was Professor of Psychology and Communication, and Director, Graduate Program in Cultural Studies.

An internationally acknowledged expert on gender and Islam, her interdisciplinary interests include the social psychology of religion, particularly Islam, and she has extensively researched women's spirituality and issues related to gender and culture in the context of Islam and Muslim societies. She is the author of *Masculinity, Rationality and Religion: A Feminist Perspective*, editor and contributing author of *Gendering the Spirit: Women, Religion and Postcolonial Response*, and a six volume series on *Women and Religion*. Since 1995, she has been engaged in researching and teaching socio-psychological and cultural dimensions of Islam and Muslims in Europe at various universities, educational and public institutions. Since 2009, she has served as a juror for the annual multimillion-dollar Templeton Prize for Religion.

Stefanie Babst, NATO, Brussels

Dr Stefanie Babst is NATO's Acting Assistant Secretary General of the Public Diplomacy Division in Brussels, Belgium. In this capacity, she is responsible for designing the Alliance's public diplomacy strategies, overseeing their implementation in Member nations and partner countries, and advising the NATO Secretary General on global communications trends. She is a widely known public speaker on transatlantic security issues and author of numerous articles and blogs on NATO's political and military agenda. Stefanie received a Master (M.A.) in Political Science, International Law and Russian Studies from the Christian-Albrechts-University in Kiel, Germany. Supported by various prestigious fellowships, including from the Fulbright Commission and Friedrich Naumann Foundation, she completed her Ph.D. in Political Science at the same German University and at Harvard University, Cambridge. Before she was appointed to her current post, Stefanie served four years as NATO's Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy and three years as Head of the NATO Countries Section at NATO Headquarters. From 1993 to 1998, she was Assistant Professor for Russian and East European Studies at the German Armed Forces Staff College in Hamburg.

Stefanie is a staunch supporter and member of Women in International Security Studies and is actively engaged in supporting the UNSCR 1325 on "Women, Peace and Security" across the Euro-Atlantic region and particularly in Afghanistan. Following the NATO Summit in Riga/Latvia in 2004, the Latvian President awarded her with the l'Ordre de Chevalier in recognition of her dedicated work for the Summit. In 2010, she received the Danish Defence Minister's Communication Prize.

Ahmed Badawi, Transform - Centre for Conflict Analysis, Political Development and World Society Research, Berlin

Ahmed Badawi worked in Egypt and the Middle East for nine years (1990-1999) as a TV journalist, group facilitator, and development project co-ordinator. After two

years of graduate study in the UK, he joined the German Institute for International and Security Affairs as Research Associate in the framework of the project Elite Change in the Arab World (2001-2005). In 2005-2007 he was Research Associate at the Institute of Development and Peace, University of Duisburg-Essen, where he co-directed a project funded by the United States Institute of Peace called 'Beyond Managing the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Towards a New People-to-People Agenda'. In 2007-2009, he was a Project Director (Israel/Palestine) at the Oxford Research Group, and in 2010 joined the International Crisis Group as Senior Analyst in its Middle East and North Africa Programme. He co-founded Transform: Centre for Political Analysis, Conflict Transformation, Political Development, and World Society Research in 2007 and is now its Co-Executive Director. He has an MSc in Development Studies from SOAS, University of London, and a PhD in the Political Economy of Policy Change from Humboldt University, Berlin.

Patrick Bahners, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Frankfurt

Patrick Bahners studied at the University of Bonn, at Worcester College, and at Oxford University. Among his teachers were Klaus Hildebrand, Heinz Thomas, Josef Simon, and Jonathan Clark. In 1989, he joined the arts and reviews section of the German daily newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. From 1997 to 2001, he was deputy head of the arts and reviews section and editor for non-fiction reviews. Since March 1, 2001, he is editor of the arts and reviews section. In 1998, he published an essay about Helmut Kohl and historic greatness, titled *Im Mantel der Geschichte* ('Cloaked in History'). Also in 1998, he and Gerd Roellecke published the volume *1848 – Die Erfahrung der Freiheit* ('1848 – The Experience of Freedom'). In 2001, he was the editor of *Preußische Stile – Ein Staat als Kunststück* ('Prussian Styles – A State as a Work of Art'). His latest work, *Die Panikmacher. Die deutsche Angst vor dem Islam – Eine Streitschrift* ('The Scaremongers. The German Fear of Islam – A Polemic'), was published in February 2011. In 2003/2004, he was a fellow at Berlin's Institute for Advanced Study. During the 2011 summer semester, he is the Dahrendorf Professor at the University of Konstanz.

Annegret Bendiek, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin

Dr. Annegret Bendiek is the deputy head of the research unit on EU external relations at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin. Between 2003 and 2005, she was a research assistant for international relations at Bielefeld University. She is the author of a number of monographs on the role of the EU in global politics – most recently "Globale Außenpolitik der Europäischen Union. Interregionale Beziehungen und strategische Partnerschaften" (2009, with Heinz Kramer). Her most recent publication for swp is "At the

limits of the Rule of Law: EU-US Counter-Terrorism Cooperation” (April 2011).

Reinhard Bütikofer, Member of the European Parliament, Brussels

Reinhard Bütikofer is a Member of the European Parliament for the German Green Party. He is a member of the Committee on Industry, Research and Energy, the Subcommittee on Security and Defence and a substitute member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. He sits on the Delegation for Relations with the United States as well as the Delegation for Relations with the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. He is also a substitute member of the Delegation for Relations with China. Mr. Bütikofer is a vice-chair and the treasurer of his political group, The Greens/European Free Alliance in the European Parliament. Furthermore, he is delegation speaker for the parliamentarians from the German Green Party (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen). From 2002 until 2008, Mr. Bütikofer was the national party chairman of the German Green Party. He was secretary general from 1998 until 2002. Prior to that he was the state chairman of the Green Party in the state of Baden-Württemberg. He served as a member of the Baden-Württemberg state parliament from 1988 until 1996. His career with the Green Party began when he was elected to the city council of Heidelberg in 1984. Mr. Bütikofer is a member of the board of the Aspen Institute Berlin, the advisory board of the American Jewish Committee's Ramer Center in Berlin, the Europe/Transatlantic advisory board of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, the German-Chinese Dialogue Forum, the Nature and Biodiversity Conservation Union (NABU), and the European Green Foundation.

Rolf Clement, Deutschlandfunk, Köln

Rolf Clement is a journalist. At the *Deutschlandfunk* radio station, he is a correspondent on security policy, as well as a member of the editorial office. From 1980 to 1984, he worked as a correspondent for six regional newspapers in Bonn, West Germany's capital, and after that until 1989 as Bonn correspondent for the *NDR* station. He joined *Deutschlandfunk* in 1989 and is currently the head of the background department. He is a member of the council for questions concerning leadership development and civic education at the German Ministry of Defence as well as member of the council for security policy at the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik. The Federal Academy for Security Policy awarded him the Karl Carstens Prize. Together with Paul-Elmar Jöris, he is the author of *50 Jahre Bundeswehr* ('50 years of Bundeswehr') and *Die Terroristen von nebenan* ('The Next-Door Terrorists').

Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Member of the European Parliament, Brussels

Daniel Marc Cohn-Bendit is a German politician, active in France and Germany. He was a student leader during the unrest of May 1968 in France and he was known during that time as *Dany le Rouge* (French for "Danny the Red", because of both his politics and the colour of his hair). He is currently co-president of the group European Greens-European Free Alliance in the European Parliament. In 1994, he was elected to the European Parliament, though he had been placed only eighth on the electoral list because of his support of military intervention in Bosnia, as German Greens at the time did not support the resumption of German military intervention abroad. At the European elections in 1999, he re-entered French politics as the leader of the French Green Party. He found considerable support in the French media, who often feature him, even when he does not represent or is at odds with the French Green Party. In 2002, he became president of the Green parliamentary group. In 2010, he was involved in founding Jcall, an advocacy group based in Europe to lobby the European Parliament on foreign policy issues concerning the Middle East.

Staffan de Mistura, Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary General for Afghanistan

United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon appointed Staffan de Mistura of Sweden as his Special Representative for Afghanistan in January 2010. Before taking up his current position in Kabul on 14 March 2010, Mr de Mistura served as the Deputy Executive Director at the World Food Programme in Rome. Prior to this, he served as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq for two years from 2007. Mr de Mistura was also appointed as Director of the United Nations Staff College in Turin, Italy.

Mr de Mistura has also served as Deputy Special Representative for Iraq from January 2005 to April 2006, and as Personal Representative of the Secretary-General for Southern Lebanon from 2001-2004. Prior to his appointment for Southern Lebanon he was Director of the United Nations Information Centre in Rome.

For more than three decades, Mr de Mistura has served the United Nations in conflict-affected areas including Somalia, the Middle East, the Balkans, and Nepal. He was the United Nations Humanitarian Coordinator for Iraq from March through August 1997. Before that, he held the posts of Director of the Division of Public Affairs of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and UNICEF Representative in Somalia.

Mr de Mistura has also served the United Nations in many other capacities, including as Director of Fund-Raising and External Relations of the United Nations Office of the Coordinator for Afghanistan from 1988 to 1991, Director of the World Food Programme operations in the Sudan in 1987 and as the Food and Agricultural Organization's Deputy Chef de Cabinet, from 1976 to 1985. In

addition, he was given special humanitarian assignments to Dubrovnik, Sarajevo, Sudan, Ethiopia, Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

In 1999, Mr de Mistura became a member of the Security Council Panel on Humanitarian Issues in Iraq, and from April to June of the same year, he was the Special Adviser to the High Commissioner for Refugees on the Kosovo crisis before he was appointed as Regional Administrator for the Mitrovica Region-Kosovo. In June 2000, he was Special Rapporteur during the Fribourg Forum on Regional Co-operation and Coordination in Crisis Management for Europe and the Newly Independent States.

Anthony Dworkin, European Council on Foreign Relations, London

Anthony Dworkin is a senior policy fellow at the European Council on Foreign Relations, working on human rights, democracy, and international justice. He is the author of the ECFR policy briefs *Beyond the 'War on Terror'; Towards a New Transatlantic Framework for Counterterrorism* (June 2009) and *Towards an EU Human Rights Strategy for a Post-Western World* (September 2010), and has recently co-authored papers on Tunisia and Egypt. He is also a senior advisor, and former executive director, to the Crimes of War project, and co-editor of the book *Crimes of War: What the Public Should Know* (2nd ed, Norton 2007). He is a contributing editor of the British magazine *Prospect*.

Gregor Enste, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin

Since January 2011, Gregor Enste is the Department Head for Foreign and Security Policy at the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin. Between 2005 and 2010, he was the Director of the foundation's Lahore office and responsible for activities in Pakistan and Afghanistan. From 2001 until 2005, he was Department Head of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Asia desk in Berlin. He joined the foundation in 1994, initially as a project coordinator for development co-operation. He has studied law and before joining the foundation worked as a freelancer and for a law firm

Ralf Fücks, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin

Ralf Fücks has been co-president of the Heinrich Böll Foundation since 1996. The main focus of his work is on sustainable development, migration, the future of Europe and international politics. He is responsible for strategic and program development of the following areas: political education in Germany, Europe, and North America; the Green Academy; the scholarship programme; and the foundation's 'green' archive.

He has studied social sciences, economics, and history, was an activist in the students movement, and, in the 1970s, a member of an ultra-leftist group. in

1982, he became a member of the Green Party. From 1985 until 1989, he was member of parliament in the German state of Bremen. In 1989, he was elected speaker of the Green Party's federal committee. In 1991, he returned to Bremen where he became minister for urban development and the environment in a three-party coalition government.

Ulrike Guérot, European Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin

Ulrike Guérot joined the European Council on Foreign Relations in July 2007 as a Senior Research Fellow and Head of the Berlin Office. Previously she was Senior Transatlantic Fellow with the German Marshall Fund (2004-2007), and prior to that, she headed the European Union unit at the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP) in Berlin (2000-2003). Ulrike has also worked as an Assistant Professor on European studies at Johns Hopkins University, as a Senior Research Fellow at Notre Europe in Paris, and as a staff member of the German Bundestag's Commission on External Affairs. She has been publishing widely on European and transatlantic issues in various journals and newspapers, and is frequently invited to comment on several EU issues in the media. She has been awarded the prestigious 'Ordre pour le Merite' for her engagement on European integration. Areas of expertise: EU integration process; EU institutions; Franco-German relations; EU-US relations.

Daniel S. Hamilton, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Washington D.C.

Daniel Hamilton is the Austrian Marshall Plan Foundation Professor and Director of the Center for Transatlantic Relations at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, named in annual surveys conducted by the University of Pennsylvania as the 6th leading "Global Go To University Think Tank" in 2011; a "Top 20 U.S. Go-To Think Tank" in 2010; and a "Top 30 Global Go-To Think Tank" in 2009. He also serves as Executive Director of the American Consortium for EU Studies, designated by the European Commission as the EU Center of Excellence Washington, DC.

Dr. Hamilton leads international policy work for the Johns Hopkins-led National Center for the Study of Preparedness and Catastrophic Event Response (PACER), named as one of 5 U.S. National Centers of Excellence by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

He has held a variety of senior positions in the U.S. Department of State, including Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, responsible for NATO, OSCE and transatlantic security issues; U.S. Special Coordinator for Southeast European Stabilization; Associate Director of the Policy Planning Staff; Director for Policy in the Bureau of European Affairs; and Senior Policy Advisor to the U.S. Ambassador and U.S. Embassy in Germany. In 2008, he served as the first Robert Bosch Foundation Senior Diplomatic Fellow in the German Foreign Office.

CVs

Annual Foreign Policy Conference 2011 – Ten years after 9/11 - Berlin, June 16. /17. 2011

Dr. Hamilton chairs the selection committee for the Robert Bosch Stiftung Fellows program bringing young American professionals to Germany. He is a Member of the Academic Board of the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) in Berlin, the Prague Center for International Relations, and a variety of other research institutes. He served as host of The Washington Post/Newsweek International's online discussion feature Next Europe.

Recent publications include *Europe 2020: Competitive or Complacent?* (2011); *Shoulder to Shoulder: Forging a Strategic U.S.-EU Partnership* (2010); *Alliance Reborn: An Atlantic Compact for the 21st Century* (2009) by the Washington NATO Project; *The Transatlantic Economy* (annual editions, 2004-2011).

Christoph Heusgen, German Federal Chancellery, Berlin

Since 2005, Dr. Heusgen has been a foreign and security policy adviser to German Chancellor Angela Merkel as well as the head of department 2 within the chancellery. Prior to that, he had been with the Council of the European Union, for six years as its director, and since 2005 as deputy general director and head of political staff for Javier Solana within the general secretariat of the Council of the European Union in Brussels.

Dr. Heusgen joined the foreign service in 1980. In 1983, he worked for the consulate general in Chicago and in 1986 at the Paris embassy. From 1988 until 1999 he held a number of positions at the foreign office, first as personal assistant for the coordinator of Franco-German co-operation; then as assistant and deputy head of the EU policy unit where the Maastricht Treaty was among his responsibilities; as deputy head for EU affairs; and as undersecretary and head of the subdepartment for Europe.

Dr. Heusgen has studied economics in St. Gallen, Statesboro, and Paris. In 1980, he was awarded his doctorate by the University of St. Gallen.

Wolfgang Ischinger, Chairman of the Munich Security Conference

In 2008, the German government proposed Ambassador Ischinger as chair of the Munich Conference on Security Policy and granted him a leave of absence for the duration of his tenure. Since May 2008, he is chief representative of government relations at Allianz SE, Munich, and a member of the advisory board of Allianz Deutschland AG. He is also a member of the European Advisory Council of Investcorp, London and New York. From 2006 to 2008, he was the German ambassador in London, from 2001 to 2006 German ambassador in the United States. Prior to that he was, until 2001, undersecretary at the Foreign Ministry. In 2007, he represented the EU during the Troika negotiations on Kosovo. From 2008 to 2009, he was appointed by NATO's general secretary as a member of the advisory group in preparation of the Declaration on Alliance Security (NATO summit, April 2009). He is an advisor to the EU and a number of European governments.

Wolfgang Ischinger studied law at the universities of Bonn and Geneva, as well as international law, international economic relations and contemporary history at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and at the Harvard Law School. He joined Germany's foreign service in 1975. From 1982 until 1990, he was a personal associate to the foreign minister, starting in 1985 as a personal assistant, and in 1987, he became the head of the parliamentary and cabinet department at the Foreign Ministry. In 1990, he was appointed envoy and head of the policy department at Germany's embassy in Paris. In 1993, he became head of the Foreign Ministry's planning team and in 1995 head of the policy department at the Foreign Ministry. In this function he was, among other things, head of the German delegation in Dayton, Ohio, during the negotiations on peace in Bosnia, as well as during the negotiations between NATO and Russia in 1996-97 and during the Kosovo crisis in 1998-99. In October 1998, he was appointed undersecretary in the Foreign Ministry. Ambassador Ischinger is the author of numerous publications on foreign and security policy.

Miriam Janke, Facilitator; Journalist, Berlin

Miriam Janke works as independent journalist, facilitator and coach in Berlin. She is a cultural scientist, studied in Leipzig and Mexico (University of Leipzig and Universidad de Guadalajara) and worked as cultural journalist at a Mexican medium. She moderates conferences, panel discussions and TV and radio programs. Further she is an author, creates radio programs and teaches as coach e.g. how to moderate or to present. Her working languages are German, Spanish and English. You can find more information at www.miriam-janke.de.

Mark Leonard, European Council on Foreign Relations, London

Mark Leonard is Co-Founder and Director of the European Council on Foreign Relations, the first pan-European Think Tank. Previously, he worked as Director of Foreign Policy at the Centre for European Reform, and as Director of the Foreign Policy Centre, a think-tank he founded under the patronage of the former British Prime Minister Tony Blair. Mark was Transatlantic fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States in Washington DC, and visiting scholar at the Chinese Academy for Social Sciences in Beijing. He is a prolific writer and commentator, with work appearing in many international publications. His first book, "Why Europe will run the 21st Century", has been translated into 19 languages. Mark's second book, "What does China think?" was published in February 2008 and has been translated in to 14 languages. Mark's recent publications for the European Council on Foreign Relations include "New World Order: The Balance of Soft Power and the Rise of Herbivorous Powers", "A Power Audit of EU-Russia Relations", "Can the EU win the Peace in Georgia?" and "Re-wiring the EU-US Link", all available from the website at www.ecfr.eu.

Barbara Lochbihler, Member of the European Parliament, Brussels

Before becoming a member of the European Parliament, Barbara Lochbihler was secretary general of the German section of Amnesty International from 1999 until 2009. From 1992 until 1999, she was secretary general of the Geneva-based Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Mrs. Lochbihler first studied social work in Munich and then political science with a focus on international law and political economics. From 1987 until 1991, she was a personal assistant for Eleonore Romberg (Green Party), a delegate to the Bavarian state parliament. Mrs. Lochbihler is a member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a founding member of Stiftung Menschenrechte, a member of the committee of UNICEF e.V., and a member of the United Nations Association of Germany.

Klaus Naumann, former Chief of Staff of the Bundeswehr; former Chairman of the NATO Military Committee

Dr. h.c. Klaus Naumann, general ret., joined the Bundeswehr in 1958. During the course of his career he was in active service, worked for the Ministry of Defence, with NATO, became general of Corps I. in Münster, and finally, in 1991, was made Inspector General of the Bundeswehr. During his time in office, which ended in February 1996, the Bundeswehr had to be reorganised and slimmed down, the former East German army had to be dissolved and partially integrated into the Bundeswehr, the Bundeswehr had to change its strategic outlook from defending the nation to missions with the United Nations and NATO, and the first foreign missions took place – in Cambodia, Somalia, Georgia, Iraq, and on the Balkans. From February 1996 until May 1999, he was head of NATO's Military Committee, the organisation's most senior body. During this time, NATO's new strategy was developed (it was replaced in the autumn of 2010), the Partnership for Peace and co-operation with Russia began, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary acceded to NATO, and, in March 1999, operations in Bosnia and Kosovo began. After retiring in May 1999, Klaus Naumann took over a number of honorary positions. In Germany, he became president of the Clausewitz Gesellschaft and the British-German Officers Association; internationally Naumann was appointed to the advisory board of the IISS in London, made an international advisor to the ICRC in Geneva, and appointed by Kofi Annan to the so-called Brahimi Panel of the United Nations that, in the autumn of 2000, presented its suggestions on how to improve UN peace keeping missions. He was a member of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) that, in December 2001, published its report on "The Responsibility to Protect." Beginning in October 2008, he became a member of the International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament. He is vice president of the German Atlantic Association. Since 2005, he is a member of the senate of Germany's National Foundation.

Cem Özdemir, Alliance 90/The Greens, Berlin

Since 2008, Cem Özdemir has been co-chair of the German Green Party. His main focus is on the economic and ecological dimensions of a Green New Deal, as well as on education reform, migration, and integration. He trained as a child care worker and in 1994 received a degree in social education from the Protestant College Reutlingen. In 1994, Özdemir became the first member of parliament with Turkish roots; he remained an MP until 2002. Between 1998 and 2002, he was the Green Party parliamentary group's spokesman on domestic policy.

In 2003, he was a transatlantic fellow with the German Marshall Fund for the United States in Washington and Brussels. During this time he studied transatlantic relations and the political self-organisation of ethnic minorities in the US and Europe. Between 2004 and 2009, Özdemir was a member of the European Parliament and the spokesman on foreign relations of the parliamentary group The Greens – European Free Alliance.

Cem Özdemir is a member of the political advisory board of the Federal Association of Medium-Sized Businesses (BVMW) and a founding member of the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR). He is a member of the advisory board of the Berlin office of the American Jewish Committee.

His books "Currywurst und Döner – Integration in Deutschland" ('Curry Sausage and Kebab – Integration in Germany') and his autobiography "Ich bin ein Inländer" ('I am a Non-Alien') reflect his multicultural experiences. In 2008, his book for young adults, "Die Türkei. Politik, Religion, Kultur" ('Turkey. Its Politics, Religion, Culture') was published. In 2009, the Turkish University of Tunceli awarded him with a honorary degree for his work to promote a better understanding between cultures.

Soli Özel, Istanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, Istanbul

Soli Özel holds a BA in Economics from Bennington College (1981) and an MA in International Relations from Johns Hopkins University (1983). Mr. Özel is currently a full time Professor at Kadir Has University. He is also a columnist at *Habertürk* Daily newspaper, and an advisor to TÜSİAD (the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association). He edits TÜSİAD's magazine, *Private View*. He has been a guest lecturer at Georgetown, Harvard, Tufts, and other US universities. He is a regular contributor to the German Marshall Fund's website's *ON Turkey* series and a regular contributor to the *World Affairs Journal* blog. His most recent publication is "Rebuilding a partnership: Turkish-American relations in a new era" (with Suhnaz Yılmaz).

Claudia Roth, Alliance 90/The Greens, Berlin

Claudia Roth is co-chair of the German Green Party and a member of parliament.

Between 1998 and 2001, she chaired the German Parliaments committee on human rights. Between 1989 and 1998, she was a member of the European Parliament, becoming parliamentary party leader in 1994. Between March 2003 and October 2004, she was the German government's representative on human rights. She is an activist on issues such as civil rights, climate change, democracy, and anti-discrimination. She is actively engaged in developing and shaping a "one world policy," as well as in the German anti-globalisation movement. Claudia Roth was first elected as chair of the Green Party in 2001 and was re-elected in 2004, 2006, 2008, and 2010. Since its foundation in 2004, Claudia Roth has been a delegate on the council of the European Green Party.

Oleh Rybachuk, Former Deputy Prime Minister of Ukraine, Kiev

Oleh Rybachuk is a Ukrainian politician, a civil society activist, and an expert in Euro-Atlantic integration. From 1999 to 2001, he was Head of the Prime minister's Office at the Secretariat of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. From 2002 to 2005, he acted as People's Deputy of Ukraine, elected from Victor Yushenko Block "Our Ukraine". At the Parliament (Verkhovna Rada), he led the MP's group "Razom" within "Our Ukraine" faction, acted as the authorised representative of the faction, chaired the sub-committee on banking activities and currency regulation under the Committee on Finance and Banking activities, Mr. Rybachuk also headed the office of "Our Ukraine" leader – a candidate to Presidency of Ukraine. From February until September 2005, he was Vice-Prime-minister of Ukraine on European integration, and from 2005 until 2006, Chief of Staff to the President of Ukraine. From 2006 until 2008, Mr. Rybachuk was Advisor to the President of Ukraine. Since November 2007, he is Non-Executive Director at KDD group, and since December 2008, he is Member of the Supervisory Board, Arcelor Mittal, Ukraine. Currently Oleh Rybachuk is realising different projects devoted to European and Euro-Atlantic integration and strengthening the influence of civil society.

Peter Schaar, Federal Commissioner for Data Protection and Freedom of Information

Peter Schaar, the Federal Commissioner for Data Protection and Freedom of Information, who is holding a diploma in economics, was born in Berlin in 1954. From 1980 to 1986, he worked in different functions in the administrative service of the Free and Hanseatic Town of Hamburg. From 1986 to 2002, he worked at Hamburg's Data Protection Commissioner's office. From 2002 to 2003, he was the managing director of a consulting company for data protection, since 2007, he works as temporary lecturer at the University of Hamburg. Since December 2003, Peter Schaar is the Federal Data Protection Commissioner and in 2006, he became the Federal Commissioner for Freedom of Information. In November 2008, the German Bundestag reconfirmed him in his office for another five-year

term.

Awards: Prize of the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation “Das politische Buch 2008” (“the political book 2008”) for the book *Das Ende der Privatsphäre (The end of privacy)*; “eco Internet AWARD 2008”, the special award of the German Internet business.

Conrad Schettler, Bonn Asia Center, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms University Bonn

Prof. Dr. Conrad Schettler studied geography and history at the University of Bonn. Since 1999, he has been working for the Center for Development Research at the University of Bonn where, since 2005, he has been in charge of the Governance and Conflict research group. In 2009, Conrad Schettler habilitated in development research at Bonn University. In addition, Mr. Schettler is a lecturer at the institutes for sociology, political science, and oriental and Asia studies at the University of Bonn. He is the author of numerous articles and of the books *Ethnizität und ethnische Konflikte in Afghanistan* ('Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict in Afghanistan'), 2003, and *Kleine Geschichte Afghanistans* ('Short History of Afghanistan'), 2004. Conrad Schettler researches numerous issues to do with conflict and development studies. His focus is on local structures of power and violence, strategies for international interventions, and the polarisation of collective identities. During the last years, Schettler has frequently visited Afghanistan and its neighbours. Presently he is in charge of various research projects within the region. In a number of roles, Conrad Schettler has advised government bodies such as parliament and ministries, as well as development organisations.

Ulrich Stefan Schlie, German Federal Ministry of Defence, Berlin

Ulrich Schlie, M.A., Ph.D., studied history, economics and roman language at the universities of Erlangen-Nürnberg, Bonn and London (LSE); after the training course he was research fellow at the Foundation for Science and Politics, Ebenhausen/Isar; in 1993 he joined the German foreign service; from February 1995 to May 2001 he was seconded from the Auswärtiges Amt to the CDU/CSU Parliamentary Group in the German Bundestag and held the position of special advisor to the Chairman of the CDU/CSU Parliamentary Group, Dr Wolfgang Schäuble MP on foreign and European affairs. After a visiting fellowship at Peterhouse, Cambridge (UK), he held the Alfred-Grosser chair at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris (Sciences Po) in Paris/France in 2001/2002; from 2003-2005 he was advisor on foreign and European affairs to the Minister-President of the State of Hessen. Currently he serves as Director Policy Planning in the German Ministry of Defence. Ulrich Schlie is the author of numerous books and articles on European history and teaches International Relations at Erfurt University. Among others, he is a member of the Board of the Stiftung Aufarbeitung zur Geschichte des SED-Unrechtsregimes, the International Institute

for Strategic Studies (IISS), the Atlantik Brücke and president of the Board of the Carl Jacob Burckhardt foundation in Vinzel/Switzerland.

Walter Stevens, European External Action Service, Brussels

Since September 2009, Mr. Stevens is the Permanent Representative of the Kingdom of Belgium to the Political and Security Committee of the EU and to the Western European Union. Before that, he acted as Chief of Staff of Belgium's Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade. Beginning in July 2004, he was the Deputy Chief of Staff of Belgium's Minister of Foreign Affairs, and in 2003 the Chief of Staff of the Minister of Development Co-operation. In 2000, Mr. Stevens was Diplomatic Advisor to the Prime Minister and before that served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade where he was responsible for multilateral trade negotiations. From 1986 until 1999 he was First Secretary in various embassies such as Washington DC, Saudi-Arabia, the UN in Geneva, The Netherlands and Nigeria. Mr. Stevens studied political and social sciences at the Catholic University of Leuven.

Rena Tangens, FoeBud e.V., Bielefeld

Rena Tangens is an artist, web pioneer, and publicist from Bielefeld. Since the early days of the web, she has been active in defending democracy, privacy, and civil rights in the digital age. Together with her colleague Padeluun, she founded the art project Art d'Ameublement (based loosely on French composer Eric Satie) in 1984. In 1987, she founded FoeBuD e.V. and that same year brought the first modem to the documenta art show and to ars electronica. Since 1989, she has been involved in the development of the Zerberus mail and news servers, and she set up Germany's first electronic citizens' networks (Zerberus and /CL), as well as the Zamir net during the war in former Yugoslavia. In 1993, she and FoeBuD published the first German-language manual on the encryption program PGP. Since 2000, she has been the organiser as well as a member of the jury of the annual BigBrotherAwards that helped popularise privacy issues in Germany. Rena Tangens is an advisor on privacy issues and has been working with organisations, politicians, and the EU commission. She is a regular speaker on art, technology, civil rights, and democracy. For her work on civil rights and democracy, she and FoeBuD were awarded with the 2008 Theodor-Heuss-Medaille.

Sylke Tempel, Internationale Politik, Berlin

Dr. Sylke Tempel is editor in chief of *Internationale Politik*, published by the German Council of Foreign Affairs. She also teaches International Relations at the

Stanford Study Center Berlin and at Stanford University, CA. Between 1993 and 2003, she worked as a foreign correspondent for several German-language magazines in Jerusalem. Among her recent publications are: *Israel. Reise durch ein altes, neues Land* ('Israel, Journey through an Old New Land'), published by Rowohlt Berlin.

Barbara Unmüßig, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin

Barbara Unmüßig has been co-president of the Heinrich Böll Foundation since 2002. She is responsible for the strategic and programme development of the following areas: Latin America, Africa, Asia, Middle East, and the Gunda Werner Institute for Feminism and Gender Democracy. The main focus of her work is on globalisation, international climate policy, national and international gender politics, promotion of democracy, and crisis prevention.

In 1991 and 1992, she managed the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) project office of the German environmental organisations the German League for Nature and Environment (Deutscher Naturschutzring, DNR) and Friends of the Earth Germany (Bund für Umwelt und Naturschutz Deutschland, BUND) in preparation for the Rio de Janeiro summit in 1992. In 1992, Unmüßig was a founding member – and until 2002 spokesperson – of the Forum on Environment and Development, a German NGO, and in 1993 the founder and until 2002 the executive chairwoman of World Economy, Ecology, & Development (WEED). In 2000, she co-founded the German Institute for Human Rights (Deutsches Institut für Menschenrechte, DIMR), a human rights organisation, and has been on its board of trustees since 2001. In 2009, Unmüßig was made deputy chairwoman of the DIMR board of trustees. Barbara Unmüßig has published numerous articles and essays concerning international trade and financial relations, international environmental policy, and gender policy.

Caroline Wadhams, Center for American Progress, Washington, D.C.

Caroline Wadhams is a Senior Fellow at the Center for American Progress. She focuses on Afghanistan, Pakistan, terrorism issues, and U.S. national security. Prior to American Progress, she served as a legislative assistant on foreign policy issues for Sen. Russ Feingold (D-WI). Wadhams also worked at the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, D.C. as the assistant director for the Meetings Program and in New York as a research associate on national security issues. Her overseas experience includes work with the International Rescue Committee in Sierra Leone and two years in Ecuador and Chile. She served as a U.S. election observer in Afghanistan's parliamentary elections in September 2010 and in Pakistan's parliamentary elections in 2008. She is a 2005 Manfred Wörner Fellow

with the German Marshall Fund and a Term Member at the Council on Foreign Relations.

She received a master's degree in international relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. Wadhams has been a guest analyst with numerous international, national, and local news outlets, including CNN, BBC, C-SPAN, Voice of America, Al Jazeera, FOX, Reuters, and NPR.

Nick Witney, European Council on Foreign Relations, London

Nick Witney, until autumn 2007 the first Chief Executive of the European Defence Agency (EDA) in Brussels, is now an international security affairs analyst. He works primarily with the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR). Nick was chosen by Javier Solana in January 2004 to lead the project team charged with developing the concept and blue-print for the EDA – and following the approval by the European Council of the team's proposals in July 2004 (an achievement recognised by the European Voice in nominating Nick one of its 50 'Europeans of the Year'), he was appointed to establish and run the Agency for its first three years. As a Senior Policy Fellow with the ECFR, his publications include *Re-energising Europe's Security and Defence Policy* (July 2008) and, co-authored with Jeremy Shapiro of the Brookings Institution, *Towards a Post-American Europe: a Power Audit of EU/US Relations* (November 2009) . This year he has co-written policy briefs on the revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt that are available at www.ecfr.eu.