

ANNUAL REPORT 2009/2010



Dr. Kevin Hassett,
Senior Fellow, Director of Economic Policy Studies,
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Charles King Mallory IV,
Executive Director
The Aspen Institute Germany

PREFACE

DEAR FRIEND OF THE ASPEN INSTITUTE,

The following report provides a financial and substantive accounting for the Aspen Institute Germany's activities during 2009-2010; it describes what Aspen has achieved thanks to your financial support and demonstrates in black, white and technicolor how Aspen creates value for Germany, for the United States of America and for the international community.

In March 2011, shortly after the end of the period covered in this report, Aspen Germany's Policy Program gained international recognition due to a confidential, unofficial "Track II" dialogue that Aspen was requested to organize in Germany between official representatives of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea ("North Korea") and former senior decision makers and policy experts from the United States of America. At these first talks that were held at the semi-official level in two years, constructive exchanges took place on nuclear and conventional disarmament, economic cooperation, normalization of DPRK-U.S. relations and the possibility of concluding a peace treaty to end the Korean War. Thanks to your support, a grant from an anonymous donor and assistance from *Bayerische Motorenwerke AG*, participants in the Aspen DPRK-USA Dialogue departed with renewed hope that future military clashes and casualties might be avoided on and around the Korean Peninsula and that positive movement might now take place between the DPRK and USA in official channels. News of the Aspen meeting was carried in over 1,600 media outlets in Asia, Europe and the United States (for a sample see www.aspeninstitute.de/news).

In December 2010, with your help, and funding provided by the German Marshall Fund of the

United States and the German Federal Foreign Office, Aspen Germany's Leadership Program convened eight European foreign ministers in Berlin – the third such meeting that the institute has organized in the last three years. German Federal Foreign Minister Dr. Guido Westerwelle and his Austrian counterpart Dr. Michael Spindelegger opened the conference by participating in a panel discussion co-hosted with the Embassy of the Republic of Austria in Berlin. Over two hundred international diplomats, decision makers and experts participated as the Political Director General of the German Federal Foreign Office Dr. Emily Haber moderated a public conversation between the ministers. At a closed-door conference the following day, the ministers continued their previous informal and off-the-record discussions of prospects for reconciliation, integration and integration into NATO and the EU in Southeastern Europe. This event too received considerable media attention. With the support of the German Federal Ministry for Economy and Technology, Aspen continued a very successful series of subcabinet meetings between leaders from Southeastern Europe, Germany and the United States. Your support of Aspen has contributed to the stabilization and integration of a region that remains critical to the future of transatlantic and European security.

In September 2010, the Aspen European Strategy Forum, funded by the *Robert-Bosch-Stiftung*, European Aeronautic Defence and Space Company (EADS) and the Friends of the Aspen Institute convened its third annual meeting. Top European, North American and Middle Eastern policy makers and experts met to discuss "The Strategic Implications of the Iranian Nuclear Program". Participants analyzed the way in which a nuclear Iran might change the regional and global strategic balance. While such a development is fraught with potential

danger, experts pointed out that the Islamic Republic of Iran had encountered a number of setbacks to its enrichment program. Consequently, more time was available for continuing attempts at negotiation with Iran than was widely thought at the time of the event. Throughout 2010, a mounting crescendo of international media reports had been preparing the public for an unleashing of the dogs of war in response to the Iranian nuclear program. Your support of the Aspen European Strategy Forum helped clarify that matters were not yet critical – that time remained for last stabs at diplomacy. The conference report (parts of which are available at www.aspeninstitute.de/publication) will soon appear in bookstores via Routledge publishers.

In November 2009, twenty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, Aspen chose to celebrate this historic turning point by convening an event of *substance* that focused on the largest remaining open issue in European security since the fall of the wall. At a conference that took place at the Brandenburg Gate premises of *Commerzbank AG*, former Italian Prime Minister Giuliano Amato, presented the final report of a group of experts that had been at work throughout the year that was ending. Guided by Horst Teltschik, former Foreign and Security Policy Advisor to German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Russian Federation Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Dmitry Olegovich Rogozin, and Minister of State in the German Federal Chancellery Eckardt von Klaeden, a series of meetings between Americans, and East and West Europeans in Washington and Berlin produced a report on “Russia and the West: How to Restart a Constructive Relationship”. The report, prepared as a product of the 2009 Aspen European Strategy Forum and generously funded by the *Robert-Bosch-Stiftung*, provides concrete prac-

tical recommendations to policy makers on both sides of the Atlantic. Your support of Aspen provided concrete help in better integrating the Russian Federation into a new, post Cold War transatlantic security architecture.

In September of 2009, Aspen also wrapped up a three-year series of conferences sponsored by the U.S. Department of State aimed at promoting greater political participation in the Near and Middle East. In September, June, April and February 2009, Aspen convened the last of a series of thirteen conferences between experts and activists from the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Iranian Diaspora, the Muslim world, the Middle and Near East, Europe and the United States. Focusing on digital media and women’s rights, Aspen organized support networks and practical training for two groups of activists that subsequently played critical roles in highlighting the shortcomings of the disputed June 2009 Presidential elections in Iran. Aspen also concluded similar programs directed at expanding the space for democratic participation in the Syrian Arab Republic and Lebanon. Your contribution to Aspen helped provide ordinary citizens in the Middle East with a greater voice in shaping their own and their children’s future (further information is available at www.aspeninstitute.de/publication).

With your support, and that of the Shepard Stone Foundation, Aspen also organized a series of lectures by high-level speakers. Aspen’s Public Program of Events targets the German public and potential future members of the Friends of the Aspen Institute. Over the last two years, Aspen welcomed Dr. Josef Ackermann, CEO of Deutsche Bank, HSH Prince Hans Adam II, Reigning Prince of Liechtenstein, Yoram Ben-Zeev, Ambassador of the State of Israel to the Federal Republic of Ger-

many, Dr. Bernhard Reutersberg, CEO of E.ON Ruhrgas AG, Roland Koch, Premier of the German Federal State of Hessen, Lt. General Roland Kather, Commander, Allied Land Component Heidelberg, Dr Manfred Bischoff, Chairman of the Supervisory Board of Daimler AG, Bill Schneider of CNN, Bruce Hoffman of Georgetown University, former German Federal Minister Brigitte Zypries, and former German Bundesbank Board Member Thilo Sarrazin—to name but a few. Members of the Friends of the Aspen Institute and select guests continued to be able to mingle and converse extensively with these speakers during a series of small evening lecture events that Aspen organizes throughout the working year. Such conversations provide Aspen's members with opportunities to exchange and glean insights from prominent decision makers and experts in a manner that is simply not possible at larger-scale, more impersonal events.

Unlike a significant number of other, larger organizations based in Berlin, Aspen Germany's core operating costs are not subsidized by the public purse in any way. Each year, in order to fulfill its mission, the institute has to prove itself again through the quality of its work in order to find funding for project opportunities of the type described above and below. To cover its core operating costs, Aspen relies in large part on the private, charitable membership contributions of the members of the Friends of the Aspen Institute. If you find the mission of the institute and the activities it undertakes in support of its mission convincing, perhaps you too will consider becoming a corporate, private or junior member of the Friends of the Aspen Institute. Information on the benefits of membership and how to become one is provided below.

In closing, I would like to take this opportunity to thank all the organizations and individuals un-

named and named throughout this report for their financial and material support of the Aspen Institute Germany over the last two years. Particular thanks go to the members of the Friends of the Aspen Institute. I believe that this report demonstrates the value of the work that you support.

Best regards,



Charles King Mallory IV,
Executive Director & CEO
Aspen Institute Deutschland e.V.

ABOUT ASPEN

THE MISSION OF THE ASPEN INSTITUTE IS TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF LEADERSHIP THROUGH DIALOG ABOUT THE VALUES AND IDEALS ESSENTIAL TO MEETING THE CHALLENGES FACING ORGANIZATIONS AND GOVERNMENTS AT ALL LEVELS.

What do you have from the fact that 36,000 participants* from business, politics, diplomacy and culture have come together at the Aspen Institute Germany in the course of the last 35 years?

* Including 16 Foreign Ministers, 26 U.S. Governors and German State Premiers, 7 Heads of State, 19 Ministers and 7 members of the U.S. Senate

The world is safer

The world is more transparent

The Aspen institute brings business, science, politics, diplomacy and culture together—globally, intellectually, inter-culturally.

Top leaders in different regions of the world, founded eight independent, but closely cooperating, Aspen institutes in order to advance universal values and values-based leadership.

Over 550 leaders from business, science, politics, diplomacy culture and non-governmental organizations support Aspen's activities in over fifty different countries.

On August 28, 1949, two thousand guests celebrated Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's birthday in Aspen Colorado. One year later, the German immigrant Walter Paepcke founded the original Aspen Institute

A U.S. entrepreneur and German immigrant Walter Paepcke (1896-1960) founded The Aspen Institute in 1950 in Aspen, Colorado, after he had been inspired by Mortimer Adler's seminar on the classics of philosophy at the University of Chicago.

Paepcke had visited the collapsing mining town of Aspen in Colorado's Roaring Fork valley in 1945. Inspired by its natural beauty, Paepcke became convinced that Aspen could be converted into a place where leaders could meet in retreat from their daily toil.

To realize this vision, in 1949 Paepcke organized a celebration of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's 200th birthday in Aspen, Colorado. Over two thousand guests took part. Amongst others, Albert Schweitzer, Jose Ortega y Gasset, Thornton Wilder and Arthur Rubinstein attended. Paepcke founded The Aspen Institute one year later.

Paepcke wanted to create a forum at which "the human spirit could blossom" amidst the storms of modernization. He hoped that the institute would help leaders reorient themselves towards eternal truths and ethical values in the daily management of their business.

Inspired by Mortimer Adler's seminar on the classic works of philosophy, Paepcke founded the Aspen Executive Seminar. In the 1960s and 1970s the institute broadened its program with many new programs.

Twenty four years later, German Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt, Die Zeit publisher Countess Marion Dönhoff, German Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker and Shepard Stone founded the Aspen Institute Germany.

In 1974, German Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt, *Die Zeit* publisher Countess Marion Dönhoff, German Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker and Shepard Stone founded the Aspen Institute Germany—as the first Aspen Institute outside of the United States.

Under Stone's leadership (1974-1988), the institute made a significant contribution to achieving mutual understanding between the East and West blocs during the Cold War. Aspen was one of the few places where high-ranking East bloc and West bloc representatives were willing to meet in a neutral, respectful and confidential atmosphere in order to look for solutions to the East-West conflict together.

Under Stone's successors, the institute dedicated itself to the search for solutions to the Yugoslav conflict and other foreign and security policy issues.

The Aspen Institute Germany organizes public events, and conferences and seminars with the goal of reconciliation, promoting peace, preventing conflict and advancing mutual understanding in the Near- and Middle-East, Southeastern Europe, the Commonwealth of Independent States and North-east Asia.

Three programs that regularly publish academic reports form the core of Aspen's current work.

Aspen Leadership Program

Leadership Seminars | On the basis of Eastern and Western classic and modern texts, participants deliberate together on the proper structure of and role of leadership in the “good society”. They thereby gain knowledge and insight, new perspectives and a greater ability to conquer complex challenges.

The Aspen Executive Seminar

For over sixty years, the Aspen institutes have been organizing multi-day retreats for top leaders in order to advance values-based leadership.

Content and Organization

Leaders from Germany and the United States meet for several days and in a Socratic dialogue and intensively discuss philosophical texts from Occident and Orient. The goal is to develop and apply the principles necessary for the construction of a “good society” in a manner relevant for international partnership in mastering a number of critical future international challenges such as:

- The modern welfare state
- Migration
- Integration of minorities
- Climate change

Participants prepare for the seminar via intensive reading of excerpts from relevant texts and deal with the following topics in the process:

- Human Nature
- Natural Law
- Freedom
- Property and Productivity
- Equality and social welfare

Meetings of Foreign Ministers

Aspen convenes an international meeting of foreign ministers once a year. In December 2007-2010 high-ranking U.S. representatives and top politicians and officials met with six Foreign Ministers from Southeastern Europe at a closed-door conference. Last year, German Federal Foreign Minister Dr. Guido Westerwelle and his Austrian counterpart Dr. Michael Spindelegger opened the conference.

The Topics:

- Reconciliation in the Western Balkans
- Regional cooperation
- NATO and EU integration
- Economic development and energy security
- A stable security architecture for Southeast Europe

West Balkan Seminars

The Aspen Institute organizes two seminars a year—one in Germany, one in the region—with four participants each from the USA, Germany and the West Balkans region to discuss current and future challenges to the region.

The events are organized in cooperation with Southeast European governments and are complemented by high-level guest speakers from the respective host country.

The Goals:

- Establishing transatlantic networks that include Southeast European leaders;
- Contributing to the political and economic stabilization of a region that remains important for future European and transatlantic security

Aspen Policy Program

Programs to address current complex policy challenges faced by society.

Conferences and seminars on complex political and social developments: these are analyzed together in confidence and together viable solutions are developed. The institute mediates between conflict parties with the aim of using a holistic approach to defuse or solve the most difficult challenges arising in international relations.

Aspen European Strategy Forum

A strategy forum for top international and transatlantic leaders from business, science, politics, diplomacy and culture, convened to discuss strategic challenges openly and in depth behind closed doors.

- Kickoff presentations by international experts
- Feedback and dialogue with policy makers
- Search for an international consensus
- Development and publication of constructive suggestions that can be implemented, are relevant and are of practical value to policy makers

The Topics:

- 2008 — International State Building and Reconstruction Efforts: Experience Gained and Lessons Learned
- 2009 — Russia and the West: How to Restart a Constructive Relationship
- 2010 — The Strategic Implications of the Iranian Nuclear Program

Aspen DPRK-USA Dialogue

An unofficial, discreet and confidential Track II meeting of senior government officials from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and former senior policy makers and North Korea experts from the United States of America

The Goals:

- Exploring the envelope of possible solutions to the North Korean nuclear crisis
- Making a contribution towards renewed DPRK-U.S. contact in official channels

The Topics:

- Denuclearizing the Korean Peninsula
- Conventional Armaments Reductions
- International Economic Cooperation with the DPRK
- Normalization of DPRK-USA relations
- Concluding a peace treaty by which to end the Korean War.

Strengthening Near-Eastern Civil Society

A series of twenty convenings conducted over the course of three years designed to build networks and capacity in key sectors of civil society in the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Syrian Arab Republic and Lebanon.

Aspen Public Program

Public presentations by and discussions with high-profile speakers. A platform at which differing opinions can be exchanged and debated and new ideas can be introduced.

A selection of speakers from 2009-2011:

- Dr. Josef Ackermann, Deutsche Bank AG
- Dr. Manfred Bischoff, Daimler AG
- Dr. Klaus-Peter Müller, Commerzbank AG
- Dr. Bernd Reutersberg, E.ON Ruhrgas AG
- Dr. Dr. Hans-Werner Sinn, ifo-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung
- Bundesminister des Auswärtigen, Dr. Guido Westerwelle
- Roland Koch, Ministerpräsident Hessen
- Bundesminister des Innern, Dr. Wolfgang Schäuble
- Bundesminister Thomas de Maizière
- Brigitte Zypries, Bundesminister a.D.
- Prof. Dr. Volker Perthes, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik
- Dr. Thilo Sarrazin
- Paul S. Atkins, U.S. Securities & Exchange Commission
- U.S. Ambassador to the European Union, C. Boyden Gray
- Elliot Abrams, Deputy U.S. National Security Advisor
- Lt. Gen (ret.) Ricardo S. Sanchez, Coalition Joint Task Force 7
- Prof. Dr. John L. Esposito, Georgetown University
- Dr. Kevin Hassett, American Enterprise Institute
- Prof. Dr. Bruce Hoffman, Georgetown University

Aspen Publications 2009-2010

Krause, Joachim | Mallory, Charles, (eds.),
*The Strategic Implications of the Iranian Nuclear
Program (Aspen Institute Germany: Berlin, 2011)*
Available at www.aspeninstitute.de

Krause, Joachim | Mallory, Charles, (eds.),
*International State Building and Reconstruction
Efforts: Experience Gained and Lessons Learned
(Barbara Budrich: Farmington Hills MI, 2010)*
Available at www.amazon.com

Böhnke, Olaf | Azimi, Amin | Spanta, Frangis Dad-
far | Zillich, Helena | Morton, Allison | Reynolds,
Justin | Gottwald, Ramona | Schreer, Benjamin |
Mallory, Charles, *Iran: Supporting Democratic Re-
formers (Aspen Institute Germany: Berlin, 2010)*
Available at www.aspeninstitute.de

Krause, Joachim | Kuchins, Andrew | Rahr, Alexan-
der, Schreer, Benjamin | Mallory, Charles, *Russia
and the West: How to Restart a Constructive Re-
lationship (Aspen Institute Germany: Berlin, 2009)*
Available at www.aspeninstitute.de

Over five hundred additional academic reports
published by the Aspen Institute Germany can be
obtained at www.aspeninstitute.de

The Friends of the Aspen Institute Exists so that the Aspen Institute Germany can continue to work independently in the future as well

Representatives of German business, science, pol-
itics, diplomacy and culture founded the Friends of
the Aspen Institute (Verein der Freunde des Aspen
Institut e.V.) in 1989 in order to support the mission
and goals of the institute.

The institute's work can be supported via a tax de-
ductible membership contribution to the Friends of
the Aspen Institute, as a Corporate, Private or Jun-
ior member. The revenues generated in this manner
cover the core operating costs of the Aspen Institute
Germany. This financial support permits the insti-
tute's staff the freedom to execute the institute's
mission.

Benefits of Membership in the Friends of the Aspen Institute

Aspen offers members of the Friends of the Aspen Institute:

- Exclusive access to recognized national and international experts and select, top decision makers.
- Participation in confidential conferences, seminars, roundtables and lectures that deal with the most important current challenges and issues.
- Detailed, non-partisan analysis of important political, economic and cultural challenges
- Insight into the latest political and economic developments and their impact on your work — well before they become known to a broader public
- Access to an international network of decision makers in eight different countries.
- Additional information from books, conference reports, newsletter and events.
- As a corporate member in the Friends of the Aspen Institute (Verein der Freunde des Aspen Instituts e.V) you support Aspen many activities, receive access to our international network, as well as invitations to Conferences, Seminars and public events. In addition, you receive copies of Aspen's publications free of charge.

Would you like to know more?

You are more than welcome to attend one of the next Aspen Public Program events:

freunde@aspeninstitute.de

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Aspen European Strategy Forum
Hotel Adlon, Berlin
September 2010



Shepard Stone
First Director
The Aspen Institute Germany

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Volker Berghahn | Prof. Volker Berghahn is the Seth Low Professor of History at Columbia University. He studied at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, where he received his M.A. before moving to the University of London to do his PhD. After two years as a postdoctoral fellow at St. Antony's College, Oxford, he completed his Habilitation and received his *venia legendi* from the University of Mannheim. From 1969 he taught at the University of East Anglia in England and at Warwick University before accepting a professorship at Brown University in 1989 and his current position at Columbia in 1998. He has published more than a dozen books on modern German history and European-American business relations after 1945. His "America and the Intellectual Cold Wars in Europe" appeared in 2001. It deals with the work of Shepard Stone in early postwar Germany and at the Ford Foundation in the 1950s and 1960s. Stone later became the first director of the Aspen Institute Germany



Hildegard Boucsein | Dr. Hildegard Boucsein works as a political consultant in Berlin with a background in different political, executive and legislative positions. She has worked as senior consultant in federal and regional election campaigns for the CDU and CSU since the 1980s and has different executive positions including Permanent Undersecretary for Federal and European Affairs with the Berlin Senate. In that office she coordinated Berlin's external relations with the European Commission in Brussels and the German Federal Government from 1991 to 2001. She also has a broad background in transatlantic and European-American activities. She serves as a consult-

ant to the EU Center of Excellence at Texas A&M University. She is member of the Executive Board of the Shepard Stone Foundation, Berlin. Boucsein graduated from Düsseldorf University in 1983 (Education and American Studies) with a doctorate in Philosophy. She also studied at Texas Christian University in Fort Worth, Texas and worked as a Visiting Scholar in 10/2000 and 10/2001 at the International Center/George Bush Presidential Library in College Station, Texas. Following her academic education she became head of the Personal Office of the Mayor of Berlin, Eberhard Diepgen (1984-1989).



Reinhard Bütikofer | Reinhard Bütikofer is a member of the European Parliament and was president of Alliance 90/The Greens from 2002 to 2008. Before that, he had been the party's National Executive Director starting December 1998. As one of the leading national politicians within the Green Party, Mr. Bütikofer looks back on a long career within the Green movement, including about 20 years of experience in public life. Mr. Bütikofer became a member of the Greens in 1984 and was also elected to the city council of Heidelberg. In 1988, he was elected to the state parliament of Baden-Württemberg and became the Green parliamentary group's speaker on budget issues and European affairs. In the course of ten years he contributed to his party's platform and became a key campaigner in different national and state elections. In 1997, he was elected chairman of the state-level party organization of Baden-Württemberg. In 1998, Alliance 90/The Greens formed a coalition government with Germany's Social Democratic Party (SPD), holding three government ministries including the ministry of foreign affairs.



Gerhard Cromme | Dr. Gerhard Cromme, born 1943, studied law and economics at the universities of Münster, Lausanne, Paris and Harvard (PMD), where he gained a doctorate. From 1971 to 1986

Dr. Cromme worked for the Compagnie de Saint Gobain group, ultimately as Deputy Delegate General for the Federal Republic of Germany. At the same time he was also Chairman of the Board of Management of VEGLA/Vereinigte Glaswerke GmbH in Aachen. In 1986 he joined the Krupp Group, where he was Executive Board Chairman of the group holding company from 1989. In 1999 Krupp and Thyssen merged to form ThyssenKrupp. Dr. Cromme was Executive Board chairman of the company until 2001. In October 2001 he became Chairman of the Supervisory Board of ThyssenKrupp AG. Since April 2007 Dr. Cromme has been Chairman of the Supervisory Board of Siemens AG. He is also a member of the supervisory boards of Allianz SE, Axel Springer AG and Compagnie de Saint-Gobain. In addition, he is a member of the European Round Table of Industrialists, which he chaired from 2001-2005. From 2003-2007 Dr. Cromme was Chairman of the Supervisory Board of the European School of Management and Technology (ESMT) in Berlin. From 2001 to June 2008 he was Chairman of the Government Commission on the German Corporate Governance Code.



Mathias Döpfner | Dr. Mathias Döpfner, born 1963, studied musicology, German and theatrical arts in Frankfurt and Boston. He started his career as a journalist at the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* in 1982. He was director of a public relations agency from 1988 to 1990. In 1992 he worked for the Gruner + Jahr publishing company in Paris

and later became assistant to the company's CEO. He then held further positions in journalism as editor-in-chief of the *Wochenpost* in Berlin (1994–1996) and the *Hamburger Morgenpost* (1996–1998). He has been with Axel Springer AG since 1998, initially as editor-in-chief of *Die Welt*. Dr. Döpfner became the member of the management board responsible for the multimedia division in July 2000 and took charge of the newspapers division as well in October 2000. He has been CEO of Axel Springer AG since January 2002.

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Leonhard H. Fischer | Leonhard H. Fischer is Chairman of the Board of Trustees of The Aspen Institute Germany and Chief Executive Officer of RHJ International. Prior to joining RHJI, Mr. Fischer

was Chief Executive Officer of Winterthur Group, an insurance subsidiary of Credit Suisse, from 2003 to 2006, and a member of the executive board of Credit Suisse Group from 2003 to 2007. Mr. Fischer joined Credit Suisse Group from Allianz, where he had been a member of the management board and head of the corporates and markets division since 2001. Previously, he had been with Dresdner Bank AG as a member of the executive board since 1998 and with JP Morgan in Frankfurt since 1987. Mr. Fischer holds an M.A. in Finance from the University of Georgia.



Corinne Flick | Dr. Corinne Michaela Flick is Founder and Chief Executive Officer of the Convoco Charitable Foundation gGmbH for the Promotion of Science and Education. She was a co-founder of the Friends of the Bavarian State Library, Munich, is a Member of the Board of Trustees of the Munich Technical University and a

founder of the Friends of the Bavarian State Library, Munich, is a Member of the Board of Trustees of the Munich Technical University and a

Member of the Executive Committee of the Tate Gallery, London. Dr. Flick was an associate of Vivil GmbH und Co. KG, Offenburg and provided legal counsel to Bertelsman Buch AG and amazon.com after receiving her doctorate in law in 1989. In addition to law, Dr. Flick studied literature and minored in American studies. Dr. Flick lives with her husband and daughter in London.



Mircea Geoana | Mircea Geoana is President of the Board of The Aspen Institute Romania and has been the Chairman of the Romanian Social-Democratic Party (PSD) since 2005. He is also the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Romanian Senate. In January 2006, he was elected Chairman of the Socialist International Committee for South-Eastern Europe. Prior to his political career, Mircea Geoana had a successful career as a diplomat. Appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Romania to the United States of America at age 37, in February 1996, he was the youngest ambassador in the Romanian diplomatic corps. From 2000 to 2004, Mircea Geoana served as Minister of Foreign Affairs of Romania. In this capacity, he also served as OSCE Chairman-in-Office in 2001. Mircea Geoana is an expert on transatlantic integration. Author of various books and articles on the subject, he also was a NATO fellow on democratic institutions in 1994. He has lectured on foreign policy, transitional economies, and globalization at major American universities and think tanks. Mircea Geoana has a PhD in world economy from the Economic Studies Academy of Bucharest.

Roland Hoffmann-Theinert | Dr. Roland Hoffmann-Theinert is Chairman of the Friends of the Aspen Institute and a Partner at Görg-Rechtsan-



wälte. He was a founder of the Berlin offices and a long-time member of Görg's management. He leads the company's company law practice, which – with sixty attorneys – is the company's strongest business-line. Hoffmann-Theinert was born Bielefeld Westphalia in 1960, where he finished his training as a Banker at the local branch of the Dresdner Bank. He passed the first state bar exam at Passau. Before he started his articles, Hoffmann-Theinert worked for Dresdner Bank in Singapore in 1986. In 1988 he worked for ABD Securities Inc. in New York. In between these two postings, he was a research assistant to Prof. Dr. Alexander Hollerbach at the Albert-Ludwigs University in Freiburg. He finished his articles at the high state court in Cologne while working as Assistant at the Institute for Banking Law in Cologne. His elective work was at a law firm in Dubai. In 1991 he passed the second state bar exam and received his doctorate from the Albert-Ludwigs University *summa cum laude* and received the Georg F. Roessler prize for Lawyers at the Supreme Court for his dissertation. He began his professional career as personal assistant to a director of one of the leading German finance houses. He switched in the same year to the predecessor company Luer & Görg and opened their Berlin office in 1993.



Walter Isaacson | Walter Isaacson is the President and CEO of the Aspen Institute. He has been the Chairman and CEO of CNN and the editor of Time Magazine. He is the author of Einstein: His Life and Universe (2007), Benjamin Franklin: An American Life (2003), and Kissinger: A Biography (1992) and is the coauthor of The Wise Men: Six Friends and the World They Made (1986). Isaacson

was born on May 20, 1952, in New Orleans. He is a graduate of Harvard College and of Pembroke College of Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes Scholar. He began his career at the Sunday Times (London) and then the New Orleans Times-Picayune/States-Item. He joined Time Magazine in 1978 and served as a political correspondent, national editor and editor of new media before becoming the magazine's 14th managing editor in 1996. He became Chairman and CEO of CNN in 2001, and then president and CEO of the Aspen Institute in 2003. After Hurricane Katrina in 2005, he was appointed by Governor Kathleen Blanco to be the vice-chairman of the Louisiana Recovery Authority. In December 2007, he was appointed by President George W. Bush to be the chairman of the U.S.-Palestinian Partnership, a government and private sector effort to provide economic and educational opportunities for the Palestinian people. He is the Chairman of the Board of Teach for America, and he is on the boards of United Airlines, Tulane University, and Science Service. He is also on the advisory councils of the National Institutes of Health, the National Constitution Center, and the Shakespeare Theatre in Washington, DC.



Josef Joffe | Dr. Josef Joffe is publisher-editor of the German weekly *Die Zeit*. Previously he was columnist/editorial page editor of *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (1985-2000). Abroad, his essays and reviews have appeared in: New York Review of Books, New York Times Book Review, Times Literary Supplement, Commentary, New York Times Magazine, New Republic, Weekly Standard, Prospect (London) and Commentaire (Paris). His second career has been in academia. In 2007, he was appointed Senior Fellow of Stanford's Institute for International Studies (a professorial position),

with which he has been affiliated since 1999. A visiting professor of political science at Stanford since 2004, he is also a fellow of the university's Hoover Institution. He has also taught at Harvard, Johns Hopkins and the University of Munich. Visiting lecturer at Princeton and Dartmouth. His most recent book is *Überpower: America's Imperial Temptation* (2006, translated into German and French). His articles have appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, *The National Interest*, *International Security*, *The American Interest* and *Foreign Policy* as well as in professional journals in Germany, Britain and France. He obtained his PhD. in Government from Harvard. Dr. Joffe is married to Dr. Christine Brinck Joffe. They have two daughters.

Jean-Pierre Jouyet | Jean-Pierre Jouyet, is the Chairman of the Board of Institut Aspen France. Currently he is Chairman of the French securities regulator, the AMF (*l'Autorité des Marchés Financiers*). He was Minister of State, attached to the Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, responsible for European Affairs in the François Fillon government from May 2007. Jouyet graduated from the Paris Institute of Political Studies (IEP), he then went on to study at the *École Nationale d'Administration* ("ENA"). Thereafter he became a member of the group of *Inspecteurs des finances*, before holding a series of senior posts such as Principal at the *Service de la législation fiscale*, and Principal Private Secretary of the Minister of Industry, Foreign Trade and Town and Country Planning until 1991 when he was called to serve initially as Deputy and then Head of Cabinet of the President of the European Commission, Jacques Delors, President of the European Commission until 1995. From 1995 until 1997, Jean-Pierre Jouyet was a partner in Jeantet & Co, a French business law firm, which he left at the request of the Prime Minister Lionel Jospin to become his

Deputy Principal Private Secretary until 2000, during which he contributed to France's entry into the Euro Zone. He then became Head of the French Trésor Directorate from 2000 until 2004, when Nicolas Sarkozy, who had been appointed Minister of Finance, requested him to become France's Ambassador for international economic affairs. During his tenure as Head of the French Trésor Directorate, he was also President of the *Club de Paris*. He was briefly non executive chairman of Barclays Bank France in 2005, before being designated Head of the Service de „*l'Inspection générale des finances*“ within the Ministry of Finance until 2007, before subsequently being appointed Minister of State responsible for European Affairs in François Fillon's government. At the conclusion of this assignment, Jean-Pierre Jouyet was then nominated by President Sarkozy on 14 November 2008 to become Chairman of the French securities regulator, the AMF (*l'Autorité des Marchés Financiers*)



Eckardt von Klaeden | Dr. Eckardt von Klaeden has been Minister of State to the Federal Chancellor with responsibility for liaison with German federal states since 2009. He has been treasurer and member of the praesidium of the German Christian Democratic Union since 2006. From 2005 to 2009 he was the foreign policy spokesman of the CDU parliamentary party in the German Bundestag. He has been a member of the management board of the CDU since 2005. From 2000-2005 he was Whip of the CDU/CSU Bundestag faction. He has been admitted to practice law since 1996 and has been chairman of the CDU in Hildesheim since 1995, after first becoming a member of the German Bundestag in 1994. Dr. von

Klaeden studied law at Göttingen and Würzburg. He is married with three daughters.



Yotaro Kobayashi | Kobayashi is the Chairman of the Board of The Aspen Institute Japan, and is chief corporate advisor, Fuji Xerox Co., Ltd. He serves on the corporate boards of Callaway Golf Company, Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Corporation (NTT), and Sony Corporation, while being a Trustee of Keio University, and Chairman of International University of Japan. He is also the Pacific Asia chairman of the Trilateral Commission and a member of the advisory board of the Council on Foreign Relations and Stanford University's Institute of International Studies. He is a winner of the Japanese government's Blue Ribbon Medal.



Sue Koffel | Sue Koffel is founder of The Math Inquiries Project, a privately funded research project currently studying the social marketing issues of algebra education in California. She has degrees in Mathematics and Cybernetic Systems. Sue and her husband, Martin Koffel, have had a long association with the transatlantic relationship through business, government and policy institutions in Europe and the U.S. Sue has studied several European languages and has a particular interest in German. She breeds and raises Hanoverian horses in California from an imported dressage line. Her husband is Chairman and CEO of the San Francisco-based URS Corporation, the largest engineering company in the U.S.



Helmut F. Meier | Helmut Meier is Senior Advisor, Booz & Company (the former Booz Allen Hamilton) in Düsseldorf and Vienna. In his twenty-six year consulting career he served in many leadership functions, including the lead of the global Communications, Media and Technology practice (CMT) until 2001. He also served on Booz Allen's Board of Directors twice for a three year period (until 2008). Meier has been with Booz & Company since October 1982. Before joining Booz & Company he gained industrial experience in several projects dealing with market and technology development in the communication and information industry. He started his professional career in product and strategic planning at Siemens AG, Munich, and Siemens Corp., Florida, being responsible for the planning of integrated office communication systems. Helmut Meier holds a degree in Computer Science from the University of Bonn and an MBA from INSEAD (*Institut Européen d'Administration des Affaires*), Fontainebleau, France.



Friedbert Pflüger | Prof. Dr. Friedbert Pflüger is a Senior Lecturer at Kings College, London. Previously he was a member of the CDU parliamentary group in the Berlin House of Representatives. Pflüger studied political science, public and constitutional law and economics at Göttingen, Bonn and Harvard, earning his MA in 1980 and PhD. in 1982. He joined the Christian Democratic Union in 1971. Federal chairman of the Association of Christian Democratic Students, 1977 to 78. Deputy Chairman of the European Democrat Students (EDS), 1976 to 78. Member of the federal executive committee of the *Junge Union*, 1977 to 85.

Since 2000 he has been a member of the federal executive committee of the CDU. From 1981 to 84 Mr. Pflüger was an assistant to the Governing Mayor of Berlin. He served as spokesman for German President Richard von Weizsäcker from 1984-89. From 1989-91 he was manager of the Matuschka Group, Munich. In 1991 he became deputy chairman of the CDU's federal committee on foreign policy, ascending to the committee's chairmanship in 1999. From 1990 until 2006 he was a member of the Bundestag where he served on the Defense Committee and the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Disarmament policy spokesman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group, 1994-98 and foreign policy spokesman 2002-05. Chairman of the Bundestag Committee on the Affairs of the European Union, 1998-2002. Parliamentary State Secretary at the Federal Ministry of Defence 2005-06. Chairman of the CDU parliamentary group in the Berlin House of Representatives, 2006-08. Since 2006 he has also been a member of the National Executive Committee of the CDU.



Robert K. Steel | Robert K. Steel is the Chairman of the Board of The Aspen Institute. He was Undersecretary of the Treasury for Domestic Finance from 2006 to 2009. In that capacity, he served as the principal adviser to the Secretary on matters of domestic finance and led the department's activities with respect to the domestic financial system, fiscal policy and operations, governmental assets and liabilities, and related economic and financial matters. Steel retired from Goldman Sachs as a vice chairman of the firm on February 1, 2004. He joined Goldman Sachs in 1976 and served in the Chicago office until his transfer to London in 1986. In London he founded the Equity Capital Markets group for Europe and was extensively involved in

privatization and capital raising efforts for European corporations and governments. He later assumed the position of head of Equities for Europe. In 1994 he relocated to New York and served as head of the Equities Division from 1998-2001 until his appointment as a vice chairman of the firm. He became a partner in 1988 and joined the Management Committee in 1999. Upon his retirement from Goldman Sachs, he assumed the position of advisory director for the firm and then senior director in December 2004. From February 2004 to September 2006 Mr. Steel served as a senior fellow at the Center for Business and Government at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. Mr. Steel received his undergraduate degree from Duke University and his MBA from the University of Chicago. He resides in Connecticut and Washington, D.C. with his wife and three daughters.



Horst Teltschik | Prof. Dr. Horst Teltschik was the Foreign and Security Advisor to German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. He is Chairman of Teltschik Associates GmbH. He is also the former president of Boeing Germany. Prior to serving in this position, he was a member of the Board of Management of the BMW Group specializing in economic and governmental affairs, and was chairman of the BMW Foundation Herbert Quandt in Munich. Dr. Teltschik also served as chief executive officer of the Bertelsmann Foundation in Gütersloh. In his role as a public servant, he worked as ministerial director at the German Federal Chancellery; was head of the Directorate General for Foreign and Intra-German Relations, Development Policy, and External Security; and served as national security advisor to the German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl. Dr. Teltschik is a member of the Uni-

versity Council of the Munich Academy of Arts, and also of the International Advisory Board of the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, USA. He is a lecturer at the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences at the Munich Technical University.

Gautam Thapar | Gautam Thapar is the Chairman of The Aspen Institute India. He was born in 1960, educated at the Doon School in India, and studied chemical engineering in the U.S.A. Upon returning to India, he worked as a factory assistant in one of his family owned manufacturing companies. He rose steadily and steered the organization through a strategic turnaround. Gautam became Group Chairman in 2006, and the conglomerate was re-branded as Avantha in 2007. With a global footprint in over ten countries, Avantha today has business interests in diverse areas, including pulp & paper, power transmission & distribution equipment and services, food processing, farm forestry, chemicals, energy, infrastructure, information technology (IT) and IT enabled services. Gautam passionately promotes education, leadership development and sports. He is also President of Thapar University, President of All India Management Association (AIMA), and President of the Professional Golf Tour of India. Thapar received the Ernst & Young Entrepreneur of the Year Award for Manufacturing in 2008.



Giulio Tremonti | Prof. Giulio Tremonti is Chairman of Aspen Institute Italia and Minister of Finance of the Italian Republic. Previously, he was Vice President of the Italian Chamber of Deputies and a professor at the University of Pavia's Faculty of Law as well as co-editor of the *Rivista di Diritto Finanziario e Scienza delle Finanze* (Financial Law and Science Review) and a member of the

moral science section, of the *Istituto Lombardo Accademia di Scienze e Lettere*. He has been a Senior Teaching Fellow at the Institute of European and Comparative Law at Oxford University and has had work published by *Il Mulino*, *Mondadori*, and *Laterza*. Mr. Tremonti has participated in a number of national commissions including the Italian-Vatican Commission. He was president of the Commission for Currency Exchange Control Reform. In 1994 he was elected to the Lower House of Parliament (Chamber of Deputies) for the XII Legislature. He was re-elected in the two following legislatures (XIII and XIV). He was Finance Minister in the first Berlusconi Government (1994). He was also a member of the Joint Parliamentary Commission for the Reform of the Italian Constitution as well as chairman, during the Italian term, of the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), the G7 and the Ecofin Council.



Karsten D. Voigt | Karsten D. Voigt was the Coordinator of German-North American Cooperation at the German Federal Foreign Office from 1999 to 2009. He majored in history and in German and Scandinavian studies at the Universities of Hamburg, Copenhagen and Frankfurt. Mr. Voigt became actively engaged in politics at an early age. He accompanied witnesses during the Auschwitz trial proceedings and took part in the Anti-Vietnam war demonstrations. From 1969 until 1973 he served as Chairman of the German Young Socialists Organization. From 1984 until 1995 he was a member of the Executive Committee of the German Social Democratic Party and from 1985 to 1994, member of the Executive Committee of the Party of European Socialists. From 1976 to 1998, he served as a Member of the German Federal Parliament (*Bundestag*) for the Social Democrats (SPD). From

1977 to 1998 he also served as a Member of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, of which he was President between 1994 and 1996. Mr. Voigt's expertise is in the fields of foreign policy and security. From 1983 to 1998, he was foreign policy spokesman of the SPD parliamentary group.



Klaus Wowereit | Klaus Wowereit is the Governing Mayor of Berlin and Vice Chairman of the German Social Democratic Party. He was elected to office on 16 June 2001 and won reelection on 23 November 2006. As Berlin is both Germany's capital and one of the country's sixteen federal states, Wowereit serves as mayor of the city and head of the federal state. Since 23 November 2006, he has also been the Senator (State Minister) for Cultural Affairs. Wowereit attended the Free University of Berlin, where he received his law degree in 1981. He served from 1979 to 1984 as an assembly member in Berlin's Tempelhof district and worked for the Senate Department of the Interior from 1981 to 1984. At thirty, he became the city's youngest municipal council member for the Tempelhof district, and in 1995 he was elected to the city's parliament. He served as deputy head of the SPD parliamentary group in the Berlin House of Representatives from 1995 to 1999 and subsequently as their leader from December 1999 to June 2001. On the federal level, he was appointed President of the *Bundesrat*, the upper house of the German parliament, for a one-year term from 1 November 2001 to 31 October 2002. On 1 January 2007, he started a four-year term as Germany's Commissioner for Franco-German Cultural Affairs, giving him cabinet status in the federal government.

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Christoph Abeln | Dr. Christoph Abeln is founder and attorney for labor law at the Berlin law offices of Abeln Attorneys for Labor Law. After studying in Freiburg and Munich, Dr. Abeln received his PhD. From the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich. His dissertation compared “The Legal Status of Management Board Members and Works Council Members”. After taking articles in Berlin, he passed the bar in 1994. In addition to his work as an attorney, Dr. Abeln has spoken at the German Society for Personnel Management, the labor policy publishers “Labor and Law” as well as at the Forum Institute for Management GmbH.



August von Joest | August von Joest is a partner at Odewald & Compagnie, Germany’s leading private equity firm. Mr. von Joest was trained at BMW AG in Munich and Bonn and at Gebr. Weyersberg GmbH in Solingen. After serving abroad in Seoul, Hong Kong, and Vietnam from 1972 to 1974, Mr. von Joest worked as a manager at CCC Hamburg and at Michael Thomas & Partner in Hamburg, Nigeria, and Saudi Arabia. Mr. von Joest was Director, National and International Sales at MBB’s Helicopter Division in Munich from 1980 to 1990. After one year as Assistant Director at the *Treunhandanstalt* in Berlin, Mr. von Joest became Managing Director, Europe of Price Waterhouse Corporate Finance and Recovery.



Joachim Krause | Prof. Dr. Joachim Krause has been Professor of International Relations and Director of the Institute for Social Sciences at Christian-Albrechts University in Kiel since 2001.

From 1978 to 1993, Krause was a researcher at the research institute of the *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik*. Next, he was deputy director of the German Council on Foreign Relations (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik*) until 2001 and then Steve Muller Professor for German Studies at the Paul Nitze School for Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University in Bologna, Italy from 2002 to 2003. In addition to his professional activities, professor Krause has been a member of numerous German government delegations, including to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva 1988-1989 and the UN Special Commission and Observer Mission in Iraq from 1991-1992.



Peter Lennartz | has been a partner at Ernst & Young since 2002. His customers include well-known local and international clients in the solar power and health care industries. In addition to his work for Ernst & Young, which took him to Boston USA from 1992 to 2002, Mr. Lennartz works as an auditor and tax advisor. He sponsors the “Entrepreneur of the Year” campaign and has close ties to numerous start-up companies in Berlin.



Charles Mallory | Charles King Mallory IV received his education at *Volksschule* in Hamburg, at Westminster School London and at Middlebury College, Vermont; he studied for an M.A. in International Relations at Johns Hopkins University and a PhD. At the RAND Graduate School. Mr. Mallory worked at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute and at *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik*, where he co-wrote the “Role of Chemical Weapons in Soviet Military Doctrine” with Professor J. Krause of Kiel University. Mr. Mallory was

CEO of Credit Suisse Investment Funds Moscow, before joining Allied Capital Corporation - a private equity and mezzanine investment fund. For the five years prior to joining Aspen Germany, he was Senior Advisor to Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs at the U.S. Department of State.



Urs Schwerzmann | is Senior Partner of SchwerzmannTeam. The company specializes in corporate design and corporate communications. He received his training in graphic design at the industrial art schools in Luzern and Zurich, which he graduated from in 1973 with a confederal certificate of competency. Mr. Schwerzmann worked as a graphic artist and art director in Vienna, Milan and Stuttgart from 1974 to 1978. In 1978 Mr. Schwerzmann founded his own design bureaus in Zurich and Stuttgart. Urs Schwerzmann’s work has earned him numerous national and international prizes.



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FINANCIAL RESULTS

BALANCE SHEET
(Euros)

	<i>2007</i>	<i>2008</i>	<i>2009</i>	<i>2010</i>
	<i>Audited</i>	<i>Audited</i>	<i>Audited</i>	<i>Unaudited</i>
Property, Plant & Equipment				
Intangible and Tangible Assets	22.524,00	34.903,0	41.211,10	30.148,28
<i>Sub-Total Property, Plant & Equipment</i>	<i>22.524,00</i>	<i>34.903,00</i>	<i>41.211,10</i>	<i>30.148,28</i>
Current Assets				
Receivables	50.299,88	143.449,20	233.229,51	271.134,61
Other Short-Term Assets	3.018,94	16.499,18	14.106,68	4.820,38
Cash & Cash Equivalents	280.562,75	313.872,95	555.578,68	259.906,41
<i>Subtotal Current Assets</i>	<i>333.881,57</i>	<i>473.821,33</i>	<i>802.914,87</i>	<i>535.861,40</i>
TOTAL ASSETS	356.405,57	508.724,33	844.125,97	566.009,68
Shareholders' Equity				
Paid in Capital	20.297,48	20.297,48	20.297,48	20.297,48
Retained Earnings	85.730,66	136.273,31	305.749,35	288.957,03
<i>Sub-Total Equity</i>	<i>106.028,14</i>	<i>156.570,79</i>	<i>326.046,83</i>	<i>309.254,51</i>
Reserves				
Liabilities				
Liabilities to Financial Institutions	0,00	7.969,31	0,00	2.136,54
Liabilities to Sponsors	155.148,61	69.338,95	292.665,45	179.141,46
Liabilities to Personnel	12.838,47	8.788,50	15.993,54	6.774,97
Other Liabilities	71.998,84	97.686,69	36.039,45	38.802,20
<i>Sub-Total Liabilities</i>	<i>239.985,92</i>	<i>183.783,45</i>	<i>344.698,44</i>	<i>226.855,17</i>
TOTAL LIABILITIES &				
SHAREHOLDERS' EQUITY	356.405,57	508.724,33	844.125,97	566.009,68

* Please Note: In 2008, The Aspen Institute changed its business year to end on July 31st

**PROFIT & LOSS STATEMENT
(Euros)**

	2007 <i>Audited</i>	2008 <i>Audited</i>	2009 <i>Audited</i>	2010 <i>Unaudited</i>
Income from Ordinary Activities				
Donations and Contributions	1.135.652,83	1.646.353,72	1.022.976,46	1.024.688,25
Reimbursements	622,95	10.099,13	0,00	-42,95
Other Operating Income	269,92	12.818,24	2.900,57	24.917,55
TOTAL INCOME	1.136.545,70	1.669.271,09	1.025.877,03	1.049.562,85
Expenses				
Personnel Expense	-391.474,70	-495.086,75	-371.548,32	-459.414,59
Event & Travel Costs	-431.978,96	-768.535,52	-244.221,41	-347.836,04
Other Operating Expenses				
Premises	-134.941,80	-200.635,85	-112.951,48	-110.966,67
Vehicles	-1.900,66	-19.804,89	-6.542,43	-11.588,10
Other	-105.156,93	-155.863,05	-114.322,49	-123.875,78
<i>Subtotal other Operating Expense</i>	<i>-241.999,39</i>	<i>-376.303,79</i>	<i>-233.816,40</i>	<i>-246.430,55</i>
Depreciation & Amortization	-8.589,84	-16.746,88	-7.238,80	-12.287,52
Interest & Bank Charges	4.118,77	-452,92	423,94	-386,47
TOTAL EXPENSES	-1.069.924,12	-1.657.125,86	-856.400,9	-1.066.355,17
SURPLUS / (DEFICIT)	66.621,58	12.145,23	169.476,04	-16.792,32

* Please Note: In 2008, The Aspen Institute changed its business year to end on July 31st



Dr. Michael Spindelegger,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Republic of Austria (left)
and
Dr. Guido Westerwelle
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Federal Republic of Germany (right)



ASPEN POLICY PROGRAMS

Aspen Institute policy programs seek to develop solutions for complex policy issues confronting contemporary society. They convene leaders and experts with the goal of reaching constructive solutions to critical problems. They serve as an impartial forum for proven leaders in a given field, bringing diverse perspectives together in pursuit of informed dialogue and effective action. Aspen Germany's policy programs are dedicated to seeking international understanding and identifying common ground by examining complex and controversial policy issues in depth. Aspen achieves this by convening decision makers, policy makers and experts in small, inter-disciplinary groups for off-the-record conferences, workshops and seminars lasting from one to three days.

Aspen Germany's policy 2009-2010 programs included:

- The Aspen European Strategy Forum
- Aspen Iran Civil Society Program
- Aspen Syria Civil Society Program
- Aspen Lebanon Civil Society Program



The Aspen European Strategy Forum

Academic Director: Prof. Dr. Joachim Krause

The objective of the Aspen European Strategy Forum (AESF) is to organize dialogue between key stakeholders on the toughest policy challenges and to build lasting ties for a constructive exchange between leaders in North America, Europe and the Middle East. AESF brings together interdisciplinary groups of decision makers and experts from business, academia, politics and international organizations – who would otherwise rarely meet – for a respectful, non-partisan, in-depth dialogue, exchange of ideas and a search for solutions and common ground.

Aspen wishes to express its sincere gratitude to the Robert Bosch Stiftung GmbH, Aspen Italia, European Aeronautic Defense & Space Company and the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies for supporting the 2010 and 2009 Aspen European Strategy Forum

The Strategic Implications of the Iranian Nuclear Program September 22-24, 2010

The Iranian uranium enrichment program has pre-occupied the international community for the last eight years, ever since the existence of clandestine enrichment facilities established in 1998 at Nantaz and Arak was revealed in 2002. While concerted diplomatic efforts have been made to dissuade the Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI) from continuing on its current course, the world has watched Iran move inexorably closer to the points at which it would either be capable of producing or actually possess one or more nuclear weapons. Because the implications of the ongoing Iranian nuclear program and of a nuclear-armed Iran for the global strategic balance are far-reaching, the 2010 Aspen European Strategy Forum (AESF) met from September 22-24 at the “Haus der Commerzbank” next to the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin to consider the “Implications of the Iranian Nuclear Program” in depth.

The forum was divided into six one and a half hour sessions. The first panel, was presided over by Aspen Institute Germany trustee and AESF co-chair Karsten D. Voigt, the former Coordinator of Transatlantic Relations at the German Federal Foreign Office; it examined the question of how much time is left for diplomacy with Iran concerning its nuclear program. The second session, chaired by Horst Teltschik, former Foreign and Security Policy Advisor to German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, asked whether the international community has been pursuing the correct diplomatic approach to resolving the nuclear crisis. Richard Dalton, of the Royal Institute for International Affairs, former ambassador of the United Kingdom to the Islamic Republic of Iran, led the next panel, devoted to the intentions, capabilities, strengths and weaknesses



of the Iranian government. Michael Stürmer, Chief Correspondent of the German national daily newspaper *Die Welt*, chaired the pre-penultimate session that was devoted to examining military options for dealing with the Iranian nuclear program. Professor Hüseyin Bağcı of Ankara Technical University presided over a discussion of the strategic consequences of a nuclear Iran. And François Heisbourg, Chairman of the Council of the International Institute for Strategic Studies closed the 2010 forum by chairing a wrap-up panel on the strategic implications of the Iranian nuclear program.

In addition, two outstanding after-dinner speakers addressed participants in the forum and provided further food for thought. Eckardt von Klaeden, Minister of State to the German Federal Chancellor Angela Merkel spoke on the topic of “The Iranian Nuclear Program – How Much of a Global Challenge?” and Najmuddin A. Sheikh, former Foreign Secretary of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan provided insights on “How the Dispute Over the Iranian Nuclear Program is Viewed in the Muslim World and Within the Non-Aligned Movement”.

The great variance in current estimates of the time required for Iran to produce nuclear weapons can be traced back to the state of the IRI’s enrichment program. Existing centrifuge designs are flawed, forcing Iran to spend anywhere up to four years to produce a new centrifuge for which it lacks the critical raw materials. The short-term military threat posed by the Iranian nuclear program may, therefore, be overstated. At best, a hiatus of one year will be involved before Iran can start to move beyond this obstacle. However, Iran might thereafter be in a position to surge to the nuclear threshold.

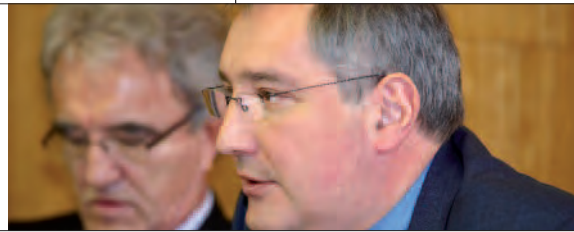
There are alternative diplomatic approaches available to the Iranian nuclear problem and there is,

therefore, room for further negotiation. Although a different set of Iranian actors is at the helm than during previous talks and a very different negotiating process is being employed, the negotiating record with the IRI is not devoid of success. Furthermore the international cohesion needed for successful talks is currently stronger than it was in quite some time. However, internal rivalry and competition within the Iranian regime is significant and may even preclude reaching a diplomatic settlement.

While the jury is out on the effectiveness of economic sanctions, they do send an important signal of international resolve; they also provide a legal justification for the extension of export controls, and permit more effective counter-proliferation efforts.

A narrative of oppression by the West causes the standoff over the nuclear program to strengthen the IRI government’s internal legitimacy, rather than weaken it. Counterintuitively, greater international engagement with Iran might actually weaken the incumbent government.

Failing revelations of egregious IRI behavior or an Iranian attack on Israel, the international community must demonstrate that it has exhausted all possible other options, before taking military action against Iran’s nuclear program, if it wishes to maintain legitimacy. However, states’ appetite for military action is low and go-it-alone coalitions of the willing will erode the cohesion of existing alliances. A number of non-kinetic, escalating military measures short of war can reinforce diplomatic signals. In the event that a military attack should be mounted, a short and sharp action has distinct advantages. However, significant Iranian retaliation will follow, whichever option is chosen.



The past behavior of the Iranian government, the perceived nature of the current political regime in Iran and its perceived intentions are causes for concerns regarding the consequences of Iran attaining the nuclear threshold. Greater aggressiveness on behalf of an Iran (or its proxies) that perceives itself as inoculated against retaliation may be expected. Declaratory policies aimed at containing Iran's breakout are unlikely to provide the necessary comfort to states in the region. A regional nuclear arms race may ensue. Nor can a future acute nuclear crisis in southern Lebanon be totally discounted. Failing military action before the IRI reaches breakout, proliferation, enhanced counter-proliferation efforts and greater reliance on ballistic missile defenses will likely characterize the international community's response.

A copy of the full conference report can be obtained at www.aspeninstitute.de/en/publication

**Russia & the West:
How to Restart a Constructive Relationship
November 05, 2009**

The Aspen Institute Germany chose to celebrate twentieth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall by organizing a series of substantive meetings to examine one of the largest unresolved strategic questions since the fall of the wall: "Russia and the West: How to Restart a Constructive Relationship?" The 2009 forum was organized in cooperation with Aspen Italia under the aegis of five additional, outstanding international statesmen or "principals": Aleksander Kwasniewski, the former President of the Republic of Poland, Prof. Giuliano Amato, the former Prime Minister of the Republic of Italy, Gary Hart former U.S. Senator from the State of Colorado, Dr. Dmitry Olegovich Rogozin, Ambassador of the Russian Federation to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and Eckart von Klæden, at the time Foreign Policy Spokesman of the parliamentary party of the German CDU/CSU. The goals of the exercise were to answer three basic questions:

- What were the sources of friction that caused the relationship between Russia and the "West" to go off track?
- What common national interests do Russia and the West share?
- How can a new Euro-Atlantic security order be built where Russia believes that it can advance its interests by acting within the system and from which both Russia and its neighbors do not perceive a threat to their security or national interests?

A first workshop was convened in Washington DC

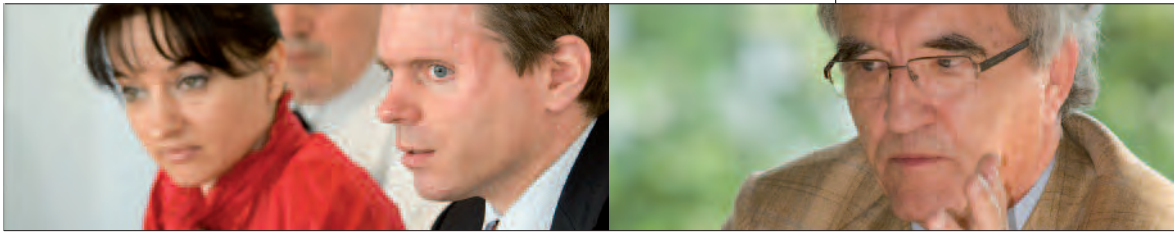


in June 2009 in cooperation with the American Institute for Contemporary Germany Studies and Aspen Italia; it was designed to solicit U.S. input on these issues and involved meetings with key U.S. policy makers and strategists in the areas of foreign policy, security policy, energy policy, non-proliferation and arms control. A second workshop was convened in Berlin in cooperation with Aspen Italia in August 2009; it was designed to solicit Russian and Central and East European views on the same questions and involved leading experts from the Russian Federation and governmental representatives from Central and East Europe. A list of participants and an agenda for each set of meetings are available in the conference report.

Under the guidance of the statesmen listed above, Professor Joachim Krause (University of Kiel, Academic Director of AESF), Andrew Kuchins, PhD (Center for Strategic and International Studies), Alexander Rahr (German Council on Foreign Relations), Dr. Benjamin Schreer (Deputy Director, Aspen Institute Germany) and Charles King Mallory IV (Executive Director, Aspen Institute Germany) wrote a report in an attempt to provide consensus answers to the three questions outlined above and to identify enduring areas where views diverge and consensus cannot be reached. The report was presented at a conference on November 05, 2009 at the “*Haus der Commerzbank*”, right next to the Brandenburg Gate, by the former prime minister of the Italian Republic Prof. Giuliano Amato; its key findings are summarized below.

Any attempt to restart a constructive relationship with Russia requires new approaches in the intertwined areas of strategic nuclear arms reductions, nuclear non-proliferation, and ballistic missile defense. Recommendations to move forward in this area include:

- Negotiations between the United States and Russia on a follow-on treaty to the START I treaty.
- Discussion of the role of nuclear weapons in respective military doctrines. Future deep cuts in U.S. and Russian strategic arsenals depend on finding consensus on a new concept of strategic stability, which moves beyond the Cold War logic of mutually assured destruction. In the longer-term, “virtual nuclear arsenals” could form the basis for a new concept of deterrence and strategic stability.
- Bilateral negotiations on further strategic arms reductions should be complemented by international initiatives involving the other nuclear weapons states. Possible initiatives include: a freeze on existing nuclear arsenals; a freeze on further production of weapons-grade fissile material, which should be followed by an international convention banning the production of fissile material for weapons purposes; a global INF-treaty, i.e. a treaty banning possession, production and employment of intermediate-range nuclear forces; and a political process by which the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (“CTBT”) gradually enters into full force.
- Ballistic missile defense will play a crucial role in any new concept of strategic stability between Russia and the West. Both sides should reach an agreement on the future mixture of offensive and defensive systems (i.e. a new concept of strategic stability), which will become increasingly intertwined as warhead levels decrease. This, in turn, should redound to the benefit of Russia’s immediate Central and East European neighbors (“CEE”) who have strong reservations about Russia’s current levels of nuclear armament.



- Without more extensive cooperation on the Iranian nuclear program, efforts to restart the relationship between Russia and the West will be hobbled. Moscow should revise its “relaxed” attitude to the Iranian nuclear program and join the West in applying the logic of collective security to this case. Much could be gained if the Russian government were unequivocally to join the West in confronting the Iranian leadership with the threat of serious consequences (such as a ban on the sale of refined products and other important items) if Iran is not ready to halt its enrichment programs, disclose the full extent of its nuclear program and resume implementation of the additional protocol of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Confronting Islamic extremism and drug trafficking, particularly in Afghanistan, and increasing cooperation in maritime security and the Arctic Sea form additional fields of potential security cooperation.

- Containing Islamist extremism constitutes a very promising area of cooperation between Russia and the West given their overlapping interests. This cooperation should be expanded so as to end Russia’s policy of ambivalence between interest in avoiding NATO’s failure in Afghanistan and uneasiness about Western troop presence in Central Asia. Afghanistan will be the litmus test in this regard. Agreements reached during the first half of 2009 included U.S. rights for the overflight of lethal materials over Russian territory; Russia was also very forthcoming concerning overland ground transport of non-lethal goods to Afghanistan in the context of the emerging Northern Distribution Network (“NDN”).
- Cooperation in the struggle against drug trafficking in Afghanistan should be scaled up, particularly with regards to training Afghan policemen and law enforcement officers.
- Cooperation in the area of maritime security could be expanded to include joint exercises and training missions. A joint NATO-Russian initiative to establish an international court specialized in dealing with cases of maritime piracy could also be envisaged. Beyond that, NATO and Russia might even ponder cooperating on a long-term solution for Somalia, since the lack of functioning state structures in that country feeds not just piracy but also terrorism and migration. A new start is urgently needed in the area of energy security.
- Further negotiations on the basic elements of the Energy Charter Treaty (“ECT”) are unavoidable. The treaty needs provisions that enable and protect international commercial investments in both the upstream and the downstream sector and its existing dispute resolution mechanism should be revised. The treaty should also establish more specific rules for the transit of natural gas and crude oil through pipeline networks.
- The EU, Russia and the United States could jointly develop a plan for the modernization of Siberia as a practical tool by which to achieve the goals of an energy alliance and to achieve the diversification of the Russian economy – a matter of long-term, common, strategic interest to both Russia and the West.
- Europe and the United States could take part in Russia’s program to improve energy efficiency, with a particular emphasis on natural gas.



- The European Union could be tasked with devising a “European Energy Solidarity Pact”, by which Western European countries are able to assist Central and East European states, which are heavily dependent upon Russian gas and oil deliveries, in times of crisis.
- Russia, the EU and the United States should consider further expanding joint projects including: dismantling visa barriers; expanding academic exchanges; and establishing a free trade zone, short of full Russian EU membership.
- Russia, the European Union and the United States might also consider taking joint steps in the area of climate control and environmental protection.
- Europe and the United States may want to consider whether the opening of their end markets to the Russian commercial aviation industry might result in more efficient U.S. and European aircraft industries, diversification of the Russian economy and a true incentive with which to keep Moscow interested in further cooperation.
- The European Union may want to consider creating a mechanism for economic negotiations with Russia that is not dependent upon achieving consensus among all twenty-seven member-states.
- Investment in Russia could be advanced by a project by the EU commission, the U.S. Department of Justice and Russian authorities to implement a streamlined Russian commercial dispute resolution mechanism. Increased exchanges between senior- and mid-level regulatory staff could also be helpful. Further, efforts to achieve minimum, mutually recognized list-

ing standards, designed to reduce the cost of access to capital by Russian companies and to promote Moscow as an international source of capital could also be initiated.

A copy of the full conference report can be obtained at www.aspeninstitute.de/en/publication



Aspen Iran Civil Society Program

Senior Program Officer: Olaf Böhnke

Aspen's Iran Civil Society Program invited leaders of civil society, policy makers, business people and media representatives to discuss issues such as economic prospects, human rights, democratic development and free media at small informal meetings in Europe, America and the region on a regular basis. Aspen aimed to improve mutual understanding, educate one another on current developments, and ensure continuing communication despite international political tensions. By bringing together policy makers with representatives of civil society and the private sector Aspen also aimed to learn about social and political developments in the region and promote open dialogue between the Middle East, Europe and America.

The Aspen Institute Germany wishes to express its sincere gratitude to the U.S. Department of State, the Heinrich Böll Foundation, the American Jewish Committee, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, and Harvard University's Berkman Center for Internet and Society for their support of this initiative.

Iranian Civil Society After the Presidential Elections September 8-10, 2009

The thirteenth meeting of Aspen's Iranian civil society program focused on the topic "Iranian Civil Society after the Presidential Elections". The participants of the conference included civil society activists, academics, journalists, and bloggers, all interested in furthering the dialogue about the current situation in Iran. More than half of the group had participated in previous Aspen conferences, enabling established themes to be developed further, new issues to be raised and previous dialogue to be continued. Past Iranian civil society conferences focused on women's rights and the role of technology, bloggers and cyber activists in the Iranian reform movement. The series spanned two and a half years and focused on bringing activists and intellectuals from all realms of study and practice from inside and outside of Iran into the same room for an active discussion on the future direction of Iranian civil society. In the final conference of the series, Aspen continued to facilitate and promote the exchange and dissemination of information amongst members of the Iranian Diaspora and those living and working in Iran.

The overall message of this concluding meeting was that even in times when Iran is not a front page topic, it is important to maintain a dialogue about the main issues facing Iran on a national and international level. While there is currently a major focus on the nuclear issue, matters regarding Iranian civil society have fallen out of regular discussion. The primary focuses of the conference were: What is actually happening within Iran with respect to activist groups, human rights issues and the development of civil society and what is the future of the reform movement? In which manners are the

different civil society movements, such as the women's rights movement and the student's movement connected? What are the assets and what are the weaknesses of these movements? What potential political scenarios lie ahead in the future of the reform movement and at what stage of development is the current civil rights movement? What are the capabilities of Iranians inside the country and how can activists living outside of Iran support the Green Movement? What are the true characters and agendas of the former presidential candidates, Mr. Mir-Hossein Moussavi and Mr. Mehdi Karubi, and what are the public's expectations them?

As a whole, the participants agreed that the human rights issue in Iran should carry great importance within foreign policy deliberations of European and North American countries. A participant stated that the human rights issue has to be the main criterion within the negotiations between the West and the Islamic Republic of Iran. The need for a human rights focus within foreign affairs was emphasized repeatedly. Nearly all participants were hopeful for the future of Iran given the clear changes in the tone of civil society following the presidential elections. However, despite their agreement that change is occurring, they could not reach consensus on which specific scenario will shape Iran's future in the upcoming months and years. As part of a wide-ranging discussion about strategies and perspectives regarding the democratization of the country, a message that can be taken away from the conference is that despite obstacles, the majority of Iranians seek a life with more personal and social freedom and less control by state or religious authorities.

A copy of the full conference report can be obtained at www.aspeninstitute.de/en/publication

Towards a New Transatlantic Strategy on Iran and its Nuclear Program June 29, 2009

The Islamic Republic of Iran is rapidly approaching the threshold at which it can acquire nuclear weapons. At the same time, new opportunities have been presented by changes of policy introduced by the administration of U.S. President Barack Obama and the changed situation after recent elections in Iran. The Heinrich Böll Foundation, the American Jewish Committee and Aspen jointly organized and hosted a one-day, closed door conference on Iran for senior policy makers, practitioners, experts and select members of the media at Aspen. The conference was timely, given the recent presidential elections in Iran. After President Ahmadinejad prevailed, Iranian citizens alleged via massive protests that the election results had been manipulated. Participants from several European countries, the United States of America, the Russian Federation, Israel and the Arab Republic of Egypt attended the conference; it was organized into a keynote speech followed by three sessions.

The keynote speech, titled "Weighing the Options – How to Improve Iran's Cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency and the United Nations Security Council?" was delivered by a former senior United Nations official. The speaker urged greater focus on verification of – as opposed to suspension of – Iranian nuclear activity. As military action would lead to an uncontrolled nuclear program, the speaker ruled it out as a viable policy option. Technological advances had improved the International Atomic Energy Agency's (IAEA) verification capabilities. Iran should therefore be pushed (i) to provide "early design information" to the IAEA, (ii) to permit the IAEA to install additional surveillance cameras in Iran, and (iii) to re-



verse its 2006 abrogation of the additional protocol to the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons that it ratified in 2003. In the speaker's opinion, such steps could give the international community the assurance it sought with respect to the Iranian nuclear program while imposing conditions that Iranian leaders would find much easier to accept. Suspension of nuclear activities was said to be problematic from a legal point of view, said not to enjoy strong support in the developing world and said to be difficult to verify technically.

The first session was titled "Lessons Learned? – A New Transatlantic Approach Towards Iran and its Nuclear Program" and was led by Patrick Clawson of The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Emmanuele Ottolenghi of the Transatlantic Institute in Brussels, and Ruprecht Polenz, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the German Bundestag. The revival of disarmament negotiations and the emphasis of the nuclear issue over regime change were said to have defused international criticism of the U.S. and to have created a more propitious atmosphere for negotiations. Direct U.S. participation in negotiations now permitted security issues and Iran's regional status to be discussed. The Iranian post-election crackdown on protestors had, however, lent new life to a deterrence-versus-preemption debate in the U.S. long thought buried. The Iranian leadership was said to be radicalized and dominated by military elements that are, possibly, less open to negotiation. The effectiveness of sanctions was also debated; they were said to need more time to take effect. Broader sanctions would only hurt the middle class, would not change regime behavior and Chinese and Russian participation could not be guaranteed. This was not the time to change course, but care should be exercised not to undermine the protestors in Iran

while continuing to negotiate with the Islamic Republic.

The next session was devoted to "How to Integrate Regional Partners Into a New Transatlantic Approach?" The session was led by Geneive Abdo, Fellow at the Century Foundation, Washington D.C. and Dr. Oded Eran, Director of the Institute for National Security Studies, Tel Aviv. The discussion started with criticism of the linkage between the Iranian, Syrian and Palestinian negotiating tracks that had been established by the new Obama administration; they are on different timelines and it is unrealistic to link them. Iran's recent elections were said to have undermined its credibility as a democratic model in the Muslim world. The Gulf States and other moderate Arab states that felt threatened by nuclear developments in Iran were identified as capable of mounting additional pressure on Iran. Turkey was also pointed to as a possible mediator. Considerable criticism was directed at the U.S.'s inability to achieve more active Russian and Chinese participation, while India was identified as a government that should be engaged more actively on the issue of the Islamic Republic's nuclear program. A continuing struggle for primacy among "hardliners" and "pragmatists" in Iran was said to be likely in the immediate term. The regime was said to feel weak due to electoral disappointments both at home and in Lebanon and due to Iran's declining legitimacy in the Shī'ite world because of the electoral tactics employed in Iran. The record was said to show that the Islamic Republic has historically been more willing to negotiate when it felt weak. The focus of talks should be Ali Hoseyni Khāmene'i and those around him. Care should be taken to treat Iran as an equal. History was also said to show that an indirect approach to Iran – opening negotiations with another topic of interest, such as Afghanistan – could be the most

fruitful means of eventually getting to the main issue of interest to the international community - the nuclear program.

The final session was devoted to “The Future of a German and EU Foreign Policy Towards Iran” and was led by Volker Stanzl, Political Director of the German Federal Foreign Office, Martin Breins, Deputy Head of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Division of the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the French Republic and Anthony Phillipson Iran Coordinator in the Middle East and North Africa Department of the United Kingdom’s Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Mr. Phillipson was detained in London by local trouble in Tehran and was represented by the United Kingdom’s deputy chief of mission in Germany Mr. Hugh Mortimer. Germans were said to have underestimated both the strength of the opposition in Iran and the nature of the government’s reaction. The German government was calling for an end to the violence and for respect for the right to free assembly while trying not to interfere in Iranian internal affairs. Participants were reminded of the EU policy of offering both incentives for cooperation and sanctions against non-cooperation. The EU and U.S. had tabled a comprehensive offer in 2007. Tehran had decided to await the outcome of the U.S. presidential election before responding. If no response was forthcoming from Iran by September 2009 much tougher sanctions were likely to be introduced. On the other hand, recent turmoil may have paralyzed Iran’s leadership, which could lead to no response whatsoever. In this context the public needs to be reminded that it is Iran that has been putting obstacles in the path of progress towards a solution – not the international community. The EU’s willingness to act jointly in imposing sanctions was openly questioned. Recent events in Tehran and Washington were said to have improved

the probability of such coordinated action. Participants asked whether Israel would strike Iran, if Tel Aviv deemed it necessary, dwelt on the technical difficulties of such an operation and wondered whether containment with all its risks to credibility and security was a policy option that had not received adequate consideration to date.

A copy of the full conference report can be obtained at www.aspeninstitute.de/en/publication



Digital Media and Journalism in Iran

June 13-29, 2009

The internet has become a powerful tool for strengthening Iranian civil society. During the 2009 presidential election campaign, activists, journalists and bloggers used digital media to secure the free flow of information and subject all candidates to critical analysis. As the campaign unfolded, Iranians and foreigners alike depended on the internet for information in the form of blogs and social media such as Facebook and Twitter. At the same time, both activists based in Iran and many external experts agree that the potential of reform-oriented Iranian digital media remains underdeveloped. In addition to facing constant government pressure, Iranian activists and journalists working outside the state-controlled media have little access to state-of-the-art training in international standards of online journalism or the latest technical developments in the area of ‘digital self-defense’. The independent and non-traditional media sectors remain highly vulnerable to external shocks. Though links with regional and Western media have increased, these are still in their infancy.

Aspen’s “Digital Media and Journalism in Iran” conference series grew out of debriefings with a number of Iranian bloggers and journalists who attended events organized by the Aspen during 2008 and 2009. It was shaped by their stated desire for both concrete technical training and face-to-face meetings with professional Western journalists.

Seven Iranian journalists and bloggers traveled to Berlin for the conference, arriving the day after Iran’s presidential vote. The group’s program began with a practical workshop on information technology and communications security tools. This was followed by a seminar on standards of independent

and impartial journalism. Later, the participants spent a week visiting German media outlets in Berlin and Hamburg. The Iranian participants were met with great interest by their German counterparts, who appreciated the opportunity to gain an insider’s perspective on the rapidly unfolding events in Iran. Similarly, the group was warmly welcomed for a number of background discussions with members of the German *Bundestag*, foreign policy experts from government, think tanks and NGOs as well as German and foreign diplomats. Aspen also organized two roundtable discussions in cooperation with partners in Berlin: “The Middle East after the Elections in Iran and Lebanon” (held in cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation) and “Reporting on Iran – Perceptions and Expectations”. The latter event brought the program participants together with a group of German journalists of Iranian origin.

The instruction on information technology security was efficient and participant-oriented. The journalism sessions began with a general introduction to professional standards of journalism as practiced in Germany then branched out to examine the objectivity of journalism in Iran, a topic that led to some particularly heated exchanges. Further arguments about political and social topics emerged during the workshop sessions. While some participants asserted that there can be no distinction between social and political topics in an authoritarian state like Iran, others insisted that there are clear and important differences between these topics. It became apparent that it is difficult to make a distinction between independent journalists, social or political activists and bloggers in Iran, as journalists often use blogs as an avenue for the publication of uncensored opinions or to advocate particular political messages.

Visiting German media outlets, including public

sector radio and television stations, gave the Iranian participants a broad-based introduction to the media environment in a democratic state. Since none of the participants worked for the Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA) or other state-run media outlets they had not had access to broadcasting stations in Iran and were eager to get a first hand view of television and radio news operations as part of their visit to Germany. Meetings with German newspaper editors offered participants the opportunity to compare their own working environment to that of their German counterparts, with particular attention to such issues as story selection, newsroom hierarchies and censorship. Due to political developments following Iran's presidential election, all of the German journalists the participants encountered were keenly interested in the participants' views regarding the political situation in Iran.

A copy of the full conference report can be obtained at www.aspeninstitute.de/en/publication

Digital Media and Journalism in Iran

April 1-3, 2009

From April 1-3, 2009 Aspen and Harvard University's Berkman Center for Internet & Society and Aspen convened a group of leading bloggers, technologists, cyber-activists, human rights lawyers, and academics - representing countries from across the Middle East, Europe, Canada and the United States - to discuss blogging and the activist Internet in the Middle East.

In the course of two days bloggers discussed a range of topics including the comparative analysis of the Arabic and Persian language blogospheres, filtering and censorship of the Internet in the region, cyber-activism, legal frameworks used to limit online speech, and human rights in Iran. At the end of each full day of the conference, participants broke up into self-selected groups to dig deeper into topics of their own choosing, including: practical software training and tactics for staying safe online, how to use the power of crowd sourcing to advance online projects, and examples of successful cyber activism projects in the region.

The objectives of the event were to bring together a diverse group of internet experts from a range of countries - including Iran, Egypt, Jordan, the Gulf, and Yemen, among others - to engage in mutual learning and understanding about similar issues that they encounter, share examples of successful projects in the region, identify problems that limit their success and methods by which to overcome these obstacles. The organizers hoped that, through a series of discussions and informal networking opportunities, it would be possible to build community in this space further and create ties between participants who can draw on each other for help in the future and identify areas of future coopera-



tion. Further, for those that already work together remotely, this type of event allows critical face-to-face networking and relationship building which is essential for the success of cyber activist communities. For those new to the field, opportunities were also provided to learn directly from leading experts in fields as diverse as IT security, filtering, censorship, online media, blogging, and cyber activism. Practitioners in the field were also able to ground truth research and identify future research topics that can be of most use to bloggers and activists in the region.

A copy of the full conference report can be obtained at www.aspeninstitute.de/en/publication

Civil Society and the Women's Movement in Iran

February 11-13, 2009

From February 11-13, 2009, Aspen hosted its third informal meeting on “Civil Society and the Women’s Movement in Iran”. This three-day conference brought together members of the Iranian women rights’ movement both from Iran and from the Iranian Diaspora. In both presentations and open discussions during six conference sessions, twenty-eight participants made up of activists, academics, artists, journalists, and members of non-governmental organizations from Iran, Europe and the United States, examined some of the most critical issues facing the Iranian women’s movement. Sessions covered such topics as legal discrimination against women, Islamic and secular feminism, the relationship of Islamic law to social equality, and the role of the Islamic headscarf – *the hejab* - in Iran.

This Aspen conference was especially timely in light of the Iranian government’s recent attempt to enact a revised “Family Protection Bill” in parliament that would codify and magnify gender inequality in Iranian law. In response, a coalition of Iranian men and women mobilized opposition to discriminatory provisions of the proposed Family Protection Bill. This coalition united Iranians with a wide range of political and religious commitments both in Iran and internationally to oppose and address gender discrimination in Iran, and was an unprecedented development in the history of the Iranian women’s movement. The coalition successfully created a majority in parliament to suspend the bill unconditionally.

In June, when Iran holds presidential elections, Iranians will decide whether to retain Mahmoud Ah-

madinejad (who has repeatedly demonized feminism as a foreign ideology aligned with the imperialist West) as the nation's most visible officeholder. These events called for Aspen to examine issues facing the Iranian women's movement including: the possibility of collaboration between activists within Iran and in the Iranian Diaspora, the place of Islam in the struggle for female equality, and effective long-term and short-term strategies for overcoming discrimination.

A copy of the full conference report can be obtained at www.aspeninstitute.de/en/publication



Aspen Syria Civil Society Program

Senior Program Officer: Eva Dingel

The situation of civil society and the political opposition in the Syrian Arab Republic is complex. The population, for one, still needs to gain an understanding of the legitimate, positive contribution that civil society organizations can make to open societies.

Civil society organizations in Syria operate against the backdrop of a state of emergency that has been in force since 1963. The state of emergency was introduced by the Syrian military and is of questionable legitimacy since it was approved neither by the Syrian parliament nor by the Syrian civilian government of the time. Syrian authorities justify the continued state of emergency with the security threat that they perceive as emanating from Israel.

Because of the Syrian authorities' security mentality, the government tends to suspect non-governmental organizations of constituting a potential fifth column within the country. And because there is no adequate legal basis for civil society organizations in Syria, most civil society organizations operate there illegally or in a legal grey zone, with limited rights. Civil society organizations with less political agendas face fewer restrictions in operating in this twilight zone. In other cases, however, the government can go as far as trying to drown out civil society activism by creating rival organizations of its own. Even organizations enjoying quasi-governmental sponsorship can still face significant bureaucratic obstacles due to the prevailing security mentality.

The Aspen Institute Germany wishes to thank the U.S. Department of State for its support of this initiative

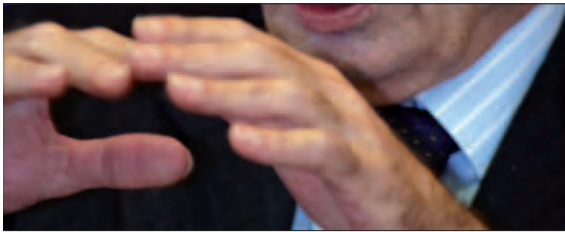
The Kurdish Minority in Syria January 22-24, 2009

The Kurdish minority in Syria is the second largest ethnic group living in the country (approximately one million people, or ten percent of the total population), but the government of President Bashar al-Assad does not recognize it. Gaining official recognition as an ethnic minority is Kurdish political activists' top priority. Among the various Kurdish opposition parties, however, the degree of recognition and autonomy envisaged varies. It ranges from the right to exercise cultural traditions and the demand for recognition of the Kurdish dialect as an official state language, to the desire for near-autonomous government in the areas of Kurdish settlement in Northern Syria.

Aspen convened Kurdish opposition activists from Syria between January 22 and 24, 2009 in Cairo, Egypt. Representatives attended the meeting from seven of the twelve major Kurdish political parties in Syria, as well as a number of international observers. All three major Kurdish party alliances, into which the twelve individual parties are grouped, were represented: The Kurdish Democratic Alliance in Syria (Hevbendiya Dêmkrat a Kurd li Sûriyê), Kurdish Democratic Front in Syria (Eniya [Ni timan] a Dêmkrat a Kurd li Sûriyê), and Kurdish Coordination Committee (Komîta Tensîqê yaKurdî).

The meeting aimed to map where the different parties stand politically, and how well they are equipped to achieve the goals they have set for themselves. After two days of intensive debate, the majority of parties present deemed it necessary to forge greater unity between different groupings on the Kurdish political scene in Syria. Additionally, the majority agreed that closer contact should be

established with Arab opposition activists within Syria, with the aim of forging a common strategy for all opposition parties and activists in order to work towards a greater degree of democratic opening in Syria.



Aspen Lebanon Civil Society Program

Senior Program Officer: Eva Dingel

The Aspen Lebanon Civil Society program's primary purpose is to promote the emergence of a vibrant civil society in a democratic and truly sovereign Lebanon. In pursuing this goal, Aspen seeks to engage all Lebanese communities and interest groups, with a particular interest in and emphasis on the Shī'ah communities.

The Aspen Institute Germany wishes to thank the U.S. Department of State for its support of this initiative.

20 Years After Taif: Still a Roadmap for Reform?

October 1-2, 2009

On October 1-2, Aspen hosted a conference marking the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Taif Accords, which ended Lebanon's long and bloody civil war at the end of 1989. Many provisions of the accords, which not only set out to end the conflict, but to improve administrative structures, the legal and parliamentary systems, and to de-confessionalize the political system in the long term, remain unimplemented today. Aspen invited a number of experts, political decision makers, academics, and civil society representatives from Lebanon to discuss the most pressing issues for reform, how they should be prioritized, and what obstacles they face in being implemented. The discussions were joined by researchers and experts from Europe and the United States who are concerned with reform in Lebanon. At the end of the meeting, the issues of accountability, of clientelistic structures and lack of independent institutions emerged as key factors that hinder substantial reform of the political, legal and social system. The role of outside actors in facilitating reform processes was also examined, with the conclusion that outside fora for reform provide great opportunities for generating reform momentum.



Dr. Raffi Gregorian
Brcko Supervisor and Deputy High Representative
Office of the High Representative and EU Special Representative



Aspen Leadership Program

*Senior Program Officer: Matthias Dornfeldt,
Program Assistant: Valeska Esch*

Aspen has built lasting relationships and international understanding over the years by convening international meetings of proven leaders from business, politics, academia and the media. In a series of sessions, leaders form study groups to examine and discuss in depth issues on the current international policy agenda; they participate in team-building exercises and thereby establish personal relationships and the basis for an ongoing open, respectful dialogue between international decision makers..

The Aspen Institute gratefully acknowledges support from the Transatlantic Program of the Federal German government funded by European Recovery Program funds of the Federal Ministry of Economy and Technology, the German Federal Chancellery, the German Federal Ministry of Economics and Technology, the German Federal Foreign Office, the Parliamentary Group on Bosnia and Herzegovina in the German Federal Parliament, the German Federal State of Brandenburg, the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany to Albania, the Embassy of the United States to the Federal Republic of Germany, the Embassy of the United States to the Republic of Albania, the Embassy of the Republic of Austria to the Federal Republic of Germany, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania, the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the European Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Museum Villa Schöningen and the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

In recognition of the crucial role that transatlantic cooperation can play in the establishment of free and democratic civil societies in the Western Balkans, the Aspen Institute Germany has convened a series of conferences for leaders from the United States (U.S.), Germany and the Western Balkans, over the past three years.



**Perspectives for Southeast Europe:
Germany, Austria and the U.S. in Dialogue
with Leaders from the Region,
December 10-11, 2010**

From December 10-11, 2010, the Embassy of the Republic of Austria to the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Federal Foreign Office and the Aspen Institute Germany convened Ministers of Foreign Affairs from the Western Balkans, Germany and Austria, as well as high-ranking U.S., German and Austrian decision-makers for a public event at the Austrian Embassy in Berlin and a closed-door conference at Aspen's old premises on Schwanenwerder. Over two days, participants discussed the opportunities for and challenges to Western Balkan states in joining the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and debated the prospects for better regional cooperation and the implications of the global financial and economic crisis for the region.

The public event was opened by German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Guido Westerwelle and by the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Michael Spindelegger. The public panel was moderated by the German Federal Foreign Ministry's Political Director Dr. Emily Haber.

The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro, Albania, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kosovo and the Ambassador of the Republic of Serbia to the Federal Republic of Germany confirmed their strong commitment towards European and transatlantic integration by joining the EU and NATO. They also expressed their countries' willingness to undertake the necessary reforms. At the same time, they asked the EU to provide clearer conditions for accession, similar to the road map

in the visa liberalization process and to conduct transparent and fair evaluations of countries' reforms. Representatives from the region, moreover, considered NATO membership a key to sustainable peace in the Western Balkans. German, Austrian and U.S. participants reconfirmed their intention to work towards integrating more countries from the region into the EU and NATO. That said, widespread judicial reform needs, the Macedonian-Greek name dispute, unresolved issues emanating from Kosovo's declaration of independence, and the fragile political situation in BiH were identified by participants as major obstacles on the road to further regional cooperation and European integration. The dispute between Kosovo and Serbia was also considered to be a hindrance to progress in the region. Developments in the reconciliation process were discussed, where general consensus was found that the population itself, with the help of civil society initiatives, was the main force for change. Finally, the economic situation in the Western Balkans was debated. Participants identified infrastructure development and the dissolution of regional borders as being central to success.

Following the model of previous Aspen Leadership Conferences, the aim was to establish an informal, off-the-record atmosphere, which allowed participants to develop contacts, increase their mutual understanding and converse openly. For this reason, the closed part of the conference was held in a neutral and protected environment, without media, staff or protocol. The regular panel sessions were complemented by reception and dinner at Schloss Cecilienhof in Potsdam.

A copy of the full conference report can be obtained at www.aspeninstitute.de/en/publication

**Competition in the Business World:
Challenges and Prospects for Bosnia and
Herzegovina,
15-18 September 2010**

From September 15-18, 2010, Aspen held a conference in Berlin, on the topic “Competition in the Business World: Challenges and Prospects for Bosnia and Herzegovina”. During the three-day conference, 28 decision makers from the Western Balkans, the United States and Germany with backgrounds in politics, diplomacy, academia, media, non-governmental organizations and business, convened to discuss business prospects in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

To ensure transition from a post-conflict society to a stable democracy it is pivotal to create a functioning business environment, which attracts foreign investment. This is particularly relevant in the multi-ethnic, post-conflict societies of the Western Balkans and especially Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) where ethno-national divisions dominate the business environment and a lack of stability and infrastructure discourages foreign investment.

Topics discussed during the conference included the problems caused by persistent ethnic division. In this context, the need to fight corruption, organized crime and lingering clientelism, as well as the need for judicial and constitutional reform was widely accepted as necessary for BiH to become internationally competitive. Moreover, participants stressed that corporate social responsibility could substantially contribute to the development of a post-conflict society. Another issue all participants considered vital was that the election process not prevent developments in the economy, education and the improvement of infrastructure. The fact that international actors can still affect the dynamics of

elections to achieve future progress was highlighted. In general, the conviction among the participants was that BiH had to finally overcome its enduring issues – aided by a more systematic approach of the EU and the international community – to reach European standards, overcome ethnic division through regional economic cooperation and offer a business environment for foreign investment that will bring stability and progress to the country and the region.

The conference sessions were complemented by a reception and dinner with Dr. Wolf-Ruthart Born, State Secretary of the German Federal Foreign Office, meetings and receptions with Dr. Christoph Israng, Head of Division 212 (Central, Southeastern, Eastern Europe; South Caucasus and Central Asia) in the Federal Chancellery, Hans-Joachim Otto, Parliamentary State Secretary in the Federal Ministry of Economics and Technology, and a dinner with members of the Parliamentary Group Bosnia and Herzegovina in the German Parliament, hosted by its Deputy Chairman Michael Brand.

A copy of the full conference report can be obtained at www.aspeninstitute.de/en/publication.



Life in a Competitive World: Challenges and Prospects for Bosnia and Herzegovina, April 8-11, 2010

From April 8-11, 2010, Aspen held a conference in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the topic of “Life in a Competitive World: Challenges and Prospects for Bosnia and Herzegovina.” The three-day conference convened thirty decision makers from the Western Balkans, the United States and Germany with diverse professional backgrounds from politics, diplomacy, academia, media, and non-governmental organizations. During the conference, participants discussed the effect of different levels of competition on the political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

During the transition period from a post-conflict state to a consolidated democracy, it is fundamental to develop cooperative competition instead of destructive competition. This is particularly true in a multi-ethnic, post-conflict environment like the Western Balkans and especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where cooperative political competition has often been deficient and destructive ethno-national political competition is predominant.

Topics discussed during the conference included the problems caused by the Bosnian constitution as a product of the Dayton Agreement and the need for reforms. Due to the mutually exclusive goals of the different ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the reform process has come to a standstill. Another issue all participants considered very important was the prospect of EU and NATO membership and the incentives it can offer for the political reform process. Finally, the need for reconciliation, the importance prosecuting war crimes, and the lack of civil society integration into political processes were discussed.

The deliberations during the conference sessions were complemented by meetings with political leaders in Bosnia and Herzegovina. H.E. Sven Alkalaj, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina opened the conference with a speech during the welcoming dinner. Moreover, H.E. Sadik Ahmetovic, Minister of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina, gave a speech to participants, and H.E. Haris Silajdzij, Chairman of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, H.E. Ambassador Valentin Inzko, High Representative and EU Special Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Police Commissioner Stefan Feller, Head of the European Union Police Mission (EUPM) in Bosnia and Herzegovina welcomed the conference participants on their premises. Thereby, participants not only had the chance to discuss pressing political issues of Bosnia and Herzegovina during conference sessions, but also had the opportunity to share their views with the country’s political leaders and gain insight into the current situation from the latter’s perspective.

A copy of the full conference report can be obtained at www.aspeninstitute.de/en/publication.



**A New Transatlantic Dialog with Leaders
from the Western Balkans,
December 11-13, 2009**

From December 11-13, 2009, Aspen convened five Ministers of Foreign Affairs from the Western Balkans as well as high-ranking U.S. and German decision-makers for a closed-door conference at the institute's premises in Berlin. Over two days, participants discussed the opportunities for and challenges to Western Balkan states in joining the EU and NATO, the prospects for better regional co-operation and an energy alliance between Central Europe and Southeast Europe, and the implications of the global financial and economic crisis for the region.

Participants viewed the prospect of the Western Balkans becoming a transit corridor for natural gas from the Caspian basin and the Middle East as an opportunity to reduce Central and Southeastern European dependence on Russian energy supplies and to increase competition in the energy sector. Still, to develop such alternative, the question of financing must be resolved and Europe needs to improve its storage capacity and energy consumption mix. The economic situation in the Western Balkans was also discussed. While the countries of the region have not, so far, been directly much affected by the international economic and financial crisis, there have been indirect effects. One example is the decrease in remittances from the Diaspora. Moreover, there may be political implications for these states' future European integration as EU member states' willingness to accept further integration may have declined as a consequence of the crisis.

The regular panel sessions were complemented by a luncheon with H.E. Philip D. Murphy, Ambassador of the United States of America to the Federal

Republic of Germany, and a reception and dinner at Schloss Cecilienhof at the invitation of Dr. Helmut Markov, Deputy Minister President and Minister of Finance of the Federal State of Brandenburg.

A copy of the full conference report can be obtained at www.aspeninstitute.de/en/publication.



Kosovo and the Concept of Organizational Integrity: Challenges and Prospects, October 8-11, 2009

From October 08-11, 2009 at the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania, Aspen convened a conference in Durrës, Albania, on the topic of “Kosovo and the Concept of Organizational Integrity: Challenges and Prospects.” The three-day conference brought together thirty leaders from the Western Balkans, the United States and Germany from academia, media, non-governmental organizations, the business community and politics. During the conference, participants discussed the role of organizational integrity in post-conflict situations, with a particular focus on the situation in Kosovo.

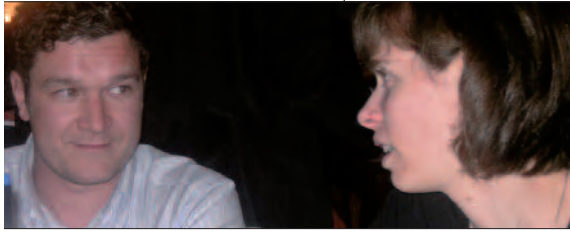
Organizational integrity in the business sector, in state structures and in international organizations is a decisive element for the consolidation of statehood, security and the establishment of trust within post-conflict societies. This is particularly true in a multi-ethnic environment like the Western Balkans and especially in Kosovo, where this condition for sustainable state-building has often been lacking.

The characteristics of organizational integrity, the preconditions for establishing trust in organizational structures, the current situation in Kosovo, and the successes and failures of the international community in state-building, especially as regards the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), were discussed at the conference. While deliberations about integrity mainly focused on anti-corruption measures and transparency in public administration, sessions also touched upon issues such as the building of trust within the Serbian minority in Kosovo, authority,

language barriers, reconciliation as a precondition for long-term stability, as well as Serb perspectives on the situation in Kosovo.

The regular panel sessions were complemented by a special session involving a moderated Socratic dialogue that examined fundamental philosophical texts on values-based leadership, as well as by receptions and an excursion. The latter offered an informal atmosphere in which to continue discussions in small groups, and to exchange views in confidence.

A copy of the full conference report can be obtained at www.aspeninstitute.de/en/publication.



**Trust and Friendship:
A New Transatlantic Dialogue,
May 7-10, 2009**

From May 7-10, 2009, Aspen held a conference on “Trust and Friendship” at Schloss Rißtissen near the city of Ulm, Germany. The three-day conference gathered twenty-four leaders from the Western Balkans, the United States and Germany with diverse professional backgrounds, ranging from academia, media, to non-governmental organizations (NGO), the business community and politicians. During three conference sessions, the participants addressed the role of trust and friendship in the process of nation- and state-building, with a special focus on Kosovo.

In the multi-ethnic environment of the Western Balkans, a common identity across cultural borders is a decisive element for the consolidation of peaceful and stable statehood. Trust and friendship among the citizens of a state are the defining elements of a shared identity. The conference assessed challenges and opportunities for stakeholders involved in the process of establishing trust and friendship in the Western Balkans. Among the topics discussed during the conference were the different forms that trust can take, the difference between trust and friendship on the individual and collective level, the role of a common identity in the process of nation-building as well as practical implications of trust and friendship for the development of the state of Kosovo, especially with regard to the presence of the international community in Kosovo.

A special session involving a moderated Socratic dialogue about selected philosophical texts, an outdoor activity as well as an excursion complemented the conference’s panel discussions.

A copy of the full conference report can be obtained at www.aspeninstitute.de/en/publication.



Vlora Çitaku
Deputy Foreign Minister
Republic of Kosovo





Aspen Public Program

*Program Officers: Anett Sachtleben, Arzu Celep,
Pia von Oppen*

Aspen's public program consists of a series of breakfast, luncheon and evening meetings with top business and political leaders and policy experts. The meetings are organized for the larger public with precedence given to the Friends of the Aspen Institute who pay membership dues that are used to defray Aspen's operating costs. Prospective members of the Friends of the Aspen Institute are invited to experience two to three events before being asked to decide whether to support Aspen financially. The events usually entail no more than forty attendees who gather to hear a twenty-minute presentation by Aspen's guest speaker. The presentation is both preceded and followed by extensive formal and informal conversation periods during which attendees have an opportunity to meet and have a meaningful exchange with Aspen's guest speaker. Attendance is deliberately restricted to a small number and is by invitation only.

Aspen wishes to express its sincere gratitude to the Shepard Stone Stiftung, Institute for Cultural Diplomacy, Embassy of Liechtenstein in Berlin, Union International Club e.V., Daimler AG and the Friends of the Aspen Institute e.V., for making the public program of events possible.

**DR. WILLIAM SCHNEIDER,
Senior Political Analysts, CNN International,**

"Now What? The U.S. after the Mid-Term Elections"

President Obama's standing has declined significantly from its highpoint after the 2008 U.S. presidential elections. Formally, the President of the United States is Commander in Chief of the armed forces. However, voters consider the President to be the Commander in Chief of the economy as well. The President's popularity therefore hinges on the state of the economy, and the poor state of the economy contributed to the Democrats' poor election results.

The United States of America is – in Schneider's view – the most populist country in the world. Polls are taken on every conceivable issue. The judicial system in the United States is the only country that utilizes jury trials. This fact underscores the country's populism and emphasizes the basic trust that the U.S. constitution places in the people. Judges are popularly elected in the United States. This permits judges to be voted out of office as a result of unpopular rulings they might make. Attitudes towards capital punishment underline the same point. While Europeans abhor this measure, the population of the U.S. favors it strongly – the principal reason for its longevity. President Obama does not have a single populist bone in his body. He is a prince of the U.S. elite, well educated and rational. His mantra is "trust us". This stance does not play well with voters. President Obama's reaction to the initiative to build a Muslim Community Center in New York City, which caused outrage in the United States, is illustrative. President Obama gave the legally correct answer, to the challenge posed by this initiative, by focusing on the right to build such



a center. Yet, his answer proved that he is not in touch with the people. Both George W. Bush and William Clinton were emotionally connected to the people. Obama lacks that connection.

The 2012 presidential elections campaign has already begun. The “secret primary” in which potential candidates seek to identify potential funders is already well underway. A democratic challenger to President Obama will probably not emerge. Such a challenger could count on no support from and the open hostility of the Democratic African-American constituency, which is known for voting *en bloc*. The Republican contender, is likely to be somebody who previously ran for President. That makes Mitt Romney a likely candidate. Sarah Palin is not qualified to become President and her candidacy appears absurd. Nonetheless, absurdity is not a handicap in politics. The Republican Party is truly worried that Palin could develop into a serious candidate. If Palin becomes the Republican nominee and Obama continues to do badly, a third candidate will almost definitely surface.

Schneider thought that the Tea Party movement essentially regards policy makers as clientelistic; it does not accept wavering on issues of policy and believes too literally in a constitution that is over 200 years old and - in part - out of date. The Tea Party was born out of the 2008 presidential election and regards President Obama as its main adversary. However, the Tea Party movement is not racially motivated. Tea Party voters did not vote affirmatively for anything; they, far more, voted against the *status quo*. This development is the result of a growing and dangerous polarization of politics in the United States. While Bill Clinton was criticized for his values, President Barack Obama is being condemned for his policies. This becomes evident in the Tea Party’s disdain for Obama’s attraction to

big government and in its wish to reshape the policy making process fundamentally.

The last five Presidents vowed to heal the country’s divisions that are rooted in the culture wars of the 1960’s. Yet, all have actually achieved the opposite. President Obama, who also promised to unite, has exacerbated pre-existing divisions even further. The only incidents that really unite Americans in general are, according to Schneider, crises such as 9-11. The attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center buildings did unite the nation. Yet, the Iraq War reinvigorated divisions again and further polarized the nation. The passing of the “Baby Boomer” generation is possibly the only solution by which to overcome this political conundrum.



HSH Prince Hans-Adam II,
Reigning Prince of Liechtenstein



**HIS SERENE HIGHNESS, HANS-ADAM II,
The Reigning Prince of Liechtenstein,**

“The State in the Third Millennium”

When I studied economics and law, I began to think about my future – as I was expected to become the monarch of a miniature state. According to the prevailing wisdom of the time, monarchies and mini-states were going to go the way of the buggy-whip.

First I examined human history on the various continents – starting with the Stone Age and ending with the current day. I paid particular attention to how states were established, how they organized themselves, how they disappeared or were replaced by other states. After I thought I had understood the factors that had influenced the size and organization of states in the past, I tackled the future.

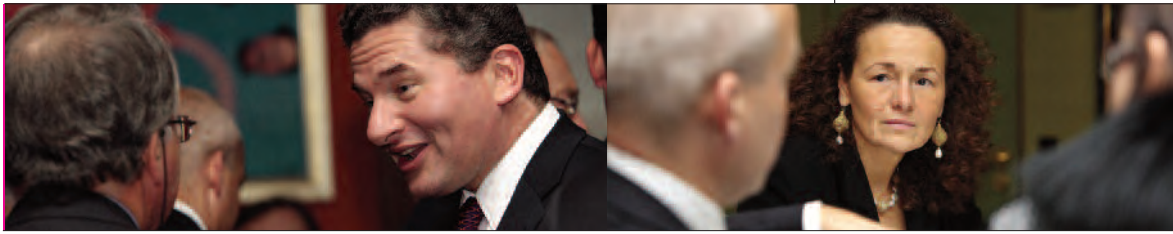
In my opinion, three key factors influenced the size of states in the past and will also influence it in the third millennium: military technology, geography and free trade. If military technology favors the attacker, then large, centralized states will dominate the political landscape on our planet. If it favors the defender, then small states or decentralized large states will dominate. Geography plays an important role, as it was always difficult to conquer and control mountainous regions, such as Afghanistan – or Switzerland. Since the end of the Second World War, military technological developments have mostly favored the defender, provided he employed the proper strategy in his defense. Cheap firepower in the hands of low-cost infantry formations was able to destroy expensive mechanized units as well as helicopters and aircraft. And it does not look like that will change in the foreseeable future.

Trade is an important factor that generally has not been given adequate attention when it comes to its influence on the size of states. Free trade was always more important for small states than for large ones, as they are much more dependent on exports with which to finance their imports. Large states generally have more resources within their own borders at their disposal and are therefore less dependent on free trade. Not only have technical developments since the Second World War favored the defense, they have also dramatically reduced the costs of transporting goods, information and people. Markets opened up that had previously been protected due to high transportation costs. Those states that tried to protect their markets by limiting or completely forbidding free trade, ceased to be economically competitive and in part collapsed, as for example the colonies or the Soviet Union.

The coming and going, the growth and disintegration of states was, unfortunately, seldom a peaceful process: revolutions, civil wars, and wars of conquest took place at the time of states’ birth and demise. I doubt that we can afford such a “luxury” in the third millennium. Instead of deciding the life-cycle of a state with weapon in hand on the battlefield, this question should be taken with a ballot in hand, according to the rule of law at the polling booth.

Free trade, globalization and scientific and technological progress fortunately do not just create problems, they also grant humanity the opportunity to solve its problems. The challenge of the third millennium will be to develop and introduce a constitutional order that fulfills the following conditions:

1. A constitutional order that prevents wars between states as well as civil wars.



2. An order that doesn't just serve a privileged class of people, but all persons within the state.
3. An order that provides a maximum of democracy and rule of law to its people.
4. A constitutional order that can meet the challenges of competition in the age of globalization.

A constitutional order that guarantees peace, rule of law, democracy and the welfare of the population has to relax the state's monopoly over its own territory. The "emigration" of the population will only become a realistic alternative in our day and age if the population in question can "emigrate" with its territory as well. In order to achieve this, even very small political entities have to dispose of the right of self-determination.

I was able to introduce the right of self-determination into our constitution in Liechtenstein by means of a national referendum. Each of the eleven communities in Liechtenstein has the right to secede from the union of the state, to become independent, or to become part of another state, should the majority of the population in the community so decide.

The bigger the political entity, be they provinces, states, or cantons, the greater the danger that these will make use of their right of secession. The danger is equally great that minorities will form in the new state that feel disadvantaged and at some point resort to force to protect themselves. The disintegration of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, the colonial empires or imperial Austro-Hungary show the dangers of this path when political units are too large.

The smallest units that have been politically and territorially more or less defined in many states are communities – be they villages or cities. In the

past, communities were sometimes divided, as for example the city of Berlin. But it is questionable if such division makes sense. Much speaks for treating communities as political units that cannot further be sub-divided. A community can comprise a village with less than a hundred inhabitants and a few square kilometers or a city with multiple millions of inhabitants and over a thousand square kilometers. Communities can also have disadvantaged minorities, should a majority have decided to secede from the state. However, such minorities are usually better integrated into the community or have better chances to emigrate to a neighboring community. It will be difficult to persuade a majority of a small community that seceding from the existing state and founding one's own state is the correct solution.

Let us try to take a look into a distant future in which the states of this world are all service enterprises that take part in a peaceful competition for potential clients. What tasks, that cannot be addressed better and cheaper by private industry or communities remain for the state in the third millennium?

In my opinion, all that remains for the state are foreign policy, protection of the national border, education, and state finances. All other tasks can be carried out more cheaply and more effectively by communities or private industry. I will not examine foreign policy any further here as it will differ greatly from state to state, depending on geography, history and other factors.

The most important task of the state, for the majority of the population, is preserving the rule of law. Most people are prepared to make significant financial sacrifices and to refrain from the exercise of certain freedoms and rights in order to achieve



this goal. Should anarchy threaten, the call for a strong man or a dictator who would clean up with an iron hand is not slow to follow. Those who hold the democratic rule of law to be important will see the preservation of the rule of law as by far the most important task of the state – way ahead of the many other tasks that the state still carries out.

For the rule of law to function, the following state entities have to cooperate closely: police, prosecutors, courts and legislators. I would like to focus on the legislators, as the latter have the main responsibility for the function or dysfunction of the democratic rule of law.

In addition to the text of the constitution, there should be a requirement that legislators write laws succinctly and clearly when it comes to legal matters with which the normal citizen will be confronted in the course of his daily life. If the state departs from the assumption that it is the citizen's job to be knowledgeable of the laws and of the constitution, then it has to be the job of the state to inform the citizen as well as possible on the current status of the law.

Naturally, there is a large number of laws and regulations, which the citizen does not need to know for his normal life, but that are nonetheless necessary – for instance to protect consumers or the environment from harmful products. These regulations are mostly directed at industrial and agricultural enterprises or at the service sector. This variety of regulations poses a particular burden for small enterprises. At the same time these small enterprises are particularly important for innovation and employment in the national economy. Besides high taxes and complicated taxation or social legislation, constantly changing regulations are an important reason why enterprises are not founded in

the first place or fail relatively early. As the public purse, whether state or community, relies on direct and indirect taxes, payments, social contributions, etc., the law should provide for a comprehensive and complimentary duty on the part of the state to advise enterprises. In the event of contradictory regulations, these should be interpreted in favor of the enterprise or taxpayer.

As important as a parliament and representative or indirect democracy might be, direct democracy will, in my opinion, be even more important for the democratic rule of law in the third millennium. Politicians and political parties are often skeptical about direct democracy. This is hardly surprising, as it limits their power. This is also, perhaps, the reason why direct democracy is only possible in limited form – except for in Switzerland and Liechtenstein.

The most important arguments that are marshaled against direct democracy are that people pass laws that disadvantage minorities or that do not lie in the long-term interest of the people. In Liechtenstein, the prince has a right of veto, which he can employ against laws and changes to the constitution – with the exception of cases where the majority of voters decide to abolish the monarchy.

After foreign policy and preserving the rule of law, education is – in my opinion – the third important task of the state. If we take into account the fact that a modern economy and a modern state cannot be run by illiterates, then the state is obliged to make efforts to educate its population. An illiterate is strongly disadvantaged in our modern world and he will probably find it difficult to find well-paid work.

Nonetheless, the question arises whether the state



of the future should be the sole provider of education? There is much to be said for privatizing education or for delegating education to communities. The management of places of schooling from kindergarten to university would lie with private industry, communities, groupings of communities or public-private partnerships. The funding of education should take place via vouchers that are distributed to children's parents.

A state whose tasks were for the most part limited to foreign policy, preserving the rule of law and financing education, would have to order its finances anew. At the level of the community or group of communities new tasks arise that are to be solved and financed, in first order, at the local level. There is much to be said for leaving all indirect taxation with the state and for transferring the right to levy direct taxes to the communities.

Raising indirect taxes is relatively easy, compared with levying direct taxes. Much can be automated and the state requires only a few officials for this task. A centralized administration of indirect taxes would also make sense, even if the right to levy such taxes rested with the communities. For this reason, indirect taxation should remain with the state when it comes to dividing the right of taxation between communities and the state.

There are a lot of publications and there has been a lot of discussion over the optimal level of indirect taxation, such as – for example – value added tax. It seems to me that the level of taxation is less important than the fact that it is uniform. The rich man usually profits more from lower tax rates on individual products than the poor man – because he consumes more.

In the event that the right to raise direct taxes lies

with the communities and the right to levy indirect taxes rest with the state, then for reasons of social policy much can be said for not just a unified tax rate but also a relatively high uniform tax rate. Indirect taxation would then become the only instrument by which to achieve a certain redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor regions within the state. With high income from indirect taxes, the state should be in a position to achieve a significant surplus. Part of the surplus will be needed in order to service state debt and to pay it off within a reasonable period. In order to pay down state debt as rapidly as possible, the state should sell all property that it does not need for the fulfillment of the aforementioned functions. The goal should be to pay off state debt in its entirety, so that the surplus per capita of population from indirect taxes can be paid out in full to the communities. What was achievable for the State of Liechtenstein – a very poor state bereft of natural resources, but now without debt – should fundamentally be achievable by every developed state with a solid financial policy.

This apportionment of funds from indirect taxation per capita of population of the state to the communities should enable the communities to cover at least a part of their expenditures. They would have to finance the rest via direct taxation or other income.

Even the poorest communities should be capable of providing a minimal social welfare net, given the donations of the state and the right to levy direct taxes. The financial burden of caring for the elderly would slowly become less in the event that the retirement age were increased and private retirement insurance were added. However, this depends in large part on the level of employment of the population and on economic development. Such a fundamental reorganization of the state would sharply



reduce the burden on private industry, would give new impulse to private consumption, would accelerate economic growth and thereby increase demand for labor. This should be particularly true for communities that fashion direct taxes and social programs in such a way that for people work and for enterprises hiring workers become attractive again.

The state of the future will give the population in individual communities much more discretion in deciding how to fashion the future for themselves and their progeny. There will be communities that levy high taxes, but also provide good services. Some communities will focus their services on the needs of older persons. Others will focus on families. Communities in the state of the future will have great freedom to search for the best solutions in the areas of taxation, social programming, transport, cultural programming, zoning and construction regulations that meet the wishes of their population and of their landscape. In direct democracy, it is citizens of the community who decide how attractive they want to fashion their community for enterprises and human beings.

**PROFESSOR BRUCE HOFFMAN,
Director of the Center for Peace and Security
Studies, Director of the Security Studies
Program, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign
Service, Georgetown University,**

“10 Years After 9/11: Lessons Learned?”

Nearly a decade after the 9/11 attacks on the Twin Towers and the Pentagon, it is safe to say that Al-Qaeda is alive and well. While the terrorist network's core, Al-Qaeda Central, has undoubtedly been hit hard, leaving several top Al-Qaeda figures captured or dead, Al-Qaeda has proved resilient. It has transformed itself from a monolithic terrorist group into a networked, transnational organization, spanning eleven major theatres of operation around the globe. Moreover, its two principal goals are clear.

- Whereas Khrushchev, while banging a shoe at the UN General Assembly, vowed to “bury” the U.S., Al-Qaeda has declared its intent to “bankrupt” the U.S. and its allies.
- This will be achieved by overwhelming defenders with low level attacks thereby also permitting occasional large-scale operations to slip by overstretched intelligence agencies.

Two questions emerge:

(i) How to confront Al-Qaeda successfully and thereby hinder it from achieving its goal of financially and morally weakening the United States and its allies, and, above all,

(ii) How to thwart plots this network continuously conceives against high value targets around the world.



Given its new structure, Bruce Hoffman emphasized that there is no “one size fits all” strategy for responding to the al-Qaeda threat. He pointed out that Al-Qaeda has four long-standing key operational levels.

1. While Al-Qaeda Central, located in the Afghan-Pakistan border area, has been substantially weakened, it has definitely survived and is active, as evidenced by the New York subway plot in 2009, and the airline plot in 2006 aimed at bombing ten airliners traveling from the United Kingdom to the United States and Canada.
2. The Al-Qaeda Sleeper Network is the second pillar of its organization; it was responsible for the 7/7 bombings in London.
3. The third operational level is the so-called “Al-Qaeda Network” that consists of like-minded affiliated and associated terrorist and insurgent groups worldwide, such as Al-Qaeda Iraq or Al-Qaeda in the Maghreb. These groups are not directed by Al-Qaeda Central and plan their operations individually.
4. Hoffman described the fourth operational level as consisting of the “Al-Qaeda Galaxy”. This is a conglomerate of independent cells, such as the Hofstad Group, or “lone wolves”, inspired by Al-Qaeda in general.

Hoffman went on to elaborate how these four pillars of Al-Qaeda operate. As stated, Al-Qaeda’s primary strategy is to overwhelm, distract and exhaust its adversaries economically and operationally. The economic strategy is to wear its foes down by provoking higher domestic security expenditures and additional overseas military commitments. The op-

erational strategy is to flood already strained intelligence and law enforcement agencies with “noise”, consuming their available resources, thus permitting more serious operations to go unnoticed.

Al-Qaeda’s strategy is to create, foster, and encourage fissures and divisions within the alliance arrayed against it, especially between the United States and Europe. Another Al-Qaeda objective Hoffman highlighted was its intent to conduct local campaigns of subversion and destabilization in key operational theatres, such as Afghanistan, Yemen, Somalia and Pakistan. Much as the Green Berets, Al-Qaeda Central works as a “force multiplier” in operations and offers training and media/communications advice and guidance to such groups. A new element of Al-Qaeda’s strategy, involves recruiting citizens of enemy countries who have “clean” passports, e.g. European nationals and U.S. citizens. Finally, Al-Qaeda consistently exploits gaps in enemy defenses. Here Hoffman highlighted Al-Qaeda’s media production entity al-Sahab (The Cloud) which collects strategic cultural intelligence on enemy countries and represents al-Qaeda in the media.

Hoffman stressed that Al-Qaeda has arguably achieved each of its strategic objectives. While it is not winning, it is not losing either, nurturing its hubris of eventually exhausting and wearing down its opponents. The viability of this strategy has been highlighted by the West’s inability to deter al-Qaeda attacks. Al-Qaeda is now among the few terrorist organizations that have continued in existence for more than 20 years, joining FARC, Hezbollah and Hamas. After surviving the initial onslaught of the U.S.-led “Global War on Terrorism”, al-Qaeda has recovered to become one of the most renowned terrorist “brands” in the world. Al-

Qaeda's leader continues to inspire and attract more followers. Above all, al-Qaeda can credibly claim to have changed the course of history.

In conclusion, Hoffman outlined the lessons learned from 9/11. First, Al-Qaeda is most dangerous when it has a sanctuary or a safe haven. Therefore, the highest priority must be, to challenge Al-Qaeda as a networked global phenomenon. Thus, continued operations in Afghanistan and Pakistan and the hindrance of Al-Qaeda's expansion to failing and failed states must be a priority. The U.S and its allies need to continue to kill and capture Al-Qaeda leaders, and must break the cycle of terrorist recruitment that sustains the movement. Success in such counter-radicalization has been elusive to date, but can be achieved by isolating the most radical extremists from more "moderate" elements, thus watering down the Al-Qaeda brand. Al-Qaeda's financing has to be countered and more expansive, local initiatives have to be developed in concert with host nations. In summary, Hoffman stated that Al-Qaeda will only be defeated if the organization's leadership is destroyed and the continued resonance of its message is disrupted.

In response to questions, Hoffman emphasized that international cooperation to counter terrorism is hampered, as the threat emanating from Al-Qaeda continuously ebbs and flows, leading to divergent perceptions of the level of threat among affected nations. Hoffman emphasized that the Saudi government has made arrests and has been effective in de-radicalization, thus diminishing, Al-Qaeda's influence in the country. Hoffman pointed out that, while the situation in Pakistan is sub-optimal, it could be a lot worse without the Pakistani government's assistance. Hoffman emphasized that a coherent U.S.-EU counter-terror strategy does exist, but it has not been fully implemented yet. Con-

fronted with the dilemma of how to define victory against Al-Qaeda, he conceded that there is no hope of completely destroying the group. The only realistic prospect is to minimize its capabilities to carry out terrorist attacks and to counter its message.



**ADMIRAL S. ROBERT FOLEY, JR., USN,
(Ret.) Former U.S. Commander-in-Chief
Pacific Fleet,**

**“The Strategic Implications
of the Rise of China”**

With a capital surplus of around two trillion U.S. dollars the People’s Republic of China’s financial situation is currently excellent. Yet, China primarily achieved this surplus by undervaluing its currency, in violation of World Trade Organization rules. National subsidies may be legitimate at some point, but manipulating international currency markets is not. Due to China’s damaging currency policy, tensions are likely to rise further in economic relations with China. In the near future, other nations will probably join the United States in imposing tariffs and surcharges on Chinese products. This is problematic for China: The main importers of Chinese goods - the Western economies and particularly the United States - are crucial to maintaining high levels of employment. The environment for foreign investment in China also has to improve for China further to profit from its recent growth. At the moment 75% of all listed companies in China are state owned. This does not attract foreign investment. China will eventually have to develop incentives for foreign investment. This process will definitely not go smoothly. Nonetheless, given a timeframe of about ten years, it is achievable.

While China has vast land borders that are well secured by a standing army of around 1.5 million soldiers, it has not yet become a maritime power that is able to secure its interests on the high seas. The most apparent shortcoming of China’s navy is its lack of seaports. As the United States controls the straits of Malacca, which connect the Pacific Ocean with the Indian Ocean, China’s net inflow

of energy and its access to international markets is constrained. China is dependent on U.S. intentions and not just on its own naval capabilities. This state of affairs is unacceptable for China. If the United States continues to control the straits of Malacca it will “have a grip on China’s throat” as China will not be able to compensate for reduced energy flows by building pipelines or able to compensate effectively for impeded maritime access to global end markets either.

The clearest solution to China’s problem is therefore to develop a “Blue-Water Navy”. Yet Admiral Foley believed that it will be difficult for China to match the United States’ Navy. China may talk about creating or buying carrier battle groups, yet four factors militate against such aspirations. First of the endorsement of senior national political leaders is vital to build a functioning fleet with global reach; it is not at hand in China at present. Second, financial aspects have to be considered carefully. Initially procurement should not pose any difficulties for China, as it has large currency reserves. Yet the recurring costs of running such a fleet could outweigh the benefits to China. Third, implementing smooth carrier operations could be problematic for China in the short- to medium-term, thus making them an unattractive solution for China’s strategic naval challenges. Finally, there is attrition. While the United States does not have a problem with inevitable losses among its ranks that take place during conflict and daily naval operations, such losses will pose a significant difficulty for the relatively under-developed Chinese Navy for quite some time. As a result, Admiral Foley questioned whether China could easily match U.S. naval power.

Consequently, China will probably concentrate its efforts on alternative solutions to a “Blue-Water



Navy”: a) the development of hidden submarine ports and submarine technology; b) progress in ballistic missile capabilities; c) further advancements in military satellite technology; d) the expansion of cyber warfare programs; and e) the development of buried communication lines.

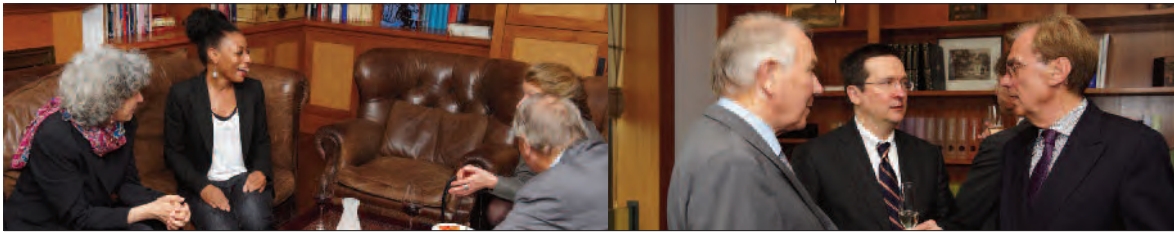
China is unlikely to slide into a conflict with its neighbors, as such action would be counterproductive to its interests. It is far more important for China to develop trust in its region and to work to achieve its interests by diplomatic means. Confronted with the question of an escalation in North Korea, Admiral Foley did not consider potential aggression on Pyongyang’s part to be of particular geopolitical relevance – unless the North Korea used nuclear weapons against Japan. Foley considered piracy in the Gulf of Aden to be insignificant and was convinced that China would not engage in any measures against it. Asked if the export of German submarine technology to China was relevant and, if so, problematic, Foley acknowledged the fact that Germany is sharing submarine technology with the Chinese Navy, said that this was to be expected and that it did not worry him.

**KEVIN HASSETT,
Senior Fellow, Director of Economic Policy
Studies, The American Enterprise Institute,**

“The Future of Capitalism”

Hassett compared the Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter’s theories on capitalism with the current state of global economy. During the 1920s Schumpeter described capitalism as an efficient tool by which to organize society. Similar to Karl Marx, however, Schumpeter foresaw that while capitalism as an economic system would be successful in the near term, it also carried within it the seeds of its own destruction due to the uneven distribution of wealth that it creates. The more successful capitalism became, the faster it would fail and eventually be overcome by a socialist system of state interventionism.

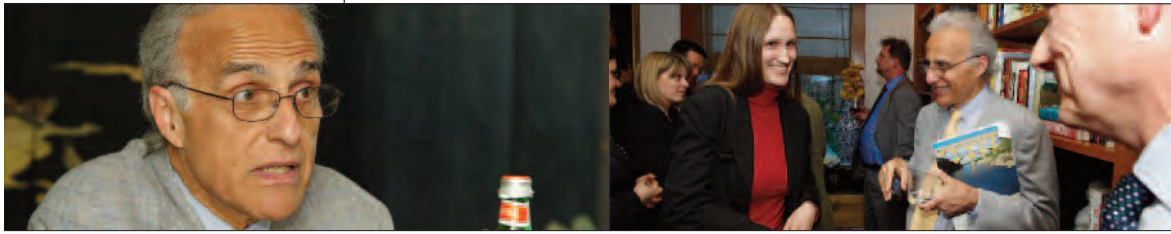
Hassett pointed to four problems that Schumpeter saw as causes for the eventual failure of the capitalist system and related them to contemporary society. First, capitalism leads to a higher level of education, because reason is a prerequisite for capitalism’s existence. Yet, the intellectual elite will eventually oppose the capitalist system because they are used to scrutinizing everything. One can indeed observe a certain opposition to the capitalist model within academic circles today, but most elites still adhere to it. Second, the hyper rationality of capitalism debilitates religious values (such as thrift), which are indispensable for its continued existence. Religious values remain relatively important in today’s society and are in no danger yet of being impaired by capitalism. Third, the totalitarianism caused by the capitalist idea will weaken the importance of the nuclear family. Usually the best financial motivator for parents is the ability to bequeath their wealth to their children. Hence, if the



significance of the nuclear family declines, capitalism will be weakened. At the same time consumption will gain importance because it compensates for the loss of family. Schumpeter's fears have since become reality. The nuclear family has suffered damage while consumption has increased enormously. However, this has not led to a collapse of the capitalist model – so far. Fourth, Schumpeter argued that the intellectual elite would eventually intimidate capitalists, who would then not dare to defend the concept of capitalism. Eventually, governments would rebel against capitalism as well by assuming more economic powers and control. Hassett agreed and reminded the audience that under Obama's presidency a clear tendency towards nationalization can be observed. Obama's financial market and health care reforms serve as examples. Grass roots movements such as the Tea Party arose as a direct response to the realization of what capitalists and the capitalist system had already lost. This loss was not sustained during President Obama tenure alone, but evolved gradually. Altogether, Schumpeter's predictions have turned out to be astonishingly accurate. However, Schumpeter's theory is incomplete because it does not consider states that reject the common scheme of the capitalist model. China, for example, successfully combines capitalism and socialism in an innovative way.

Hassett foresaw a growing trend towards statism. However, this bureaucratic form of economic management will be incapable of financing itself over the long-term. Therefore, statism already carries within it the seeds of its own destruction as well. This will probably lead to an eventual return to capitalism. A constant interplay between the capitalist and the statist model can be expected. Ultimately, it will amount to a battle between two failed systems. Hassett emphasized that the current eco-

nomic and financial crisis does not constitute a systemic crisis of capitalism. A few major bankers who did not know what they were doing caused the crisis. Moreover, state interventionism facilitated it. Hassett recommended intensifying the political integration of the European Union as a way of by which to exit the current Euro crisis. More discipline will be needed to preserve the common currency.



JOHN L. ESPOSITO,
Professor of Religion, International Affairs
and Islamic Studies, Founding Director,
Prince Alwaleed bin Talal Center for
Muslim-Christian Understanding,
Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service,
Georgetown University,

**„The Future of Islam and the Muslim-West
Relations“**

“Is Islam compatible with the Western understanding of Democracy? Can Islam be reformed?” Esposito denounced both questions as too broad brush. Too many different theological and political developments can be observed from Northern Africa to Southeast Asia to ask one-size-fits-all questions about the Muslim world of this kind. Esposito compared approaches to reforming Islam with those in historical Catholicism. On one hand, there are reformers, just as in the Catholic Church, who challenge traditional interpretations of the sacred texts and advocate for progressive interpretations. On the other hand, conservative, traditionalist forces condemn challenges to tradition. In Islam – as in Christianity – reformers are, in many cases, silenced or punished by the conservative establishment. Both in Islam and Christianity belief has consistently been abused by politicians. Conservative, traditionalist religion is far more easily corrupted than reformed, enlightened religion. For this reason politicians often tend to denounce religious reform, Prof. Esposito concluded. Yet, reform of Islam is important in order to address religiously motivated extremism and terrorism.

The question whether Islam is a more violent religion than others and whether it is compatible with the Western understanding of democracy has been debated for decades – not just after the 9/11 terrorist

attacks. The 9/11 terrorist attacks did alienate both sides, put a strain on the relations between the West and Islam and set them back by twenty years. Change in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is unlikely. A speedy resolution of the conflict seems difficult, as there is only a small number of politicians who are willing to adopt new approaches to the problem. However, resolving the conflict is quite important, as it has become a strong symbol and a testing field to many Muslims.

The strategy currently pursued in Iraq and Afghanistan makes it too easy for undemocratic forces to win over the population. Esposito advocated for a detailed timetable for troop withdrawal. Administrations had to be supportive in the short term by making grants, building infrastructure and the civilian and the political system under military protection. Yet, in the long term the troops should be pulled, and thereby applying pressure on the governments of Afghanistan and Iraq. Civil society should be encouraged to establish itself as an integrated part of the political system, as part of this process. In this way, the numbers joining extremist or terrorist groups might be reduced.

Esposito stressed the importance of producing credible evidence of an Iranian military nuclear program before taking any means measures. He rejected military intervention, which would be exploited by other Middle Eastern states in order to enhance their influence in the region. Esposito alluded to the important role of the media in shaping negative Western perceptions of the Muslim world via their one-sided coverage. In our globalized world it has become easier to learn about opinions of Muslim people directly on the ground, regardless of the official statements of their leaders. Most Muslims have a benevolent attitude towards the West.



**DR. BERNHARD REUTERSBERG,
Chairman of the Management Board of
E.ON Ruhrgas AG**

**„Secure Natural Gas Supplies for Europe:
Opportunities and Challenges“**

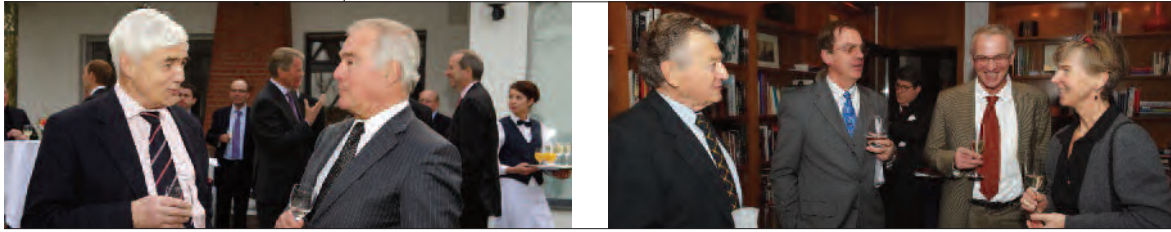
Dr. Reutersberg began his speech by stating that security of supply is currently no problem for the gas industry but that overproduction can actually be observed instead. He traced this back to the global economic crisis that almost simultaneously hit the three big gas markets: North America, Northern Europe and the People's Republic of China. Over-supply has been exacerbated by technological innovations, such as the exploitation of non-conventional sources of gas and the invention of liquefied natural gas (LNG). Dr. Reutersberg warned that gas production projects might be frozen or cancelled, because of the current economic situation, and that this could result in insufficient future production.

Reutersberg predicted that German natural gas production will cease by the year 2020. Germany should not rely only on the main supplier countries Russia and Norway but rather aim at greater diversification of supply options. States in the Caspian area, the Middle East as well as Northern and Western Africa are of growing interest. Sufficient natural gas supply is secure for at least the next hundred years and the use of natural gas in the generation of electricity is becoming increasingly important. In contrast to renewable forms of energy, power can be flexibly generated by natural gas. Hence, future energy demand could be met by relying only on natural gas.

Which strategy is E.ON Ruhrgas AG pursuing to produce natural gas? Long-term contracts with nat-

ural gas producers is a central part of the strategy. Despite the economic crisis, these contracts have proven to be advantageous to E.ON, because the price risk is carried solely by the producer. Although it is not a matter of dogma, presently there is no alternative to the linkage between gas and oil prices, which provides producers with reliable price developments. Although Russian producers have always been trustworthy trade partners with Germany, the gas crisis between Russia and the Ukraine revealed that Europe's gas supply from Russia can only be secured by the third "North Stream" transport corridor that is currently under construction. Reutersberg also approved the idea of a fourth transport corridor in principle but doubted that the Nabucco project would be economically viable as long as Iran is eliminated as a producer due to sanctions. Reutersberg suspected sanctions of being unfavorable to Europe in the long term, considering China's big engagement in Iranian gas production. In addition to long-term contracts, Dr. Reutersberg referred to the acquisition of LNG as well as the company's own exploration and production of natural gas as the current procurement strategies that E.ON Ruhrgas AG is pursuing.

Reutersberg analyzed the political-economy of the energy sector. He pointed out that Europe's natural gas supply could be secured via cooperation between business and politics. Both sides, however, need to be clear about their roles and responsibilities: Surely the state or the EU Commission may set the rules and framework for economic competition, but they should not actively intervene in such competition. Reutersberg acknowledged that energy is a basic public service and thus politics must be allowed a big role in shaping this particular economic sector.



A fruitful discussion ensued during which Reutersberg explained that E.ON Ruhrgas is a company that operates in Europe as a whole rather than in isolated national markets. Reutersberg regretted that, the EU Commission has not been able to act as a central decision-maker as liberation of the energy sector has been promoted to very differing degrees in Europe. Reutersberg expressed interest in the development of gas-powered automobiles and in the production of biogas as a complementary component of the gas industry. These innovations could contribute to reducing carbon dioxide emission decisively. But, to achieve this goal, it is important to convince the United States and the People's Republic of China to make binding commitments to reducing emissions.

ELLIOTT ABRAMS,
Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies,
Council on Foreign Relations,

„Will There Ever Be Peace in the Middle East?“

Elliott Abrams gave an historical overview of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Abrams presented possible options to settle the conflict by describing the steps needed to build a Palestinian state, emphasizing the role of Iran and its political leadership as a potential and actual threat to Israeli security.

In order to describe the historical context, Abrams divided the course of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict into three waves of aggression. The first wave comprised the resistance of neighboring states to Israeli independence through conventional warfare after Israeli statehood was declared. The second wave of the conflict was marked by terrorist attacks against Israel, for example by the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) under Yasser Arafat's leadership. A new, third conflict wave has been observed for a couple of years. States such as Syria, Sudan, Iran or Libya have repeatedly tried to challenge the legitimacy of the state of Israel under international law and have accused the Israeli government of war crimes on account of the Gaza invasion in late 2008.

Abrams countered that the Israeli Gaza invasion was mainly an act of self-defense and was therefore wrongly criticized by some states as being disproportionate. Moreover, since Israel's complete withdrawal from Gaza in 2005, attacks on Israel have increased remarkably. For this reason, it would not be advisable for Israel to a withdraw from the West Bank.



A democratic Palestinian state has to be built by Palestinians and doing so requires extensive economic and political reforms. First successes can already be observed. Despite the global economic crisis, the West Bank under Prime Minister Salam Fayyad's leadership achieved an economic growth rate of seven percent last year. U.S. politics should exploit such positive developments and encourage the development of institutional structures in the Palestinian territories instead of getting lost in diplomatic negotiations. Abrams warned that a fantastic opportunity for peace in the Middle East would otherwise be missed. However, Abrams ruled out Gaza being part of a Palestinian state anytime soon, due to the state of disorder prevailing there.

Abrams emphasized the need to prevent Iran from building nuclear weapons. Being one of the biggest supporters of terrorism, Iran, if nuclear-armed, would be an immense danger to global security and would dramatically reduce the chances of peace in the Middle East. Abrams warned that the possibility of military intervention must be kept on the table by both the United States and Israel, should all diplomatic efforts and sanctions fail to persuade Iran to give up its nuclear ambitions. Abrams hoped for European support in this cause.

Abrams concluded his presentation with the prognosis that peace in the Middle East can indeed be achieved in the long term, although there will be difficult years ahead.

**ROLAND KOCH,
Minster President, Hessen,**

**“Overcoming the Economic Crisis and
Reconfiguring Financial Markets:
A Transatlantic Structuring Challenge”**

In his presentation, premier Koch of the German federal state of Hessen gave an overview of transatlantic cooperation in overcoming the economic and financial crisis. He particularly stressed the successful cooperation between the European Central Bank and the Federal Reserve. The economic crisis had made it evident how closely individual economic spaces are tied together and dependent upon one another. This is yet another reason why transatlantic cooperation is so important. The Hessian premier also indicated how important it was for the financial industry to take psychological factors into account, while being more aware of the globally interconnected nature of financial markets. The scale of the global crisis was due, amongst other things, to a loss of confidence on the part of savers and investors - and this phenomenon should not be underestimated. Only through better transatlantic cooperation to create better regulation and transparency for financial markets can these developments be countered.


WESTERN BALKAN FOREIGN MINISTERS,
“Security and Prosperity in the Western Balkans”

Five Ministers of Foreign Affairs from the Western Balkans, and U.S. and German decision-makers participated in a public panel discussion on the topic of “Security and Prosperity in the Western Balkans”. The panelists were H.E. Ilir Meta, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Albania; H.E. Sven Alkalaj, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina; H.E. Skender Hyseni, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kosovo; H.E. Antonio Milososki, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Macedonia; H.E. Milan Rocen, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Montenegro; Stuart Jones, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs at the U.S. Department of State; and Ambassador Dr. Emily Haber, Special Envoy for Southeastern Europe and Turkey at the German Federal Foreign Office.

**LIEUTENANT GENERAL ROLAND KATHER,
Commander, Allied Land Component
Command Heidelberg (CC-Land Heidelberg),
NATO,**
**“NATO in the 21st Century: Force Command
Heidelberg’s Deployment to Afghanistan”**

General Kather started his presentation by referring to the difficult situation in Afghanistan. While there has been progress - primarily in the areas of education and medical care for the population – the danger to soldiers of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) has risen. Afghanistan is in a state akin to war and the *Bundeswehr’s* rules of engagement need to be adjusted accordingly. German soldiers have to be able to react more proactively to increasingly frequent attacks. Measures to improve reconnaissance are particularly important in Kather’s view. Kather also stressed that it was important that knowledge of local culture, religion and history be inculcated in soldiers before deployment to Afghanistan. Only by treating the local population with respect can one win their trust. This was said to be particularly important in the fight against the Taliban. General Kather identified narcotics production as an additional problem - Afghanistan accounts for 92% of annual world opium production valued at over \$10 billion. Fighting drug production is difficult as thousands of mobile production labs exist. Besides, due to a lack of alternatives, opium production is often the only path out of poverty for many Afghans. 80% of the Afghan population lives under the poverty level and large numbers are illiterate. They have to be offered alternate sources of income if progress is to be made in the fight against drugs. In concluding, general Kather advocated using a “comprehensive approach” in Afghanistan, involving a combination of civilian and military resources. Although NATO



member states have differing interpretations of it, there is no alternative. Provincial Reconstruction Teams are one example of this strategy: they coordinate intensive cooperation between soldiers and civilian reconstruction assistance in Afghanistan.

BRIGITTE ZYPRIES,
Ex German Federal Minister of Justice,

“Freedom or Anarchy: The Internet as a Political Challenge”

Brigitte Zypries emphasized that it is the duty of the state - both in the internet world and in the “real world” - to create freedom through fair legislation. To ensure this the “real world” enforcement mechanism needs to be transferred to the digital world. The high level of anonymity in the internet, rapid developments within the internet and the global character of the internet create difficulties. For example, in order to prosecute a violation, authorities not only have to identify the perpetrator’s IP address but also have to find out who has used the computer with this IP. Lately, some progress has been made in identifying users more easily – in Germany, Internet Service Providers are now obliged to reveal user-related IP address data to the authorities. According to Ms. Zypries, progress has also been made on protecting copyright in the internet, because the German Parliament approved the so-called ‘second basket’ during its last sitting. These new laws still allow internet users to make private copies, but at the same time compensate authors through a tax on the sale of devices that permit the duplication of copyrighted material. The income from this tax is transferred to German royalty collection agencies (e.g. GEMA). Ms. Zypries advocated for the enactment of a “cultural flat rate tax” - a tax that every internet user in Germany would pay - in addition to existing taxes, in order to subsidize cultural activities in Germany.



**AMBASSADOR WOLFGANG ISCHINGER,
Chairman Munich Security Conference,**

**“The Current State of Transatlantic Relations
and Perspectives for Nuclear Disarmament”**

Ambassador Ischinger started by asserting that a more proactive European posture vis-a-vis the U.S. was needed. To strengthen European influence and transatlantic relations, this posture should not conflict with U.S. foreign policy. Ischinger believes that other regions will follow Europe by integrating economically and politically. He cited East Asia as an example. Europe should counter this trend by using its strong position to promote a transatlantic free trade zone. Ischinger was optimistic about the prospects for nuclear disarmament. He said that greater efforts by Russia and the USA at disarmament were needed in order to reinforce the credibility of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Neither the U.S. nor Russia had cut its nuclear arsenal in recent years. This was counter to Article V of the NPT and provided other nations with a pretext to acquire nuclear weapons. Disarmament appears to be more important to president Obama. Besides, the financial crisis could force nations to rethink whether they really want the cost streams that are associated with such weapons. In concluding, Ambassador Ischinger praised the fact that the new German government’s coalition agreement included the “global zero” goal for nuclear weapons and expressed the hope that the remaining nuclear weapons remaining in Germany would soon be removed.

**PROF. NAYEREH TOHIDI,
Chair of the Gender and Women’s Studies
Department, California State University,
Northridge,**

**“The Aftermath of the Iranian Presidential
Elections”**

Professor Tohidi focused on the role of the Iranian women’s movement before and in the aftermath of the latest presidential elections in Iran. A few months before the elections in June 2009, the mood in Iranian society changed from political apathy and hopelessness to mass political mobilization. Publications, media campaigns, street rallies and interviews with the presidential candidates helped draw attention to the issue of women’s rights and the role of women in Iranian society. Dr. Tohidi emphasized the massive participation of women in the protests and characterized the women’s movement as non-ideological, non-revolutionary, and non-sectarian; rather, it is a non-violent, pro-democracy movement whose central demands are individual freedom and civil rights, including women’s rights. Dr. Tohidi referred to four aspects that are, in her opinion, essential for the future effectiveness of the Iranian women’s movement: mass discontent, ideology, leadership and organization. Only if the movement manages to broaden its basis, agree on an ideology or at least a common program, establish an efficient form of leadership and organize itself, will its work be effective and successful in the future.



DR. AUGUST HANNING,
State Secretary, German Federal Ministry of
the Interior,

**“German-American Cooperation Against
International Terrorism”**

According to Dr. Hanning counter-terrorist cooperation has intensified since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 and has attained a number of notable achievements. Six out of seven terrorist attacks planned against Germany since 2001 have been thwarted and Dr. Hanning stressed that cooperation with U.S. intelligence agencies, particularly in the area of signals intelligence, is of great importance to Germany, as fewer privacy restrictions apply to U.S. intelligence agencies. Because of German legal limitations, online searches or wire-tapping are often difficult to carry out. Effective intelligence gathering is also hampered, because German technical equipment is not state-of-the-art. Besides operational cooperation, Dr. Hanning highlighted a personnel exchange program, in which German officers from the Ministry of the Interior temporarily exchange jobs with colleagues from the U.S. Department of Homeland Security. Both countries also cooperate in areas such as security analysis as part of mutually initiated projects at national research facilities.

DR. JOSEF ACKERMANN,
CEO and Chairman of the Executive Commit-
tee, Deutsche Bank AG,

**“The Impact of the Global Financial Crisis on
Banks, the Economy and Society”**

Dr. Ackermann analyzed the major mistakes leading to the global financial and economic crises, assessed the current situation and lessons learned for banks, and outlined the most important challenges and tasks facing the financial sector. Ackermann identified three main reasons for the inability of the banking sector to foresee the collapse of the global financial system. First, a single big crash was widely believed to be impossible, as risk was thought to be adequately diversified. Second, the network structure of the financial system with millions of investors and small- and medium-sized banks was thought to imply that a breakdown of a few banks would not result in the collapse of the entire system. Third, Dr. Ackermann highlighted the misperceived size and importance of the shadow-banking system, whose breakdown had a strong impact on the liquidity of the market. Dr. Ackermann highlighted an ongoing trend towards protectionism and the re-nationalization of economies as one of the most pressing challenges ahead for the financial sector. He called for the improvement of risk management, the development of stronger social responsibility on the part of banks, and higher personal accountability in the financial sector. If these challenges are met, the current crisis could turn into a starting point for the reorganization and strengthening of the global financial system.



Aspen Staffer Frangis Dadfar Spanta
in conversation with conference participants





DR. MANFRED BISCHOFF,
Chairman of the Supervisory Board,
Daimler AG,

“The Future of Individual Mobility - Made in Germany?”

Dr. Manfred Bischoff identified five key challenges for automobile manufacturers: the scarcity of oil as a source of energy; climate change and the car industry’s responsibility to invest in environmentally friendly technologies; the increase in the number of ‘mega cities’; technological development; and the growing ecological consciousness of the industry’s customers. Dr. Bischoff concluded his lecture by highlighting the need for rapid technological development in the area of electric mobility on the part of German automobile manufacturers. He suggested a national initiative that would bring automobile manufacturers, universities and the public sector together in order to strengthen German competitiveness, particularly in the area of battery systems. Bischoff saw such a step as necessary in order to preserve German automobile manufacturers’ global market leadership.

LEONHARD FISCHER,
CEO of RHJI Swiss Management LLC,

“The Economic Crisis - Chances and Risks”

Leonhard Fischer outlined the major causes of the current financial crisis. One was the way in which banks conducted risk analysis. The analysis was based on abstract mathematical models, which did not factor in human error or the correlation of returns. Another factor that caused the crisis was the policy adopted by the international community; it has reacted with the same stimulative fiscal policies to every recent financial crisis, regional or global. Fischer noted that, while the decision of Western governments to prevent the collapse of banks with systemic relevance was understandable, pouring lots of money into the market to save banks deprives the private sector of its “right to lose [money]”. Responsible behavior on the part of market participants can only be ensured if companies have to bear both their losses as well as their gains. In Fischer’s view, another major problem resulting from the economic crisis is the assumption by many Western governments that globalization poses an increasing threat to the standard of living in their home country. He warned against ignoring growing emerging markets outside the Western hemisphere such as China or India, particularly given negative demographic trends in industrialized countries. Fischer noted that the economic crisis has also presented opportunities. The crisis has not (so far) led to major conflicts among the great economic powers. This leaves the door open for coordinated efforts in managing the consequences. At the end of his presentation, Fischer recommended that individual market participants stick to the virtues of diligence and austerity, and keep investing in well-organized and innovative companies.



RAINER EPELMANN,
**Chairman, Federal Foundation for the
Reconciliation of the SED Dictatorship,**

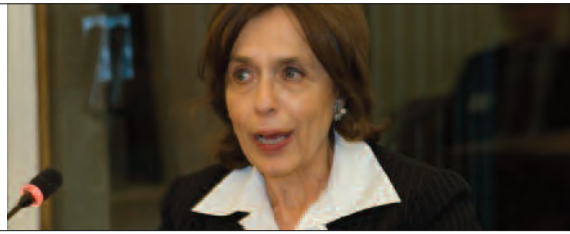
**“Self-Liberation and Self-Democratization:
The Peaceful Revolution in the GDR”**

Rainer Eppelmann discussed the life of ordinary citizens in the German Democratic Republic (GDR), the influence of the Socialist Unity Party of East Germany on society; and the beginning and the end of the division of Germany. He explained the different social, economic and political motives for leaving the GDR during the Cold War; and gave a personal account of the events leading to the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, which marked the culmination of the peaceful revolution. During the discussion, Eppelmann commented on the debate about creating a new constitution for the Federal Republic of Germany following reunification and reminded the audience that the question of compensation for political injustice in the GDR has not been resolved to this day. Finally, Eppelmann saw a need for parents to share their experiences of the division of Germany with their children since many younger people seem to have little or no knowledge about this crucial part of German history.

DR. MICHAEL RÜHLE,
**Deputy Head, NATO Secretary General’s
Policy Planning Unit,**

**“NATO After the Summit: Prospects and
Challenges”**

Dr. Rühle drew a number of conclusions from NATO’s April 2009 summit in Kehl/Straßbourg. Unfortunately, the media coverage of the summit was dominated by a struggle among member states to agree on a successor to NATO Secretary-General, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer. The most important topics of the summit - the future course in Afghanistan, NATO-Russia relations, and how to deal with new threats such as cyber attacks or disruptions of energy supplies - did not therefore receive adequate attention or public debate. According to Rühle, Afghanistan will remain the top priority for NATO. The allies remain split on the proper strategy and there is a growing danger of “Americanization” of the Afghan mission, with U.S. forces focusing on combat operations and the European allies almost exclusively conducting reconstruction missions. The summit sent conciliatory signals to Moscow concerning NATO-Russia relations. Rühle made it clear, however, that there are differing views within the alliance on how to deal with Russia. Moreover, unresolved institutional questions such as the political and legal framework for collective action will continue to hamper NATO’s ability to take on new, unconventional threats and challenges. Despite these sobering reminders, Rühle ended his remarks on a positive note. In his view, the summit demonstrated that the Atlantic alliance does manage to reach consensus on the most important strategic issues that it faces.



KLAUS-PETER MÜLLER,
Chairman of the Supervisory Board,
Commerzbank AG,

**“Security as an Economic Factor - Thoughts
on the Economic Significance of a Common
Good”**

Klaus-Peter Müller held a professional and engaging discussion about the concept of security with the Friends of the Aspen Institute. In light of the current, global financial crisis, we find ourselves confronted with the challenge of worldwide synchronized recessions that also poses risks for political systems. The financial markets belong to the critical infrastructure of society, and their efficiency should be assured and protected by the state. A certain amount of insecurity stimulates the economy. However, a rapid increase in risk leads to a rapid loss of confidence by investors and a selling streak in the central markets. The casualties suffered by banks over the last few weeks were caused independent of short-term and irresponsible profit seeking. From Klaus-Peter Müller’s perspective we need: (1) to clearly define state security interests, (2) political discourse on the concept of security, led objectively and independent of election pressures, (3) societal discussion, to strengthen the ideological basis and foundations of the idea of security as an economic factor, and (4) clarity over modern dangers, because the characteristic strengths of modern economies are also their weaknesses.

DR. HALEH ESFANDIARI,
**Director, Middle East Program, Woodrow
Wilson International Center for Scholars -
Washington, D.C.,**

PROF. DR. VOLKER PERTHES,
**Director, German Institute for International
and Security Affairs, Berlin,**

**“Iran 2009 - Challenges and Perspectives for
the Transatlantic Alliance”**

Dr. Esfandiari explained that in the first few weeks of the new U.S. administration, she had observed that the new U.S. political approach of “Engaging Iran” is meant in earnest. However, we should not jump to false conclusions that the new U.S. administration has fundamentally let go of Bush administration positions. What is notable about the new U.S. approach is its combination of (i) a sincere readiness to engage in dialogue, bearing in mind Iranian security needs, with (ii) continued pressure on Iran to give up its nuclear ambitions, and (iii) the desire to modify Iran’s behavior - especially vis-à-vis Hezbollah and Hamas. What is also significant is that the fundamental atmosphere in Washington, D.C. towards Iran has changed, even if it remains largely unclear if and in what form Tehran may react. Professor Perthes believed that a negotiated agreement to the nuclear question was realistically achievable, however other alternatives are also imaginable. It is important that the discussion of the nuclear energy program in Iran be decoupled from a discussion of the program’s purely military uses, in order to gain more leeway for discussion. The international community also needs to work more intensively on an analysis of the imminent security threats to other countries in the region who are reassessing their nuclear options. In the end, there can only be a regional solution for the future security architecture in the Near and



Middle East. The outcome of the Iranian presidential election in June 2009 is hard to predict, because it is still unclear how free and fair the elections will be. It is noteworthy that President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has turned towards the U.S. President over the last weeks, to signal his readiness to engage in dialogue. However, one must bear in mind that this may be no more than a tactic designed to improve Ahmadinejad's chances for reelection in June by establishing a direct communication channel to the U.S. Top level talks will realistically take at least 6-9 months of preparation if they are to be substantive and if one wants to prevent them from breaking down into threats and sanctions again. At the end of this process there should be a direct exchange between President Obama and Ayatollah Khamenei - not President Ahmadinejad or his successor.

DR. PAUL SALEM,
Director, Carnegie Middle East Center, Beirut,

“Continuity and Change in U.S. Middle East Policy”

According to Paul Salem, the new U.S. administration's policy towards the Middle East is likely to be more pragmatic and multilateralist and rely more heavily on negotiation. However, Salem pointed out that the fact that Obama's Middle East policy team consists largely of former Clinton advisors limits the potential for major new departures in U.S. Near Eastern policy. A close relationship with Israel will continue to be a hallmark of U.S. policy. Salem saw the biggest potential U.S. policy change coming in the area of relations with Iran, where direct negotiations were said to be quite possible. In summary, Salem expected that the Obama policy team will refrain from ambitious projects aimed at restructuring the region and focus more narrowly on crisis management. Salem was pessimistic about the potential for real progress on Israeli-Palestinian relations.

KEY STAFF



Olaf Böhnke | Senior Program Officer – Mr. Böhnke joined Aspen in January 2007, he was chief of staff and senior advisor to several members of the German Bundestag from 1999-2006. Mr Böhnke is also a visiting lecturer at the Otto-Suhr-Institut for Political Sciences at Free University, Berlin. He received his M.A. from Free University, Berlin, where he studied International Relations, Political Science and Economics.



Arzu Celep | Development Officer – Ms. Celep joined Aspen in January 2009. She received her BA in International Relations from the University of Sussex and her MSc in Violence, Conflict and Development from the School of Oriental and Asian Studies at London University. The focus areas of her studies were: conflict resolution in developing countries and international security studies. Following her studies she gained work experience in the political unit of the European Commission in Berlin and at the German Institute for Economic Research. Before starting at the Aspen Institute, Ms. Celep worked at the Military Department of the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Berlin.



Eva Dingel | Senior Program Officer – Ms. Dingel joined Aspen in July 2008. She received her BA in Modern European Studies from University College, London, and an MA in International Relations from Free University, Berlin. She worked as project assistant in Beirut, Lebanon with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation as well as the Friedrich Ebert Foundation before joining *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik in Berlin* as research assistant to the Di-

rector. Her research focus is on the role of non-state actors in the Middle East. Her regional experience also includes stays in Israel and Syria.



Matthias Dornfeldt | Senior Program Officer – Mr. Dornfeldt is responsible for Aspen's Leadership Program. Before joining Aspen, Mr. Dornfeldt was a Program Director at the Berlin office of the Körber Foundation (2007), and a research fellow at the Technical University Mining Academy, Freiberg (2008). He previously worked for the United Nations, the Council of Europe, the OSCE and the German Federal Foreign Office. Mr. Dornfeldt is also a visiting lecturer at the Free University Berlin and the University of Potsdam. Mr. Dornfeldt received his masters degree from the University of Potsdam where he studied political science with a focus on international relations. He is currently working on his dissertation on German energy relations with Norway and the USSR/Russian Federation.



Valeska Esch | Program Officer – Ms. Esch joined Aspen in February 2009 as a Program Assistant in Aspen's Leadership Program. She studied Political Science, International Law, and English Language and Literature at the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn with a focus on Security Politics, the European Union, and Southeast Europe. Currently, she is writing her Master's thesis on the EU's engagement in Kosovo. Before joining Aspen, Ms. Esch worked for an event management firm in Bonn.



Ramona Gottwald | Program Assistant – After studying commercial correspondence for foreign languages, Ms. Gottwald worked in a conference centre. After earning Certification as an International

Event Manager, she worked for a Czech Non-Governmental Organization in 2007 before joining Aspen in January, 2008

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Anett Sachtleben | Executive Assistant to the Director, Program Officer – Ms. Sachtleben joined Aspen in July 2008 and managed the public program of events. She studied at the University of Not-

tingham, England, where she obtained a BA in Politics and a Masters degree in International Relations. Her academic focus was on U.S. politics, and international security and terrorism studies. Before working at the Aspen Institute, Ms. Sachtleben gained practical experience at a local newspaper's editorial office and at a consulting company in Istanbul, Turkey.



Dr. Benjamin Schreer | Deputy Director – Dr. Schreer joined Aspen as the Deputy Director in March 2009. Prior to his appointment, he was a research fellow in the research unit “Atlantic and European Security” at the German Institute for Inter-

national and Security Affairs (*Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik*, SWP) in Berlin (2003- 2008), and co-leader of a research group in the Centre of Excellence at Constance University (2008-2009). He received his doctoral degree in Political Science from Kiel University and holds an MA in Political Science, English Literature and German Literature from the same university. Dr. Schreer has published widely on international security and defense policy issues.



Frangis Dadfar Spanta | Program Officer – Ms. Spanta joined Aspen in November 2008. She graduated in 2007 with a Magister Artium in Islamic Studies/Oriental Philology, Political Science and

German Philology from University of Cologne. During the course of her studies at the Universities of Muenster, Birmingham and Cologne, she gained fundamental expertise in the Middle East and Central Asian region. After her return from field study and a Chinese language course in Beijing in July 2008, she joined the Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination at Princeton University to prepare the Afghanistan Review Conference in Bonn/Petersberg, Germany.

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Helena Zillich | Development Officer – Ms. Zillich joined Aspen in January 2007 after completing her MA in Economics from the University Zurich in 2005. Her previous work experience led her to southern

India where she worked for the Indian development organization DPG. She also worked for a member of the Committee on Economic Cooperation & Development at the German Bundestag and gained practical experience at the German Chamber of Commerce in the Caribbean.



Adam Posen
Member, Monetary Policy Committee
Bank of England

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John Fund, Member of the Editorial
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Janos Martonyi, Minister of Foreign
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Prof. François Heisbourg, Chairman of
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Robert von Rimscha, Head of Policy
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- 16-19** **Leadership Conference,**
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Klaus Schäfer, Chairman of the Board
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- TBD Will There Ever be Peace in the Mid-
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Elliot Abrams, Former Senior Director
for Near East and South Asia, U.S. Na-
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