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Regional leaders, global challenges: issues, interests and strategies: 12th International Summer School 2008

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Kathrin Brockmann, David Bosold (eds.)

12th International Summer School 2008

"Regional Leaders, Global Challenges: Issues, Interests and Strategies"

Berlin, July 6–19, 2008
International Forum on Strategic Thinking
German Council on Foreign Relations
Berlin 2008

DGAP Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik e.V.

Kathrin Brockmann, David Bosold (eds.)

12th International Summer School "Regional Leaders, Global Challenges: Issues, Interests and Strategies"

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Last but not least a special thanks goes to all DGAP staff for their unconditional help and support, without which this International Summer School would not have been possible.

Otto Wolff-Director Prof. Eberhard Sandschneider

Foreword

For many years, we at the German Council on Foreign Relations have been actively trying to expand our network of young high-potentials in international relations. In many of our programs the focus is on attracting future decision-makers to our growing network, while they are still in their formative years at the university or in the early stages of their career.

One of the most successful programs is organized by our International Forum on Strategic Thinking, which—based on our annual Summer Schools and New Faces Conferences—established a network of well over 700 people from all over Europe, Asia, the Middle East, North America, and with the invitation of participants from South Africa, Tanzania, Cameroon and Rwanda in the last two years also from Africa.

For our 12th consecutive Summer School, which took place in July 2008, we have again invited a group of 30 outstanding participants for an intensive two week program, which focused on concepts of regional leadership, preconditions for regional stability and different regional integration dynamics.

In a world more and more characterized by multipolar structures, stability is an ever more evasive aim. Political theory tells us that multipolar systems are much less stable than bipolar or hegemonic ones. For the next generation of global political leaders it is paramount to understand how tectonic shifts in our present global order will influence the relative position of their own countries. The shifting parameters of rising powers, trends of regional cooperation and integration will set the stage for an emerging new world order where not only states and markets, but increasingly also transnational networks will play an ever more important role. In this sense, we could address networks in a double perspective: in the real world which we try to shape and understand and also in the world of young leaders who will have to shoulder the bulk of work and responsibility in the years and decades ahead.

Assuming that members of our network will belong to future decision-makers in their respective countries, the mission and understanding of our Summer School is based on the hope that experiences made here in Berlin and at the German Council on Foreign Relations will not only help to improve the participants' and our own understanding of different perspectives on international problems, but also contribute to promoting a better understanding of German foreign policy.

As today's challenges know no borders, it is vital to engage in a strategic dialogue to ultimately find common solutions to global problems. The feedback so far gives us strong support that our activities do contribute to enhancing regional and global networks dealing with political, economic and security challenges ahead. The success we had so far is a strong impetus for us to continue this work.

We will continue to enlarge and deepen our work bringing together international elites of tomorrow from strategically important regions. As part of these efforts DGAP and the International Forum on Strategic Thinking look forward to welcoming many Alumni of the last twelve years of activities to the 2nd International Alumni Conference, taking place in Berlin in November 2008!

Prof. Dr. Eberhard Sandschneider
Otto Wolff-Director

German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP)

The German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP) is the national network for German foreign policy. As an independent, non-partisan and non-profit organization, it actively takes part in the political decision-making process and promotes understanding of German foreign policy and international relations. More than 1800 members—among them renowned representatives from politics, business, academia and the media—as well as more than 80 companies and foundations support the work of the DGAP. The DGAP comprises the research institute, the journal Internationale Politik—IP—and its Global Edition as well as the library and documentation center.

The DGAP's research institute works at the junction between politics, the economy and academia. In its policy-oriented work, the research institute takes an interdisciplinary approach to all areas of German foreign policy, which are anything but static in a globalizing world.

IP Global Edition is the quarterly English-language magazine of the German Council on Foreign Relations. It brings the missing European voice on global issues to readers across the world and is essential reading for everyone who is working in the field of politics and global economic issues.

The DGAP Library and Documentation Center (BiDok) is one of the oldest and most significant specialized libraries in Germany open to the public. It holds substantial collections on German foreign and security policy.

International Forum on Strategic Thinking

The International Forum on Strategic Thinking is the Council's main instrument for promoting young professionals and scholars in the area of foreign and security policy. It encourages international and multilateral cooperation, the exchange of ideas on global challenges, and cross-cultural dialogue. The forum's network currently comprises over 700 alumni and experts from partner organizations worldwide.

The Forum holds three major events per year: the International Summer School and two New Faces Conferences. Implementing this dual approach, the Forum brings together young leaders in different stages of their careers, from regions such as Europe, the Middle East, Asia and Africa as well as from Russia and North America.

The International Forum on Strategic Thinking is proud to have the Robert Bosch Stiftung as its main patron.

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The DGAP International Summer School

DGAP's annual International Summer School targets highly qualified students and recent graduates between 20 and 28 years of age. By inviting participants from all over Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Asia, Russia and North America, the International Forum on Strategic Thinking promotes the exchange of ideas between young people with various national, religious, ethnic, cultural, political and educational backgrounds. Summer Schools address a series of contemporary issues in global affairs and seek to highlight their relevance to current foreign and security policy and strategic investments in the future. The two-week program consists of lectures and panel debates by internationally renowned experts and professionals as well as visits to political institutions and to politically significant sites of German history. Following general discussions, participants meet in small working groups to discuss their different opinions and exchange perspectives in order to develop common solutions to global challenges and threats.

The 12th DGAP International Summer School "Regional Leaders, Global Challenges: Issues, Interests and Strategies" took place in Berlin from July 6th to 19th, 2008. In accordance with this year's theme, the participants examined the concept of regional leadership and addressed the prerequisites for regional economic and socio-political integration, the relationship between regional cooperation and successful development, state-building, and security initiatives. Participants analyzed and compared potential strategies for reaching political and development goals in various world regions (Europe, Asia, Africa and MENA), as well as the role that regional powers and rising world powers must play to effectively and efficiently tackle global challenges and ensure international cooperation. In addition, the participants were offered perspective on the concept of regional leadership

exemplified through several case studies. One central finding was that today's regionalism can best be understood by taking into account the emergence of a multipolar world order, in which most new powers represent the center of gravity in their respective region. However, it is important to note that regional dynamics are varying between the regions and that the degree of pooled or externalized sovereignty, in absolute and sectorial terms of integration, differs considerably. Another shared train of thought concerned the often too narrow conception of power in many contemporary analyses. In order to make sense of leadership within the region and leadership by regional leaders on a global scale policy tools going beyond military and economic influence are needed. These include powerful ideas, acceptance of the leadership role of a given actor by others in the region and the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust, which eventually may serve as a catalyst for increased cooperation and interaction among regions as well as within regions.

The Summer School's four working groups met consistently throughout the two weeks of the program, each focusing on a specific region: Africa, the Middle East, Asia or Europe. Having received a preparatory reader providing a general overview of the different topics and of relevant regional dynamics and developments, each group was expected to concentrate on two issues: first, to analyze the central aspects of the lectures subsequently formulating questions and hypotheses, and secondly, to highlight the implications for the respective regions. The results of each working group were presented by a rapporteur of the group and discussed in the plenary. Corresponding protocols provided the basis for the final policy paper drafted by each working group during the Summer School, drawing on the lectures, debates and working group sessions. These final policy papers analyzed a set of potential regional leaders, be it states, organizations or companies, as well as selected issues and challenges these leaders face in their respective regions. Working groups presented their findings on the last day of the Summer School to representatives from various institutions and the interested public. The policy papers are available on DGAP's web site and are being disseminated through the Forum's extensive network of partner organizations worldwide.

Agenda

Sunday, 6 July	Opening Day
16:30	**Opening of the 12th International Summer School** **Welcome Address** Ambassador (ret.) Fritjof von Nordenskjöld Executive Vice President German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP)
	Welcome Address Dr. Peter Theiner, Head of Department International Relations Western Europe, USA Robert Bosch Stiftung
17:00	**Reception and Dinner**
19:00	**Boat trip through Berlin**

"The daily schedule was very intense, but that was also the point of the conference's instructional component. I didn't expect to relax."

Participants discussing in DGAP's Robert Bosch Saal, the lecture hall of the Summer School

Monday, 7 July	Introduction
10.00–11.00	**Regional Leaders, Global Challenges: Issues, Interests and Strategies** Ambassador (ret.) Alyson J.K. Bailes, Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Iceland
11.00 – 12.00	**Discussion**
12.30 – 13.30	**Lunch**
14.00 – 15.00	**Introduction to the Working Groups "Regional Leaders, Global Challenges"**
15.00 – 18.00	**Regional Working Group Sessions**
18.00	**Dinner**

Ambassador Bailes gives a comprehensive introduction to the topic

Tuesday, 8 July	Challenges
09.00 – 10.00	**The Concept of Regional Leadership: Analytic Framework and Characteristics** Prof. Dr. Ole Wæver, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, Denmark
10.00 – 11.00	**Discussion**
11.00 – 11.30	**Coffee Break**
11.30 – 12.30	**Regional Working Group Sessions**
12.30 – 13.00	**Plenary**
13.00 – 14.00	**Lunch**
14.00 – 15.00	**An Anatomy of Regional Integration: What Role for Regional Organizations in Tackling Global Challenges?** Prof. Dr. Luk van Langenhove, Director of the Comparative Regional Integration Studies Programme, United Nations University (UNU-CRIS), Bruges, Belgium

Prof. van Langenhove on regional integration dynamics and challenges of multi-level governance

15.00 – 16.00	**Discussion**
16.00 – 16.30	**Coffee Break**
16.30 – 17.30	**Regional Working Group Sessions**
17.30 – 18.00	**Plenary**
18.00	**Dinner**

Wednesday, 9 July	**Social Day**
09.15 – 10.30	**Visit of the Axel Springer-Verlag**
10.30 – 12.00	**Stability in a Multi-Polar World: Mission Impossible?** Discussion with Prof. Dr. Michael Stürmer, Chief Correspondent of "Die Welt" (daily newspaper)
12.30 – 13.30	**Lunch at Restaurant Cum Laude**
13.30 – 16.30	**Scavenger Hunt through Berlin**
16.30 – 19.30	**Free Time**
19.30	**Dinner at Freischwimmer Restaurant**

Heated debate with Professor Stürmer at the Axel-Springer Publishing House

Thursday, 10 July	Regional Leaders, Global Challenges I
09.00 – 10.00	**Regional Leaders and the Quest for Stability: Approaches to Peace- and State-building** Prof. Dr. David Chandler, Professor of International Relations, Centre for the Study of Democracy, University of Westminster, London, UK
10.00 – 11.00	**Discussion**
11.00 – 11.30	**Coffee Break**
11.30 – 12.30	**Regional Working Group Sessions**
12.30 – 13.00	**Plenary**
13.00 – 14.00	**Lunch**

Professor Chandler critically engages with current state-building agendas

14.00 – 15.00	**The Ambivalent Role of Regional Leaders in Curbing or Supporting Terrorism** Dr. Guido Steinberg, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin, Germany
	Regional Dynamics in Controlling the Spread of WMD: An IAEA Perspective Miroslav Gregorič, Office of Nuclear Security, Department of Nuclear Safety and Security, International Atomic Energy Agency, Vienna, Austria
15.00 – 16.00	**Discussion**
16.00 – 16.30	**Coffee Break**
16.30 – 17.30	**Regional Working Group Sessions**
17.30 – 18.00	**Plenary**
18.00 – 20.00	**Our Europe—Tasks for Today and Tomorrow** H. E. Urmas Paet, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Estonia

Miroslav Gregorič and Guido Steinberg address the challenges of WMD and terrorism

Friday, 11 July	Actors
09.00 – 10.00	**Regional Leaders: Multifaceted Approaches to Economic Integration** Dr. Uwe Wunderlich, Aston University, Birmingham, UK
	The Rise of Regional Corporate Leaders in the Global Economy Dr. Dieter Heuskel, Chairman of BCG Germany and member of the Executive Committee, Boston Consulting Group, Düsseldorf, Germany
10.00 – 11.00	**Discussion**
11.00 – 11.30	**Coffee Break**
11.30 – 12.30	**Regional Working Group Sessions**
12.30 – 13.00	**Plenary**
13.00 – 14.00	**Lunch**

Dr. Dieter Heuskel highlights the rise of new market leaders from developing countries

14.00 – 15.00	**Security of Supply and Cooperation: Energy as a Prime Variable in the Geopolitical Game** Dagmar Graczyk, Manager for South Asia, International Energy Agency, Paris, France
15.00 – 16.00	**Discussion**
16.00 – 16.30	**Coffee Break**
16.30 – 17.30	**Regional Working Group Sessions**
17.30 – 18.00	**Plenary**
18.00	**Dinner**
Saturday, 12 July	**Social Day**
17.00	**Visit to the Reichstag**
Sunday, 13 July	**Social Day**
10.00 – 18.00	**Trip to Potsdam**

The group in front of the Reichstag, the seat of the German parliament

Monday, 14 July	Regional Case Studies I
09.00 – 10.00	**After Putin: Evaluating Russia's Role in the World** Konstantin Eggert, MBE, Bureau Editor, BBC Russian Service, Moscow, Russia
	The USA before the Presidential Elections: Challenges for an "Indispensable Power" Prof. Dr. Gale Mattox, US Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD, USA
10.00 – 11.00	**Discussion**
11.00 – 11.30	**Coffee Break**
11.30 – 12.30	**Regional Working Group Sessions**
12.30 – 13.00	**Plenary**
13.00 – 14.00	**Lunch**
14.00 – 15.00	**Linking Europe and Asia: The Changing Geopolitics of Modern Turkey** Prof. Dr. Hüseyin Bağcı, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey

Konstantin Eggert and Gale Mattox assess the current situation in Russia and the US

15.00 – 16.00	**Discussion**
16.00 – 16.30	**Coffee Break**
16.30 – 17.30	**Regional Working Group Sessions**
17.30 – 18.00	**Plenary**
18.00	**Dinner**

Tuesday, 15 July	**Regional Case Studies II**
09.00 – 10.00	**Security and Development in Africa: What Role for Regional Organizations, International Interventions and Regional Leaders?** Dr. David Francis, Director, African Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, UK
10.00 – 11.00	**Discussion**
11.00 – 11.30	**Coffee Break**
11.30 – 12.30	**Regional Working Group Sessions**
12.30 – 13.00	**Plenary**
13.00 – 14.00	**Lunch**

Security and development in Africa: Dr. Francis shares his expertise and insights from the region

14.00 – 15.30	**Who is to lead in Europe? The European Union as a Global Actor** Andreas List, International Relations Officer, DG RELEX, European Commission, Brussels, Belgium
	Between Bucharest and Strasbourg: New Impulses for NATO? Maike Tribbels, Policy Planning Unit, NATO HQ, Brussels, Belgium
15.30 – 16.30	**Discussion**
16.30 – 17.00	**Coffee Break**
17.00 – 18.00	**Regional Working Group Sessions**
18.00 – 18.30	**Plenary**
18.30	**Dinner**

Maike Tribbels summarizes the outcome of the Bucharest Summit

Wednesday, 16 July	Perspectives from Germany
09.30 – 11.30	**Visit to the Ministry of Defense**
	Germany's Role in ESDP and NATO Brigadier General Hans-Werner Wiermann, Deputy Assistant Chief of Armed Forces Staff, Politico Military Affairs and Arms Control Division, Federal Ministry of Defense, Berlin, Germany
	From a Standing to an Operational Army – The Transformation of the Bundeswehr Captain Karsten Schneider, Branch Chief, Concept of the Bundeswehr, Transformation, the Joint Staff, Federal Ministry of Defense, Bonn, Germany
11.30 – 13.30	**Reception & Lunch at the Ministry**

The group visits the Federal Ministry of Defense

14.30 – 15.30	**Germany's Role in Global Affairs – Engaging with Regional Leaders** MinDirig Rolf Nikel, Deputy Director General, Foreign and Security Policy, Global Issues, Federal Chancellery, Berlin, Germany
15.30 – 17.00	**Guided tour of the Chancellery**
19.00	**Dinner & Varieté Theater at TIPI – Zelt am Kanzleramt**
Thursday, 17 July	**Regional Case Studies III**
09.00 – 10.30	**"Powerhouse" Asia** **Global Rivals: China's Astounding Rise and the Paralysis of the West** Prof. Dr. Eberhard Sandschneider, Otto Wolff-Director, German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin **Global Ambitions: India's Quest for Leadership** Prof. Dr. Anthony D'Costa, Asia Research Centre, Copenhagen Business School, Copenhagen, Denmark
10.30 – 11.30	**Discussion**
11.30 – 12.00	**Coffee Break**
12.00 – 13.00	**Regional Working Group Sessions**
13.00 – 13.30	**Plenary**
13.30 – 14.30	**Lunch**
14.30 – 16.00	**Regional Influence as Rivalry: The Search for Leadership in the Middle East** PD Dr. Martin Beck, Institute for Middle East Studies, German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg, Germany

	Pakistan's Strategic Role in Asia: A Key Player in the Fight Against Terrorism? Prof. Dr. Moonis Ahmar, Department of International Relations, University of Karachi, Pakistan
16.00 – 17.00	**Discussion**
17.00 – 17.30	**Coffee Break**
17.30 – 18.30	**Regional Working Group Sessions**
18.30 – 19.00	**Plenary**
19.00	**Dinner**
Friday, 18 July	**Final Day, Feedback & Evaluation**
09.00 – 13.00	**Working Groups: Preparation of Final Presentations**
13.00 – 14.00	**Lunch**
14.00 – 16.30	**Public Presentations of the Working Groups**
16.30 – 17.00	**Coffee Break**
17.00 – 18.00	**Wrap-up Session, Feedback, Evaluation**
20.00	**Farewell Party with Barbecue at the DGAP**
Saturday, 19 July	**End of Summer School**
10.00	**Departure of Participants**

Lectures, Panels and Presentations

The following paragraphs provide a brief summary of each speaker's intervention in the order of their appearance at DGAP's two week International Summer School. Summaries of presentations held during visits to other institutions can be found in the following chapter.

Ambassador (ret.) Alyson J.K. Bailes
In her discussion, Ambassador Alyson Bailes, currently lecturer at the University of Iceland, introduced the participants to the inherent complexities of regional integration and presented four models of interaction between regional groups and their leaders, thereby providing a contemporary definition of regional leadership. Bailes' discussion analyzed not only the different forms of regional integration and their power structures but also delved into the reasons for state decisions to join regional organizations. Furthermore, Bailes' analysis was expanded to the global level in examining the possible cooperation between regional groupings and the implications of such cooperation for global governance. Her thoughts served as a valuable framework of analysis for the following two weeks of Summer School and case studies.

Professor Wæver presents the world according to regional security complexes

Professor Dr. Ole Wæver

In introducing the concept of Regional Security Complexes (RSCs), Dr. Ole Wæver, Professor of Political Science at the University of Copenhagen, characterized a more regionally structured world and contended the "Huntingtonian" model of international security and its global approach which has been popular in North America. Professor Wæver's regional approach to international security also provided new perspective on the global power structure through his 1+4+Regions concept: one superpower (the United States), four great powers (the EU, Russia, China and Japan), and regional actors (of which there are currently 11). Professor Wæver concluded his discussion by offering his analysis of the worldwide movement away from unipolarity towards uni-multipolarity and concentrated RSCs, commenting that "the closest we can get to a global order today is the unravelling of one."

Professor Dr. Luk Van Langenhove

Professor Dr. Luk van Langenhove, Director of the Comparative Regional Integration Studies Program at United Nations University, posited that the Westphalian global order was under siege from globalization. Langenhove described the contemporary post-Westphalian world as a world of states and regions, in which state power and even state functions are transferred upwards to regional levels of governance or redirected to the subnational level. Although not a state, regions, as defined by Langenhove, are levels of governance with some statehood properties that, in spite of problems of size and power disparities between states, make states interdependent on one another and therefore, will certainly play a crucial role in international politics. Langenhove argued that this world of various sets of regional multi-level governance might hamper more classical forms of multilateral state interaction on the global level.

Professor Dr. David Chandler

In addressing the delicate topic of intervention and state-building, Professor Dr. David Chandler, Professor of International Relations at the Centre for the Study of Democracy, University of Westminster, elucidated the inherent complexities at the crossroads of state sovereignty and the "Responsibility to Protect." Highlighting some aspects of state-building over the last decade, Chandler illustrated the global discursive shift to a new meaning of state sovereignty based on a state's ability to protect its citizens and, hence, a conditional form of sovereignty. This new understanding of sovereignty and the practice of humanitarian intervention, deeply embedded in the new ethical foreign policies of the industrialized world, has created new forms of statehood in the form of international administrations, such as Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is in these newly created states

where the international community still struggles to create sustainable democratic structures and real statehood.

Dr. Guido Steinberg

In his presentation Dr. Guido Steinberg of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) outlined three specific relationships of states to terrorism: direct state support, passive state support, and indirect responsibility for its onset. Steinberg argued that successful measures to counter terrorism require the understanding and addressing of its root causes. In doing so, he carefully examined specific examples of how states create or deter terrorist efforts. In his conclusion, Steinberg placed direct responsibility on governments, especially in the Middle East region, to reform the way in which they interact with terrorism in an effort to curb its proliferation.

Miroslav Gregorič

Miroslav Gregorič from the Office of Nuclear Security at the International Atomic Energy Agency presented the IAEA perspective on controlling the spread of nuclear weapons. Beginning his discussion with an overview of the contemporary security risks from nuclear weapons, such as a nuclear hand-off, theft of a nuclear device, or sabotage of a nuclear facility, Gregorič highlighted the need for safeguards and stricter security measures regarding radioactive sources with low degrees of enrichment. He emphasized the important role of the 1970 Non-Proliferation Treaty in preventing the spread of nuclear weapons both vertically (to non-state actors) and horizontally (to other states), stressing the dangers involved with the increase of such weapons in absolute numbers or across states. Therefore, he advocated the creation of a global nuclear security culture as a means of achieving a more secure environment.

Dr. Uwe Wunderlich

Examining different dynamics of economic integration, Dr. Uwe Wunderlich of Aston University discussed the interdependent and inseparable relationship between economics and politics, concluding that they were merely two sides of the same coin. Wunderlich structured his analysis of integration policy according to the major theoretical frameworks of regional integration: Federalism, Functionalism, Neo-functionalism, Realism and Neo-realism. Illustrating his argument for the fundamental relationship between politics and economics, he drew extensively on the case of the European Union.

Dr. Dieter Heuskel

Discussing the role of corporate leaders in the globalized economy, Dr. Dieter Heuskel, Chairman of the Boston Consulting Group Germany, classified the relationship between corporate leaders and political elites according to a three tier model: global economy 1.0, 2.0, and 3.0. As Dr. Heuskel explained, in the contemporary global economy, there are no truly global corporations but rather multinational companies with central leadership in one specific region. Thus, as companies expand into foreign markets, there exists a current trend towards a stronger role for the political elite in initiating and moderating regulations. Taking the current financial sub-prime mortgage crisis as an example, Dr. Heuskel illustrated the need for regulation of certain aspects of the globalized marketplace and financial flows. While this could be perceived as a positive sign towards more transparency, there might be the danger of too strong a political influence in the medium term which might prove detrimental for economic prosperity.

Dagmar Graczyk

Dagmar Graczyk, Manager for the South Asia division of the International Energy Agency, delivered an eye-opening presentation on the future of energy and the role of regional leaders in ensuring energy security. Describing energy as the prerequisite for economics and human development, Graczyk's discussion captured the urgency of the energy crisis and the need to explore alternative forms of energy. Although advocating the benefits of alternative energy, Graczyk also

Dagmar Graczyk from the IEA critically examines advantages and disadvantages of different energy sources

provided keen insight into the difficulties of alternative energy due to geographic limitations in certain regions, the inexportability of certain forms of energy, and the acute problem of maintaining the needed investment in oil extraction and transport in today's political climate. She stressed the significance of the security of supply, emphasizing the potential role of nuclear energy and the increasing challenges posed by climate change.

Professor Dr. Gale Mattox

Dr. Gale Mattox, Professor of Political Science at the U.S. Naval Academy, provided a comprehensive review of the foreign policy positions of United States Presidential Candidates Senator John McCain and Senator Barack Obama. Analyzing the implications for the United States' involvement in international affairs in the event of an election win for either candidate, she paid particularly close attention to the differences. Professor Mattox highlighted Obama's willingness to speak to foreign leaders and use soft power in dealing with other states, yet made clear that Obama's youth and freshness must be balanced by an astute ability to respond firmly in an international crisis. This provided a stark contrast to her discussion of McCain's prospective foreign policy, in which the openness to both soft and hard power, especially military power, was stressed. However, in spite of these differing perspectives in approaching foreign policy, Mattox elucidated the move to the center among both McCain and Obama and the overlap that will certainly be seen in their positions during the election campaign.

Konstantin Eggert, MBE

Konstantin Eggert, Bureau Editor for the BBC Russian Service in Moscow, defined Russia's role in current world affairs and provided unique insight into Russia's political ambitions. Eggert declared that the primary policy objective of Russia, both domestically and internationally, is to preserve the political regime and, in doing so, ensure internal stability. As a means of achieving this goal, Eggert explained, Russia resists foreign influence in its affairs, be it from NGOs or other transnational actors. Russia, however, will engage multilaterally, but only on its own terms as a means of re-establishing its role as an international power. Concluding his analysis of Russia's international relations, Eggert highlighted the continuing importance of competition with the United States in Russian foreign and domestic policy measures and sketched the continued search for an affirmation of its self-perceived status as a global power.

Professor Dr. Hüseyin Bağci

Discussing Turkey's evolving foreign policy, Dr. Hüseyin Bağci, Professor of International Relations at Middle East Technical University, emphasized the significant role Turkey will assume in international politics as a bridge between the Middle East and Europe. Turkey's increasingly important geo-strategic role has resulted from the accomplishments of the "new" Turkish government. These include extensive domestic political reforms, such as abolishing the death penalty and championing human rights, and the wide use of soft power in spreading its economic and political influence outside the region. If Turkey can achieve its ultimate aim of joining the European Union, these strong democratic principles in a primarily Muslim society would allow Turkey to serve as a strategic player for the European Union, especially in the Middle East.

Professor Dr. David Francis

Dr. David Francis, Director of the African Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Bradford, began his discussion by deconstructing "Afro-pessimist" stereotypes of the "hopeless continent". Challenging the popular media images of Africa, Francis offered new perspectives into the issues facing Africa as a heterogeneous continent through analysis of the relationship between security and development. Francis' depiction of the "Security-Development Nexus" conceives the convergence between security and development policy based on the recognition that both, security and development, are dependant on one another

Professor Bağci on Turkey's three-pronged relations with Europe, Asia and the Middle East

and that, without complementarity of both elements, it proves difficult to achieve peace and stability in Africa. In his conclusion, Francis posited that the shift from non-intervention to non-indifference, as manifested in the evolution from the Organization of African Unity to the African Union, represents a crucial prerequisite for the development of ownership-based "African solutions" to "African problems" by African countries.

Andreas List

Engaging the participants, Andreas List, International Relations Officer for the European Commission, began his presentation with a question; does the European Union have democratic legitimacy? While the participants pondered his question, List outlined the three pillars of the European Union: the three European communities, common foreign and security policy, and cooperation in police and judicial affairs. In his examination of each pillar, List reflected on the structure and inner workings of the organization. Although highlighting both structural and external challenges facing the EU, such as the democratic deficit or energy security, he also placed strong emphasis on the achievements of the EU, declaring it to be the most advanced example of existing integration configurations. In the end participants were tempted to wonder whether the EU could be considered the role model for other forms of regional integration.

Andreas List on the EU's attractivness for third countries: Aren't we pretty?

Maike Tribbels

In her presentation, Maike Tribbels of the Private Office of the Secretary General, NATO HQ, provided an in-depth analysis of the NATO Bucharest Summit, highlighting the major issues on the agenda: enlargement, operations, security partnerships, and contemporary security concerns. Based on the outcome of the Bucharest Summit, Tribbels outlined key issues facing NATO in the Strasbourg-Kehl Summit this coming April. Besides the Strasbourg-Kehl Summit marking the 60th anniversary of NATO in 2009, Tribbels stressed the political context, which could possibly foster a truly momentous conference for the future of NATO.

Professor Dr. Anthony D'Costa

Discussing India's quest for leadership, Professor Dr. Anthony D'Costa of the Asia Research Centre, Copenhagen Business School, analyzed India's global ambitions, describing them as selective in terms of the different fields of foreign policy. D'Costa argued that the primary objectives of Indian policy are, foremost, to ensure its territorial existence and internal cohesion and to achieve a global redistribution of wealth and power. Although India was internally focused, D'Costa claimed that India met all of the international economic criteria for tackling global leadership. Indeed, according to D'Costa, India still faces many challenges in sustaining growth, such as energy scarcity and a lack of sufficient employment for a rapidly growing population; however, India's strengths in its network of resources and size will ensure that India is an important player in global affairs for years to come.

Professor Dr. Eberhard Sandschneider

Delivering an impassioned presentation characterizing China's recent growth not as China's rise to power but rather as a return to the Chinese ingenuity and dominance DGAP's Otto Wolff-Director, Professor Dr. Eberhard Sandschneider, challenged common perceptions of China and its rise in the international community. Sandschneider implored participants to be mindful of the different perspectives from which China's rise can be viewed, encouraging them to consider that China's list of problems is as long as its list of successes and to be astute to the misleading nature of absolute numbers. Moreover, Sandschneider keenly elucidated that Chinese politicians are acutely aware of the problems facing Chinese development, and that domestic stability is the primary concern of Chinese policy. Because of China's inwardly-focused policy and resistance to foreign interference in handling its domestic issues, Sandschneider, accordingly, warned the West not to push China—because China, having achieved great self-confidence, would most likely push back.

PD Dr. Martin Beck

In analyzing how regional power is determined in the Middle East, PD Dr. Martin Beck of the Institute for Middle East Studies, German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), applied different models of political analysis in order to explain the existing power structure of the Middle East: structural realism, institutionalism, and constructivism. Concluding that there was no exceptional contemporary regional power, Beck used the Iran-Israeli conflict to highlight one example of a power rivalry in the region. Beck's efforts at policy advisory for a Middle East lacking a regional power demonstrated the difficulties faced by policy makers in considering the region and implementing policies.

Professor Dr. Moonis Ahmar

Looking at the role of Pakistan in the global fight against terrorism, Professor Dr. Moonis Ahmar of the Department of International Relations, University of Karachi, underscored Pakistan's strategic situation at the crossroads of South, West and Central Asia, and looked at Pakistan's internal and external political fault lines. In making explicit the fragility of the political situation in Pakistan, Ahmar looked back on Western historical presence and involvement in the region, implicating this intervention as the main destabilization factor. Although domestic stability is needed to limit the proliferation of terrorism, Ahmar makes clear that neither war with Pakistan nor the intervention from external forces would be successful options in the fight against terrorism; in fact, they may even increase instability.

Explaining Pakistan's role in Asia: Professor Moonis Ahmar

Social Activities and Visits to German Institutions

The 12th International Summer School's academic program was complemented by a number of social activities and events, including visits to various institutions in and around Berlin. Through the organization of social activities, the Summer School aims to build a strong network of alumni who will stay in touch well beyond the actual event itself, making it a unique cross-cultural experience for all participants.

On the first day of the program following the official opening and reception, participants took a boat trip down the beautiful river Spree, during which they had a chance to get to know one another, converse about upcoming events and gain an introduction to Berlin's rich history and its many historic sites. Following the event, participants and organizers enjoyed a beer in one of Berlin's famous beer gardens.

Later on in the week, participants visited the Axel Springer-Verlag, Germany's largest publishing company. An informational session provided participants with background information regarding the evolution of German publishing, the life of Axel Springer and the history of his publishing house, as well as the company's current circulation in Germany and throughout Europe. The session was followed by a talk by Professor Dr. Michael Stürmer, Chief Correspondent for the daily "Die Welt," who discussed regional and global stability in an increasingly multi-polar world. Dr. Stürmer's lecture triggered a controversial debate, during which participants questioned his views on the global food crisis, the spread of infectious disease, the state of current energy policy and nuclear non-proliferation efforts, and the state actors' ability (or inability) to affect meaningful change on global issues. After the presentation, participants turned their attention to a city-wide "Hare and Hounds" scavenger hunt, exploring Friedrichstraße and Oranienburgerstraße, Checkpoint Charlie, the East Side Gallery, and the Schloss Charlottenburg. Meeting at Freischwimmer Restaurant in Kreuzberg later in the evening, the participants shared their experiences with the whole group, presented their findings, and received prizes for their creativity and enthusiasm.

After a week of intensive days and a first experience of Berlin nightlife on Friday, the group reconvened on Saturday for a visit to the Reichstag, the seat of the German Parliament and central location of German government. A guided tour covered the Reichstag's complex history, including the severe damage it endured

during World War II, its capture by the Russian army, and its division after the war and eventual reunification and reuse as a policy centre during the late 1990s. After the tour, participants had a chance to climb the stairs of the Reichstag's famous dome, from where they enjoyed the beautiful panorama of Berlin.

On Sunday, the group met for a full-day trip to Potsdam, the scenic and historic capital of Brandenburg that lies just outside Berlin. After an early morning of playing frisbee and chatting, participants took a boat trip on the Wannsee and toured the Cecilienhof Castle, site of the famous meetings between Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union following the Second World War. Though rain kept some hiding for cover under the castle's arches, others braved the storm to play football and explore the castle grounds. After the tour, participants and organizers walked through the city of Potsdam to Schloss Sanssouci and its splendid gardens.

The final week of the Summer School was filled with many lectures and preparation of the students' final papers. On Wednesday, participants visited both the German Ministry of Defense and the Federal Chancellery of Berlin. At the Ministry of Defense, Brigadier General Hans-Werner Wiermann explained the special context of German security policy and military engagement, stressing the principles of comprehensiveness, prevention and multilateralism. He outlined

With rain, but sans souci: Participants enjoy the trip to Potsdam

contemporary threats to security and gave an overview of the Bundeswehr's responses to the changing security environment and its recent operations.

Captain Schneider elaborated on the transformation of the Bundeswehr, explaining that the evolution from a standing to an operational army not only prompted new questions regarding capabilities, supply and material but also posed considerable challenges to soldiers undertaking out-of-area operations. He further outlined the different training facilities and programmes that help soldiers to cope with the new situation confronting them when they enter the foreign theatre. After a lively question and answer session, participants were invited to an elegant three-course meal at the officers' mess, where they were able to continue their debates with General Wiermann and Captain Schneider.

After lunch, the group walked through Berlin's Tiergarten to the Federal Chancellery for a tour of the building and a short briefing. They learned about the institutional set-up, the history and the work of the Chancellery, German foreign policy priorities and objectives and even about the marvelous art that is found throughout the building. The evening finished in a convivial atmosphere with dinner and variety theatre complete with popular music and dancing at the TIPI Zelt am Kanzleramt.

Participants explore Berlin and its art works …

Yet perhaps the liveliest event of every summer school is the final barbecue and farewell party, when participants and organizers celebrate two long weeks of hard work, intensive discussions and analytical thinking with an all-night get-together at the DGAP. The entire group enjoyed a fantastic meal and drinks followed by the presentation of awards to participants, for whom they had voted as "Most likely to become president of one's country", "Most likely to use jokes as a form of diplomacy" and other various honors. After an evening of karaoke, dancing and reflection into the early morning hours, one could feel that the 12th International Summer School had been successful not only in promoting two weeks of intercultural dialogue and exchange, but also in forging strong personal friendships and a group of peers that will stay in touch for a long time to come. At the end of the program, many expressed similar sentiments to that of participant François Garraux, who felt that "It was one of the best experiences of my life."

… and discover the largest remaining piece of the Berlin wall: the East-side Gallery

Working Groups, Policy Papers and Final Presentations

Divided into four regional working groups—Europe, the Middle East and North Africa, Asia and Africa—participants met consistently throughout the two weeks of the Summer School. Analyzing threats, challenges and the particular implications of discussion topics for their specific regions, the participants recognized differing regional perspectives on global challenges and interests.

Motivated by the task of drafting a comprehensive policy paper by the end of the Summer School, working groups convened after each lecture to prepare comments and recommendations for the ensuing plenary debates. To assist the working groups' argumentation and analysis, speakers often visited each group individually, giving direct feedback and advice and leading the discussion back on track when the groups' heated arguments lost focus. In addition, during coffee breaks, shared lunches, dinners and leisure activities, participants took advantage of the speakers' expertise and experience by asking questions on dissertation topics and career opportunities.

Working groups were deliberately composed of participants from diverse backgrounds and regions. This mix stimulated debate, with at least one member of the respective region present in each working group to prevent the discussion from degenerating into stereotypes and to provide first-hand knowledge and insight. Regional working groups greatly benefited not only from the presence of these regional insiders, but also from the contributions of newcomers to the region who provided fresh, objective views on controversial issues.

The Middle East group, made up of participants from Europe, Lebanon, Palestine and Iran reflected perspectives of various stakeholders in the region. Differing opinions often resulted in emotional debates, especially between the European and Arab participants.

The European working group provided an example of how people, despite their various cultural backgrounds, can, nonetheless, participate in productive discussions concerning regional solutions for global challenges. Eventually, the commitment to consensus and the willingness to compromise outweighed differences in opinion. The group succeeded in overcoming different discussion styles and worked out policy recommendations agreeable to everyone.

Participants of the African working group greatly benefited from the contributions of participants from Tanzania, Cameroon and Rwanda, who shared their views on aid and security in Africa, the limited role of external actors, and the crucial importance of empowering African institutions and people. Their comments provided fellow students with first-hand insight into this fascinating continent and the opportunity to better understand the African perspective.

Diverse backgrounds and opinions defined the Asian working group and contributed to lively discussions and perceptive analysis synthesizing the personal insight of natives to the region and the perspectives of foreign stakeholders. Defining common challenges for states in the region, the Asian group took a pragmatic approach to the prospects of Asian regional integration, recognizing not only the international but also domestic interests and ambitions of the key actors in the region.

"I enjoyed my working group very much, and I found that a diverse range of cultural backgrounds allowed for a greater range of discussion, analysis, and formation of ideas."

Throughout the Summer School, working groups gradually drafted their final policy papers, with daily protocols of the working group sessions serving as guidelines. The final policy papers identify potential regional leaders and the particular challenges they face in each of the four respective regions. Participants analyzed corresponding responses and strategies, developed their own alternative approaches and made specific policy recommendations.

In drafting their policy papers, participants were guided by the following questions:

1. Regional Leaders: Based on the analytic framework and characteristics introduced in the Summer School, identify three or four regional leaders in your respective region. These may be countries as well as organizations or companies. Explain why each of your choices can be considered a regional leader.
2. Issues, Interests, Strategies: Identify three or four issues (e.g. peace- and state-building, resources & energy, climate change & the environment, terrorism, WMDs, organized crime, economic development/integration etc.) that you consider most crucial for the regional leaders of your choice. What are their interests, agendas and strategies regarding the issues in question?

The 12th International Summer School ended with the presentation of each working group's main findings and recommendations to an open plenary, which included policy makers, researchers, DGAP staff, invited guests and the press.

"Regional Leaders, Global Challenges"

The following section presents excerpts from the four working groups' final policy papers. The full versions can be found on the DGAP web site.

Africa

Africa is often perceived by casual observers as some sort of united entity, a hopeless "dark continent" plagued by civil wars, ethnic strife, poverty, and disease. Even in academic contexts, commentators sometimes implicitly conflate the myriad African complexities into a single unified issue: how do we "save" Africa? Does the world need a new "partnership" for Africa? Might a rock concert in Europe help turn Africa around? So far this approach has not led to many effective solutions for Africa as a whole. Nor is it likely to do so: because in fact, Africa is not some sort of unitary entity. The world's second-largest continent is divided into thousands of different cultures and hundreds of languages, separated by geography, history, language, and culture.

It is from this starting point that our research paper addresses the issue of regional leadership in Africa. And an appropriate starting point it is, because the problems of Africa are easier to conceptualize if we see the continent as a collection of distinct regions. While these regions do, of course, interlink with each other

Relief and smiles after finishing the work in the Africa group

to some extent, they can be delineated in general terms. One way to do so is to start from a security perspective, since security issues lie at the heart of resolving many of the problems faced by African states. Our group chose to adopt Ole Wæver's conception of "Regional Security Complexes" (RSCs), but to apply this framework to Africa alone—in isolation from the rest of the world. RSCs, as we understand them, are determined by the degree to which a security threat in one African state affects the security interests of surrounding states. Thus conflicts will occur within RSCs, not between them: indeed it is precisely the existence of conflict that predicates the existence of an RSC. RSCs can be understood as "regions" in the sense that they are transnational and involve multiple actors, but their borders are flexible: it is not helpful to draw clear lines here. Instead, we conceptualize flexible RSCs centred around epicenters, whose gravitational pull, so to speak, decreases with distance. Thus our framework, unlike Waever's, allows for overlapping RSCs; it is possible for any single African State to belong to more than one RSC. For analytical purposes we have divided the continent into 6 such complexes. We find RSCs whose epicenters lie in the Horn of Africa, in East Africa, in Southern Africa, in the Great Lakes Region, in West Africa, and in the Sudan. The states lying within these RSCs have no choice but to be affected by security threats from other states in the same RSCs. States lying farther away may of course also be affected, but we judge that they are far enough removed from the epicenter—for whatever reason—that they are not inherently tied to the problem to the same degree.

"It was a great idea to continue discussions within the working groups! It encouraged debate and open-mindedness."

Edgar Masatu from Tanzania presents the results of the Africa working group

Our analysis of regional leaders in Africa stems directly from our regional conceptualization of the continent. We have chosen to examine four regional leaders, each a state belonging to a different RSC, and have examined how these states have or have not effectively demonstrated regional leadership. We have chosen to consider only states as regional leaders—rather than regional organizations—because while such organizations do exist, they are in each case dominated by a single state, and do not involve any real surrender of sovereignty to a supranational body. ECOWAS—the Economic Community of West African States—, for instance, is the main regional organization present in West Africa, but it is overwhelmingly funded by Nigeria, which can consequently be understood to be the real leader of the region. Following our determination that Africa is not homogeneous, we have examined separate issues for each regional leader—because specific RSCs have specific problems, which in turn require specific solutions.

Major criteria that can be used to identify regional leaders include a strong economy, an influential military, political influence and a role acknowledged by other States, and domestic stability. We have selected four states as regional leaders, each belonging to different RSCs: South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya, and Libya. Over the next few pages, this paper outlines why each state is a regional leader, and discusses with reference to some key regional issues how the state in question has or has not exercised its leadership role effectively. Let us now turn to the four case studies we have chosen to illustrate the framework outlined above.

Table 1: Matrix of Regional Leaders and key issues to be addressed

South Africa	Nigeria	Kenya	Libya
Acceptance of South Africa's Leadership	Internal Instability	Land Pressure	Peacekeeping
Response to Zimbabwe	Personal Politics and Corruption	Internal and External Instability	Economic and Humanitarian Aid
HIV/AIDS	Ethnic and Religious Tensions	Trade	Mediation

(…)

The regional leaders we have identified have the greatest potential to address security issues within their own RSCs; however, their actual leadership role has been constrained by the issues identified above. In some cases they are limited by capacity problems, for instance through domestic instability; in others they are limited by political problems, either by a lack of political will or a hesitant acceptance of the state's leadership role by other states.

The problems in African regions must be dealt with as specific regional issues, and must not be separated from their context and extrapolated to create a vague conception of "Africa." It follows, therefore, that the regional leaders will be expected to play the primary role in addressing the regional challenges. No solution that is externally imposed, or does not address the root causes of the problems—which stem from local situations—is sustainable in the long run.

Europe

The notion that a region is defined based on territoriality is outdated. The following variables should be taken into account when defining the boundaries of the European region: geographic, political, economic and military considerations, cultural interconnectedness, and shared security problems. We have adopted the argument that a regional security complex is characterized by interconnectedness between states when "security problems cannot reasonably be analyzed or resolved apart from one another."

"The idea of working groups was excellent! We fought a lot, but learned how to identify the 'compromise factor' and to always move forward."

On a political level Europe is mostly associated with the European Union or, to a lesser extent, with the Council of Europe. Geographically, "Europe" is defined as the (north)-western part of the Eurasian continent and is separated from Asia by the Ural Mountains in the East and the Caucasus Mountains and the Black Sea in the South East. In geographical terms the Russian territory to the Ural Mountains is considered part of Europe. Approximately 75–80% of Russians live in the Western or so-called European part of Russia. Russia is a key oil and gas supplier to Europe and has intense trade relations with the EU (Russia is the EU's third largest trading partner; the EU is Russia's main trading partner, accounting for more than 54% of its overall trade). Based on Turkey's participation in NATO, its importance in terms of energy supply, and its EU aspirations, Turkey can be considered part of the European security complex.

In specifying the regional leaders, the following criteria have been used: political, military, economic, organizational, and social power. A regional leader is understood as a crucial activator of coalitions, able to exercise influence on other actors in the region. (…)

Despite our initial agreement that Europe—including Russia and Turkey—forms a Regional Security Complex as defined by Buzan and Wæver, we identified a multiplicity of interests within the area. In certain areas the interests of these regional leaders are coterminous. Thus with regards to energy security we have identified the need for increased cooperation between the EU and Russia. The

EU, if it plans to rely on oil and natural gas in the short term, should conclude a comprehensive agreement with Russia, guaranteeing its neighbor security of demand. The EU is able to offer such security, and must negotiate with Russia in order to overcome the insecurity associated with a proliferation of bilateral agreements. Russia, however, has instituted several acts of aggression and displays of power which the EU cannot accept if it is to become the hegemonic regional leader (the regular probing of British and Georgian airspace by Russian military planes since 2007; the presence of Russian peace-keepers in contested territories in Georgia; the high-profile murder of Russian political dissident and refugee Alexander Litvinenko on British soil). Russia, due to an inefficient system of governance and desperate demographic situation has little hope of emerging as the hegemonic regional leader. Russia's main source of power is derived from its position as an energy supplier. Thus, there exists a real possibility of EU hegemony in the region if a reliance on Russian oil and gas is curtailed. The key factor in deciding the ascent of the EU, then, is the question of nuclear energy.

In certain areas the interests of these regional leaders are conflicting. The issue of democracy promotion is the most obvious example in this regard. Russia poses no immediate security threat to the EU, however, and if as stipulated by the ESS, democracy promotion is understood to serve pragmatic interests rather than ideological ones, the EU could make a case for dealing with Russia as it is. Russian influence on the global stage—for example in the UN Security Council—certainly hampers

The Europe Working group debates in the DGAP's winter garden.

the efforts of EU countries abroad. However, as stipulated above, the EU can overcome this problem with a willingness to circumvent the UN—to form EU battle groups and transatlantic coalitions. However, if EU expansion eventually aims at the inclusion of Georgia and Ukraine, an increasingly bellicose Russia must be contained. In addition, an efficient Russian economy could provide a valuable regional partner, but is unlikely to become a reality until Russia is fully democratized. It is in the interests of the European Union that Russia becomes a genuine democracy; the route to this can begin to be negotiated by a strategy of containment.

Our list of leaders was not exhaustive. Other regional leaders proposed for this paper included: the UK, Germany and France; Gazprom, Shell and BP; OSCE; the Visegrad 4; individuals such as Nicolas Sarkozy and Angela Merkel; as well as various NGOs. The abundance of possibilities was striking. There is no hegemonic regional leader in the European RSC. The legislative power of the EU is yet undermined by the individual leadership capabilities of its constituent parts and the incomplete nature of deep, comprehensive integration.

"I certainly would like to keep in touch, would be interested in information about future conferences, seminars, and workshops. I could also imagine myself promoting the interests of DGAP abroad—in the Czech Republic, the Netherlands, and anywhere else!"

The European Union has emerged as the only viable future hegemonic power in the region. We suggest the EU strengthens itself as a cohesive power. The Berlin Plus Agreement, although it allows the EU to act independently, using NATO assets, highlights the continued interdependence of these regional leaders, and the failure of any to seize hegemonic power. Until the EU has a workable Common Energy

François Garraux from Switzerland makes the case for regional leadership in Europe

Policy, by which it can increase self-sufficiency, and until a Common Foreign and Security Policy (including military integration) is instituted, the EU must continue to deal with (and potentially to capitulate to) Russia and NATO as regional powers.

Middle East and North Africa (MENA)

"Intercultural dialogue is the best part of this program. It was a wonderful opportunity to learn more about other countries, cultures and traditions. Keep going!"

The threats that emerge in the Mediterranean sub-system—the deficit of democratic practices, the identity crises due to modernization, the proliferation of WMDs and drug trafficking—mostly relate to the end of the bipolar system and later to the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The rise of radicalism and of international terrorism, as well as the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict, has a direct impact on regional security in the Middle East.

The issues to be addressed can be categorized into three distinctive categories: 1) Peace and security–which can be defined as the support of non-aggression policy, peaceful settlement of inter-state border and latent conflicts, the fight against terrorism and the proliferation of WMD, and the promotion of good governance. 2) Resources–including issues of water management, the oil crises and food shortages, as well as the political implications of such issues and the lack of ownership. 3) Economic cooperation as a means to promote regional integration and development. (…)

The MENA region exemplifies an eternal exceptional case, being out of step with history and immune to the trends affecting other parts of the world. Although regional cooperation and integration models are useful in explaining regional dynamics in the MENA region, no actual regional leader can be identified, and case studies of Egypt, Israel, Iran and Saudi Arabia confirm this statement.

In spite of the fact that security and economy seem to be the most important traditional incentives for regional integration, they cannot be applied in the MENA regional context. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict lies at the core of regional problems and destabilizes the whole region, hampering its ability to create coalitions or loose security complexes. Terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, and the situation in Iraq and Afghanistan are particularly important security issues that have ramifications far beyond regional boundaries and are seen as global problems.

While many theories emphasize security as a prerequisite for regional cooperation, a European model firstly proposes economic integration. Unfortunately, the economies of the countries in the MENA region are dominated by oil produc-

tion and export, while simultaneously plagued by the lack of a sense of ownership over natural resources. Thus, despite the long-standing recognition of the need for economic integration in the MENA region, past attempts at such cooperation have met numerous obstacles.

MENA countries in their respective sub-regions have similar resources and production structures; accordingly, each country has a low comparative advantage in relation to its neighbors, which undermines the basis for regional trade cooperation and causes the MENA countries to look for external support, seeking cooperation from out-of-region countries. Second, each economy is relatively small and unable to provide economies of scale in production. Third, there is a wide disparity of income among MENA countries; therefore, states have different consumption patterns and production strategies. Fourth, the MENA region is characterized by a high degree of both tariff and non-tariff barriers.

Hence, dynamics in this sector enhance the role of external actors. The US plays a significant role. Oil-producing states would increasingly have a lot at stake in prioritizing US foreign policy in the region. And since the US has strong economic interests in the region, it consequently provides significant financial as well as military and political support to some governments and strives to isolate others. Such actions, combined with the US lack of confidentiality in the region, have caused an inferiority complex to develop in the Middle East and North Africa. By

Intense preparations for the MENA group's policy paper

the employment of double standards and enforcement of its own interests in the region, the US has made the rise of a regional power impossible.

"It will be great to continue our interaction in all parts of the world, to continue our relations with DGAP."

The applicability of multilateralism in the MENA region (or the interest in multilateralism among MENA nations) remains questionable, since classical rivalry among countries exists and three groups of tension can be identified: Iran vs. the Arab world, Israeli vs. Palestine, and rivalry among Arab states. In the 1960s, radical Arab regimes contested the legitimacy and power of traditional monarchical states. In the 1970s, Islamic fundamentalists rejected the prevailing secular order and sought to set the region on the path to God. In the 1980s, much of the Arab world supported the genocidal Saddam Hussein as he sought to displace Iran's theocratic regime. Today, MENA is fracturing once more, this time along sectarian and confessional lines, with Sunnis clamoring to curb Shiite ascendancy. Furthermore, bilateral treaties between countries in the region and between MENA nations and the United States have been seen as much more relevant that multilateral cooperation. In this system of disunity, each state places its domestic interests before regional or sub-regional interests, which then results in the malfunctioning of private and public regional and sub-regional organizations. The mentioned rivalries also make the emergence of a regional power impossible, since a regional leader should be accepted within the region and enjoy international credibility and support. (…)

Complex regional security complexes in the Middle East

The MENA region is not a unified and distinctive area. Cultural identity can prove a facilitator for cooperation, but it has been argued that the Arab world lacks such a common identity. Nonetheless, the EU example shows that in the beginning, cooperation is a decision made by the elites and it is not related to identity issues, but to common interests. Those common interests remain unidentified in the MENA region.

Asia

We are currently witnessing the rise of new regional (or probably even global) powers in Asia which will affect the existing balance of power in the region. The western debate has focused heavily on the potentially negative implications of this power shift towards non-western countries, especially regarding the rise of China. However, recent discussions reveal a positive tenor about the rise of regional powers. Since the inception of the European Union (EU), regional economic and security policies have inspired a theory that countries sharing resources achieve greater prosperity. Regional architects between national and global organizations could tackle issues important to a specific geographic area, thereby creating a regional governance structure.

"I would be happy to participate in future activities and Alumni events, and I will recommend this program to friends."

This paper argues that while it is likely that intergovernmental cooperation between Asian countries will increase, the prospect for regional integration in an EU-sense is unlikely. The construction of supra-national institutions in Asia is hindered by emerging powers unwilling to concede sovereignty.

The distribution of power within the Asian region is multi-polar, and there are three major regional players—Japan, China, and India. In addition, there are external powers to include: Russia and the United States. These two countries, as well as regional organizations such as ASEAN—the Association of Southeast Asian Nations—and SAARC, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation—are considered "x-factors" in the balance of power game. Their influence shapes and shifts the trajectory of the entire region. Using Alyson Bailes' and Ole Wæver's regional framework criteria, this analysis asserts that Asian regional integration is premature and without clear leaders, due to the dynamic environment of the three key players mentioned above. Challenges within the massive geographic area from Afghanistan to the Philippines create a mishmash of competing values and interests. Understanding linkages and overlaps amongst Japan, China, and India as they undertake these challenges reveals a region growing in global significance but without a clear structure.

According to Barry Buzan's and Ole Wæver's Regional Security Complex Theory, Asia comprises three regional security complexes (RSC): South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Northeast Asia. An RSC is defined as "a group of states whose primary security concerns link together sufficiently closely that their national securities cannot be reasonably considered apart from one another." The Southeast and Northeast Asian complexes are tied closely together or already merged into one so-called super-complex in East Asia. This super-complex is characterized by the patterns of amity-enmity between Japan and China, the two great powers that form the core of the East Asian security complex. Bailes comes to a similar assessment as she argues that the existence of two rival leaders in East Asia will likely lead to the formation of opposing camps. Concerning South Asia, both Wæver and Bailes observe a growing degree of "centralization" of the region on India, i. e. a decline of Pakistan's role as a regional power.

These forces acting inter-regionally support the notion that Asia is actually one interconnected region on the rise. This survey analyzes the key interests of India, China, and Japan, and reveals whether or not Asia is heading toward a more cohesive regional structure or an agglomeration of disparate countries vying for power. The driving forces behind as well as the major obstacles to regional cooperation in Asia will be investigated in the fields of political, economic and security affairs.

(…)

Contemplating regional leadership in Asia and learning from each other …

The analysis shows that there is no overall tendency towards regional integration in Asia. Regional dynamics are on the one hand depending on the respective issue area and on the other hand still limited to sub-regional groupings such as South Asia, South East Asia and North East Asia. The same holds true for leadership in Asia: the three potential regional leaders—China, Japan and India—are most active in their immediate neighborhood and in the sectors which seem most important to their own national security and economic development.

"DGAP gives me a good opportunity to meet people from other cultures and I hope I will continue my relationship with everyone in the future."

The leaders of Asia "embody a blend of pragmatism and nationalism" when confronted with opportunities for regional integration. Pragmatic strategies are adopted when they are assessed to be the best means of answering the pressures imposed by globalization on national economies.

However, this pragmatic embrace of multilateral, cooperative approaches will not result in a deep integration of the region in the coming decades. Sovereignty will continue to be a key concern for the Asian countries due to their historic experiences of domination by external powers. Multi-polarity in Asia and the related insecurity for each actor is likely to reinforce India, China and Japan's emphasis on national self-reliance and independence.

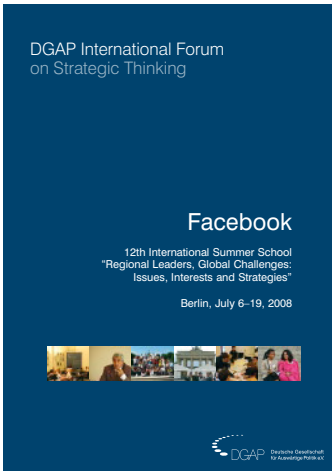
… Lucy from China shares insights from the region with her American colleague Josh

Participants

Ewa Abramiuk	Poland
Nadia Ahmadou Ahidjo	Cameroon
Issam Banifadel	Palestine
Karen Collis	United Kingdom
Mahmood Enayat	Iran
Kanlapat Engbunmeesakul	Thailand
Marina Ferfolja	Slovenia
Eleni Fotiou	Greece
Rana Gaber	Egypt
François Philippe Garraux	Switzerland
Carmen Godeanu	Israel
Augustin Gourlet	France
Thorhildur Hagalin	Iceland
David Murphy Haglund	Canada
Enas Halaiqah	Jordan
Melanie Hanif	Germany
Anselme Harelimana	Rwanda
Jeganathan Jayakumar	India
Diana Jurgelevičiūtė	Lithuania
Xi Liu	China
Sandra Maksimovic	Serbia
Edgar Masatu	Tanzania
Marek Neuman	Czech Republic
Gatis Pelnēns	Latvia
Milan Šagát	Slovakia
Eleena Tan	Singapore
Marcel Viëtor	Germany
Alexander Vysotsky	Russia
Joshua Welle	USA
Farah Yassine	Lebanon

"I see myself very active and willing to contribute to DGAP's activities. I would be very interested in regional research projects."

All participants and speakers of the 12th International Summer School were presented with their profiles and pictures in our official Facebook.



Group Picture

Front row, from left to right:
Magdalena Łęcka (Organizer), Rana Gaber, Mahmood Enayat, Thorhildur Hagalin, Eleni Fotiou, Karen Collis, Xiu Li, Kanlapat Engbunmeesakul, Eleena Tan, Diana Jurgelevičiūtė, Kathrin Brockmann (Organizer), David Bosold (Organizer)

Second row, from left to right:
Issam Banifadel, Whitney Viets (Organizer), Enas Halaiqah, Jeganathan Jayakumar, Melanie Hanif, Carmen Godeanu, Sandra Maksimovic, Farah Yassine, David Murphy Haglund, Joshua Welle, Alexander Vysotsky

Back row, from left to right:
Dr. Peter Theiner (Robert Bosch Stiftung), François Philippe Garraux, Alexander Laube (Organizer), Gatis Pelnēns, Marek Neuman, Edgar Masatu, Ewa Abramiuk, Nadia Ahmadou Ahidjo, Marina Ferfolja, Augustin Gourlet, Milan Šagát, Marcel Viëtor

The Summer School in the Press and Online

DGAP's 12th International Summer School received very positive media coverage and reporting in several electronic newsletters.

Menschen und Medien

Kudamm Kurier * Zeitschrift für Kultur- und Kommunikationspsychologie * Ut

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Internationalen Forum für Strategische Überlegungen an der Internationalen Sommerschule

Edelgard Richter
Dela Press

20. Juli 2008

Die Sommerschule

Studenten aus 30 Nationen nahmen in Berlin im Rahmen des Internationalen Forums für Strategische Überlegungen an der diesjährigen Internationalen Sommerschule der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik e. V. (DGAP) teil. Die Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer kamen auf Einladung der DGAP aus Europa, Asien, Russland, Nordamerika, dem Nahen Osten und Afrika. In Expertengesprächen und Paneldiskussionen, bei Besuchen in Berliner Ministerien und in kleinen Arbeitsgruppen diskutierten sie verschiedene Themenkomplexe und die Rolle regionaler Führungsmächte. Die unterschiedlichen Politiken der verschiedenen Länder in der Wirtschafts- und Familienpolitik, ihr Führungsanspruch, die Korruption, Bevölkerungsentwicklung, Friedenssicherung, Staats- und Steuerreformen, demokratische Entwicklung, Migration und vieles andere mehr wurde während der Sommerschule in den Arbeitsgruppen Europa, Asien, Afrika und Mittlerer Osten besprochen.

Die abschließenden Präsentationen der Arbeitsgruppen „Regional Leaders, Global Challenges" fanden in englischer Sprache statt, die alle Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer hervorragend beherrschten. Jede Gruppe bestand aus sechs bis acht Studenten, die sich mit der Wirtschaft, der Politik und den Sicherheitsfragen der verschiedenen Länder auseinandersetzte. So hatte sich die Afrika-Gruppe mit den Ländern Kenia, Nigeria, Zimbabwe und Südafrika und ihren unterschiedlichen Entwicklungen beschäftigt. Die Russland-Gruppe befaßte sich unter anderem mit der Modernisierung der Wirtschaft und der demokratischen Entwicklung des Landes. Die Asien-Gruppe sprach Korruption und Menschenrechte in China an, das Bevölkerungswachstum und den Kashmirkonflikt in Indien, die historischen Beziehungen Japans zu den USA. Schließlich kam die Gruppe Mittlerer Osten zu Wort. Die Mitglieder der Gruppe stellten fest, dass sich ein Drittel der weltweiten Ölreserven in Saudi-Arabien befinden, das jedoch eigene Interessen in den USA verfolgt würden. Der Iran sei daran interessiert, engere Beziehungen zu China, Indien und Russland aufzubauen. Ägypten hat seine Führungsposition in der arabischen Welt verloren; es werden Konflikte mit anderen arabischen Staaten befürchtet. Im Großen und Ganzen meinten die jungen Leute, dass der Mittlere Osten in Bezug auf eine Befriedung ein schwieriges Terrain wäre. Die Sicherheit und die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung seien durch klassische Rivalitäten gefährdet.

Die Teilnehmer an der Sommerschule der DGAP haben breitgefächerte Interessen: So studierten sie an ihren heimatlichen Universitäten, aber auch im Ausland, Politik, Jura, Ökonomie, Geschichte, internationale Beziehungen, englische Literatur, Philosophie, Deutsch oder Entwicklungspolitik. Ebenso unterschiedlich sind die Berufswünsche, wobei Tätigkeiten als Journalist oder Diplomat, bei der EU oder der UN oder anderen internationalen Organisationen genannt werden. Einige von ihnen wollen sich insbesondere für die Lösung der Probleme in Afrika einsetzen oder zur Befriedung des Nahen und Mittleren Osten beitragen.

Die Sommerschule der DGAP dient damit ganz speziell der Förderung internationaler Beziehungen, die nicht allein nur Deutschland zugute kommen werden. Weltweit entsteht ein Netzwerk von Menschen, die sich kennen und in Zukunft die guten Beziehungen der einzelnen Ländern untereinander aufbauen und vertiefen können.

In addition, a daily blog was posted on the DGAP web site throughout the two weeks of the Summer School to inform about current events and activities in both English and German language:

- Programmgruppe Europa / transatlantische Beziehungen
- Programmgruppe Globale Herausforderungen
  - Globalisierung und Weltwirtschaft
  - Berliner Forum Zukunft
  - International Forum on Strategic Thinking
- Programmgruppe Strategische Regionen
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30 Teilnehmer, 29 Nationen, 14 Tage. Studierende aus ganz Europa, Asien, dem Nahen Osten, Nordamerika und Afrika besuchen zurzeit die 12. Internationale Sommerschule der DGAP "Regional Leaders, Global Challenges: Issues, Interests and Strategies".

10. Tag: Dienstag, 15. Juli

Am zehnten Tag der Sommerschule setzten die Teilnehmer den bisherigen Austausch mit renommierten Experten auf dem Gebiet der Sicherheits- und Entwicklungspolitik Afrikas fort. Der Leiter des African Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies an der Universität Bradford, Dr. David Francis, hinterfragte zu Beginn seiner Ausführungen die gängigen Stereotype des afrikanischen Kontinents als einem Kontinent der Kriege, Seuchen und der allgemeinen Hoffnungslosigkeit.

Die Beispiele und Anzeichen für erfolgreiche Entwicklungen konterkarierten eindrucksvoll den vorherrschenden „Afropessimismus" der vergangenen Jahrzehnte und erlaubte neue Perspektiven auf die Sicherheit und Entwicklung des gesamten Kontinents. Dr. Francis beschloss seine Präsentation mit Indikatoren für einen Wandel der Politik afrikanischer Staaten von der Nichteinmischung zu einer Politik, die angesichts von gröbsten Menschenrechtsverletzungen keine Indifferenz mehr erlaube. Nach der anschließenden Debatte in den Arbeitsgruppen richtete sich der Fokus der Vorträge auf Prozesse im Norden der Hemisphäre. Maike Tribbels vom Planungsstab der NATO als auch Andreas List von der EU Kommission gingen detailreich auf jüngste Entwicklungen in Europa und der Frage nach der Führungskraft in und durch Europa ein. Die Frage nach der demokratischen Legitimität der EU stand dabei ebenso im Zentrum wie der institutionelle Aufbau der EU in Form der drei Säulen. Der Beitrag von Tribbels ermöglichte einen neuen Blickwinkel auf jüngste Entwicklungen in der NATO in Folge des Bukarest-Gipfels und zeigte die kommenden Schritte bis zum Gipfel in Straßburg im kommenden April auf. Nicht nur das sich zum sechzigsten Mal jährende Gründungsdatum des Nordatlantikpakts sondern auch die gegenwärtige sicherheitspolitische Situation lasse potentiell einen historisch bedeutenden Gipfel im kommenden Frühjahr erwarten.

Das International Forum on Strategic Thinking ist das zentrale Programm der DGAP zur außen- und sicherheitspolitischen Nachwuchsförderung. Jeden Sommer werden eine handvoll sorgfältig ausgewählter Studierender und Absolventen zu seiner zweiwöchigen Sommerschule eingeladen.

Alumni

"I would very much like to keep in touch with DGAP and the participants. I am looking forward to newsletters, e-mails, and updates."

Through its annual International Summer Schools and New Faces Conferences, the International Forum on Strategic Thinking aspires to build a network of young professionals and scholars actively engaged in the field of foreign and security policy. After successful completion of the DGAP International Summer School, participants thus join the Forum's Alumni network of currently approximately 700 Alumni worldwide. Summer School Alumni may recommend future participants as well as apply directly to participate in a New Faces Conference at a later stage in their careers. They are also invited to take part in the Forum's triennial Alumni conference, receive regular newsletters and may make use of the Forum's Alumni database, which facilitates professional networking and exchange.

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  - Global Challenges Program Group
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    - Berliner Forum Zukunft
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- Internationale Politik
- Library and Documentation Center
- Publications

Magdalena Lecka

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik/German Council on Foreign Relations
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Summer School 2007

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About

Magdalena joined the Forum in May 2007, where she works as an Assistant. She is responsible for the Alumni Network and she is also supporting the preparation for the Summer School, New Faces and Expert Conference.

She studied Political Science in Eichstätt – Ingolstadt and Heidelberg specializing in German-Polish relations. In January 2007 she started her PhD in military sociology at Humboldt University in Berlin. She received a PhD scholarship from the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

Apart from working at DGAP and completing research for her PhD, she keeps in shape by jogging and dancing. She enjoys visiting international Air Shows and Polish weddings and hopes to find time again for horse-back riding and improving her Arabic.

Back

- Edit

After two weeks of Summer School team spirit has reached its peak …

"I feel that I am member of the DGAP family!"

… one for all, and all for one

"Before the Summer School, I didn't know what to expect. But after two incredible weeks, I can honestly say this was one of the best experiences of my life. "

Impressum

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