Complex Challenges, Comprehensive Responses
Brockmann, Kathrin; Hauck, Hans Bastian

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11th International Summer School 2007

“Complex Challenges, Comprehensive Responses—Linking Security and Development”

Berlin, July 8–21, 2007
International Forum on Strategic Thinking
German Council on Foreign Relations
Berlin 2007
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 IP and its Global Edition and the library and documentation center.

The DGAP's research institute works at the junction between politics, the economy and academia. The research institute works interdisciplinary, policy-oriented and in all areas of German foreign policy, which are anything but static in a globalizing world: security and supply risks, international competition, integration and network issues.

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, the New Faces Conference and the Expert Conference. Implementing this three-stage approach it brings together new leaders in different stages of their careers, from regions such as Europe, the Middle East, Asia and Africa as well as from Russia and the US.

The International Forum on Strategic Thinking is proud to have the Robert Bosch Stiftung as its main patron.
Kathrin Brockmann, Hans Bastian Hauck (eds.)

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Acknowledgements

The International Forum on Strategic Thinking would like to thank its supporters, partners, sponsors and friends for making the 11th DGAP International Summer School such a success. We are especially grateful to the following institutions:

Robert Bosch Stiftung

We would also like to thank the German Federal Ministry of Defense, the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, the German Bundestag as well as the Axel Springer Publishing House for their generous invitations.

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.
Foreword

For many years, the German Council on Foreign Relations has 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 has been 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 600 people from all over Europe, Asia, the Greater Middle East, the USA, Russia, and with the invitation of participants from South Africa and Tanzania to this year’s Summer School also from Africa.

For our 11th consecutive Summer School, which took place in July 2007, we have again invited a group of 30 outstanding participants for an intensive two week program, which focused on the expanded security paradigm we all have to deal with. As traditional security and development concepts and policies have been significantly transformed, particular attention was paid to the link between international security and development, a nexus that is only beginning to be understood and addressed by the international community and by regional security and development actors.

Assuming that members of this 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. While based on the competence network we created we will continue to enlarge and deepen our work focusing on international elites of tomorrow.
As part of these efforts DGAP and the International Forum on Strategic Thinking look forward to inviting all Alumni of the last eleven years of activities to the 2nd International Alumni Conference, taking place in Berlin in November 2008!

Prof. Dr. Eberhard Sandschneider
Otto Wolff-Director
DGAP’s annual International Summer Schools target 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 the US 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 wide variety of issues in current foreign and security policy. They feature lectures and panel debates by internationally renowned experts and professionals. Following general discussions, participants meet in small working groups to discuss their different perspectives and to develop common solutions to global challenges and threats.

The 11th DGAP International Summer School “Complex Challenges, Comprehensive Responses – Linking Security and Development” took place in Berlin at the German Council on Foreign Relations from July 9th to 22nd, 2007. It treated a select set of concrete challenges and common concerns to global security and development, discussing the evolution and change of different concepts such as comprehensive security, human security, human development and the like. All lectures placed special emphasis on the interfaces of security and development and the sensibilities stemming from that nexus. Participants evaluated the comprehensiveness of different global actors’ responses and strategies to effectively and

“Intercultural interaction was the essential element in this project, I learned a lot about different countries.”

Shahir from Egypt, Lebogang from South Africa, and Farhat from Pakistan enjoy Berlin’s summer sun during a boat ride across Wannsee.
efficiently address the increasing interdependence of security and development policies. The role of the so-called security development nexus was exemplified by several regional case studies.

The Summer School’s four working groups met consistently throughout the two weeks of the program and focused on select regions: Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Europe. Having received a preparatory reader providing a general overview of the different topics and of relevant regional developments, each group was expected to concentrate on two issues: First, to analyze the lecture topic in a general way and formulate questions and hypotheses. Second, to elaborate on specific regional implications of the topic at hand. The results of each working group were presented by each group’s rapporteur and discussed in the plenary. Corresponding protocols provided the basis for the final policy paper each working group drafted during the Summer School, drawing on the lectures, debates and working group sessions. These final policy papers summarize and highlight development and security challenges members of the individual working groups considered most crucial in “their” region. Participants also analyzed current responses and strategies and developed own, alternative approaches and specific policy recommendations. Working groups presented their results on the last day of the Summer School to policy makers and researchers as well as the public. Their policy papers are available on DGAP’s web site and are being disseminated through the Forum’s extensive network of partner organizations worldwide.

Bonn from the Philippines, Peter from Slovakia and Sakti from India during the Summer School’s official opening on the DGAP terrace
### Agenda

**Sunday, 8 July**

**Afternoon Session**

**Opening Day**

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<td>Prof. Dr. Eberhard Sandschneider, German Council on Foreign Relations</td>
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<td>Otto Wolff-Director of the Research Institute</td>
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<td>Welcome Address</td>
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<td>Reception</td>
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*In his opening lecture, Dr. Tomas Ries sets the tone for the two week program*
Monday, 9 July

**Introduction**

**Morning Session**

“Complex Challenges, Comprehensive Responses – Linking Security and Development”
Dr. Tomas Ries, Director, Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm, Sweden

**Afternoon Session**

Introduction to the Working Groups: Security and Development – Regional Perceptions

Boat trip through Berlin

Tuesday, 10 July

**Challenges**

**Morning Session**

Complex Challenges I
New Forms of War and Conflict
Teresa Koloma Beck, Research Associate with the Research Group “Micropolitics of Armed Groups”, Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany

“Communication before and during the Summer School was constructive and productive, everything was organized at the highest level, and the staff became part of the group.”
Cross-border Activities
Rem Korteweg, Researcher, The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies, The Hague, The Netherlands

Afternoon Session
Complex Challenges II
Poor Governance, State Failure and Democratization
Dr. Daniel Lambach, Senior Researcher, German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg, Germany

Environmental Change, Natural Resources, Demography and Migration – Links to Security
Prof. Dr. Nils Petter Gleditsch, Head, Working Group Environmental Factors in Civil War, Centre for the Study of Civil War, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway

Prof. Nils Petter Gleditsch brings the comprehensive security paradigm to life by addressing the links between environmental degradation and conflict
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<th>Wednesday, 11 July</th>
<th>Social Day</th>
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| **Morning Session** | Visit of the Axel Springer-Verlag  
A World Without World Order?  
Discussion with Prof. Dr. Michael Stürmer,  
Chief Correspondent of “Die Welt” (daily newspaper) |
| **Afternoon Session** | Berlin Guided Bus Tour  
“Hare and Hounds” through Berlin  
Dinner at Restaurant “Historische Weinstuben”  
Presentation of “Hare and Hounds” Results |
| **Thursday, 12 July** | Concepts |
| **Morning Session** | Changing Concepts of Security Policy  
Prof. Dr. Michael Brzoska, Director, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy (IFSH), University of Hamburg, Germany |
| **Afternoon Session** | Changing Concepts of Development Policy  
Dr. Imme Scholz, Head, Department Environmental Policy and Management of Natural Resources, German Development Institute, Bonn, Germany |
### Friday, 13 July

| Morning Session | Comprehensive Security–The European Perspective  
Christian Berger, Head of Unit, Crisis Management and Conflict Prevention, DG External Relations, European Commission, Brussels, Belgium |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Afternoon Session | New NATO Initiatives for Peace  
Prof. Dr. Carlo Masala, Institute for International Relations and International Law, Munich Federal Armed Forces University, Germany |
|                  | UN Peace Operations: Linking Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding  
Wibke Hansen, Head, Analysis Unit, Center for International Peace Operations, Berlin, Germany |

Lectures take place in DGAP’s representative Robert Bosch Hall
Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration
Tobias Pietz, Project Coordinator “Local Ownership”, Center for International Peace Operations, Berlin, Germany

The Role of NGOs: Including Civil Society on the Ground
Dr. Wolfgang Heinrich, Church Development Service, Bonn, Germany

Saturday, 14 July Free Day

Sunday, 15 July Social Day

Trip to Potsdam

“International participants gather for a group picture in Sanssouci, Potsdam.”
Monday, 16 July

**Perspectives from Germany I**

**Morning Session**

Visit to the Ministry of Defense

Germany’s Civil-Military Cooperation

– The Security Perspective

Colonel Dr. Udo Ratenhof, Director, Military Strategic Concepts Division, Federal Ministry of Defense, Germany

Germany’s Responses to the New Security Challenges

Colonel (GS) Heinz Krieb, Deputy Assistant Chief of Staff, Operations Division, Federal Ministry of Defense, Germany

**Afternoon Session**

Regional Case Studies I

The Case of the Palestinian Territories

Dr. Muriel Asseburg, Head, Research Unit Middle East and Africa, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin, Germany

Case studies and working group meetings with officials at the German Federal Ministry of Defense
US National Security Strategy and Future Challenges
Prof. Dr. Gale Mattox, Chair, Political Science Department, US Naval Academy, Annapolis, USA

Tuesday, 17 July
Regional Case Studies II

Morning Session
The Barcelona Process – A Comprehensive Approach for Development and Security in the Euromed?
Prof. Dr. Hüseyin Bağcı, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey

Afternoon Session
Rebuilding Afghanistan
Dr. Nora Bensahel, Senior Political Scientist, RAND, Corporation and Adjunct Professor, Security Studies Program, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, USA

Prof. Hüseyin Bağcı elaborates on Turkey’s special role between Europe and the Middle East
Dr. Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh, Director, Program for Peace and Human Security, Centre d’Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI), Paris, France

The Role of NATO / ISAF and the Comprehensive Approach
Mihai Carp, Crisis Management Policy Section, Operations Division, NATO, Brussels, Belgium

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<td>Claire Galez, Director, Centre for South Asian Studies, Geneva, Switzerland</td>
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NATO supports the International Summer School both financially and by sending high-level speakers and experts.
Afternoon

Perspectives from Germany II
Visit to the Bundestag

German Crisis Management – The Bundestag’s Perspective
Andreas Körner, Security Policy Advisor, Parliamentary Group Alliance 90 / The Greens, German Bundestag

Visit to the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
Germany’s Civil-Military Cooperation – The Development Perspective
Mirco Kreibich, Division for Peace Building and Crisis Prevention, Foreign and Security Policy, Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, Germany

Dinner at Freischwimmer Restaurant

Participants relax by the river Spree after visiting the German Bundestag
**Thursday, 19 July**

**Regional Case Studies IV**

| Morning Session | The Balkans—Lessons Learned  
|                 | Prof. Dr. Marie-Janine Calic, Ludwig-Maximilians University, Munich, Germany |
| Afternoon Session | Development Cooperation and Security Architecture in Sub-Sahara Africa  
|                   | Dr. Sven Grimm, Political Scientist, German Development Institute, Bonn  
|                   | Dr. Tim Murithi, Senior Researcher, Direct Conflict Prevention Programme (DCP), Institute for Security Studies (ISS), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia |

**Friday, 20 July**

**Final Day, Feedback & Evaluation**

| Morning | Working Groups: Preparation of Final Presentations |

Tim Murithi and Sven Grimm share Kenyan and German views on African security and development
Afternoon

Presentations of the Working Groups “Complex Challenges, Regional Implications” in Africa, Asia, Europe and the Middle East (public event, with guests and media)

Wrap-up Session, Feedback, Evaluation

Farewell Party with Barbecue at the DGAP

Saturday, 21 July

End of Summer School

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.

Dr. Tomas Ries, Director of the Swedish Institute of International Affairs, laid the conceptual groundwork for the 11th International Summer School. He discussed the impact of globalization on today’s development and security agenda and asked how the West could deal with new political fault lines and broader threats that challenge our society and politics. Looking at the political, functional and ecological dimension of comprehensive security, he defined generic threats such as domestic and external tension, deliberate attacks on infrastructure, ecological stress, depletion, natural disaster and degradation, and highlighted their interconnectedness.

Teresa Koloma Beck of the Research Group “Micropolitics of Armed Groups” at Humboldt University in Berlin put the “old war/new war” paradigm of conflict analysis in question. Looking at the case of Angola, she elaborated on the complexity of modern, asymmetric and increasingly privatized wars, explaining how economic and political interests of different groups impose order in such circumstances. Civilians are thereby increasingly drawn into the focus and rendered direct targets. This “dislimitation of war” increases the brutality of modern warfare and its impact on the fabric of civilian life.

Rem Korteweg of The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies asked how to deal with terrorist sanctuaries, especially in regions with porous borders characterized by a lack of governmental control. Such “black holes” offer comparative advantages for non-sanctioned armed groups, which, together with a typical increase in organized crime in such cross-border regions produce wide-reaching instability.

Dr. Daniel Lambach of the German Institute of Global and Area Studies further discussed the process of state failure, with bad governance leading to the fragmentation of political systems, loss of empirical statehood and, ultimately, state collapse. He linked his analysis to the role natural resources often play in such scenarios, but also explained how democratization and good governance offer a real alternative to state collapse.
Prof. Dr. Nils Petter Gleditsch of the International Peace Research Institute followed suit with the hypothesis that abundance of natural resources, but also structural scarcity thereof contribute to conflict and instability. In his analysis, however, environmental conditions and major environmental disasters at the level of war (droughts, floods, hurricanes, earthquakes), not war itself pose the major threat to security, when defined in terms of common, comprehensive and human security paradigms.

Prof. Dr. Michael Brzoska, Director of the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at Hamburg University started his presentation with a short multiple choice test on key figures of development and security policy, the results of which he referred to throughout his lecture. Brzoska portrayed different concepts in security policy, e.g. UNDP’s human security concept, the “Responsibility to Protect” approach and the new concept of network security, in his view thus far little more than a “buzzword”. Stressing the need to differentiate clearly between general risks, such as poverty, non-proliferation and lack of democracy, and specific threats, such as terrorism and organized crime, he demanded that development policies more clearly address identifiable root causes.

Dr. Imme Scholz of the German Development Institute reflected on the paradigm shift in international security and development discourse since the 1990’s towards the notion of “human security”, noting that the term human development is es-
sentially wider than the term “human security”. She then gave a detailed analysis of the policy frameworks of various development actors and stakeholders, i.e. explaining how German development cooperation is carried out from within a particular Ministry and through an autonomous budget as a “global structural policy”.

Christian Berger, Head of the European Commission’s Crisis Management and Conflict Prevention Unit, elaborated on the challenges facing a truly comprehensive security concept, providing detailed insight into the EU-NATO relationship (Berlin Plus Agreement) and the EU’s work on establishing Battle Groups and Rapid Reaction Forces. Despite the EU’s current emphasis on developing such tools and instruments, intrinsic links between development and security are taken very seriously, i.e. by the soft power approach in responding to security challenges. Berger paraphrased this approach with “speak softly and carry a big carrot”. For such a policy mix to become more effective, he stressed the need to further integrate development and security policies.

Prof. Carlo Masala of Munich’s Federal Armed Forces University dwelled on NATO’s effects-based approach to defense operations, defining New NATO as “doing operations in the real world in far, far away countries”. Looking at defense operations on the ground, Masala highlighted different national caveats and rules of engagement of contributing member states as one of the biggest problems for EU, NATO and UN missions.

Wibke Hansen, Head of Analysis at the Center for International Peace Operations gave a presentation on the four generations of UN peacekeeping, i.e. traditional, multidimensional, robust and executive mandate, as carried out in Kosovo or East Timor. Looking at interdependencies between military peacekeeping and civilian peacebuilding, she explained how the management of such complex peace operations is increasingly becoming the biggest challenge for the UN.

Tobias Pietz, also of the Center for International Peace Operations, then focused on post-conflict challenges, specifically in Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration programs (DDR). These challenges include increasingly complex questions, such as who to include in DDR programs, how to deal with transitional justice or the problem of re-recruitment in DDR camps, as well as lack of resources for reintegration into the armed forces, often requiring a complete overhaul of the security sector as such.
Dr. Wolfgang Heinrich of the Church Development Service then closed the first week of the Summer School by proposing an alternative approach to peacebuilding focused on civil society actors, conflict prevention and conflict transformation measures. He urged foreign development organizations to include local civil society actors into their strategies in order to successfully promote sustainable development and stability.

Dr. Muriel Asseburg, Head of the Research Unit Middle East and Africa at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs gave an in-depth presentation on recent developments in the Palestinian territories following the international community’s exclusion of Hamas after their electoral victory in 2006. Regarding the approach of isolating “Hamastan” (Gaza) vs. promoting “Fatahland” (West Bank) highly unrealistic, she instead proposed to strengthen moderates on both sides by engaging to end Israel’s occupation and address five main points: prevent a humanitarian disaster in Gaza, work on preconditions for economic recovery, promote reconciliation initiatives, improve Palestinian self-governance, and pick up the Arab Peace Initiative for full recognition of Israel and a just two-state settlement formulated through a new “goal map”.

Prof. Gale Mattox of the US Naval Academy then gave an after-dinner talk on America’s re-evaluation of its security strategy following the Iraq invasion of 2003.
**Prof. Hüseyin Bağcı** of the Middle East Technical University elaborated on Mediterranean Security ten years after the Barcelona Declaration, and evaluated the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership’s efforts to promote democracy and stability in its neighbourhood. He extensively discussed geopolitical implications of an EU enlargement to Turkey and Turkey’s emerging role in the Middle East, also stressing that while the US was no longer welcome in the Middle East, the presence of the EU is increasingly requested.

**Dr. Nora Bensahel** of the RAND Corporation presented the US approach to rebuilding Afghanistan, focusing on the functioning of Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) within the ISAF mission. PRTs are increasingly faced with the problem of not being able to work in non-secure environments, and often lack civilian personnel as civilians cannot be ordered to work in active conflict zones. Though critical of the lack of contingency planning in Operation Enduring Freedom, she recognized its security first approach as a necessary precondition for PRTs to spread the ISAF approach of civil-military cooperation.

**Dr. Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh**, Director of CERI’s Program for Peace and Human Security and author of UNDP’s Human Security Report for Afghanistan took issue with this approach, stating that increasing troop numbers actually leads to a drop in security on the ground. She alluded many of the problems currently facing the international community in Afghanistan to cultural misperceptions, and called for Western concepts of rule of law, free media and constitution to be “afghanized” before being applied to the country.

**Mihai Carp** of NATO’s Crisis Management Policy Section concluded the Afghanistan panel from an institutional perspective, focusing on key challenges to NATO’s policy structure such as the need to further harmonize member states’ approaches and policies. He defined the current Afghanistan mission as a counter-insurgency operation characterized by the lack of an identifiable opponent and only successful in line with a process of political reconciliation. He also stressed the important role of partners such as Pakistan as key support countries for NATO, despite the often difficult relationship with Islamabad.

**Claire Galez**, Director of the Centre for South Asian Studies, spoke on factors generating violent conflict in South Asia, emphasizing the dominant role of historical, ethnic, and class cleavages in creating such crises. Driven by these factors, most conflicts start with fringe groups taking up arms, while popular support is often short-lived. Development, she argued, should therefore focus on the
proper cultivation of human capital, and must address institutional inequalities within existing state structures.

Prof. Dr. Marie-Janine Calic of Munich’s Ludwig-Maximilians University delved deeply into the case of the Balkans, sharing her academic and practical knowledge of the region. She explained in great detail the underlying issues that ultimately led to the Kosovo “disaster of international diplomacy”, in particular the unclear position of international law when it came to deciding between territorial integrity and self-determination. Looking at the current Kosovo impasse, she criticized the lack of coherence within the EU and its member states.

Dr. Sven Grimm of the German Development Institute clearly outlined Western interests in Africa from a development perspective, defining security not only as a pre-condition for development but also as a long-term goal of development itself. He described modest successes, such as the New Economic Partnership for African Development and its African Peer Review mechanism, but also listed numerous unfulfilled promises and expectations raised by the European development community.

Dr. Tim Murithi, Senior Researcher at the Institute for Security Studies in Addis Ababa, explained the role of the African Union in peace operations, elaborating on African Union operations in Somalia, Sudan and Burundi and the future role
of such operations. He analyzed the crisis in Africa from an African institutional perspective, noting the continued lack of political will among African Union leaders to effectively challenge oppressive and illegitimate regimes operating in their midst.

**Social Activities and Visits to German Institutions**

The Summer School’s academic program was complemented by a number of social activities and events as well as visits to various institutions in the German capital. As the Forum aims to build a strong network of alumni who will stay in touch well beyond the actual event itself, socializing and networking is an essential part of the two week International Summer School, making it a very unique personal, cross-cultural experience for its participants.

On the first day of the program following the official opening and reception, participants enjoyed a sunny afternoon walk to the Reichstag for a guided tour of the German Bundestag. Divided into two groups, participants learned about the history, architecture and work of the German Parliament. They visited the plenary hall and the area of the parliamentary groups, were shown the impressive modern art decorating the building and admired the Russian inscriptions remaining from the Soviet occupation of the building in 1945. Finally, the group...
climbed up the famous dome designed by Lord Norman Foster and enjoyed a spectacular view of the city. The next evening, a boat trip along the river Spree gave participants a first impression of Berlin and served as the perfect ice-breaker.

Later on in the week, participants visited the Berlin headquarters of the Axel Springer Verlag, Germany’s largest publishing company. An informational session allowed the students to learn about the history of the publishing house and ask questions concerning the company’s editorial policies. The ensuing discussion with Prof. Dr. Michael Stürmer, Chief Correspondent of “Die Welt” on “A World without World Order?” triggered a controversial debate on global interdependencies and the realities of international politics. Having opened with a brief overview of today’s security environment and the impact of oil prices, the IT revolution, religion and terrorism thereon, participants’ questions were soon touching upon issues such as the publication of the Mohammed caricatures, the situation in the Middle East and human rights issues in China and Russia. Mr. Stürmer also responded to a wide variety of questions by participants from South Africa, Egypt, Pakistan and the Philippines on topics ranging from the EU’s policy towards Hamas to the role of China in Africa’s security landscape.

Leaving Axel Springer, the group explored the history of Berlin in a video-animated bus tour, learning about the Cold War period, the now demolished “Palast der Republik” and much more, to then split up into four groups in order to com-
pete in a scavenger hunt—a political and historical fact finding mission across Berlin. Each group received a city map and public transportation tickets—and off they went, to sites such as Oranienburger Street, the Jewish Synagogue, Checkpoint Charlie, and the Charlottenburg castle. Participants had to interact with native Berliners, take photos to document their activities, and bonded and had fun exploring their host country’s capital. They then presented their findings over dinner in a convivial atmosphere at a traditional German Restaurant. Even rainy weather and soaked clothes had not disturbed the good mood and enthusiasm.

After a week of lectures, panel debates, working group sessions and cultural program, the weekend saw DGAP Summer School participants relax and enjoy Berlin and its surroundings. Saturday was used for individual sightseeing, shopping and relaxing. In the evening students were invited to a party on the terrace of one of the Summer School's organizers. A wonderful sunset served as a great start into the night. On Sunday, participants took a boat from Wannsee to Brandenburg's beautiful capital Potsdam. After an hour of relaxing, chatting and sun tanning on deck, participants toured the historical Cecilienhof Castle, played soccer or went swimming before moving to the lush gardens of Sanssouci.

The second week saw several visits to political institutions. At the German Federal Ministry of Defense, Colonel Dr. Udo Ratenhof, Director of the Military Strategic Concepts Division and Colonel Heinz Krieb of the Operations Division...
explained how both the German Army and its concept of security have transformed since the end of the Cold War. They elaborated on German approaches to crisis management and out-of-area operations, discussed problems regarding inter-ministerial cooperation in the attempt to link security and development, and particularly pointed out the strong embedding of German security policy in multilateral institutions and approaches. Students were given the opportunity to further discuss their questions in small working groups, each headed by one of the ministry’s officers. For most participants this was their first contact with German armed forces. Informal discussions continued over lunch, which was served in the exclusive atmosphere of the officers’ mess.

During a second visit to the German Bundestag, Andreas Körner, Security Policy Advisor with Alliance 90/The Greens explained how Germany’s Greens, traditionally pacifist, conceptualize new security challenges, also touching upon the difficult repercussions of their support for Germany’s first out-of-area operation whilst in government from 1998–2005. The afternoon saw a visit to the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. Mirco Kreibich of the Division for Peace Building and Crisis Prevention described Germany’s conceptual framework for development policy in great detail while also sharing insights from his time in Afghanistan. These visits allowed for authentic impressions of the day-to-day work of high-ranking practitioners in these fields.

Presentation at the Ministry of Defense: Colonel Ratenhof on the German Bundeswehr’s transformation and out-of-area operations
The last evening of the Summer School saw a barbecue and farewell party on DGAP’s terraces. Participants organized a special “DGAP Award Ceremony”, voting for their favorites in various categories, ranging from “first to be prime minister of his/her country” to “best representative”. Winners sang national songs in their native tongues or recited poetry from their home country. Dancing, talking and partying the night away, the whole group enjoyed its last evening together until the early morning hours. When it was finally time to say Good-bye, one could feel that the 11th International Summer School had been successful not only in promoting two weeks of intercultural dialogue and exchange, but ultimately led to strong personal friendships and a group of peers that will stay in touch for a long time to come.
Working Groups, Policy Papers and Final Presentations

Divided into four regional working groups—Europe, Middle East, Asia and Africa—participants met consistently throughout the two weeks of the Summer School. Analyzing threats, challenges and particular implications of the different topics on “their” region, they paid tribute to the assumption that concepts of security and development differ, depending on the regional perspective.

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 following plenary debates. Speakers visited each group individually, assisted their argumentation and analysis, gave direct feedback and advice and led the discussion back on track when the group’s heated arguments lost focus. Speakers were also at the students’ disposal during coffee breaks, shared lunches, dinners and leisure activities, and participants took advantage of their 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 drifting into stereotypes and to provide profound knowledge and insight. Regional working groups greatly benefited from the presence of these regional insiders, but also from newcomers to the region who provided a fresh, objective view especially on certain sensitive points.

The Middle East group, made up of participants from the US, China, Europe, Syria and Jordan reflected perspectives of various “stakeholders” in the region. Differing opinions often resulted in emotional debates, especially between American and Arab participants.

The working group Europe provided an example of how different debating cultures can affect common efforts of finding solutions for global challenges. Eventually, the commitment to consensus and the willingness to compromise outweighed such differences. The group succeeded in overcoming different discussion styles and misunderstandings and worked out policy recommendations everyone could agree on.

Participants of the working group Africa greatly benefited from the presence of two participants from Tanzania and South Africa who shared their perceptions of aid and security for Africa, the limited role of external actors as well as the crucial importance of empowering African institutions and people. Their comments provided fellow students with first-hand insight to this fascinating continent and the opportunity to better understand the African perspective.

Due to developments in Pakistan (on the second day of the Summer School Pakistani troops stormed the Red Mosque in Islamabad after talks with hard-line Islamists had failed), discussions about radicalization and terrorism were particularly topical and emotionalized in the Asia group. The Pakistani participant shared personal insights and feelings with the rest of the group, creating a particular awareness and atmosphere.

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 summarize and highlight development and security challenges which members of the working groups consider most crucial in “their” region. Participants analyze corresponding responses and strategies, develop own, alternative approaches and make specific policy recommendations.
In drafting their policy papers, participants were guided by the following questions:

1. **Challenges**: What are the main security and development challenges in the region? How are the different challenges interlinked?
2. **Solutions**: What are the perceptions of possible solutions and strategies to tackle the challenges particular to the region? What role does the security-development nexus play in these strategies?
3. **Actors**: What are the actors best suited to tackle the challenges in the region and why? How are different actors perceived in the region?
4. **Recommendations**: Imagine you are a consultant who develops a strategy paper to tackle the main security and development challenges of the region. Derived from the previous analysis, what are the key policy recommendations you would give?

The 11th International Summer School ended with the presentation of each working group’s main findings and recommendations to an open plenary, including policy makers, researchers, DGAP staff, invited guests and the press.

Intense work in the run-up to the presentation of the policy papers
“Complex Challenges, Regional Implications”

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 the locus where the security-development nexus is “most pronounced, and the least understood” [G. Mattox, ‘US National Security Strategy and Future Challenges’, DGAP Summer School, 16.7.2007]. The international community shifted from the problem of development to the problem of Africa. In 1970, the first commission on development, the Pearson Commission, had a global approach to the problem of development. Its successor, the Brandt Commission, followed this global focus. In 2005, the commission established by the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown, restricted its focus to Africa. While there has been this shift towards a more geographically-targeted development agenda, much of which is centred on Africa, the Africa Working Group is conscious of the fact that underdevelopment and Africa are not synonymous and that Africa cannot be treated as a single bloc with homogeneous and cross-cutting problems. Different countries and different regions within the continent are characterized by differences in the scope, nature and extent of underdevelopment, and this necessitates an approach that is cog-
nisant of the differences and similarities across countries and regions. That said, given the size of the continent and the sources of differences, in the context of the policy paper, the Group restricted its focus to four acute and problematic facets of the security-development nexus, namely: (a) state capacity and governance, (b) security governance, (c) socio-economic problems, and (d) health.

(…)

The challenge for African states in the 21st Century is simultaneously addressing underdevelopment and military insecurity within the context of limited financial capacity and technical expertise, as well as a lack of concerted and continuous political will to address these challenges from some quarters within the continent. Specifically, poor state capacity and governance mechanisms, a nascent security architecture, socio-economic marginality, and health vulnerability—particularly from HIV/AIDS—are the most daunting tasks for many African countries. While the establishment of the AU and the promulgation of the NEPAD Peer Review Mechanism are encouraging indicators towards greater synergy between development and security, available evidence suggests that much still needs to be done to turn rhetoric into decisive and effective action. Broad stability and security are necessary conditions for undertaking comprehensive development plans. The role of external actors should be mainly one of supporting local initiatives. But in cases of high insecurity due to state collapse, such as civil wars, or
as a result of premeditated aggression by regimes or their non-state allies against civilians, then external military intervention may be necessary and at times even warrant military action that has not been sanctioned by the UN (as mandated by the Security Council). Thus, external assistance, financially (Official Development Assistance), militarily, and in terms of other technical expertise from the UN, the EU, and possibly even NATO, continue to be a central necessity towards stabilizing many of the continent’s conflict-ridden regions.

Such stabilization is, however, meaningless where the livelihoods of many Africans cannot be secured due to post-conflict economic conditions, which are not conducive for growth and development. The ultimate goal should be to empower and enable African leaders and other stakeholders within the continent to determine their desired development path and to avoid long-term dependency on foreign aid. As Patrick Bond (2007) correctly asserts: “Most importantly, the solution to the super-exploitation of Africa is to be found in the self-activity of progressive Africans themselves, in their campaigns and declarations, their struggles – sometimes victorious but still mainly frustrated – and their hunger for an Africa which can finally throw off the chains of an exploitative world economy and a power elite who treat the continent without respect” [Patrick Bond, “Macroeconomic ‘Super-exploitation’: The African Case”, 2007].
Europe

The end of the Cold War saw both the widening and broadening of the security agenda and the emergence of new security threats. During the Cold War era, a threat was visible, predictable and known. Today, two major processes of fragmentation and integration underline the character of the new threats: complexity and unexpectedness. A threat is no longer just a military threat to the survival of the state with a clear distinction between subject and object. Instead, it arises from a multitude of sources, affecting a wide range of actors and making it no longer possible to privilege military security above other forms of security activity: “What use is the capacity to defend one’s territory against all-comers if that territory has become incapable of sustaining the life and well-beings of its inhabitants through environmental degradation or toxin pollution”, asks Hubbard [Chris Hubbard, New Security Agendas: European and Australian Perspectives, 2007].

Security has broadened from its traditional focus on the security of states to the security of people and the environment. External and internal security are inextricably interlinked, challenged by an increasing interconnectedness of regions and the spill-over of domestic problems such as refugees, poverty and civil wars to the regional and global arena. This change of threat perceptions reveals the inherent relationship between security and development. In an increasingly border-
less world, security challenges cannot be tackled with security policies solely but call for a comprehensive approach, compulsively including development policies. The question is: Does the European Union have the adequate responses and instruments to meet the challenges of a rapidly changing security environment? And to what extent does European development policy involve in European security policy to address the root causes of conflict?

(…)

As the paper has shown, the current challenges that the European Union is facing go beyond the European Security Strategy. Hence, it is necessary to elaborate the ESS along the lines of the European Parliament’s draft report. Threats such as environmental degradation, linked with immigration and scarcity of resources but also the spread of small arms and weapons add further risks to European stability and need to be taken into consideration when setting the security agenda. Saying this, it is of vital importance to develop a common approach on the EU-level towards migration and energy policy as those issues that cannot longer be dealt with on a national basis. Additionally, the ESS should be revised every 5 years in cooperation with the European Parliament and the Parliaments of the member states with special emphasis on clear conceptual definitions for e.g. terrorism and failed states.

In order to ensure coherence, the new European reform treaty should come into force as soon as possible as it will declare one person responsible for the foreign policy domain. Although the envisaged post of “foreign minister” has been dropped in favour of a High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, the new representative will chair the General Affairs and External Relations Council and, more importantly, become Vice-President of the Commission.

Related to this, a wide version of the European External Action Service should be implemented as this has not been fully worked out in the treaty yet. It is necessary that the EEAS will not only include the Council’s Policy Unit, the European Union Military Staff and DG RELEX but also DG Development. This is indispensable in order to ensure coherence between development and security policies within the EU and to increase the role and capabilities of the European Union, acknowledging the security-development nexus.
Creating a stable, secure and prosperous MENA region demands substantial developments in the political, economic and societal spheres. Only by far-reaching developments in all of those spheres can the root causes of insecurity and the conflicts rigging the regions be addressed. It appears that sustainable success can be achieved only in the long term. However, in a region that is as volatile as MENA, political interventions need to consider both short-term and long-term developments on the ground. Although the use of force alone cannot remove the root causes of conflicts in the region, hard power interventions by third parties cannot be ruled out from the outset.

Central to the development of the region is the recognition that there is “no development without security”, which lies at the core of the security-development nexus discussed in the last two weeks. In MENA, there are many conflict areas that can deteriorate quickly and indeed some (for example the conflict between Israel and Hezbollah in 2006) have done so recently. Therefore, besides low-impact long-term engagement throughout the region, policy solutions must also encompass quickly deployable instruments for military stabilization purposes. There is a persisting need for robust international support in the fields of military peacekeeping. The goals put forward by the working group can be arranged
as follows: 1) Secure regime stability, 2) Create economic opportunities, 3) Instill political reform.

First, policy should aim at stabilizing regional regimes in order to prevent social unrest, revolutions, and possible humanitarian crises. Such a strategy hopes to prevent the region from slipping into a greater degree of destabilization. Second, policies directed towards economic development are intended to reduce the economic and financial turmoil. Finally, the policy of generating political reform takes a patient approach by relying heavily on domestic processes and civil society as the primary agents of political and social change.

(…)

Any regime collapse in the near future will likely lead to a plethora of highly unattractive scenarios in the MENA region. For example, regime collapse in Syria, Egypt, or even Lebanon will create a power vacuum (i.e. the Iraq experiment). Such an environment could allow popular extremist groups like Hezbollah and the Muslim Brotherhood to achieve political dominance in the region; could lead to outright state collapse; economic turmoil; and would consequently cause a significant deterioration of human security in the region.

A certain school of thought argues that the future of regional regime stability is inextricably linked to economic development. Currently, many states in the region are experiencing high unemployment rates, non-diversified economies, low wages, poor infrastructure, and low social mobility. The consequences of such social and economic characteristics potentially pose a destabilizing effect on Middle Eastern and North African regimes.

Therefore, a prudent policy objective should be to prevent regime collapse and the further weakening of any governments in the MENA region in the near future. The proper way to achieve this end is through economic liberalization without unnecessary political conditionality. The goal of this policy is to simultaneously stabilize regimes while increasing the economic opportunities available to the societies in the region.

Asia

Environmental security is the new buzzword which is on most countries’ agendas. Environmental degradation is closely linked to economic development in Asia. There are three major drivers behind this. First, the region has a very high popu-
lation growth while at the same time they are suffering from a poor infrastructure. Second, there is a low industrial growth (which does not consider environment). Third, there is a demographic shift in the region coupled with intense urbanization.

Since a great majority of Asia’s poor are concentrated in rural areas, they depend on the fields, forests, and waters for their livelihood. These ecosystems provide a natural asset base that the poor can use to begin a process of wealth creation. But this has to be created under the right circumstances. Current research reports show that there is an accelerated degradation in natural resources. The adverse effect of pollution on these scarce resources is worsened by the increasing demand for them. This is further complicated by an unequal distribution. The outcome could be conflict.

Air, water, and land pollution is spreading and the trend in most countries is worsening. Key environmental challenges in the region include poor water quality, food insecurity, marine pollution, depletion of fish resources, deforestation, acid rain (and trans-boundary pollution), and global climate change. Environmental issues have traditionally been excluded from the realm of traditional security issues. As environmental problems worsen, however, that perception is changing. In some cases such as the 1997 smog crisis in Southeast Asia environmental degradation has caused major inter-state tensions. Climate change is not the only
environmental threat. Natural disaster can kill more people than wars. Asia is a natural disaster risk zone. The region has to manage tsunamis, earthquakes, flooding etc. But they also have to deal with man-made disasters such as mining and depletion.

Recommendations:

- Responses to environmental crises must include both immediate response and a more long-term preventive answer, including effective early warning systems;
- States should cooperate more regarding issues of preventive emergency management and crisis management, so that for instance migrations from disaster areas are prevented;
- Crisis management expertise program could be enhanced by donor countries, supporting the countries in the region to develop their own capacity;
- As economic development continues in the region, the magnitude of trans-border environmental problems are expected to increase. We envisage enhanced engagement in regional environmental programs, with a focus on: facilitating cross-border collaboration; engaging in constructive partnerships to catalyze policy dialogue on environmental issues of regional significance; supporting knowledge partnerships; collaborating and harmonizing approaches with development agencies.

Participants’ policy recommendations are being listened to by the media, government officials, NGOs and DGAP’s research staff.
At the end of two weeks of Summer School, participants closely stick together.
Participants

Francesco Anesi  Italy
Ksenia Ashrafullina  Russia
Peter Ballon  Slovakia
Clémence Bastien  France
Christopher Beeler  USA
Nadezhda Belcheva  Bulgaria
Helena Blažeković  Croatia
Viktoria Friederike Börner  Germany
Douwe Buzeman  The Netherlands
Xiao Fang  China
Yasar Fattoom  Syria
Sophie Fellbom  Sweden
Shahir George Ishak  Egypt
Iskandar Jahja  Germany
Bonn Bryan Juego  Philippines
Lebogang Mokwena  South Africa
Gideon Mailer  United Kingdom
Philomena G. Modu  Tanzania
Farhat Akram Mughal  Pakistan
Mansour Omeira  Lebanon
Célia Parmentier  France
Amelie Reinhardt  Germany
Bojan Savić  Serbia
Adi Shimron  Israel
Luis Simón  Spain
Sakti Prasad Srichandan  India
Senka Stanivukovićová  Czech Republic
Zane Štāvause  Latvia
Umur Ucar  Turkey
Ivanna Volochiy  Ukraine
David Chaim Weiss  Switzerland
Basma Ahmad Zakarneh  Jordan
Tomasz Żornaczuk  Poland

“The idea of a facebook was great. I knew names and faces of the participants from the very beginning.”

All participants and speakers of the 11th International Summer School were presented with their profiles and pictures in our official Facebook.
Front row, from left to right:
Ivanna Volochiy, Senka Stanivukovićová, Bonn Bryan Juego, David Chaim Weiss, Shahir George Ishak, Philomena G. Modu, Sakti Prasad Srichandan, Sophie Fellbom

Second row, from left to right:
Adi Shimron, Zane Stävause, Farhat Akram Mughal, Lebogang Mokwena, Xiao Fang, Yulia Loeva

Third row, from left to right:
Kathrin Brockmann, Magdalena Łęcka, Ksenia Ashrafullina, Viktoria Friederike Börner, Basma Ahmad Zakameh, Christopher Beeler, Helena Blažeković, Yasar Fattoom, Célia Parmentier, Nadezhda Belcheva, Ezra Tzfadya

Back row, from left to right:
Bojan Savić, Peter Ballon, Amelie Reinhardt, Douwe Buzeman, Umur Ucar, Iskandar Jahja, Tomasz Zornaczuk, Francesco Anesi, Clémence Bastien, Gideon Maller, Mansour Omeira, Luis Simón, Roger Suso, Hans Bastian Hauck
The Summer School in the Press and On-line

DGAP's 11th International Summer School received very positive media coverage and reporting in several electronic newsletters. Jüdische Allgemeine, the only weekly Jewish nationwide magazine, published an article about the Summer School in its print edition.

26. JULI 2007 | Jüdische Allgemeine Nr. 30/07

Nachwuchs für Runde Tische

Die DGAP lud zur 11. Internationalen Sommer schule

Von Johannes Boie


...
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:

33 participants, 30 nations, 14 days. Students from all over Europe, Russia, Asia and the U.S. as well as from the Middle East and Africa currently take part in DGAP’s 11th International Summer School “Complex Challenges, Comprehensive Responses – Linking Security and Development”.

Day 4: Wednesday, 11 July 2007

Summer School participants spent the full day traveling around Berlin. In the morning, the group visited the Berlin headquarters of the Axel Springer Verlag, Germany’s largest publishing company. An informational session allowed the students to learn about the history of the publishing house and to ask questions concerning the company’s editorial policies, which have included strenuous opposition to the 1953 student protests and the publication of the controversial Danish caricatures depicting the Muslim prophet Mohammed.

The session was followed by a discussion with Prof. Dr. Michael Stürmer, chief correspondent of “Die Welt.” Following an overview of today’s security environment, Prof. Stürmer responded to a wide variety of questions from the students on topics ranging from EU policy to Hamas to the role of China in Africa’s security landscape. Leaving Axel Springer, the group explored the historic center of Berlin during a guided video bus tour.

Thereafter, the Summer School divided into four groups in order to compete in a political and historical treasure hunt across Berlin – visiting such sites as the Synagogue in the Oranienburger Straße, Checkpoint Charlie, and Charlottenburg Palace. The groups met again at the end of the day to present their findings in the convivial atmosphere of a traditional German Restaurant in the heart of Berlin.

The International Forum on Strategic Thinking is DGAP’s main instrument for the promotion of young professionals and scholars in the area of foreign and security policy. Every summer, a number of carefully selected students and recent graduates are invited to attend its two-week International Summer School.

For more information visit the program’s website.
Alumni

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, and may themselves apply directly to participate in a New Faces Conference later on in their careers. They are also invited to take part in the Forum’s tri-annual Alumni conference, receive regular newsletters and may make use of the Forum’s Alumni database, which facilitates professional networking and exchange.

"I hope to stay in touch with the Forum, both from professional and private perspectives."