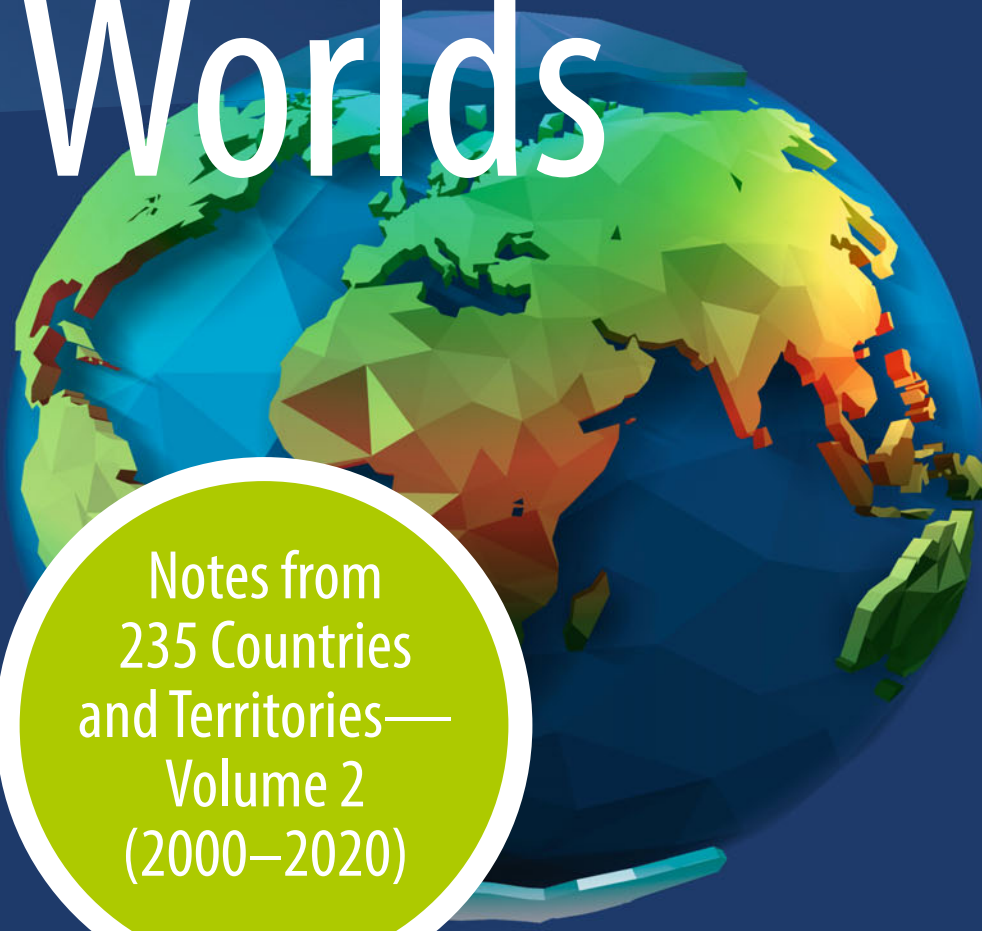


Ludger Kühnhardt

# Connected Worlds



Notes from  
235 Countries  
and Territories—  
Volume 2  
(2000–2020)

 Springer

---

# Connected Worlds

---

Ludger Kühnhardt

# Connected Worlds

Notes from 235 Countries and  
Territories—Volume 2 (2000–2020)

 Springer

Ludger Kühnhardt  
Zentrum für Europäische  
Integrationsforschung (ZEI)  
Universität Bonn  
Bonn, Germany

ISBN 978-3-658-44473-0      ISBN 978-3-658-44474-7 (eBook)  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-44474-7>

This book is a translation of the original German edition “Verknüpfte Welten” by Ludger Kühnhardt, published by Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden GmbH in 2022. The translation was done with the help of an artificial intelligence machine translation tool. A subsequent human revision was done primarily in terms of content, so that the book will read stylistically differently from a conventional translation. Springer Nature works continuously to further the development of tools for the production of books and on the related technologies to support the authors.

Translation from the German language edition: “Verknüpfte Welten” by Ludger Kühnhardt, © Der/die Herausgeber bzw. der/die Autor(en), exklusiv lizenziert an Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden GmbH, ein Teil von Springer Nature 2022. Published by Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden. All Rights Reserved.

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive license to Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden GmbH, part of Springer Nature 2024

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

This Springer imprint is published by the registered company Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden GmbH, part of Springer Nature.

The registered company address is: Abraham-Lincoln-Str. 46, 65189 Wiesbaden, Germany

If disposing of this product, please recycle the paper.

*The shortest way to oneself leads around the  
world*

*Hermann Graf Keyserling, The Travel Diary of  
a Philosopher*

---

## Preface

The following notes in two volumes are puzzle pieces of a retrospective on the six decades from 1960 to 2020. With the onset of a global pandemic, a new world sovereign named Corona, I suddenly realized that an interim period had come to an end for the whole world. Only now, in 2020, had the global age truly begun, in full name, which had begun to reveal itself since at least 1945—but probably already since 1914/1919—albeit in a punctual and gradual manner, but all in all, only partially and incompletely. For the longest part of this interim period, I tried to appropriate the world in its connections. Much disappeared as soon as I had understood it. My travel notes want to preserve what was just visible. Reading interconnected worlds to interpret them elsewhere: This was the purpose and consequence of my notes during stays in all sovereign states and in most territories of the earth during the interim epoch from the 20th to the 21st century. With a short lead time since the 1960s and a tentative outlook on the 2020s, a scientific source has emerged that may continue to bubble for research.

A place that is particularly close to my heart, I have not been able to visit so far. I have been fascinated by Timbuktu ever since I read the sign in southern Morocco in 1986, stating that it would take 52 days to get there on the back of a camel. In 2009, the risk of being kidnapped by jihadist Islamists prevented my already well-organized visit by air. Timbuktu lives as a myth and reality. The story of the book smugglers, who saved the city's heritage from jihadist fanatics in 2012, is incredibly gripping. The treasure of Timbuktu can therefore still be read. Perhaps this is one of the most important lessons for the post-Corona world, which all of humanity entered in 2020: We humans see the world most carefully when we read its books. Only in books does what we hope to read in the myth of fleeting perception become reflected reality.

I have culturally recharged, as you will read, during the journeys through the interconnected worlds, most preferably in Rome and in Vienna, in Milan and in Malta. I have imposed the most on my wife Enikö during the path that lies behind me. Like her, our children Victoria Elisabeth and Stephan Maximilian have traveled a good part of the way with me. Now they are already traveling on their own paths further into the 21st century.

I wish them nothing more than that these will always be good and happy paths. These notes are dedicated with love and gratitude to Enikö and our children. Without their love, my gratitude for successful journeys would always have remained empty and aimless.

on January 1, 2022

Ludger Kühnhardt

---

## Chronology of Countries and Territories

### Europe

Kingdom of the Netherlands: 1960, 1965, 1973, 1980, 1984, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1995, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2002, 2007, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019

Federal Republic of Germany: 1969, 1972, 1976, 1989, 1990, 1992, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2009, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2018

Switzerland: 1965, 1972, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1999, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2017, 2018, 2019

Liechtenstein: 1972, 1993, 2009

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: 1974, 1986, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2009, 2010, 2018, 2019

Ireland: 1974, 1998, 2002

France: 1974, 1976, 1981, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2019

Monaco: 1974

Czech Republic: 1976, 1990 (Czechoslovakia); 1991, 1992, 1993, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2012

Poland: 1976, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2004, 2007, 2012, 2013, 2014

German Democratic Republic: 1976, 1978, 1980, 1990

Austria: 1978, 1989, 1990, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020

Hungary: 1978, 1988, 1990, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1998, 2001, 2002, 2007, 2009, 2014, 2016, 2018

Italy: 1978, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1994, 1995, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020

Vatican City: 1978, 1985, 1994, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2015, 2017



Luxembourg: 1980, 1988, 1995, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2018  
Belgium: 1980, 1985, 1987, 1992, 1994, 1995, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019  
Greece: 1981, 1997, 1998, 2001, 2012, 2017, 2018  
Serbia: 1981, 1990 (Yugoslavia); 2001, 2002, 2004, 2011  
Denmark: 1982, 1995, 2003, 2018  
Sweden: 1982, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2003  
Norway: 1982, 2002, 2019  
Russia: 1984 (Soviet Union); 1992, 1998  
Spain: 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1995, 1998, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2014  
Portugal: 1986, 1999, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2013, 2016, 2017  
Turkey: 1988, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2011, 2012, 2016, 2017  
Albania: 1990, 2001, 2004  
Estonia: 1992, 1994, 1999, 2000, 2007, 2018  
Lithuania: 1992, 1994, 1999, 2003, 2004, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019  
Latvia: 1992, 1999, 2004, 2008, 2017  
Ukraine: 1992, 1995, 1999, 2002  
San Marino: 1992  
Slovakia: 1993, 1995, 1998, 1999, 2002, 2017  
Romania: 1993, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2014  
Bulgaria: 1993, 1999, 2000, 2002, 2004  
Macedonia: 1993, 2002, 2004  
Belarus: 1994  
Finland: 1994, 2001, 2018  
Slovenia: 1994, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2007  
Malta: 1994, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020  
Andorra: 1995  
Republic of Moldova: 1995, 2015  
Georgia: 1996, 2005  
Armenia: 1996  
Azerbaijan: 1996  
Iceland: 1997  
Cyprus: 1997, 2009  
Croatia: 1998, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004  
Bosnia-Herzegovina: 2000, 2003  
Montenegro: 2001, 2004, 2018  
Gibraltar (British Overseas Territory): 2001, 2009, 2013  
Kosovo: 2002, 2004, 2011

**Africa**

Tanzania: 1977, 1980, 2014

Egypt: 1980, 2004, 2018

Seychelles: 1980

Djibouti: 1980

Somalia: 1980

Kenya: 1980

Ethiopia: 1980, 2008, 2012

Malawi: 1980

Botswana: 1980, 2014

Zambia: 1980

Zimbabwe: 1980

Morocco: 1986, 2000, 2008

Tunisia: 1990, 2001

Namibia: 1991, 2018

South Africa: 1991, 2013, 2018

Algeria: 2000

Libya: 2001

Nigeria: 2007

Mauritania: 2008

Gambia: 2008

Guinea-Bissau: 2008

Sierra Leone: 2008

Guinea: 2008

Senegal: 2008, 2013

Cape Verde (Cabo Verde): 2008, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2018

Benin: 2009, 2010

Togo: 2009

Ghana: 2009, 2013

Liberia: 2009

Ivory Coast: 2009

Niger: 2009

Burkina Faso: 2009

Mali: 2009

Sudan: 2010

Equatorial Guinea: 2010

Cameroon: 2010, 2012

Congo-Brazzaville: 2010

Democratic Republic of Congo: 2010

Gabon: 2010

São Tomé and Príncipe: 2010

Angola: 2010  
Burundi: 2012  
Rwanda: 2012  
Uganda: 2012  
South Sudan: 2012  
Chad: 2012  
Central African Republic: 2012  
Mozambique: 2013  
Swaziland (Eswatini): 2013  
Lesotho: 2013  
Eritrea: 2013  
Madagascar: 2014  
Comoros: 2014  
Mayotte (French overseas department): 2014  
Réunion (French overseas department): 2014  
Mauritius: 2014  
St.Helena (British overseas territory): 2018

## **Asia**

Pakistan: 1979  
India: 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1989, 1994, 2007  
Nepal: 1979  
Sri Lanka: 1979  
Bangladesh: 1979, 1982, 1983  
Burma: 1979, 2007  
Israel: 1980, 1988, 2007, 2013  
Thailand: 1981, 2000, 2007  
Malaysia: 1981, 1998  
Singapore: 1981, 1984, 1998, 2005  
Indonesia: 1981, 2007, 2019  
Philippines: 1981, 1984, 2005  
Hong Kong: 1981, 1983 (British Crown Colony); 2001, 2005, 2017 (Chinese Special Administrative Region)  
Macao (Portuguese Colony): 1983  
People's Republic of China: 1983, 1984, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019  
Taiwan: 1983, 2002, 2005  
South Korea: 1982, 1983, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2010, 2019  
Japan: 1983, 1984, 2005, 2015  
Iran: 1991, 2005  
Kazakhstan: 1992, 1995, 1997  
Uzbekistan: 1992, 1997, 2013  
Kyrgyzstan: 1995, 1997

Turkmenistan: 1997  
Tajikistan: 1997  
Brunei: 1998  
Lebanon: 1999  
Syria: 1999, 2003  
Jordan: 1999, 2004  
Laos: 2000  
Vietnam: 2000  
Cambodia: 2000  
Mongolia: 2001  
Saudi Arabia: 2002  
United Arab Emirates: 2002, 2009, 2015  
Qatar: 2002  
North Korea: 2002  
Maldives: 2003  
Kuwait: 2003  
Bahrain: 2003  
Oman: 2003  
Yemen: 2004  
Bhutan: 2007  
Palestinian Autonomous Territories: 2007, 2013  
Iraq: 2011  
Afghanistan: 2013

### **America**

Jamaica: 1979  
Haiti: 1979  
USA: 1984, 1985, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2010, 2011, 2014, 2017, 2019, 2020  
Canada: 1984, 1995, 2002, 2010, 2017  
Dominican Republic: 1995  
Guatemala: 1995, 2005  
Mexico: 1995  
Argentina: 1999, 2011, 2020  
Uruguay: 1999  
Chile: 1999, 2018, 2019  
Bermuda (British overseas territory): 2000  
Bahamas: 2000  
Brazil: 2003, 2008, 2020  
Paraguay: 2003  
Cuba: 2003  
Venezuela: 2004

Colombia: 2004  
Ecuador: 2004  
Peru: 2004  
Bolivia: 2004  
Belize: 2005  
Honduras: 2005  
El Salvador: 2005  
Costa Rica: 2005  
Nicaragua: 2005  
Panama: 2005  
Guyana: 2006  
Suriname: 2006  
French Guiana (French overseas department): 2006  
Trinidad and Tobago: 2006  
Grenada: 2006  
St. Vincent and the Grenadines: 2006  
St. Lucia: 2006  
Barbados: 2006  
Martinique (French overseas department): 2016  
Guadeloupe (French overseas department): 2016  
Dominica: 2016  
Antigua and Barbuda: 2016  
Montserrat (British overseas territory): 2016  
St. Kitts and Nevis: 2016  
Sint Maarten (Dutch overseas territory—countries): 2016  
Saint Martin (French overseas territory—overseas collectivity): 2016  
Saba (Dutch overseas territory—special municipality): 2016  
Sint Eustatius (Dutch overseas territory—special municipality): 2016  
Anguilla (British Overseas Territory): 2016  
Saint-Barthélemy (French overseas territory—collectivité d'outre mer): 2016  
British Virgin Islands (British overseas territory): 2016  
US Virgin Islands (unincorporated territory of the USA): 2016  
Puerto Rico (unincorporated territory of the USA): 2016  
St. Pierre and Miquelon (French overseas territory—collectivité d'outre-mer): 2017  
Cayman Islands (British Overseas Territory): 2017  
Turks and Caicos Islands (British Overseas Territory): 2017  
Curaçao (Dutch overseas territory—countries): 2017  
Bonaire (Dutch overseas territory—special municipality): 2017  
Aruba (Dutch overseas territory—countries): 2017  
Falkland Islands (British Overseas Territory): 2018

**Oceania**

Australia: 1984, 2007, 2015, 2019

New Zealand: 1984, 1993, 2015

Tonga: 1993

Fiji: 1993, 2015

Cook Islands (self-governing in free association with New Zealand): 1993

French Polynesia (French overseas territory—overseas collectivity): 1993, 2019

Palau: 2005

Federated States of Micronesia: 2005, 2015

Guam (unincorporated territory of the USA): 2005, 2015

Commonwealth of Northern Mariana Islands (unincorporated territory of the USA): 2005

New Caledonia (French overseas territory—sui generis collectivity): 2007, 2019

Vanuatu: 2007

Solomon Islands: 2007

Papua New Guinea: 2007

Timor-Leste: 2007

Marshall Islands: 2015

Nauru: 2015

Kiribati: 2015

Samoa: 2015

American Samoa (unincorporated territory of the USA): 2015

Tuvalu: 2015

Niue (self-governing in free association with New Zealand): 2015

Pitcairn (British overseas territory): 2019

Wallis and Futuna (French overseas territory—overseas collectivity): 2019

**Antarctica**

Argentine Antarctic Territory/Chilean Antarctic Territory/British Antarctic Territory: 2020

---

# Table of Contents

## **Volume 1**

- An In-Between Time: The World Discovers Itself
- Sovereignty: European Transformation and Non-European Pyrrhic Victories (1960–1979)
- Breakthroughs to Freedom and Globalization (1980–1989)
- No End of World History and Europe's Europeanization (1990–1999)

## **Volume 2**

- Europe and the Global Turn: Experiences of Powerlessness and Source of Inspiration for the World (2000–2009)
- Endangered Globalization and Europe's Self-Assertion (2010–2019)
- Change of Era: First Outlooks on the post-Corona World (2020)

---

# Contents

<b>1 Europe and the Global Turn: Experiences of Powerlessness and Source of Inspiration for the World (2000–2009) . . . . .</b>	<b>1</b>
References . . . . .	428
<b>2 Endangered Globalization and Europe’s Self-Assertion (2010–2019) . . . . .</b>	<b>431</b>
References . . . . .	821
<b>3 Change of Era: First Outlooks on the post-Corona World (2020) . . . . .</b>	<b>825</b>
References . . . . .	877



---

## About the Author

**Prof. Dr. Ludger Kühnhardt**, born in 1958, is the Director at the Center for European Integration Studies (ZEI) and Professor of Political Science at the University of Bonn. He trained as an editor at the German School of Journalism in Munich. He studied History, Philosophy, and Political Science in Bonn, Geneva, Tokyo, and Harvard. His dissertation was on the global refugee problem. His postdoctoral thesis was on the universality of human rights. He was a speechwriter for Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker. Between 1991 and 1997, he was a full professor of Political Science in Freiburg, where he also served in academic self-administration as Dean of his faculty. He has been a visiting professor at renowned universities on all continents. He has advised the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, the President of the European Parliament, the Parliament of the Economic Community of West African States ECOWAS, the West Africa Institute (WAI) in Praia (Cabo Verde), the Europe-Asia Foundation in Singapore, and the European Humanities University (EHU) in Vilnius.

Among Ludger Kühnhardt's book publications are: *The Refugee Question as a World Order Problem (Die Flüchtlingsfrage als Weltordnungsproblem)*, Vienna 1984; *The Universality of Human Rights (Die Universalität der Menschenrechte)*, Munich 1987; *Stages of Sovereignty (Stufen der Souveränität)*, Bonn 1991; *European Union and Federal Idea (Europäische Union und föderale Idee)*, Munich 1993; *Times of Revolution. The Year of Change 1989 in Historical Context (Revolutionszeiten. Das Umbruchjahr 1989 im geschichtlichen Zusammenhang)*, Munich 1994 (Turkish edition 2003); *From the Eternal Search for Peace. Immanuel Kant's Vision and Europe's Reality (Von der ewigen Suche nach Frieden. Immanuel Kants Vision und Europas Wirklichkeit)*, Bonn 1996; *Future Thinkers. Proven Ideas of Political Order for the Third Millennium (Zukunftsdenkler. Bewährte Ideen politischer Ordnung für das dritte Jahrtausend)*, Baden-Baden 1999; *European Union—The Second Founding*, Baden-Baden 2008 (2nd expanded edition 2010); *Region-Building*, 2 volumes, New York/Oxford 2010; *Africa Consensus. New Interests, Initiatives, and Partners*, Baltimore/Washington D.C. 2014; (edited with Tilman Mayer) *Bonn Handbook of Globality*, 2 volumes, Wiesbaden 2019 (*Bonner Handbuch der Globalität*, 2 volumes, Wiesbaden 2017); *The Global Society and Its Enemies*, Cham 2017; *Richard von Weizsäcker (1920–2015). Snapshots and Thought Paths*

of a European Statesman (Richard von Weizsäcker (1920-2015), Momentaufnahmen und Denkwege eines europäischen Staatsmannes), Bonn 2020; Identity and World Capability. Perspectives from an Unsettled Europe (Identität und Weltfähigkeit. Perspektiven aus einem unruhigen Europa), Baden-Baden 2020.

---

## Glossary of Abbreviations

ABC	All Basotho Convention (Party in Lesotho)
ABC	American Broadcasting Company
ABC-Inseln	Island group Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao
ABM-Vertrag	Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Defense Systems
ACYF	All Chinese Youth Federation
AfD	Alternative for Germany (Party in Germany)
AFRICOM	Africa Command of the US Armed Forces
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
AICGS	American Institute for Contemporary German Studies
AIOC	Azerbaijan International Oil Company Consortium (Consortium for Petroleum)
AK	Party for Justice and Uplift (Party in Turkey) or Party for Justice and Development (Turkey)
AKP	Group of African, Caribbean, and Pacific States
AKR	New Kosovo Alliance (Party in Kosovo)
ALBA	Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America
ALDE	Faction of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats in the European Parliament
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
ANA	Afghan National Army
ANAP	Motherland Party (Party in Turkey)
ANC	African National Congress (Party in South Africa)
ANZAC	Australian and New Zealand Army Corps
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Community
AQMI	Organization al-Qaeda of the Islamic Maghreb
ARENA	National Renewal Alliance (Party in Brazil)
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
ASERI	High School of Economics and International Relations

---

ASP	Afro-Shirazi Party (Party in Zanzibar)
AU	African Union
AWACS	Airborne Early Warning and Control System
AWB	Afrikaner Resistance Movement (radical movement of the Boers in South Africa)
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation (political movement in South Africa)
BAMF	Federal Office for Migration and Refugees
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party (Party in Botswana)
BEAC	Bank of the Central African States (Bank der Zentralafrikanischen Staaten)
BICC	Bonn International Conversion Center
BKA	Federal Criminal Police Office
BMZ	Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation
BNP	Bangladesh National Party (Party in Bangladesh)
BOVESPA	leading stock index in Brazil
BRIE	Bulgarian-Romanian Inter-Regional Europe Center
BVI	British Virgin Islands (British overseas territory)
CAN	Andean Community of Nations
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CCAMLR	Commission for the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Party in Tanzania)
CCTV	Chinese television channel
CDU	Christian Democratic Union (Party in Germany) of Germany
CEA	Commissariat à l'énergie atomique (Office of the Atomic Energy Commissioner)
CEDEAO	Economic Community of West African States (West African Economic Community)
CEEAC	Economic Community of Central African States (Zentralafrikanische Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft)
CEFIR	Training Center for Regional Integration
CEMAC	Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (Zentralafrikanische Wirtschafts- und Währungsgemeinschaft)
CEN-SAD	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
CEP	Pacific Experimentation Centre (Experimentelles Zentrum für pazifische Randgebiete)
CERES	Centre for School, Economic and Social Research (Zentrum für Schul-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialforschung)
CETA	Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (comprehensive economic and trade agreement EU-Canada)

---

CEU	Central European University
CFA-Franc	Franc of the Financial Community of Africa (Central and West African currency)
CHP	Republican People's Party (Party in Turkey)
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIGEM	Centre for Information and Migration Management (Informationszentrum für Migrationsmanagement)
CIMIC	Civil-Military Cooperation
CNN	Cable News Network Television Station
CNODC	China National Oil and Gas Exploration and Development Corporation
CNRT	National Congress for Timorese Reconstruction (Nationalkongress für den Wiederaufbau von Timor-Leste)
COERR	Catholic Office for Emergency Relief and Refugees (Katholisches Büro für Notfallhilfe und Flüchtlinge)
COM	Overseas Collectivity (Übersee-Gemeinschaft)
COMECE	Commission of the Bishops' Conferences of the European Community
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
COP21	UN Climate Conference in Paris
CRPLC	Centre for Research on Local Powers in the Caribbean (Research Centre for Local Government in the Caribbean)
CSFR	Czechoslovak Federal Republic
CSSR	Czechoslovak Socialist Republic
CSU	Christian Social Union (Party in Germany)
CTM	Territorial Collectivity of Martinique
CTV	Canterbury Television
DAAD	German Academic Exchange Service
DDR	German Democratic Republic
DED	German Development Service
DEMYC	Democratic Youth Community of Europe
DGAP	German Society for Foreign Policy
DGB	German Trade Union Confederation
DISY	Democratic Rally (party in Cyprus)
DOS	Democratic Opposition of Serbia (Party in Serbia)
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DTA	Democratic Gymnasium Alliance (Party in Namibia)
DYL/DYP	Party of the Righteous Path (Party in Turkey)
EAC	East African Community
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECO	West African Currency

---

ECOMOG	ECOWAS Monitoring Group (Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group)
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDF	European Development Fund
EG	European Community
EHU	European Humanities University
EKD	Protestant Church in Germany
ELN	National Liberation Army (Liberation Movement in Colombia)
ENA	National School of Administration
ENOSIS	Union of the territories predominantly inhabited by Greeks with the Greek state
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
ESM	European Stability Mechanism
ETH	Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich
EU	European Union
EUFOR	European Union Force
EUJUST-LEX-IRAQ	European Union Integrated Rule of Law Mission for Iraq
EULEX	Rule of Law Mission of the European Union in Kosovo
EuroMesCo	Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission
EVP	European People's Party
EWG	European Economic Community
EXPO	International Universal Exposition
EZB	European Central Bank
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia—People's Army
FAZ	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FDJ	People's Front for Democracy and Justice (Party in Eritrea)
FDP	Free Democratic Party (Party in Germany)
FIDESZ	Federation of Young Democrats (Party in Hungary)
FIESP	Federation of Industries of the State of São Paulo
FIFA	International Federation of Football Association
FLN	Front de Libération Nationale (Liberation Movement in Algeria)
FNLA	National Front for the Liberation of Angola (Liberation Movement in Angola)
FOCAC	Forum for China–Africa Cooperation
FPÖ	Freedom Party of Austria (Party in Austria)
FRELIMO	Mozambique Liberation Front (Liberation Movement in Mozambique)
FRETILIN	Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Liberation Movement in East Timor)
FSM	Federated States of Micronesia

---

GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council of the Gulf
GTZ	German Society for Technical Cooperation GmbH
GUS	Commonwealth of Independent States
HADEP	People's Democracy Party (Party in Turkey)
HDZ	Croatian Democratic Union (Party in Croatia)
IAEO	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICDDRDB	International Cholera and Diarrheal Diseases Research Bangladesh
ICRI	International Commission for the Reform of the Institutions of the European Union
ICU	International Christian University
IDD	Institute for Democracy and Development
IFOR	Implementation Force (NATO's Implementation Force)
IFRI	French Institute of International Relations
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INCIPE	Institute for International Issues and Foreign Policy
INF	Treaty on Nuclear Intermediate-Range Systems
INTAL	Institute for the Integration of Latin America and the Caribbean
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IRA	Irish Republican Army
ISAF	International Stabilization Force, Afghanistan
ISF	International Stabilization Force, East Timor
ISIS	Islamic State (Sunni terrorist militia)
ISPI	Institute for International Politics Studies
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
JOSPOD	Joint Seminar on Development Harvard/Massachusetts Institute of Technology
KCMC	Kilimanjaro Christian Medical Centre
KDNP	Christian Democratic People's Party (Party in Hungary)
KEDO	Korea Energy Development Organization
KFOR	Kosovo Troop
KGB	Committee for State Security of the Soviet Union (Komitet gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti)
KHIC	Korea Heavy Industry Corporation
KPdSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
KSK	Special Forces Command of the Bundeswehr
KSZE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
LDDP	Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party (Party in Lithuania)
LDK	Democratic League of Kosovo (Party in Kosovo)
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party (Party in Japan)
LDR	Democratic League of Kosovo (Party in Kosovo)

---

LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender
MBC	Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation
MDF	Hungarian Democratic Forum (Party in Hungary)
MEDAC	Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies
MERCOSUR	Common Market of South America
MINUR-CAT	United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad
MLP	Mauritius Labour Party (Party in Mauritius)
MLSTP	Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé and Príncipe (Liberation Movement in São Tomé and Príncipe)
MMM	Mauritius Militant Movement (Party in Mauritius)
MMP	Mixed-Member-Proportional-System
MNJ	Movement of Nigeriens for Justice (Party in Niger)
MNLA	National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad
MOLINACO	Movement for the National Liberation of the Comoros (Liberation Movement in the Comoros)
MPLA	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (Liberation Movement in Angola)
MSP	Mauritan Socialist Party (Party in Mauritania)
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization National Socialist*in
NBC	National Broadcasting Company
NCP	National Congress Party (Party in India)
NCRE	National Centre for Research on Europe
NDC	National Democratic Congress (Party in Ghana)
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NHK	Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai (Television station in Japan)
NPA	New People's Army (revolutionary communist group in the Philippines)
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
NSA	National Security Agency
NSC	National Security Council
NSDAP	National Socialist German Workers' Party (banned party in Germany)
NSW	New South Wales
NTT	Nippon Telegraph and Telephone
NUPI	Norwegian Institute for International Politics
OAS	Organization of American States
OAU	Organization of African Unity



OCT	Overseas Countries and Territories
OCTA	Association of Overseas Countries and Territories
ÖDP	Party of Freedom and Solidarity (Party in Turkey)
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OECS	Organization of Eastern Caribbean States
OPEC	Organization of oil-exporting countries Organization of oil-exporting countries
OSZE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
ÖVP	Austrian People's Party (Party in Austria)
PAC	Pan African Congress (Liberation Movement in South Africa)
PACER	Pacific Agreement on Closer Economic Relations
PAIGC	African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (Party in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde)
PAP	People's Action Party (Party in Singapore)
PARLACEN	Central American Parliament
PDK	Democratic Party of Kurdistan (Party in Turkey)
PDS	Party of Democratic Socialism (dissolved party in Germany)
PEN	Poets, Essayists, Novelists (international association of writers)
PESCO	Permanent Structured Cooperation
PFP	Partnership for Peace
PF-ZIPRA	Patriotic Front—Zimbabwe People's Army (Liberation Movement in Zimbabwe)
PIDF	Pacific Islands Development Forum
PIF	Pacific Islands Forum
PKK	Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê (Party in Turkey)
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
PNG	Papua New Guinea
POM	Overseas territories
PP	Popular Party (Party in Spain)
PPP	Pakistan Peoples Party (Party in Pakistan)
PPPS	Party People Progress Seychelles (Party in the Seychelles)
PRI	Institutional Revolutionary Party (Party in Mexico)
PROMESA	Puerto Rico Oversight, Management and Economic Stability Act
PTOM	Overseas countries and territories
REFAH	Refah Partisi (Party in Turkey)
ROC	Republic of China (Taiwan)
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front (Party in Rwanda)
RUB	Royal University of Bhutan
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SACEUR	Supreme Allied Commander of NATO in Europe
SACU	Customs Union of Southern Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community

---

SAERI	South Atlantic Environmental Research Institute
SAIS	School for Advanced International Studies
SAR	Special Administrative Region
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SDI	Strategic Defense Initiative
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
SED	Socialist Unity Party of Germany (Party in the GDR)
SFOR	Stabilization Forces
SICA	Central American Integration System
SIEPS	Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies
SISU	Shanghai International Studies University
SMOM	Sovereign Military Order of Malta
SNU	Seoul National University
SPD	Social Democratic Party of Germany (Party in Germany)
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SPLM	Sudanese People's Liberation Movement
SPÖ	Social Democratic Party of Austria (Party in Austria)
SSSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Union of Socialist Soviet Republics)
SWAPO	South West African People's Organization (Liberation Movement in Namibia)
SWAT	Special Weapons And Tactics
SZDSZ	Alliance of Free Democrats (Party in Hungary)
TACIS	Technical assistance from the EU for the Commonwealth of Independent States
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union (Liberation Movement in Tanzania)
TNRC	Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
TOP 09	Tradition, Responsibility, Prosperity (Party in the Czech Republic)
TPFL	Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (Liberation Movement in the Province of Tigray)
TPP	Trans-Pacific Partnership
TRT	Turkish Radio and Television Corporation
TTIP	Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UANC	United African National Council
UBS	Union Bank of Switzerland
UÇK	Kosovo Liberation Army (Befreiungsarmee des Kosovo)
UCT	University of Cape Town
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UdSSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

UDT	Timorese Democratic Union (Party in East Timor)
UEMOA	West African Economic and Monetary Union (westafrikanische Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion)
UMNO	United Malays National Organisation (Party in Malaysia)
UN/UNO	United Nations/United Nations Organization
UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Education, Science and Culture
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNIP	United National Independence Party (Party in Zambia)
UNIS	University Center in Svalbard
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Liberation Movement in Angola)
UNLF	Uganda National Liberation Front (Guerrilla movement in Uganda)
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan Organization of the United Nations
UNOMSIC	United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone
UNP	United National Party (Party in Sri Lanka)
UNWRA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
US/USA	United States/of America
VOC	Dutch East India Company
WAI	West Africa Institute
WDR	West German Broadcasting
WESCOM	Western Commando
WEU	Western European Union
WHO	World Health Organization
WSLF	Western Somali Liberation Front
WTO	World Trade Organization
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (Liberation Movement in Zimbabwe)
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front (Party in Zimbabwe)
ZEF	Center for Development Research
ZEI	Center for European Integration Research

---

## List of Figures

Fig. 1.1	Hüseyin Bağcı and I in conversation with Turkish President Süleyman Demirelin Antalya (2000) . . . . .	3
Fig. 1.2	With my travel companions Hans-Gert Pötteringand Reinhard Stuth meeting the Algerian President Abd al-Aziz Bouteflikain Algiers (2000) . . . . .	15
Fig. 1.3	At the throne festival of Moroccan King Mohammed VI. in Rabat (2000). . . . .	21
Fig. 1.4	Among Buddhist monks in Vientiane (2000). . . . .	24
Fig. 1.5	In Angkor Wat (2000) . . . . .	32
Fig. 1.6	With the Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić in Belgrade (2001) . . . .	39
Fig. 1.7	At the Albanian-Greek border (2001) . . . . .	46
Fig. 1.8	On the way to Karakorum in a Mongolian yurt (2001). . . . .	61
Fig. 1.9	With Prince Hans-Adam II of Liechtenstein at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg (2001) . . . . .	73
Fig. 1.10	At Ground Zero in New York with my daughter Victoria (2002) . . . . .	109
Fig. 1.11	With the speaker of the Saudi Arabian Shūrā Council, Saleh bin Abdullah bin Humaid, in Riyadh (2002) . . . . .	125
Fig. 1.12	At the site of the signing of the Korean armistice in Panmunjeom (2002). . . . .	134
Fig. 1.13	Welcome with flowers at the University of Western Ukraine in Uzhgorod (2002) . . . . .	156
Fig. 1.14	With Hüseyin Bağcı in the village school of Uzunköprü (2003). . . . .	161
Fig. 1.15	With Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger in Rome (2003) . . . . .	163
Fig. 1.16	With Hernán Cacyche piranha fishing in the Amazon near Manaus (2003) . . . . .	172
Fig. 1.17	In Erzurum (2003) . . . . .	176
Fig. 1.18	Farewell ceremony with the Deputy Foreign Minister of Oman, Sayyid Badr bin Hamad Al-Busaidi, in Muscatwith Hans-Gert Pötteringand Reinhard Stuth (2003). . . . .	183
Fig. 1.19	Inspection of a whale fin at the market in Nuuk (2003) . . . . .	198

Fig. 1.20	On the highway to Palmyra with Bedouins (2003) . . . . .	201
Fig. 1.21	Joy over the kiss and blessing of Pope John Paul II. for my daughter Victoria (2004) . . . . .	207
Fig. 1.22	Having tea with Latvia's President Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga in Riga (2004). . . . .	209
Fig. 1.23	In Machu Picchu (2004). . . . .	215
Fig. 1.24	With Michael Gehler meeting the historian Gordon Craig in Stanford (2004) . . . . .	223
Fig. 1.25	On the journey through the Yemen in Zafar (2004) . . . . .	236
Fig. 1.26	In St. Catherine's Monastery on Sinai with Father Justin (2004) . . . . .	241
Fig. 1.27	With my children Victoria and Stephan in front of the Namdaemun in Seoul (2004) . . . . .	243
Fig. 1.28	With Xuewu Gu at the Jokhang Temple in Lhasa (2004) . . . . .	247
Fig. 1.29	At the grave of Ayatollah Khomeini in Tehran (2005). . . . .	275
Fig. 1.30	Among colleagues (from right: Jane Caplan, Andreas Busch, Knick Harley, Ulli Parkinson) with the British Prime Minister Tony Blair at St. Antony's College Oxford (2006) . . . . .	289
Fig. 1.31	Danuta and Timothy Garton Ash with Enikő and me at dinner in Oxford (2006) . . . . .	297
Fig. 1.32	In the National Assembly of Bhutan in Thimphu (2007). . . . .	321
Fig. 1.33	At the Kalighat Temple in Kolkata (2007). . . . .	323
Fig. 1.34	Malta's former President Guido de Marco with my friend Stephen Calleya, MEDAC Director, and me in Msida (2007). . . . .	329
Fig. 1.35	Conversation with Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas and his Foreign Minister Ziad Abu Amr in Gaza (2007) . . . . .	333
Fig. 1.36	Meeting with Israel's then opposition leader Benjamin Netanyahu (second from left) in Jerusalem (2007) . . . . .	336
Fig. 1.37	With Aminata Mallé Sanogo, President of the ECOWAS Court of Justice, in Abuja (2007) . . . . .	345
Fig. 1.38	With "Māhū" Laetitia Felele in Nouméa (2007) . . . . .	349
Fig. 1.39	Blessing by an Ethiopian-Coptic priest in the cave church Bet Maryam in Lalibela (2007) . . . . .	371
Fig. 1.40	Conversation with Department Head Naffie Barry and her team at the Ministry of Trade in Banjul (2008) . . . . .	383
Fig. 1.41	A Tuareg hands me in Niamey an "Agadez Cross". Amani Salhatou from the Ministry of African Integration Issues in Niger looks on (2009) . . . . .	416
Fig. 1.42	Workshop with the Committee for Direct Elections of the ECOWAS Parliament in Bamako (2009). . . . .	424
Fig. 1.43	At the Friday prayer in the Grande Mosquée of Bamako (2009) . . . . .	426
Fig. 2.1	With my family in front of a paddle steamer on the Mississippi in Hannibal(2010) . . . . .	443

Fig. 2.2	A document of the EU delegation for my crossing on the Congo from Brazzaville to Kinshasa (2010) . . . . .	454
Fig. 2.3	Mike Van Dusen and Jane Harman from the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars with Eniköand me in Washington, D.C. (2011) . . . . .	470
Fig. 2.4	Family fun at Madame Tussaud’s wax museum in Washington, D.C. at the presidential desk. Michelle and Barack Obama look on amused (2011). . . . .	472
Fig. 2.5	On the first floor Martin Luther King died: in front of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis (2011) . . . . .	484
Fig. 2.6	Frugal meal standing with the sheikhs and pirs of the Yazidis in Lalish (2011) . . . . .	501
Fig. 2.7	Meeting with the ZEI alumni Valeria Novak, Natasha Suné and Norberto Pontiroli in Buenos Aires (2011) . . . . .	505
Fig. 2.8	In the Genocide Memorial in Kigali (2012) . . . . .	516
Fig. 2.9	With the former President of the European Commission Romano Prodi in Addis Ababa (2012) . . . . .	525
Fig. 2.10	With the Prime Minister of the Central African Republic, Faustine Archange Touadéra, in Bangui (2012) . . . . .	536
Fig. 2.11	Welcome in Kabul together with Hubertus Hoffmann and NATO spokesperson Paul Sherman (2013) . . . . .	558
Fig. 2.12	Visit to the Ambatovy nickel mine in Moramanga with spokeswoman Farahanta Vololontsoa Randrianasolo and colleague (2014). . . . .	578
Fig. 2.13	A dance with my esteemed colleague Djénéba Traoré, director of the West Africa Institute, in Praia (2014). . . . .	598
Fig. 2.14	With Lithuania’s President and Charlemagne Prize winner Dalia Grybauskaitėin Aachen (2014) . . . . .	603
Fig. 2.15	Conversation with Federica Mogherini, the High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, in Brussels (2015). . . . .	609
Fig. 2.16	An interview for the television of the Republic of Moldova in Comrat (2015) . . . . .	613
Fig. 2.17	With Mo Ibrahim, the founder of the eponymous Prize, in Rome (2015). . . . .	614
Fig. 2.18	View from the Burj Khalifa, the tallest building on Earth, over Dubai (2015) . . . . .	627
Fig. 2.19	Conversation with Akka Rimon, Assistant Secretary of State of the Republic of Kiribati in Bairiki (2015) . . . . .	644
Fig. 2.20	With Prime Minister Enele Sopoaga and the cabinet of Tuvalu as well as the ambassador of Taiwan, Jason Wan, in Vaiaku (2015) . . . . .	652