

ANNEX

Participants



Peter Altmaier, MdB

Born 1958

Member of the German Bundestag (CDU), Berlin; member of the Committee on European Affairs; deputy member of the Committee on Legal Affairs; deputy member of the European Convention on Human Rights and of the European Convention on the Future of the European Union; leader of the CDU chapter Saarlouis.

Selected Writings: “Turmbau zu Babel? Zur zukünftigen politischen und institutionellen Gestalt der Europäischen Union,” *Außenpolitik im 21. Jahrhundert* (1996); “Die Charta der Grundrechte der Europäischen Union,” *Zeitschrift für Gesetzgebung* 2001.

Pages: 25, 41, 80, 81, 93, 106



Henri de Bresson

Born 1948

Europe Correspondent, *Le Monde*, Paris; former correspondent for *Le Monde* in Bonn (1984–87) and Berlin (1989–95); former US correspondent for *Le Matin* and *L'Express* (1980–82).

Selected Writings: *La nouvelle Allemagne* (2001).

Pages: 54, 83, 101



Prof.

P. Nikiforos Diamandouros

Born 1942

European Ombudsman, Strasbourg; Professor of Comparative Politics, University of Athens; former National Ombudsman of Greece; Co-Chair of the Subcommittee on Southern Europe of the Social Science Research Council, New York; General Editor of the Series on “The New Southern Europe” (Johns Hopkins University Press).

Selected Writings: *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation: Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective* (1995); *Democratisation in South Eastern Europe: Theoretical Considerations and Evolving Trends* (1999); *Parties, Politics, and Democracy in the New Southern Europe* (2001); *Citizenship and the Nation State in Greece and Turkey* (2004).

Pages: 37, 98



Silvio Fagiolo

Born 1938

Italian Ambassador to Germany, Berlin; Permanent Representative of Italy to the European Union; former Representative of the Italian Foreign Minister to the Intergovernmental Conference for the Revision of the Maastricht Treaty; expert for security and defense policy and for the European unification process.

Selected Writings: *La pace fredda: la società americana dopo la fine del comunismo* (1996).

Pages: 32, 69



Dr. Peter Frey

Born 1957

Director, Berlin Studio, ZDF; Anchorman *Berlin direkt*; commentary for *heute* and *heute-journal*; political travel reports; co-development of the daily ZDF

news show *heute in Europa*; former head of the foreign policy editorial desk, ZDF.

Selected Writings: Spanien und Europa. Die spanischen Intellektuellen und die Europäische Integration (1986); Von Bagdad nach St. Petersburg. Mein Reisetagebuch (2002).

Pages: 48, 74, 76, 81



Gary Gibbon

Born 1965

Political Correspondent, *Channel 4 News*, London; reporting for *Channel 4 News* on the full spectrum of political life, specializing in constitutional and legal affairs,

Northern Ireland, European politics; contributions to various UK publications including the *New Statesman* magazine.

Pages: 66, 77



Dr. Anne-Marie Le Gloannec

Born 1955

Research Associate and former Deputy Director, Centre Marc Bloch, Berlin; Research Fellow at CERI, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris; lecturer at the European Center of the Johns Hopkins University, Bologna, at the Institut d'Études Poli-

tiques (Paris and Lille), the Free University Berlin, the Humboldt University Berlin, and the Viadrina University, Frankfurt/Oder.

Selected Writings: La nation orpheline: Les Allemandes en Europe (1989); Entre Union et Nation: L'État en Europe (1998); Retrait ou Retour de l'État? L'État en République Fédérale d'Allemagne (2001); Mehr oder Weniger Staat? Der Staat in Deutschland (2003); Entre Kant et Kosovo: mélanges offerts à Pierre Hassner (2003).

Pages: 39, 73, 101



Dr. Minu Hemmati

Born 1963

Independent Advisor and Program Co-ordinator, working with NGOs, governments, international agencies and corporations on stakeholder participation

and collaboration, sustainable development, and gender issues; lecturer at universities, women's organizations, political parties, and government institutions; participation in UN summits and commission meetings.

Selected Writings: Multi-Stakeholder Processes for Governance and Sustainability: Beyond Deadlock and Conflict (2002); Gender and Sustainable Development (2002).

Pages: 78, 79, 104



Ali H. Jafari

Born 1968

Director, Centre for Euro-American Studies, Institute for Political and International Studies (IPIS), Tehran; Expert for EU-Iran/Middle East relations and EU economic relations; former Third Secretary at the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Dublin; former Officer in the Department for EU Relations in the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; contributions to *Foreign Policy Review* and publications of IPIS.
Pages: 70



Prof. Dr. Lena Kolarska-Bobinska

Born 1947

Director, Institute of Public Affairs, Warsaw; Member of the Polish Academy of Science Committee of Sociology; member of the National Board on European Integration—advisory board to the Prime Minister of Poland, member of advisory groups of the European Commission and of the President of the Republic of Poland; member of the advisory board on Governance and Anticorruption in the Europe and Central Asia Region (World Bank); former chairwoman of the Academic Council at the Institute of Social Science, Warsaw University; numerous books and articles.

Selected Writings: Society in transition (1989); Polska eurodebata (1999); The second wave of Polish reforms (2000); Polacy wobec wielkiej zmiany (2001); The image of Poland in Europe (2002); Parish Clergy on Integration with the European

Union (2003); Before the European Referendum: Absence, Resistance, Support (2003).

Pages: 36, 72, 82, 103



Dr. Ivan Krastev

Born 1965

Chairman of the Board, Centre for Liberal Strategies, Sofia; Executive Director of the International Commission on the Balkans; Research Director of the project “Politics of Anti-Americanisms in the Beginning of the 21st Century” coordinated by the Central European University, Budapest; former visiting fellow at St. Antony’s College, Oxford; Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, Washington; Collegium Budapest; Wissenschaftskolleg, Berlin; Institute of Federalism, University of Fribourg, Switzerland; Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna.

Selected writings: “The Balkans: Democracy Without Choices,” *Journal of Democracy* (July 2002); *The Anti-Corruption Trap* (forthcoming).

Pages: 35, 69, 103



Prof. Dr. Christine Landfried

Born 1949

Professor, Institute of Political Science at the University of Hamburg; 1997–2000 President of the German Political Science Association (DVPW); former Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies, Berlin.

Selected writings: *Bundesverfassungsgericht und Gesetzgeber* (1984, 2nd ed. 1996); *Parteienfinanzen*

und politische Macht. Eine vergleichende Studie zur Bundesrepublik Deutschland, zu Italien und den USA (1989, 2nd ed. 1994); Das politische Europa. Differenz als Potential der Europäischen Union (2002, 2nd ed. 2004).

Pages: 45, 73, 96, 106



Prof. Andrea Manzella

Born 1933

Senator; Director, Advanced School of Parliamentary Law, LUISS Guido Carli, Rome; Vice-President of the Committee for European Union Affairs; member

of the Committee for Legal Affairs; member of the Committee for Constitutional Affairs; member of the Committee for Foreign Affairs and Immigration; articles on constitutional policy in *La Repubblica*.

Selected Writings: Il parlamento (1977, 1991, 2003); Riscrivere i diritti in Europa: la Carta dei diritti fondamentali dell'UE (with P. Melograni/E. Paciotti/S. Rodotà) (2001).

Pages: 30, 52, 82



Prof. Philippe C. Schmitter

Born 1936

Professor, Department of Political and Social Sciences, European University Institute, Florence; Professor emeritus, Department of Political Science, Stanford

University; Honorary Professor, University of Constance; member of the Committee on Political Sociology, the Council for European Studies, and the Société Tocqueville; editor, among others

of the *Journal of Democracy* and *Swiss Political Science Review*.

Selected Writings: If the nation-state were to wither away (1995); Governance in the European Union (1996); How to Democratize the European Union ... and Why Bother? (2000); What is there to legitimize in the European Union ... and how might this be accomplished? (2001).

Pages: 45



Carsten Schneider, MdB

Born 1976

Member of the German Bundestag (SPD), Berlin; Member of the Bundestag Budget Committee and Rapporteur for the Departmental Budget, Federal

Ministry of Education and Research; member of the Subcommittee on European Union Affairs; Speaker of the SPD's Thuringian Deputies in the Bundestag.

Pages: 40, 81, 109



Prof. Dr. Gesine Schwan

Born 1943

President, European University Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder; Member of the SPD's Basic Values Commission; recipient of the Federal Cross of Merit; professor of political science at the Free University Berlin.

Selected Writings: Politics and Guilt: The Destructive Power of Silence (1999/2001); Antikommunismus und Antiamerikanismus in Deutschland. Kontinuität und Wandel nach 1945 (1999).

Pages: 34, 57, 83, 102



Prof. Larry Siedentop

Born 1936

Fellow of Keble College and Faculty Lecturer in Politics, Department of Politics and International Relations, Oxford University; comments on the British

political scene in *The Times Literary Supplement*, *The Times* and *The Financial Times*.

Selected Writings: Democracy in Europe (2000); Tocqueville (1994).

Pages: 27, 52, 63, 109



Prof. Stephen F. Szabo

Born 1943

Professor of European Studies, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington; former professor at the

National War College, Washington; former faculty member at the Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State, Georgetown University and the University of Virginia; former fellow with the Humboldt Stiftung, Bonn, Germany; Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, and the American Academy, Berlin.

Selected Writings: The Bundeswehr and the Future of Western Security (1990); The Changing Politics of German Security (1990); The Diplomacy of German Unification (1992).

Pages: 60, 69, 105



Gijs de Vries, RV

Born 1956

Representative of the Government of the Netherlands (VVD), European Convention, The Hague; Member of the Dutch Parliament and the European

Parliament (VVD); former State Secretary of the Interior and Kingdom Affairs.

Pages: 24, 43, 69, 77, 88, 95, 97, 102, 108



Prof. Helen Wallace

Born 1946

Director, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence; former Jean Monnet Professor of Contemporary European Studies

and founding Director of the Sussex European Institute at the University of Sussex, Brighton; member of various advisory boards including at the Universities of Bremen, Louvain, Mannheim and Vienna; member of editorial advisory boards, i.e. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, *Perspectives*, and *Policy Studies*; honoured as Chevalier de l'Ordre National du Mérite, a Companion of St. Michael and St. George and as Fellow of the British Academy.

Selected Writings: Policy-making in the European Union (2000); Regulatory Politics in the Enlarging European Union (2001); Interlocking Dimensions of European Integration (2001).

Pages: 85, 106, 108



**Prof. William Wallace,
Lord Wallace of Saltaire**

Born 1941

Liberal Democrat spokesman on foreign affairs in the House of Lords and Professor of International Relations at the

London School of Economics and Political Science, London; former Director of Studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London (Chatham House), former fellow at St. Antony's College, Oxford University; former member of the Lords European Union Committee and chairman of its subcommittee on EU cooperation in justice and home affairs; published articles on transatlantic relations in *Foreign Affairs* and frequently contributes to the *Financial Times*.

Selected Writings: Policy-making in the European Union (2000); Rethinking European Order: West European Responses, 1989–97 (2001).

Pages: 33, 64, 68, 83, 95, 104



Roger de Weck

Born 1953

Columnist, Berlin and Zurich; contributions to *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *SZ-Magazin*, *Tagesspiegel*, *Les Échos*, and *SonntagsZeitung*; anchorman of the TV show

Sternstunden; Visiting Professor at the College of Europe in Bruges; member of the Pen Club and of the Board of Trustees of the Charlemagne Prize (Aachen); former editor-in-chief of the *Tages-Anzeiger* and *DIE ZEIT*.

Selected Writings: Kuhschweizer und Sauschwaben. Schweizer, Deutsche und ihre Hassliebe (2003); "Das Erwachen der Alten Welt," *Tagesspiegel* (2003).

Pages: 24, 27, 32, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 41, 43, 47, 54, 56, 60, 63, 64, 68, 70, 71, 73, 76, 77, 79, 84, 85, 95, 102, 106, 108, 109, 110



Dr. Richard von Weizsäcker

Born 1920

Former President of the Federal Republic of Germany (1984–1994); former Mayor of West Berlin (1981–1984); former Vice President of the German Parliament;

former member of the Federal Executive Board of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU); former President of the German Lutheran Church Council; Winner of the Heinrich-Heine (1991) and Leo-Baeck (1994) Awards; Chairman of the Bergedorf Round Table of the Körber Foundation.

Selected writings: Die deutsche Geschichte geht weiter (1983); Von Deutschland nach Europa (1991); Richard von Weizsäcker im Gespräch (1992); Vier Zeiten. Erinnerungen (1997); Drei Mal Stunde Null? 1949–1969–1989 (2001).

Pages: 23, 50, 65, 70, 72, 102, 111

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<http://european-convention.eu.int>:

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http://europa.eu.int/futurum/index_en.htm:

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- Marc Leonard, *Europe's Political Deficit*, London: 1999.
- John McCormick, *Understanding the European Union. A Concise Introduction*, London: 1999.
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- Andrew Moravcsik, "In Defence of the 'Democratic Deficit': Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40 (2002).
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- Philipp C. Schmitter, *How to democratise the European Union ... and why bother?*, Lanham: 2000.
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- Helen Wallace/William Wallace (eds.), *Policy-making in the European Union*, Oxford/New York: 2000.
- Weiler, Joseph H. H., *The Constitution of Europe*, Cambridge: 1999.
- Richard von Weizsäcker/Jean Luc Dehaene/ David Simon, *The Institutional Implications of Enlargement. Report to the European Commission*, Brussels 18.10.1999 (http://www.europa.eu.int/igc2000/repoct99_en.pdf).

Glossary

Aarhus Convention

The Aarhus Convention is the first international treaty granting individuals the right to information, public participation, and access to justice in environmental issues. It was negotiated within the framework of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) and adopted in Aarhus in 1998. It has since been ratified by 27 states. The EU is adapting its *acquis communautaire* to the Convention's terms, so as to ratify it as well.

<http://www.unece.org/env/pp/>

Agora

Greek for marketplace and public assemblies, from *agoreuein* ("public speaking"). Hence, the *agora* has come to signify democracy and the democratic community, even though Greek democracy excluded large sections of society from participating.

Acquis communautaire

The entire body of EU laws, including all treaties, regulations, and directives passed by the European institutions, as well as the judgements handed down by the European Court of Justice. EU accession candidates must adopt and enforce the *acquis* in its entirety within an agreed time. It currently comprises some 80,000 pages.

ATTAC

Founded in December 1998 in London and Paris (*Association pour une taxation des transactions financières pour l'aide aux citoyens et citoyennes* = Association for the taxation of financial transactions for the benefit of the people), ATTAC has become one of the best-known non-governmental organizations opposing globalization. It supports taxing financial transactions ("Tobin tax"). ATTAC, organized as a network without hierarchical structures, currently counts about 90,000 members in 50 countries.

<http://www.attac.org/indexen/index.html>

Austria – European policies towards

After a governing coalition was formed in 2000 between the Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) and the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ, led by right-wing populist Jörg Haider), 14 EU states froze their bilateral ties with Austria. This politically and legally controversial boycott lasted less than a year, without effecting a change of government in Vienna.

Bové, José

A farmer, activist, and speaker of the radical French agricultural association *Confédération paysanne*, Bové became a hero of the anti-globalization movement through his highly publicized and militant actions against *malbouffe*—bad food—which have included destroying a production facility for genetically manipulated seeds or attacking McDonald's restaurants. He has been convicted by French courts for his actions, which oppose multinational corporations and organizations such as the WTO.

Checks and balances

The system of checks and balances seeks to prevent any one branch of government from achieving dominance by allowing the Legislature, Executive, and Judiciary to monitor each other. The concept's origins go back to Aristotle; John Locke (1632–1704) and Montesquieu (1689–1755) are considered its real fathers. The US Constitution is generally accepted as its classical manifestation.

Cohabitation

State of affairs in the French political system, in which the directly elected president and the government, elected by the parliament, belong to different political parties. It implies a risk of political deadlock because the president has considerable political powers but cannot rule without the parliament and government.

Common European Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)

The European Union first laid down its goal of adopting a Common Foreign and Security Policy in the Maastricht Treaty. The Treaty of Amsterdam established the Office of the High Representative for the CFSP, which was occupied for five years by Javier Solana. In 2003, Solana presented the first European security strategy.

<http://ue.eu.int/pesc/default.asp?lang=en>

Consensus democracy

In this kind of democracy, political decisions are reached not only through elections, but also through negotiating compromise. Electoral majorities are only one of many resources in the political process. Consensus democracies are generally cumbersome, difficult to reform, but also relatively stable.

Copenhagen Criteria

In 1993, the European Council in Copenhagen gave the formerly Communist states of Central and Eastern Europe the right to join the EU once they fulfilled three criteria:

1. institutional stability as a guarantor of democratic governance and the rule of law, protection of ethnic minorities, and human rights;
2. a functioning market economy;
3. adoption of the → *acquis communautaire*.

<http://europa.eu.int/scadplus/leg/en/cig/g4000a.htm#a5c>

Core Europe

The concept of a “core Europe” refers to a group of states within the European Union pursuing deeper and accelerated integration. Such a European *avant-garde* prevent, say its supporters, eurosceptic member states from determining the tempo of the integration process. The term first appeared in an essay written by the German CDU parliamentarians Wolfgang Schäuble and Karl Lamers. It gained renewed popularity in 2003 in the wake of the failure to agree a European Constitution.

COSAC

The Conference of European Affairs Committees of the national parliaments meets every six months, comprising six parliamentarians from each EU member state and six representatives of the European Parliament. Founded in 1989, COSAC has, according to the Amsterdam Treaty, the right to express its opinions concerning the EU's lawmaking, although only in an advisory capacity. COSAC is an abbreviation of the French title *Conférence des Organes Spécialisés en Affaires Communautaires*.

<http://www.cosac.org>

Cresson, Edith

As EU Research Commissioner in 1999, Cresson refused to step down despite a report accusing her of favoritism and mismanagement. As she refused to accept any consequences alone, the entire European Commission resigned, sparking a crisis. Cresson was France's first woman prime minister from 1991–92.

Deliberative Polling

A method of political participation developed by US political scientist James Fishkin. A representative, randomly chosen group votes on a controversial political issue. Afterwards, participants receive information material and discuss the issue with experts and politicians. The discussion is televised. After the discussion, another vote takes place. This result represents the decision that the population would take if it had dealt with the subject matter as intensively as the participants have.

<http://www.la.utexas.edu/research/delpol/cdpindex.html>

Demos

Greek for people, community. In ancient Greece, this term meant the citizenship of a city-state and its assembly. Since Cleisthenes' reforms, the citizens constituted themselves increasingly as a self-governed community of free-born men.

Early Warning System of the EU

The European Convention discussed an Early Warning System that informs national parliaments about the EU's lawmaking projects at an early stage. Nation states could thus check if intended laws contradict the principle of subsidiarity and could prevent an erosion of their legislative competences. An "Early Warning System" is part of the Euro-zone Stability Pact that sets out economic criteria for the countries that have adopted the Euro.

EU Charter of Fundamental Rights

Adopted at the EU Nice Summit in December 2000, the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights set out in a single text the full range of rights of European citizens and people living in Europe. Its 54 articles are divided into six sections: Dignity, Freedoms, Equality, Solidarity, Citizens' Rights, and Justice. The still non-binding Charter was produced by a publicly convening Convention under the chairmanship of Roman Herzog. Whether and in what form the Charter will be incorporated into a possible European constitution is the object of much debate.

http://www.europarl.eu.int/charter/default_en.htm

EU democratic deficit

Politicians and citizens criticize the EU for being out of touch with the people. Critics cite the complicated mechanisms for establishing directives and resolutions and the European Parliament's lack of competence and connection to the people. The European Commission has declared as its objective to fight the democratic deficit through better publicity and the participation of civil society.

European Convention

The European Council at Laken established the Convention on the Future of Europe in December 2001 to draft a comprehensive reform of the EU. 105 politicians from the 15 member- and 13 accession states convened under the leadership of → Valéry Giscard d'Estaing until June 2003. Its draft constitution was rejected by EU Rome Summit, where smaller countries such as Spain and Poland refused to accept its new system of qualified majority voting which would lessen their influence.

<http://european-convention.eu.int/>

European Ombudsman

The Treaty of Maastricht established the office of the European Ombudsman. The Ombudsman addresses complaints over maladministration in the organs and institutions of the EU. He first seeks a solution through the institution in question, then seeks to find an amicable solution, then writes a draft recommendation, and as a last step, delivers a special report to the parliament. The first ombudsman was Jacob Södermann be-

ginning in 1995, followed by P. Nikoforos Diamandouros from 2003.

<http://www.euro-ombudsman.eu.int/home/en/default.htm>

European Union

The European Union emerged from the European Community for Coal and Steel, founded in 1951 and consisting of Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. It presently counts 15 member states and, after its eastward expansion, will accept 10 more on May 1, 2004. The EU has five organs: The European Council of state and government heads, which meets at least twice annually to lay down political objectives; the European Commission, as the “engine of European integration,” promulgates legislation and, as the “guardian of the treaties,” implements EU law and treaties throughout the Union. In the European Parliament, 625 directly elected representatives exercise legislative, budgetary, and supervisory rights over the Commission. Additional organs are the European court of Justice and the Court of Auditors.

http://europa.eu.int/abc/index_en.htm

Federalism

A form of state that permits a variety of more or less autonomous associations or individual states to exist within a greater unit. The federal state (greater state decides all questions affecting its unity and existence) is distinguished from the confederation (member states retain sovereignty, e.g. in declaring war or negotiating state treaties).

Fortuyn, Pim (1948–2002)

The Lijst Pim Fortuyn, named after its charismatic leader, gained 17 percent of the vote in elections in the Netherlands in the spring of 2002. Fortuyn, a former sociology professor turned populist, avowed homosexual, and vociferous critic of liberal Dutch policy towards foreigners, was murdered shortly before the election. In the next elections in 2003, his party's share of the vote fell to five percent.

Giscard D'Estaing, Valéry (born 1926)

French politician first elected to the National Assembly in 1956. Finance Minister 1962–66 and 1969–74; President 1974–81. In 2003, Giscard d'Estaing served as President of the European Convention.

Globalization

This rather elastic term denotes the ongoing increase in economic relations and the integration of markets. Modern technologies have rapidly accelerated the exchange of goods, ideas and people compared to past eras. The growing range of global problems and international economic competition limit the ability of national governments to autonomously solve political problems. The term globalization is also used to describe the spread of Western values and life styles.

<http://www1.worldbank.org/economicpolicy/globalization/>

Glucksmann, André (born 1937)

French philosopher and writer belonging to the “new philosophers” who developed a critique of totalitarian systems through analysis of Marxism.

Grassroots movements

Local, autonomous and volunteer-based political groupings. Non-governmental organizations in the southern hemisphere are regarded as grassroots movements; in a more general sense, the term includes all voluntary political movements at their basic level.

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

Conceived at the Bretton Woods conference in 1944, the IMF came into existence in 1945 to promote international financial cooperation. Its objectives include supporting the growth of international trade, promoting stability in exchange rates, helping establish a multilateral means of payment, and helping member states with liquidity problems. The IMF has 184 member countries.

<http://www.imf.org/>

Iraq war—European stances

During the period leading up to the Iraq war of 2003, the governments of France and Germany were among the most outspoken critics of the US plans to invade Iraq. This stance also helped German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder improve his standing with voters during the parliamentary election campaign. In contrast, governments of Central European EU accession countries, together with Britain, Spain, and Italy, supported US policy. The resulting dispute led to substantial turmoil in transatlantic and European relations.

Legitimacy—input and output

The legitimacy of political systems depends on their processes of political decision-making as well as on the outcomes they achieve. It can be defined in terms of input and output: Input legitimacy requires a system to fulfill technical criteria such as adequate participation, provision of information for citizens, or equal voting rights. The principle of output legitimacy, on the other hand, judges a system's legitimacy on the extent that its outcomes are in the public interest.

MacMillan, Harold (1894–1986)

Conservative British politician, 1957–1963 Prime Minister.

Madison, James (1751–1836)

Fourth President of the United States (1809–17). Generally acknowledged as a “founding father” of the US through his participation in writing the constitution (→ Philadelphia Convention). His “Virginia Plan” called for a strong central government and was largely adopted by the other delegates. Co-author of the Federalist Papers, which defended the ideas behind the constitution.

McCarthy / McCarthyism

Joseph Raymond McCarthy (1909–1957), Republican Senator from Wisconsin, was the driving force behind a wave of anticommunist persecution in the United States between 1950 and 1954. As chairman of the Senate Committee on Un-American Activities, he sought to expose Communists and their sympathizers among government employees and intellectuals and did not shy away from using denunciation and intimidat-

ion to achieve his purposes. “McCarthyism” represented the high point of the restriction of civil rights in the United States during the Cold War.

Medici

Florentine dynasty whose international banking activities brought it great wealth and political influence. From the 15th to the 18th century, with interruptions, the Medici were the dominant family of the city-state's oligarchy. The Medici were also famous for their patronage of the arts and sciences, particularly during the era of Humanism and the Renaissance.

MERCOSUR

MERCOSUR (Mercado Común del Cono Sur) is the Latin American free trade zone and customs union. Its foundation is the 1991 Treaty of Asunción, signed by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay. In 1996, Chile was accepted as an associate member, followed by Bolivia in 1997.

http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/mercosur/intro/index.htm#4

Mossadeq, Mohammed (1883–1967)

Iranian politician, 1951–1953 Prime Minister. His nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company led to conflict with Britain in 1951. When he attempted to curtail the powers of the Shah (emperor) Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, he was toppled by a CIA-supported army coup and sentenced to three years in prison.

Murdoch, Rupert (born 1931)

Australian entrepreneur and chief executive of News Corporation, a global media empire with a market value of more than \$50 billion. His company controls a substantial segment of the European, especially the British, television and newspaper markets. His radically conservative political views are reflected in the editorial stance of the media under his control, which have been accused of seeking direct political influence.

NATO

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a collective defense alliance prompted by the perception of a direct threat from the Soviet Union, was established in 1949 by Belgium, Britain, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, and the United States. Other states joined in subsequent years. The revolutions of 1989 caused a strategic transformation of NATO that continues to this day. Its collective action clause, Article 5, was invoked for the first time after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001.

<http://www.nato.int/>

**Petitions Committee
of the European Parliament**

The right of petition is intended to give EU citizens the possibility of taking their wishes and complaints directly to the EU's institutions. The Petitions Committee of the European Parliament examines petitions for factual correctness and forwards them either to other European Parlia-

ment committees or to the European Commission for further action. It might also submit a report to Parliament to be voted on in plenary.

http://www.europarl.eu.int/petition/help_en.htm

Philadelphia Convention

The constitutional convention of the United States gathered in 1787 with George Washington presiding. Its 55 delegates from 12 states reformed the "Articles of Confederation" of the union and created a constitution with a strong government that is in effect until today.

Polder Model

An organized dialogue for the reform of the social systems among employers, workers, and the government in the Netherlands. Its effectiveness in fighting unemployment remains controversial. Named for the Dutch word for land that has been wrested from the sea, symbolizing mutual effort for the common good.

Power—hard and soft

Concepts introduced by Harvard political scientist Joseph S. Nye. Soft power is a state's capacity to influence other states and political conflicts (often with the help of international institutions) through the attractiveness and persuasive power of its society, culture, values, and political system. Hard power is conventional military power.

Prodi, Romano (born 1939)

President of the European Commission from 1999 to 2004. Professor of economics at the University of Bologna, founder of the center-left alliance Ulivo. Italian Prime Minister from 1995 until 1998. Prodi's presidency saw the introduction of the euro as single European currency and the decision of EU's landmark eastward expansion.

Proportional representation vs. "first past the post"

In a "first past the post" (or "winner take all") electoral system, the candidate with the most votes wins, and the ballots cast for other candidates are not counted in the final result. This system is used to elect the British House of Commons. In proportional representation, which applies to many continental European parliaments, including (partially) the German Bundestag, parties' representation in parliament corresponds to their percentage of the vote.

Road Map

In 2002, the "Quartet" consisting of the United States, the United Nations, the EU, and Russia agreed on a joint initiative, known as the Road Map, to find a peaceful solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It calls for a three-step process that would result in two independent states, Israel and Palestine, coexisting in peace. Both, the Israeli Cabinet and the Palestinian Authority have accepted the plan, but its implementation remains fraught with disruptions and obstacles. Nevertheless, it, continues, as of early 2004, to provide the basis for US policy in the region.

Subsidiarity

Originally a principle of Catholic social teaching that encourages initiative and self-determination among individuals and communities (e.g. municipalities). It holds that the state should intervene and provide support only when lower hierarchical levels cannot provide certain public goods. Article 5 enshrines subsidiarity in the EU Treaty. Decisions are to be taken as closely as possible to the citizens and the Union does not take action unless problems cannot be solved at the national, regional or local level.

Third Way

A social democratic concept for modernizing the welfare state. It accepts the global market economy, while expecting the state to alleviate the resulting social problems. It seeks to promote a proactive state that guarantees a "level playing field" for its people instead of a welfare state that simply redistributes wealth. Devised by British Prime Minister Tony Blair and sociologist Anthony Giddens, the idea gained additional credence when German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder came out in support of it ("Schröder-Blair paper"). It sets forth the historical idea of a third way between capitalism and socialism pursued by both the Socialist International and the founding fathers of Germany's postwar "social market economy."

US 2000 election / Florida

Five weeks elapsed after the 2000 presidential election in the United States before George W. Bush was pronounced the winner over Al Gore. In some states, especially Florida, the result was very close and automatic vote-counting imprecise, so that the votes had to be recounted by hand. This recount was subject to several lawsuits and remains disputed.

Wolfowitz, Paul (born 1943)

Deputy US Secretary of Defense since 2001, leading representative of the so-called neoconservatives (neocons) in the Bush Administration.

World Bank

Special organization of the United Nations based in Washington, founded in 1944 at the Bretton Woods Conference. The World Bank is a multilateral institution that seeks to help poorer countries develop their economies by providing loans. Political reforms are often prerequisites for such credits. The World Bank is financed through membership dues from its over 170 member states. It has been criticized for not acting in the people's interest in poorer states because its leading contributors, of whom the United States is by far the largest, largely determine its policies.
<http://www.worldbank.org/>

World Commission on Dams

The World Commission on Dams worked from 1997 to 2000 to produce a report on the advantages and dangers of large-scale dam projects. The Commission was composed of all stakeholder groups: governments, the private sector, civil-society organizations, and local residents. This independent body was supported by the World Bank and the World Conservation Union. Its members acted not as representatives of their respective organizations but as private individuals.
<http://www.dams.org/>

World Summit on Sustainable Development

A conference sponsored by the UN in 2002 in Johannesburg, South Africa. Tens of thousands of representatives of states, parties, the private sector, and nongovernmental organizations took part, including many heads of state and government. The summit adopted agreements on implementing the agenda of the Rio World Summit of 1992. The Johannesburg conference's final declaration demanded, among other things, protection for biological diversity, better sanitation, increased use of renewable energy, and ratification of the Kyoto Protocol. The summit's resolutions are not legally binding.
<http://www.johannesburgsummit.org/>

Zero-sum game

A concept taken from game theory: one party gains the same amount as the other loses. Both players have opposite interests. In reality, zero-sum games exist together with positive-sum (win-win) situations, in which both parties stand to gain.

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Previous Round Tables*

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1961	1	Schwächen der industriellen Gesellschaft	Prof. Dr. F. W. Schoberth, M. A., University of Erlangen/Nürnberg	Dr. H. B. Tolkmitt, Unilever, Hamburg
	2	Kulturkrise in der industriellen Gesellschaft	Prof. Dr. Erik von Sivers, Technical University of Stuttgart	Prof. Dr. Fritz Voigt, University of Bonn
	3	Glanz und Elend der Entwicklungshilfe	Prof. Dr. Fritz Baade, MdB, University of Bonn	Dr. Günther Buch, Hamburg
	4	Welche Fragen stellt uns die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung im Osten?	Prof. D. Helmut Gollwitzer, Free University of Berlin	Prof. Dr. Eugen Kogon, Technical University of Darmstadt
1962	5	Die Fragwürdigkeit der Bildungspolitik in unserer freien industriellen Gesellschaft	Dr. Rüdiger Altmann, DIHT, Bonn	Josef Müller-Marein, "Die Zeit", Hamburg
	6	Die Erziehung zum Europäer. Ein geschichtlicher Auftrag in der freien Welt	Stéphane Hessel, Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, Paris	François Bondy, "Preuves", Paris
	7	Die Bewältigung des Preis-Lohn-Problems und die Autonomie der Sozialpartner	Prof. Dr. Theodor Pütz, University of Vienna	Prof. Dr. Gottfried Bombach, University of Basel
	8	Die Preis-Lohn-Dynamik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland	Dr. Hans-Constantin Paulssen, BDA, Cologne	Prof. Dr. Fritz Voigt, University of Bonn
1963	9	Maschine – Denkmaschine – Staatsmaschine Entwicklungstendenzen der modernen Industriegesellschaft	Prof. Dr. Pierre Bertaux, University of Lille	Prof. Dr. Arnold Gehlen, Technical University of Aachen

* a complete list of all participants since 1961 is available at www.bergedorfer-gespraechskreis.de

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair	
	10	Kybernetik als soziale Tatsache Anwendungsbereiche, Leistungsformen und Folgen für die industrielle Gesellschaft	Prof. Dr. O. W. Haseloff, PH Berlin	Dr. h. c. Frhr. v. Stackelberg, EMNID-Institute GmbH, Bielefeld
	11	Die westliche Gesellschaft und die kommunistische Drohung Zur Psychologie der Aufweichung	Winfried Martini, Munich	Prof. Dr. Th. Eschenburg, University of Tübingen
	12	Wohin treibt die EWG? Europa mit oder ohne England?	U. W. Kitzinger, Oxford Roland Delcour, "Le Monde" Paris-Bonn	Prof. Dr. Eugen Kogon, Technical University of Darmstadt
1964	13	Planung in der freien Marktwirtschaft	Prof. Dr. Edgar Salin, University of Basel	Prof. Dr. Gottfried Bombach, University of Basel
	14	Wohin Deutschland in Europa?	Prof. Alfred Grosser, University of Paris Karl Theodor Frhr. zu Guttenberg, MdB, Bonn	François Bondy, "Preuves", Paris
	15	Entwicklungshilfe – Mittel des Aufstiegs oder des Verfalls?	Dr. Walter Rau, Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, Bonn Dr. E. F. Schumacher, National Coal Board, London	Prof. Dr. Edgar Salin, University of Basel
	16	Industrielle Gesellschaft – menschlich oder unmenschlich?	Prof. Dr. Raymond Aron, University of Paris	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf, University of Konstanz
1965	17	Vermögensbildung in Arbeitnehmer- hand – ein revolutionäres oder evolu- tionäres Ziel?	Prof. Dr. Helmut Meinhold, University of Frankfurt Prof. Dr. H. J. Wallraff, SJ Philosophical-Theological University of Frankfurt	Prof. Dr. Eugen Kogon, Technical University of Darmstadt
	18	Hemmen Tabus die Demokratisierung der deutschen Gesellschaft?	Prof. Dr. Alexander Mitscher- lich, University of Heidelberg	Prof. Hellmut Becker, Institute for Human Development, Berlin

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19	Automatisierung – eine gesellschaftliche Herausforderung? Soziale Konsequenzen aus Tatsachen und Ideologien	Prof. Dr. Gottfried Bombach, University of Basel Dr. Günter Friedrichs, IG Metall, Frankfurt Dr. Kurt Pentzlin, H. Bahlsens Keksfabrik KG, Hannover	Prof. Dr. Hans Wenke, University of Hamburg
20	Ein Dilemma der westlichen Demokratien: Kurzfristige Soziallösungen contra langfristige Regionalpolitik – das europäische Koordinationsproblem	Prof. Dr. Leo H. Klaassen, The Dutch Institute of Economy, Rotterdam	Prof. Dr. Edgar Salin, University of Basel
1966	21 Die “unterentwickelten“ hochindustrialisierten Gesellschaften	Prof. Dr. Friedrich Heer, University of Vienna	Prof. Hellmut Becker, Institute for Human Development, Berlin
22	Muß unsere politische Maschinerie umkonstruiert werden?	Dr. Rüdiger Altmann, DIHT, Bonn Joseph Rovau, “Peuple et Culture”, Paris	Prof. Dr. Eugen Kogon, Technical University of Darmstadt
23	Wissenschaftliche Experten und politische Praxis – Das Problem der Zusammenarbeit in der heutigen Demokratie	Prof. Dr. Helmut Schelsky, University of Münster Dr. Ulrich Lohmar, MdB, Bonn	Prof. Hellmut Becker, Institute for Human Development, Berlin
24	Ist der Weltfriede unvermeidlich?	Prof. Dr. Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker, University of Hamburg	Prof. Dr. Edgar Salin, University of Basel
1967	25 Bedroht die Pressekonzentration die freie Meinungsbildung?	Prof. Dr. Helmut Arndt, Free University of Berlin	Prof. Hellmut Becker, Institute for Human Development, Berlin
26	Neue Wege zur Hochschulreform: Differenzierte Gesamthochschule – autonome Universität	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf, Ph. D., University of Konstanz	Prof. Hellmut Becker, Institute for Human Development, Berlin

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	27	Beherrschen die Technokraten unsere heutige Gesellschaft? Erfahrungen und Perspektiven	Alfred Mozer, European Economic Commission, Brussels	Prof. Dr. Eugen Kogon, Technical University of Darmstadt
1968	28	Freiheit als Störfaktor in einer programmierten Gesellschaft	Mrs. Prof. Dr. Jeanne Hersch, University of Geneva	Prof. Dr. Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker, University of Hamburg
	29	Fördern die Bündnissysteme die Sicherheit Europas?	Prof. Wladimir Chwostow, Academy of Pedagogic Sciences, Moscow	Prof. Alfred Grosser, Fondation Nationale des Science Politiques, Paris
	30	Haben wir im entstehenden Europa noch eine Chance für die freie Marktwirtschaft?	Dr. Hans von der Groeben, European Commission, Brussels	Prof. Dr. Hans Peter Ipsen, University of Hamburg
	31	Mögliche und wünschbare Zukünfte	Dr. Robert Jungk, Berlin Centre for Futures Research, Berlin	Prof. Hellmut Becker, Institute for Human Development, Berlin
1969	32	Die Biologie als technische Weltmacht	Prof. Dr. Adolf Portmann, University of Basel	Prof. Dr. Hoimar von Ditfurth, University of Heidelberg
	33	Verstärken oder verringern sich die Bedingungen für Aggressivität? Die Rolle der Gewalt in der modernen Gesellschaft	Prof. Dr. Friedrich Hacker, Beverly Hills/USA	Prof. Dr. Eugen Kogon, Technical University of Darmstadt
	34	Welchen Spielraum hat die Entspannungspolitik? Eine Diskussion zwischen West- und Osteuropäern	Prof. Alfred Grosser, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris	Dr. Theo Sommer, "Die ZEIT", Hamburg
1970	35	Zugänge zur Friedensforschung. Soziale und politische Perspektiven	Prof. Dr. Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker, Starnberg Prof. Dr. Richard Löwenthal, Free University of Berlin	Prof. Dr. Karl Carstens, Council on Foreign Relations, Bonn

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36 <i>Leningrad</i>	Europäische Sicherheit und Möglichkeit der Zusammenarbeit. Wege für einen stabilen Frieden und die Sicherheit in Europa	Prof. Alfred Grosser, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris Nikolai E. Poljanow, “Istwestija”, Moscow	Nikolai E. Poljanow, “Istwestija”, Moscow
37	Demokratisierung der Demokratie? Möglichkeiten und Schwierigkeiten stärkerer Teilnahme an den Entscheidungsprozessen	Prof. Joseph Rován, University of Paris/Vincennes	D. Klaus von Bismarck, WDR, Cologne
1971	Arbeitsgespräch: Aufgabenstellung und Verfahrensfragen einer internationalen Konferenz für Europäische Sicherheit	—	Dr. Franz Karasek, Vienna
38	Infrastrukturreform als Innenpolitik – Möglichkeiten, Grenzen, Prioritäten	Minister-President Dr. Helmut Kohl, Mainz	D. Klaus von Bismarck, WDR, Cologne
39	Globalsteuerung der Wirtschaft – Illusion oder Realität?	Prof. Dr. Gottfried Bombach, University of Basel	Prof. Dr. Herbert Giersch, Institute for World Economics, Kiel
40	Der bevollmächtigte Mensch – Kann sich die freie industrielle Gesellschaft zur Stabilität und Reife entwickeln?	Prof. Dr. Dennis Gabor, London/Rom	D. Klaus von Bismarck, WDR, Cologne
1972	41 Sprache und Politik. Können Begriffe die Gesellschaft verändern?	Prof. Dr. Hans Maier, Minister for Cultural Affairs, Munich	Prof. Hellmut Becker, Institute for Human Development, Berlin
	Arbeitsgespräch: Demokratie und Nationalbewußtsein in der Bundesrepublik	Prof. Dr. Richard Löwenthal, Free University of Berlin	François Bondy, Zurich

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	42 Das erweiterte Europa zwischen den Blöcken	Prof. Dr. R. Dahrendorf, Brussels Jean-Pierre Brunet, Paris Sir Con O'Neill, London	Dr. Rudolf Kirchschläger, Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, Vienna
	43 Wo bleiben die alten Menschen in der Leistungsgesellschaft? Interdisziplinäre Diskussion in der Gerontologie	Prof. Dr. Helge Pross, University of Gießen	D. Klaus von Bismarck, WDR, Cologne
1973	44 Die "neue Mitte": Schlagwort oder Strukturwandel?	Dr. Richard Frhr. v. Weizsäcker, MdB, Bonn	D. Klaus von Bismarck WDR, Cologne
	45 Umsteuerung der Industriegesellschaft? Sollen Technik, Wirtschaft und Politik die wachsenden materiellen Ansprüche weiter befriedigen?	Dr. Hans-Jochen Vogel, Federal Minister, Bonn Dr. Hugo Thiemann, Geneva	Prof. Dr. Gottfried Bombach, University of Basel
Vienna	46 Neutralität – Wert oder Unwert für die europäische Sicherheit	Dr. Rudolf Kirchschläger, Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, Vienna Gaston Thorn, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Luxemburg Józef Czyrek, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, Warsaw	Prof. Dr. Olivier Reverdin, Geneva
1974	47 Revolution der Gleichheit – Ende oder Beginn der Freiheit?	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf, Brussels	D. Klaus von Bismarck, WDR, Cologne
	48 Rohstoff- und Energieverknappung – Herausforderung der Industriegesellschaft?	Prof. Dr. H. B. G. Casimir, Eindhoven Dr. Manfred Schäfer, Saarbrücken	Prof. Dr. Gottfried Bombach, University of Basel
	49 Entwicklungshilfe – eine Illusion?	Prof. Dr. Peter T. Bauer, London Prof. Dr. Karl-Heinz Sohn, Cologne	Dr. Max Thurn, Vienna

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair
1975 <i>Moscow</i>	Arbeitsgespräch: Entspannungspolitik, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Zusammenarbeit	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf, London Dr. H. Ehrenberg, MdB, Bonn Dr. Theo Sommer, Hamburg Prof. Dr. C.-F. Frhr. v. Weiz- säcker, Starnberg Prof. Dr. G. Arbatow, Moscow Prof. Dr. O. Bogomolow, Moscow Schalwa Sanakojew, Moscow Georgij Shukow, Moscow	First day: Dr. Kurt A. Körber, Hamburg Second day: Lew Tolkunow, Moscow
50	Kooperation oder Konfrontation – Stürzt die Wirtschaft in eine welt- politische Krise?	Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, MdB, Bonn	Prime Minister Gaston Thorn, Luxemburg
51 <i>Bonn</i>	Welche Zukunft hat die parlamen- tarische Demokratie westlicher Prägung?	Prime Minister Gaston Thorn, Luxemburg	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf, London
52	Ordnungspolitik oder Verteilungskampf? Eine Strategie der Innenpolitik	Prof. Dr. Kurt H. Biedenkopf, Bonn	Dr. Theo Sommer, Hamburg
1976 53	Die Berufsgesellschaft und ihre Bildung. Bilanz und Ausblick	Minister of State Prof. Dr. Hans Maier, Munich	Prof. Dr. Hellmut Becker, Institute for Human Development, Berlin
54	Nach der Wahl '76: Welchen Spielraum hat die deutsche Innenpolitik?	—	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf, London
55	Entspannungspolitik nach Helsinki – eine Zwischenbilanz	Prof. Dr. G. Arbatow, Moscow Leonard H. Marks, Washington Dr. Theo Sommer, Hamburg Ryszard Wojna, Warsaw	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf, London
1977 56 <i>Bonn</i>	Ein anderer “Way of Life” – Ist der Fortschritt noch ein Fortschritt?	Dr. E. F. Schumacher, London	Prof. Dr. Hans K. Schneider, Cologne

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57 <i>Luxemburg</i>	Europa und die Weltwirtschaft – Politische und ökonomische Ansätze zur Lösung des Nord-Süd-Konfliktes	Claude Cheysson, Brussels Prof. Dr. Herbert Giersch, Kiel	Prime Minister Gaston Thorn, Luxemburg
58	Energiekrise – Europa im Belagerungszustand? Politische Konsequenzen aus einer eskalierenden Entwicklung	Dr. Guido Brunner, Brussels	Prof. Dr. Hans K. Schneider, Cologne
1978 59	Terrorismus in der demokratischen Gesellschaft	Prof. Walter Laqueur, London	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf, London
	Arbeitsgespräch: Alternativenenergien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sonnenenergie	Joachim Gretz, Ispra	Prof. Dr.-Ing. Werner H. Bloss, Stuttgart
60	Europäische Arbeitslosigkeit als Dauerschicksal – oder brauchen wir einen anderen Arbeitsmarkt?	Dr. Volker Hauff, Federal Minister, MdB, Bonn Prof. Dr. Gerhard Fels, Kiel Prof. Dr. Erich Streissler, Vienna	Prof. Dr. Gottfried Bombach, Basel
61	Wachstum und Lebenssinn – Alternative Rationalitäten?	Prof. Dr. Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker, Starnberg	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf, London
1979 62 <i>Moscow</i>	UdSSR und Bundesrepublik Deutschland – wirtschaftliche und politische Perspektiven in den 80er Jahren	Federal Minister Dr. Klaus von Dohnanyi, Bonn Alexander E. Bowin, Moscow	Dr. K. A. Körber, Hamburg Boris A. Borrisow, Moscow
63	Jugend und Gesellschaft. Chronischer Konflikt – neue Verbindlichkeiten?	Univ.-Prof. Dr. Leopold Rosenmayr, Vienna	Minister of State Prof. Dr. Hans Maier, Munich
64	Weltrezession 1980? Befürchtungen und Hoffnungen	Prof. Dr. Herbert Giersch, Kiel Karl Otto Pöhl, Head of the Deutsche Bundesbank, Frankfurt	Prof. Dr. Hans K. Schneider, Cologne
1980 65	Der Westen und der Nahe Osten – Krise im Zeichen der islamischen Revolution? Kulturelle, wirtschaftliche, politische Aspekte	Dr. Arnold Hottinger, Madrid Prof. Dr. Hans A. Fischer-Barnicol, Heidelberg M. A. H. Hobohm, London	Dr. Udo Steinbach, Hamburg

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	66	Europas Sicherheit. Probleme der westlichen Welt in den 80er Jahren	Dr. Christoph Bertram, London Dr. W. R. Smyser, Washington	Dr. Theo Sommer, Hamburg
	67	Voraussetzungen und Ziele der Entspannung in den 80er Jahren – Der europäische Schauplatz	W. A. Matweew, Moscow Prof. Dr. Stanley Hoffmann, Cambridge, Mass./USA	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser, Bonn
1981	68	Der Ausbau des Sozialstaates und das Dilemma des Staatshaushaltes – ein internationales Problem	Prof. Dr. R. Dahrendorf, London Parliamentary State Secretary Anke Fuchs, Bonn	Prof. Dr. Armin Gutowski, Hamburg
Washington	69	Europe and America facing the crises of the 80's – lastings foundations and new forms of cooperation	Prof. Dr. R. Dahrendorf, London Prof. Dr. Stanley Hoffmann, Cambridge, Mass./USA	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser, Bonn
	70	Was bleibt noch vom staatsbürgerlichen Grundkonsens? Jugendprotest, Wertwandel, Krise der politischen Kultur	Dr. Hans-Jochen Vogel, Berlin Prof. Dr. E. Noelle-Neumann, Allensbach	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf, London
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Bonn	72	Wirtschaftspolitik in der Krise? Zur Situation in den Vereinigten Staaten, Großbritannien, Frankreich und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland	Prof. J. Tobin, New Haven/USA Prof. M. Feldstein, Cambridge, Mass./USA Sir Alec Cairncross, Oxford A. A. Walters, London Prof. P. E. Uri, Paris Prof. P. Salin, Paris Prof. A. Gutowski, Hamburg Dr. H. Schulmann, Bonn	Prof. Dr. Herbert Giersch, Kiel
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Zurich				

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1984 75 <i>Moscow</i>	Zukunft Europas: Probleme der politischen und militärischen Entspannung. Perspektiven der politischen und wirtschaftlichen Zusammenarbeit zwischen der UdSSR und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland	Ministerial Director Horst Teltschik, Bonn Wadim W. Sagladin, Moscow	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser, Bonn Juri Shukow, Moscow
76 <i>Rome</i>	Ist die Spaltung Europas das letzte Wort? Europa der Gegensätze auf dem Wege zu sich selbst	Franz Cardinal König, Vienna Helmut Schmidt, Former German Chancellor, Hamburg	Ambassador Prof. Luigi Vittorio Graf Ferraris, Bonn
1985 77	Neue Strukturen für die soziale Sicherheit? Der Sozialstaat an der Wende zum 21. Jahrhundert	Prof. Dr. Helmut Meinhold, Heidelberg Senator Ulf Fink, Berlin Olaf Sund, Former Senator, Düsseldorf	Fides Krause-Brewer, Bonn
78 <i>Bonn</i>	10 Jahre Helsinki – die Herausforderung bleibt	Ambassador R. Burt, American Ambassador to Germany, Bonn Prof. Dr. S. Tichwinskij, Moscow Dr. M. Szürös, Budapest Ambassador Prof. L. V. Graf Ferraris, Italian Ambassador to Germany Bonn Prof. Dr. M. Dobrosielski, Warszaw Ministerial Director H. Teltschik, Bonn	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf, Konstanz
1986 79 <i>Brussels</i>	Findet Europa wieder die Kraft, eine Rolle in der Weltpolitik zu spielen?	President Jacques Delors, Brussels General Secretary Lord Carrington, Brussels Helmut Schmidt, Former German Chancellor, Hamburg	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser, Bonn

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1987 <i>Moskow</i>	81 Die Beziehungen zwischen der Sowjetunion und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Eine mittelfristige Perspektive	Volker Rühle, MdB, Bonn Wadim W. Sagladin, Moscow Egon Bahr, Hamburg	Valentin Falin, Moscow Dr. Theo Sommer, Hamburg
	82 Die Modernität in der Industriegesellschaft – und danach?	Prof. Dr. Hermann Lübke, Zurich	Ambassador Prof. Luigi V. Ferraris, Bonn
	83 Zusammenarbeit als Mittel zur Vertrauensbildung. Die Zukunft der Ost-West-Beziehungen in Europa	Dr. M. Szürös, Budapest Helmut Schmidt, Former German Chancellor, Hamburg Prof. Dr. R. Bogdanow, Moscow Prof. Dr. H. Sonnenfeldt Washington	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser, Bonn
1988 <i>Berlin</i>	84 Systemöffnende Kooperation? Perspektiven zwischen Ost und West	Prof. W. Leonhard, New Haven Prof. Dr. Harry Maier, Flensburg	Jürgen Engert, Berlin
	85 Die ökologische Wende – hat sie noch Chancen?	Dr. H. Frhr. v. Lersner, Berlin State Secretary Alois Glück, Munich	Prof. Dr. Hans Maier, Former Minister of State, Munich
	86 Das gemeinsame europäische Haus – aus der Sicht der Sowjetunion und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland	Wadim W. Sagladin, Moscow Ministerial Director Horst Teltschik, Bonn	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser, Bonn
1989 <i>Dresden</i>	87 Globale Umweltproblematik als gemeinsame Überlebensfrage – neue Kooperationsformen zwischen Ost und West	Prof. W. Mundt, East-Berlin Prof. Dr. W. Haber, Munich	Prof. Dr. Max Schmidt, East-Berlin

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89 <i>Prague</i>	Chancen für die europäische Kultur am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts – Gemeinsamkeiten, Gegensätze, systemübergreifende Kooperationen	Dr. Valtr Komárek, Prague Prof. Dr. Kurt Biedenkopf, Bonn	Dr. Hans Heigert, Munich
1990 90 <i>Dresden</i>	Wie geht es weiter mit den Deutschen in Europa?	Willy Brandt, Former German Chancellor, Bonn Konsistorialpräsident Dr. Manfred Stolpe, Berlin-Brandenburg Minister-President Dr. Lothar Späth, Stuttgart	Sir Ralf Dahrendorf, Oxford
91 <i>Moscow</i>	Europa im Aufbruch – auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Friedensordnung	Wadim W. Sagladin, Moscow Ministerial Director Horst Teltschik, Bonn	State Secretary Dr. Andreas Meyer-Landrut, Bonn
1991 92 <i>Moscow</i>	Perestrojka: Kontinuität, Ende oder Wende?	Prof. W. Wladislawlew, Moscow Dr. F. W. Christians, Düsseldorf	Sir Ralf Dahrendorf, Oxford
93 <i>Berlin</i>	Nach dem "Sozialismus": Wie geht es weiter mit den neuen Demokratien in Europa?	Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Former Prime Minister, Warsaw Sir Ralf Dahrendorf, Oxford	Prof. Dr. Hans Maier, Munich
1992 94 <i>Dresden</i>	Wege zur inneren Einheit – was trennt die Deutschen nach der Überwindung der Mauer?	Minister-President Prof. Dr. Kurt Biedenkopf, Dresden Wolfgang Thierse, MdB, Bonn	Dr. Brigitte Seebacher-Brandt, Bonn

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95 <i>Paris</i>	Welche Antworten gibt Europa auf die neuen Einwanderungswellen? Politische Voraussetzungen, gesellschaftliche Folgen	Willy Brandt, Former German Chancellor, Bonn President Jacques Delors, Brussels	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser, Bonn
96 <i>Tallinn</i>	Zwischen Integration und nationaler Eigenständigkeit: wie findet Europa zusammen?	Jim Hoagland, Washington Dr. Krenzler, Brussels President Lennart Meri, Tallinn Ambassador T. Örn, Swedish Ambassador to Germany, Bonn Minister of State B. Schmidbauer, Bonn	State Secretary Dr. Andreas Meyer-Landrut, Bonn
97 <i>Kiev</i>	Energiesicherheit für ganz Europa? Technische Voraussetzungen – wirtschaftliche Bedingungen – politische Aufgaben	Dr. Hermann Krämer, Hannover Minister Prof. W. Skljarrow, Kiev Helga Steeg, Paris Prof. Dr. Y. Rudenko, Moscow	State Secretary Dr. Andreas Meyer-Landrut, Bonn
1993 <i>Berlin</i>	98 Orientierungskrise in Politik und Gesellschaft? Perspektiven der Demokratie an der Schwelle zum 21. Jahrhundert	Dr. Antje Vollmer, Bielefeld Prof. Dr. Wolf Lepenies, Berlin	Jürgen Engert, Berlin
99 <i>Ditchley Park</i>	Will the West survive the disintegration of the East? Political and economic challenges facing America and Europe	Senator Bill Bradley Washington, D.C. Dr. W. F. van Eekelen, Brussels Dr. H.-G. Poettering, Strasbourg	Lord Ralf Dahrendorf, Oxford
100 <i>Dresden</i>	Wieviel Gemeinsinn braucht die liberale Gesellschaft?	Minister-President Prof. Dr. Kurt Biedenkopf, Dresden Prof. Dr. Albert O. Hirschman, Princeton/USA	Prof. Dr. Dieter Grimm, Karlsruhe
1994 <i>St. Petersburg</i>	101 Rußland und der Westen: Internationale Sicherheit und Reformpolitik – Ziele und Mittel der Gestaltung	Minister A. A. Kokoschin, Moscow Federal Minister Volker Rühe, Bonn Prof. A. A. Sobtschak, Mayor of St. Petersburg	State Secretary Dr. Andreas Meyer-Landrut, Bonn

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102 <i>Friedrichroda</i>	Zukunftsfähigkeit von Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft	Dr. Lothar Späth, Jena Leo A. Nefiodow, Sankt Augustin	Jürgen Engert, Berlin
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104 <i>Warsaw</i>	Europa – aber wo liegen seine Grenzen?	Prof. Bronislaw Geremek Warszaw Anders Björck, Stockholm Senator J. François-Poncet, Paris	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser, Bonn
105 <i>Munich</i>	Ein neuer Gesellschaftsvertrag? – Wirtschaftliche Dynamik versus sozialer Zusammenhalt	Federal Minister Horst Seehofer, Bonn Prof. Dr. Barbara Riedmüller, Berlin	Prof. Dr. Hermann Korte, Hamburg
1996 106 <i>Jerusalem</i>	Europe and the Future of the Middle East – an Agenda for Peace	Dr. Mahdi F. Abdul Hadi, Jerusalem Hanan Bar-On, Rehovot Prof. Leonard Hausman, Cambridge/Mass. Jean-Paul Jesse, Tel Aviv (EU) Minister of State Helmut Schäfer, Bonn	Prof. Dr. Michael Stürmer, Ebenhausen
107	Medien – Macht – Politik. Verantwortung in der Demokratie	Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Donsbach, Dresden Senator Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Hoffmann-Riem, Hamburg Dr. Theo Sommer, Hamburg	Thomas Kielinger, Bonn
108 <i>Moscow</i>	Was bewegt Rußland? Der Westen auf der Suche nach einem Partner	Sergej Baburin, Moscow Sir Rodric Braithwaite, London	Dr. Andreas Meyer-Landrut, Former State Secretary, Moscow
1997 109 <i>Istanbul</i>	At the crossroads of geo-politics – Turkey in a changing political environment	Ilter Türkmen, Istanbul Morton Abramowitz, Washington Hans-Ulrich Klose, Bonn	Prof. Dr. Curt Gasteyger, Geneva

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110 <i>Berlin</i>	Wege aus der blockierten Gesellschaft – Perspektiven für die Gestaltung der Zukunft	Dr. h. c. André Leysen, Mortsel Federal Minister Dr. Jürgen Rüttgers, Bonn	Lord Ralf Dahrendorf, London
111 <i>Amsterdam</i>	Wie ist Europa zu sichern? Die Suche nach konzeptioneller Gestaltungskraft	Dr. Ulrich Cartellieri, Frankfurt Sir Christopher Mallaby, London Wolfgang Ischinger, Bonn Marten van Heuven, Washington Frits Bolkestein, The Hague Prof. David P. Calleo, Washington Max Kohnstamm, Brussels Elmar Brok, Brussels/Bielefeld	Prof. Dr. Michael Stürmer, Ebenhausen
1998 112 <i>Leipzig</i>	Wachsende Ungleichheiten – neue Spaltungen? Exklusion als Gefahr für die Bürgergesellschaft	Minister-President Prof. Dr. Kurt Biedenkopf, Dresden Prof. Dr. Heinz Bude, Hbg. Institute for Social Research, Hamburg Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Huber, Bishop of the Lutherian-Protestant Church in Berlin-Brandenburg, Berlin	Prof. Dr. Barbara Riedmüller, Free University of Berlin
113 <i>Baku</i>	Energie und Geostrategie im kaspischen Raum – Akteure, Interessen, Konfliktpotentiale	Dr. Terry D. Adams, Monument Oil and Gas plc, London Ambassador Vafa Goulizade, Azerbaijan, Baku Paul Haseldonckx, DEMINEX GmbH, Essen State Secretary of the Foreign Office Dr. Hans-Friedrich von Ploetz, Bonn	Dr. Andreas Meyer-Landrut, Former State Secretary, Daimler-Benz AG, Moscow

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1999 <i>Magdeburg</i>	114 Welche gesellschaftliche Wertigkeit hat der Sport?	Prof. Dr. Hans Lenk, University of Karlsruhe Herbert Riehl-Heyse, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich Prof. Dr. Jürgen Palm, Deutscher Sportbund, Heusenstamm	Prof. Dr. Hermann-Anders Korte, University of Hamburg
	115 Neue Dimensionen des Politischen? Herausforderungen für die repräsentative Demokratie <i>Berlin</i>	Prof. Dr. Antonia Grunenberg, Berlin Former Federal Minister Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger, MdB, Berlin	Prof. Dr. Jutta Limbach, Federal Constitutional Court, Karlsruhe
	116 Russland in Europa: Zehn Jahre nach dem Kalten Krieg – Politische und wirtschaftliche Herausforderungen <i>Moscow</i>	State Secretary of the Foreign Office Wolfgang Ischinger, Berlin Oleg Morosow, Fraction Russian Regions, Duma, Moscow Dr. Ulrich Cartellieri, Deutsche Bank AG, Frankfurt Andrej A. Kokoschin, Centre for Problems of the Russian National Security, Moscow	Dr. Andreas Meyer-Landrut, DaimlerChrysler AG, Moscow
2000 <i>Berlin</i>	117 Modell Deutschland: Reif für die Globalisierung? Zum Verhältnis von Politik und Ökonomie	Dr. Henning Scherf, President of the City Council, Bremen Prof. Dr. Carl Christian v. Weizsäcker, University of Cologne	Dr. Klaus v. Dohnanyi, Former Mayor of Hamburg
	118 Ein föderatives Europa? Das politische Gesicht Europas im Zuge der Erweiterung <i>Berlin</i>	Sylvie Goulard, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI), Paris Prof. Dr. Klaus Hänsch, MdEP, Brussels Dr. Jerzy Kranz, Foreign Office, Warsaw	Prof. Dr. Rudolf von Thadden, University of Göttingen

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119 <i>Beijing</i>	China: Partner in der Weltwirtschaft	Prof. Yang Qixian Minister Zheng Silin Minister Wang Chunzheng Vizeminister Shen Jueren Prof. Dr. Zhu Min Shi Mingde Song Jian Dr. Konrad Seitz Dr. Horst Teltschik Dr. Martin Posth	President Mei Zhaorong, Beijing Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser, Berlin
2001 120 <i>Berlin</i>	Verhandlungsdemokratie? Politik des Möglichen – Möglichkeiten der Politik	Prof. Dr. Dieter Grimm Dr. Annette Fugmann-Heesing	Prof. Robert Leicht, Hamburg
121 <i>Helsinki</i>	The Baltic Sea – a Region of Prosperity and Stability? Prospects and Limits of a Regional Policy in North-Eastern Europe	Bertel Haarder Ambassador Dr. Artur J. Kuznetsov Alar J. Rudolf Olljum Hans Olsson Timo Summa Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr. Erkki Tuomioja State Minister Dr. Christoph Zöpel	Minister Dr. Jaako Iloniemi, Helsinki
122 <i>Moscow</i>	Russia's European Dimension and the Challenges to World Politics	—	Sergej W. Jastrschembskij, Moscow Dr. Sergej A. Karaganow, Moscow

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2002 <i>Belgrade</i>	123 The Future of Southeast Europe – Towards European Integration	Andy Bearpark Dr. Erhard Busek Nebojša Čović, Bozidar Djelić, Dr. Alexandra Jovičević Dr. Herwig Kempf Gerald Knaus Dr. Wolfgang Petritsch Goran Svilanović	Martti Ahtisaari, Helsinki Dr. Erhard Busek, Brussels
<i>Berlin</i>	124 Contours of a “New World Order”? – American and European Perspectives	Prof. Dr. Egon Bahr Prof. John L. Hirsch Dr. Peter W. Singer Prof. Paul W. Schroeder Prof. Georges-Henri Soutou Karsten D. Voigt, Prof. Dr. Norbert Walter Prof. Samuel F. Wells Jr.	Lord Ralf Dahrendorf
<i>Hamburg</i>	125 Reinventing Europe – Cultural Dimensions of Widening and Deepening	Prof. Dr. Héléne Ahrweiler Prof. Dr. Üstün Ergüder Monika Griefahn, MdB Prof. Yudhishtir Raj Isar Hywel Ceri Jones Prof. Dr. Karl Schlögel Dr. Gary Smith Gijs de Vries	Ambassador Otto von der Gablentz, The Hague



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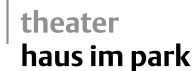
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Program Manager	Julia Steets Thomas Weihe
Address	Bergedorf Round Table Berlin Office of the Körber Foundation Neustädtische Kirchstraße 8 D-10117 Berlin Phone: +49 · 30 · 20 62 67 -60 Fax: +49 · 30 · 20 62 67 -67 E-Mail: bg@stiftung.koerber.de www.bergedorfer-gespraechskreis.de

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