

ANNEX

Participants



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Quarterly; since 1995 economic advisor to government officials in seven FSU countries, incl. former advisor to the Ukrainian Prime Minister and to the President of the Ukrainian National Bank (1995–98); advisor to the Polish Parliament; economic advisor to the Civil Platform (since 2003).

Selected Writings: Failure of the IMF in Preventing Currency Crises in CIS Countries (co-author) and The Russian Currency Crisis of 1998, in: Marek Dabrowski, Currency crises in Emerging Markets (2003); Monetary Expansion and Its Influence on Inflation Performance in Transition Economies, in: Marek Dabrowski, Disinflation in Transition Economies by (2003); Belarussian Economy, from market to plan, 1995–2000, co-author and co-editor (forthcoming).

Pages: 40, 53



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Head of the European Commission's Delegation to Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus, Kiev; former Head of Delegations of the European Commission to Morocco, Brazil and Egypt; joined the European Commission in 1978; former member of the British Diplomatic Service.

Pages: 39, 45, 57, 64



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Chairman, Alliance Our Moldova, Chisinau; member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (Liberal, Democratic and Reformers' Group); former Prime

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Pages: 53, 92



Ambassador

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Ambassador Extraordinary Plenipotentiary of the Ukraine, Kiev; former Deputy Foreign Minister of the Ukraine, responsible for ques-

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Pages: 30, 48, 60



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Selected writings: Moldova Within the Emerging Euro-Atlantic Security order, in: European Perspectives for the Republic of Moldova (2004); *The Creation of Political Parties and the Institutions of Civil Society;*

Their Relations with Military Structures on Ensuring the Security Of Post Communist Countries (1996).
Pages: 36, 62, 93



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Selected Writings: Ein ausgewogener Gesamtkompromiss: Die Ergebnisse des Konvents aus Sicht der Bundesregierung in: Integration (2003).

Pages: 38, 60, 85, 91



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Deputy Chairman, SPD Parliamentary Group, responsible for Foreign, Security and Development Policy and Human Rights, Berlin; Coordinator of the German-Russian Co-

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Selected writings: Global Monopoly. Weltpolitik nach dem Ende der Sowjetunion (1998).

Pages: 46, 69, 74, 78, 87



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Selected writings: Passions after Nationalism (2004), Making of Modern Ukrainian Nation (2000).

Pages: 26, 49, 74



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Pages: 42, 83, 86, 88



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Pages: 37, 52, 63, 83



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Selected writings: Armenia: Problems of Independent Development (1998).

Pages: 43, 64, 76, 87



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Rector, European Humanities University, Minsk; lifetime member of the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus; member of the Euro-

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Selected Writings: Die Russische Idee als Versuch der Selbstidentifikation (1993), Contemporary Philosophical Hermeneutics (1984).

Pages: 33, 51, 74



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Selected Writings: "Issue of Corruption in Ukraine: Promoting Public Resistance to Corruption and Reducing Corruption Opportunities", in: Countering Corruption: Role of Civil Society (2000), Ukrainian Business Elites. Part 1: the Parliament (2000).

Pages: 49, 61, 92



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Selected writings: Wladimir Putin. The German in the Kremlin (2000).

Pages: 39, 42, 53, 65, 80



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Selected writings: Die Erweiterung der Europäischen Union- Und was kommt danach? (2003).

Pages: 60, 72, 82, 83, 86, 91



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Selected writings: Scheitert der Westen? Deutschland und die neue Weltordnung (2003), Mitten im Leben (2001).

Pages: 70, 82



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European University Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder; winner of the Sigmund-Freud-Prize (2004), the Dehio-Prize (2004), the European Anna Krüger Prize of the Berlin

Institute for Advanced Study (1999) and the Charles Veillon European Essay Prize (1990).

Selected writings: Im Raume lesen wir die Zeit. Über Zivilisationsgeschichte und Geopolitik (2003), Die Mitte liegt Ostwärts. Europa im Übergang (2002), Berlin, Ostbahnhof Europas. Russen und Deutsche in ihrem Jahrhundert (1998).

Pages: 44, 66, 82



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Associate Professor, Department of History, Yale University; winner of the George Louis Beer Prize; former Academy Scholar, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, Harvard University; former British Marshall Scholar, University of Oxford.

Selected writings: The Road to Nowhere: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999 (2003); The Wall around the West: State Borders and Immigration Controls in Europe and North America (co-ed.) (2000); Nationalism, Marxism and Modern Central Europe: A Biography of Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz 1872–1905 (1997).

Pages: 39, 41, 65



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Pages: 47, 61, 62, 67, 87



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Pages: 68, 85, 88



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President, Institut universitaire de hautes études internationales/Graduate Institute of International Studies (HEI), Geneva; Visiting Professor, College of Europe, Bruges;

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

Pages: 26, 30, 34, 36, 37, 45, 54, 55, 59, 62, 69, 74, 75, 76, 88, 93



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Former President of the Federal Republic of Germany (1984–1994); former Governing Mayor of West Berlin (1981–1984); former Vice President of the German Parliament (1969–1981); 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 Awards (1994); Chairman of the Bergedorf Round Table of the Körber Foundation.

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

Pages: 24, 73, 85, 94



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Pages: 50, 55



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Pages: 34, 51

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Glossary

Barcelona Process

The “Barcelona Declaration,” signed in 1995 between the EU states and their Mediterranean neighbors, lays down the goals of a European-Mediterranean partnership also known as the Barcelona Process. The declaration includes three areas of cooperation: promoting a peaceful and stable region through political and security dialog; a zone of economic cooperation by gradually integrating the region in a free-trade agreement; and tolerance and exchange among civil societies through social and cultural partnerships. The Barcelona Process is to be implemented both bilaterally, through the Euro-Mediterranean Association Agreement, and multilaterally through regional cooperation. The process is financed by the EU finance arm MEDA and loans from the European Investment Bank. Two states involved in the Barcelona Process, Malta and Cyprus, joined the EU in 2004. Today the Process includes 35 states—the 25 EU members and 10 Mediterranean states (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestinian Authority, Syria, Tunisia). Libya has had observer status since UN sanctions against it were suspended in 1999, and is to be fully integrated after it accepts the *acquis* of the Barcelona Process. Turkey is included as an EU accession candidate. The states of the Barcelona Process are a target region of the → European Neighborhood Policy.

http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/euromed/

Belarus

After almost 70 years as a Soviet republic, Belarus became an independent state in 1991. The constitution of 1994, amended in 1996 and 2004, defines Belarus as a “unitary, democratic, social state based on the rule of law” and with a presidential form of government. More than any other former Soviet state, Be-

larus has aligned itself politically and economically with Russia. For its part, Moscow uses its economic links with Belarus, especially the country’s dependence on Russian energy supplies, to exert influence which is sometimes overtly political. On December 8, 1999, the Presidents of Belarus and Russia signed a treaty of union between their two states. At present, however, only the treaty’s defense and customs provisions have been implemented. Together with Russia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan, Belarus founded the → Single Economic Space in September 2003. Market economic reforms were quashed by President Aleksandr → Lukashenko in favor of central economic control. The forced closure of Minsk’s European Humanistic University in the summer of 2004 reinforced Belarus’ reputation as Europe’s last dictatorship. In October 2004, the US House of Representatives passed the “Belarus Democracy Act” authorizing support for democratic opposition groups in the country. President Lukashenko has cool ties with the West, but maintains active relations with North Korea, Sudan, and Libya. Belarus is still afflicted by the effects of the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster, which took place close to its border with Ukraine.

EU Enlargement

According to Article 49 of the Treaty of Maastricht that came into force in 1993, every European country that fulfils the basic tenets of liberty and democracy, human rights, fundamental freedoms, and rule of law, may file a petition to become a member of the European Union. Also in 1993, the EU heads of state and government laid down the basic conditions for membership in detail in the form of the so-called → Copenhagen Criteria. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), founded in 1951 by Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg,

and the Netherlands, was renamed the European Community (EC) in 1957. Denmark, Ireland, and Britain joined in the first round of enlargement in 1973. With the accession of Spain and Portugal in 1986, the EC gained a southern dimension. As a result of German reunification in 1990, the former East Germany became the first state of the former Soviet bloc to enter the EC, which, through the treaty of Maastricht in 1992–3, was renamed the European Union. In 1995, Austria, Sweden, and Finland joined the EU. With the so-called eastern enlargement in 2004, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia all joined, increasing the EU's size to 25 states with a total population of 450 million people. Bulgaria and Romania are due to accede in 2007. Additional accession negotiations are being conducted with Croatia and Turkey. The Southeast European Stability Pact, established in 1999, gives the Balkan states of Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Serbia and Montenegro the long-term prospect of complete EU integration. The countries of Eastern Europe (→ Belarus, → Ukraine, and → Moldova), the South Caucasus (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia), and the Barcelona Process states (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestinian Authority, Syria, and Tunisia), which form a kind of southern and eastern ring around the EU, are being offered a prospect of privileged partnership instead of full membership within the framework of the → European Neighborhood Policy. A → strategic partnership already exists with Russia. The European countries of Andorra, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Monaco, Norway, San Marino, Switzerland, and Vatican City maintain close bilateral ties to the EU and do not have any intention at present of entering a petition to join.

http://europa.eu.int/pol/enlarg/overview_de.htm

European Neighborhood Policy

In March 2003, the European Commission, seeking to prevent the building of new walls at the EU's new frontiers, produced the initiative "Wider Europe—Neighborhood: A New Framework for Relations with our Eastern and Southern Neighbors," which formed the core of the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP). Instead of the prospect of accession, it offers neighboring states privileged partnership on the basis of rule of law, market economy, good governance, sustainable development, and respect for human rights. The strengthening and deepening of political, economic, and cultural cooperation is to lead to greater stability, security, and prosperity for all concerned. In addition, the EU neighbors are offered access to EU programs and, later, integration in the EU common market. In July 2003, the Commission ordered the establishment of a Wider Europe Task Force for the coordination and conception of the ENP. The Commission's strategy paper, presented on May 12, 2004, on "European Neighborhood Policy" formulates the ENP's principles and methods of implementation, as well as its geographical framework. It names 16 states in the EU's neighborhood: Belarus, Ukraine, and Moldova in the east, Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestinian Authority, Syria, and Tunisia (also known as the → Barcelona Process states) in the south, and Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia in the South Caucasus. The incorporation of → Belarus into the ENP has been postponed because of the authoritarian regime there. Anticipating the end of Libya's political isolation, the Commission is planning to incorporate the country in the Barcelona Process and, in the medium term, in the ENP as well. Within the framework of the ENP, previous forms of European regional and subregional cooperation (TACIS, PHARE, MEDA, INTERREG, CARDS) are to be

integrated into individual neighborhood programs by 2006 and developed further. On the basis of so-called country reports, bilateral accords or “action plans” are to be agreed for the next 3 to 5 years. In the longer term, the → Partnership and Cooperation Agreements and Association Agreements that already exist with certain states are to be replaced by European Neighborhood pacts. The financing for these projects is to be augmented beginning in 2007 and implemented through the European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI).

http://europa.eu.int/comm/world/enp/index_en.htm

Kaliningrad

The Russian administrative region (oblast) of Kaliningrad and its eponymous capital city belonged to the German territories occupied by the Soviet Union. In the 1990 2+4 Treaty, the Federal Republic of Germany renounced all claims to territory east of the Oder-Neisse line, thereby recognizing Kaliningrad as part of the Soviet Union. When the Baltic republics became independent in 1991, Kaliningrad became a Russian enclave. Kaliningrad’s physical isolation and socioeconomic disparity from its surroundings were intensified when Poland and Lithuania joined NATO in 1999 and 2004 respectively, and the EU on May 1, 2004. In making Kaliningrad a “pilot region” for relations between the EU and Russia, the two sides agreed streamlined visa requirements for Russian citizens there. As a year-round ice-free seaport, Kaliningrad holds considerable importance for the Russian economy, yet is marked by significant economic, ecological, and social problems such as the spread of HIV/AIDS. The region, with a population of 970,000, is generally considered the “poorhouse of Europe.” When it celebrates its 750th anniversary in 2005, Kaliningrad will surely enter the European public consciousness to a greater extent.

Kuchma, Leonid

born 1938

In 1994 Leonid Kuchma was elected President of → Ukraine, and won a second term in 1999. He did not run in 2004. According to the Ukrainian constitution, the president is the guarantor of the constitution, the country’s sovereignty, and its territorial integrity, as well as of civil rights and freedoms. Also, he is commander-in-chief of the armed forces and chairs the national security- and defense councils. A trained engineer, Kuchma rose through management positions into the elite of the Communist Party. From 1990 to 1992 he was a member of the Ukrainian parliament; he became Prime Minister in 1992 before resigning his office in 1993 to run for the presidency. Kuchma’s record as president is mixed. His political convergence with the West in the 1990s, marked by a stabilized foreign policy, liberal treatment of ethnic minorities, abolition of the death penalty and closure of the Chernobyl nuclear plant, was accompanied by economic decline. The economy has been growing again since 2000, but Kuchma came under increasing political pressure in the course of several scandals. Critics also point out gross infringements on press freedoms, and accuse him of involvement in the kidnap and murder of journalist Heorhiy Gongadze in 2000. Since then, Kuchma has sought the support of the Moscow establishment.

Viktor Yanukovich was initially declared victor over his more pro-Western rival Viktor Yushchenko in the race to succeed Leonid Kuchma as president. Yanukovich had the explicit support of both Kuchma and Russian President Vladimir Putin. Allegations of gross electoral fraud led to mass protests that resulted in a re-run of the election (“Orange Revolution”), from which Yushchenko emerged as the clear winner. Kuchma had previ-

ously withdrawn his unconditional support for Yanukovich.

Lukachenko, Alexandr G.

born 1954

In 1994, Aleksandr Lukashenko, a former secretary of the CPSU and director of a kolkhoz (agricultural collective), became President of the Republic of Belarus and elected to a second term on 2001. In a referendum in 2004, an amendment to the constitution was approved that enabled Lukashenko to seek a third term in 2006. Electoral observers from the OSCE pointed out gross irregularities in the voting. Lukashenko is also commander in chief of the armed forces and chairs the Security Council of the Republic of Belarus. His foreign policy is warm toward Russia and antagonistic toward the EU. He suppressed market economic reforms. In the Western media, Lukashenko is characterized as Europe's last dictator.

Moldova

In 1991, the formerly Romanian province of Moldova, which had been under Soviet control for almost 50 years, became independent. The Moldovan language is identical to Romanian; many people there also hold Romanian citizenship. The Republic of Moldova is a parliamentary democracy. Its head of state is the communist Vladimir Voronin, who was elected president in 2001. Politically, Moldova, which lies between Ukraine and Romania and has a population of 4.4 million, consists of three parts. First, the separatist "Republic of → Transnistria," the autonomous region of Gagauzia, and the rest of the republic. The Gagauz, an ethnic Turkic, orthodox people, were granted a high degree of autonomy. As late as 1990, Moldova was the most prosperous Soviet republic and was regarded in the West as a pioneer of

market economic reforms. Since then the economic situation has greatly deteriorated. A quarter of the Moldovan population lives abroad. These people's cash transfers home amount to more than the country's GDP. Important pillars of Moldovan foreign relations are European integration and strong regional cooperation with neighboring states, chiefly with Romania. Moldova has been a member of the Stability Pact for South East Europe since 1999. In 1998, Moldova and the EU signed a → Partnership and Cooperation Agreement—PCA, when exports to EU states accounted for 36.1% of all exports. Moldova has also been a member of the GUUAM group, founded in 1997, largely due to US pressure. However, resurgent communist traditions and the ethnic conflicts within the country have prevented it from integrating more strongly into European structures.

NATO enlargement

Article 10 of the 1949 Washington Treaty states that any European country that contributes to security in the Euro-Atlantic zone can become a NATO member state if its accession has the unanimous support of all countries in the alliance and it is prepared to assume all requirements placed on members. Also, a potential NATO member should have sufficient military capabilities, be prepared to take on military duties, have put aside ethnic and territorial conflicts, and uphold economic liberty, social justice, and ecological responsibility. In practice, individual countries' aptitude for accession, the preferences of individual NATO members, and regional stability requirements often stood at odds with one another, so that the acceptance of Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary in 1999, for example, was ultimately a political decision.

After the NATO accessions of Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia

in 2004, NATO encompassed a total of 26 states. To the club of 12 founding members (USA; Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Portugal, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Luxembourg, and Canada) were added Turkey and Greece in 1952, West Germany in 1954, and Spain in 1982. Presently, Albania, Croatia, and Macedonia are members of the “NATO Membership Action Plan” (MAP), which assists potential accession candidates in reaching NATO standards and prepares them for later membership. NATO maintains partnership relationships with its eastern neighbors Russia and → Ukraine. Since 1997, The NATO-Russia Council or NRC has existed to promote dialog over security policy challenges and close cooperation in areas of common interests. Russia, both under Yeltsin and Putin, has been very critical of NATO’s eastward enlargement. Since 9/11, cooperation in the fight against terrorism has gained importance and Russia’s influence within the NATO-Russia Council has grown.

<http://www.nato.int/issues/enlargement/index.html>

Northern Dimension of the EU

When Sweden and Finland joined the European Union as part of the → EU enlargement in 1995, their 1300 kilometer common border with Russia gave a new importance to regional cooperation in northern Europe. In 1997 at the EU summit in Luxembourg, Finland outlines the strategy of a northern regional cooperation or Northern Dimension, meant to deal with the region’s special challenges (hard climate, great distances, social-geographical disparities, environmental problems). The Northern Dimension of the EU stretches from Iceland in the west through the Norwegian Sea to the Kara Sea in the east, from the Barents Sea in the north to the southern shores of the Baltic, and therefore including—besides Iceland—Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Ger-

many, Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Russia. After an incremental development of the Finnish initiative, the 2000 EU summit in Santa da Feira approved the “Action Plan for the Northern Dimension in the External and Cross-Border Policies of the European Union.” It provides for more intense cooperation between the EU states, accession candidates, and Russia in the areas of economics, the environment, nuclear security, energy, → Kaliningrad, infrastructure, legislative- and domestic policy, and social development. It is being implemented within the EU financing instruments PHARE, TACIS, INTERREG, SAPARD, and ISPA. The Northern Dimension focuses on transnational societal cooperation, involving regional institutions, the private sector, and international financial institutions. Since the 2004 → EU enlargement, the Northern Dimension includes eight EU states bordering the Baltic Sea.

http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/north_dim/

Single Economic Space

In 2003 at the CIS summit in Yalta, the presidents of Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan signed an agreement to establish a “single economic space” (Russian acronym EEP). The goal of the EEP is to gradually integrate the national economies into a common market for goods, services, capital and labor within the next five to seven years. The EEP was implemented through bilateral treaties adjusted to the norms and rules of the World Trade Organization. All signatory states seek to become WTO members in the medium term. Compared to multilateral associations such as the CIS and the Eurasian Economic Community, the structure of the EEP calls for closer cooperation among international and supranational elements that are to grow more integrated and hand over elements of sovereignty to a unified regulatory body. Largely because of

these structural parallels with the European Union, the EEP is often referred to as an “eastern EU.” EEP signatories emphasize that organization is open to accession by other CIS states while maintaining an exclusively economic character and not seeking to establish any forum for political integration in the post-Soviet region. However, the various signatories hold differing opinions regarding the depth of integration. With the exception of Belarus, most CIS states hope to join the EU and NATO in the long term and thus evolve towards Western structures, rather than attaching themselves solely to a resurgent Russia.

Strategic Partnership of the EU with Russia

The 1997 → Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) between Russia and the European Union forms the basis for their so-called “strategic partnership.”

The PCA says the foundations of the strategic partnership are common values, primarily rule of law, human rights and basic freedoms, and the market economy. Main goals are to foster economic and political stability in Russia and to continue solidifying bilateral ties between Russia and the EU. Within the framework of the PCA the European Council concluded an EU “Common Strategy on Russia” in 1999, which lists four core goals of bilateral relations: 1) integrating Russia into a common European economic and social space; 2) continuing the political dialog to strengthen democracy in Russia; 3) improving cooperation in matters of security and stability in Europe; and 4) cooperating in common challenges, including energy policy and environmental protection. It maintains that a dynamically developing European continent requires constant adjustment in the formulation of new goals in the partnership. Shortly before the 2004 EU enlargement, for exam-

ple, Russia agreed to extend the PCA accord to the new member states and to renounce the economic advantages stemming from existing bilateral agreements with those countries. In return, the EU agreed to compromises in Russian export quotas. On the issue of → Kaliningrad, so far only the transit of people has been agreed. Issues in the movement of goods and services and energy supply have yet to be settled. Within the PCA and the “Wider Europe” initiative, the EU and Russia agreed on November 6, 2003, i.e. before the EU’s eastward enlargement, to establish four “common spaces” for the economy, domestic security, external security, and research, culture, and education. However, signs are increasing that despite geographic and economic convergence there remains important differences in the area of political values. By curtailing democracy and civil rights, the Russian government under President Vladimir Putin has increasingly been taking on authoritarian traits. Another problem in EU-Russian relations is the Chechen conflict. On the other hand, Russia has signed the Kyoto Protocol, thereby fulfilling a central EU request.

http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/russia/intro/index.htm

Transnistria

The part of Moldova that lies east of the Dniestr River, known as the Transnistrian Moldovan Republic, is a separatist region with Tiraspol as its capital. When Moldova became independent in 1991, Transnistria, under the Soviet general Igor Smirnov, declared its independence from Moldova over fears the former Soviet republic would seek reunification with neighboring Romania. Russian troops remained in Transnistria and ended the undeclared war between Moldova and Transnistria in 1992—to the latter’s advantage. Transnistria

is not internationally recognized but is a *de facto* independent state and has its own state structures (government, parliament, army, constitution, social welfare system, etc.) Of its 633,600 inhabitants (as of 2004), 34% are Moldovan, 28% Ukrainian, and 28% Russian. Large Russian weapons and munitions depots remain in Transnistria to this day, as do some 2,500 Russian troops, because Moscow says they are necessary to guard the weapons and ammunition depots. They are also stationed in a strategically important area well to the west of Russia's present borders. Transnistrian separatism also has origins other than the region's strong Russian population, however. Between the World Wars and during World War II, the Transnistrian region belonged to various states as the remainder of present-day Moldovan territory. Transnistria's leadership is criticized by the West as mafia-like. Transnistria is considered a freeway for criminals. Western experts say that, due to the high concentration of Russian weaponry and its own weapons production, Transnistria is a center of arms smuggling, international terrorists and organized crime. The Transnistria problem prevents Moldova both from exercising control over its complete territory and fully accomplishing its international commitments.

Ukraine

Before Ukraine became a Soviet Republic in 1922, its territory was long contested by various regional powers, especially Poland, the Habsburg Monarchy, and the Ottoman Empire. Ukraine gained independence in 1991. The country (2004 pop. 47.7 million) borders on → Belarus to the north, Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary to the west, Romania and → Moldova to the southwest, and Russia to the northeast. The military port of Sevastopol is leased to the Russian Black Sea Fleet. Western Ukraine is more closely as-

sociated with Europe, while Ukraine's Orthodox and industrial eastern and coastal regions have stronger ties with Russia. However, this division should not be considered strictly.

Ukraine's economy consists mainly of agriculture, mining, and heavy industry. After a period of decline in the 1990s, Ukraine's economy began growing again in 2000. However, this growth was based largely on state intervention in the price system and has been accompanied by high inflation. The majority of the population has remained poor. The country remains dependent on Russian energy supplies. Russian private and state-controlled corporations are investing heavily in Ukrainian firms.

In security terms, Ukraine occupies an important position between Russia and the European Union. The popular disturbances that many prophesied after independence because of the state's homogeneous makeup never materialized. The large Soviet nuclear arsenal stationed in Ukraine was transported to Russia. Ukraine initially sought a diplomatically neutral position between Russia and the West. To gain some economic independence from its main trading partner Russia, Ukraine helped found the GUUAM association of states in 1997. The 1997 NATO-Ukraine Charter laid the foundation for a special partnership between → NATO and Ukraine. Ukraine was also the first CIS state to sign the Partnership for Peace (PfP) with NATO in 1994. Since September 2003, Ukraine has committed 1800 soldiers to pacify and rebuild postwar Iraq. At the Ukraine-EU summit in 2004 the two sides agreed to devise an Action Plan within the framework of the → European Neighborhood Policy. President → Kuchma, who has come under increasing suspicion of corruption and other crimes, has turned to Moscow for support. In 2003, together with the presidents of Belarus, Kazakhstan, and

Russia, Kuchma signed the basic accords for the establishment of a → Single Economic Space.

After a dramatic presidential election campaign and widespread protests against electoral fraud, the opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko won a December repeat of the October 2004 election against Viktor Yanukovych, who was supported by both President Leonid Kuchma and Russian Vladimir Putin. Yushchenko has declared Ukrainian EU membership a strategic goal.

<http://www.botschaft-ukraine.de/>

www.guam.org

<http://www.nato.int/issues/nato-ukraine/index.html>
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	2 Kulturkrise in der industriellen Gesellschaft	Prof. Dr. Erik von Sivers	Prof. Dr. Fritz Voigt
	3 Glanz und Elend der Entwicklungshilfe	Prof. Dr. Fritz Baade, MdB	Dr. Günther Buch
	4 Welche Fragen stellt uns die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung im Osten?	Prof. D. Helmut Gollwitzer	Prof. Dr. Eugen Kogon
1962	5 Die Fragwürdigkeit der Bildungspolitik	Dr. Rüdiger Altmann	Josef Müller-Marein
	6 Die Erziehung zum Europäer	Stéphane Hessel	François Bondy
	7 Die Bewältigung des Preis-Lohn-Problems	Prof. Dr. Theodor Pütz	Prof. Dr. Gottfried Bombach
	8 Die Preis-Lohn-Dynamik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland	Dr. Hans-Constantin Paulssen	Prof. Dr. Fritz Voigt
1963	9 Maschine—Denkmaschine—Staatsmaschine	Prof. Dr. Pierre Bertaux	Prof. Dr. Arnold Gehlen
	10 Kybernetik als soziale Tatsache	Prof. Dr. O. W. Haseloff	Dr. h. c. Freiherr von Stackelberg
	11 Die westliche Gesellschaft und die kommunistische Drohung	Winfried Martini	Prof. Dr. Th. Eschenburg
	12 Wohin treibt die EWG?	U. W. Kitzinger, Roland Delcour	Prof. Dr. Eugen Kogon
1964	13 Planung in der freien Marktwirtschaft	Prof. Dr. Edgar Salin	Prof. Dr. Gottfried Bombach
	14 Wohin Deutschland in Europa?	Prof. Alfred Grosser, Karl Theodor Frhr. zu Guttenberg, MdB	François Bondy
	15 Entwicklungshilfe—Mittel des Aufstiegs oder des Verfalls?	Dr. Walter Rau Dr. E. F. Schumacher	Prof. Dr. Edgar Salin
	16 Industrielle Gesellschaft—menschlich oder unmenschlich?	Prof. Dr. Raymond Aron	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf
1965	17 Vermögensbildung in Arbeitnehmerhand	Prof. Dr. Helmut Meinhold Prof. Dr. H. J. Wallraff	Prof. Dr. Eugen Kogon

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

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	19	Automatisierung—eine gesellschaftliche Herausforderung?	Prof. Dr. Gottfried Bombach Dr. Günter Friedrichs Dr. Kurt Pentzlin	Prof. Dr. Hans Wenke
	20	Ein Dilemma der westlichen Demokratien: Kurzfristige Sozillösungen contra langfristige Regionalpolitik	Prof. Dr. Leo H. Klaassen	Prof. Dr. Edgar Salin
1966	21	Die "unterentwickelten" hochindustrialisierten Gesellschaften	Prof. Dr. Friedrich Heer	Prof. Hellmut Becker
	22	Muss unsere politische Maschinerie umkonstruiert werden?	Dr. Rüdiger Altmann Joseph Rován	Prof. Dr. Eugen Kogon
	23	Wissenschaftliche Experten und politische Praxis—Das Problem der Zusammenarbeit in der heutigen Demokratie	Prof. Dr. Helmut Schelsky Dr. Ulrich Lohmar, MdB	Prof. Hellmut Becker
	24	Ist der Weltfriede unvermeidlich?	Prof. Dr. Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker	Prof. Dr. Edgar Salin
1967	25	Bedroht die Pressekonzentration die freie Meinungsbildung?	Prof. Dr. Helmut Arndt	Prof. Hellmut Becker
	26	Neue Wege zur Hochschulreform	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf, Ph. D.	Prof. Hellmut Becker
	27	Beherrschen die Technokraten unsere heutige Gesellschaft?	Alfred Mozer	Prof. Dr. Eugen Kogon
1968	28	Freiheit als Störfaktor in einer programmierten Gesellschaft	Prof. Dr. Jeanne Hersch	Prof. Dr. Carl-Friedrich v. Weizsäcker, Frhr.
	29	Fördern die Bündnissysteme die Sicherheit Europas?	Prof. Wladimir Chwostow	Prof. Alfred Grosser
	30	Haben wir im entstehenden Europa noch eine Chance für die freie Marktwirtschaft?	Dr. Hans von der Groeben	Prof. Dr. Hans Peter Ipsen
	31	Mögliche und wünschbare Zukünfte	Dr. Robert Jungk	Prof. Hellmut Becker
1969	32	Die Biologie als technische Weltmacht	Prof. Dr. Adolf Portmann	Prof. Dr. Hoimar von Ditfurth
	33	Verstärken oder verringern sich die Bedingungen für Aggressivität?	Prof. Dr. Friedrich Hacker	Prof. Dr. Eugen Kogon

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1970	35	Zugänge zur Friedensforschung	Prof. Dr. Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker Prof. Dr. Richard Löwenthal	Prof. Dr. Karl Carstens
	36	Europäische Sicherheit und Möglichkeit der Zusammenarbeit	Prof. Alfred Grosser Nikolai E. Poljanow	Nikolai E. Poljanow
	37	Demokratisierung der Demokratie?	Prof. Joseph Rován	D. Klaus von Bismarck
1971		Arbeitsgespräch: Aufgabenstellung und Verfahrensfragen einer internationalen Konferenz für Europäische Sicherheit	—	Dr. Franz Karasek
	38	Infrastrukturreform als Innenpolitik—Möglichkeiten, Grenzen, Prioritäten	Ministerpräsident Dr. Helmut Kohl	D. Klaus von Bismarck
	39	Globalsteuerung der Wirtschaft?	Prof. Dr. Gottfried Bombach	Prof. Dr. Herbert Giersch
	40	Der bevollmächtigte Mensch—Kann sich die freie industrielle Gesellschaft zur Stabilität und Reife entwickeln?	Prof. Dr. Dennis Gabor	D. Klaus von Bismarck
1972	41	Sprache und Politik	Kultusminister Prof. Dr. Hans Maier	Prof. Hellmut Becker
		Arbeitsgespräch: Demokratie und Nationalbewusstsein in der Bundesrepublik	Prof. Dr. Richard Löwenthal	François Bondy
	42	Das erweiterte Europa zwischen den Blöcken	Prof. Dr. R. Dahrendorf Jean-Pierre Brunet Sir Con O'Neill	Bundesaußenminister Dr. Rudolf Kirchschläger
	43	Wo bleiben die alten Menschen in der Leistungsgesellschaft?	Prof. Dr. Helge Pross	D. Klaus von Bismarck
1973	44	Die "neue Mitte": Schlagwort oder Strukturwandel?	Dr. Richard v. Weizsäcker, MdB	D. Klaus von Bismarck
	45	Umsteuerung der Industriegesellschaft?	Bundesminister Dr. Hans-Jochen Vogel Dr. Hugo Thiemann	Prof. Dr. Gottfried Bombach

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1974	47 Revolution der Gleichheit— Ende oder Beginn der Freiheit?	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf	D. Klaus von Bismarck
	48 Rohstoff- und Energieverknappung	Prof. Dr. H. B. G. Casimir Dr. Manfred Schäfer	Prof. Dr. Gottfried Bombach
	49 Entwicklungshilfe—eine Illusion?	Prof. Dr. Peter T. Bauer Prof. Dr. Karl-Heinz Sohn	Dr. Max Thurn
1975 <i>Moscow</i>	Arbeitsgespräch: Entspannungspolitik, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Zusammenarbeit	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf Dr. H. Ehrenberg, MdB Dr. Theo Sommer Prof. Dr. C.-F. Frhr. v. Weizsäcker Prof. Dr. G. Arbatow Prof. Dr. O. Bogomolow Schalwa Sanakojew Georgij Shukow	Dr. Kurt A. Körber Lew Tolkunow
	50 Kooperation oder Konfrontation—Stürzt die Wirtschaft in eine weltpolitische Krise?	Bundeskanzler Helmut Schmidt, MdB	Ministerpräsident Gaston Thorn
	51 Welche Zukunft hat die parlamentarische Demokratie westlicher Prägung?	Ministerpräsident Gaston Thorn	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf
<i>Bonn</i>	52 Ordnungspolitik oder Verteilungskampf?	Prof. Dr. Kurt H. Biedenkopf	Dr. Theo Sommer
1976	53 Die Berufsgesellschaft und ihre Bildung	Staatsminister Prof. Dr. Hans Maier	Prof. Dr. Hellmut Becker
	54 Nach der Wahl '76: Welchen Spielraum hat die deutsche Innenpolitik?	—	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf
	55 Entspannungspolitik nach Helsinki	Prof. Dr. G. Arbatow Leonard H. Marks Dr. Theo Sommer Ryszard Wojna	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf
1977 <i>Bonn</i>	56 Ein anderer "Way of Life"—Ist der Fortschritt noch ein Fortschritt?	Dr. E. F. Schumacher	Prof. Dr. Hans K. Schneider
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		Arbeitsgespräch: Alternativenergien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sonnenenergie	Joachim Gretz	Prof. Dr.-Ing. Werner H. Bloss
	60	Europäische Arbeitslosigkeit als Dauerschicksal—oder brauchen wir einen anderen Arbeitsmarkt?	Bundesminister Dr. Volker Hauff, MdB Prof. Dr. Gerhard Fels Prof. Dr. Erich Streissler	Prof. Dr. Gottfried Bombach
	61	Wachstum und Lebensinn—Alternative Rationalitäten?	Prof. Dr. Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf
1979	62	UdSSR und Bundesrepublik Deutschland—wirtschaftliche und politische Perspektiven in den 80er Jahren	Staatsminister Dr. Klaus von Dohnanyi Alexander E. Bowin	Dr. K. A. Körber Boris A. Borrisow
		<i>Moscow</i>		
	63	Jugend und Gesellschaft. Chronischer Konflikt—neue Verbindlichkeiten?	Univ.-Prof. Dr. Leopold Rosenmayr	Staatsminister Prof. Dr. Hans Maier
	64	Weltrezession 1980? Befürchtungen und Hoffnungen	Prof. Dr. Herbert Giersch Bundesbankpräsident Karl Otto Pöhl	Prof. Dr. Hans K. Schneider
1980	65	Der Westen und der Nahe Osten—Krise im Zeichen der islamischen Revolution?	Dr. Arnold Hottinger Prof. Dr. Hans A. Fischer-Barnicol M.A. H. Hobohm	Dr. Udo Steinbach
	66	Europas Sicherheit	Dr. Christoph Bertram Dr. W. R. Smyser	Dr. Theo Sommer
	67	Voraussetzungen und Ziele der Entspannung in den 80er Jahren	W. A. Matweew Prof. Dr. Stanley Hoffmann	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser
1981	68	Der Ausbau des Sozialstaates und das Dilemma des Staatshaushaltes	Prof. Dr. R. Dahrendorf Parl. Staatssekretärin Anke Fuchs	Prof. Dr. Armin Gutowski
	69	Europe and America facing the crises of the 80's	Prof. Dr. R. Dahrendorf Prof. Dr. Stanley Hoffmann	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser
		<i>Washington</i>		
	70	Was bleibt noch vom staatsbürgerlichen Grundkonsens?	Dr. Hans-Jochen Vogel Prof. Dr. E. Noelle-Neumann	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf

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	72 <i>Bonn</i>	Wirtschaftspolitik in der Krise? Zur Situation in den Vereinigten Staaten, Großbritannien, Frankreich und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland	Prof. J. Tobin Prof. M. Feldstein Sir Alec Cairncross A. A. Walters Prof. P. E. Uri Prof. P. Salin Prof. A. Gutowski Dr. H. Schulmann	Prof. Dr. Herbert Giersch
1983	73 <i>Zurich</i>	Die politisch-kulturelle Herausforderung Europas—Ein Weg zur Erneuerung der Industriegesellschaft	Präsident Gaston Thorn	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf
	74 <i>Berlin</i>	Die deutsche Frage—neu gestellt	Regierender Bürgermeister Dr. Richard v. Weizsäcker	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser
1984	75 <i>Moscow</i>	Zukunft Europas: Probleme der politischen und militärischen Entspannung.	Ministerialdirektor Horst Teltschik Wadim W. Sagladin	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser Juri Shukow
	76 <i>Rome</i>	Ist die Spaltung Europas das letzte Wort?	Franz Kardinal König Bundeskanzler a.D. Helmut Schmidt	S. E. Botschafter Prof. Luigi Vittorio Graf Ferraris
1985	77	Neue Strukturen für die soziale Sicherheit?	Prof. Dr. Helmut Meinhold Senator Ulf Fink Senator a.D. Olaf Sund	Fides Krause-Brewer
	78 <i>Bonn</i>	10 Jahre Helsinki—die Herausforderung bleibt	Botschafter R. Burt Prof. Dr. S. Tichwinskij Dr. M. Szürös Botschafter Prof. L. V. Graf Ferraris Prof. Dr. M. Dobrosielski MinDir. H. Teltschik	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf
1986	79 <i>Brussels</i>	Findet Europa wieder die Kraft, eine Rolle in der Weltpolitik zu spielen?	Präsident Jacques Delors Gen.-Sekr. Lord Carrington Bundeskanzler a.D. Helmut Schmidt	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser
	80	Bürger und res publica—die Zukunft der Verantwortung	Staatsminister Prof. Dr. Hans Maier	Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf

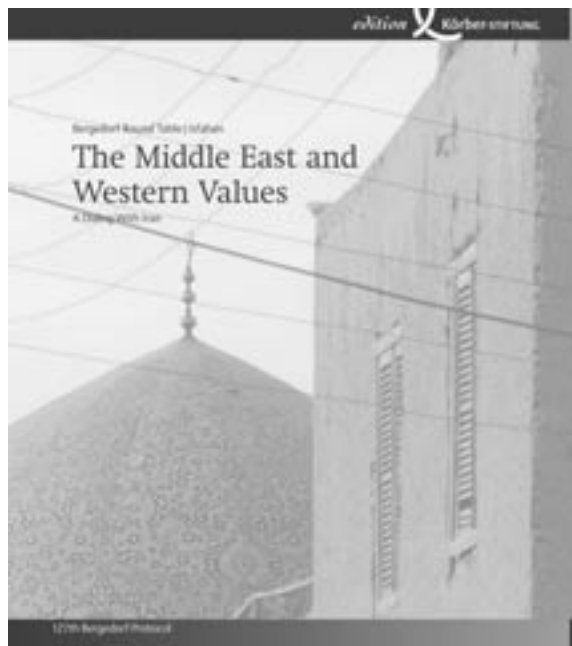
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	82 Die Modernität in der Industriegesellschaft—und danach? <i>Geneva</i>	Prof. Dr. Hermann Lübke	Botschafter Prof. Luigi V. Ferraris
	83 Zusammenarbeit als Mittel zur Vertrauensbildung <i>Budapest</i>	Dr. M. Szürös Bundeskanzler a.D. Helmut Schmidt Prof. Dr. R. Bogdanow Prof. Dr. H. Sonnenfeldt	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser
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	85 Die ökologische Wende—hat sie noch Chancen? <i>Munich</i>	Dr. H. Frhr. v. Lersner Staats. Alois Glück	Staatsminister a.D. Prof. Dr. Hans Maier
	86 Das gemeinsame europäische Haus—aus der Sicht der Sowjetunion und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland <i>Bonn</i>	Wadim W. Sagladin MinDir. Horst Teltschik	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser
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	88 Auf dem Wege zu einem neuen Europa? Perspektiven einer gemeinsamen westlichen Ostpolitik <i>Bonn</i>	Stellvertr. Außenminister Lawrence Eagleburger Bots. Sir Christopher Mallaby MinDir. Horst Teltschik	Sir Ralf Dahrendorf
	89 Chancen für die europäische Kultur am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts <i>Prague</i>	Dr. Valtr Komárek Prof. Dr. Kurt Biedenkopf	Dr. Hans Heigert
1990 <i>Dresden</i>	90 Wie geht es weiter mit den Deutschen in Europa?	Bundeskanzler a.D. Willy Brandt Konsistorialpräsident Dr. Manfred Stolpe Ministerpräsident Dr. Lothar Späth	Sir Ralf Dahrendorf
	91 Europa im Aufbruch—auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Friedensordnung <i>Moscow</i>	Wadim W. Sagladin MinDir. Horst Teltschik	Staatssekretär Dr. Andreas Meyer-Landrut
1991 <i>Moscow</i>	92 Perestrojka: Kontinuität, Ende oder Wende?	Prof. W. Wladislawlew Dr. F. W. Christians	Sir Ralf Dahrendorf
	93 Nach dem "Sozialismus": Wie geht es weiter mit den neuen Demokratien in Europa? <i>Berlin</i>	Ministerpräsident a.D. Tadeusz Mazowiecki Sir Ralf Dahrendorf	Prof. Dr. Hans Maier

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1992 94 <i>Dresden</i>	Wege zur inneren Einheit	Ministerpräsident Prof. Dr. Kurt Biedenkopf Wolfgang Thierse, MdB	Dr. Brigitte Seebacher-Brandt
95 <i>Paris</i>	Welche Antworten gibt Europa auf die neuen Einwanderungswellen?	Bundeskanzler a.D. Willy Brandt Präsident Jacques Delors	Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser
96 <i>Tallinn</i>	Zwischen Integration und nationaler Eigenständigkeit: wie findet Europa zusammen?	Jim Hoagland Dr. Krenzler Präsident Lennart Meri Botschafter T. Örn Staatsmin. B. Schmidbauer	Staatssekretär Dr. Andreas Meyer-Landrut
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1994 101 <i>St. Petersburg</i>	Russland und der Westen: Internationale Sicherheit und Reformpolitik	Minister A. A. Kokoschin BMin. Volker Rühle Bürgermeister Prof. A. A. Sobtschak	Staatssekretär Dr. Andreas Meyer-Landrut
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	107 Medien—Macht—Politik	Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Donsbach Senator Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Hoffmann-Riem Dr. Theo Sommer	Thomas Kielinger
	108 <i>Moscow</i> Was bewegt Russland?	Sergej Baburin Sir Rodric Braithwaite	Staatssekretär a.D. Dr. Andreas Meyer-Landrut
1997 <i>Istanbul</i>	109 At the crossroads of geo-politics—Turkey in a changing political environment	Ilter Türkmen Morton Abramowitz Hans-Ulrich Klose	Prof. Dr. Curt Gasteyerger
	110 <i>Berlin</i> Wege aus der blockierten Gesellschaft	Dr. h. c. André Leysen Bundesminister Dr. Jürgen Rüttgers	Lord Ralf Dahrendorf
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1999 <i>Magdeburg</i>	114 Welche gesellschaftliche Wertigkeit hat der Sport?	Prof. Dr. Hans Lenk Herbert Riehl-Heyse Prof. Dr. Jürgen Palm	Prof. Dr. Hermann-Anders Korte
	115 <i>Berlin</i> Neue Dimensionen des Politischen? Herausforderungen für die repräsentative Demokratie	Prof. Dr. Antonia Grunenberg Bundesministerin a.D. Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger, MdB	Prof. Dr. Jutta Limbach

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2000 117 <i>Berlin</i>	Modell Deutschland: Reif für die Globalisierung?	Dr. Henning Scherf Prof. Dr. Carl Christian v. Weizsäcker	Dr. Klaus v. Dohnanyi
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119 <i>Beijing</i>	China: Partner in der Weltwirtschaft	Prof. Yang Qixian Minister Zheng Silin Minister Wang Chunzheng Vice Minister Shen Jueren Prof. Dr. Zhu Min Shi Mingde Song Jian Dr. Konrad Seitz Dr. Horst Teltschik Dr. Martin Posth	Präsident Mei Zhaorong Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser
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126 <i>Florence</i>	The Future of Democracy—European Perspectives	Henri de Bresson Prof. Andrea Manzella Prof. Dr. Gesine Schwan Prof. Larry Siedentop Gijs de Vries Prof. Helen Wallace	Roger de Weck
2003 127 <i>Isfahan</i>	The Middle East and Western Values: A Dialog With Iran	Dr. Gilles Kepel Dr. Michael McFaul Dr. Homa Moshirzadeh Dr. Ahmad Nagheebzadeh Giandomenico Picco Dr. Johannes Reissner Dr. Hossein Salimi	Dr. Christoph Bertram Dr. Seyed Kazem Sajjadpour
2004 128 <i>Wilton Park</i>	Power and Rules—Elements of a New World Order	Prof. Paul Schroeder Dame Pauline Neville-Jones David Rieff Heather Grabbe Prof. Ghanim Alnajjar Dr. Michael Schaefer Ambassador Avis Bohlen	Dr. Christoph Bertram



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