

## ANNEX

## Participants



### **MinDir Ulrich Brandenburg**

Born 1950

Deputy Political Director, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin; fmr. Ambassador and Commissioner for Russia, the Caucasus and Central Asia, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin; fmr.

Head of Defence and Security Policy (NATO) Division, fmr. Head of OSCE and Council of Europe Division, Federal Foreign Office, Bonn/Berlin; fmr. Head of Partnership and Cooperation Section, Political Affairs Division, NATO-IS, Brussels; fmr. Fellow, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA); various positions at Germany's Moscow and Baghdad embassies and at Germany's Leningrad/St. Petersburg Consulate General.

*Pages:* 26, 33, 62, 67, 77, 91, 97, 102



### **Elmar Brok, MdEP**

Born 1946

Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, European Parliament, Brussels; Member of the Bureau, Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats (EPP Group); European Parliament representative, Intergovernmental Conference on the EU Constitution 2003–2004; EPP Group Chairman at the EU Constitutional Convention; fmr. European Parliament representative, Intergovernmental Conference for the Treaties of Amsterdam and Nice 1996 and 2004; member of the governing council of the CDU Germany; chairman, European policy commission of the CDU; Federal Order of Merit.

*Pages:* 27, 29, 35, 37, 44, 73, 75, 78, 88, 90, 100, 101



### **Rt. Hon. Stephen Byers, MP**

Born 1953

House of Commons, London; fmr. Secretary of State for Transport, Local Government and the Regions; fmr. Secretary of State for Trade and Industry; fmr. Chief Secretary to the Treasury; fmr. Minister of State for School Standards; fmr. senior lecturer in law; member of Her Majesty the Queen's Privy Council; Chairman of the Yalta European Strategy (Y.E.S.).

*Pages:* 26, 29, 33, 35, 38, 55, 58, 65, 88, 102



### **Ambassador Vladimir Chizhov**

Born 1953

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Moscow; Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary; fmr. Director, European Multilateral Cooperation Dept., Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow; fmr. Director, Third European Dept., Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow; fmr. activities in the diplomatic service in Moscow, Athens, Nicosia, Vienna, and Sarajevo, in the latter case as Deputy High Representative for Peace Implementation in Bosnia and Herzegovina; Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the European Communities since September 2005.

*Pages:* 25, 27, 31, 36, 43, 49, 55, 60, 61, 65, 68, 71, 76, 79, 80, 82, 83, 94, 98, 101, 102



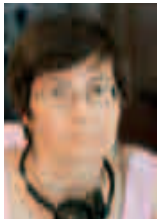
**Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Eichwede**

Born 1942

Director, Research Center Eastern Europe, University of Bremen; Chair of Contemporary History and Eastern European Politics, University of Bremen; Vice-President, German Association for East European Studies; laureate of the Federal Cross of Merit; laureate of the Hungarian State Award “Pro Cultura Hungarica” (2002); Erich-Brost-Laureate of the town of Gdansk (1999).

*Selected writings:* Samizdat. Alternative Kultur in Zentral- und Osteuropa, die 60er bis 80er Jahre (2000); Das neue Russland in Politik und Kultur (1998); “Betr.: Sicherstellung”: NS-Kunstraub in der Sowjetunion (1998).

*Pages:* 23, 24, 25, 34, 37, 39, 40, 42, 44, 47, 49, 51, 52, 54, 57, 59, 65, 67, 68, 69, 72, 75, 76, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 86, 90, 93, 94, 95, 99, 103



**Dr. Judith Gebetsroithner**

Member of Cabinet of the Commissioner for External Relations and European Neighborhood Policy, Benita Ferrero-Waldner, European Commission, Brussels; fmr. Deputy Permanent Representative of Austria to the EU, Brussels; fmr. Cabinet of State Secretariat for European Integration and Development Cooperation, Federal Chancellery, Vienna; fmr. diplomat at Austrian Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Vienna (positions at Austrian Embassies in Manila, Bonn, Tel Aviv).

*Pages:* 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 52, 53, 56, 61, 62, 67, 71, 75, 78, 91, 92



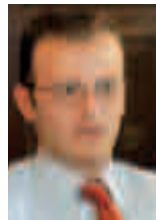
**Sergey Generalov**

Born 1963

President, “Industrial Investors” Investment Group, Moscow; Chairman of the Board of Directors, The Investor Protection Association, Moscow; Chairman, Investment Policy

Committee, Russian Chamber of Commerce and Industry; member of the National Council on Corporate Governance; fmr. Minister of Fuel and Energy of the Russian Federation; fmr. Chairman, Supervision Commission on Investors Rights, State Duma; fmr. Deputy Chairman of the Board, Rosprom-Menatep-YUKOS Group; fmr. Senior Vice President, YUKOS Oil Company.

*Pages:* 42, 51, 53, 54, 56, 60



**Dr. Thomas Gomart**

Head of Russia/CIS Program, Institut français des relations internationales (Ifri), Paris; Lecturer, Military School of Saint-Cyr; fmr. Lavoisier Fellow, Mgimo, Moscow; fmr. Visiting Fellow, EU Institute

for Security Studies (ISS), Paris; fmr. Marie Curie Fellow, Department of War Studies, King’s College, London.

*Selected writings:* Double détente. Les relations franco-soviétiques de 1958–1964 (2003); Les Rapports russo-français vus de Moscou, Ifri (2002).

*Pages:* 34, 36, 43, 50, 53, 55, 62, 83, 93, 95, 102



**Prof. Dr. Ruslan Grinberg**

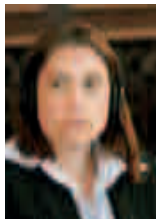
Born 1946

Director, Institute for International Economic and Political Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; Vice-Chairman ECAAR Russia (Economists Allied for Arms Reduction);

member of the Russian-American Economic Transition Group (ETG); Editor-in-Chief, "The World of Transformations"; Consultant to the Gorbachev-Foundation; Chairman, Committee of the CIS, National Investment Council.

*Selected writings:* Ordnung und wirtschaftlicher Erfolg ohne Entwicklung zur Demokratie?, in: Erich G. Fritz (ed.): Russland unter Putin (2005); Rational Behavior of the State (2003); Trade Within the Commonwealth of Independent States, in: Lawrence Klein / Marshall Pomer (eds.): The New Russia. Transition Gone Awry (2001).

*Pages:* 40, 49, 50, 61, 63, 69, 71, 74, 96, 98



**Dr. Fiona Hill**

Born 1965

Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies Program, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.; Advisor to the president, Eurasia Foundation; fmr. Director of Strategic Planning,

Eurasia Foundation, Washington, D.C.; fmr. Associate Director, Strengthening Democratic Institutions Project (SDI), and fmr. Director, Ethnic Conflict in the former Soviet Union project, Harvard University; member of the Council on Foreign Relations; fmr. Consultant to The Hague Initiative; Board Member of Institute of War & Peace Reporting and the Open Society Institute's Central Eurasia Project; member of editorial boards of *Demokratizatsiya* and *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*.

*Selected writings:* Energy Empire. Oil, Gas and Russia's Revival (2004); The Siberian Curse. How Communist Planners Left Russia Out in the Cold (co-author) (2003).

*Pages:* 28, 57, 69, 72, 81,97



**Dr. Jörg Himmelreich**

Born 1959

Transatlantic Fellow, German Marshall Fund of the United States, Washington D.C.; fmr. Senior Advisor to the Policy Planning Department, German Federal Foreign Office, Berlin;

fmr. Assistant to the DaimlerChrysler Board of Management; fmr. Director of Investment Banking for Media and Communications, WestLB, London; fmr. Director, WestLB, Moscow; fmr. Head of Privatization of the Construction Industry, Federal German Trust Agency; fmr. Junior Professor, Institute for Public Law, Free University of Berlin; newspaper articles about Russia, the Caucasus and transatlantic relations.

*Pages:* 28, 32, 56, 68, 69, 96



**Prof. Dr. Sergei Karaganov**

Born 1952

Deputy Director, Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; member of the Scientific Advisory Council of the MFA; Foreign Policy Advisor to the Russian

Presidential Administration; member of three Advisory Committees, Security Council of the Russian Federation; member of the Council for Assisting the Development of Civil Society and Human Rights Institutions under the President of Russia; Chairman, Council on Foreign and Defense Policy, Moscow; fmr. member of the Presidential Council of the Russian

Federation; fmr. lecturer and Head of Department at various Russian and foreign universities.

*Selected writings:* Strategy for Russia: Ten Years of CFDP (ed.) (in Russian) (2002); Geopolitics Change in Europe. Policies of the West and Russia's Alternatives (ed.) (1995); Russia's Economic Role in Europe. Report of the Commission for the Greater Europe, Vol. II (co-author) (1995).

*Pages:* 32, 39, 49, 52, 54, 57, 60, 62, 72, 93, 95



**Dr. Irina Kobrinskaya**

Executive Director, Foundation for Prospective Studies and Initiatives, Moscow; Senior Research Fellow, IMEMO, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; fmr. Director, Moscow Center, New York East-West Institute; fmr. Researcher and Program Coordinator, "Russia and its Neighbors", Carnegie Center, Moscow; fmr. Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy, Warsaw; fmr. Consultant, Analytical Department, Russian National TV.

*Selected writings:* Russia and its Foreign Policy (contributor, ed. by Hanna Smith) (2005); Russia and the West (co-author) (2004).

*Pages:* 25, 34, 38, 42, 50, 52, 54, 64, 66, 69, 74, 80, 93, 98, 101



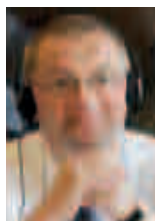
**Ambassador Vladimir Kotenev**

Born 1957

Ambassador of the Russian Federation in Germany, Berlin; fmr. Director, Consular Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Moscow; fmr. Chargé d'Affaires of the Russian Federation in Switzerland and Liechtenstein; fmr. Envoy, Embassy of the Russian Federation in Switzerland; fmr. activities at

Embassies of the fmr. USSR in Austria, GDR, West-Berlin; fmr. activities at Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the fmr. USSR.

*Pages:* 77, 87, 94, 95, 101



**Sergey Kulik**

Head of Department of Relations with the European Union, Administration of the President of the Russian Federation, Moscow; fmr. Deputy Head of Department of Information, Administration of the President of the Russian Federation; fmr. Head of Staff of the Assistant of the Russian President; fmr. Deputy Head of Department of Foreign Policy, Administration of the President of the Russian Federation; fmr. Head of Arms Control Center, Institute of the USA and Canada, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

*Pages:* 52, 62, 64



**Ambassador**

**Prof. Dr. Vasili Likhachev**

Born 1952

Deputy Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Federation Council of the Russian Federation, Moscow; Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary; fmr. Representative of the Russian Federation to the EU, Brussels; fmr. Chairman, State Council of the Republic of Tatarstan; Professor and fmr. Lecturer at Kazan State University; member of several Academies; holds a doctorate in law.

*Pages:* 59, 63, 64, 70, 77, 80, 83



**Dr. Rainer Lindner**

Born 1966

Research Unit Russian Federation/ CIS, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin; fmr. research associate, University of Konstanz; fmr. research associate, SWP, Ebenhausen; member of the board, German Society for the Study of Eastern Europe; Head of the German-Belarusian Society.

*Selected writings:* Die Ukraine zwischen Russland und der EU, in: Makarska et al. (eds.): Die Ukraine, Polen und Europa (2004); Osteuropaforschung und Osteuropapolitik, in: Bingen et al. (eds): Deutschland–Polen–Osteuropa (2002); The Lukashenka Phenomenon, in: Balmaceda et al. (eds.): Independent Belarus (2002).

*Pages:* 26, 55, 58, 70, 103



**Alexander Rahr**

Born 1959

Program Director, Körber Center Russia/CIS, German Council on Foreign Relations; Berlin; former Senior Analyst, Research Institute, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Munich; former Project Manager, Federal Institute for East European and International Studies, Cologne; member, Supervisory Board, Petersburg Dialogue, German Federal Cross of Merit Award.

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

*Pages:* 47, 50, 53, 70, 82, 92, 100, 101



**Ambassador Janusz Reiter**

Born 1952

President, Center for International Relations (CSM), Warsaw; fmr. Polish Ambassador to Germany; Co-Founder, Foundation for International Initiatives and the Independent Center for International Studies; Co-Chairman, Polish-German Forum; Board Member, National Council for European Integration; Columnist, *Rzeczpospolita*; fmr. Columnist of several national and international newspapers; fmr. Co-Founder and Co-Editor of several independent Polish magazines; German Great Cross of Merit Award.

*Selected writings:* Die Erweiterung der Europäischen Union. Und was kommt danach? (2003); Das Weimarer Dreieck. Die französisch-deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen als Motor der Europäischen Integration (2000); Die deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen—eine Interessen- und Wertegemeinschaft? (1999).

*Pages:* 27, 32, 38, 39, 48, 72, 86, 90, 92, 100



**Dmitry Rogozin**

Born 1963

Chairman, “Rodina” Party; Chairman, “Rodina” Faction, State Duma, Moscow; fmr. Special Envoy of the President of the Russian Federation to Kaliningrad; fmr. Chairman,

Committee on International Affairs, State Duma; fmr. Head of the permanent delegation of the Russian Federation’s Federal Assembly to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe; fmr. Co-Chairman, Commission on START-II Treaty, ABM Treaty, CTBT and START-III Treaties, State Duma; fmr. member of the Council of the Russian Federation Interparliamentary Group.

*Pages:* 30, 34, 36, 40, 42, 51, 54, 56, 61, 62, 74, 76, 79, 80, 88, 94, 98



**Dr. Wolfgang Schäuble**

Born 1942

Deputy Chairman for Foreign and Security Policy and European Affairs of the CDU/CSU Faction, German Bundestag; member of CDU Presidency; former Chairman of

the CDU; fmr. Federal Minister.

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

*Pages:* 25, 33, 38, 51, 53, 58, 84, 101



**Ambassador Dr. Ernst-Jörg von Studnitz**

Born 1937

Chairman, German Russian Forum, Berlin; fmr. German Ambassador to Moscow; various positions in the German diplomatic service in

Moscow, Ankara, New York, East Berlin; fmr. Head of NATO and USA division, fmr. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Eastern Europe, Federal Foreign Office, Bonn.

*Pages:* 29, 32, 64



**Prof. Dr. Karl Schlögel**

Born 1948

European University Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder; laureate 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, in Russian: 2005).

*Pages:* 26, 27, 38, 39, 42, 43, 86, 103



**Michael Thumann**

Born 1962

Foreign editor, *DIE ZEIT*, Hamburg; fmr. Moscow correspondent and bureau chief, *DIE ZEIT*; fmr. South Eastern Europe correspondent, *DIE ZEIT*; member of the political board,

*DIE ZEIT*; fmr. Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C.; fmr. Berlin correspondent, Norddeutscher Rundfunk.

*Selected writings:* Land ohne Unterleib, in: Russland und der Kaukasus. *DIE ZEIT*/Fischer Weltalmanach (2005); La Puissance russe—un puzzle à reconstruire? (2003); Das Lied von der russischen Erde. Moskaus Ringen um Einheit und Größe (2002).

*Pages:* 30, 67, 75, 82, 91, 97



**Dr. Manfred Stolpe**

Born 1936

Federal Minister for Transport, Construction, and Housing, Berlin; Federal Government Commissioner for the New Federal States; fmr. State Premier of the Federal State of

Brandenburg.

*Pages:* 23, 40, 58, 89



**Dr. Dmitro Vydrin**

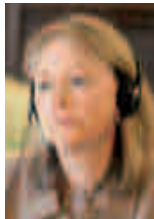
Born 1949

Director, European Institute of Integration and Development, Kiev; Counselor to the Prime Minister of Ukraine, Julia Timoshenko, Kiev; Co-Chairman (with S. Karaganov),

Russian-Ukrainian Forum; fmr. President, Vidomosti, Kiev; fmr. Counsellor to the President and to the Prime Minister of Ukraine; fmr. Director, International Institute of Global and Regional Security, Kiev; fmr. Head of Political Department, Kiev Political Institute.

*Selected writings:* The dynamics of the Ukrainian-Russian relations 1991–2005 (2005); The reasons and strategy of settlement of the sociopolitical crisis in Ukraine (2004); Ukraine on the threshold of XXI century (1996).

*Pages:* 73, 74



**Mary Burce Warlick**

Born 1957

Director, Office of Russian Affairs, US Department of State, Washington, D.C.; fmr. Minister-Counselor for Economic Affairs, US Embassy, Moscow; fmr. Director, Office of

Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus Affairs, fmr. Senior Watch Officer, State Department Operations Center; fmr. Economic Officer, Office of Textile Negotiations; fmr. assignments at US Embassies in Bonn, Manila and Dhaka.

*Pages:* 57, 72



**Dr. Richard von Weizsäcker**

Born 1920

Fmr. President of the Federal Republic of Germany (1984–1994); fmr. governing mayor of West Berlin (1981–1984); fmr. 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 Protestant Church Council; laureate of the Heinrich Heine (1991) and Leo Baeck Awards (1994); chairman of the Bergedorf Round Table of the Körber Foundation.

*Selected Writings:* Was für eine Welt wollen wir? (2005); 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:* 22, 30, 53, 99, 102, 103





Map No. 1040, 1041, 1042, 1043, 1044, 1045, 1046, 1047, 1048, 1049, 1050, 1051, 1052, 1053, 1054, 1055, 1056, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1060, 1061, 1062, 1063, 1064, 1065, 1066, 1067, 1068, 1069, 1070, 1071, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1075, 1076, 1077, 1078, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083, 1084, 1085, 1086, 1087, 1088, 1089, 1090, 1091, 1092, 1093, 1094, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1098, 1099, 1100, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1107, 1108, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1120, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1133, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1138, 1139, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1143, 1144, 1145, 1146, 1147, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1151, 1152, 1153, 1154, 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165, 1166, 1167, 1168, 1169, 1170, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1174, 1175, 1176, 1177, 1178, 1179, 1180, 1181, 1182, 1183, 1184, 1185, 1186, 1187, 1188, 1189, 1190, 1191, 1192, 1193, 1194, 1195, 1196, 1197, 1198, 1199, 1200

Department of Geography, University of Toronto

## Recommended Literature

- Medina Abellán / Miguel Angel, "Russia: Towards a Strategic Partnership?", in: Dieter Mahncke (ed.), *European Foreign Policy: From Rhetoric to Reality?*, Brussels: 2004, pp. 227–239.
- Katinka Barysch, *The EU and Russia. Strategic Partners or Squabbling Neighbours?*, London: 2004.
- Susanne Michele Birgerson, *After the Breakup of a Multi-Ethnic Empire: Russia, Successor States, and Eurasian Security*, Westport: 2002.
- Janusz Bugajski, *Cold Peace: Russia's New Imperialism*, Westport: 2004.
- Roland Dannreuther (ed.), *European Union Foreign and Security Policy: Towards a Neighbourhood Strategy*, London: 2004.
- Kalman Dezseri (ed.), *Economic and Political Relations After the EU Enlargement: The Visegrád Countries and Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova*, Budapest: 2004.
- Michael Emerson / Marius Vahl / Nicholas Whyte, *The Elephant and the Bear: The European Union, Russia and their Near Abroads*, Brussels: 2001.
- Tuomas Forsberg, "The EU-Russia Security Partnership: Why the Opportunity Was Missed," *European Foreign Affairs Review* 9:2 (2004), pp. 247–267.
- James M. Goldgeier / Michael McFaul, *Power and Purpose: U. S. Policy Toward Russia After the Cold War*, Washington D. C.: 2003.
- Marshall I. Goldman, "Putin and the Oligarchs," *Foreign Affairs* 83:6 (2004), pp. 33–44.
- Adrian Karatnycky, "Ukraine's Orange Revolution," *Foreign Affairs* 84:2 (2005), pp. 35–52.
- Bobo Lo, *Vladimir Putin and the Evolution of Russian Foreign Policy*, London: 2004.
- Dov Lynch, "Russia's Strategic Partnership With Europe," *The Washington Quarterly* 27:2 (2004), pp. 99–118.
- Michael McFaul / Nikolai Petrov / Andrej Ryabov, *Between Dictatorship and Democracy: Russian Post-Communist Political Reform*, Washington D.C.: 2004.
- Sergej Medvedev, *Rethinking the National Interest: Putin's Turn in Russian Foreign Policy*, Garmisch-Partenkirchen: 2004.
- Julie M. Newton, *Russia, France, and the Idea of Europe*, Basingstoke: 2003.
- Ingmar Oldberg, *Membership or Partnership: The Relations of Russia and its Neighbours With NATO and the EU in the Enlargement Context*, Stockholm: 2004.
- Geoffrey K. Roberts, *The Soviet Union in World Politics: Coexistence, Revolution and Cold War, 1945–1991*, London: 2004.
- Paul Robinson (ed.), *Perspectives on EU-Russia Relations*, London: 2005.
- Cameron Ross, *Russian Politics Under Putin*, Manchester: 2004.

Eugene B. Rumer / Celeste Wallander, "Russia: Power in Weakness?," *The Washington Quarterly* 27:1 (2003/2004), pp. 57–73.

Richard Sakwa, *Putin: Russia's Choice*, London: 2004.

Steven Sestanovich, "Russian Democracy in Eclipse: Force, Money, and Pluralism," *Journal of Democracy* 15:3 (2004), pp. 32–43. ([www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/Sestanovich-15-3.pdf](http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/Sestanovich-15-3.pdf))

Andrei Shleifer / Daniel Treisman, "A Normal Country," *Foreign Affairs* 83:2 (2004), pp. 20–38.

Oles Smolansky, "Ukraine and Russia: An Evolving Marriage of Inconvenience," *Orbis* 48:1 (2004), pp. 117–134.

Dmitrij Trenin / Aleksej V. Malasenko / Anatol Lieven, *Russia's Restless Frontier: The Chechnya Factor in Post-Soviet Russia*, Washington D. C.: 2004.

George Voskopoulos, "US Terrorism, International Security, and Leadership: Toward a US-EU-Russia Security Triangle," *Demokratizatsiya* 11:2 (2003), pp. 165–182.

Andrei V. Zagorskij, "Transformed Relations: From the Cold War to a New Partnership Between Russia and the Berlin Republic," in: Dieter Dettke (ed.), *The Spirit of the Berlin Republic*, New York: 2003, pp. 151–161.

Andrei V. Zagorskij, "Russia and Germany: Continuity and Changes," *Russie.CEI.Visions* 6, 2005.

---

## Homepages

Bergedorf Round Table, Database  
[www.bergedorf-round-table.org](http://www.bergedorf-round-table.org)

Carnegie Moscow Center [www.carnegie.ru/en/](http://www.carnegie.ru/en/)

Council on Foreign Relations: Russia  
[www.cfr.org/region/323/europerussia.html](http://www.cfr.org/region/323/europerussia.html)

European Council [www.coe.int](http://www.coe.int)

European Commission, DG External Relations  
[www.europa.eu.int/comm/external\\_relations/](http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/)

European Neighborhood Policy  
[www.europa.eu.int/comm/world/enp/index\\_en.htm](http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/world/enp/index_en.htm)

Council of the European Union <http://ue.eu.int>

Institut français des relations internationales (Ifri)  
[www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org) → Russie/CEI

Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars  
[www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=topics.home&topic\\_id=1424](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=topics.home&topic_id=1424)

Kremlin [www.kremlin.ru](http://www.kremlin.ru)

Background Notes, US Department of State  
[www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/](http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/)

OSCE [www.osce.org](http://www.osce.org)

## Glossary

### Belarus

After 70 years as part of the → Soviet Union, the eastern European republic of Belarus and its 10.3 million people (as of 2005) gained independence in 1991. The 1994 constitution, amended in 1996 and 2004, defined Belarus as a unified, democratic, and social republic with a president as head of state. Many Western observers call Belarus Europe's last dictatorship. After coming to power in 1994, president Aleksander Lukashenko reversed initial economic reforms, seeking instead to align the country with Russia while distancing Belarus from the West. He has restricted fundamental democratic rights such as the freedoms of speech and assembly. The opposition and independent media have been systematically persecuted. Journalists were sentenced to hard labor. Political opponents disappeared. Lukashenko was re-elected in 2001 in a disputed election. In October 2004, during parliamentary elections, he pushed through a referendum for a constitutional amendment that would permit his re-election in 2006. According to → OSCE election monitors the vote did not meet Western standards. The referendum is therefore considered manipulated. Political repression was stepped up in the forefront of the elections and referendum. In 2004, the regime closed the liberal Humanist University in Minsk and took an increasingly uncooperative stance toward Western NGOs. In 2005, the Polish minority (Association of Poles in Belarus) came under political pressure for allegedly supporting the political opposition. Lukashenko has been a focal point of Western criticism since at least the fall of 2004. In October of that year the US House of Representatives passed the "Belarus Democracy Act" in support of the opposition and imposed economic sanctions against Minsk, which the US government suspects of trading arms with "rogue states" including Libya and North Korea.

The act supports opposition parties during the election campaign with special funding of up to \$5 million. The EU has suspended the → Partnership and Cooperation Agreement with Belarus and is considering whether to revoke its "most favored nation" status. Belarusian officials were handed travel bans to Europe after the 2004 elections. Meanwhile the EU is seeking to strengthen civil society in Belarus through the "European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights," the "Decentralised Cooperation Program" (€1.7 million in 2005) and TACIS (c. €10 million in 2005/06), for example by reopening the European Humanist University in exile in Vilnius. Belarus continues to maintain close ties with the → Russian Federation under Lukashenko. Moscow, meanwhile, uses Belarus' economic dependence on Russia, especially on Russian energy, at times as a political leverage instrument. On December 8, 1999, the presidents of Russia and Belarus signed a foundation treaty for union with the goal of creating a joint economic zone. At present, however, only the defense and customs unions have been implemented. The introduction of the Russian ruble as common currency has been announced. Moscow has so far been reluctant to criticize the human rights situation in Belarus, and described the election campaign as "calm and transparent." It simultaneously founded a Russian-Belarusian human rights commission under President Putin to promote civil society institutions and human rights. The commission's authority, however, remains unclear. Observers fear a severe conflict between Russia and the EU should a revolution along the lines of that in → Ukraine take place in Belarus. Such a popular uprising could represent a further setback to Russian designs for integrating the post-Soviet region under Russian leadership.

**Chechnya → Putin**

### **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**

Founded in reaction to the dissolution of the → Soviet Union, the CIS was established in 1991 in Minsk by the three former Soviet republics of Russia, → Belarus, and → Ukraine. All other former Soviet Republics except for the Baltics joined this forum for economic, political, and cultural integration (→ Georgia only in 1993). Conceived as a loose association of states, the CIS is only conditionally a supranational organization. The highest organ, the Council of the Heads of States, rules on basic issues while the Council of the Heads of Governments carries out the agreed policies and coordinates the cooperation of the executive organs. As a standing body, the Interstate Council is charged with implementing resolutions. The seat of the CIS is in Minsk. The Executive Secretary of the CIS (currently Vladimir Rushailo) is always from either Russia or Belarus, and ensures Russia's special status. The CIS member states have specified their cooperation in several agreements. In 2003, the Russian Federation, Belarus, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan agreed to establish a "Single Economic Space". That same year, the 1992 Collective Security Treaty found expression in the "Collective Security Treaty Organization" of Russia, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. Critical observers have long noted a lack of tangible progress and a sinking integration momentum. In 1999, Georgia and Uzbekistan refused to extend the Collective Security Treaty. In contrast to Russia, Georgia, Uzbekistan, and Azerbaijan explicitly supported the US-led intervention in Iraq.

After the "rainbow revolutions" the new governments of Georgia and Ukraine aligned their countries more closely with the West, which can also be said of → Moldova, though to a lesser extent. In 2005, Turkmenistan announced it would remain only an associate member of the CIS.

Meanwhile, regional organizations without Russian participation are growing in significance. The GUAM Group (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldova) resolved in April 2005 to become an international organization with its own military arm, which could play a part in resolving conflicts as that in → Transnistria. In August 2005, the presidents of Ukraine and Georgia announced the establishment of "Community of Democratic Choice" that was intended to include all democracies between the Baltic, Black, and Caspian Seas.

In light of these developments, some analysts are pessimistic that the CIS has a viable future. At the CIS summit in August 2005, Russian President Putin said the organization was in urgent need of reform.

### **Council of Europe**

Founded in 1949 among ten states (Benelux, Denmark, France, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom) and based in Strasbourg, the Council of Europe currently includes 46 member states, 21 from Eastern and Central Europe. Its main components are the Committee of Ministers, the Parliamentary Assembly, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, and the Secretariat (current Secretary General: Terry Davis, UK). Its budget for 2005 totals € 186 million. The Council of Europe operates independently of the European Union and, unlike the EU, has an inclusive, pan-European approach which made possible the rapid accession of Turkey (1949) and the states of Eastern and Central Europe after the end of the East-West conflict. Accession criteria are location on the European continent and the willingness to fulfill the common standards laid down in the Council's conventions. When the Council of Europe was founded, its basic objectives were defined as promotion and defense of human

rights, democracy, and rule of law among member states and the goal of unity among them. At the Vienna summit in 1993, these objectives were incorporated into the concept of “democratic security,” which complements the idea of military security through human, political, economic, and ecological components, and is intended to ensure stability and peace in Europe. In so doing, the Council of Europe dedicates itself, as does the → OSCE, to a comprehensive definition of security. The Council’s main instruments are conventions in which member states commit themselves to uphold standards of human rights, democracy, and social welfare. The states are accountable both to one another and to their populations. The European Convention on Protection of Human Rights and Basic Freedoms was approved in 1950 and took effect in 1953. To make these rights and freedoms enforceable, the European Court of Human Rights was founded, which in its present form has been standing since 1998 and prosecutes human rights violations. The 1961 European Social Charter is meant to guarantee equal opportunity for all European citizens, e.g. in health, work, and education. Other conventions include provisions banning torture and protecting ethnic and religious minorities. These conventions constitute a legally binding framework for member states. With the Soviet collapse, the Council of Europe’s focus shifted towards long-term assistance for Central and Eastern European states in converging with the West. Extensive assistance programs supported political, legal, and constitutional reforms. The Council of Europe has also monitored democratization in EU accession states. Relations with the → Russian Federation (accession in 1996) are currently strained for several reasons. For example, Russia has not abolished the death penalty, refuses to withdraw its troops from → Moldova and continues to provide → Belarus with

financial and political aid. In light of these disputes, Russia is threatening to substantially cut its current membership dues of €23 million in 2006.

### **Energy Dialog of the EU with Russia → Four Common Spaces**

#### **EU Enlargement**

According to Article 49 of the 1993 Maastricht Treaty, any European state that respects liberty, democracy, human rights, civil rights, and rule of law can apply for membership in the European Union. That same year, heads of EU states and governments laid down the fundamental conditions for membership in detail in the so-called Copenhagen Criteria. Accordingly, a candidate country must, in addition to fulfilling the already-mentioned criteria, demonstrably have a functioning market economy and adopt the complete *acquis communautaire*, i.e. the EU’s extensive body of laws. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), founded in 1951 by the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands, and renamed the European Community (EC) in 1957, was first enlarged in 1973 with the accession of Denmark, Ireland, and Great Britain. With the membership of Greece in 1981 and Spain and Portugal in 1986, the EC gained a southern dimension. Through German reunification in 1990, the former East Germany became the first former Warsaw Pact state to join the EC, which was renamed the European Union (EU) by the Maastricht Treaty. Austria, Sweden, and Finland joined in 1995. After the eastern enlargement of 2004, in which the Republic of Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia joined, the EU now includes 25 member states with a total population of 450 million. Accession for Bulgaria and Romania is planned

for 2007, and negotiations are being conducted with Croatia and Turkey. The EU has various instruments available to keep good relations with neighbors that are currently unsuitable for membership. The Stability Pact for Southeast Europe, agreed in 1999, offers Albania, Bosnia, Macedonia, and Serbia-Montenegro a long-term perspective of complete integration in EU structures. East European countries (→ Belarus, → Ukraine, and → Moldova), the South Caucasus (Armenia, Azerbaijan, → Georgia), and the so-called Barcelona Process states (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, the Palestinian autonomous territories, Syria, and Tunisia), which together constitute an eastern and southern ring around the EU, are being offered a privileged partnership within the → European Neighborhood Policy instead of membership prospects. A strategic partnership with Russia (→ Partnership- and Cooperation Agreement) already exists. The European states Andorra, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Monaco, Norway, San Marino, Switzerland, and Vatican City maintain close relations with the EU and currently have no intention of applying for membership.  
[http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/index\\_en.html](http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/index_en.html)

### **European Neighborhood Policy**

The foundation of the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) is the initiative presented in March 2003 by the European Commission called “Wider Europe—Neighbourhood: A New Framework for Relations with our Eastern and Southern Neighbours.” The aim of the new policy is to avert new dividing lines along the EU’s external border. In place of accession prospects, some neighboring states would be offered a privileged partnership that would help improve their own stability and prosperity, while at the same time benefiting security along the EU’s bor-

ders. The policy is based on commitments to rule of law, the market economy, good governance, sustainable development, and respect for human rights. According to the fulfillment of these conditions, the EU offers the states various levels of cooperation. In the longer term, the initiative offers access to participation in EU programs and, later, integration in the EU market. In July 2003 the European Commission established the Wider Europe Task Force to help coordinate the policy’s development. The Commission’s “European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP)” strategy paper, presented on May 12, 2004, lays down the foundations and methods of implementing the ENP, as well as its geographic framework. Sixteen states are named as part of the EU neighborhood: in the East, → Belarus, → Ukraine, and → Moldova; in the South, Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia, and the Palestinian autonomous areas (collectively known as the Barcelona Process states); in addition to → Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia in the South Caucasus. Inclusion of → Belarus in the ENP has been postponed because of the country’s authoritarian regime. Within the framework of the ENP, previous instruments of cooperation are being grouped regionally into individual neighborhood programs for each country and subsumed under a single, unified financial instrument. So-called country reports, which record the political, economic, social, and institutional situation of the respective countries, form the basis for “Action Plans,” which define over a period of 3–5 years the priorities for bilateral relations (e.g. in trade, energy, transport, justice) intended to bring the country more closely in line with EU standards. In addition to the country reports submitted in July 2004 (Israel, Jordan, → Moldova, Morocco, Palestinian autonomous areas, Tunisia, and → Ukraine), the European Council accepted further reports in March

2005 for Armenia, Azerbaijan, Egypt, → Georgia, and Lebanon. In February 2005, Action Plans for → Ukraine and → Moldova were accepted; Israel signed its action plan in April 2005. Over the longer term, existing partnership and cooperation agreements with some countries are to be replaced by European Neighborhood agreements. Funding for the program, to be augmented in 2007, will be distributed by the European Neighborhood- and Partnership Instrument, which will replace the current TACIS and MEDA programs in the ENP partner countries and Russia (→ Partnership- and Cooperation Agreement of the EU with Russia).

[http://europa.eu.int/comm/world/enp/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/world/enp/index_en.htm)

#### **Four Common Spaces**

The 11<sup>th</sup> EU-Russia Summit in May 2003 in St. Petersburg launched the “four common spaces” of the economy; domestic security (justice and home affairs); external security; and research, education, and culture. The four common spaces represent a catalog of steps toward implementing the strategic partnership between the two sides (→ Partnership and Cooperation Agreement of the EU with Russia). In contrast to EU policy toward other neighbors, cooperation with Russia is not framed by an action plan within the → New Neighborhood Policy, but laid down in a document specific to the relationship. In November 2003 a framework concept for a common economic space was presented, at the May 2005 Moscow summit “road maps” for the four common spaces were approved. The first “space” of economics aims at promoting trade and investment and cooperation in areas including competition, telecommunications, transport, and energy (energy dialog), with the ultimate goal of establishing a common economic space between the EU and Russia. The “space” of inner security, home affairs, and

justice would facilitate the existing visa regime and encourage joint efforts in fighting crime and terrorism. This space is based on democracy, rule of law and human rights standards. However, border disputes between Russia and the EU states Estonia and Lithuania and the issue of illegal migrants remain unsolved. In the “space” of external security, the two sides have agreed to cooperate in strengthening multilateral institutions like the UN, the → OSCE and the → Council of Europe, in preventing terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and resolving the “frozen conflicts” along their common borders, such as in → Transnistria and South Ossetia (→ Georgia). The “space” of education and research places the goal of jointly strengthening the scientific potential of the EU and Russia to increase competitiveness. This is to be achieved by harmonizing university courses and diplomas (Russia has joined the Bologna process), fostering cultural and linguistic diversity and creating a European Institute in Moscow co-financed by the EU and Russia.

#### **Georgia**

The Republic of Georgia (2004 pop. 4.5 million) declared independence from the → Soviet Union in 1991. Its president since 1992, former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, was ousted from power after attempted electoral fraud in 2003 in what became known as the Rose Revolution. The 2004 constitution provides for a president (Mikhail Saakashvili since 2004) and prime minister (Surab Noghaideli). Saakashvili’s stated agenda is to fight corruption, modernize the economy, privatize property, and align the country more closely with the West. Georgia has signed a Partnership and Cooperation Agreement with the EU and is part of the → European Neighborhood Policy. In relations with the



→ Russian Federation, Saakashvili has offered to ease visa restrictions for Russian citizens, negotiate a new Russian-Georgian framework treaty, and help construct a new pipeline through Georgian territory. Russian mediation helped bring about the re-incorporation of the breakaway province of Ajara, which had claimed independence since the early 1990s. Also, Russian troops began withdrawing from the Georgian base of Batumi in 2005. However, Russian-Georgian relations are complicated by many disputes, including Saakashvili's pro-European stance. For example, Georgia accuses Russia of supporting the separatist regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. In the summer of 2004 open conflict broke out in South Ossetia when Georgia attempted to crack down on smuggling over the Russian border with a stepped-up military presence. Obversely, Russia accuses Georgia of tolerating the presence of Islamic terrorists in the Pankisi Gorge on the Chechen border and allowing them to infiltrate Russian territory.

**GUAM → Ukraine, Moldova**

### **Kaliningrad**

The Russian administrative district (oblast) of Kaliningrad, with its eponymous capital that celebrated its 750<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 2005 (foundation of the German Königsberg in 1255), belonged to the territories occupied by the Soviets in World War II. In the 2+4 Treaty in 1990, the Federal Republic of Germany renounced its claim to all territory east of the Oder-Neisse line and recognized Kaliningrad as part of the Soviet Union. Kaliningrad (2004 population city: 435,000; oblast: 940,000) became a Russian enclave in 1991 as a result of the Baltic states' declarations of independence. The territory's geographic isolation increased and its economy deteriorated with the NATO accessions of Poland (March 12, 1999) and

Lithuania (March 29, 2004), and especially their EU accessions on May 1, 2004. In an effort to make the Kaliningrad a "pilot region" for relations between the EU and Russia, the two sides agreed on a simplified visa regime for Russian citizens in transit between the region and Russia proper. Kaliningrad faces daunting economic, ecological, and social problems including the spread of HIV-AIDS. Kaliningrad's 750<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations in July 2005 were criticized in Europe because, although German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder and French President Jacques Chirac were invited, leaders of the territory's neighbors Poland and Lithuania were not. Critics say such demonstrations of close → German-Russian and German-French-Russian relations arouse the impression that the bilateral ties among Europe's major powers set policies without regard for other, smaller European states, in this case Poland and the Baltics.

**Khodorkovsky, Mikhail → Oligarchs in the Russian Federation**

### **Moldova**

In 1991, after nearly 50 years as part of the → Soviet Union, the formerly Romanian province of Moldova gained its independence. The Moldovan and Romanian languages are practically identical and numerous Moldovans also hold Romanian citizenship. Situated between Romania and Ukraine and with a population of 4.4 million (2005, composed of 65% Moldovans, 14% Ukrainians, 13% Russians, est. 1989), Moldova consists of three parts: the breakaway "Republic of → Transnistria," the autonomous territory of the Gaugaz, and the remaining state territory. The Turkic, Orthodox Gaugaz were granted extensive autonomy in 1994. The Republic of Moldova is a constitutional, parliamentary democracy. In 2001, the communist-dominated parliament elected

Vladimir Voronin president. In March 2005 he was confirmed in office by a newly-elected parliament. Voronin follows a policy of convergence with the EU, although since coming to power he has re-introduced elements of a state-run economy. In the early 1990s Moldova was one of the most prosperous Soviet republics and was considered among Western observers as a pioneer of market-economic reforms. Since then the situation has deteriorated severely. In the Human Development Report 2005, Moldova ranks 115 out of 177 between Mongolia and Honduras. A quarter of the Moldovan population lives abroad. The cash transfers from this expatriate community are greater than the country's GDP. Economically Moldova is dependent on the → Russian Federation, which is the destination for 31,4% of the country's exports (31.6% of its exports go to the EU). Also, Russia is Moldova's primary supplier of energy. Moldova has been a member of the WTO since 2001. Chief pillars of Moldovan foreign policy are European integration and strong cooperation with neighboring states, especially Romania. Moldova is a member of the Stability Pact for Southeast Europe, founded in 1999. The EU and Moldova agreed on a Partnership and Cooperation Agreement; an action plan within the → European Neighborhood Policy was approved in February 2005. The country is also a member of the GUAM Group (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldova, fmr. GUUAM including Uzbekistan) founded in 1997 on the initiative of the United States to bolster the independence and sovereignty of these former Soviet Republics. Relations with Russia are currently impaired by the "frozen conflict" situation in Transnistria.

### **NATO-Russian Relations**

Founded in 1949 as a regional pact within the framework of the UN Charter, NATO (North Atlantic

Treaty Organization) currently includes 26 member states, its chief stated mission being to defend member states from attack ("collective security"). It also promotes increased political, social, and economic cooperation. According to Article 10 of the 1949 Treaty of Washington, any European state that contributes to the security of the Euro-Atlantic zone and is prepared to adopt the alliance's regulations in full can become a NATO member with the unanimous approval of all other member states. Also, potential NATO members should have adequate military capabilities, be willing to take on military responsibilities, have overcome ethnic and territorial disputes, and be committed to liberal markets, social justice, and ecological responsibility. Joining the 12 founding members (USA, Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Portugal, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Luxembourg, and Canada) were Turkey and Greece in 1952, West Germany in 1954, and Spain in 1982. After the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact in 1991, Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic followed in 1999. In 2004, the last enlargement to date took place with the membership of Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia. Currently, Albania, Croatia, and Macedonia are members of the "NATO Membership Action Plan" (MAP), which guides potential membership candidates on the way to attaining NATO standards and eventual membership. In 1994 the Russian Federation signed the Partnership For Peace Agreement with NATO. These treaties, which have since been concluded with 30 countries, form the basis for relations with these countries and formalize defense cooperation. A special partnership with Russia was established in 1997 with the NATO-Russia Council as a forum for cooperation. The Council initially met according to the "19+1" principle, in which Russia was confronted with a common position agreed

among the 19 member states. During the Kosovo conflict in 1999, Russia's relations with NATO were frozen because of Russia's opposition to NATO air strikes against Yugoslavia, which had not been legitimized by a UN mandate. Russia also criticized the accession to the alliance of former Warsaw Pact states, which brought NATO up to Russia's own borders. Russia did not, however, press the issue. Since 2001 NATO-Russian relations have been gradually improving, with President → Putin supporting the "global war on terrorism" after the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the NATO-Russia Council finding new use as a joint forum for anti-terrorist actions. The Council was re-founded in 2002. In place of the 19+1 principle came the format "at 27," in which Russia is recognized as an equal partner for consultation and decision making. The Council discusses fighting terrorism and the spread of weapons of mass destruction, as well as military cooperation, crisis management, and defense reform, among other topics. In April 2005, the Partnership for Peace Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) was signed. It provides a regulating mechanism for the movement of NATO troops in Russia and of Russian troops on NATO territory, thus facilitating e.g. the transport of NATO forces to Afghanistan and joint exercises.

### **Oligarchs in the Russian Federation**

Aristotle defines oligarchy as a degenerate rule of the few – based on wealth – who abuse power for their purposes (the opposite of this is aristocracy, the positive rule of the few—based on merit—who use their talents for the greater good). In present-day Russia, "oligarch" has become the term for those corporate heads and bankers who built up business empires benefiting from the collapse of the → Soviet Union. The oligarchs acquired their wealth during the period of "unbridled capitalism" in the 1990s,

securing majority shares in state-owned companies being privatized through auctions that were seldom fairly conducted.

These businessmen include Roman Abramovich, Boris Berezovsky, Vladimir Guzinsky, and the now-imprisoned Mikhail Khodorkovsky. This former Komsomol (Communist youth organization) functionary struck out on his own as a businessman in 1986 and, with his profits, founded one of Russia's first private banks, Menatep, in 1989. With Menatep, he finally acquired 78% of the oil company Yukos for a price in the hundreds of millions, in an auction where he was the sole bidder. A short time later, Yukos was valued at several billion dollars. The influential position of the oligarchs did not immediately change when Vladimir → Putin became president. Putin warned them against meddling in politics but tolerated those who supported the Kremlin. For example, he appointed Roman Abramovich governor of the Chukotka autonomous province. Khodorkovsky, on the other hand, began publicly opposing Putin. He criticized corruption in the bureaucracy, supported liberal opposition parties, and had personal political ambitions. In the economic sphere he challenged the state-owned energy corporation Transneft by planning two private pipeline projects and opened negotiations with ExxonMobil and ChevronTexaco. In doing so he violated the conviction of the Kremlin that the energy sector should be under the control of the state because of its strategic importance. In 2003, Khodorkovsky was arrested for tax evasion and fraud, among other charges, and sentenced in May 2005 to nine years in prison. Yukos was broken up to pay the state's back tax demands. The majority of the company's oil-producing assets were bought up by an unknown group of investors who were, days later, bought out by the state oil company Rosneft. The United States has called Kho-

dorkovsky's prosecution arbitrary and expressed concern over respect for the rule of law in Russia. In the impoverished Russian population, on the other hand, Putin's actions against Khodorkovsky enjoyed strong support. Recently Khodorkovsky announced he would be standing for a seat in the next Duma elections.

### **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**

The goal of the OSCE, which currently numbers 55 member states, is to promote security, democracy, civil society, and rule of law in Europe. It was established in 1995 as the successor organization to the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). During the East-West conflict the OSCE was for a time the sole forum for discussion, confidence-building, and convergence between the blocs. Between late 1972 and 1975 the states of the Warsaw Pact, NATO, and neutral states negotiated the three "baskets" of security, economics, and other cooperation and the "human dimension" based on a comprehensive concept of security. While the eastern bloc countries placed emphasis on economic cooperation and the principle of nonintervention in other states' internal affairs, the West considered commitments to uphold human rights standards to be of primary importance.

In the Helsinki Final Act, signed on August 1, 1975, the signatory states committed themselves to the inviolability of borders, peaceful resolution of conflicts, non-intervention in other states' internal affairs, upholding human rights and basic freedoms, and cooperation in economic matters. Until 1989, follow-up meetings kept up the dialog within the CSCE framework and a disarmament conference produced agreements on holding military maneuvers, but no further progress was made in substan-

tial issues (from 1986 on, the CSCE was given new impulses by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of perestroika → Soviet Union). After the end of the East-West conflict, the CSCE committed itself in the Charter of Paris to the canon of values of democracy, rule of law, and the market economy. A secretariat and standing institutions were established. Decisions are made within the summit meetings of the heads of states and government of the 55 members, in Ministerial Councils, and in the Permanent Council of OSCE Ambassadors. However, the organization is restricted by the consensus principle, which can be suspended only by "clear, massive, and incorrect violations" by a member state against the OSCE agreements. Orientating itself on the comprehensive concept of security adopted during the CSCE negotiations of the 1970s, the OSCE has incorporated the political-military, economic-ecological, and human dimensions of security into its work. Therefore the field of operations of the organization, which has an annual budget of €169 million, employs some 3,600 people (mostly at the local level), and currently consists of 18 missions (including in Albania, Armenia, Kazakhstan, → Moldova, and Uzbekistan), is broad indeed: The OSCE is active in organizing elections (e.g. in Bosnia-Herzegovina) and electoral monitoring (→ Georgia, → Ukraine). In Kosovo it constitutes the third pillar in the United Nations mission, charged with building up democratic institutions and rule of law. It is also involved in arms control, peacekeeping missions, monitoring human rights observance, early warning, conflict prevention, and post-conflict aid. The → Russian Federation has repeatedly criticized the OSCE for its role in monitoring democratic standards, most recently after the organization's protests against electoral fraud in → Ukraine, which provided the perhaps decisive impulse for the Orange revolution there. In protest,

Russia blockaded the OSCE budget early in 2005 and has demanded a comprehensive redefinition of its objectives and standards. Also, Russian pressure prevented the extension of the OSCE observer mission's mandate at the Russian-Georgian border in the Pankisi Gorge (Russia accuses Georgia of permitting terrorists to infiltrate the border there). Russia also ended the OSCE mission in Chechnya in 2002. By December 2005, a panel of experts is to present recommendations for reforming the OSCE to rescue the organization from oblivion.

<http://www.osce.org>

### **Partnership and Cooperation Agreement of the EU with Russia**

The EU's Partnership and Cooperation Agreements (PCA) are treaties covering a period of ten years that regulate the Union's bilateral relations with Eastern European and Central Asian states. In the medium term, they are supposed to be replaced by European Neighborhood Agreements within the → European Neighborhood Policy. Currently, there are PCA with Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, → Moldova, the → Russian Federation, → Ukraine, and Uzbekistan, the PCA with Mongolia is tacitly renewed on a yearly basis. Two additional PCA, with → Belarus and Turkmenistan, have been suspended before taking effect because of the violation of democratic standards in these countries. The Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between the EU and Russia came into force in December 1997 and expires in 2007. Within the framework of the PCA, the European Council resolved in 1999 to formulate a "Common Strategy of the EU for Russia" that identified four core areas of bilateral relations: (1) integrating Russia in a common European economic and social space; (2) continuing the political dialog to strengthen democracy, rule of law, and

public institutions; (3) improving cooperation with regard to stability and security in Europe; and (4) cooperating in common challenges, e.g. in energy policy and environmental protection. In response, Russia presented in 1999 its "Middle-Term Strategy for the Development of Relations between the Russian Federation and the European Union in the Period from 2000 to 2010," which emphasized aspects of economic cooperation. Within the PCA and the EU's "Wider Europe" initiative, the EU and Russia agreed on November 6, 2003, in the forefront of the EU's eastward enlargement, to establish → "four common spaces." The EU thus created a special form of document for formalizing the relations with its "strategic partner" Russia instead of negotiating an Action Plan within the framework of the European neighborhood policy. Shortly before the EU's 2004 enlargement, Russia agreed to transfer the PCA to the new member states, thereby giving up the economic advantages stemming from bilateral agreements with these countries.

[http://europa.eu.int/comm/external\\_relations/russia/intro/index.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/russia/intro/index.htm)

### **Putin, Vladimir**

born 1952

Putin was elected President of the → Russian Federation in 2000 after being appointed interim Prime Minister under Boris Yeltsin and assuming the president's duties after Yeltsin resigned. In 2004 Putin overwhelmingly won a second term in office; he is constitutionally barred from seeking a third term. Previously he was an officer of the Soviet intelligence service, the KGB, in East Germany; director of the Russian federal domestic intelligence service, the FSB; and secretary of the National Security Council under President Yeltsin. Putin's policies are characterized by efforts to stabilize Russia, which

appeared acutely threatened during Yeltsin's final years. Centralization of political structures has become a key instrument, and has been used even more extensively since the terrorist attacks in Beslan and Moscow. Another priority is to modernize the economy and accelerate economic growth.

Putin's foreign policy seeks to re-establish the country's status as a great power by promoting Russian interests in neighboring states while working to establish a multipolar world order. Putin has referred to the collapse of the Soviet Union as the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Some foreign and domestic experts and politicians criticize Putin's administration for rolling back federal elements, restricting press freedom, violating principles of the rule of law (for example in the prosecution of Mikhail → Khodorkovsky), expanding state influence in the energy sector, thinking in terms of influence zones and allowing massive human rights violations in the Chechen conflict.

### **Russian Federation**

The Russian Federation was established in 1991 after the collapse of the → Soviet Union from the largest former Soviet Republic (Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, RSFSR) and became the successor state to the Soviet Union in international organizations (e.g. the UN). It is marked by the traditions of the Russian Empire which, from its origins as the Principality of Muscovy in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, grew through extensive territorial acquisitions in Europe and Asia from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (e.g. Siberia 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries, Black Sea coast 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> cent., Caucasus 19<sup>th</sup> cent.). According to the 1993 constitution, the Russian Federation is a presidential democracy with a federal structure. President since 2000 has been Vladimir → Putin, whose second and therefore last term permitted by the constitution ends in 2008.

He represents the country internally and externally, has authority to determine guidelines, is commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and possesses, through his right to pass decrees and statutes, legislative power as well. To enable him to meet these responsibilities, several authorities including the Presidential Administration and the Security Council are directly subordinate to him. The president appoints the prime minister (currently Mikhail Fradkov), as well as appointing and dismissing the government. The legislative arm of the Russian political system is the Federal Assembly, consisting of the State Duma and the Federal Council. Four parties are currently represented in the State Duma: the president's supporters United Russia (307 seats), the Russian Communist Party (47), the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (34), and the Motherland Party ("Rodina," 39), in addition to 22 independent deputies. Generally, Russian parties are interest groupings that crystallize around a small number of leadership figures. The parties have few traditional roots, change alliances frequently, and experience considerable fluctuation in popularity. The 2003 Duma elections displayed the Kremlin's dominance of the political and party landscapes. After a campaign criticized by the → OSCE as unfair, in which Putin's opponents had relatively little access to mass media, the liberal Yabloko party, a favored partner in the West, failed to win sufficient votes to enter parliament. Putin's United Russia party, on the other hand, and the Motherland party, which was founded at the Kremlin's prompting, posted substantial gains. Since 2002, the Federal Council no longer consists of the governors and presidents of regional parliaments, but merely of their representatives. In 2000, presidential decree established seven federal districts headed by representatives of the president who monitor the implementation of his policies at the regional level. The Kremlin justified this step by

referring to widespread corruption and autocratic tendencies among the regional rulers and the need for clearly delineated authorities. The decree substantially curtailed the governors' power. In 2004, direct election of governors was replaced by a right of recommendation by the president, which the regional parliaments could merely approve or reject. The economic policy of the Putin Administration is to build up a stable market economy and guarantees for investment security. Important reforms were enacted and the Russian legal space was unified. Russia is now a member of the IMF and the World Bank, and is seeking WTO membership.

#### **Saakashvili, Micheil → Georgia**

##### **Single Economic Space**

In 2003 the presidents of the → Russian Federation, → Ukraine, → Belarus, and Kazakhstan signed an agreement at the → CIS summit in Yalta to establish a Single Economic Space (SES). Goal of the SES is incremental integration into a common market for goods, services, capital, and labor within the next five to seven years. The SES would be implemented through bilateral treaties, conforming to the norms and rules of the WTO, among the signatory states which all seek to join the WTO in the medium term and have agreed to mutually support each other in reaching this goal. Compared to existing multilateral associations such as the CIS and the Eurasian Economic Community, the SES → structure provides for a closer form of cooperation with inter- and supra-state elements that would converge with a unified regulatory organ, to which national sovereignties would be gradually relinquished. The similarities with the institutional structures of the European Union have earned the SES the nickname “east EU.” Signatory states emphasize that the SES

is, on the one hand, open towards the accession of further CIS states and is, on the other hand, completely economic in nature and does not represent a forum for political integration in the post-Soviet region. The various member states have varying ideas about how deep the integration should be. After the “Orange Revolution,” Ukraine confirmed its willingness to join the SES free trade zone. Further steps could be problematic, though, the government declared, as soon as they endangered the country's goal of joining NATO and the EU.

#### **South Ossetia → Georgia**

##### **Soviet Union**

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) or Soviet Union existed from 1922 until 1991 and included the territory of Russia today, plus the → CIS and Baltic states. It consisted formally of 15 republics united in a federal union. In practice the Soviet Union was ruled centrally by Russia. According to the constitution, the Soviet Union was governed by councils (“soviets”) but was, in fact, under the control of the Communist Party (CPSU) and its general secretary. Citizens had the right to vote, but only one party existed—the CPSU. The party therefore controlled the legislature, the bureaucracy, the justice system, and the economy. Mikhail Gorbachev, who was elected general secretary of the CPSU in 1985 and president in 1990, attempted to introduce democratic reforms. With a series of measures collectively known as perestroika (“restructuring”), Gorbachev attempted to reform the decaying Soviet planned economy while cushioning the country's economic crisis. Simultaneously his policy of glasnost (“openness, transparency”) revitalized public discussion and permitted civil rights such as freedom of the speech and the press. These policies weakened the

power of the CPSU. In 1991, conservative politicians attempted an unsuccessful coup against Gorbachev which collapsed against popular resistance led by Boris Yeltsin (then President of the Russian Republic). Support for Gorbachev, who also failed to prevent the Baltic, Central Asian and Caucasian republics as well as → Moldova from breaking away from the USSR, was decisively weakened, while Yeltsin gained huge popularity. In the Fall of 1991, the Russian government under Yeltsin incrementally took over the government of the USSR and banned the CPSU. On December 8, 1991, the last remaining constituents (→ Belarus, → Ukraine) established the Commonwealth of Independent States together with most of the breakaway states excepting the Baltics. The → Russian Federation became the successor state to the Soviet Union and passed a new constitution in 1993.

**Strategic Partnership of the EU with Russia**  
→ **Partnership and Cooperation Agreement of the EU with Russia**

**Transnistria**

The Transnistrian Moldovan Republic (officially named “Pridnestrovian Moldovan Republic” in the constitution) is the breakaway region of → Moldova on the eastern bank of the Dniestr River that has become a “state inside a state.” When Moldova gained independence from the → Soviet Union in 1991, Transnistria likewise declared independence under the Soviet general Igor Smirnov. The rebels were able to prevail in an undeclared war in 1992 thanks to support from Russian troops. Today, Transnistria remains unrecognized by any country but is actually independent, with a capital (Tiraspol), president (Smirnov), and state structures (government, parliament, army, constitution, social security sys-

tem, etc.). Its 633,600 inhabitants (as of 2004) are 34% Moldovan, 28% Ukrainian, and 28% Russian. Since the Russian Federation has delayed its withdrawal from this strategically important area far ahead of its western border, major Russian weapons- and ammunition dumps, as well as Russian troops, remain in the country. Western analysts say Transnistria’s main significance is as a hive of organized crime and a marketplace for arms smuggling, especially among international terrorists. Some claim these activities constitute the material foundation of Smirnov’s rule. After the revolution in → Ukraine, Kiev presented a seven point program, approved in its first reading in July 2005 by the Moldovan parliament, towards resolving the Transnistrian conflict.

**Ukraine**

Before Ukraine became part of the Soviet Union in 1922, the country’s present-day territory was long contested by various powers, especially Poland, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire. Ukraine gained independence in 1991. Today the country with its population of 48 million (17% Russians in 2001) borders on → Belarus in the north, Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary to the west, Romania and → Moldova to the South, and to the northeast the → Russian Federation. The country’s western half has closer ties with Europe, while the mostly Orthodox east and Black Sea coast look toward Russia. The military port of Sevastopol in the Crimean Peninsula is leased to the Russian Black Sea Fleet. In security issues, Ukraine plays a prominent role given its large size and geographical position between Russia and the EU. Much-feared riots that many anticipated after independence in 1991 because of the country’s heterogeneous character never materialized. The nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory after the Soviet collapse were trans-



ported to Russia. Ukraine initially sought a neutral foreign policy between Russia and the EU. To become less dependent economically on Russia, Ukraine participated in the 1997 establishment of the GUUAM group of states (→ Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, → Moldova; today GUAM after the withdrawal of Uzbekistan). In 1994 Ukraine was the first → CIS country to join NATO's Partnership for Peace (PFP) program. In 1997 the NATO-Ukraine Charter was signed. 1800 Ukrainian troops have been participating in the reconstruction of Iraq since September 2003. Meanwhile, President Kuchma, who began facing allegations of corruption and violent crime in 2000, aligned the country increasingly with Russia. In 2003, Kuchma signed the foundation treaty for a → "Single Economic Space" with the presidents of Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia. The 2004 presidential election was followed by the "Orange Revolution" which toppled Kuchma. The favorite of Kuchma and Russian President → Putin, Viktor Yanukovich, at first claimed victory, but popular and international pressure forced a rerun of the election after allegations of widespread electoral fraud. The landslide winner this time was Viktor Yushchenko, who declared NATO and EU membership for Ukraine to be objectives of his presidency. The EU-Ukraine summit in 2004 ordered the negotiation of an action plan within the → European Neighborhood Policy, which was adopted in February 2005. Together with Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili, in August 2005 Yushchenko proclaimed the establishment of a "Community of Democratic Choice" that would encompass all democracies from the Baltic to the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. In light of Ukraine's strong economic relationship with Russia and Ukraine's dependence on Russian energy supplies, Yushchenko still seeks good relations with Moscow. In September Yushchenko dissolved the

government of Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko to put an end to factional fighting that had left the cabinet immobilized.

**Yushchenko, Viktor → Ukraine**

## Index

- Abkhazia → frozen conflicts, → glossary: Georgia
- Africa 29
- Asia 29, 39, 51, 54, 80, 81, 88, 91
- Atlantic partnership → transatlantic relations
- Azerbaijan 82
- Balkans 27, 31, 32, 33, 53, 66
- Baltic states 45, 49, 76, 77, 87, 88, 90, 92, 96, 97, 101, 102
- Belarus 56, 70, 76
- Black Sea region 25
- Bulgaria 54, 79
- Canada 25, 63
- Caucasus 43, 46, 51, 54, 56, 66, 67, 82, 85
- Central Asia 51, 54, 56, 66, 67
- China 25, 40, 45, 50, 54, 56, 81, 96
- CIS 56, 58, 69, 70, → glossary
- Cold War 23, 32, 65, 78, also → Europe, historic dimension, → Russia/Russian Federation, historic dimension
- Council of Europe 23, 25, 27, 29, 44, 51, 82, 83
- CSCE → OSCE
- Cyprus 43, 79
- Czech Republic 26, 79
- Democracy → OSCE, → Europe, values, European
- Eastern Europe 23, 34, 36, 88, 91
- Energy policy 39, 47, 48, 58, 96–97, 100, also → EU, Energy Dialogue with Russia, → Pipelines
- Energy Alliance → Energy policy
- Estonia → Baltic states
- Eurasia 28, 48, 96
- Europe
- historic dimension 24, 25, 86–87, 96, 98
  - common European house 44, 46, 59
  - identity, European 25, 54
  - infrastructure 39, 58–59, 61, 89
  - values, European 29, 38–39, 43, 45, 46, 48, also → Russia, European character
  - civilization, European → Europe, identity, European
  - migration within Europe 28–29
- EU
- acquis communautaire 30, 49, 50, 64
  - action plans 76
  - bureaucracy 36–38
  - CFSP → EU, foreign policy
  - Commission, European 34, 37, 45, 53, 74, 77, 79, 100
  - Constitution 32, 33, 34, 60, 61, 78
  - constitutional referendums 23, 30, 32, 35–36
  - Council of Ministers 33, 37
  - Council of the European Union 37, 77
  - Economic and Monetary Union 40
  - Energy Dialog with Russia, 61, 70–71, 80–82, also → Energy polic
  - Enlargement 27, 31, 34, 35–36, 39
  - ESDP 31
  - European Neighborhood Policy 44, 48, 60, 71, 75 → glossary
  - EU-Russia Summit → EU, relationship with Russia, → EU, Partnership and Cooperation Agreement
  - foreign policy 30–34, 54, 65–66, 91
  - four common spaces 22, 37, 43, 44, 47, 52, 53, 59–65, 68, 71, 82 → glossary
  - Parliament, European 35, 37, 45, 58, 77, 88, 104
  - Partnership and Cooperation Agreement 44, 59, 60, 62, 64
  - policy towards Russia → EU, relationship with Russia
  - relations with Russia 33, 39, 45, 46, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 58, 76, 90–94 also → four common spaces
  - Schengen Agreement 29, 77, 78–79

- Strategic Partnership → EU, relationship with Russia, also → EU, Partnership and Cooperation Agreement
- Weimar triangle 84, 92
- Wider Europe → EU, European Neighbourhood Policy

France 23, 30, 32, 34, 35, 84, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 99, 103

Frozen conflicts 45, 46, 47, 66

G8 57, 65, 66, 92

Georgia 31, 55, 67, 68, 69, 82 → glossary

Geopolitics 31, 55

Germany

- foreign policy 47, 84–85, 88
- German-Russian relations 22, 24, 47, 84–85, 89–90, 91, 94–104
- German-Russian-French relations 90–91, 99–100, 101, 102

GUAM 82

Human rights → OSCE, → Europe, values, European, → Russia, Democracy and Human Rights, → EU, relationship with Russia

Hungary 26, 69

India 56

Iraq 30, 46, 54, 56, 83, 99, 102, 104

Iran 33, 56, 58, 67–68, 80, 104

Israel 31

Kaliningrad 23, 28, 37, 45, 47, 59, 61, 76–79, 85, 88, 97–104 → glossary

Kyrgystan 67

Latvia → Baltic states

Lithuania → Baltic states

Macedonia → Balkans

Middle East 67

Moldova 67, 76, 82, → glossary

Morocco 75, 92

Nagorno-Karabakh → frozen conflicts

NATO 23, 24, 34, 44, 49, 51, 55, 66, 74, 80, 82, 83, 92, 101 → glossary: NATO-Russian relations

Netherlands 23, 30, 32, 35

OECD 57

OSCE 23, 29, 44, 48, 51, 63, 66, 67, 68, 73, 82–83 → glossary

Ottoman Empire → Europe, historic dimension; also → Russia/Russian Federation, historic dimension

Peace missions 33, 66

Petersburg Dialog → Germany, German-Russian relations

Pipelines 81, 90, 96–98, also → Energy policy

Poland 26, 52, 69, 77, 79, 84, 86, 89, 92, 93, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102

Post-Soviet Region 47, 55, 69–70, 71, 104

Rogue states 47

Russia/Russian Federation

- Chechnya 22, 39, 41, 42–43, 68
- Single Economic Space 60, 72
- democracy and human rights 49, 51
- domestic policy 40, 41, 49–50, 51–52
- economy 40, 41, 73, 81
- elections 2008 → Russia, domestic policy
- energy policy 69–70, 81
- European character 25–26, 30, 48, 50, 55
- foreign policy 51, 65
- historic dimension 24, 25, 49–50, 86, 89
- oligarchs 22, 41, 50, 57, → glossary
- relations with the EU → EU, relations with Russia
- relations with France
- relations with Germany → Germany, German-Russian relations
- relations with the USA 40, 46, 53, 54, 56, 57
- WTO membership 41, 45, 57, 63, 74, 95

Saudi Arabia 80

Scandinavia 97

Second World War → Europe, historic dimension, also → Russia/Russian Federation, historic dimension  
 South Ossetia → frozen conflicts, → glossary:  
     Georgia  
 Soviet Union 22, 24, 44, 50, 71, 76, 81, → glossary  
 Spain 92  
 Switzerland 67  
 Terrorism 22, 42, 45, 46, 48, 56, 58, 65–66, 67, 104  
 Transatlantic relations 34, 47, 54, 56, 84, 85, 86, 91  
 Transnistria → frozen conflicts, also → Moldova, → glossary  
 Turkey 27, 29, 30, 31, 34, 36, 53, 55, 72, 81, 96, 98  
 Turkmenistan 81  
 UK 31, 35, 57, 84, 89, 100  
     - EU Presidency 39, 58, 65, 104  
 Ukraine 26, 30, 31, 34, 35, 47, 53, 55, 56, 63, 69, 70, 72–75, 76, 82, 86, 90, 92 → glossary  
     - accession to the EU 71, 72–73, 93  
     - Orange Revolution 27, 52, 72  
 United Nations 38, 46, 65, 66, 67, 83, 84, 99  
 USA 31, 46, 47, 53, 55, 56, 63, 67, 69, 70, 95, 96, 104  
 Uzbekistan 67, 68  
 Weapons of Mass Destruction 64, 65–66  
 WTO 51  
 Yugoslavia → Balkans  
 Yukos → Russia, Oligarchs

Bush, George 44  
 Bush, George W. 100  
 Chirac, Jacques 36, 76, 93, 99, 100, 101, 102  
 Churchill, Winston 22, 73  
 De Gaulle, Charles 30  
 De Hoop Scheffer, Jaap 83  
 Dostoevsky, Fyodor 59  
 Goebbels, Joseph 95  
 Gorbachev, Mikhail 95  
 Grosser, Alfred 86  
 Karimov, Islam 68  
 Karl XII. 25  
 Kissinger, Henry 94, 96  
 Khodorkovsky, Michail 22, 41  
 Kohl, Helmut 77, 95  
 Kuchma, Leonid 74  
 Kwasniewski, Alexander 100  
 Le Pen, Jean-Marie 37  
 Lukashenko, Alexander G. 70  
 Marx, Karl 94  
 Napoleon Bonaparte 89  
 Nevskijs, Alexander 25  
 Peter the Great 25  
 Pilsudski, Josef 25  
 Putin, Vladimir 22, 41, 42, 48, 49, 50, 55, 74, 76, 81, 83, 85, 91, 93, 99, 100, 101, 102  
 Saakashvili, Micheil 69  
 Schröder, Gerhard 24, 76, 85, 93, 99, 100, 101, 102  
 Stalin, Josef 22, 24, 73  
 Truman, Harry 22  
 Yeltsin, Boris 95  
 Yushchenko, Viktor 74

## **Persons**

Adamkus, Valdas 100  
 Adenauer, Konrad 93  
 Ahmedinejad, Mahmoud 67, 68  
 Blair, Tony 23, 31, 35, 58, 65, 104  
 Brandt, Willy 93

## Previous Round Tables\*

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair	
1961	1	Schwächen der industriellen Gesellschaft	F. W. Schoberth	H. B. Tolkmitt
	2	Kulturkrise in der industriellen Gesellschaft	Erik von Sivers	Fritz Voigt
	3	Glanz und Elend der Entwicklungshilfe	Fritz Baade	Günther Buch
	4	Gesellschaftliche Entwicklung im Osten	Helmut Gollwitzer	Eugen Kogon
1962	5	Die Fragwürdigkeit der Bildungspolitik	Rüdiger Altmann	Josef Müller-Marein
	6	Die Erziehung zum Europäer	Stéphane Hessel	François Bondy
	7	Die Bewältigung des Preis-Lohn-Problems	Theodor Pütz	Gottfried Bombach
	8	Die Preis-Lohn-Dynamik in der BRD	Hans-Constantin Paulssen	Fritz Voigt
1963	9	Maschine—Denkmaschine—Staatsmaschine	Pierre Bertaux	Arnold Gehlen
	10	Kybernetik als soziale Tatsache	O. W. Haseloff	Freiherr von Stackelberg
	11	Westliche Gesellschaft und kommunistische Drohung	Winfried Martini	Th. Eschenburg
	12	Wohin treibt die EWG?	U. W. Kitzinger, Roland Delcour	Eugen Kogon
1964	13	Planung in der freien Marktwirtschaft	Edgar Salin	Gottfried Bombach
	14	Wohin Deutschland in Europa?	Alfred Grosser, Karl Theodor Frhr. zu Guttenberg	François Bondy
	15	Entwicklungshilfe—Mittel des Aufstiegs oder des Verfalls?	Walter Rau E. F. Schumacher	Edgar Salin
	16	Industrielle Gesellschaft—menschlich oder unmenschlich?	Raymond Aron	Ralf Dahrendorf
1965	17	Vermögensbildung in Arbeitnehmerhand	Helmut Meinhold H. J. Wallraff	Eugen Kogon
	18	Hemmen Tabus die Demokratisierung?	Alexander Mitscherlich	Hellmut Becker
	19	Automatisierung—eine gesellschaftliche Herausforderung?	Gottfried Bombach Günter Friedrichs Kurt Pentzlin	Hans Wenke

\*a complete list of all participants since 1961 is available at [www.bergedorf-round-table.org](http://www.bergedorf-round-table.org)

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair	
	20	Ein Dilemma der westlichen Demokratien	Leo H. Klaassen	Edgar Salin
1966	21	Die "unterentwickelten" hochindustrialisierten Gesellschaften	Friedrich Heer	Hellmut Becker
	22	Muss unsere politische Maschinerie umkonstruiert werden?	Rüdiger Altmann Joseph Rován	Eugen Kogon
	23	Wissenschaftliche Experten und politische Praxis—Das Problem der Zusammenarbeit in der heutigen Demokratie	Helmut Schelsky Ulrich Lohmar	Hellmut Becker
	24	Ist der Weltfriede unvermeidlich?	Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker	Edgar Salin
1967	25	Bedroht die Pressekonzentration die freie Meinungsbildung?	Helmut Arndt	Hellmut Becker
	26	Neue Wege zur Hochschulreform	Ralf Dahrendorf	Hellmut Becker
	27	Beherrschen die Technokraten unsere heutige Gesellschaft?	Alfred Mozer	Eugen Kogon
1968	28	Freiheit als Störfaktor in einer programmierten Gesellschaft	Jeanne Hersch	Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker
	29	Fördern die Bündnissysteme die Sicherheit Europas?	Wladimir Chwostow	Alfred Grosser
	30	Haben wir im entstehenden Europa eine Chance für die freie Marktwirtschaft?	Hans von der Groeben	Hans Peter Ipsen
	31	Mögliche und wünschbare Zukünfte	Robert Jungk	Hellmut Becker
1969	32	Die Biologie als technische Weltmacht	Adolf Portmann	Hoimar von Ditfurth
	33	Verstärken oder verringern sich die Bedingungen für Aggressivität?	Friedrich Hacker	Eugen Kogon
	34	Welchen Spielraum hat die Entspannungspolitik?	Alfred Grosser	Theo Sommer
1970	35	Zugänge zur Friedensforschung	Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker Richard Löwenthal	Karl Carstens
	36	Europäische Sicherheit und Möglichkeit der Zusammenarbeit	Alfred Grosser Nikolai E. Poljanow	Nikolai E. Poljanow
<i>Leningrad</i>				
	37	Demokratisierung der Demokratie?	Joseph Rován	D. Klaus von Bismarck
1971		Arbeitsgespräch: Aufgabenstellung und Verfahrensfragen einer internationalen Konferenz für Europäische Sicherheit	—	Dr. Franz Karasek

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair	
	38	Infrastrukturreform als Innenpolitik	Helmut Kohl	D. Klaus von Bismarck
	39	Globalsteuerung der Wirtschaft?	Gottfried Bombach	Herbert Giersch
	40	Der bevollmächtigte Mensch	Dennis Gabor	D. Klaus von Bismarck
1972	41	Sprache und Politik	Hans Maier	Hellmut Becker
		Arbeitsgespräch: Demokratie und Nationalbewusstsein in der BRD	Richard Löwenthal	François Bondy
	42	Das erweiterte Europa zwischen den Blöcken	R. Dahrendorf Jean-Pierre Brunet Sir Con O'Neill	Rudolf Kirchschläger
	43	Wo bleiben die alten Menschen in der Leistungsgesellschaft?	Helge Pross	D. Klaus von Bismarck
1973	44	Die "neue Mitte": Schlagwort oder Strukturwandel?	Richard Frhr. v. Weizsäcker	D. Klaus von Bismarck
	45	Umsteuerung der Industriegesellschaft?	Hans-Jochen Vogel Hugo Thiemann	Gottfried Bombach
	46	Neutralität—Wert oder Unwert für die europäische Sicherheit	Rudolf Kirchschläger Gaston Thorn Józef Czyrek	Olivier Reverdin
<i>Vienna</i>				
1974	47	Revolution der Gleichheit—Ende oder Beginn der Freiheit?	Ralf Dahrendorf	D. Klaus von Bismarck
	48	Rohstoff- und Energieverknappung	H. B. G. Casimir Manfred Schäfer	Gottfried Bombach
	49	Entwicklungshilfe—eine Illusion?	Peter T. Bauer Karl-Heinz Sohn	Max Thurn
1975		Arbeitsgespräch: Entspannungspolitik, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Zusammenarbeit	Ralf Dahrendorf H. Ehrenberg Theo Sommer C.-F. Frhr. v. Weizsäcker G. Arbatow O. Bogomolow Schalwa Sanakojew Georgij Shukow	Kurt A. Körber Lew Tolkunow
<i>Moscow</i>				
	50	Kooperation oder Konfrontation—Stürzt die Wirtschaft in eine weltpolitische Krise?	Helmut Schmidt	Gaston Thorn
	51	Welche Zukunft hat die parlamentarische Demokratie westlicher Prägung?	Gaston Thorn	Ralf Dahrendorf
<i>Bonn</i>				

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair	
	52	Ordnungspolitik oder Verteilungskampf?	Kurt H. Biedenkopf	Theo Sommer
1976	53	Die Berufsgesellschaft und ihre Bildung	Hans Maier	Hellmut Becker
	54	Nach der Wahl '76: Welchen Spielraum hat die deutsche Innenpolitik?	—	Ralf Dahrendorf
	55	Entspannungspolitik nach Helsinki	G. Arbatow Leonard H. Marks Theo Sommer Ryszard Wojna	Ralf Dahrendorf
1977 <i>Bonn</i>	56	Ein anderer "Way of Life"	E. F. Schumacher	Hans K. Schneider
<i>Luxemburg</i>	57	Europa und die Weltwirtschaft	Claude Cheysson Herbert Giersch	Gaston Thorn
	58	Energiekrise—Europa im Belagerungszustand?	Guido Brunner	Hans K. Schneider
1978	59	Terrorismus in der demokratischen Gesellschaft	Walter Laqueur	Ralf Dahrendorf
		Arbeitsgespräch: Alternativenergien	Joachim Gretz	Werner H. Bloss
	60	Europäische Arbeitslosigkeit als Dauerschicksal	Volker Hauff Gerhard Fels Erich Streissler	Gottfried Bombach
	61	Wachstum und Lebenssinn—Alternative Rationalitäten?	Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker	Ralf Dahrendorf
1979 <i>Moscow</i>	62	UdSSR und Bundesrepublik Deutschland—wirtschaftliche und politische Perspektiven in den 80er Jahren	Klaus von Dohnanyi Alexander E. Bowin	K. A. Körber Boris A. Borrissov
	63	Jugend und Gesellschaft	Leopold Rosenmayr	Hans Maier
	64	Weltrezession 1980? Befürchtungen und Hoffnungen	Herbert Giersch Karl Otto Pöhl	Hans K. Schneider
1980	65	Der Westen und der Nahe Osten	Arnold Hottinger Hans A. Fischer-Barnicol H. Hobohm	Udo Steinbach
	66	Europas Sicherheit	Christoph Bertram W. R. Smyser	Theo Sommer
	67	Voraussetzungen und Ziele der Entspannung in den 80er Jahren	W. A. Matweew Stanley Hoffmann	Karl Kaiser



Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair	
1981	68	Der Ausbau des Sozialstaates und das Dilemma des Staatshaushaltes	R. Dahrendorf Anke Fuchs	Armin Gutowski
	69	Europe and America facing the crises of the 80's	R. Dahrendorf Stanley Hoffmann	Karl Kaiser
	70	Was bleibt noch vom staatsbürgerlichen Grundkonsens?	Hans-Jochen Vogel E. Noelle-Neumann	Ralf Dahrendorf
1982	71	Repräsentieren die Parteien unsere Gesellschaft?	Werner Remmers Richard Löwenthal	Hans Heigert
	72	Wirtschaftspolitik in der Krise? Zur Situation in den Vereinigten Staaten, Großbritannien, Frankreich und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland	J. Tobin M. Feldstein Sir Alec Cairncross A. A. Walters P. E. Uri P. Salin A. Gutowski H. Schulmann	Herbert Giersch
1983	73	Ein Weg zur Erneuerung der Industriegesellschaft	Präsident Gaston Thorn	Ralf Dahrendorf
	74	Die deutsche Frage—neu gestellt	Richard Frhr. v. Weizsäcker	Karl Kaiser
1984	75	Zukunft Europas: Probleme der politischen und militärischen Entspannung.	Horst Teltschik Wadim W. Sagladin	Karl Kaiser Juri Shukow
	76	Ist die Spaltung Europas das letzte Wort?	Franz Kardinal König Helmut Schmidt	Luigi Vittorio Graf Ferraris
1985	77	Neue Strukturen für die soziale Sicherheit?	Helmut Meinhold Ulf Fink Olaf Sund	Fides Krause-Brewer
	78	10 Jahre Helsinki—die Herausforderung bleibt	R. Burt S. Tichwinskij M. Szürös L. V. Graf Ferraris M. Dobrosielski H. Teltschik	Ralf Dahrendorf
1986	79	Findet Europa wieder die Kraft, eine Rolle in der Weltpolitik zu spielen?	Jacques Delors Lord Carrington Helmut Schmidt	Karl Kaiser

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair	
	80	Bürger und res publica—die Zukunft der Verantwortung	Hans Maier	Ralf Dahrendorf
1987	81 <i>Moscow</i>	Die Beziehungen zwischen der Sowjetunion und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland	Volker Rühle Wadim W. Sagladin Egon Bahr	Valentin Falin Theo Sommer
	82 <i>Geneva</i>	Die Modernität in der Industriegesellschaft—und danach?	Hermann Lübbe	Luigi V. Ferraris
	83 <i>Budapest</i>	Zusammenarbeit als Mittel zur Vertrauensbildung	M. Szürös Helmut Schmidt R. Bogdanow H. Sonnenfeldt	Karl Kaiser
1988	84 <i>Berlin</i>	Systemöffnende Kooperation? Perspektiven zwischen Ost und West	W. Leonhard Harry Maier	Jürgen Engert
	85 <i>Munich</i>	Die ökologische Wende—hat sie noch Chancen?	Frhr. v. Lersner Alois Glück	Hans Maier
	86 <i>Bonn</i>	Das gemeinsame europäische Haus—aus der Sicht der Sowjetunion und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland	Wadim W. Sagladin Horst Teltschik	Karl Kaiser
1989	87 <i>Dresden</i>	Globale Umweltproblematik als gemeinsame Überlebensfrage	W. Mundt W. Haber	Max Schmidt
	88 <i>Bonn</i>	Auf dem Wege zu einem neuen Europa? Perspektiven einer gemeinsamen westlichen Ostpolitik	Lawrence Eagleburger Sir Christopher Mallaby Horst Teltschik	Sir Ralf Dahrendorf
	89 <i>Prague</i>	Chancen für die europäische Kultur am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts	Valtr Komárek Kurt Biedenkopf	Hans Heigert
1990	90 <i>Dresden</i>	Wie geht es weiter mit den Deutschen in Europa?	Willy Brandt Manfred Stolpe Lothar Späth	Sir Ralf Dahrendorf
	91 <i>Moscow</i>	Europa im Aufbruch—auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Friedensordnung	Wadim W. Sagladin Horst Teltschik	Andreas Meyer-Landrut
1991	92 <i>Moscow</i>	Perestrojka: Kontinuität, Ende oder Wende?	W. Wladislawlew F. W. Christians	Sir Ralf Dahrendorf
	93 <i>Berlin</i>	Nach dem "Sozialismus": Wie geht es weiter mit den neuen Demokratien in Europa?	Tadeusz Mazowiecki Sir Ralf Dahrendorf	Hans Maier
1992	94 <i>Dresden</i>	Wege zur inneren Einheit	Kurt Biedenkopf Wolfgang Thierse	Brigitte Seebacher-Brandt

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair
95 <i>Paris</i>	Welche Antworten gibt Europa auf die neuen Einwanderungswellen?	Willy Brandt Jacques Delors	Karl Kaiser
96 <i>Tallinn</i>	Zwischen Integration und nationaler Eigenständigkeit: wie findet Europa zusammen?	Jim Hoagland Dr. Krenzler Lennart Meri T. Örn B. Schmidbauer	Andreas Meyer-Landrut
97 <i>Kiev</i>	Energiesicherheit für ganz Europa?	Hermann Krämer W. Skjarow Helga Steeg Y. Rudenko	Andreas Meyer-Landrut
<b>1993</b> <i>Berlin</i>	98 Orientierungskrise in Politik und Gesellschaft? Perspektiven der Demokratie	Antje Vollmer Wolf Lepenies	Jürgen Engert
99 <i>Ditchley Park</i>	Will the West survive the disintegration of the East?	Bill Bradley W. F. van Eekelen H.-G. Poettering	Lord Ralf Dahrendorf
100 <i>Dresden</i>	Wieviel Gemeinsinn braucht die liberale Gesellschaft?	Kurt Biedenkopf Albert O. Hirschman	Dieter Grimm
<b>1994</b> <i>St. Petersburg</i>	101 Russland und der Westen: Internationale Sicherheit und Reformpolitik	A. A. Kokoschin Volker Rühle A. A. Sobtschak	Andreas Meyer-Landrut
102 <i>Friedrichsroda</i>	Zukunftsfähigkeit von Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft	Lothar Späth Leo A. Nefiodow	Jürgen Engert
<b>1995</b> <i>Oxford</i>	103 Die Verfassung Europas	Jean-Claude Casanova Timothy Garton Ash Wolfgang Schäuble	Lord Ralf Dahrendorf
104 <i>Warsaw</i>	Europa—aber wo liegen seine Grenzen?	Bronislaw Geremek Anders Björck J. François-Poncet	Karl Kaiser
105 <i>Munich</i>	Ein neuer Gesellschaftsvertrag?	Horst Seehofer Barbara Riedmüller	Hermann Korte
<b>1996</b> <i>Jerusalem</i>	106 Europe and the Future of the Middle East—an Agenda for Peace	Mahdi F. Abdul Hadi Hanan Bar-On Leonard Hausman Jean-Paul Jesse Helmut Schäfer	Michael Stürmer

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair
107	Medien—Macht—Politik	Wolfgang Donsbach Wolfgang Hoffmann-Riem Theo Sommer	Thomas Kielinger
108 <i>Moscow</i>	Was bewegt Russland?	Sergej Baburin Sir Rodric Braithwaite	Andreas Meyer-Landrut
<b>1997</b> <i>Istanbul</i>	109 At the crossroads of geo-politics— Turkey in a changing political environment	Ilter Türkmen Morton Abramowitz Hans-Ulrich Klose	Curt Gasteyerger
110 <i>Berlin</i>	Wege aus der blockierten Gesellschaft	André Leysen Jürgen Rüttgers	Lord Ralf Dahrendorf
111 <i>Amsterdam</i>	Wie ist Europa zu sichern?	Ulrich Cartellieri Sir Christopher Mallaby Wolfgang Ischinger Marten van Heuven Frits Bolkestein David P. Calleo Max Kohnstamm Elmar Brok	Michael Stürmer
<b>1998</b> <i>Leipzig</i>	112 Wachsende Ungleichheiten—neue Spaltungen?	Dr. Kurt Biedenkopf Heinz Bude Wolfgang Huber	Barbara Riedmüller
113 <i>Baku</i>	Energie und Geostrategie im kaspischen Raum	Terry D. Adams Vafa Goulizade Paul Haseldonckx Hans-Friedrich von Ploetz	Andreas Meyer-Landrut
<b>1999</b> <i>Magdeburg</i>	114 Welche gesellschaftliche Wertigkeit hat der Sport?	Hans Lenk Herbert Riehl-Heyse Jürgen Palm	Hermann-Anders Korte
115 <i>Berlin</i>	115 Neue Dimensionen des Politischen? Herausforderungen für die repräsentative Demokratie	Antonia Grunenberg Sabine Leutheusser- Schnarrenberger	Jutta Limbach
116 <i>Moscow</i>	116 Russland in Europa: Zehn Jahre nach dem Kalten Krieg	Wolfgang Ischinger Oleg Morosow Ulrich Cartellieri Andrej A. Kokoschin	Andreas Meyer-Landrut
<b>2000</b> <i>Berlin</i>	117 Modell Deutschland: Reif für die Globalisierung?	Henning Scherf Carl Christian v. Weizsäcker	Klaus v. Dohnanyi

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair
118 <i>Berlin</i>	Ein föderatives Europa?	Sylvie Goulard Klaus Hänsch Jerzy Kranz	Rudolf von Thadden
119 <i>Beijing</i>	China: Partner in der Weltwirtschaft	Yang Qixian Zheng Silin Wang Chunzheng Shen Jueren Zhu Min Shi Mingde Song Jian Konrad Seitz Horst Teltschik Martin Posth	Mei Zhaorong Karl Kaiser
2001 120 <i>Berlin</i>	Verhandlungsdemokratie? Politik des Möglichen— Möglichkeiten der Politik	Dieter Grimm Annette Fugmann-Heesing	Robert Leicht
121 <i>Helsinki</i>	The Baltic Sea—a Region of Prosperity and Stability?	Bertel Haarder Artur J. Kuznetsov Alar J. Rudolf Olljum Hans Olsson Timo Summa Erkki Tuomioja Christoph Zöpel	Jaako Itoniemi
122 <i>Moscow</i>	Russia's European Dimension	—	Sergej W. Jastrschembskij Sergej A. Karaganow
2002 123 <i>Belgrade</i>	The Future of Southeast Europe	Andy Bearpark Erhard Busek Nebojša Čović Bozidar Djelić Alexandra Jovičević Herwig Kempf Gerald Knaus Wolfgang Petritsch Goran Svilanović	Martti Ahtisaari Erhard Busek
124 <i>Berlin</i>	Contours of a “New World Order”?	Egon Bahr John L. Hirsch Peter W. Singer Paul W. Schroeder Georges-Henri Soutou Karsten D. Voigt Norbert Walter Samuel F. Wells Jr.	Lord Ralf Dahrendorf

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair
2003 Hamburg	125 Reinventing Europe— Cultural Dimensions of Widening and Deepening	Hélène Ahrweiler Üstün Ergüder Monika Griefahn Yudhishthir Raj Isar Hywel Ceri Jones Karl Schlögel Gary Smith Gijs de Vries	Otto von der Gablentz
126 Florence	The Future of Democracy—European Perspectives	Henri de Bresson Andrea Manzella Gesine Schwan Larry Siedentop Gijs de Vries Helen Wallace	Roger de Weck
127 Isfahan	The Middle East and Western Values: A Dialog With Iran	Gilles Kepel Michael McFaul Homayra Moshirzadeh Ahmad Nagheebzadeh Giandomenico Picco Johannes Reissner Hossein Salimi	Christoph Bertram Seyed Kazem Sajjadpour
2004 Wilton Park	128 Power and Rules—Elements of a New World Order	Paul Schroeder Dame Pauline Neville-Jones David Rieff Heather Grabbe Ghanim Alnajjar Michael Schaefer Avis Bohlen	Christoph Bertram
129 Lviv	Frontiers and Horizons of the EU— The New Neighbors Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova	Ian Boag Gernot Erler Yaroslav Hrytsak Danuta Hübner Evgenii M. Kozhokin Wolfgang Schäuble Oleksandr O. Tschaly Jakub T. Wolski	Roger de Weck
2005 Cairo	130 Forging a Just Global Order— Trade, Development, Political Strategies	Badria Al-Awadhi Mark Chingono Larry Diamond Rainer Forst Sheikh Ali Gom'a Amr Hamzawy Stefano Manservisi Norbert Walter	Theo Sommer



# Körper-STIFTUNG

Forum für Impulse

edition Körper-STIFTUNG



**BERGEDORFER  
GESPRÄCHSKREIS**  
*Bergedorf Round Table*

BegegnungsCentrum  
**HAUS  
im Park**  
*Citizen's Center »Haus im Park«*

Democracy thrives on social dialogue and the collective search for solutions. As a forum for new ideas and impulses the Körper Foundation seeks with its projects to involve citizens actively in social discourses.



**USABLE®**  
TRANSATLANTISCHER  
IDEEWETTBEWERB  
*USable  
The Transatlantic Idea Contest*

**Boy  
Gobert  
Preis**  
*Boy Gobert Prize*

The private, non-profit-making foundation provides a forum for involvement in politics, education, science and international communication. Citizens who take part in competitions and round table discussions organised by the foundation benefit in many ways: they can pass on knowledge, identify problems and initiate activities. These kinds of stimulus form the Körper Foundation's contribution to the everyday culture of democracy.

**KÖRBER  
FotoAward**  
*Körper-Photo-Award*



**Deutsch-  
Türkischer  
Dialog**  
*German-Turkish Dialogue*

**theater  
haus im park**  
*Theatre »Haus im Park«*



**Eustory**  
*History Network for Young Europeans*



**Geschichtswettbewerb  
des Bundespräsidenten**  
*Jugendliche forschen vor Ort*



**Deutscher Studienpreis**  
Der Wettbewerb für junge Forscher  
*German Students Award  
The Competition for Young Researchers*

*The Federal President's History Competition.  
Students researching on site*

**KÖRBER-PREIS  
FÜR DIE EUROPÄISCHE  
WISSENSCHAFT**

*Körper European Science Award*

### **The Bergedorf Round Table**

Chairman	Dr. Richard von Weizsäcker, former President of the Federal Republic of Germany
Coordinator	Dr. Klaus Wehmeier (Deputy Chairman of the Board of Directors) Dr. Thomas Paulsen (Managing Director)
Program Assistant	Karen Pehla, M.A.
Program Manager	Dr. 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: <a href="mailto:bg@koerber-stiftung.de">bg@koerber-stiftung.de</a> <a href="http://www.bergedorf-round-table.org">www.bergedorf-round-table.org</a>

### **Imprint**

Bibliografische Information Der Deutschen Bibliothek  
Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie;  
detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.ddb.de> abrufbar.

© edition Körber-Stiftung, Hamburg 2005

Editors	Dr. Thomas Weihe Horst Rödinger
Translations	Nicolas Kumanoff
Pictures	Marc Darchinger
Design	Groothuis, Lohfert, Consorten   <a href="http://glcons.de">glcons.de</a>
Printed	in Germany by Offizin Andersen Nexö Leipzig

ISBN 3-89684-360-5

All rights are reserved. These minutes may be reproduced upon request.

The Bergedorf Protocols are also published in German. Both versions  
are available for download and research at [www.bergedorf-round-table.org](http://www.bergedorf-round-table.org)

PCA gültig bis 2007