

ANNEX

Participants



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Selected writings: The Anti-American Century, (co-au-

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Pages: 25, 26, 43, 44, 45, 49, 53, 60, 64, 93, 98



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- Countries in NATO and EU
- Countries in NATO and have opened accession talks with the EU
- Countries in Intensified Dialogue in NATO
- Countries with the Individual Partnership Action Plan
- Countries in the European Neighborhood Policy

Map from Ronald D. Asmus (ed.),
Next Steps in Forging a Euroatlantic Strategy for the Wider Black Sea,
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UNOMIG, Map No. 3837, Rev. 51,
September 2006

Glossary

Abkhazia

One of the → frozen conflict regions of the Caucasus region, Abkhazia borders the Black Sea in → Georgia's northwest and has a population of about 250,000 in an area of 8,600 km². Officially an autonomous region within Georgia, it is a de facto state in itself with its own political and administrative structures. Its "capital" is Sukhumi. The "Republic of Abkhazia" is not recognized internationally. The de jure government of the Province of Abkhazia, under the control of Georgia's central government, is based in the Georgian-controlled Kodori Valley in Upper Abkhazia.

In 1921 Abkhazia became a Union Republic and, in 1931, an Autonomous Republic within the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic. Encouraged by the Soviet government in Moscow, Georgians settled in the region to such an extent that the Abkhaz became a minority (17% in 1989 in contrast to 60–65% Abkhaz and 25–30% Georgians at the beginning of the century). Tensions between ethnic Georgians and the Abkhaz that had existed for decades intensified in the late 1980s. After Georgia declared independence in 1991, Abkhazia declared its secession from Georgia in 1992. Georgian troops occupied Abkhazia but the region's pro-Russian secessionist movement gradually regained control, supported by the self-styled "Confederation of Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus" and, according to Georgian accounts, regular Russian forces. The fighting ended after the secessionists took the capital Sukhumi. The war lasted over a year, led to war crimes, many thousands of deaths, and the displacing of about 240,000 ethnic Georgians. A ceasefire agreement signed in 1994 called for the deployment of 1,800 Russian soldiers as a peacekeeping force of the Community of Independent States (CIS) who remain there today and are, in turn, monitored by a UN observer mission (UNOMIG).

Since 1993 the UN has been supporting negotiations toward a peaceful resolution of the conflict through a Special Representative to the UN Secretary General (since August 2006 Jean Arnault) and a Group of Friends of the Secretary General, to which representatives of the United States, Russia, Britain, France, and Germany belong. Beginning in Geneva in 1997, representatives of the Georgian government and the de facto Abkhaz regime have been negotiating within the framework of the so-called Coordination Council.

In recent years, Russia has gradually expanded its influence in Abkhazia. Many Abkhaz inhabitants have been issued Russian passports and rail links between Sukhumi and the Russian resort town of Sochi have been reopened. When Raul Khajimba, the Russian-supported candidate in the 2004 "presidential elections", lost to Sergey Bagapsh, Russia imposed an embargo against Abkhaz mandarin oranges. The resulting crisis led to a deal being struck by the two former rivals to run jointly—today they rule as "President" Bagapsh and "Vice President" Khajimba. Georgian leaders attribute Russian support for Abkhazia to the goals of destabilizing the region and obstructing NATO and eventual EU membership for Georgia.

After his election in 2004, Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili declared his intention to restore the country's territorial integrity and therefore reintegrate Abkhazia. In light of Russia's aggressive rhetoric and support for the separatists, the Georgian government considers itself under time pressure. In June 2006 the Georgian parliament accepted a government proposal for a peace plan with Abkhazia that calls for an autonomous Abkhaz entity within Georgia and would replace the Russian peacekeepers with an UN force. In July 2006 Georgian forces advanced into the Kodori Valley, previously controlled by militia leader Emzar Kvitsiani and largely within

Abkhaz territory, but which includes large numbers of ethnic Georgians and Svans. After the Georgian central government had reestablished its authority in the region it installed the Georgian Abkhaz government in exile there. In September 2006 Georgia demanded a new format for the negotiations over Abkhazia: the EU should be included as an observer at the negotiations within the Coordination Council supported by the Group of Friends.

The Abkhaz separatists say they feel threatened by the Georgian army's US-supported modernization and rearmament. The Abkhaz government claims to have its own European vision for the breakaway region that would see Abkhazia as a bridge between the EU, Russia, and Georgia. De facto President Bagapsh has said that Abkhaz independence is non-negotiable. On October 18, 2006, the Abkhaz de facto government appealed to Russia to recognize the independence of Abkhazia.

United States policy supports the re-integration of Abkhazia into Georgia, has promised funding for rebuilding infrastructure following a peaceful resolution of the conflict, and is helping modernize the Georgian army. Some observers believe some US actors now consider a strategy of cooperating to a certain extent with the Abkhaz "government" with the purpose of strengthening pro-Western influences there and thereby weakening Russia's sway in the region. The UN calls for a negotiated settlement legitimized by a referendum held after the expelled ethnic groups return. The EU is working toward a peaceful resolution of the conflict and has rejected Georgian demands that an EU force replace the Russian peacekeepers.

BSEC—Black Sea Economic Cooperation

The BSEC was founded in 1992, primarily at the initiative of Turkey, by eleven states in Istanbul (Alba-

nia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Turkey, and Ukraine). Serbia-Montenegro joined in 2004; after the separation of Serbia and Montenegro only Serbia remained. Today the 12 member states, of which six border the Black Sea (Bulgaria, Georgia, Romania, Russia, Turkey and Ukraine), represent 350 million people. As the sole regional organization the BSEC encompasses all Black Sea littoral states including Russia (in contrast e.g. to → GUAM or the → CDC). Thirteen states including The United States, Germany, and France have observer status. After operating for some years as a series of conferences the BSEC acquired an international legal identity in 1999 as an international regional institution under Article VIII of the UN Charter. The BSEC Permanent Secretariat was established in Istanbul in 1994.

The organization's goal is to promote regional stability, and prosperity through multilateral cooperation in areas including energy, finance, trade, agriculture, economic development, transport, law enforcement, science, technology, and institution-building.

Decision-making takes place at summit meetings and by the Council of Foreign Ministers, which are prepared and supported by the frequently assembled Committee of Senior Officials. The presidency rotates semi-annually among the member states (November 2006—April 2007: Serbia), in which the Chairman-in-Office works together with his successor and predecessor as a troika. The Permanent Secretariat has executive and administrative powers. Subsidiary institutions of the BSEC include working groups and the Project Development Fund. Associate bodies with their own budgets include the advisory Parliamentary Assembly of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation, the Business Council, the Black Sea Trade and Development Bank, the International

Center for Black Sea Studies (ICBSS), the BSEC's think tank, and the Coordination Center for Exchange of Statistical Data and Economic Information.

The BSEC's projects include a ring highway around the Black Sea ("Road of the Argonauts") and development of Black Sea ferry connections. A number of smaller projects are already being funded through the BSEC Project Development Fund. Mechanisms have been established to fight dangers in the area of soft security (e.g. organized crime) but have yet to be implemented. In energy cooperation the BSEC has issued papers but has not yet taken on a concrete project.

The BSEC is working toward closer ties with the World Bank and the European Union. In September 2005, the BSEC Council in Moldova's capital Chisinau authorized Greece to explore, in consultation with EU representatives, possibilities of institutional cooperation with the European Union.

Critics say that, although it has built up a formal structure and convenes its bodies regularly, the BSEC has not yet established itself as a significant actor in the region. The organization has resolved to undertake comprehensive reforms in seeking a more effective, wide-ranging, and project-oriented role in the region.

www.bsec-organization.org

Community of Democratic Choice (CDC)

The CDC is an international organization among states of the Black Sea and Baltic regions intended to promote democracy, human rights, rule of law, cooperation, and conflict resolution. It exists as an ongoing series of conferences, with neither institutionalized structures nor an independent budget.

In August 2005, Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko and Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili signed a joint statement known as the Bor-

jomi Declaration, which called for a community of democratic states in the Baltic, Caspian, and Black Sea regions sharing the vision of European and Euro-Atlantic integration. On December 2, 2005, representatives of Ukraine, Georgia, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Macedonia, Moldova, Romania, and Slovenia signed the group's founding document, the "Kiev Declaration." Delegations from Azerbaijan, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland as well as observers from the United States, the EU, and the OSCE were also present. Two subsequent conferences have since taken place, in Tbilisi (March 2006) and Vilnius (May 2006). In Vilnius both President Valdas Adamkus and Polish President Lech Kaczynski played host. Macedonia and Slovenia did not send representatives. As a result, their current status—and the number of current members—remains unresolved. Uncertainty also exists over the status of the Caspian region, identified during the CDC's founding as a target region, but which, in contrast to the Baltic and Black Sea regions, was not included in the logo at the Vilnius conference.

The CDC is regarded as a collection of pro-Western countries interested in association with NATO and the EU, comparable to → GUAM and the BSF (Black Sea Forum for Partnership and Dialogue). The CDC's relations with Russia are the object of debate. According to Ukrainian President Yushchenko the CDC is not directed against any third countries, pursues exclusively positive goals, and remains open to all. Senior Georgian official Georgi Arveladze, on the other hand, has described the CDC as an "axis of democratic countries that do not wish to remain in Russia's orbit." US Vice-President Dick Cheney was a guest speaker at the Vilnius meeting, accusing Russia of using its oil and gas reserves as "tools of intimidation or blackmail" and promising U.S. support for all those countries seeking to join the EU and NATO.

The speech was strongly criticized by Russia, with Russian Kremlin adviser Gleb Pavlovsky calling the CDC an antechamber to NATO. Russia has yet to accept invitations to participate at CDC conferences at the highest level. Senior Turkish representatives have likewise declined invitations, sending lower-level representatives instead. Analysts attribute Turkey's conduct to the country's primary interest in maintaining stability and the status quo, as well as its skepticism toward external actors in the region. Turkish diplomats have warned against "organizations with a discriminatory character." Some CDC members, including Moldovan President Vladimir Voronin, have demanded that the organization be given an institutional structure.

<http://www.vilniusconference2006.lt/en/>

Frozen conflicts

The term "frozen conflict" is used to identify a series of separatist conflicts in the post-Soviet region that, after a period of mass bloodshed in the early 1990s, resulted in the establishment of internationally unrecognized but de facto states. A belt of frozen conflicts extends from Transnistria in eastern Moldova through → Abkhazia and → South Ossetia in Georgia to → Nagorno-Karabakh in Azerbaijan.

When Moldova, Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan declared their independence during the collapse of the Soviet Union early in the 1990s, ethnic groups such as the Abkhaz and South Ossetians, who were concentrated in certain regions of these countries, declared their own independent states. These secessionist movements were generally supported by Russia, which saw in them an opportunity to project influence beyond its borders. In violent clashes and, in some cases, full-scale wars, people not belonging to the majority ethnic or linguistic group reclaiming the territory were expelled, including Georgians

from Abkhazia and Azeris from Nagorno-Karabakh. Since ceasefire agreements were reached in the mid-1990s the frozen conflict regions, with the exception of Nagorno-Karabakh, all host international peacekeeping troops consisting largely of Russian soldiers, who are in turn monitored by the OSCE or UN. Negotiations during the past 15 years have failed to resolve these conflicts and have repeatedly been broken off. Regimes have developed in the regions that, although not internationally recognized, display most hallmarks of governments and administrations. The de facto regimes of Abkhazia, South Ossetia, and Transnistria have formed the "Community for Democracy and the Rights of the Peoples" and meet regularly. These leaders also refer to efforts toward independence for Kosovo as a possible legal precedent. While the West disputes that Kosovo and the frozen conflicts are comparable, the Kremlin has said both Kosovo and the frozen conflicts are matters concerning the question of whether the right to self-determination or guaranteed territorial integrity should prevail. One cannot, Russia argues, set completely different priorities in different cases. The international community must agree on universal principles that could serve as guidelines for all these regions, the Russians say.

Georgia

Georgia (pop. 4.6 million in 2004) declared its independence in 1991 shortly before the USSR's collapse. In 1995 the country adopted a democratic constitution following a referendum. Former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze was Georgia's president from 1992 but was driven from office in the non-violent "Rose Revolution" in 2003 in the wake of alleged election fraud. In January 2004 Mikhail Saakashvili, at the time the most important leader of the opposition, was elected president. Saakash-

vili vowed to fight corruption, modernize the economy, re-establish the country's territorial integrity by recovering the breakaway areas of → Abkhazia, Ajaria, and → South Ossetia, and integrate Georgia with the West with perspectives for joining the EU and NATO.

Georgia has concluded a Partnership and Cooperation Agreement with the EU, is a component of the European Neighborhood Policy (Action Plans with Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan adopted on November 14, 2006), and is actively pursuing NATO membership. The government has introduced comprehensive economic reforms to create a market economy and minimise state restraints.

The country's relations with its big neighbor Russia have deteriorated substantially in recent years. During the early 1990s Russia supported separatist movements in the breakaway Georgian frozen conflict regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Moscow points out its constructive contributions to ensuring stability in the region and criticizes what it says is Georgian aggression and intransigence towards practical compromise proposals. Russia also accuses Georgia of negligence in repeatedly allowing terrorist and extremist elements to cross the border into Russian territory. Georgia, in turn, says Moscow supports the frozen conflict regimes and that the part its peacekeeping troops in the region play is neither constructive nor unbiased. Russia, Tbilisi says, is seeking to torpedo negotiations over the conflicts with the aim of permanently weakening Georgia's territorial integrity so severely that it cannot join NATO, thereby safeguarding Russian influence in the region.

Ajaria was reincorporated into Georgia in May 2004, while Abkhazia and South Ossetia remain "frozen conflicts". Shots were fired in the summer of 2004 in South Ossetia when Georgia attempted to

crack down on smuggling over the Russian border by increasing its military presence in the region.

Russian-Georgian tensions worsened in 2006. In the spring Russia imposed an embargo on Georgian wine and mineral water—two of the country's most important exports—on the grounds that the products did not meet health standards. In September 2006 the Georgian defense minister came under fire while flying over South Ossetia by helicopter, forcing an emergency landing. Late in September Georgian police arrested four Russians on suspicion of espionage. President Putin accused Georgia of "state terrorism" and cut off all transport arteries and postal communication with the country in October 2006. The detained officers were later handed over to the OSCE and flown back to Moscow without the embargo being lifted. Russia has expelled numerous Georgians living in Russia illegally and closed shops and casinos since October 2006. The incomes of ethnic Georgians in Russia are sent largely to relatives in Georgia and constitute a substantial source of revenue for the Georgian economy. Georgia has criticized human rights violations in the course of the expulsions. Russia drastically raised the price for exports of natural gas to Georgia, which has to pay world market prices by now.

GUAM

An international organization of four CIS states: → Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova, established as a forum of security and economic cooperation on the basis of shared democratic values. The members also seek to coordinate their policies within major organizations such as the UN while supporting each others' efforts at convergence with Euro-Atlantic structures. The name is an acronym of its members (during the 1999–2005 membership of Uzbekistan: GUUAM).

GUAM was founded on October 10, 1997 in Strasbourg during a summit meeting of the Council of Europe. The United States backed the new organization, according to observers, as a means of creating a counterweight to Russia's influence in the region. After a series of meetings the first summit was held on June 7, 2001, in Yalta. At the Kiev summit of May 23, 2006, the heads of state signed a new statute to upgrade the group, under the name "GUAM Organization for Democracy and Economic Development," into a fully-fledged international organization. GUAM has had observer status at the UN General Assembly since 2003.

The circle of members and observers has changed over time. Founded by Georgia, Azerbaijan, Ukraine, and Moldova, the organization expanded in 1999 with the entry of Uzbekistan, which seceded again in 2005 to pursue greater activity in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, of which it was a member since 2001. Current observers are Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, and the United States. GUAM is open for accession by additional states that share its goals and principles.

GUAM is organized along three tiers according to its charter. An annual summit among the member states' Heads of State is considered the organization's supreme body. The executive body, the Council of Foreign Ministers, meets semi-annually, and finally, there is the working body or Committee of National Coordinators. There are seven working groups on the topics of energy; transport; trade and economic development; information technology and telecommunication; culture, science, and education; tourism; and the fight against terrorism, organized crime, and drug trafficking. Decisions are reached through consensus. The GUAM Information Office in Kiev functions as the group's secretariat. Former Georgian Foreign Minister Valeri Chechelashvili has been Secretary General

since September 2006. GUAM's Parliamentary Assembly was established in September 2004.

More than 20 multilateral agreements have been concluded within the framework of GUAM to date. The organization has advanced proposals to resolve the → frozen conflicts in the Black Sea region and fight organized crime. In May 2006 the Ukrainian defense minister Gritsenko called on GUAM to provide peacekeeping troops. In the field of economics a protocol toward the creation of a free trade zone has been agreed. Securing and improving energy transfer from Central Asia through the Caspian region to Europe is also an important item on the GUAM agenda.

Montreux Convention

Signed by Britain, Bulgaria, France, Greece, Japan, Romania, Turkey, the USSR, and Yugoslavia in 1936, the Montreux Convention Regarding the Regime of the Turkish Straits was the international agreement that gave Turkey control over the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. It replaced the international commission that controlled passage since the Convention of Lausanne (1923). The Montreux Convention remains in effect today, regulating the rights of passage for merchant ships and war vessels. The straits are considered international waterways. Merchant ships enjoy unrestricted passage during peacetime. Turkish authorities are authorized to check ships for sanitary conditions, safety, and can charge tolls, but cannot stop their passage. Warships from non-Black Sea powers are allowed to remain in the Black Sea for no longer than 21 days.

After Russia gained control of the northern Black Sea coast during the 18th century, the European powers sought to regulate maritime access to the Black Sea in their own interest through diplomacy. The Treaty of Hunkar Iskelesi, signed between Ottoman Turkey and Russia in 1833 after Russia's vic-

tory in the Russo-Turkish War, included a secret article under which Turkey would close the Dardanelles to all non-Russian ships in time of war. In 1841 the five European powers and Turkey signed the London Straits Convention, which closed the straits to all non-Turkish warships during peacetime. Only after World War I did the victorious Entente restrict Turkish sovereignty in the treaties of Sèvres (1920) and Lausanne (1923), demilitarize the straits, and permit free passage for all warships. Soon the new Turkish Republic sought a revision of the treaties. Given the growing prospect of war, Britain and the Soviet Union were particularly willing to compromise. The Convention of Montreux (after the Swiss city where it was signed) took effect on July 20, 1936.

The Turkish inspection rights laid down in the convention were intended to safeguard residents along the straits from sickness and disease. Today the biggest dangers to the straits, in some places only 660 meters wide, and the 18 million inhabitants of the Istanbul metropolitan area, are oil tanker accidents. Recently the United States has urged Turkey to open up the Black Sea as a base for anti-terrorism operations. Turkey points out that the request would put the region's precarious balance of power in jeopardy and that the Convention of Lausanne is an essential element of Turkish sovereignty. Western proponents of a revision argue that unilateral control of the straits is outdated and should be replaced by a multilateral regime.

Nagorno-Karabakh

Nagorno-Karabakh is a → “frozen conflict” region in the southeastern Minor Caucasus with a population of 145,000 (95% ethnic Armenians, less than 1% Azeris). Its “capital” is Stepanakert. Formally part of Azerbaijan, the entity, officially recognized only by Armenia. is a de facto state with its own politi-

cal structures. Since 1997 its “president” has been Arkadi Ghoukasian. Azerbaijan and Turkey have imposed an economic embargo on the region.

During the Soviet period Nagorno-Karabakh was an autonomous oblast within the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan. Tensions between ethnic Armenians and Azeris, which had already existed since the end of World War I (1923 94% Armenians, 1988 75% Armenians and 23% Azeris), intensified from the late 1980s as Armenian separatists began demanding independence for Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan. Several hundred people were killed in shooting, demonstrations, and pogroms. When Azerbaijan declared independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, a majority in Nagorno-Karabakh voted in a referendum in favor of secession from Azerbaijan. This led to armed strife the following year during which the separatists, supported by regular Armenian troops, occupied large areas of the region and expelled the Azeris there; some 700,000 Azeris fled from Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh while about 400,000 Armenians left Azerbaijan.

A ceasefire was reached in 1994 through Russian mediation that still holds today. Inofficially supported by some 10,000 Armenian troops, some 8,500 soldiers still hold about 14% of Azeri territory. Since 1992 the Minsk Group of the OSCE consisting of the conflict parties and eleven other states (Austria, Belarus, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Sweden, Turkey, and the United States) has been working toward a resolution for the conflict. The negotiations have not produced any noteworthy results and the conflict parties have yet to issue any joint document that goes beyond the terms reached in the ceasefire agreement.

Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation BSEC → BSEC

South Ossetia

The → frozen conflict region of South Ossetia (pop. appx. 70,000) lies in northern → Georgia. Formally part of the Georgian province of Shida Kartli, it is the self-proclaimed, internationally unrecognized state of the “Republic of South Ossetia” where ethnic Ossetians constitute appx. two-thirds of the population. Its “capital” is Tskhinvali. While the de facto government under “President” Eduard Kokoity and “Prime Minister” Yuri Morozov controls areas inhabited mainly by Ossetians, the Georgian central government in Tbilisi maintains authority in those parts with an ethnic Georgian majority.

Russia has widespread influence in the region. Most South Ossetians hold Russian passports, the currency is the Russian ruble, and “government” employees are apparently paid by Moscow. Georgia claims many representatives of the South Ossetian administration came from the Russian bureaucracy. Kokoity, who was elected in 2001 and maintains close ties with the de facto government of → Abkhazia, has declared the region’s unification with the Russian Republic of North Ossetia as his objective.

During the Soviet era South Ossetia was an autonomous oblast within the Georgian SSR in which more ethnic Georgians than Ossetians lived. Tensions between the two communities worsened in 1989 when the “South Ossetian Popular Front,” fearing Georgian domination, demanded unification with North Ossetia. After Georgia’s independence in 1991, Georgian was declared the country’s sole administrative language. That same year violence broke out with casualties on both sides. Some 60,000–100,000 people fled to Georgia or North Ossetia. A ceasefire reached in 1992 under Russian pressure is maintained by a joint peacekeeping force of 2000 Russians, North Ossetians, and Georgians

under OSCE monitoring. Fighting again flared up in 2004, followed by another ceasefire.

After being elected Georgian president in 2004, Mikhail Saakashvili vowed to restore Georgia’s territorial integrity, meaning among else the reincorporation of South Ossetia (called the “Tskhinvali Region” by the Georgian government). In January 2005 Saakashvili presented a Georgian vision for resolving the South Ossetian conflict in a speech to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. In October that year, Prime Minister Zurab Noghaideli proposed an action plan at the OSCE Permanent Council that was supported by the United States and OSCE but which the South Ossetian de facto government rejected. In July 2006 the Georgian parliament called for the withdrawal of Russian peacekeepers from South Ossetia, to be replaced by a force assembled by the international community. Tensions mounted in September 2006 when the Georgian defense minister’s helicopter overflying South Ossetia was fired at. In a South Ossetian referendum held on November 12, 2006, 99% of the population voted in favor of independence, according to the de facto government. In a concurrent presidential election, 96% approved self-proclaimed President Kokoity for a second term. The referendum was criticized and dismissed by the Council of Europe. The pro-Georgian alternative government has held a counter-referendum and an “alternative” election where Dmitri Sanakoev was elected “President”.

Talks to resolve the conflict are conducted within the framework of the Joint Control Commission, in which Georgian, South Ossetian, and Russian representatives negotiate trilaterally under OSCE supervision. In September 2006 Georgia demanded the format be changed to bilateral Georgian-South Ossetian talks under OSCE patronage and including Russia, the EU, and the United States as mediators.

The United States is calling for a “peaceful solution within the internationally recognized borders of Georgia” and has promised South Ossetia \$2 million in reconstruction aid. An OSCE donor conference in June 2006 raised some €10 million in pledges to help rebuild South Ossetia’s infrastructure and economy.

Transnistria

One of the → frozen conflict regions of the Black Sea region, Transnistria (pop. 550,000, ~ 32% Moldawas, 29% Ukrainians, 30% Russians) lies within the borders of Moldova east of the Dniester River. Although not recognized by any country, Transnistria is a de facto state with a “President,” Igor Smirnov (re-elected on December 10, 2006 in elections that were not recognized internationally), its own structures, and the “capital” Tiraspol.

After Moldova declared independence from the Soviet Union in 1990, Transnistria, led by Smirnov, a former factory director backed by Russian-speaking Ukrainians and Russians, declared its independence from Moldova. A limited war with Moldova broke out in 1992 in which the separatists consolidated control over most of the territory, aided by substantial Russian forces. A 1992 agreement between Russia, Moldova, Ukraine, and Romania created a demilitarized zone and established a peacekeeping force consisting of Moldovan, Transnistrian, and Russian troops. An additional 1,100 Russian soldiers continue to be stationed at a former Soviet military base there. Even though Russia had agreed to withdraw its soldiers and ammunition until the end of 2002 at the OSCE summit in Istanbul, the withdrawal has not been completed yet. Since spring 2004 neither material nor troops have been withdrawn. Russia claims that the atmosphere is not sufficiently positive for a withdrawal or that the Transnistrian side prevents her from withdrawing the soldiers.

Out of Transnistrian territory, pro-Russian patriotic organization (“Provyv”) seek to organize all pro-Russian groups in the frozen conflict regions to push back the EU’s and NATO’s influence.

Western observers call Transnistria one of the most important centers for smuggling and organized crime in the European neighborhood.

Settlement talks between Moldova and the de facto Transnistrian government have been ongoing with some lapses since 1992, and under OSCE auspices since 1993. Since 1995 the negotiations have been taking place in the format of a five-party mediation process, with Moldova and Transnistria negotiating and Russia, Ukraine, and the OSCE mediating. In addition to the five parties, the EU and United States joined the process as observers in autumn 2005 (5+2 Format). In March 2005 Adriaan Jacobovits de Szeged was appointed EU Special Representative for Moldova. Until now the talks failed to produce durable results—neither the “Kiev Document” which called for the re-integration of Transnistria on a federal basis, nor the “Kozak Plan,” devised by senior Kremlin official and Putin confidante Dmitri Kozak found acceptance on both sides. Since Moldova and Ukraine re-introduced a common border regime in March 2006 the Transnistrian side has refused to return to the negotiating table and the negotiations had to be broken off. In October 2006 they resumed once in a 5+1 format, i.e. with the mediators speaking with the separated Moldovan and Transnistrian sides. The Transnistrian and the Russian side see the common border regime as an attempt to implement an economic blockade of Transnistria. According to the new border regime, Transnistrian companies which want to export their goods have to be registered in the Moldovan capital Chisinau to receive customs documents. As of late 2006, more than 260 companies—almost all Transnistrian companies exporting goods—have done so.

Russia supports the Transnistrian regime politically and economically. Transnistria owes Russia more than one billion USD for gas imports.

Upon a joint request by the presidents of Moldova and Ukraine in June 2005, the EU established the European Border Assistance Program (EUBAM) in December 2005 under Ferenc Banfi. With a budget of €20 million (through December 2007) it is charged with assisting Moldovan and Ukrainian customs police in monitoring the Ukrainian-Moldovan (i.e. the Ukrainian-Transnistrian and Moldovan-Transnistrian) border. Its official goal is to help support stability in the region by improving the border regime. The mission's supporters hope it will help reduce illegal trans-border trafficking in weapons and drugs through Transnistria and thereby sever an economic lifeline for the regime in Tiraspol. The fact that no weapons smuggling has been detected is considered a success by the program's supporters. Its opponents say it simply proves that allegations of weapons trafficking were baseless from the start.

In a referendum on September 17, 2006, more than 90% of the Transnistrian population voted in favor of independence from Moldova and accession to the Russian Federation, according to the Transnistrian "government". This was not the first referendum on independence in Transnistria but the first one to proclaim an association with Russia. Russia's foreign minister called the vote free and fair and demanded to take the "will of the people" into account. The EU and OSCE, on the other hand, dismissed it as illegitimate even before it was held because it violated Moldova's territorial integrity and because under current authoritarian conditions a free referendum was impossible. No election monitors were dispatched and the results were not recognized.

The United States demands a peaceful resolution guaranteeing Moldova's territorial integrity.

The High Representative of the Common EU Foreign and Security Policy, Javier Solana, has underscored the non-negotiability of Moldovan territorial integrity and is calling for a resumption of the 5+2 talks. EU External Relations Commissioner Benita Ferrero-Waldner is demanding the same while criticizing Russian support for the regime in Tiraspol. The European Parliament criticizes corruption, organized crime, the gray economy, and suppression of NGOs, free media, and the ethnic Romanian population in Transnistria. It has called on Russia to recognize Moldova's territorial integrity, break off support for the Transnistrian regime, and withdraw its troops from the territory.

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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

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	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	—	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>				

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	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

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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 <i>Washington</i>	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 <i>Bonn</i>	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 <i>Zurich</i>	Präsident Gaston Thorn	Ralf Dahrendorf
	74 Die deutsche Frage—neu gestellt <i>Berlin</i>	Richard Frhr. v. Weizsäcker	Karl Kaiser
1984	75 Zukunft Europas: Probleme der politischen und militärischen Entspannung. <i>Moscow</i>	Horst Teltschik Wadim W. Sagladin	Karl Kaiser Juri Shukow
	76 Ist die Spaltung Europas das letzte Wort? <i>Rome</i>	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 <i>Bonn</i>	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? <i>Brussels</i>	Jacques Delors Lord Carrington Helmut Schmidt	Karl Kaiser

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

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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
1993 <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
1994 <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
1995 <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
1996 <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

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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
1997 <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
1998 <i>Leipzig</i>	112 Wachsende Ungleichheiten—neue Spaltungen?	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
1999 <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
2000 <i>Berlin</i>	117 Modell Deutschland: Reif für die Globalisierung?	Henning Scherf Carl Christian v. Weizsäcker	Klaus v. Dohnanyi

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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 Iloniemi
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

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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

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131 <i>Berlin</i>	Russia and the West	Elmar Brok Vladimir Chizhov Vasili Likhachev Dmitri Rogozin Wolfgang Schäuble Manfred Stolpe	Wolfgang Eichwede
132 <i>Dubai</i>	Stability in the Persian Gulf	Ghassan Atiyyah Robert Cooper Rami George Khouri Michael McFaul Hossein Mousavian Michael Schaefer	Volker Perthes
133 <i>Washington, D. C.</i>	Reforms in the Middle East— How Can Europe and the US Contribute?	Sadeq Al-Azm Khalil A. Al-Khalil Hisham Kassem Elaheh Koolaee Ernest May Ghassan Moukehiber Friedbert Pflüger Ruprecht Polenz Kurt Volker	Theo Sommer



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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 2007

Editor	Dr. Thomas Weihe
Translations	Dr. Thomas Weihe, Jonna Meyer-Spasche, Bernhard Müller-Härlin
Pictures	Marc Darchingner
Design	Groothuis, Lohfert, Consorten glcons.de
Printed	in Germany by Offizin Andersen Nexö Leipzig

ISBN 978-3-89684-363-0

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The Bergedorf Protocols are also published in German. Both versions
are available for download and research at www.bergedorf-round-table.org