



“1985-2005 – TWENTY YEARS THAT CHANGED THE WORLD”

March 4-6 2005, Turin

Scuola d'Applicazione e Istituto di Studi Militari dell'Esercito, Via Arsenale 22

Conference Agenda

Friday, March 4

Morning Plenary session – h. 9.00-13.00

Opening h 9.00-9.40

Chair: Rolando **Picchioni**, Executive Director of the *WPF*

Welcome Greetings:

Sergio **Chiamparino**, Mayor of the City of Turin

Antonio **Saitta**, President of the Province of Turin

Enzo **Ghigo**, President of the Region of Piedmont

Opening Speech:

Mikhail S. **Gorbachev**, President of the *WPF*

Plenary Session

General theme: **“SECOND RUSSIAN REVOLUTION – THE END OF A HISTORY?”**

Chair: Carlo **Ossola**, Professor of Neo-Latin European Modern Literatures at the *Collège de France*

Panelists h.9.45-11.15:

H.E. the Cardinal Achille **Silvestrini**, Prefect Emeritus *Congregation for Oriental Churches*

Wojciek **Jaruzelski**, former President of Poland

Jean-Bernard **Raimond**, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of France

Alexander **Yakovlev**, President of the *International Democracy Foundation*, Russia

Eric **Hobsbawm**, Historian, Member of the British Academy and of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Coffee Break

Panelists h.11.30-13.00:

Jeremy **Rifkin**, Essayist, President of the Foundation on Economic Trends

Rudolph **Schuster**, former President of Slovakia

Elena **Bonner**, Activist for democracy and human rights

Mikhail **Gorshkov**, Director of the *Institute for Multi-disciplinary Social Studies* of the Russian Academy of Science

Afternoon Discussion groups – h. 15.00-18.00

I a) Exit from totalitarianism – which way out?

Chair: Archie **Brown**, Professor of Politics at Oxford University

Panelists:

Mieczyslaw **Rakowski**, former Prime Minister of Poland

Sir Rodric **Braithwaite**, former Ambassador of the United Kingdom to the USSR and the Russian Federation

George **Breslauer**, Chancellor Professor of Political Science at the University of California at Berkeley

Vadim **Medvedev**, Economist and Political Scientist, Russia
William **Taubman**, *Bertrand Snell* Professor of Political Science at Amherst College
Dmitry **Furman**, Head Researcher at the *Institute of Europe* of the Russian Academy of Sciences
Budimir **Loncar**, Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the SFRY
Lilly **Marcou**, Researcher at *CERI*, France
Adriano **Roccucci**, Professor of History of International Relations, La Sapienza University, Italy

Participants:

Anatoly **Adamishin**, Gordon S. **Barras**, Katinka **Barysch**, Richard V. **Allen**, Charles **Powell**, Rudolf **Slansky**, Maria **Rozanova**, Robert D. **English**, Pilar **Bonet**, Victor **Kuvaldin**, Mikhail **Gorshkov**, David **Kimche**, Anatoly **Chernyaev**, Marshall **Goldman**, Pierre **Joxe**, Serghei **Kapitza**, Robert **Legvold**, Thierry de **Gruben**, Svetlana **Savranskaya**

I b) Challenges of Democratic transition in post-totalitarian societies

Chair: Anthony **Jones**, Executive Director of the *Gorbachev Foundation of North America*
Richard **Pipes**, *Frank B Baird, Jr* Emeritus Professor of History at Harvard University
Gyula **Horn**, Member of the European Parliament, former Prime Minister of Hungary
Grigori **Yavlinsky**, Founder and Leader of Russian Democratic Party *Yabloko*
Milos **Zeman**, former Prime Minister of the Czech Republic
Stephen **Holmes**, *Walter E. Meyer* Professor of Law at New York University
Oleg **Bogomolov**, Honorary Director of the *Institute for International Economic and Political Studies* of the Russian Academy of Sciences
Otto **Latsis**, Journalist *Kommunist*, USSR; *Russiskaya Gazeta*, Russia
Mingjun **Jiang**, President of *UN Global Compact Development and Plan Centre*, China
Victor **Zaslavsky**, Director of the *International Centre for Transition Studies*, LUISS University, Rome

Participants:

Alexander **Bessmertnykh**, Geoffrey **Howe**, Bridget **Kendall**, Peter **Reddaway**, William **Pfaff**, Pascal **Boniface**, Alex **Pravda**, Vadislav **Inozemtsev**, Zakhari **Zakhariev**, Vadim **Zagladin**, Igor **Vinogradov**, Milan **Gjurcinov**, Dmitri **Trenin**, Robert **McFarlane**, Rudolf **Schuster**, Robert **Skidelsky**, Nikita **Chaplin**, Alvaro **Colom**

I c) From Glasnost to the Freedom of press

Chair: Giulietto **Chiesa**, Member of the European Parliament, journalist, Italy
Alexander **Yakovlev**, former Chairman of the *Commission for the Rehabilitation of Victims of Repression*
Federico **Mayor Zaragoza**, former Director General of *UNESCO*
Axel **Krause**, Journalist *Europe* magazine, France
Aleksii **Simonov**, President of *Glasnost Protection Foundation*, Russia
Galina **Ackerman**, Journalist *Radio France Internationale*, France
Chinghiz **Aitmatov**, Ambassador of Kirghizstan in Belgium and Luxemburg
Vadislav **Inozemtsev**, Editor of *Svobodnaya Mysl'*, Russia
Guy **Sitbon**, Journalist *Marianne*, France

Participants: Davlat **Khudonazarov**, Anatol **Lieven**, Dmitry **Muratov**, André **Fontaine**, Alexander **Pumpiansky**, Anaisabel **Prera**, Vladimir **Petrovsky**, Tom **Gehrels**, Vitaly **Tretyakov**

- h. 18.00 Salone d'Onore Fondazione CRT
 Via XX Settembre 31, Torino
 **The European Dream: How Europe's Vision of the Future
 Is Quietly Eclipsing the American Dream**
 A lecture by **Jeremy Rifkin**

Saturday, March 5th

Morning. Plenary session– h. 9.00-13.00

General theme: **“ENDING THE COLD WAR: LOST PARADISE? LOST CHANCE?”**

Chair: Bernard **Guetta**, Political columnist and Editorial writer of *L'Express*, France

Panelists h. 9.00-10.45:

Rocco **Buttiglione**, Minister of European Affairs of Italy

Lech **Walesa**, Nobel Peace Prize, former President of Poland

Roland **Dumas**, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of France

Lord Geoffrey **Howe**, former Deputy Prime Minister of the United Kingdom

Alexander **Bessmertnykh**, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of USSR

Robert **McFarlane**, former National Security Adviser to President Ronald Reagan, US

Coffee Break

Panelists h. 11.15-13.00:

Ion **Iiescu**, former President of Romania

Gianni **De Michelis**, Member of the European Parliament, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy

Hubert **Vedrine**, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of France

Lord Robert **Skidelsky**, Member of the House of Lords and Professor of Economical History at Warwick University, UK

Yevgeny **Yevtushenko**, Poet Laureate of Russia, Professor Emeritus, Tulsa University

Horst **Teltschik**, President of *Boeing*, Germany

Afternoon. Discussion groups – h. 15.00-18.00

II a) Implosion of the USSR – geostrategic consequences:

Chair: Pascal **Boniface**, Director of *IRIS*, France

Richard **Allen**, National Security Adviser to President Reagan, Member of the US Defence Policy Board

Anatoly **Chernyayev**, former Personal Adviser to Mikhail S.Gorbachev for Foreign Affairs

Robert **Legvold**, Professor of Political Science at Columbia University

William **Pfaff**, Journalist, *International Herald Tribune*, France

Marshall **Goldman**, *Kathryn Wasserman Davis* Professor Emeritus of Russian Economics, *Wellesley College*, Harvard

André **Fontaine**, former Editor-in-Chief, *Le Monde*, France

Vitaly **Tretiakov**, Head of Independent Publishing Group, Russia

Bridget **Kendall**, Journalist *BBC Diplomatic Correspondent*

Giovanni **Roggero Fossati**, Managing Director, *ISPI* (International Political Studies Institute), Italy

Participants: Stephen **Holmes**, Gordon S. **Barras**, Katinka **Barysch**, Grigori **Yavlinsky**,

Oleg **Bogomolov**, Alexander **Bessmertnykh**, Federico **Mayor Zaragoza**, Vitaly

Tretyakov, Tom **Gehrels**, Vadislav **Inozemtsev**, Wojciech **Jaruzelsky**, Budimir **Loncar**,

Lilly **Marcou**, Robert **McFarlane**, Svetlana **Savranskaya**, William **Taubman**, Igor

Vinogradov, Nikita **Chaplin**, Claudio **Riedel**

II b) Strange peace after the Cold War – winners, losers, new actors

Chair: Edoardo **Greppi**, Professor of International Law at Turin University

Lord Charles **Powell**, Personal Adviser on Foreign Affairs and Defence to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, UK

Vladimir **Petrovsky**, former Director-General of the *UN* in Geneva and President of the Conference on Disarmament

Anatol **Lieven**, Senior Associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Dmitri **Trenin**, Deputy Director, Program Co-Chair, Senior Associate of *Carnegie Moscow Centre of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*

Immanuel **Wallerstein**, head of the *Fernand Braudel Center* for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems and Civilization

David **Kimche**, President of the *Israeli Council for Foreign Affairs*
Anatoly **Adamishin**, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation
Vittorio Emanuele **Parsi**, Professor of the International Relations at the Catholic University of Milan, Italy

Participants: Geoffrey **Howe**, Budimir **Loncar**, Rodric **Braithwaite**, George **Breslauer**, Axel **Krause**, Mieczyslaw **Rakowski**, Robert **Skidelsky**, Anaisabel **Prera**, Aleksei **Simonov**, Victor **Kuvaldin**, Alexander **Pumpiansky**, Peter **Reddaway**

II c) Quest for national identity in the epoch of integration.

Chair: Jacques **Levesque**, Dean of the Faculty of Political Science and Law, University of Quebec

Pierre **Joxe**, Member of the French Constitutional Council

Robert D. **English**, Professor of International Relations, University of Southern California

Zakhari **Zakhariev**, President *Slaviani Foundation*, Bulgaria

Milan **Gjurcinov**, Writer, Macedonia

Thierry de **Gruben**, Ambassador of Belgium to the United Kingdom

Sergey **Kapitza**, Vice President of the Russian Academy of Natural Sciences and President of the Eurasian Physical Society

Pilar **Bonet**, Journalist *El Pais*, Spain

Participants: Alex **Pravda**, Vadim **Medvedev**, Dmitri **Furman**, Mikhail **Gorshkov**, Gyula **Horn**, Galina **Ackerman**, Chingiz **Aitmatov**, Otto **Latsis**, Davlat **Khudonazarov**, Rudolf **Slansky**, Milos **Zeman**, Minjung **Jiang**, Rudolf **Schuster**

h. 18.00 Salone d'Onore Fondazione CRT

Via XX Settembre 31, Torino

Europe without the Old Walls and New Barriers

Mikhail Gorbachev, Helmut Kohl and Giulio Andreotti

Sunday, March 6

Morning Plenary session h. 9.00-13.30

General theme: **“GLOBAL CHALLENGES, SCATTERED ANSWERS”**

Chair: Achille **Ochetto**, Senator and former Secretary General of the Italian Communist Party

Panelists h. 9.00-11.00:

Fernando H. **Cardoso**, former President of the Federative Republic of Brazil

Gustavo **Selva**, President of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Italian Parliament

Giulio **Andreotti**, Senator and former Prime Minister of Italy

Amitai **Etzioni**, Professor and Director of the *Institute for Communitarian Policy Studies*, George Washington University

Enzo **Ghigo**, President of the Region of Piedmont, Italy

Mike **Moore**, former General Director of *WTO*

Toshiki **Kaifu**, former Prime Minister of Japan

Jonathan **Schell**, *Harold Willens* Peace Fellow at the Nation Institute, US

Coffee Break

Closing Plenary session 11.30-13.30

Chair: Andrei **Grachev**, President of the *WPF*'s Scientific Committee

Natan **Sharansky**, Minister for Jerusalem and Diaspora Affairs

Reports of the discussion groups

Closing speech: Mikhail S. **Gorbachev**, President of the *WPF*

h. 13.30-14.00 **Final Press Conference**