



NEW POLICY FORUM 2010

International Conference

“Europe Looks East”

(Sofia, 7 – 8 October 2010)

jointly organized by the **New Policy Forum (Gorbachev Forum)**
and

the **Slavyani Foundation (Bulgaria)**

Wednesday, October 6th

- Arrival of participants, sightseeing Sofia
- Friendly evening cocktail. Hotel Sheraton, Ground Floor

Thursday, October 7th

Morning (10.00 – 13.30)

Chairman – Mr Zahari Zahariev

Opening speeches (Bulgarian government authorities, Mayor of Sofia)

Introductory **address of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev**, President of the New Policy Forum (Gorbachev Forum)

I. Plenary session (10.00 – 11.00)

“Balkans: a test for Europe: Europeanization or Balkanization” (achievements, failures, lessons)

1. Panel (11.00 – 12.00)

“Lines of Division, Logic of Integration – Overcoming the Balkan Syndrome”

Moderator: Mr Fedor Lukianov

Panellists: Ion Iliescu, Pascal Boniface, Budimir Loncar, Robert Skidelsky

Coffee break

2 Panel (12.15 – 13.15) *“Europe’s soft underbelly: The Balkans – a gain or a source of problems?”*

Moderator: Ivailo Kalfin

Panellists: Jean-Benard Raimond, Agnes Koroncz, Leonidas Chrysanthopoulos, Pierre Chevallet

Debate

Lunch

Afternoon (15.00-18.00)

II. Plenary session: **“From Brest to Vladivostok. Europe’s Russian Chance? Russia’s European Choice?”**

(Community of history, diversity of models, conditions for partnership)

1. Panel *“Europe after the Wall: Reunited? Redivided? Reluctant?”*

Moderator: Giulietto Chiesa

Panellists: Alexander Lebedev, Adam Michnik, Svetlana Savranskaya, Martin Marmy

Coffee break

2. Panel. *“EURUSSIA – A dream? A chimera? A political project?”*

Moderator: Anatol Lieven

Panellists: Alexander Konovalov, René Steichen, Rodric Braithwaite, Vladislav Inozemtsev

Debate

Evening:

18.30 Departure to Boyana from Hotel Sheraton

18.45 Departure to Boyana from Hotel Rodina

- Visit to the National Historic Museum (NHM) – 30 min.

20.00 Reception at Boyana – NHM Hall

Friday, October 8th

Morning (10.00 – 12.30)

III. Plenary session: “Post Soviet space between Russia and Europe”

1. Panel **“Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldova – Passing the tests of independence and democracy”**

Moderator: Hall Gardner

Panellists: Anatoly Orel, Jean-Pierre Pagé, Sergey Maskevich, Henryk Szlajfer

Coffee break

2. Panel **“Caucasus – The seismic zone”**

Moderator: Pilar Bonet

Panellists: Rusudan Lordkipanidze, Pavel Felgenhauer, Jack Matlock, Adam Koseski

Debate

12.30 – 13.30 Press Conference

Lunch

Afternoon (15.00 – 18.00)

IV. Plenary session “Handling the Turkish case – Facing the Black Sea and the Mediterranean”

(Cultural challenges, strategic priorities, political choices)

1. Panel **“Crossing the Bosphorus – A two-way road?”**

Moderator: François Trémeaud

Panellists: Mezut Yilmaz, Horst Mahr, Bernard Guetta, Hall Gardner

Coffee break

2. Panel **“Reaching other Shores, meeting different Cultures: Ship Europe takes the Sea”**

Moderator: Roberto Savio

Panellists: Georges Frêche, Federico Mayor Zaragoza, Hido Bišćević, Fedor Lukianov,

Debate

17.30 – 18.00 Closing of the Conference

Evening

19.30 Departure from the Hotels

20.00 Dinner in the folk restaurant “Funny Village”

Saturday, October 9th

- Departure of participants

10.30-11.15 Final press-conference



NEW POLICY FORUM 2010

List of Participants

President Mikhail Gorbachev

Former President of the USSR

Dr. Zahari Zahariev

President of the Slavjani Foundation
Former minister of culture of Bulgaria

Dr Janos Bababal

HUNGEXPO Co.
President

Ms Marina Bartkevich

New Policy Forum (Gorbachev Forum) a.s.b.l.
Secretariat

Mr Hido Bišćević

General Secretary of the Council of Regional Cooperation

Slavi Binev

Deputy of European Parliament

Mrs Pilar Bonet

"El Pais"

Mr Pascal Boniface

Director IRIS

Mr Rodric Braithwaite

Former Ambassador of the United Kingdom to the USSR
and the Russian Federation

Dr Pierre Chevallet

Institut de Coopération avec l'Europe Orientale
General Secretary

Mr Giulietto Chiesa

Member of the board of directors of the New Policy Forum
(Gorbachev Forum) a.s.b.l.

Mr Leonidas Chrysanthopoulos

Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organisation (BSECO)
General Secretary Permanent International Secretariat

Mr Dimitar Chukarsky

Independent Deputy of the 41-st People Assembly of the
Republic of Bulgaria

Mrs Sharyl N. Cross

George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies
College of International and Security Studies

Mr Luis Angel D'Elía

Founder and President of Federación de Tierra Vivienda y
Habitat and Central de Movimientos Populares

Mr Pavel Felgenhauer

Defense analyst & columnist

Mr Jean-Pierre Foubert

Conseil Régional du Languedoc-Roussillon
Directeur des Relations Internationales

Mr Georges Frêche

Conseil Régional du Languedoc-Roussillon
President

Mr Hall Gardner

Professor and Chair
Department of International Affairs and Politics American
University

Mr Andrei Grachev

New Policy Forum (Gorbachev Forum) a.s.b.l.
Academic Advisory Board

Mr Bernard Guetta

Political columnist Radio France and Editorial writer of
"Marianne"

Mr Chen Haosu

President of the Chinese People's Association for
Friendship with Foreign Countries

Mr Ion Iliescu

Former President of Romania

Mr Vladislav Inozemtsev

Professor of Economics at Moscow State University
Russia

Prof. Dr. Dimitar Ivanov

Editorialist, Chairman of the editorial council of the Zemya
newspaper

Mr Alexander Konovalov

Mr Adam Koseski

Pultusk Academy of Humanities
Rector

Mrs Agnes Koronc

Foundation Gyula Horn

Mr Alexandr Lebedev

Chairman of the National Reserve Corporation, Russia

Mr Anatol Lieven

King's College London
Department of War Studies

Alexander Lilov

Director of Strategic Research Center

Mr Milen Lutskanov

Deputy Minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of
Bulgaria

Mr Budimir Loncar

Former Yugoslav Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Special Advisor to the President of the Republic of Croatia

Mr Rusiko Lordkipanidze

Professor of Architecture
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary,

Mrs Valeria Luchnikova

New Policy Forum (Gorbachev Forum) a.s.b.l.
Member of the Board of Directors

Mr Fedor Lukyanov

Editor, "Russia in Global Affairs"

Mr Horst Mahr

Dr.rer.pol, Dipl.-Volksw., Dipl.sc.pol. (Univ.)
Chairman Foreign Affairs Association

Mr Martin Maurice Marmy

International Road Transport Union (IRU)
Secretary General

Mr Jack Matlock

Former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union

Mr Adam Michnik

"Gazeta Wyborcza"

Mr Nicolai Mladenov

Minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Bulgaria

Milan Milanov

Former Ambassador of Bulgaria in France, former representative of Bulgaria in UNESCO, former director of Diplomatic Institute (Ministry of foreign affairs)

Mr Victor Opaschi

Adviser to the former President of Romania Ion Iliescu,
Atena Street

Mr Anatolii Orei

General Director of Center for international and comparative studies

Mr Solomon Pasy

Honorary President of the Atlantic Club in the Republic of Bulgaria
Former Minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Bulgaria
Former OBSE Chairman

Mr Jean-Pierre Pagé

Economist, CERI (Sciences PO)

Mr Hector Ruben Pascolini

Mr William Pfaff

International Herald Tribune

Kristo Petkov

Professor of Economics

Mr Jean-Bernard Raimond

Ambassadeur de France
Affaires étrangères

Mr Roberto Savio

Chair of IPS (International Press Service)

Prof. Enio Savov

Ambassador
Former Deputy Minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Bulgaria

Mrs Svetlana Savranskaya

The National Security Archive

Mr Robert Skidelsky

Member of the House of Lords

Mr René Steichen

Former Minister in Luxembourg
Former Member of the European Commission
Chairman of the board of Directors of SES S.A.

Mr Jean-François Steichen

New Policy Forum (Gorbachev Forum) a.s.b.l.
Member of the board of directors
Lawyer

Mr Henryk Szlajfer

Institute of Political Studies
Poland

Atanas Senov

Professor, University of Sofia

Petr Stoyanov

President of Bulgaria (1997-2002)

Alexander Tomov

Politician, Bulgaria

Mr Valery Todorov

General director of Bulgarian national radio

Mr François Trémeaud

Former Executive Director of the International Labour Organization, France

Mr Oleg Uralov

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Roland Van De Ven

Chief of "Cetra", Sofia

Mr Ioan Vulpescu

Adviser to the former President of Romania Ion Iliescu

Mr Mezut Yilmaz

Former Prime Minister of Turkey

Mr Federico Mayor Zaragoza

Former Director General of UNESCO