

International Conference in Rüslikon/Switzerland, 8-10 September 2005

**“AT THE ROOTS OF THE EUROPEAN SECURITY SYSTEM:  
THIRTY YEARS SINCE THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT”**

DRAFT PROGRAM, AS OF 30 AUGUST 2005

*Wednesday, 7 September 2005*

- Arrival of Participants  
20:00 Welcome Reception at Hotel Sedartis, Thalwil

*Thursday, 8 September 2005: GDI Institute, Rüslikon*

- 8:15 Meeting point at lobby Hotel Sedartis /Belvoir for transfer to GDI Institute  
8:45 Opening remarks by **Andreas Wenger**, Center for Security Studies, Zurich  
**Vojtech Mastny**, Parallel History Project (PHP), Washington DC  
**Malcolm Byrne**, National Security Archive, Washington DC  
**Max Guderzo**, Machiavelli Center for Cold War Studies, Florence  
9:00 INTRODUCTORY KEYNOTE SPEECH BY **ADAM D. ROTFELD**, FOREIGN MINISTER OF POLAND

**SESSION 1: THE SUPERPOWERS AND EUROPEAN DÉTENTE**

- 9:30 Chair: **Andreas Wenger**, Center for Security Studies  
- “North America, Atlanticism, and the Helsinki Process,” **Mike Morgan**, Yale University  
- “It Isn’t Something I’m Proud Of: Henry Kissinger and the CSCE, 1969-74,”  
**Jussi Hanhimäki**, Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva  
- “Henry Kissinger and the Reconceptualization of European Security, 1969-75,”  
**Jeremi Suri**, University of Wisconsin, Madison  
10:15 Coffee  
10:45 Discussion  
11:30 Chair: **Malcolm Byrne**, National Security Archive, Washington DC  
- “Soviet Power during the Helsinki Process 1965-75: Optimism, Doubt, or Defiance?”  
**Marie-Pierre Rey**, University of Paris Panthéon Sorbonne  
- “Soviet Interests, Expectations, and Reactions to the Signing of the Helsinki Final Act,”  
**Svetlana Savranskaya**, National Security Archive, George Washington University, Washington DC  
- “The Soviet Role in the Early CSCE Process,” Ambassador **Yuri Kashlev**, Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
Moscow  
12:15 Lunch  
13:45 Discussion

**SESSION 2: EASTERN STRATEGIES IN THE CSCE**

- Chair: **Vojtech Mastny**, National Security Archive, Washington DC  
14:30 - “The Warsaw Pact and the Preparation for the European Security Conference, 1965-75,” **Csaba Békés**,  
Cold War History Research Center, Budapest  
- “East Berlin Targets in the Early CSCE Process: The GDR’s Ultimate Effort to Make the Division of  
Germany Irreversible (1969-1973),” **Federica Caciagli**, University of Florence  
- “Europe Must Not Become Greater Finland?: The German CDU/CSU and China,”  
**Bernd Schaefer**, German Historical Institute, Washington, DC  
15:15 Coffee  
15:45 Discussion  
16:30 Chair: Amb. **Rudolf V. Perina**, Department of State, Washington  
- “Poland and the Origins of the European Security Conference, 1964-1969,”  
**Douglas Selvage**, Office of the Historian, Department of State, Washington, DC  
- “Poland and the Idea of a Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1964-69,”  
**Wanda Jarzabek**, Polish Academy of Sciences

Organized by the **Center for Security Studies** at ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich)  
as a Partner in the **Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact (PHP)**,  
in cooperation with the **National Security Archive** at George Washington University, Washington DC, the **Cold War  
International History Project** at Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington DC,  
and the **Machiavelli Center for Cold War Studies**, Florence.

- "Bulgaria, Balkan Diplomacy, and the Road to Helsinki," **Jordan Baev and Kostadin Grozev**, Cold War Research Group Bulgaria, Sofia
- 18:15 Transfer to Hotel Sedartis / Belvoir
- 19:45 Meeting point lobby Hotel Sedartis / Belvoir
- 20:00 Dinner at Restaurant Alexander, Thalwil
- ca. 22:15 Transfer to Hotel Sedartis / Belvoir

*Friday, 9 September 2005, GDI Institute, Rüschtikon*

- 8:30 Meeting point at lobby Hotel Sedartis /Belvoir for transfer to GDI Institute

### **SESSION 3: WEST EUROPEAN STRATEGIES IN THE CSCE**

- 9:00 Chair: **Max Guderzo**, University of Florence
  - "The Link between CSCE and MBFR: Two Sprouts from One Bulb," **Helga Haftendorn**, Free University of Berlin
  - "The EC-Nine, the CSCE, and the Changing Pattern of European Security," **Daniel Möckli**, Center for Security Studies, Zurich
  - "Beyond the Rhetoric: Interrogating the Narrative of 'Second Europe' and EEC Policy Coordination at the CSCE," **Iliaria Poggiolini**
- 10:30 Coffee
- 11:00 Chair: **Leopoldo Nuti**, University of Rome III
  - "The Preparation of the CSCE in the Light of the Trilateral Relationship between Paris, Bonn, and Moscow (1965-1973)," **Sandy Roupioz**, Institute of Political Studies (IEP), Paris
  - "Détente in Europe: An Italian Perception," Amb. **Luigi Vittorio Ferraris**, University of Rome III
  - "It Was Cold War and We Wanted to Win': Human Rights, Détente, and CSCE as Seen Through Dutch Archives," **Floribert Baudet**, University of Utrecht
- 12:45 Lunch

### **SESSION 4: THE NEUTRALS IN THE CSCE PROCESS**

- 14:00 Chair: **Erwin Schmidl**, Austrian Defence Academy, Vienna
  - "The Birth of the N+NA: Swiss and Austrian Foreign Policy in the CSCE," **Thomas Fischer**, Austrian Institute for International Affairs, Vienna
  - "What Role for a Small Neutral State in East-West Détente? New Perspectives on Switzerland's Role in the CSCE, 1969-75," **Christian Nünlist**, Center for Security Studies, Zurich
  - "Keeping Neutral between the Two German States: Finland's CSCE Initiative, 1969-73," **Seppo Hentilä**, University of Helsinki
- 15:30 Coffee

### **SESSION 5: SECURITY, TRADE, AND ECONOMICS**

- 16:00-17:30 Chair: **Alan Dobson**, University of Dundee
  - "Forgotten in the Basket: The CSCE and the Rise and Fall of Economic Détente," **Juhana Aunesluoma**, University of Helsinki
  - "Helsinki and Rambouillet: Security and Economic Matters at Stake, 1972-75," **Duccio Basosi**, University of Florence
- 18:30 Wine Reception
- 19:00 **Concert of East-West Music, André Desponds** (piano), GDI Institute
- 20:00 Dinner at GDI Institute
- ca. 22:15 Transfer to Hotel Sedartis / Belvoir

*Saturday, 10 September 2005, GDI Institute, Rüschtikon*

- 8:30 Meeting point at lobby Hotel Sedartis /Belvoir for transfer to GDI Institute

### **SESSION 6: THE GERMAN QUESTION AND THE CSCE**

- 9:00-11:15 Chair: **Klaus Larres**, Royal Holloway, University of London
  - "An Intricate Web: Ostpolitik, the European Security System, and German Unification," **Oliver Bange**, University of Mannheim
  - "At the Epicenter of Multilateral Westpolitik: The Federal Republic of Germany and Western CSCE Preparations, 1969-72," **Petri Hakkarainen**, Oxford University

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- "Status Quo vs. Peaceful Change: The German Question during the ESC/CSCE Process," **Gottfried Niedhart**, University of Mannheim
- incl. 10:00-10:30 Coffee break
- 11:30 Concluding keynote speech: "The Helsinki Foundations of European Security: A Thirty-Year Perspective," **Vojtech Mastny**, National Security Archive, Washington  
- Discussion

*Saturday, 10 September 2005, GDI Institute, Rüslikon (continued)*

- 12:30 Lunch

### **SESSION 7: ORAL HISTORY WORKSHOP**

- 14:00 Oral History Roundtable with Former Policy-makers and Diplomats  
Chair: **Jeremi Suri**
- Amb. Jacques Andréani (France)**  
**Amb. Siegfried Bock (Germany)**  
**Amb. Edouard Brunner (Switzerland)**  
**Viscount Etienne Davignon (Belgium)**  
**Amb. Nicolae Ecobescu (Romania)**  
**Amb. Yuri Kashlev (Russia)**  
**Amb. John Maresca (United States)**  
**Sir Crispin Tickell (United Kingdom)**
- incl. 15:30-16.00 Coffee break
- 17:30 Concluding Remarks by Andreas Wenger  
Wine Reception at GDI Institute
- 18:15 Transfer to Hotel Sedartis / Belvoir
- 19:30 Meeting Point Hotel Sedartis / Belvoir for transfer to Zurich
- 20:00 Farewell Dinner at Restaurant *Zunft zu Zimmerleuten* ([www.zimmerleuten.ch](http://www.zimmerleuten.ch)), Zurich
- 22:30 Transfer to Hotel Sedartis / Belvoir

*Sunday, 11 September 2005*

Departure of Participants