



## Europe – Whole and Free? Two Decades Since the End of the Warsaw Pact

Prague, June 27 – 28, 2011

### Introduction

The conference “Europe - Whole and Free? Two Decades Since the End of the Warsaw Pact,” organized jointly by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense of the Czech Republic, commemorates the 20th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact dissolution. The Warsaw Treaty Organization was formally dissolved on July 1, 1991. In a twist of history, it took place in Prague, in the city targeted in 1968 by the only major military action the Pact had ever undertaken.

The conference takes place in the Czernin Palace which hosted the act of the Warsaw Pact dissolution twenty years ago. Upon the invitation by Karel Schwarzenberg, First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Alexandr Vondra, Minister of Defense of the Czech Republic, the traditional seat of the Czechoslovak and Czech Foreign Service now welcomes some of the main political actors from both sides of the former Iron Curtain, who contributed to the adoption of the historical decision, as well as scholars.

The aim of the conference is to examine the fundamental change the Warsaw Pact dissolution brought to the European security architecture and its lasting implications. The first day of the conference shall discuss the past and future development of the transatlantic and Eurasian cooperation in the area of security and defense from the foreign policy perspective. The main focus is on NATO enlargement and relations between Russia and the Western world, including former members of the Warsaw Pact, now members of NATO and the European Union. The key topics of the closing sessions presenting the historical perspective include the events that preceded the Warsaw Pact dissolution, and deployments of Soviet troops on the territory of Warsaw Pact members and their departure.

The program of the conference also features the opening of a historical exhibition “A Brotherly Hug?” presented by the Military History Institute Prague and the Czech non-governmental organization OPONA, o.p.s. under the auspices of Přemysl Sobotka, Vice-Chairman of the Senate of the Parliament of the Czech Republic. The exhibition takes place in the Wallenstein Garden and will be open to the public from June 28 to August 31, 2011.

One of the leading figures in the 1991 negotiations was Václav Havel. In November 1989, he was a dissident and a leader of the civil rights movement persecuted by the regime founded on the Soviet domination. Only a few months later, as President of Czechoslovakia, he was to contribute to the dissolution of the military Pact, which safeguarded the domination. The civil society induced processes that ultimately brought about the change in the political reality in the Soviet block. This has its symbolic recognition in the framing of the conference in a larger international project, the Week of Freedom, presented by the non-governmental organization OPONA, o.p.s. The program includes discussions, exhibitions, film presentations and a unique concert. Further information about the project can be found at [www.weekoffreedom.eu](http://www.weekoffreedom.eu).

More information about the conference and video streaming of the event is available at [www.mzv.cz/wpc](http://www.mzv.cz/wpc) and [www.czech.cz](http://www.czech.cz).

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June 27

8.30 - 9.30

**Registration of participants**

9.30 - 10.10

**Opening of the Conference**

at the Seat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic - Czernin Palace

**Welcome Addresses**

**Mr. Karel Schwarzenberg**, First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic

**Mr. Alexandr Vondra**, Minister of Defense of the Czech Republic

**Opening Addresses**

Letter from **Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev**, Head of State of the Soviet Union (1988 - 1991) read by **Mr. Boris Pankin**, Ambassador to Czechoslovakia (1990 - 1991) and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union (1991)

**Mr. Václav Havel**, President of Czechoslovakia (1989 - 1992) and President of the Czech Republic (1993 - 2003)

**Tribute to Mr. Ronald D. Asmus**, late U.S. Diplomat and Political Analyst, instrumental figure in the expansion of NATO to include former members of the Warsaw Pact

10.10 - 10.30

*Coffee Break*

10.30 - 12.30

**Panel 1**

**Dissolving the Warsaw Pact and Filling in the Vacuum**

**Mr. Luboš Dobrovský**, Minister of Defense of Czechoslovakia (1990 - 1992) and Ambassador of the Czech Republic to Russia (1996 - 2000)

**Mr. Mirosław Jasiński**, Co-Founder of Polish - Czechoslovak Solidarity

**Mr. Zdeněk Matějka**, the last Secretary General of the Advisory Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (1990 - 1991) and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia (1990 - 1991)

**Mr. Boris Pankin**, Ambassador to Czechoslovakia (1990 - 1991) and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union (1991)

**Mr. Jürgen Sudhoff**, State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany (1985 - 1991)

**Mr. Paul Wolfowitz**, Undersecretary of Defense for Policy (1989 - 1993) and Deputy Secretary of Defense of the U.S.A. (2001 - 2005)

Moderated by **Mr. Jiří Schneider**, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic

Discussion

12.30 - 14.00

*Buffet lunch*

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14.00 - 15.30

### Panel 2 Unfinished Agenda I: Past and Future of Enlargement

**Mr. Władysław Bartoszewski**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland (1995, 2000 - 2001)

**Mr. Géza Jeszenszky**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary (1990 - 1994)

**Mr. Malcolm Rifkind**, Foreign Secretary (1995 - 1997) and Defense Secretary of the United Kingdom (1992 - 1995)

**Mr. Miloš Zeman**, Prime Minister of the Czech Republic (1998 - 2002)

Moderated by **Mr. Martin Povejšil**, Ambassador of the Czech Republic to NATO

Discussion

15.30 - 15.45

*Coffee break*

15.45 - 17.15

### Panel 3 Unfinished Agenda II: Integrating Russia

**Mr. Jean-Pierre Chevènement**, Minister of Defense of France (1988 - 1991)

**Mr. Andrey Kozyrev**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia (1990 - 1996)

**Mr. František Mikloško**, President of the Slovak National Council (1990 - 1992)

Moderated by **Mr. Petr Luňák**, NATO Public Diplomacy Division

Discussion

18.30 - 20.30

### Evening Reception

in the Garden of the Wallenstein Palace - Seat of the Senate of the Parliament of the Czech Republic featuring a historical exhibition "A Brotherly Hug" co-produced by the Military History Institute Prague and the non-governmental organization Opona, o.p.s

### Opening remarks

**Mr. Přemysl Sobotka**, First Vice-President of the Senate of the Parliament of the Czech Republic

**Mr. Karel Schwarzenberg**, First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic

**Mr. Alexandr Vondra**, Minister of Defense of the Czech Republic

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June 28

9.00 - 10.30

### Panel 4 Deployments of Soviet Troops on the Territory of Warsaw Pact Members and their Departure

**Mr. Oliver Bange**, Researcher, Military History Research Institute, Germany

**Mr. Rudolf Ducháček**, Lieutenant General, Special Representative of the Czechoslovak government for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops

**Mr. Michael Kocáb**, Chairman of the Commission of the Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops

**Mr. Svetožár Nad'ovič**, Major General, Chief of the execution of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia

**Mr. Jaroslav Šedivý**, Advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic negotiating about the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia

Moderated by **Mr. Prokop Tomek**, Researcher, Military History Institute Prague

Discussion

10.30 - 10.45

*Coffee break*

10.45 - 12.15

### Panel 5 Warsaw Treaty Organization from the Prague Spring till its Demise

**Mr. Jordan Baev**, Associate Professor, Coordinator of the Cold War Research Group, Bulgaria

**Ms. Laurien Crump**, Researcher, University of Utrecht, Netherlands

**Mr. Vojtech Mastny**, Professor, National Security Archive in Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

**Mr. Alex Pravda**, Director of the Russian and Eurasian Studies Centre, St. Antony's College, Oxford, United Kingdom

**Mr. Douglas Selvage**, Historian, Office of the Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the former German Democratic Republic, Germany

Moderated by **Mr. Oldřich Tůma**, Director of the Institute for Contemporary History, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic

Discussion

12.15

*Buffet lunch*

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### Tribute to Mr. Ronald D. Asmus († 2011)

#### Ronald D. Asmus

Dr. Asmus was Executive Director of the Brussels based Transatlantic Center and responsible for Strategic Planning at the German Marshall Fund of the US. He played an important role in expanding GMF's operations in Brussels and in its overall growth and expansion in recent years. Dr. Asmus was a leading thinker, practitioner and policy entrepreneur working on US-European relations for over two decades. He served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs from 1997–2000 and was a senior analyst and fellow at Radio Free Europe, RAND and the Council on Foreign Relations. He was a pioneering voice in the debate over post-Cold War European security and NATO's transformation; publishing widely in leading journals and newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic and was the author of *Opening Nato's Door* (2002) and *The Little War That Shook the World* (2010).

Dr. Asmus held a Ph.D. in European studies and an M.A. in Soviet and East European studies from the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of The Johns Hopkins University. He received a B.A. in political science from the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

For his ideas and diplomatic accomplishments, Dr. Asmus was decorated by the U.S. Department of State as well as the governments of Belgium, Estonia, Georgia, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Sweden, Czech Republic and Poland.

### Speakers



#### Jordan Baev

Jordan Baev is a graduate of Sofia University and received his Ph.D. in History at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. He is Associate Professor of Contemporary History and Senior Research Fellow of Security Studies at the Rakovski National Defense College and a Visiting Professor at the Sofia University and the Diplomatic Institute of the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry. He is a Vice-President of the Bulgarian Association of Military History as well as the coordinator of the Cold War Research Group Bulgaria.

Dr. Baev's academic record comprises international research fellowships at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington D.C., National Defense College in Stockholm, Nobel Institute in Oslo, United States Institute of Peace and National Defense University in Washington D.C. He was a Bulgarian representative at several international research initiatives such as the Cold War International History Project (Washington D.C.), Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact (Zurich), Détente and CSCE (Mannheim University), Stalinist Terror in Eastern Europe (Manchester University), etc.



#### Oliver Bange

Oliver Bange, researcher, historian and journalist, who studied Political Science, Economics and Medieval and Contemporary History both at Aachen and at the London School of Economics. As a journalist he worked for various papers and political institutions. He helped to devise a method of qualitative media contents analysis and to develop the media strategies of some major international players. He returned to the LSE to obtain a Ph.D. in International History and has published extensively on the history of European integration, the Cold War and Brandt's Ostpolitik. He held scholarships at the German Historical Institute in London, the European University Institute and the University of London. His book on the 1963 crisis in European and Atlantic relations was published in 2000 by Macmillan both in New York and London. He is currently working on a major piece on "Ostpolitik and Détente in Europe, 1966–1975".

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### Speakers



#### **Władysław Bartoszewski**

Władysław Bartoszewski, historian, author and diplomat was born on February 19th, 1922 in Warsaw. From September 1990 to March 1995 Bartoszewski held the position of Ambassador of the Polish Republic to Austria. He served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland (1995, 2000-2001). From 1997 to 2001 he was a Senator and the chairperson in the Office for International Affairs and European Integration.

He was awarded the Peace Prize of the German Book Trade (1986), Honorary Citizen of the Country of Israel (1991), decorated with The Polish Order of the White Eagle (1995), Medal of Merit to the Austrian Republic (1995) and the Grand Cross of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany (2001).



#### **Luboš Dobrovský**

Luboš Dobrovský was born in Kolín in 1932. He studied Russian and Czech Studies at the Philosophical Faculty of the Charles University. He is a journalist, politician, translator and a former Czechoslovak Minister of Defense (October 1990 - June 1992). He signed Charter 77 in the 1970s and served as spokesman for the Civic Forum in 1989. For a short period he acted as Spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Later he served as Director of the Office of the Czech President Václav Havel. From 1996 to 2000 he became Ambassador of the Czech Republic to Russia.



#### **Rudolf Ducháček**

Lieutenant-General Rudolf Ducháček held several executive and pedagogical positions at the military educational facilities in Lipník and Vyškov, the Czech Republic for 10 years. Later he was appointed as Chief of Organizational-Mobilisation Administration of the General Staff of the Czechoslovak Army. He served as Deputy Minister of Defense and as Special Representative of the Czechoslovak Government for the withdrawal of the Soviet army after the Velvet Revolution in 1989. For two years he was Deputy Chief of the General Staff. He was also Special Representative for the separation of the Czechoslovak Army after the division of Czechoslovakia.



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#### Laurien Crump

Laurien Crump (1978) is a graduate of Classics at the University of Cambridge and Comparative History at the University of Utrecht (NL). After a career as a teacher of Classics, History and Critical Thinking, she became a university lecturer and researcher in the History of International Relations at the University of Utrecht in September 2010. She is currently writing her doctoral thesis on the multilateralisation of the Warsaw Pact. Her thesis, 'The Warsaw Pact Reconsidered: Inquiries into the Evolution of an Underestimated Alliance, 1960–1969', is based on extensive archival research and will be published by Routledge (London/New York) in 2014.



#### Václav Havel

Václav Havel (born 5 October 1936 in Czechoslovakia) is a Czech playwright, essayist, poet, dissident and politician. He was the tenth and last President of Czechoslovakia (1989–92) and the first President of the Czech Republic (1993–2003). He has written over twenty plays and numerous non-fiction works, translated internationally. He has received the US Presidential Medal of Freedom, the Philadelphia Liberty Medal, the Order of Canada, the freedom medal of the Four Freedoms Award, and the Ambassador of Conscience Award. He is a founding signatory of the Prague Declaration on European Conscience and Communism.



#### Jean-Pierre Chevenement

Jean-Pierre Chevenement was born in Belfort (France) in 1939. He is a graduate of the French National School of Administration and later he was elected the National Secretary of the Socialist Party (1971-1975 / 1979-1981). After working as a deputy of Belfort Territory (1973–1981 / 1986–1988 / 1991–1997 / 2000–2002) and Mayor of Belfort (1993–2007) he served as Minister of Research and Technology (1981–1982), Minister of Research and Industry (1982–1983), Minister of Education (1984–1986), Minister of Defense (1988–1991) and Home Secretary (1997–2000) in the French Government. He is a vice-president of the Committee for Foreign Affairs of the Senate and a vice-president of Res Publica Foundation.

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#### **Mirosław Jasiński**

Mirosław Jasiński was born on November 12, 1960 in Bolesławiec. In 1980 he was a co-founder of Independent Association of Students at Vratislav University and after the declaration of a state of emergency he was forced into hiding. He was one of the promoters of the underground movement Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity. In 1986 he graduated in art history from the Wrocław University and later he was in the leadership of the bulletin of Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity. He was posted at both the Polish Embassy and the Polish Institute in Prague. He has lectured at the Wrocław Polytechnic School and has also been active as a scriptwriter and director of films and documentaries.



#### **Géza Jeszenszky**

Former Hungarian Foreign Minister and Professor of History, Jeszenszky was born in Budapest in 1941. From 1961 he read History, English and Library Science at Eötvös University, Budapest, receiving an M.A. in 1966 and a Ph.D. in 1970. Jeszenszky was a founding member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (1988) and the first Minister of Foreign Affairs after the free elections in Hungary (1990 - 1994). Minister Jeszenszky had a personal contribution to the dismantling of the Warsaw Pact and to the reorientation of Hungary's foreign policy. He was also involved in the formation and operation of the Visegrád Group. In 1995 he was elected President of the Hungarian Atlantic Council and during 1998 - 2002 he served as Ambassador to the United States of America.



#### **Michael Kocáb**

Michael Kocáb, a politician, composer and singer, was born in 1954 in Zruč nad Sázavou. He is a leader of Pražský výběr, a popular rock band, which was suppressed by the Czechoslovak communist regime in the 1980s. From 1989 to 1991 he was a member of the Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic and chairman of the Parliamentary Commission for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. From January 2009 to July 2010 he served as Minister for Human Rights and Minorities and from April 2010 to September 2010 Special Governmental Representative for Human Rights and Minorities.



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#### **Andrey Kozyrev**

Andrey Kozyrev, Foreign Minister of the Russian Republic (1990 - 1991) and Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation (1991 - 1996), began his public service career upon his graduation from the Moscow State University of Foreign Affairs as a Candidate of Historical Sciences. After joining the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the USSR in 1974, he worked his way up to become head of the Department of International Organizations in 1989 - 90. In October 1990 he became Russian Foreign Minister and remained in that post when the Russian Federation became independent at the end of 1991. He held this post until 1996. Upon retiring from public service Mr. Kozyrev has made a successful career in the private sector. Andrey Kozyrev holds the diplomatic rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.



#### **Petr Luňák**

Dr. Petr Luňák holds an M.A. from the Johns Hopkins University (SAIS) and a Ph.D. from the Charles University, Prague, where he taught modern history and international relations. He served for two years as Deputy Head of the Planning Section of the Ministry Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic and since 2000 he has been working with the NATO International Secretariat as Deputy Head of Partnership Section of the Public Diplomacy Division. Dr. Luňák has authored a number of books and articles on the history of the Cold War and alliance politics and regularly contributes to Czech newspapers.



#### **Vojtech Mastny**

Vojtech Mastny, born in Prague in 1936, has been professor of History and International Relations at the Columbia University, the University of Illinois, the Boston University, and the Johns Hopkins University (School of Advanced International Studies), as well as professor of Strategy at the U.S. Naval War College. He is coordinator in Washington of the Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security, an international scholarly network based in Zurich. His books include *Russia's Road to the Cold War* (1979), *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity* (1996), the winner of the George L. Beer Prize, and a documentary history of the Warsaw Pact, *A Cardboard Castle?* (2005).

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#### **Zdeněk Matějka**

Zdeněk Matějka was born on September 19, 1935 and received his degrees from the University of Economics in Prague and the Institute of International Relations in Moscow. He was posted at the Czechoslovak Embassies in India and the U.S.A. and served as Deputy to the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiří Dienstbier (1990 - 1991) and the last Secretary General of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (1991). In 1993 he was appointed as Head of the Czech Delegation to the OSCE in Vienna and later Director of the Prague Office of the OSCE Secretariat. Mr. Matějka also cultivated his academic career at the Faculty of International Relations of the University of Economics in Prague and the School of International and Public Relations in Prague.



#### **František Mikloško**

František Mikloško was born in Nitra in 1947. In 1971 he graduated from the Faculty of Natural Sciences, Comenius University in Bratislava (mathematics). From 1971 to 1983 he worked at the Institute of Technical Cybernetics, Academy of Sciences, Bratislava, and then as a worker. From his study days until the Velvet Revolution he was engaged in a 'secret church'. In this period he worked among university students; participated in the creation of samizdat publications and was one of the organizers of the Candle demonstration in Bratislava (March 25, 1988). He became a member of the Coordination Centre of the VPN (Public against Violence) in November 1989. Between 1990 and 2010, he was a member of the Slovak National Council, later the National Council of the Slovak Republic. From 1990 to 1992 he served as President of the Council. In 2004 and 2009 he ran for President of the Slovak Republic.



#### **Svetozár Naďovič**

Major General Svetozár Naďovič was born on July 5, 1939 in Vráždíšťe, Slovakia. He studied at the Infantry Educational Establishment in Lipník nad Bečvou and in Vyškov and then from 1963 to 1968 at the Military Academy in Brno at the Military-Engineering branch. He served as Deputy Commander and Commander on the level of tank battalion and tank regiment. From 1972 to 1975 he attended the Academy of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR in Moscow. Then he was Chief of Staff and Commander of the 4th Tank Division. In 1982 he became Chief of Staff of the All-arms Army and in 1986, Deputy Chief of Staff of the Eastern Military District. He was appointed as Chief of the execution of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia. After the division of Czechoslovakia he served as Deputy Commander of Land Forces of the Slovak Republic until his retirement at the end of 1997.

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#### **Boris Pankin**

Boris Pankin was born in 1931 in Biškek (Kirgiz Republic, Soviet Union). He was a reformer and journalist and Ambassador to Sweden for eight years (1982-1990). Pankin was the last Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia (1990-1991) and is credited with preventing the Communist-Czechoslovak government from interfering in the Velvet Revolution in 1989. Pankin later became Mikhail Gorbachev's Minister of Foreign Affairs before the Soviet Union's collapse in 1991. In that short period he began the Soviet-US disarmament process and brought the Soviet Union closer to the EU. He lives in Sweden.



#### **Martin Povejšil**

Ambassador Martin Povejšil is a senior Czech diplomat. He studied modern Philology and Linguistics and graduated from the Palacký University in Olomouc. He joined the Czechoslovak Foreign Service shortly after the political changes in the country in 1990. Throughout his career he held a variety of senior posts in the Czechoslovak and Czech Ministries of Foreign Affairs as well as in diplomatic missions abroad. His professional portfolio changed over time from Third World and Development issues to European Affairs and from bilateral relations to multilateral diplomacy and security policy. Currently he represents the Czech Republic in the North Atlantic Council.



#### **Alex Pravda**

Dr. Alex Pravda received his doctorate as a student of St. Antony's College, Oxford in 1972 and returned to the College as a Fellow of the then Russian and East European Centre in 1989. He is now Director of the Russian and Eurasian Studies Centre. He was Senior Research Fellow and head of the Soviet Foreign Policy Programme at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) from 1986 to 1989 and before that Lecturer in Politics (from 1973) at the Reading University. He has been Visiting Associate Professor at the University of Michigan and Stanford and acted as Specialist Adviser to the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee Policy.

Dr. Pravda's research focuses especially on Soviet and post-Soviet Russian foreign policy; he also has an interest in the international dimensions of East European politics.

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#### **Sir Malcolm Rifkind**

Sir Malcolm graduated from the Edinburgh University where he studied Law before taking a post-graduate degree program in Political Science. From 1967 to 1969 he lived in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and taught at the local University. On return to the United Kingdom, he was called to the Bar and practised as an Advocate until 1979. He was appointed a Queen's Counsel in 1985. In 1974 he was elected as MP for Pentlands and represented that constituency until 1997. He became a member of the Cabinet in 1986 as Secretary of State for Scotland. In 1990 he became Secretary of State for Transport and in 1992 Secretary of State for Defense. From 1995 to 1997 he was Foreign Secretary. In 1997 he was knighted in recognition of his public service. Rifkind has also been active in a number of voluntary organisations. He is a member of the Dulverton Trust, a Vice President of Combat Stress and a Patron of Raleigh International. Sir Malcolm was re-elected as a Member of Parliament in May 2005 for Kensington and Chelsea. He served as the Shadow Secretary of State for Work and Pensions and Welfare Reform until December 2005. In July 2010, he was appointed as Chair of Intelligence and Security Committee by Prime Minister David Cameron.



#### **Douglas Selvage**

Douglas Selvage was born in 1966 in Ashland (Ohio, USA). In 1991 he graduated in US History from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He received his doctorate in Modern East European and German History as a student of the Yale University. He worked as historian in the U.S. Department of State (Washington, DC), as lecturer of the Department of History at the George Washington University (Washington, DC) and as assistant professor of Humanities and Social Sciences Department, Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University. From 2007 to 2009 he was Project Director of 'The Cold War and Human Security: Translations for the Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact' of the National Endowment for the Humanities in Washington, DC.



#### **Jiří Schneider**

Jiří Schneider was born in 1963 in Karlovy Vary. He studied at the Faculty of Civil Engineering, Geodesy and Cartography of the Czech Technical University in Prague. He received his Diploma in Religious Studies at the University of Cambridge. In 1990 he became a member of the Chamber of the People of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia. Later he acted as Director of Analysis and Project Management Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic and in 1995 was appointed as Ambassador to Israel. He continued his career at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs until 2005 when he became Program Director of Prague Security Studies Institute (PSSI). In 2010 Mr. Schneider was appointed as the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

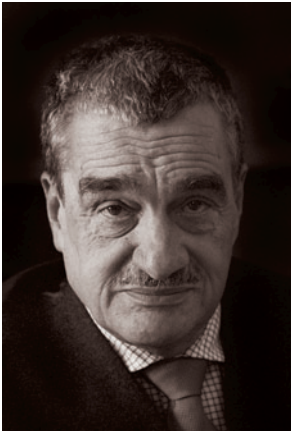


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#### **Karel Schwarzenberg**

Karel Schwarzenberg was born in Prague on December 10, 1937. In 1990 he worked as a Member of the Collegium of Counsellors and later as Chancellor of President of Czechoslovakia Václav Havel. He served as a Member of the Permanent Delegation of the Parliament to the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, a Chairman of the Foreign Affairs, Defense and Security Committee of the Senate and a Member of the Permanent Delegation of the Parliament to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. From 2007 till 2009 Mr. Schwarzenberg served as Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic. In 2010 he became the First Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic.



#### **Jürgen Sudhoff**

Jürgen Sudhoff received his doctorate degrees in law at the University of Cologne and the Harvard Law School. From 1965 he worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany. He started his diplomatic career at Embassies in Great Britain and Israel and later became Spokesman of the Foreign Office. He served as Government Spokesman and Press Secretary for Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Mr. Sudhoff became State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in 1989 acted as main negotiator with Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland about the transfer of East German refugees to the Federal Republic that became the first step leading to the fall of the Berlin Wall.



#### **Jaroslav Šedivý**

Jaroslav Šedivý was born in 1929 in Prague. After graduating from the Faculty of Philosophy of the Charles University in Prague in History and Slavic Studies in 1951, he earned his Ph.D. in 1962. He started to work as an expert at the Institute for International Affairs and Economy in Prague. Mr. Šedivý was imprisoned in 1970 for 'subversion of the communist system' and later made his living cleaning windows for 17 years. After the Velvet Revolution he joined the diplomatic service of the Czech Republic and was appointed as Ambassador to France, Belgium and Switzerland. From November 8, 1997 to July 17, 1998 he served as the second minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic. His scientific work focused primarily on the history of Czechoslovak foreign policy.



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#### **Prokop Tomek**

Mr. Prokop Tomek was born in 1965. Before the Velvet Revolution in 1989 he worked as a manual worker, trained as a tooler. In 1989 he signed the Charter 77. After 1989 he attended high school and then graduated from the Faculty of Arts of the Charles University in history. From 1996 to 2007 he joined the Office for the Documentation and Investigation of the Crimes of Communism. At present, he works in the Military History Institute in Prague. He is author of dozens of studies on various topic including the totalitarian era, e. g. Radio Free Europe, State security police, anti-communist resistance and repression of Czechoslovak servicemen.



#### **Oldřich Tůma**

Oldřich Tůma was born in 1950. He graduated from the Philosophical Faculty of the Charles University in History and Philosophy. He received his Ph.D. in 2007 at the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Charles University. Since 1998 he serves as Director of the Institute for Contemporary History of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic. His main area of academic interest has been early period Byzantine studies. Since the early 1990s his research has focused on modern history of Czechoslovakia and Central Europe, particularly in the years 1968 - 1989.



#### **Alexandr Vondra**

Alexandr Vondra is presently Minister of Defense of the Czech Republic. Previously, Mr. Vondra served as Deputy Prime Minister for European Affairs, Foreign Minister, and the Czech Ambassador to the U.S.A. Mr. Vondra has also served as a Foreign Policy Advisor to President Václav Havel and the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic. Mr. Vondra is a former Transatlantic Fellow at the German Marshall Fund. In 1989, he was the spokesman for Charter 77 and co-founder of the Civic Forum in Czechoslovakia. Mr. Vondra earned a Doctorate of Natural Sciences (RNDr.) from the Charles University in Prague.

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#### **Paul Wolfowitz**

Paul Wolfowitz spent more than three decades in public service and higher education. Most recently, he served as President of the World Bank and Deputy Secretary of Defense. At the time of dissolution of the Warsaw Pact he was the US Undersecretary of Defense for Policy (1989-93). As Ambassador to Indonesia, Mr. Wolfowitz became known for his advocacy of reform and political openness and for his interest in development issues; which dates back to his doctoral dissertation on water desalination in the Middle East. From 2005 to 2007 he served as the 10th President of the World Bank Group. Now at the America Enterprise Institute, Mr. Wolfowitz currently works on development issues.



#### **Miloš Zeman**

Miloš Zeman, politician and economist, was born on September 28, 1944 in Kolín, Czech Republic. He graduated from the University of Economics in Prague in 1969. After the Velvet Revolution, as representative of the Civic Forum, he became a Member of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia and chairman of its budgetary Committee. From 1993 to 2001 Mr. Zeman served as Chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party and from 1996 to 1998 as President of the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic. Miloš Zeman became the third Prime Minister of the Czech Republic in 1998 and stayed in office until 2002. This period included the entry of the Czech Republic to NATO. Mr. Zeman is now member of the Party of Civic Rights - Zemanovci, which he founded in October 2009.

# Europe - Whole and Free?

## Two Decades Since the End of the Warsaw Pact

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