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**BELGRADE** DEBATE ON EUROPE

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**WHAT WE  
TALK ABOUT  
WHEN WE  
TALK ABOUT  
EUROPE**

**5.-7.  
DEC.  
2014**

## BELGRADE DEBATE ON EUROPE

# WHAT WE TALK ABOUT WHEN WE TALK ABOUT EUROPE

More than twenty years have passed since the signing of the Maastricht Treaty 1992, when twelve member states founded the European Union and took an important step towards the integration of Europe. But 1992 was also the year when the long and bloody war in Bosnia and Herzegovina started, the final blow to violently disintegrating Yugoslavia. Shortly before, with the end of the Soviet Union, the iron curtain had disappeared which had parted Germany and our whole continent.

New realities appeared on the horizon. The Balkans apart, everybody in East and West could all at once see in a peaceful, prosperous and democratically free Europe a real possibility.

More than twenty years later, in 2014, earlier certainties and hopes have become questionable. Europe, threatened by economic crisis and xenophobic nationalism within and by new conflicts and wars at its borders, is hardly certain of its own identity and destiny. What is Europe, after all? A continent, a political union, a vast playground for bureaucrats? An exclusive club admitting only the rich and powerful? Or is it perhaps rather a position to take, a stance, mental attitude? Is there a chance for a Europe which could, united, at the same time preserve its multiplicity?

Dominant concepts of Europe and the multitude of identities; culture of democracy – culture in democracy; home-front dynamics and the reinvention of neighborhood – this are the themes of the Belgrade “Debate on Europe”: What we talk about when we talk about Europe?

## PARTICIPANTS:

- (01) Vladimir Arsenijević
- (02) Alida Bremer
- (03) Marie-Janine Calic
- (04) Ivan Čolović
- (05) Filip David
- (06) Aleš Debeljak
- (07) Heinrich Detering
- (08) Slavenka Drakulić
- (09) Daša Drndić
- (10) Drinka Gojković
- (11) Srećko Horvat
- (12) Fatos Lubonja
- (13) Svetlana Lukić
- (14) Shkëlzen Maliqi
- (15) Andrei Pleșu
- (16) Dubravka Stojanović
- (17) Richard Swartz
- (18) Ottó Tolnai
- (19) László Végel
- (20) Nenad Veličković
- (21) Dragan Velikić

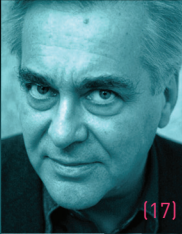




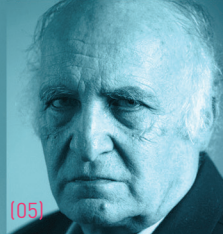
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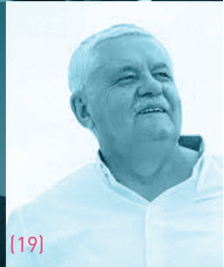
(17) (03)



(05)



(07) (11)



(19)



(16) (15)



(13)

## VLADIMIR ARSENIJEVIĆ

Serbia

**B**orn in Pula in 1965. He lives and works in Belgrade, and is one of the best-known spokespersons of the contemporary, alternative, progressive Serbian literary community. He headed the Belgrade publishing company Rende from 2000 to 2007, and then transferred to the Zagreb publishing company VBZ. In 1994 Vladimir Arsenijević published his first novel, *U potpalublju* (In the Hold), which has been translated into twenty languages and for which he received the NIN Prize. He is the founder of the regional literary festival Krokodil.

## ALIDA BREMER

Germany

**B**orn in 1959 in Split, Bremer studied comparative literature, Slavic languages and German language in Belgrade, Rome, Münster and Saarbrücken. After receiving her Ph.D., she served as a professor at several universities in Germany. She edited a number of anthologies of Croatian literature in German transla-

tion, and has also translated many ex-Yugoslavian writers into German. While working for the Traduki Network, Bremer set the example for presentations of South-East European literature at book fairs in Leipzig and other German cities.

## MARIE-JANINE CALIC

Germany

German historian, political consultant and professor of Eastern and Southeastern European history at the Ludwig-Maximilian-University in Munich. In 1995 she was an adviser to the UN Special Envoy for the former Yugoslavia and in 1999-2002 she served in Brussels as policy adviser to the Special Coordinator of the Stability Pact for South

East Europe. Her books on the history of Yugoslavia in the 20th century and on the social history of Serbia in the second half of the 19th century are held in high regard both by specialists in the field and lay readers.

## IVAN ČOLOVIĆ

Serbia

Born in Belgrade in 1938, Čolović is one of Serbia's leading ethnologists and a publisher whose XX Century imprint, established in 1971, is one of the longest continuous publishing projects in Serbia. He is also one of the fiercest and wittiest critics of Serbian nationalism. He has received numerous prizes and awards, and his works have been translated into several languages. In 2001 he was awarded the Knight medal of the French Légion d'honneur.

## FILIP DAVID

Serbia

Born in 1940 in Kragujevac, a writer and long term editor at Serbia's national TV station, he was banished from RTS in 1992 after attempting to form an independent trade union. Also in 1992, after the outbreak of wars in the former Yugoslavia, he founded Beogradski krug (the Belgrade Circle) as the first Serbian anti-war organization. He has published several books of prose and also written or co-written scripts for many well-known movies.

## ALEŠ DEBELJAK

Slovenia

Born in 1961, Debeljak graduated in comparative literature from the University of Ljubljana and received his Ph.D. in Social Thought from Syracuse University, New York. Debeljak has published fourteen books of cultural criticism and eight books of poems in his native Slovenian, including *Without Anesthesia: New and Selected Poems* (2010), *Dictionary of Silence* (1999),

*The Hidden Handshake: National Identity and Europe in a Post-Communist World* (2004), *Twilight of the Idols: Recollections of a Lost Yugoslavia* (1994). He has won several awards, including the Readers' Choice Award for the best essay of the decade in the magazine *World Literature Today*.



## HEINRICH DETERING

Germany

Heinrich Detering was born in 1959 in Neumünster. He studied German language, theology, Scandinavian languages and philosophy at Göttingen, Heidelberg and Odense. He is professor of New German and Comparative Literature at Göttingen University and the director

of its Centre for Comparative Studies. Since 2011 he has been president of the German Academy for Language and Literature. In 2009 he received the Leibniz Prize, the leading award for scholars in Germany, and he was frequently honored for his poetry, his translations and essays.

## SLAVENKA DRAKULIĆ

Croatia

Born in Croatia in 1949, Drakulić is an author whose fiction and essays have dealt with a variety of topics, including illness and the fear of death, the destructive power of sexual desire, the cruelty of war and the sufferings of rape victims. Drakulić has also published five non-fiction books, in which she discusses everyday life in communist and post-communist countries. Drakulić is a contributing editor to The Nation (USA) and her essays have been published in The New Republic, The New York Times Magazine and The New York Review Of Books. She contributes to the Süddeutsche Zeitung (Germany), Internazionale (Italy), and The Guardian (UK).

# BELGRADE DEBATE ON EUROPE

## WHAT WE TALK ABOUT WHEN WE TALK ABOUT EUROPE

DATE	VENUE	WELCOMING SPEECHES:	PANEL DISCUSSION:
Friday, 5th 19.00h	KCB Kolarčeva 6	Matthias Müller-Wieferig (Goethe-Institut) Antje Contius (S. Fischer Stiftung) Heinrich Detering (Deutsche Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung)	<b>Dominant Concepts and the Multitude of Identities</b> moderator: Vladimir Arsenijević
Saturday, 6th 18.00h	CZKD Birčaniнова 21	Michael Thoss (Allianz Kulturstiftung) Ana Pejović (Association Krokodil)	<b>Culture of Democracy – Culture in Democracy</b> moderator: Svetlana Lukić (RS)
20.30h			<b>Home-front Dynamics the Reinvention of Neighborhood</b> moderator: Aleš Debeljak (SL)
Sunday, 7th 10.00h	UK Parobrod Kapetan Mišina 6a		<b>Sunday Morning Politics The World must be</b> moderator: Alida Bremer (DE)

PE:

# WHEN WE TALK ABOUT EUROPE

## TIMELINE

SESSION:

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT:

PARTICIPANTS:

History of Europe  
and its

Dr. Velikić (RS)

Dubravka Stojanović (RS)  
Marie-Janine Calic (DE)

Marie-Janine Calic (DE)  
Srećko Horvat (HR)  
Dubravka Stojanović (RS)  
Nenad Veličković (BiH)

Democracy  
andocracy

Dragan Velikić (RS)

Slavenka Drakulić (HR)  
Fatos Lubonja (AL)  
Andrei Pleșu (RO)  
Dragan Velikić (RS)

Politics and

Filip David (RS)  
Daša Drndić (HR)  
Shkëlzen Maliqi (KV)  
László Végel (RS)

History -  
poeticized

Ottó Tolnai (RS)  
Heinrich Detering (DE)

## DAŠA DRNDIĆ

Croatia

**B**orn in Zagreb in 1946, she spent most of her childhood and youth in the capital of Yugoslavia, Belgrade. She writes and publishes novels, short stories, radio-plays, criticism and translations. From 1964 to 1968 she studied English language and literature at the Philological Faculty of the University of Belgrade. She was an editor-dramaturge of the drama program of Radio Belgrade from 1974 until 1992, when she left Serbia and returned to Croatia, settling in Rijeka where she still lives and continues to write. She has published several books of prose, and her radio plays have been broadcast on Croatian radio and abroad. Since the spring of 1999 she has served on the Faculty of humanities and social sciences of the University of Rijeka in the department of English Studies, where she has taught contemporary British literature, Anglo-American contemporary drama, a course on literature and film, and creative writing.

## DRINKA GOJKOVIĆ

Serbia

**B**orn in Belgrade in 1947, Gojković is a professional translator from German and English into Serbian. She is also the editor-in-chief of a journal for translated literature, *Mostovi* (Bridges), which, especially during the last decade, has

served as a venue for critical discourse about nationalism and war. She has written a number of essays critical of Serbian nationalism and the issue of collective guilt. She lives in Belgrade.

## SREĆKO HORVAT

Croatia

Philosopher, theoretician and activist, who is regarded as one of the “central figures of the new left in post-Yugoslavia”. Horvat has written many books and is a distinguished media personality. A widely published author, his most recent book, co-authored

with the famous Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Žižek, is a volume of essays entitled “What Does Europe Want?”. Horvat was also one of the founders of the vibrant Zagreb-based Subversive Film Festival.

## FATOS LUBONJA

Albania

Writer, editor of the quarterly journal *Përpykja* [Endeavor], and representative of the Forum for Democracy. Through his constructive criticism he has been a powerful advocate for Albania’s democracy. Born in 1951 in Tirana, Lubonja has a family history of intellectual resistance. At twenty-three, Lubonja was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for “agitation and propaganda” after police found his diaries, which contained criticisms of Hoxha. He has described his trial in a documentary novel entitled *Second Sentence*, published in Tirana in 1996 and in English in 2009. After seventeen years of imprisonment, Lubonja was released in 1991. He became involved in the fight for human rights and founded *Përpykja* in 1994.

## SVETLANA LUKIĆ

Serbia

Journalist from Belgrade and editor of political radio show Peščanik. Before that she was the editor and presenter of the popular political radio show Niko kao ja on Program II of Radio Beograd. Svetlana Lukić is well known as a voice against war crimes and as an uncompromising advocate for human rights. She has received important awards for journalism including Jug Grizelj, Dušan Bogavac etc.

## SHKËLZEN MALIQI

Kosovo

Born 1947 in Orahovac, Kosovo, is a philosopher, art critic and political analyst. During the early 1990's Maliqi was also directly involved in politics. He was one of the founders of the Social Democratic Party of Kosovo and served as its first president from 1991 to 1993. He also held leading positions in such organizations as the Kosovar Civil Society Foundation and the

Kosovo Helsinki Committee. Maliqi has published several books on art and politics in Albanian, English, Italian, Spanish, and Serbian. He currently lives in Tirana, and works as a political adviser to the Albanian prime minister Edi Rama.

## ANDREI PLEȘU

Romania

One of Romania's most distinguished intellectuals, Pleșu is a philosopher, essayist, journalist, literary and art critic. He was appointed Minister of Culture in the first democratic Romanian government after the fall of Nicolae Ceaușescu and served as Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1997 until 1999.

He continues to be a very prolific author and also teaches art history and philosophy of religion at the University of Bucharest. He is the founder and director of New Europe College Bucharest.

## DUBRAVKA STOJANOVIĆ

Serbia

Among Serbian historians Dubravka Stojanović surely ranks as the most outspoken. At home in the dignified discourse of academia, she is nevertheless well-versed and actively engaged in the world of media and public presentation. As a professor on the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Belgrade, her interests include both the social history of Serbia in the 19th and 20th centuries and the history of women in Serbia.

## RICHARD SWARTZ

Sweden

Author and professional journalist since 1972, when he began work as a foreign correspondent for the Swedish newspaper Svenska Dagbladet. Over a long and rewarding career he has also written for the Frankfurter Allgemeine and Süddeutsche Zeitung. In his later years, he has successfully combined his career as a journalist with works of fiction, which he began writing in the 1990's.

## OTTÓ TOLNAI

Serbia

Studied philosophy and Hungarian literature in Novi Sad and Zagreb. He was among the first contributors to the renowned avant-gardist review Új Symposion [New Symposium], and he later became its editor-in-chief. In 1967 his second book of poems was awarded the Híd Prize, Yugoslavia's highest honor for the literature of its Hungarian community.

Post-communist Hungary honored him with the Attila József Prize in 1991. Many of Tolnai's poems are about writing poems. He is a master of striking images, the more impressive because of their simple language and a sparing use of poetic devices.



## LÁSZLÓ VÉGEL

Serbia

**D**ramatist, essayist and critic, Végel was born in Srbobran in 1941. He studied Hungarian language and philosophy in Novi Sad and Belgrade. Végel worked as a journalist for a series of important magazines and also as a dramatist for TV Novi Sad, until he was discharged in

1992. Later, he worked as the coordinator of the Open Society Foundation. For his books he has received many awards, including the Ady Endre Prize, the Déry Tibor prize, Hungary's Pulitzer Prize.

## NENAD VELIČKOVIĆ

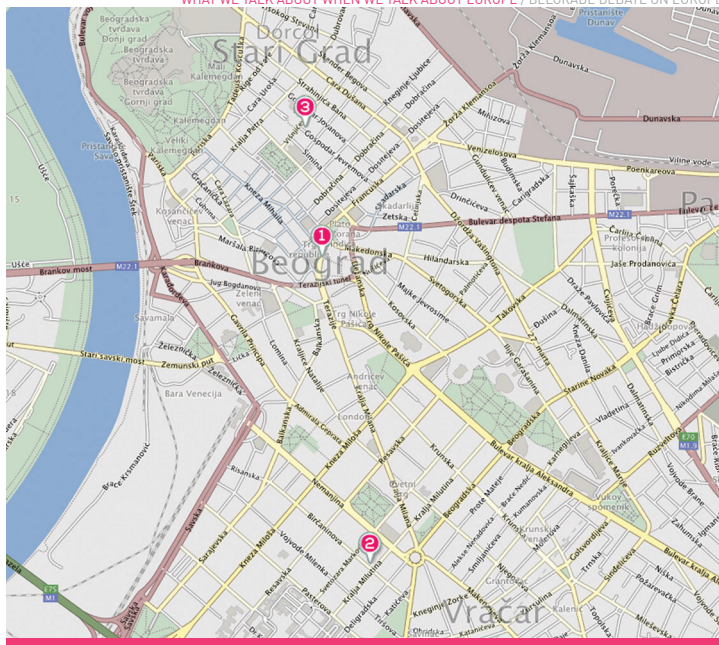
Bosnia and Herzegovina

**W**riter and assistant professor on the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Sarajevo. His special interest is political indoctrination through school textbooks. As co-owner of the publishing house Književna radionica, he has edited and published more than twenty titles by Bosnian-Herzegovinian and foreign authors. He has started, edited and contributed to numerous newspapers and journals such as Vizija, Omnibus, and Školegijum. Some of his most popular books, including Konačari (1995) and Sahib (2002), have been translated into several European languages. He lives and works in Sarajevo.

## DRAGAN VELIKIĆ

Serbia

Born in Belgrade in 1953, Velikić earned a degree in philology from the University of Belgrade. One of the pillars of the postmodernist literary generation, he has written many books of essays and other prose. He was also the editor of the publishing division of Radio B92 from 1994 to 1997. He has written columns for several newspapers and magazines in both Serbia and former Yugoslavia. In June 2005 he was appointed the Republic of Serbia's ambassador to Austria.



## Venues:

- (01) **Cultural Centre of Belgrade, Cinema Venue**  
Kolarčeva 6
- (02) **Centre for Cultural Decontamination**  
Birčaninova 21
- (03) **Cultural centre Parobrod**  
Kapetan-Mišina 6a

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