



★ EUROPEAN DISPUTES

CONGRESS

NOVEMBER 7, 2014

OTTO-BRAUN-SAAL DER STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN
Potsdamer Straße 33, 10785 Berlin

Free Entrance, Simultaneous translation



EUROPEAN DISPUTES – OTTO-BRAUN-SAAL DER STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN

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The »Idea of Europe« was the focus of the first debates in May.
»**THE WORLD IN MOTION: WHAT NEXT, EUROPE?**«
will be the topic of the »European Disputes« on November 7, 2014
at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

Discussing »Europe« can no longer mean to exclusively focus on the consequences of the European Parliament elections, on ways of implementing democracy in the EU or the different possibilities of cooperation between European nation states. Today, we also have to ponder on the dynamics of global developments – including Putin's attempt to draw new borders and the redesign of transatlantic relations between Europe and the USA – as representing challenges to the European value system. Answers to these questions are manifold and contradictory, nonetheless they need to be heard in order not to leave them to populists or political and administrative elites reaching decisions behind closed doors. We appreciate a culture of public debate with citizens, intellectuals and politicians about the conflicts and potentials of Europe, because we are convinced that appeasement and evocation do not help Europe get any further. What we need is an open and public discourse.



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PROGRAM

10.00–10.15

INAUGURAL WORDS

Ulrich Schreiber Chairman of the Peter-Weiss-Foundation for Art and Politics

Nina María Jurisch on behalf of the initiators

Jacques Rupnik Václav Havel Library, Prague

10.15–11.45

Panel 1

AFTER THE ELECTIONS – WHERE DOES EUROPE STAND?

Is Europe still a place to dream of? Until recently, Europe seemed to be a refuge for peace, freedom and well-being. However, things have changed since the Euro-crisis. Furthermore, we are facing new challenges in the South, the East and the Middle East. The EU has become a contested union: is it the solution or rather the problem, as populist parties claimed successfully during the European election campaign? Either way, their opinion-making had its effect: If England is to opt out of the EU, the balance between continental and Atlantic Europe, between state- and civil-societies in Europe will remain fragile. And Germany would gain dominance – particularly in a system without a joint currency. Where do Euro-sceptics have a point? Are they right in questioning the EU's democracy? Aren't democratic deficits the reason for the alienation between EU citizens and Brussels? What if right-wing and left-wing populists joined forces, making the disrespect of democratic values, such as in Hungary or Russia, a daily business all over Europe?

Panelists Daniel Cohn-Bendit [D] György Dalos [HU] Ulrike Guérot [D] Hubert Védrine [F] Jon Worth [GB]

Host Wolfgang Herles [D]

11.45–12.00

COFFEE BREAK

12.00–13.30

Panel 2

EUROPE AND ITS SOUTH – FREEDOM, EQUALITY, WEALTH?

Dividing Europe into economic »role models« and »black sheep« is becoming the breeding ground for those who call for less Europe or even its end. But questions remain between austerity, growth and debt policy: how can Europe integrate its North and its South according to the principles of self-responsibility and solidarity? What needs to be done if France, back then the »European engine«, loses its economic strength? How should we react to massive youth unemployment and the resulting emergence of a »lost generation«? Is Europe implementing its economic and social policies at the expense of future generations? What about our striving for freedom and equality in a Europe divided into rich and poor? »Savoir vivre« and »savoir faire«: What is Europe about?

Panelists Angelo Bolaffi [I] Elina Makri [GR] Michael Schreyer [D] Linn Selle [D]

Host Ulrike Herrmann [D]

13.30–14.30

LUNCH BREAK

14.30–15.00

SPEECH by Volker Schlöndorff [D]



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15.00–16.30

Panel 3

EUROPE AND THE WEST – EUROPEAN VALUES, GLOBALIZATION AND THE USA

The planned free-trade agreement between the USA, Canada and the EU has triggered a new debate about the differences between the transatlantic partners. These differences not only refer to the issue of GMO. It has long become evident that the US-American and the European models of capitalism differ. The cultural values enshrined by these capitalisms, it seems, differ too. After the 9/11 shock in the USA, the NSA has almost become a state within a state. We don't know about the ramifications a similar attack in Europe would have on European attitudes towards the secret service. For the time being, thousands of European citizens are fighting for their right to privacy. The hysteria that often accompanies debates about these issues in Europe might also include an element of anti-Americanism. On the other hand, US citizens ask – in view of the divided German reaction to Putin's solo efforts – whether Germany's long and successful way into the West has ended. Both the USA and European democracy have to answer the question about how much they are willing to pay for defending their freedom.

Panelists Anne Applebaum [USA, PL] Priya Basil [GB] William Drozdiak [USA]
Peter Schneider [D]

Host Sergey Lagodinsky [D]

16.30–17.00

COFFEE BREAK

17.00–18.30

Panel 4

EUROPE AND ITS EAST – UKRAINE, RUSSIA AND THE EUROPEAN ORDER OF NATION-STATES

It was hard to believe: First, a citizens' movement, the Maidan, brought down a rotten regime and managed to turn the Ukraine towards Europe. »We are witnessing the birth of a nation«, said a well-known philanthropist and currency speculator enthusiastically. But the »Empire strikes back«, and Europe is puzzled: Are these the pains of a mortified global power, or is it a fundamental, cultural and social turning away from Europe and the West? What are Russia's objectives? A »cordon sanitaire«, new territories for a »New Russia«, or perforated frontiers and neo-imperialist dominance in the post-Soviet sphere? When Putin depicts the collapse of the Soviet Union as the »greatest disaster of the 20th century«, we may understand that more is at stake than the Ukraine. It could be a matter for the European peace order of free nations that came into being in the wake of 1989 as a result of the decay of the Yalta system that had previously divided the continent. This is also about the European Union and its capacity to protect this order of free nations and the values on which it is based.

Panelists Ralf Fücks [D] Jacques Rupnik [F] Michail Schischkin [RUS]
Hans-Henning Schröder [D] Taras Yemchura [UA]

Host Frank Herterich [D]



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18.30–19.00

COFFEE BREAK

19.00–20.30
Panel 5

THE FUTURE OF EUROPE – FORWARDS, BACKWARDS OR DIFFERENT?

The success of populist parties during the last European elections has at first glance strengthened the forces that consider the European project as represented by the EU to be wrong or even fatal. However, what do the so-called »EU sceptics, critics and opponents« want? Are they truly against Europe, or are they instead protest voters whose concerns and worries [refugee problems, fears of relegation, loss of control] are being ignored by their representatives in Brussels? Is the option of a Europe of nation states economically and politically viable? Or are we anyway on our way towards becoming the United States of Europe? How can we defend the European idea as an extraordinary model of civilization against untamed financial markets, neo-authoritarian regimes and post-imperialist aggression?

Panelists Daniel Cohn-Bendit [D] Joachim Fritz-Vannahme [D] Viktor Jerofejew [RUS]
Marc Jongen [D] Amanda Michalopoulou [GR]

Host Daniela Schwarzer [D]

Idea and Initiative

Hans Christoph Buch / Daniel Cohn-Bendit / Ulrike Guérot / Frank Herterich
Nina María Jurisch / Steffen Noack / Peter Schneider / Ulrich Schreiber

The »European Disputes« are an event of the Peter-Weiss-Foundation for Art and Politics in cooperation with the Bertelsmann Foundation, the Heinrich Böll Foundation, the Václav Havel Library and European Alternatives. It is supported by the Federal Foreign Office.

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© James Kegley

ANNE APPLEBAUM

was born in Washington D. C. in 1964. She studied history and literature at Yale and international relations in London. After working as a correspondent for the »Economist« in Warsaw from 1988, she went on to work as an editor for the »Washington Post« from 2002 to 2006, to which she still regularly contributes as a columnist. Applebaum is best known for her publications on East European history and communism, which include her book »Gulag« [2004], which was awarded the Pulitzer Prize.



© Tatyana Kronbichle

PRIYA BASIL

Priya Basil is a British author. She was born in London in 1977, grew up in Kenya, studied in Britain and now lives in Berlin. She has published two novels and a novella. In addition to this, she writes essays and articles, among others for the »Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung« and »The Guardian«. She is a co-founder of »Authors for Peace« as well as one of seven authors who initiated the call to »defend democracy in the digital age« in 2013.



© Laurent Brust

ANGELO BOLAFFI

was born in Rome in 1946 where he teaches political philosophy at La Sapienza University. After coming to the Free University Berlin as a researcher in the middle of the 1970s thanks to a grant from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, he acted as head of the Italian Cultural Institute from 2007 to 2011 in Berlin. After many years of commuting between his two home cities, Bolaffi recently published his book »Deutsches Herz« [2014; tr. German Heart] in which he discusses Germany's leading role in Europe.



© Daniel Cohn-Bendit

DANIEL COHN-BENDIT

was born in 1945 in the French town Montauban. He became publicly known in May 1968 as the spokesman for the Paris student protest movement. After being expelled from France, Cohn-Bendit became involved in the Frankfurt »Sponti« scene, disputed left wing terrorism in the city magazine »Pflasterstrand« and has belonged to the »Realo« wing of the German Green Party since the 1980s. From 1989 to 1997, he headed the first, newly-established Office for Multicultural Affairs. He has been a Member of the European Parliament from 1994 to 2014, standing as a candidate alternately in Germany and France, achieving top results in both countries for the Greens. He most recently released »Für Europa. Ein Manifest« [2012; tr. For Europe. A Manifesto.] with Guy Verhofstadt. Cohn-Bendit has received the Hannah Arendt Prize [2001] and the Theodor Heuss Prize [2013].



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© Denis Poklekowski

GYÖRGY DALOS

was born in 1943 in Budapest where he worked as a museologist after completing his history degree in Moscow. Since his support for the Hungarian movement for more democracy in its initial phases in 1977, Dalos has repeatedly campaigned against authoritarian politics, whether as editor of the East German underground magazine »Ostkreuz« shortly before the collapse of the GDR or in 2004 through his book »Ungarn in der Nußschale« [tr. Hungary in a Nutshell].



© Thibaut de Corday

WILLIAM M. DROZDIAK

was born in 1949 and studied politics and economics in the USA and in Belgium. From 1971 to 1978 he was a professional basketball player, also in Europe. After working as a journalist for several American newspapers, writing mainly about international politics, he became head of the German Marshall Funds Transatlantic Center in Brussels in 2001, which aims to intensify transatlantic relations. In 2005, Drozdiak was appointed President of the American Council on Germany.



© Joachim Fritz-Vannahme

JOACHIM FRITZ-VANNAHME

was born in Halle [Saale] in 1955. He studied history, political sciences and German studies at the University of Freiburg. Vannahme worked for several years as a correspondent for the weekly newspaper »Die Zeit« in Paris, Bonn and Brussels, and held the position of deputy editor-in-chief as well as head of the Science and Politics sections. From 2001 to 2009, he also was a member of the Franco-German Cultural Council. Since 2007, Fritz-Vannahme has served as the director of the program »Future of Europe« of the Bertelsmann foundation.



© Stephan Roehl

RALF FÜCKS

was born in 1951 in Edenkoben and studied social science, economics and history in Heidelberg and Bremen. He became a member of the Green Party in 1982. He was voted as National Chairperson of the Greens in 1989 and, from 1991 to 1995 was Senator for Urban Development and Environmental Protection in Bremen as well as Mayor of the city. He has been Chairperson of the Heinrich Böll Foundation since 1996, dealing with subjects such as green economics, migration and the future of Europe, among other things. In 2014 he was co-initiator of a public letter to Federal Chancellor Merkel and Foreign Minister Steinmeier, demanding a strengthening of the European perspective in Ukraine. Ralf Fücks writes regularly on political and international issues for magazines and newspapers in Germany and abroad. His last book »Intelligent wachsen. Die grüne Revolution« [tr. »Growing Intelligently. The Green Revolution.«] was published by Hanser Verlag in 2013.



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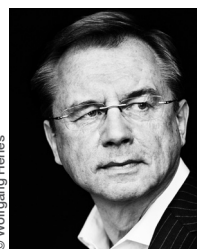
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© Ulrike Guérot

ULRIKE GUÉROT

was born in 1964 in Grevenbroich. She studied politics, history and economics in Cologne, Bonn, Paris and Munster, gaining her doctorate at the latter in 1995. She has worked for more than 20 years in various European think tanks. She headed the Berlin office of the European Council on Foreign Relations [ECFR] from 2006 to 2013 and, since 2014, the »European Democracy Lab«, which operates under the umbrella of the European School of Governance [eusg]. Its guiding idea was expressed by Guérot in 2013 in a »Manifesto for the Establishment of a European Republic« co-authored by Robert Menasse. Guérot writes regularly for the international media and teaches at the European University Viadrina.



© Wolfgang Herles

WOLFGANG HERLES

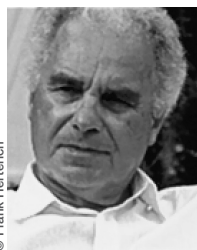
was born in Titting in 1950. He attended the German School of Journalism in Munich, working subsequently as political correspondent for Bavarian Broadcasting while studying German literature, history and psychology at the Ludwig Maximilian University Munich where he received his PhD in 1982. From 1987 to 1991, he was head of the ZDF studio in Bonn. For more than a decade, he produced and presented the weekly programme »aspekte«. Apart from creating and hosting numerous talk shows, Herles directed a range of TV documentaries and published political non-fiction books as well as several novels, most recently »Susanna im Bade« [2014].



© Herby Sachs/WDR

ULRIKE HERRMANN

was born in 1964 in Hamburg. After completing her training as a bank clerk, she attended the Henri Nannen School before going on to study philosophy and the history of economics at the FU Berlin. Following that she worked, among others, for the Körber Foundation. Since 2000, Herrmann has worked as an economics correspondent for the »taz« newspaper in Berlin and is a member of the board of the newspaper's publishing cooperative. Her last book »Der Sieg des Kapitals« [tr. The Victory of Capital], a historical analysis of our economic system, was published in 2013.



© Frank Herterich

FRANK HERTERICH

was born in Regensburg in 1943. He studied social sciences and economics at the universities of Munich, Chicago and Berlin. From 1999 to 2008, he was responsible for policies on the Balkans and Turkey at the Policy Planning Staff of the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin. He was a founding member of the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly and supported the civil rights movements in Warsaw, Prague and Budapest in their struggle for freedom and a post-Yalta Europe in the 1980s. As an urban sociologist he has published widely on the future of cities. Herterich co-authored the 2011 manifesto »Mehr Europa wagen« [»Take a chance with more Europe«].



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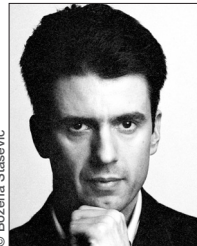
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VICTOR JEROFEYEV

was born in 1947 in Moscow and completed his studies in philology and linguistics at the Lomonosov Moscow State University in 1975 with a doctorate. He was thrown out of the author's association of the USSR in 1979 for compiling the »Metropol« literary almanac. He has expressed criticism of contemporary Russia, among other things, in the 2005 essay collection »Russkij apokalipsis« [tr. The Russian Apocalypse, 2009]. In addition to his work as an author, Erofeyev also regularly writes articles for international newspapers.



© Bozena Stasevic

MARC JONGEN

was born in 1968 in the Italian town Meran: He initially studied economics and later on philosophy in Vienna. After serving as culture editor for the newspaper »Neue Südtiroler Tageszeitung« he completed his doctorate at the Staatliche Hochschule für Gestaltung under the philosopher Peter Sloterdijk on »Nichtvergessenheit. Tradition und Wahrheit im transhistorischen Äon« [tr. Non-oblivion. Tradition and truth in the transhistorical eon] In 2014, as vice-spokesman of the National Association of Baden-Württemberg he stood for the European election as a candidate for the party »Alternative für Deutschland«.



© Nina María Jurisch

NINA MARÍA JURISCH

was born in 1989. She graduated in European studies and science and technology studies at Maastricht University. After several research projects in London and Buenos Aires, she currently works at the Institute of Sociology of the Technical University of Berlin. She demands a stronger dialogue between generations on the future of Europe – »as »more« Europe cannot occur without everyone's participation«, Jurisch maintains.



© Sergey Lagodinsky

SERGEY LAGODINSKY

was born in 1975 in Astrakhan, Soviet Union. He holds a degree in law from the University of Göttingen, in public administration from Harvard and a PhD in law from Berlin's Humboldt University. He worked as a program director and political advisor to the American Jewish Committee, was a Fellow at the Global Public Policy Institute and Stiftung Neue Verantwortung and a 2010 World Yale Fellow at the Yale University. He has been publishing on variety of topics related to German-Jewish relations, law and politics of diversity as well as international, especially transatlantic relations and politics towards Russia. He is currently Head of Department EU/North America of the Heinrich-Boell-Foundation.



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© Elina Makri

ELINA MAKRI

was born in 1981 in Athens and studied international and European law in France and Belgium. When she returned to Greece, she set up the Greek edition of the multi-language European magazine »cafebabel.com« in 2006, for which she received the European Parliament's Charlemagne Youth Prize in 2012 for the project »Europe on the ground«. Makri was also involved in setting up the journalist network platform »oikomedia.com« and works as an editor in the German-Greek media project »dialoggers.eu«.



© Amanda Michalopoulou

AMANDA MICHALOPOULOU

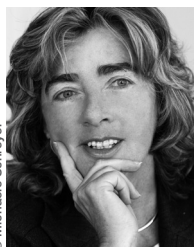
was born in Athens in 1966 and studied French philology there, before going on to study journalism in Paris. In addition to her work as a columnist for Greek newspapers, she has published several children's books, several stories and seven novels. After her debut »Jantes« [1996; tr: Octopus Garden, 1999] won the renowned critics' award of the literary magazine »Diavazo«, she received the 2013 Prize of Athens Academy for her collection of short stories »Bright Days«. Michalopoulou lives in Athens.



© Jacques Rupnik

JACQUES RUPNIK

was born in Prague in 1950 and studied history and politics in Paris and Harvard. He received his PhD in 1978 from the Sorbonne. Appointed a professor in 1982 and as Director of Research at the Centre for International Studies and Research [CERI], the main focus of his work lies with the democratic transition in the countries and societies of Eastern Europe and Central Eastern Europe. After the collapse of the Iron Curtain, he acted as a consultant to President Vaclav Havel. He was also Executive Director of the International Commission for the Balkans in the 1990s and, since 2007, has been a consultant to the European Commission. He lives in Paris and Prague.



© Michaele Schreyer

MICHAELE SCHREYER

She was born in 1951 in Cologne and studied economic sciences and sociology at Cologne University and went on to receive her Dr. rer. pol. in 1983. Following that, she became senator for urban development and environmental protection for the Federal State Berlin. From 1991 to 1999 she was a member of Berlin's regional parliament for Bündnis 90/Die Grünen [German Green Party] and was head of the parliamentary group from 1998. From 1999 to 2004, she was a member of the European Commission responsible for EU Budget and fighting corruption. She has been an honorary professor at the Free University Berlin since 2011 and, among other things, Vice-Chairwoman of the Foundation Council of Göttingen University, member of the board of the Schwarzkopf Foundation, Chairwoman of the Supervisory Board of the Heinrich Böll Foundation.



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© Evgeniya Frolova

MIKHAIL SHISHKIN

was born in Moscow in 1961 and studied in the Romance language/German language faculty of Moscow State Pedagogical Institute. He moved to Switzerland in 1995 and works there not only as a writer, but also as a translator for the migration office and as a teacher. After already receiving the Russian Booker Prize in 2000, Shishkin was awarded the 2011 International Literature Award. The author was a critic of Russian policy even before the bloody reprisals in the Ukraine crisis in 2014.



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VOLKER SCHLÖNDORFF

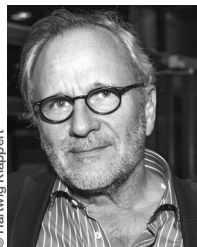
was born in 1939 in Wiesbaden and completed his school education in Paris. His first film »Der junge Törless« [1964; En. Young Törless, 1966] already received numerous prizes. With »Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum« [1975; En. The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum] and »Die Blechtrommel« [1979; En. The Tin Drum], which won an Oscar the year after its release, he proved how well literary works can be adapted for film. He is a long-standing member of Berlin's Akademie der Künste and, since 2010, has been a member of World Vision Germany. His most recent work as a director was »Diplomatie« [2014; En. Diplomacy].



© Peter Schneider

PETER SCHNEIDER

was born in Lübeck in 1940. After studying German literature, history and philosophy in Freiburg, Munich and Berlin, he soon became one of the leading spokesmen during protests of 1968. His novellas »Lenz« [1973] und »Walljumper« [1982] gained widespread popularity. Aside from prose works, Schneider has also written screenplays as well as numerous essays, which have been published in international magazines and newspapers. Schneider has given guest lectures at Harvard, Stanford and Princeton, among other universities. In 1988, he organized, together with Hans Christoph Buch and György Konrad, the congress »A dream of Europe« and co-authored the writer's manifesto »Take a chance with more Europe« [2011]. Schneider lives in Berlin.



© Hartwig Klappert

ULRICH SCHREIBER

was born in Solingen in 1951. He studied Philosophy, Politics and Russian at the Free University of Berlin until 1981 and completed his teacher training in 1984. In 1989, he founded the Internationale Peter Weiss-Gesellschaft and in 2001 the international literature festival berlin [ilb] over which he presides as is director to the present day. The ilb's 2012 main programme section »Europe Now« combined literary and political discourses. In concomitance with panel discussions and readings, an anthology was published as a projected »literary bailout for Europe«. Schreiber is a member of the German PEN-Center as well as a co-founder of the PEN World Voices Festival. He lives in Berlin.



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© Hans-Henning Schröder

HANS-HENNING SCHRÖDER

was born in 1949. He was academic director at the »German Institute for International and Security Affairs« [SWP] and taught East European Politics at the »Freie Universität Berlin«. His main fields of research are Russian politics, the role of élites in the Russian transition process after 1991 and Soviet/Russian defence and security policy. He is member of the board of the »Bertelsmann Transformation Index« [BTI], and co-editor both of the »Russland-Analysen« and the »Russian Analytical Digest«.



© Daniela Schwarzer

DANIELA SCHWARZER

studied political science and linguistics in Tübingen, Reading and Paris. Since receiving her doctorate in political economy from the FU Berlin, she has taught at universities world-wide. From 1996 to 2004, she worked for the German edition of the »Financial Times«. Since 2006, she has been co-publisher of the online magazine »European Political Economy Review«. After heading the EU Integration research group for the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik [German Institute for International and Security Affairs] from 2008 to 2014, she is now in charge of the European Programme of the German Marshall Fund.



© Linn Selle

LINN SELLE

was born in 1986 in Westphalia and studied political science and European studies in Bonn, Paris and Frankfurt/Oder. At the latter city's European University Viadrina, she is currently doing her doctorate on the subject of parliamentarism in the European Union. Active in the German Board of the Young European Federalists since 2011, she was voted as their German Secretary in 2013. Selle's diverse range of voluntary activities, among others in the area of youth policy, was rewarded one year later by her successful nomination as »Frau Europas 2014« [European Woman of the Year 2014].



© Thibaut de Corday

HUBERT VÉDRINE

was born in 1947 in the French town Saint-Sylvain-Bellegarde. He studied at Sciences Po in Paris and at E.N.A., completing his studies with a doctorate in 1974. In 1981 President Francois Mitterrand appointed Hubert Védrine as Diplomatic Counsellor at the Élysée Palace where he served for 14 years, first as spokesman and eventually as secretary general. In 1997, after the electoral victory of the socialists, following a proposal by Prime Minister Jospin, President Chirac appointed Mr. Védrine as French Foreign Minister, a position which he held for five years until the end of the cohabitation. Mr. Védrine served as a foreign policy advisor and expert consultant for President Sarkozy and President Hollande.



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© Jon Worth

JON WORTH

was born in Britain and works from Berlin today. From 2003 to 2005 he was President of the Young European Federalists and was nominated one of the 40 European Young Leaders in 2012 as part of the Euroanova Programme. His blog »www.jonworth.eu« is one of the oldest and best-known dealing with issues such as European policy and technology. Worth was responsible for the »Atheist Bus Campaign«, a consultant to public institutions like the European Food Safety Authority and teaches at various European universities.



© Taras Yemchura

TARAS YEMCHURA

was born in 1992 and completed his studies at the National University of Building and Architecture in Kiev. He is an NGO activist, took part in the student protest movement and was one of the co-organisers and coordinators of the Euromaidan movement. He was invited together with his fellow campaigners Valerij Grynkov, Anastasia Makarenko, Yevhen Soikon and Irina Vakulka to the 2014 international literature festival berlin where they discussed various phases and aspects of the crisis in the Ukraine at three events.



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TAKE A CHANCE WITH MORE EUROPE – THE EU NEEDS DEDICATED CITIZENS!

2014 marks 100 years since the start of the First World War. The trauma of the Great War and of the Second World War, which was unleashed by Germany, gave the initial impetus for a united Europe.

The dream of a democratic and united Europe was brought tangibly close through the peaceful revolutions in 1989 and the implosion of the Soviet empire.

Today, a quarter of a century later, we have to ask ourselves whether this dream has reached its end.

The European democracies find themselves challenged by Russia, which does not shy away from the use of force in revising the system of peace and freedom that was established in the early 1990s. The financial and debt crises have shown the institutional and political limits of the EU and the monetary union. It is not yet clear whether Europe will master these challenges.

To the contrary, lack of courage is pervasive: Pressing issues are not even being addressed. Political elites prefer to placate. Meanwhile, the doubts about Europe are growing among its citizens. Right-wing and left-wing populists scent their opportunity, anti-Europe parties, who propose to retreat to the nation state, receive increasing support. It would be a bitter irony of history, if the European Idea, which was strong enough to bring down the iron curtain in 1989, would lose steam during the current crises.

We say: No, our dream of Europe is not over! The European Idea is not exhausted by a monetary union. It stands for freedom and democracy, the rule of law and the dignity of human beings. This idea must be defended against post-imperial aggression and neo-authoritarian regimes, just as it must be defended against unrestrained financial markets.

The current crisis also entails an opportunity. It becomes increasingly clear that the Euro can only survive within political institutions that take rapid steps towards a Political Union. And only on this basis Europe will achieve the ability to act united in foreign affairs, which is required to hold its own in a globalized world. More, not less Europe is our rallying cry.

More Europe, as we demand, is integrally connected with more democracy. European unity cannot be reached by a rapid succession of summit meetings – behind the backs of citizens, as it were. The European project is not limited to the Euro and is not the exclusive domain of political and administrative elites.

Issues that impact the existence and future of every single citizen must be discussed within a broad public decision-making process. We need new political discourse and action. Not mollification advances Europe, but public dispute. An open discussion is also needed about the different experiences with regard to the role of nation and self-determination which the people of Eastern and Western Europe have made in recent history.



EUROPEAN DISPUTES – OTTO-BRAUN-SAAL DER STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN

CONGRESS NOVEMBER 7, 2014



24 APRIL 2015 – WORLDWIDE READING COMMEMORATING THE CENTENARY OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

The International Literature Festival Berlin (ilb) and the Lepsiushaus Potsdam are calling for a worldwide reading on 24 April 2015 – the day that marks 100 years since the beginning of the Armenian Genocide. Several hundred Armenian intellectuals – poets, musicians, parliamentary representatives and members of the clergy – were arrested in Constantinople (today Istanbul) on 24 April 1915, and deported to the Turkish interior where most of them were murdered. It was the start of a crime against humanity. The extermination of the Armenians during World War One was the first systematically planned and executed genocide of modern times. More than a million Armenians in the Ottoman Empire died during this genocidal campaign. The events took place before the eyes of the whole world and were clearly documented by German, Austro-Hungarian, Italian, American, Scandinavian, Armenian and Ottoman sources as well as by a great number of historical research projects. As early as August 1915, The New York Times reported on a methodically planned program of ethnic cleansing and extermination which was unprecedented in history up to that time. The German Reich's government, which was allied to the Ottoman Empire, reached the same conclusions without undertaking anything against what was happening. The Turkish political world denies the Armenian Genocide up to the present day, although the facts have been known for more than a hundred years. The Indian writer Arundhati Roy has spoken publicly about this scandal on many occasions, including at the 2009 International Literature Festival Berlin. A great number of Armenian voices were silenced in 1915 and in the years thereafter. Since then, others have become loud and have spoken out against forgetting, among them an increasing number of voices from the democratic Turkish civil society. In remembrance of the victims and in association with the demand for international recognition of the genocide, we are calling for a worldwide reading on 24 April 2015.

First signatories

John M. Coetzee, Elfriede Jelinek, Herta Müller, Mario Vargas Llosa, Alberto Manguel and others

Peter-Weiss-Stiftung für Kunst und Politik e.V.

Chausseestr 5, 10115 Berlin | Tel. 030.278 786 20 | www.literaturfestival.com



AU COMMENCEMENT ÉTAIT LE VERBE. ET DU VERBE NAISSENT LES CONTES.

... Il était une fois...c'est aujourd'hui, un peuple dénommé: le peuple syrien.

Ce peuple vit dans un pays dont le nom est la Syrie. La Syrie est située au cœur de la Méditerranée qui penche vers le lever du soleil. Le premier alphabet y a vu le jour, le rythme de sa civilisation c'est une mosaïque de langues, de religions, de nationalités qui l'ont traversée et qui se sont établies au cœur de sa géographie et de son histoire.

La Syrie a ouvert ses portes après quarante-cinq ans de tyrannie du parti unique et du gouverneur unique. Le mot s'émancipe du silence, la tristesse des significations s'étend et leur sang se répand.

Au mois de mars 2011, des millions de jeunes hommes et de jeunes filles ont ouvert la porte de leur maison et sont sortis pour la première fois dans la rue pour des manifestations populaires pacifiques; ils crient ce qui sommeille et s'éveille dans leur cœur: Liberté. Ils sont sans armes, leur unique arme c'est «un mot», ils étaient sans armes, ils le sont encore.

Le régime sécuritaire a répliqué par le feu, le feu des balles tirées, des canons, des missiles, des chars et des bombardiers. Le régime leur a envoyé des bombardiers qui leur balancent des barils d'explosifs...Il leur a envoyé pendant qu'ils dormaient du gaz chimique létal. Deux cent mille citoyens syriens parmi eux se sont tus, deux cent mille ont été arrêtés et cent mille ont disparu, ils ont probablement succombé sous la torture. Huit millions de personnes ont été déplacées à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur du pays, ceux qui sont restés en vie racontent l'histoire.

Il était une fois: Le régime a eu recours à ses alliés, comme le régime russe le protecteur du despotisme, et le régime iranien dirigé par le gouvernement du docte (Wilayat Al-Faqih). Il a eu recours au silence mondial face au carnage comme si la Syrie ne faisait pas partie de ce monde !

Par le biais «de la solution sécuritaire» qu'il a adoptée pour étouffer la révolution, le régime a attiré les extrémistes islamistes comme la Qaeda et ses semblables, il en a libéré certains parmi eux de ses geôles, précisément pour convaincre le monde civilisé qu'il est en train de combattre les monstres du terrorisme, les deux parties se sont solidarisées chacune pour ses propres intérêts afin de détruire la vie des Syriens et de faire taire la voix de la liberté. Le monde démocratique est resté silencieux face au carnage.

On est en train de nous dérober l'âme de notre révolution, mais nous continuerons tant que nous sommes en vie de raconter le conte. Les Syriens ont poursuivi la révolution pacifique, par la création, par la photo, les films, la poésie, le roman, la chanson, la musique, l'art, le théâtre et la pensée...ils ont soutenu la culture de la vie face à la culture de la mort. C'est une gomme géante, une gomme géante qui efface toutes traces de vie, comme si les Syriens qui ont été tués ou arrêtés ou déplacés ou.... ! n'ont jamais existé. Chaque fois que le pacifisme de la révolution s'élevait appelant à l'unité du peuple syrien et à un Etat démocratique où seront réalisées la dignité et la citoyenneté égalitaire, et la justice sociale, un Etat civil et non religieux ni militaire qui convient aux caractéristiques de la coexistence qui sont les gènes de la société syrienne, la violence augmente ainsi que la sauvagerie du régime et des extrémistes, pour plonger les Syriens dans les ténèbres d'une guerre qu'ils ont tant combattue et refusée...Une guerre qui «viole» leur vie et dans la quelle ils sont jetés malgré eux...ils ont brûlé et continuent à l'être dans brasier de cette guerre.

Le régime a entraîné le peuple et l'armée dans une guerre...où la Syrie et les Syriens sont perdants. Il a réveillé le confessionnalisme qui sommeillait dans l'union nationale. L'union nationale si précieuse, notre trésor civil que les rues syriennes ont acclamé depuis l'aube de notre histoire et dès le premier instant de la révolution : «un, un, un ... le peuple syrien est un.»

Et : «arrêtez le massacre nous voulons bâtir une patrie pour tous les Syriens.»

Les media du régime se sont appuyés sur la force croissante des phalanges extrémistes qui ont commencé à pousser comme des champignons. En effet, ces groupes entrent dans notre pays avec un équipement guerrier solide et un financement considérable assurés par diverses parties arabes et internationales. Ils occupent des régions habitées qui ont leurs us et coutumes et les soumet à un pouvoir despotique qui se sert du sacré religieux. Le peuple est ainsi tombé entre le marteau militaire et l'enclume religieuse.

Les manifestations dans notre pays sollicitaient le monde démocratique et lui adressaient des chants, les Syriens n'ont pas compris comment ce monde a effacé, et efface jour après jour l'histoire de notre mort quotidienne annoncée par ses chroniques et ses bulletins d'information et ses littératures. Comment ses regards ne sont-ils pas attirés par les fenêtres de nos maisons grand-ouvertes par la force de la liberté à la force de l'amour ? Ces maisons des Syriens qui sont habitées par le courage, la dignité et la paix.

Il était une fois... C'est aujourd'hui...

Le blocus.

Un peuple qui voudrait vivre dans la dignité et qui voudrait que les détenus d'opinion qui croupissent dans les geôles du régime et celles des extrémistes islamistes soient libérés .Un peuple qui voudrait que les réfugiés, les exilés et les déplacés rentrent chez eux. Un peuple qui voudrait bannir l'occupant despotique religieux et l'occupant despotique militaire.

Homes libres, femmes libres de ce monde, criez face à ce silence dans lequel la Syrie est égorgée chaque jour ...Aujourd'hui et maintenant.

Arrêtez ce silence qui étouffe la Syrie assiégée par la famine la soif et l'humiliation ...Comme si c'était une collusion mondiale! Criez pour que le carnage cesse ! Criez avec nous pour que la justice se réveille.

Nous croyons en la force de la parole libre.

Criez pour que la Syrie reprenne son conte au clair de la lune

Criez pour que vous repreniez avec nous notre conte.

Le 10 Septembre 2014

Hala Mohammad poétesse syrienne