

# TIME FOR EUROPEAN POLITICS

VÁCLAV HAVEL EUROPEAN DIALOGUES 2015

2<sup>ND</sup> PRAGUE CONFERENCE

**May 29–30, 2015**

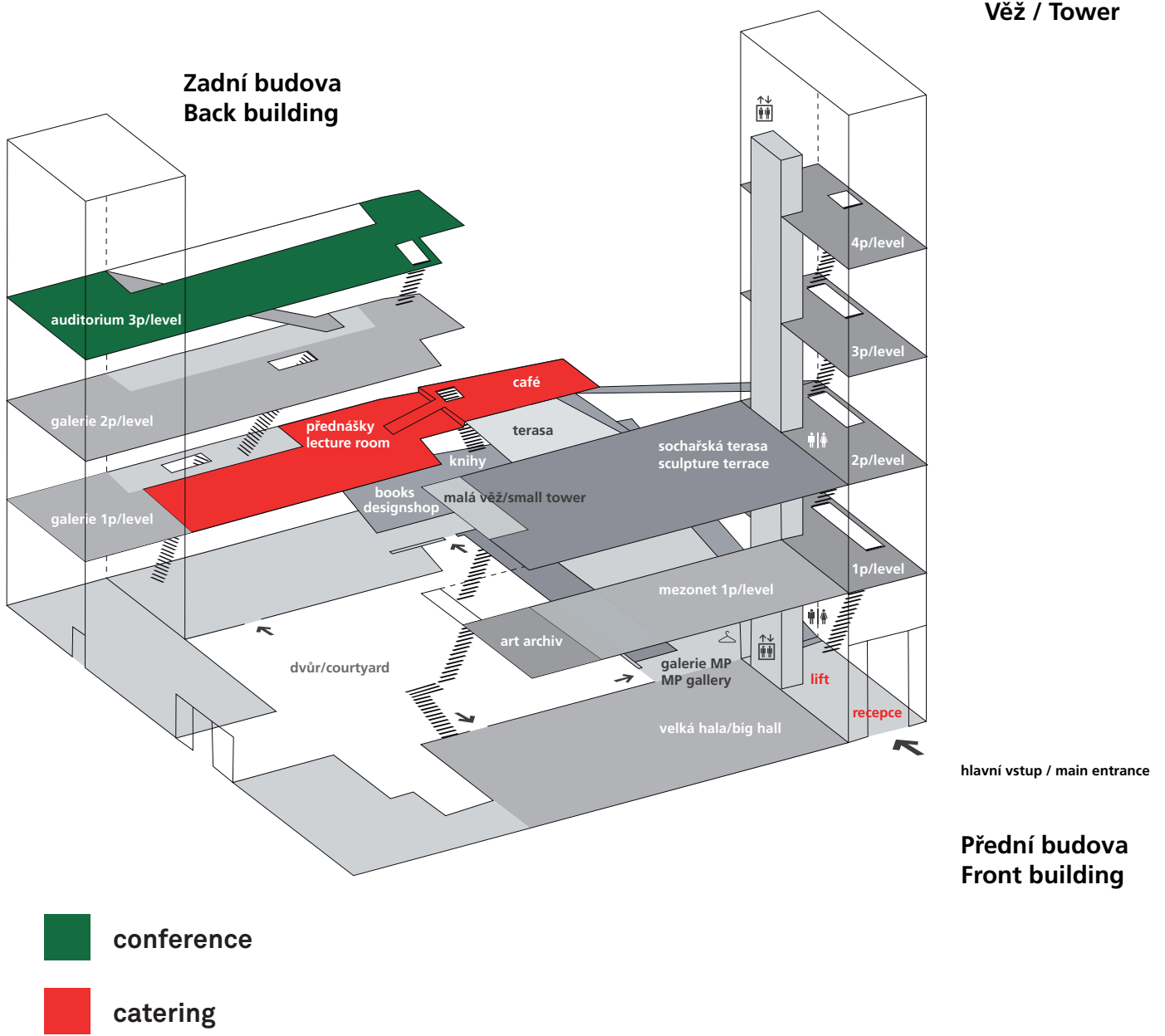
**Organizers:** Václav Havel Library in cooperation with European Commission  
Representation in the Czech Republic

**Partners:** Forum 2000 Foundation, DOX Centre for Contemporary Art

**Venuer:** DOX Centre for Contemporary Art, Poupětova 1, Prague



# Orientační plán / Floor plan



## VACLAV HAVEL EUROPEAN DIALOGUES

The Václav Havel European Dialogues is an international project that aims to initiate and stimulate a discussion about issues determining the direction of contemporary Europe while referring to the European spiritual legacy of Václav Havel. This idea takes its main inspiration from Václav Havel's essay "Power of the Powerless". More than other similarly focused projects, the Václav Havel European Dialogues aims to offer the "powerless"

a platform to express themselves and in so doing to boost their position within Europe.

The Václav Havel European Dialogues is planned as a long-term project and involves cooperation with other organisations in various European cities. Individual meetings, which take the form of a conference, are targeted primarily at secondary and third-level students, as well as specialists and members of the public interested in European issues.

## TIME FOR EUROPEAN POLITICS

The Václav Havel European Dialogues are built around the crucial question – about the „power of the powerless“ in today's Europe. In that context, the Annual Prague Conference on May 29–30, 2015 will highlight two themes: Europe's relationship with its neighbours, tensions inside the EU due to immigration and the political process which leads to Europe's decisions at home as well as abroad. There will be two special events. First, the "Václav Havel Lecture" on Friday evening, given by Václav Havel's old friend, the well-known Polish dissident, public intellectual and journalist Adam Michnik. Second, on Saturday morning, Jiri Priban from Cardiff will lead conversation with European Elmar Brok, a leading representative of the European Parliament.

To approach the first theme from a citizens' angle, we are inviting a panel of speakers from Kiev, Chisinau and Tbilisi. Our guests, hosted by Andrew Wilson will discuss questions which should have been asked a long time ago and in time, before the Maidan erupted in Kiev: how is the EU seen by our neighbours East, Southeast and South? What do they expect from Europe? What do they want to achieve?

The return of geopolitics to Europe from the East together with the public's reaction to the spectre of immigration, has finally dawned on EU's politicians. Europe's identity is being questioned with unexpected intensity and sometimes in awkward ways. New East-West political and cultural alliances have appeared, fed by nationalism, populist radicalism and Eurasian-style, antiliberal conservatism. Meanwhile, an attitude of disengagement towards "those faraway countries" in the East and in the South, or worse, signs of appeasement seem to be re-awakening too. Gilles Kepel will give a presentation and Jacques Rupnik will host panelists from Madrid, Rome, Athens and Amsterdam to discuss what defines EU's own attitude towards countries outside its frontiers and to immigrants and citizens inside. Is it trade, economic interests, security, law or moral values? Can Europe still

define its own ways or has it lost the initiative to others? Answers are needed from Europe's politicians as well as from European civil society: what should it do, what can it do and what it can't do abroad. Tony Curzon Price will be chairing the panel on European values. We are inviting Petr Pithart, Pavel Barsa, Ian Traynor and Moritz Hartmann.

The second theme of the conference concerns the citizens' chances to enter EU's political process. It is time for that to turn into genuinely European politics. The difficulty of translating social conflicts into something other than the identity politics of euro scepticism and nationalism reflects a deeper problem affecting European democracies today: their decreasing capacity to make political choices over their macroeconomic policies. What are then the means and ways of political mobilisation (and legitimacy)? The European Parliament? National parliaments? Direct democracy? Civil society? How to switch from the habit of "nation versus nation" – or "nation versus Brussels" to representations of conflicting social interests? Policy alternatives need to be articulated in a party-political context as a clear choice for European voters. "Talking to Brussels" will be a conversation between representatives of the European Parliament and the Commission and Jiri Priban. The conversation will open question of European civil society and activism in an environment of populism as well as the decline of traditional parties. Participants in the final discussion, led by Paul Flather from Oxford, will be Tony Curzon Price, Gyorgy Petocz, Camino Mortera-Martinez, Jan Machacek, Sofia Vasilopoulou and Marta Simeckova. The conference will be attended by journalists from Le Monde, the Guardian, Die Zeit, Open Democracy and the Czech media. After the conference and on its fringes, the Prague Press Club will be organising its own discussion about the success of Putin's propaganda in European countries. The event is only for invited journalists.

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#### FRIDAY 29 MAY 2015

12.30–13.15 **REGISTRATION**

13.15–13.20 **WELCOME**

Marta Smolikova (Director, VHL, Prague)

13.20 – 13.45 **OPENING REMARKS**

Jacques Rupnik (SciencesPo, Paris)

#### THEME OF THE 1ST DAY:

#### What do Europe and its Neighbours Mean to Each Other?

The return of geopolitics to Europe from the East together with the publics' reaction to the spectre of immigration from the South has finally dawned on EU's politicians. It is no longer possible to pretend that the „outside“ and the „inside“ can be kept apart. Europe's identity is being questioned with surprising intensity and in unexpected ways. Reactionary East-West political and cultural alliances are being forged, feeding and fed by nationalism, populist radicalism and antiliberal conservatism with Eurasian flavour. At the same time European citizens volunteer to take part in wars abroad, mirrored by and linked to acts of terrorism and violence in European countries. With state, institutions, parties and democratic politics in decline, what are the chances for peace and European democracy? We have to understand what is going on. Europeans inside the Union have to know how they are seen by our neighbours East, Southeast and South. What are their expectations? What do they want to achieve by joining the EU? What are they ready to sacrifice to reach that goal? On the other hand, we need to be clear what defines Europe's own attitude towards others. Is it trade, economic interests, security or moral values? Can Europe still define its own ways or has it lost the initiative to others? Who can and should take action? The Ukraine crisis is forcing Europe to recognise that its post-Cold War order has reached its limits and needs to contend with harsh facts. Europe has to

acknowledge the real world beyond its borders while focusing its energies on consolidating its own political space, which now also includes Ukraine.

13.45–15.15 **PANEL 1: WHAT ARE THE NEIGHBOURS TO THE EU? (THE SOUTH)**

**Chaired by Jacques Rupnik**

**SPEAKER:** Gilles Kepel (Paris)

**PANELISTS:** Camino Mortera-Martinez (Madrid-London)  
Sofia Vasilopoulou (Athens-York)  
Anne Valkering (Amsterdam)

15.15–15.35 **COFFEE BREAK**

15.35–17.05 **PANEL 2: WHAT IS THE EU TO ITS NEIGHBOURS? (THE EAST)**

**Introduced and chaired by Andrew Wilson (London)**

**PANELISTS:** Volodymyr Jermolenko (Kyiv)  
Tornike Gordadze (Tbilisi)  
Julian Groza (Chisinau)

17.05–17.25 **COFFEE BREAK**

17.25–19.00 **PANEL 3: CAN EUROPE STILL STICK TO ITS VALUES?**

**Chaired by Tony Curzon Price (London)**

**PANELISTS:** Petr Pithart (Prague)  
Pavel Barsa (Prague)  
Ian Traynor (Brussels)  
Moritz Hartmann (Berlin)

19.30–20.30 **THE VACLAV HAVEL LECTURE ON EUROPE**

**Adam Michnik (Warsaw)**

**CHAIR:** Natalie Nougayrede (London)

20.30–21.00 **GLASS OF WINE**

## SATURDAY 30 MAY 2015

8.45–9.30

### REGISTRATION

#### THEME OF THE 2ND DAY:

#### Time for European Politics

The process of integration has been led by an ideal but was mainly moved forward on the apolitical terrains of law, institutions and economy. Politics were left to governments representing national democracies.

Europe's way out of crisis however, is through a passage to its genuine politicisation. The question is - what are the means of European political mobilisation (and legitimacy)? The European Parliament? National parliaments? Direct action? Are pan-European parties the strategic leverage point? The need to switch from the habit of "nation versus nation" – or "nation versus Brussels" to representations of conflicting social interests is evident – but how to make this happen? Policy alternatives need to be articulated in a party-political context as a clear choice for European voters. The difficulty of translating social conflicts arising from the processes of globalisation and (simultaneously) of European integration into something other than identity politics of Euroscepticism and nationalism or sheer populism reflects a deeper problem affecting European democracies today: their decreasing capacity to make political choices over their macroeconomic policies, resulting in their inability to address the social question and therefore to exist as a collectivity linked by relations of interdependence.

9.30–10.50

### A EUROPEAN CONVERSATION

#### Jiri Priban in conversation with Elmar Brok about

„What's Wrong and What's Right about European Democracy“

Ian Traynor (Brussels)

#### CHAIR:

10.50–11.10

### COFFEE BREAK

11.10–13.00

### PANEL 4: OLD PARTIES, NEW PARTIES, CIVIL SOCIETY

#### Chaired by Paul Flather (Oxford)

Camino Mortera-Martinez (Madrid / London)

Sofia Vasilopoulou (Athens / York)

Gyorgy Petocz (Budapest)

Jan Machacek (Prague)

Marta Simeckova (Bratislava)

Tony Curzon Price (London)

#### PANEL:

13.00

### CONFERENCE CONCLUDES

## PARTICIPANTS' BIOS

### PAVEL BARŠA

was an active part of the alternative culture before 1989 and has been a university teacher since 1990. He currently lectures at the Philosophical Faculty of Charles University and at the Anglo-American University in Prague and is a research fellow of the Institute for International Relations in Prague. His books deal with modern political thinking, identity and memory policy, social movements and geopolitical changes. His last publications are *Paměť a genocida. Úvahy o politice holocaustu* (Memory and Genocide – Thoughts on the Holocaust Policy, Argo, Praha 2010), *Orientálcova vzpoura /a jiné texty z let 2003–2007/* (The Easterner's Revolt and Other Texts from 2003–2007, Dokořán, Praha 2011) a *Cesty k emancipaci* (Roads to Emancipation, Academia, Praha 2015, in print).

### ELMAR BROK

is a German politician, member of the European Parliament since 1980 and the current Chairman of the European Parliament Committee on Foreign Affairs (AFET). As a member of the Convention on the Future of Europe and in the Committee on Constitutional Affairs, Mr Brok contributed crucially to the Constitution of the European Union (2003/2004). He was the European Parliament Representative on the Council's Reflection Group for Maastricht, the European Parliament Representative at the Intergovernmental Conferences for the Treaty of Amsterdam (1996/97), Treaty of Nice (2000) and Treaty of Lisbon (2007). He has also been a member of the Committee on Constitutional Affairs (AFCO), of the Conference of Committee Chairs (CCC) and the Delegation for relations with India (D-IN), he has been a substitute member of the Committee on Employment and Social Affairs (EMPL) and the Delegation for relations with the United States (D-US) and a chairman of the board of the European Endowment for Democracy (EED). He has participated in the negotiations on the report "Towards a Genuine Economic and Monetary Union". Within the Christian Democratic Party in Germany, Brok has held numerous leadership positions – has been a member of the National Board of the Christian Democrats (CDU) and Chairman of CDU national advisory committee on Foreign, Security and European Policy. He is married and has three children.

### TONY CURZON PRICE

is Associate editor at OpenDemocracy and online editor at Intelligence Squared. As editor-in-chief of OpenDemocracy, Tony has been at the centre of

pioneering work to transform the magazine model for the web. OpenDemocracy, the leading global democracy and human rights commentary and analysis publication, is 10 years old, has a readership of 3.5million unique viewers per year and publishes between 10 and 20 pieces of content per day. Using a "web 2.0" citizen-journalism model, Tony has extensively explored the potential for low-cost, decentralised editorial organisation in the pursuit of high-quality content. He has lectured on economics and energy policy at Imperial College, London and at the Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale in Lausanne.

### PAUL FLATHER

is Secretary-General of the Europaeum, an association of leading European Universities including Charles University Prague and Jagiellonian University Kraków, and is a Fellow of Mansfield College, Oxford. He was the founding Secretary General of the Central European University (1990–1994) originally set up in Budapest, Prague, and Warsaw by George Soros, and director of international and external affairs for Oxford University (1994–1999). He helped fund several OSI initiatives including the Higher Education Support Programme (HESP), which helped universities and libraries, and the Research Support Programme (RSP), which channelled millions into university research. In the past he has worked at the BBC and Times Newspapers and served as Deputy Editor of the New Statesman. His research work is on Indian political development since Independence. He worked with dissident movements in Central Europe from the 1980s through the Jan Hus Educational Foundation, and with race equality groups in the UK. He was an elected member of the London Council in the 1980s (chairing its committee on post-school education 1986–1990). He currently chairs the Noon Scholarship Committee and is on the board of Roundtable

### TORNIKE GORDADZE

is currently Senior advisor on Studies, Training and Research at the French Institute for Higher National Defense Studies. Graduated from Sciences Po (Institute of Political Studies) Paris, MA in political science „Comparative Studies of political areas“ and a PhD in political science (Nationalism) from the same Institute. Thornike Gordadze was the State Minister for European and Euro -Atlantic Integration of Georgia (2012), having been previously Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia (2010-2012), chief negotiator for Georgia on the Association Agreement and the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade agreement with

the European Union. He is also research associate at the Centre for International Studies and Research (CERI) in Paris, associate professor at the Institute of Political Studies in Paris (Paris School of International Affairs, PSIA), and lecturer at the Institute of Political Studies of Lille. He is the author of numerous works and policy papers on Russia-EU relations, on politics in EU's Eastern neighbour countries (Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan).

Torniké Gordadze has conducted 2000-2013 regular analytical reports for the Policy Planning Staff of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and study reports for the French Development Agency (AFD).

## **IULIAN GROZA**

is currently a team leader on European integration at the Institute for European Policies and Reforms (IPRE), a newly established Moldovan think-tank. He is an expert on foreign policy, European affairs and is actively involved in promoting Moldova's efforts on the path of European integration. He has a professional background in public administration and is a career diplomat. He was Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of the Republic of Moldova (MFAEI) during June 2013— February 2014. Before that he was posted to Brussels at the Moldovan Mission to the EU and worked at the General Directorate for European integration at the MFAEI. Iulian Groza is licensed in law and did postgraduate European Studies at the European Research Institute at Birmingham University and NATO Security Studies at National University of Political Studies and Public Administration from Bucharest.

## **MORITZ HARTMANN**

is co-founder of the research initiative Re:generation Europe, and prepares a postdoctoral dissertation (Habilitation) at the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin / Freie Universität Berlin.

## **GILLES KEPEL**

is a French political scientist and specialist of the Islam and contemporary Arab world. He is Professor at Sciences Po Paris, formerly known as Institute of Political Studies (IEP) in Paris and member of the Institut Universitaire de France. He graduated in Arabic and philosophy, with two PhD in Sociology and Political Sciences.[2] He also taught at New York University in 1994, and at Columbia University in 1995. He chaired the Philippe Roman chair in History and International Relations at the London School of Economics in 2009-2010. He contributes regularly to Le Monde, The New York Times, La Repubblica, El Pais, and several Arab media. He is a member of the High Council of the Arab World Institute and Academic Director of the Kuwait

Program at IEP. In 2010, he was appointed to the Institut Universitaire de France. He was interviewed in the 2004 BBC documentary The Power of Nightmares - The Rise Of The Politics Of Fear. Kepele has made significant contributions to the understanding of Islam as an ideological, political, and social force, both in the Muslim world and within immigrant communities in the West. He has focused in particular on the fundamentalist phenomenon, showing that since the 1970's fundamentalism has been a crucial force throughout the world and across religions--among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews as well as Muslims. Fundamentalism is to a large extent a negative reaction to modernity, which it views as an external corruption that must be eradicated in order to return to an earlier age of religious purity.

## **JAN MACHÁČEK**

is a Czech journalist and musician, working as a commentator and analyst for the daily newspaper Lidove noviny. Before, he worked for Hospodarske noviny and weekly Respekt, the latter of which he co-founded after the velvet revolution (1989) as the country's first independent media outlet. His main field of interest is Economic Politics, namely Eurozone Crisis or European Integration. He writes his daily blog Monitor on internet and provides analysis for Czech Radio and Television. With his lectures he visits international conferences and universities. He teaches journalism at New York University in Prague. During the Communist era he was a member of Czechoslovak dissent and signed the human rights petition Charta 77. He was involved in samizdat publishing and underground music culture. Chairman of the board of trustees of Institute for Politics and Society, former chairman of the board of trustees of Vaclav Havel Library. Repeatedly awarded the best journalist in the country (Ferdinand Peroutka Award, 2010).

## **ADAM MICHNIK**

is Editor-in-chief of Gazeta Wyborcza, the biggest daily in Poland. Historian, co-founder of KOR (Committee for the Defense of Workers) 1976, detained many times during 1965-1980, a prominent „Solidarity“ activist during the ,80ties, spent a total of six years in Polish prisons for activities opposing the communist regime, member of the Round Table Talks 1989, member of the first non-communist parliament 1989-1991, editor-in-chief of the first independent Polish newspaper - Gazeta Wyborcza. laureat of many prizes and titles: Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award, The Erasmus Prize, The Francisco Cerecedo Journalist Prize as a first non-Spanish author, Grand Prince Giedymin Order; Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur; recipient of a doctorate honoris

causa from The New School for Social Research in New York, from the University of Minnesota, University of Michigan, from Connecticut College; honorary senator of the University of Ljubljana, honorary professor of the Kyiv Mohyla Academy, in September 2011 awarded with the Goethe Medal by the Goethe-Institut. In 2012 he received the degree of doctor honoris causa of the University of Klaipeda and the University of Ljubljana.

Author of books:

Kościół, Lewica, Dialog (Church, the Left, Dialogue), Paris 1977; Z dziejów honoru w Polsce. Wypisy więzienne (from the History of Honour in Poland. Prison Notes), Paris 1985;

Między Panem a Plebanem, Warszawa 1995; Wściekłość i wstyd, Warszawa 2005; W poszukiwaniu utraconego sensu, Warszawa 2007.

## CAMINO MORTERA-MARTINEZ

is a research fellow at the Centre for European Reform. Camino works on Justice and Home Affairs, with a particular focus on migration, internal security, criminal law and police and judicial cooperation. She is also interested in the institutional dimension of Justice and Home Affairs and the relationship between privacy and security both at EU and national levels. Prior to joining CER, Camino worked in several projects for the European Commission, as part of the Justice and Home Affairs team of a Brussels-based consultancy. She was particularly involved in projects dealing with Free Movement of persons, intra-EU migration, criminal and civil law, counter-terrorism (including aviation security), police and judicial cooperation and International Private Law. Camino has also worked as external consultant for the European Commission in a project related to privacy and security in the area of tracing and tracking technologies. Additionally, Camino has completed internships in the EU corporate representation of a German transport company, the European Commission and the Spanish public administration. Camino holds a Master's Degree in Law by the University of Oviedo (Spain), an Exchange Diploma in Legal Studies by Cardiff University (UK) and a Master of Arts on EU Political and Administrative Studies by the College of Europe (Belgium), where she specialised in Justice and Home Affairs with a master thesis devoted to the influence of the SWIFT case on the politics and institutional structure of counter-terrorism policies in the EU.

## NATALIE NOUGAYRÈDE

is a columnist, lead writer and foreign affairs commentator at the Guardian. Previously executive and managing editor of Le Monde, Nougayrède is the first woman to have led the French national daily, where she was responsible for leading its digital and editorial

transformation, with a particular focus on investigative journalism and quality long-form reporting. Under her leadership, Le Monde consolidated its position as the biggest information website in France and widened its global audience. In the early nineties Nougayrède began reporting for various French media outlets, covering events in eastern Europe following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, notably the war in South Ossetia (1991–92) and the breakup of Czechoslovakia (1993). Four years later she became a full-time editor for the left-leaning newspaper Libération. She joined Le Monde as a full-time correspondent in 1997 and became a prominent voice in the French media through her coverage of Russian politics—in particular, the civil war in the Russian republic of Chechnya. Nougayrède received two major French journalism prizes, the Prix de la Presse Diplomatique (2004) and the Albert Londres award (2005), both of them for her coverage of the Chechen conflict and the Beslan school attack. In her present role at the Guardian, Nougayrède writes a regular column on foreign affairs, with a strong focus on Europe.

## GYÖRGY PETŐCZ

is a journalist and associate of the Hungarian Europe Society. He started in the 'nineties as free-lance and later staff-correspondent from Italy for Magyar Hírlap, a liberal Hungarian daily newspaper. From 2000 to 2005, he was opinion writer and editor of Élet és Irodalom, the main Hungarian cultural-political weekly. From 2005 to 2010, he was director of the Hungarian Cultural Institute in Brussels. Presently, Petocz is editor of the liberal on-line periodical, Beszélő, and political advisor to the Liberals, a political party.

## PETR PITHART

is a Czech politician, lawyer, political scientist, a signatory of Charter 77 and a former Prime Minister of the Czech Republic (1990–1992). He has also served as Chairman of the Czech Senate (1996–1998, 2000–2004) and as First Deputy Chairman of the Senate (2004–2012). Mr. Pithart was active in the Prague Spring and left the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia after the Soviet invasion. He was one of the most prominent dissidents against the communist regime. In 1989, he was among the most prominent leaders of the opposition Civic Forum, which was founded as the overthrow of the regime began. After a long political career, Mr. Pithart returned to Charles University and resumed his role as teacher at its Law Faculty.

## JIRÍ PŘIBÁŇ

is a professor at Cardiff University. He was appointed Visiting Professor of Legal Philosophy and Sociology at



Charles University by President of the Czech Republic Václav Havel (2002). He has also been a visiting professor or scholar at the European University Institute in Florence, New York University (Prague Office), the University of California in Berkeley, the University of San Francisco, the University of Pretoria and the University of New South Wales, Sydney. He is an editor of the Journal of Law and Society and a regular contributor to the BBC World Service, Czech TV, newspapers and other periodicals. Prof. Pribán has published extensively in the areas of sociology of law, legal philosophy, constitutional and European comparative law and theory of human rights. He is the author of *Legal Symbolism: on law, time and European identity* (Aldershot, 2007).

## JACQUES RUPNIK

is a Director of Research at the Centre for International Studies and Research at Sciences-Po, Paris and the Professor at the College of Europe in Bruges. He has been Visiting Professor at several European universities and at Harvard, and was Executive Director of the International Commission on the Balkans. He was consultant to the European Commission (2007–2010), member of the Independent International Commission on Kosovo (1999–2000) and is a Member of the Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation in The Hague since 2010. He has focused on democratization and European integration of East and Central European countries and nationalism and post-conflict reconciliation in the Balkans and has published several books on this topic. Dr. Rupnik completed his M.A. in Soviet studies at Harvard University (1974), and his Ph.D. at Université de Paris – Sorbonne (1978).

## MARTA SMOLÍKOVÁ

is the Director of the Vaclav Havel Library. She is an expert in the art, arts management and cultural policy field. She worked for the Soros Foundation as a visual arts coordinator and head of arts and cultural programs. She founded ProCulture, a Research, Information and Education Centre for Arts and Culture within the Open Society (2003), which became an independent civic association focused on cultural policy. She was appointed Open Society P.B.C Director (2008), tasked with implementing programs and projects supporting the development of civil society. She teaches at the Theatre Academy of Arts in Prague and Brno's Masaryk University. She is deputy chairwoman of the Czech State Culture Fund.

## MARTA SIMECKOVA

is Slovak journalist and translator, pre-89 dissident. She was editor of one of the first independent publishing houses Archa, editor-in-chief of the journal *Mosty*

(Bridges) a editor of the opinion pages of the influential liberal Slovak daily SME. She is the founder and mover of the civil society association Projekt Forum which also runs Central European Forum discussions. She is also publisher of the Salon.eu.sk portal.

## ANNE VALKERING

is a program officer at the International Debate Education Association (IDEA). She first started debating at University College Utrecht, but has achieved most of her successes representing Bonaparte Amsterdam. She is a WUDC ESL Champion (2008), a Euros quarterfinalist (2006), and participated in the ESL category at the 2006, 2007 and 2008 European Championships. She has extensive adjudication and coaching experience in the Netherlands and Europe. She was a member of the CA team at the Dutch National Championships and in competitions all across Europe, including in Kiev, Le Havre, Bremen and Moscow.

## SOFIA VASILOPOULOU

is a Lecturer in the Department of Politics at the University of York, UK. Her research interests include political behaviour and party politics. She currently works on a number of projects examining the theme of political dissatisfaction with democracy and democratic institutions across Europe. These include Euro scepticism, the rise of the far right, and partisan response to the Eurozone crisis. She also has a keen interest in the democratic legitimacy of the Members of the European Parliament and the European Union more broadly. Her work appears in the *European Journal of Political Research*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Journal of European Public Policy*, *Government and Opposition*, *Nations and Nationalism*, *South European Society and Politics*, among others. She has recently co-authored *The Golden Dawn's nationalist solution: Explaining the Rise of the Far Right in Greece* published by Palgrave.

## ANDREW WILSON

is a senior policy fellow at ECFR. He is a permanent Reader in Ukrainian Studies at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES), University College London. He is also an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. He has published widely on the politics and culture of the European neighbourhood, particularly on Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus, and on the comparative politics of democratisation in the post-Soviet states, especially its corruption by "political technology". His recent books include *Belarus: The Last European Dictatorship* (2011) and *Ukraine's Orange Revolution* (2005). He is a frequent contributor to global media debates on Russia and Ukraine and his views

and commentary have appeared in outlets such as the Independent on Sunday, Al Jazeera, the Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, The Economist, The Guardian, and the South China Morning Post.

## **VOLODYMYR YERMOLENKO**

is a Ukrainian philosopher, essayist and an analyst at Internews Ukraine. He has a degree in Political Science from the EHESS, Paris, and teaches at Kyiv Mohyla Academy in Kyiv. He is the author of the book *Narrator and Philosopher: Walter Benjamin and his time* (2011, in Ukrainian).

There are two Europes, writes Volodymyr Yermolenko: a Europe of rules and regulations, and a Europe founded upon faith in the European idea. And of course, as recent events in Ukraine show, the European idea extends well beyond the formal frontiers of the European Union. Natalie Nougayrède is a columnist, lead writer and foreign affairs commentator at the Guardian. Previously executive and managing editor of Le Monde, Nougayrède is the first woman to have led the French national daily, where she was responsible for leading

its digital and editorial transformation, with a particular focus on investigative journalism and quality long-form reporting. Under her leadership, Le Monde consolidated its position as the biggest information website in France and widened its global audience. In the early nineties Nougayrède began reporting for various French media outlets, covering events in eastern Europe following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, notably the war in South Ossetia (1991–92) and the breakup of Czechoslovakia (1993). Four years later she became a full-time editor for the left-leaning newspaper Libération. She joined Le Monde as a full-time correspondent in 1997 and became a prominent voice in the French media through her coverage of Russian politics—in particular, the civil war in the Russian republic of Chechnya. Nougayrède received two major French journalism prizes, the Prix de la Presse Diplomatique (2004) and the Albert Londres award (2005), both of them for her coverage of the Chechen conflict and the Beslan school attack. In her present role at the Guardian, Nougayrède writes a regular column on foreign affairs, with a strong focus on Europe.





## **\_VACLAV HAVEL LIBRARY**

The Library's task is to document and research modern Czech history, emphasising the ideas and work of Vaclav Havel, playwright, campaigner against the totalitarian regime, the leader of the 1989 Velvet Revolution, Czechoslovak and Czech president and the symbol of awareness against any misuse of power.

## **\_EVENTS**

The general public is addressed especially through the Library's "club" programme consisting of various seminars, readings by authors, debates, concerts and theatre performances. It also collaborates with its partners on conferences and other events, such as the awarding of the Vaclav Havel Human Rights Prize.

## **\_PERMANENT EXHIBITION**

An exhibition entitled Vaclav Havel or Havel in a Nutshell gives visitors an insight into the personality of Vaclav Havel with collages of photographs and quotations. Touch screens present detailed information and audio recordings to put the stages of his life, namely his family, the theatre, dissent and presidency, into a broader cultural and historical context. A large-scale interactive map gives visitors a graphic idea of the global "footmark" left by Vaclav Havel.

## **\_DIGITAL ARCHIVE**

Unique documents offer visitors a rare opportunity to acquaint themselves with the work and life of Vaclav Havel and his friends, with the unofficial Czech culture in the latter half of the 20th century and the topic of human rights and civil society. The repository currently holds more than 45 thousand photographs, manuscripts, audio-visual documents, audio recordings, memoirs and letters.

## **\_PUBLICATION PROGRAMME**

The programme is focused mostly on presenting the work of Vaclav Havel, his family background and the work of his friends.

## **PERMANENT EXHIBITION ON VACLAV HAVEL, OR VACLAV HAVEL IN A NUTSHELL**

The exhibition is open daily from 12 a.m. to 5 p.m. except Mondays.

## **ARCHIVE**

The study center is open every Tuesday from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., or upon prior arrangement.

Online archive: <http://archive.vaclavhavel-library.org/>

## **PROGRAMME**

[www.facebook.com/VaclavHavelLibrary](http://www.facebook.com/VaclavHavelLibrary)

[www.youtube.com/knihovnavaclavahavla](http://www.youtube.com/knihovnavaclavahavla)

[twitter.com/KnihovnaVH](https://twitter.com/KnihovnaVH)

## **E-SHOP**

<http://www.vaclavhavel-library.org/en/activities/shop>



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