DISPUTE OVER EUROPE

KICK-OFF
MAY 2nd 2014

CONGRESS
18th — 19th SEPTEMBER 2014

HAUS DER KULTUREN DER WELT
JOHN-FOSTER-DULLES-ALLEE 10, 10557 BERLIN

Entrance free
TAKE A CHANCE WITH MORE EUROPE — THE EU NEEDS DEDICATED CITIZENS!

This is the leading theme of the inaugural congress "Dispute over Europe" to be held on the 2nd of May, 2014 at Haus der Kulturen der Welt in Berlin. In times when Europe is virtually absent from national political agendas, when problems ahead are discussed by political leaders behind closed doors, and when a growing number of populist parties gain influence on public opinion, we need to give Europe, and all its controversies, a new space. The doubts and objections of the citizens deserve hearing and should not be left to the populists or to the exclusivity of administrative elites. The objective of the congress is hence to establish a culture of disputing the problems and potentials of Europe today – in public, with citizens, intellectuals, and politicians, and in collaboration with a network of likeminded initiatives. We are convinced that appeasement and evocation do not help Europe get any further. What we need is an open and public discourse.

The congress will be continued on September 18 and 19, 2014 – focusing on the results of the European Parliament elections. Preview page 15.

For more information please don't hesitate to contact us at presse@literaturfestival.com
What idea of Europe do young people have today? Involving the ‘next generation’ of Europeans in a discussion about their views, experiences and expectations is a crucial element in the ‘Dispute over Europe’ agenda. Unemployment and a lack of identification with European institutions are not the only concerns young people have today. What they miss is an open and sincere discussion about pressing questions with(in) Europe. But the ‘next generation’ is also optimistic – for there exists a sense of mutual responsibility in the promotion of social values, fueled by a strong disposition to communicate across borders. A group of dedicated, young Europeans will engage in a critical debate about their visions of contemporary and future Europe.

Discussants: Hassaan Bin Shaheen / Christian Felgenhauer / Carmela Negrete Navarro
Sonja Katharina Schiffers / Daniel Tkatch
Chair: Isabell Hoffmann / Nina Jurisch

Contemporary Europe represents a unique model of civilization that is acknowledged and admired in large parts of the non-European world. After centuries of wars, imperialistic and totalitarian obliquities, Europe has pledged itself to the legacy of the Enlightenmen – inalienable human and civil rights, separation of church and state, and socially moderated capitalism. Nowhere in the world coexists a comparable variety of democratically constituted cultures. Yet, the exemplary function of this European paragon for threshold countries (as recent events in the Ukraine have shown) is hardly recognized in Europe.
itself. Are Europeans squandering the European project and its hopes and values due to indifference, egotism and detachment? What is to be done to defend the European model against impending hazards from both inside and outside? How can Europe live up to its responsibilities in the world?

**Discussants**
Camille de Toledo / Karl Schlögel
Hans Christoph Buch / Thomas Rietzschel
Necla Kelek / Ivan Krastev
**Chair** Wolfgang Herles

**19:20—19:40 Break**

**19:40—20:50 UKRAINE: THE IDEA OF EUROPE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST**

There is a roughly drawn geopolitical map, according to which the Ukraine is quasi naturally located in proximity to Russia and its political sphere of influence. The people in the Maidan did not adhere to this map when they claimed their freedom and turned toward Europe. Moreover, they did not see themselves as the «near abroad» that ought to maintain a certain propinquity to the Kremlin. Quite to the contrary, they stood up for their orientation toward Europe while disposing of a corrupt regime whose closeness could have served as an embarrassment to Putin, and whose fate as an admonition. However, the perceived empire refuses to acknowledge this and strikes back. The Ukraine's European contingency has been declared a provocation toward Russia, endangering geopolitical stability. Should a yearning for democracy and self determination be submitted to geopolitical axioms? Hasn’t it already been proved in 1989 that systems enforced by violence and dictatorships are unstable in the long run? Is the Ukraine still prone to Russian kindling in the east? Or is there a nation with new allegiances in the making, originating from the Maidan? And finally, will Europe fail on or grow with the challenges that are posed by the crisis about Ukraine? Will it reflect on the nature of its political community? And will Russia be able to adopt the European idea or will it keep up its geopolitical zero-sum game?

**Discussants**
Jakob Augstein / Andreij Kurkov / Jurko Prochasko
Ivan Krastev / Jan Macháček / Karl Schlögel
**Chair** Frank Herterich

**20:50—21:00 Summary** Joachim Fritz-Vannahme
Languages
English – French – German simultaneous translation

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

The congress »Dispute over Europe« is an event of the Peter-Weiss-Stiftung für Kunst
und Politik in cooperation with the Bertelsmann Stiftung, the Allianz Kulturstiftung, the
BMW Stiftung Herbert Quandt and the Václav Havel Library.
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HÉCTOR ABAD COLOMBIA

Héctor Abad Faciolince was born in Medellín in 1958. He studied at the Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana as well as at the University of Turin. Subsequently, he worked as a lecturer, translator and journalist while also publishing poetry, short stories and novels. Abad’s essays have appeared in numerous outlets (Gabriel García Márquez’ magazine Cambio, as well as in El Espectador, Semana and Lettre International, among others). In his internationally acclaimed memoir »El olvido que seremos« (2006; transl. »Oblivion«, 2012), he reflects on the lifelong political commitment of his father who was murdered by unknown perpetrators in 1987. In 2006, Abad was awarded a fellowship by the German Academic Exchange Service in Berlin. Furthermore, he is a recipient of the Simón Bolívar National Prize in Journalism (1998, 2007) and the WOLA-Duke University Human Rights Book Award (2012). Abad lives in Medellín.

JAKOB AUGSTEIN GERMANY

Jakob Augstein was born in Hamburg in 1967. From 1989 to 1993, he studied political science, German studies, and theatre arts at the Free University of Berlin and at the Institut d’études politiques de Paris (Sciences Po). He worked as a reporter for the Süddeutsche Zeitung and Die Zeit. Since 2008, Augstein has been editor and publisher of the weekly newspaper Der Freitag. Furthermore, he is a political columnist for Spiegel Online and discusses current affairs in the weekly TV debate show »Augstein und Blome. In »Sabotage: Warum wir uns zwischen Demokratie und Kapitalismus entscheiden müssen« (2013; »Why We Must Choose Between Democracy and Capitalism«), he denounces lack of crucial consequences after the financial crisis, and post-democratic conditions in Europe and elsewhere. In 2012, Augstein received the Bert-Donnepp-Prize for Journalism.

HASSAAN BIN SHAHEEN PAKISTAN / UK

The law student, lecturer and political researcher Hassaan Bin Shaheen has been involved in various projects training debating among young people and political consolidation in his home-country Pakistan. He speaks in favor of Europe as a role model in the developing world and calls for a strong Europe which functions as a counter-narrative to forces of intolerance and bigotry.
HANS CHRISTOPH BUCH  GERMANY

Hans Christoph Buch was born in Wetzlar in 1944. In 1963, he read early prose works at a meeting of the Group 47. After studying German and Slavic studies, he worked as lecturer, editor, journalist and fiction author. Buch traveled extensively in Africa, China, as well as the Caribbean. He penned numerous novels, reports and essays reflecting upon his experiences in these regions. He is a regular contributor to Lettre International and co-author of the 2011 manifesto »Mehr Europa wagen« («Take a chance with more Europe»). Buch lives in Berlin.

CAMILLE DE TOLEDO  FRANCE / GERMANY

Camille de Toledo was born in Lyon in 1976. He studied at Sciences Po Paris, the Sorbonne, the London School of Economics as well as at the Tisch School of the Arts in New York. He authored several experimental novels and volumes of essays. With the recently published «Oublier, trahir, puis disparaître» (2014) Toledo completed his «European trilogy». Furthermore, he is the founder of the European Society of Authors which is dedicated to the promotion of literature and project-based translation. In his »Letter to the new generations« (2012) he deplored the tedium of the European institutions and drafted a «Poetics of Translation» aimed at the creation of a new kind of community across languages. Toledo lives in Berlin.

CHRISTIAN FELGENHAUER  GERMANY

Christian Felgenhauer is a student at the «European School Munich» (ESM); one of fourteen educational institutions approved and overseen by European governments. Felgenhauer is concerned about the way the EU and the Euro are turning into, in his eyes, «a question of faith». He misses an unbiased discussion of political and economic instruments which the EU creates. Further he states: »Past successes should not be used to justify the mistakes of today.«
JOACHIM FRITZ-VANNAHME  GERMANY

Joachim Fritz-Vannahme was born in Halle (Saale) in 1955. He studied history, political sciences and German studies at the University of Freiburg. For the weekly newspaper Die Zeit Vannahme worked several years as a correspondent 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 Bertelsmann foundation program »Future of Europe«.

ULRIKE GUÉROT  GERMANY

Ulrike Guérot was born in Grevenbroich in 1964. She studied political science, history, and political economics in Cologne, Bonn, Paris, and completed her PhD at the University of Münster in 1995. She lectured at universities in Paris, New York, Berlin and Hamburg. For the European Council on Foreign Relations she worked as an office manager, followed by positions as representative and Senior Fellow. In 2013, Guérot was appointed Senior Associate for the Open Initiative for Europe (OSIFE) under whose auspices she initiated the »European Democracy Lab«. Basic ideas of this three-year project are reflected in a manifesto for »a European Republic«, which she co-authored with Austrian writer Robert Menasse in 2013. In 2003, she was awarded the French National Order of Merit. Guérot lives in Berlin.

WOLFGANG HERLES  GERMANY

Wolfgang Herles was born in Tittling in 1950. He attended the German School of Journalism in Munich. He subsequently worked 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).
FRANK HERTERICH GERMANY

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 toward 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 published widely on the future of cities. Herterich co-authored the 2011 manifesto »Mehr Europa wagen« (»Take a chance with more Europe«).

ISABELLE HOFFMANN GERMANY

Isabell Hoffmann was born in 1977. She studied political science at the Institut d’Études politiques de Paris (Sciences Po). Subsequently, she worked as a political editor for Die Zeit in Hamburg. In 2008, she joined the Bertelsmann-Stiftung as a project manager of the programme »Future of Europe«, focusing on the role of national parliaments in the European integration process.

NINA JURISCH GERMANY

Nina 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 states.
NECLA KELEK  TURKEY / GERMANY

Necla Kelek was born in Istanbul in 1957. She studied political economics and sociology in Hamburg and received her PhD from the University of Greifswald in 2001. She was a member of the Deutsche Islam Konferent (DIK) and a lecturer in Sociology of Migration. Her controversial essayistic works deal with subjects of an Islamic parallel society in Germany. Among other awards, she received the Geschwister-Scholl-Preis (2005) and the Hildegard-von-Bingen-Preis für Publizistik (2009). Kelek lives in Berlin.

IVAN KRASTEV  BULGARIA

Ivan Krastev was born in Lukovit, Bulgaria, in 1965. After studying philosophy in Sofia he became head of the Center for Liberal Strategies in Sofia. From 2005 to 2011, he was a council member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London as well as editor-in-chief of the Bulgarian edition of the magazine »Foreign Policy«. Furthermore, Krastev is a founding board member of the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR), associate editor of the journal »Europe's World« and editorial board member of the »European Revue« »Transit«. In 2013 he published his essayistic reflections »In Mistrust We Trust: Can Democracy Survive When We Don’t Trust Our Leaders?« (2013). Krastev is a Richard von Weizsäcker Fellow at the Robert Bosch Stiftung in Berlin (2013–2014).

ANDREY KURKOV  UKRAINE

Andrey Kurkov was born in Budugosť near Saint Petersburg in 1961, but was raised in Kiev where he also completed his studies at the Pedagogic Institute of Foreign Languages in 1983. He worked as a cinematographer and journalist. Apart from his novelistic works, Kurkov has written numerous screenplays. His prose is characterized by surrealism, satire and prescient observations on post-Soviet conditions. Kurkov’s literary works have been translated into over 30 languages. Articles and essays have appeared in The New York Times, The Guardian, The New Statesman, Libération, Le Monde, and Die Zeit. In 2012, he received the Nikolai Gogol in Rome and the Readers’ Choice Award at the European Book Festival in Cognac. Kurkov lives in Kiev.
JAN MACHÁČEK  CZECH REPUBLIC

Jan Macháček was born in Prague in 1965, where he studied at the local University of Economics. During the Communist era, he was a member of the Czechoslovak dissident movement. After the revolution of 1989, he co-founded the country's first independent media outlet »Respekt«, for which he still works as a commentator. Additionally, Macháček writes for the newspaper Hospodářské noviny, provides analysis for Czech Radio and Television, and runs a daily blog, focusing mainly on economic politics. He also gives lectures at international universities and conferences. Macháček holds the position of board chairman of the Václav Havel Library in Prague. He repeatedly received the Ferdinand Peroutka Award for Journalism. Furthermore, he is a guitarist of the (former underground) rock band Garage.

CARMELA NEGRETE NAVARRO  SPAIN / GERMANY

Carmela Negrete Navarro was born in Nerva, Spain, in 1984. She writes for eldiario.es, Diagonal, junge Welt and neues deutschland, among others. She claims that Europe has never been a 'social' space and asks why the EU is engaged financially and politically in the current Ukrainian crisis, while not devoting the same attention to the protests occurring in its member state Spain. She sympathizes with people who approve of Europe – yet not in its present state.

STEFFEN NOACK  GERMANY

Steffen Noack was born in Schleswig-Holstein in 1949. He studied at the University of Kiel, the Technical University of Berlin and the School of education in Berlin. Since 1974, he has taught at various schools in Berlin while also giving lectures on the continuing education of teachers and serving as an educational consultant to the Berlin-Hohenschönhausen Memorial. In 1990, Noack began to become engaged in various projects of UNESCO Associated Schools Project Network, traveling to Bosnia, Croatia, Russia and Georgia, among other countries. Influenced by Eastern European dissidents and the French 'new philosophers', he opposes indifference toward populist and totalitarian tendencies in Europe and its neighbors. Noack lives in Berlin.
Jurko Prochasko was born in Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine, in 1970. He studied German studies and psychology in Lviv, with research stays in Austria and Germany. In 2011 he was awarded a fellowship at the Institute for Advanced Study, Berlin. Through his work as a literary critic, translator and author, Prochasko ranks among the main cultural mediators between Ukraine and Germany. He translated works by Kleist, Kafka, Rilke, Freud, and Musil, among others. As one of its co-founders, he teaches at the Lviv University Psychoanalytic Institute. In 2008, he received the Friedrich-Gundolf-Prize from the German Academy for Language and Literature. Prochasko lives in Lviv.


Sonja Katharina Schiffers is currently finalizing her master’s degree in International Relations at the Free University of Berlin, focusing on democratization processes and EU relations with post-Soviet countries. In 2011, she received a B.A. in European Studies from Maastricht University. In early 2014, Schiffers completed an internship at the South Caucasus Regional Office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Tbilisi. The experiences she gained in the Netherlands, France, the United States, Germany, Russia, and Georgia contributed to her idea(l) of Europe as a space of ‘empowering’, as opposed to burdening, responsibility, which is coined by accountable elites, partaking citizens, and an awareness of and proactivity towards global development.
KARL SCHLÖGEL  GERMANY
Karl Schlögel was born in Hawangen in 1948. He studied history, sociology and Slavic studies at the Free University of Berlin. After completing his PhD on worker conflicts in the post-Stalinist Soviet Union, Schlögel worked as a freelance author and interpreter. In 1990, he accepted a chair at the Institute for East European Studies at the University of Konstanz. Since 1994, he has been a professor at the Viadrina European University, Frankfurt (Oder). For his historiographic and essayistic works, Schlögel was awarded the Prix européen de l’essai Charles Veillon (1990), the Sigmund Freud Prize (2004), the Leipzig Book Fair Prize for European Understanding (2009), the Franz Werfel Human Rights Award (2012) as well as the Medal of Pushkin (2013).

PETER SCHNEIDER  GERMANY
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.

ULRICH SCHREIBER  GERMANY
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 its 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.
Daniel Tkatch was born in Kazakhstan in 1979. He grew up in Israel and studied physics at the Technion in Haifa as well as art history and philosophy at the Freie Universität Berlin. Besides completing a research thesis in the field of political philosophy and aesthetics, Tkatch writes and works as an editor for magazines such as cafésbabel and The European. Tkatch asserts that "there is a grave deficit of pan-European criticism of the EU; a lack which is exploited not only by national populists – we are also facing EU-populism."

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.

On the contrary, a lack of courage can be found everywhere and pressing issues are not even being addressed. And political elites prefer to placate. Meanwhile, the doubts about Europe are growing among its citizens. Right-wing and left-wing populists have realised the opportunity facing them anti-Europe parties, who propose to retreat to the nation state, are receiving 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 brings with it an opportunity. It is becoming increasingly clear that the Euro can only survive within political institutions that take rapid steps towards a Political Union. And only on this basis will Europe – which must hold its own in a globalized world – gain the ability to act united in foreign affairs. 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 as part of a broad public decision-making process. We need new political discourse and action. Not mollification will take Europe forward, but public debate. 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 had in recent history.
The events of the congress in September 2014:

**DO 18 09 2014**

**EUROPE AFTER THE ELECTIONS —**
Under the Spell of Populism?

**EUROPE AND ITS DEMOCRATIC LEGITIMATION —**
Imperfect or Impossible?

**NORTH AND SOUTH:**
Can Europe live with the Discrepancy? What does it offer to young people?

**FR 19 09 2014**

**INTEGRATION IN EUROPE:**
Secular Republic and Multicultural Society –
On the Limits of Multicultural Tolerance

**EUROPE’S SECURITY AND EUROPE’S VALUES IN THE GLOBALIZED WORLD —**
where and how are they defended, and who is standing up for them?

**FREEDOM AND SOVEREIGNTY IN EUROPE —**
how to defend them against post-imperial aggression and how against deregulated financial markets?

**EUROPE TOMORROW —**
Retreat into separate Nation States or Advance towards a United States of Europe?

Amendments according to political developments will be inevitable.
Actual information
www.literaturfestival.com/congress-dispute-over-europe_en
The 14th international literaturfestival berlin will open this year on 10 September with a speech by Pankaj Mishra (India/UK). Over a period of eleven days, 150 authors will be presenting their works at 200 events. In addition to premierses – among others by Andrea Bajani (Italy), Judith Hermann (Germany), David Vann (USA/UK) and Tao Lin (USA) – there will be readings, poetry nights and political panels in which authors from all over the world will come together at the Haus der Berliner Festspiele for the 14th time. The festival guests will include Jhumpa Lahiri (USA/India), Stewart O’Nan (USA), A. M. Homes (USA), Nadeem Aslam (Pakistan/UK) and Yvonne Adhiambo-Owuor (Kenya).

The work carried out at the interfaces between literature from the areas of cultural studies, philosophy, theology and other academic fields, which was intensified at the ilb last year with a project on international images of old age, will be continued this year with a large-scale series of events on the subject of «Cultures of Trust». We have invited 15 international authors to write essays on how «trust» is perceived in their culture. The intercultural, inter-religious panorama that will thus emerge will be presented – as a measure to build trust – at numerous religious locations in Berlin, from a mosque to the Buddhist community rooms (Gemeindehaus).

Also continuing this year is the examination of the computer game as a contemporary form of narration which began in 2013. As part of the Year of Science 2014 – «The Digital Society» – the ilb will be presenting «The Perfect Game» – designs for computer games from the pens of international authors, who have written down their ideas without considering matters of technical feasibility. The game designs will be presented at the world's largest computer game fair, Games.com in Cologne, and at the ilb, and discussed with computer game programmers and academics from various fields of research.

The section international children's and young adult literature will be presenting a selection of books that are unusual both in their content and in their formal aspects, and which are not only suitable for children and youths, but also for adults. Many books in the section programme are to be presented for the very first time in Germany in premiere events. In addition, various guests to this section will also be appearing in public in Germany for the first time. The main section venue is the Haus der Berliner Festspiele. In addition to the above, various events will be taking place in Berlin museums, theatres, creative centres and schools. With guests like Ursula Dubosarsky (Australia), Kim Dong Sung (South Korea), Jon Klassen (Canada/USA) and Patrick Ness (USA/UK), Berlin can look forward to authors and illustrators of outstanding contemporary literature for young readers.