VACLAV HAVEL
EUROPEAN DIALOGUES
PRAGUE CONFERENCE

February 21–22, 2014

Organizer: Václav Havel Library


Venue: DOX Centre for Contemporary Art, Poupětova 1, Prague
THE VAČLAV 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 (European Dialogues in Berlin and Bruges are currently being prepared). 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.

PRAGUE CONFERENCE 2014

The Václav Havel European Dialogues is organized by the Václav Havel Library in cooperation with the European Commission Representation in the Czech Republic, Visegrad Fund, European Parliament Information Office, the Forum 2000 Foundation and the DOX Centre for Contemporary Art.
THE CITIZEN, POWER AND DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE'S CRISIS

FRIDAY FEBRUARY 21, 2014
13:00
REGISTRATION
and opportunity to visit the exhibition The Poster in the Clash of Ideologies, 1914-2014 (more information: www.dox.cz)
14:30 – 15:30
CONFERENCE OPENING CEREMONY
WELCOME: Marta Smolíková (Prague), Pavel Seifter (London)
INTRODUCTION: Jacques Rupnik (Paris)
KEYNOTE SPEECH: Petr Pithart (Prague)
15:30 – 17:00
1ST SESSION: EUROPE AND THE CRISIS OF DEMOCRATIC CAPITALISM

Following the keynote speech the panel will discuss the visions of Europe: the West European postwar project, the East European dissidents’ dream, the mind and reality of the European parliament and the attitude of today’s young Europeans. Four panelists will be joined by four journalists.

SPEAKER: Claus Offe (Berlin)
DISCUSSANT: Daniel Kroupa (Prague)
CHAIR: Jiří Pehe (Prague)
17:00
COFFEE BREAK
17:30 – 19:00
2ND SESSION: REINVENTING THE EUROPEAN PROJECT

The EU has a problem regarding its executive powers, with a growing part of the public distrusting Brussels as a self-propelling machine. It is a paradox that while the European parliament has acquired more and more power since its first elections in 1979, the participation of voters is in constant decline. That has to do with the fact that the political parties are incapable or unwilling to accept these elections as a European political contest, preferring rather to turn them into a second or third round of their own domestic elections. The public will become engaged in EU matters only if they can once again see Europe as a joint response to a great history that affects “us”. Europe has exhausted its post-war narrative and needs to reinvent its project. What could it be today?

SPEAKER: Ivan Krastev (Vienna – Sofia)
DISCUSSANTS: Milena Vicenová (Prague), Attila Bartha (Budapest)
CHAIR: Tomáš Sedláček (Prague)
19:00 – 20:15
EVENING CONVERSATION: WHAT EUROPE? WHAT DEMOCRACY?

Following the keynote speech the panel will discuss the visions of Europe: the West European postwar project, the East European dissidents’ dream, the mind and reality of the European parliament and the attitude of today’s young Europeans. Four panelists will be joined by four journalists.

SPEAKER: H.E. Mr. Jean-Pierre Asvazadourian (Paris – Prague), Petr Pithart (Prague), Libor Rouček (Brussels) and Anne Valkering (Amsterdam)
JOURNALISTS: Adam Černý (Hospodářské noviny), Kateřina Sáfářková (Lidové noviny, Česká pozice), Igor Zgrába (E15)
MODERATOR: Paul Flather (Oxford)
20:15 – 20:45
GLASS OF WINE WITH H. E. MICHAEL ŽANTOVSKÝ
Introduction by Jan Macháček
JEAN-PIERRE ASVAZADOURIAN
is French Ambassador to the Czech Republic. He is a graduate of the prestigious ESSEC Business School and the Spanish Chamber of Commerce in France. He is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour and an Officer of the National Order of Merit. Mr. Asvazadourian began his career at the protocol department of the central administration (1985–1989) and took up the post of Third Secretary in Prague (1989–1990), Second Secretary (1990–1992) and First Secretary (1992–1993). He was First Secretary at the Embassy of France in London (1993–1997), before leaving to become First Counsellor at the French Embassy in Copenhagen (1997–2001). He then joined the central administration as deputy Chief of Protocol (2001), before becoming Chief of Protocol, then Chief of Protocol, introducer of ambassadors (2004–2009). He also served as the French Ambassador to Argentina for four years.

ATTILA BARTHA
is currently a Visiting Research Fellow at the Centre for Policy Studies at the Central European University. He works as a researcher at the Institute for Political Science at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences’ Centre for Social Sciences. Since 1998 he has been a lecturer in several social science subjects (sociology of economic life, social environment of business, welfare economics, ageing societies, growth and institutional convergence in Central-Eastern Europe) at the Corvinus University International Studies Centre and Széchenyi István College, ELTE University Department of Sociology and Social Policy and International Business School. His research interests include public policy, governance and economic policy, policy change in CEE and Southern Europe and the role of various policy actors. From 1997 to 2011 he was a researcher in various economic policy issues (development, convergence and governance) of CEE countries at the Kopint-Datorg and Kopint-Tárki research institutes. He has published several chapters in books and articles in leading Hungarian journals and reviews about these topics.

MARTIN BÚTORA
is presently Honorary President of the Institute for Public Affairs and Program Director of the ‘European Integration and Transatlantic Relations’ program. In the past he has worked as a university lecturer and diplomat, serving as the Ambassador of the Slovak Republic to the United States (1999–2003). Mr. Bútora is a graduate of Comenius University, Bratislava, Slovakia, holding a degree in sociology. He was one of the founders of the political movement Public Against Violence (1989) and as a member of its Coordinating Committee helped write the movement’s election program, Chance for Slovakia (1990). He was Human Rights Advisor to the former President of Czechoslovakia Václav Havel (1990–1992), co-founded the Institute for Public Affairs and served as its first president (1997).

ADAM ČERNÝ
is journalist who has been a commentator on foreign affairs for the Czech business daily Hospodářské noviny since 2002. His areas of expertise are European integration and security policy. From June 1990 Mr. Černý was head of the foreign desk at the newspaper Lidové noviny, before later working as a commentator for public broadcaster Czech Television in the mid-1990s and becoming a foreign affairs specialist for the weekly Tyden.

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 a 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.

IVAN KRASTEV
is Chairman of the Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia, permanent Fellow at the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna and 2013–14 Richard von Weizsäcker Fellow at the Robert Bosch Stiftung in Berlin. He is a founding board
is a professor and teaches Political Sociology at the Hertie School of Governance. He completed his PhD at the University of Frankfurt and his habilitation at the University of Konstanz. In Germany, he has held chairs for Political Science and Political Sociology at the Universities of Bielefeld (1975–1989) and Bremen (1989–1995) and at the Humboldt University of Berlin (1995–2005). He has worked as a fellow and visiting professor at the Institute for Advanced Study at Stanford, Princeton and the Australian National University, as well as at Harvard University, the University of California at Berkeley and the New School University, New York.

JIRI PEHE

is a Czech political analyst and writer, and Director of New York University’s centre in Prague. He holds a doctorate in law (JUDr.) from Charles University School of Law (1980) and a degree from the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University in New York (1985). He fled Czechoslovakia in 1981 and eventually settled in the United States, where he worked at Freedom House in New York and became its director of East European Studies. After a time as an analyst for Radio Free Europe in Munich he was later promoted to the head of Central European research and analysis. He was Director of the Political Department under former Czech President Vaclav Havel (1997–1999). Mr. Pehe has written numerous essays and papers that have appeared in world newspapers and academic publications, regularly comments on political developments for Czech television and radio and has also published several books, including three novels.

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.

JIRI PŘIBAŇ

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).

**MICHAL PŮR**

is deputy-editor-in-chief of the weekly Euro, the most widely read Czech business magazine. He spent five years in Brussels as European Union correspondent for the Czech News Agency, during which time he also had a regular column on EU affairs in the Slovak magazine Trend. Despite being in the center of the EU, he never became an enthusiastic EU optimist and regards himself as being close to the EU pessimists’ camp. After returning to Prague Mr. Půr worked as a senior editor at the Czech News Agency before last year joining the editorial staff of the Euro weekly.

**LIBOR ROUČEK**

was born in Czechoslovakia in 1954. After obtaining a doctoral degree in International Relations at the University of Vienna, Mr. Rouček lectured at the University of Sydney in Australia. He later worked as a correspondent at the Voice of America radio station in Washington before taking up a post as researcher at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London. In the 1990s he returned to the Czech Republic and worked for four years as Czech government spokesman. Mr. Rouček was elected a Member of the Czech Parliament in 2002. In 2004 he was elected a Member of the European Parliament, where he became the First Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. In July 2009, he was elected Vice-President of the European Parliament. Currently, he is Vice-President of the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament.

**LENKA ROVNÁ**

is a professor, founder and head of Department of West European Studies at the Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University Prague. She is a member of the Scientific Council of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and a member of the Academic Board of European Studies at Helsinki University. She has been a member of an Advisory Board for the President of the European Parliament and the European Commission’s Jean Monnet Programme. She was involved in the preparations for the Czech EU Presidency as a member of the Deputy Prime Minister’s advisory group on EU Affairs.

**JACQUES RUPNIK**

is Director of Research at CERI (Centre for International Studies and Research) at Sciences-Po, Paris and a visiting Professor at the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium. He holds degrees in History from the University of Paris I-Sorbonne, Political Science from the Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Paris (IEP), a master’s in Soviet Studies from Harvard University (1974) and a Ph.D. in History of International Relations from the University of Paris I (1978). He has worked as an East European expert for the BBC World Service (1977–1982) and an Advisor to the President of the Czech Republic, Vaclav Havel (1990–1992). He was also Executive Director of the International Commission for the Balkans, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1995–1996) and a member of the Independent International Commission on Kosovo (1999–2000). He has been an advisor to the European Commission since 2007. His research interests include Democratic Transition in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, European Integration, and Nationalism.

**TOMÁŠ SEDLÁČEK**

is a Czech economist and university lecturer. He is the Chief Macroeconomic Strategist at the bank ČSOB, a former member of the National Economic Council of the Czech Republic and was an economic advisor to former President Václav Havel. In 2006, the Yale Economic Review mentioned him in an article titled “Young Guns: 5 Hot Minds in Economics”. His book Economics of Good and Evil, a bestseller in the Czech Republic, was translated into English and published by the OUP in 2011. He is a columnist, media commentator and lecturer at Charles University, Prague.

**PAVEL SEIFTER**

is a former Czech ambassador to the United Kingdom (1997–2003). A lecturer in Labour and Social History in Prague, he was forced to leave his post after the Soviet invasion and worked as a window cleaner. He was a signatory of Charter 77 and member of the Civic Forum. After 1989 he was a co-founder and Deputy Director of the Institute of Contemporary History and subsequently served as Deputy Director of the Institute of International Relations in Prague. He was appointed as Director of Foreign Policy to President Václav Havel (1993–1997). He is currently a Visiting Research Fellow at the London School of Economics.

**LARRY SIEDENTOP**

was for three decades a Fellow of Keble College and Faculty Lecturer in Political Thought at the University of Oxford. He is one of the most distinguished and penetrating political historians. His publications include Tocqueville (OUP, 1994), and Democracy in Europe (Penguin, 2000), which immediately became a classic essay on European integration and has been translated into more than a dozen languages and has been credited with influencing the convening of the European
Constitutional Convention. He was invested with a CBE for services to political thought and higher education (2004). His latest work, Inventing the Individual: The Origins of Liberalism in the Middle Ages, has been published by Allen Lane/Penguin Press.

**MARTA SMOLÍKOVÁ**

is an expert in the art, arts management and cultural policy field. She worked for the Soros Foundation as a visual arts coordinator (1993–2003) and from 1996 as the 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 in 2011. She was appointed Open Society P.B.C Director (2008), tasked with implementing projects and programs supporting the development of civil society. She teaches at the Theatre Academy of Arts and Brno’s Masaryk University. She is experienced in evaluating cultural projects submitted to governmental bodies and municipalities in the Czech Republic, the European Commission and other private cultural foundations. She is deputy chairwoman of the Czech State Culture Fund and is the executive director of the Václav Havel Library.

**KATEŘINA ŠAFAŘÍKOVÁ**

worked for Czech Television’s New Media Section as chief editor of the website of the CT24 news channel until the end of last year. Since January she has been working for the news website Česká Pozice and the daily Lidové noviny. She graduated from the Faculty of Social Sciences at Charles University in Prague with a degree in Western European Studies. After obtaining a bachelor’s degree in journalism at the same university, she took a one-year course in mass communication and journalism in Paris. During her studies, she was an editor of the international section of Lidové noviny for a year. In 2000–2004 she worked in the same position on the editorial board of the weekly Respekt, later becoming head of its economics section. In 2004–2009 she was a reporter for Lidové noviny in Brussels, before returning to Respekt, where she remained until 2012. She was in charge of the latter’s internet projects and later became head of its society section; she continues to work with Respekt on a freelance basis. Her areas of expertise are the Czech Republic’s foreign policy, Europe, the European Union and topics with a social dimension. Since 2006 Ms. Šafaříková has been a regular contributor to Transitions Online, a website focusing on Central and Eastern European subjects. The community of foreign journalists voted her one of the top 10 reporters in Brussels in 2004–2009.

**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.

**MILENA VICENOVÁ**

is a Czech veterinary doctor, editor, politician and diplomat. She is a graduate from the University of Veterinary Medicine in Brno. In 1992 she became President of the National Club of Agricultural Journalists and Publicists, and was appointed Czech representative to the Committee of International Federation of Agricultural Journalists IFAJ and Editor-in-Chief of the agricultural magazine Nas Chov. After working in several private and state administration posts, she was Minister of Agriculture (2006). She was the Director of the successful pre-accession SAPARD programme in the Czech Republic and a member of the Prime Minister’s negotiating team for European structural funds. She is a former Permanent Representative of the Czech Republic to the European Union (2008–2012) and was the first woman to occupy the post. She led the Representation during the Czech EU Presidency from January to June 2009. She has taken part in many direct negotiations in Brussels and has travelled widely and lectured throughout Europe and the United States.

**IGOR ZÁRUBA**

graduated from Masaryk University’s Faculty of Arts. Since then he has worked for Czech Television Brno (editor-in-chief, reporter, presenter), Czech Radio (freelancer), the newspaper Mladá fronta Dnes (editor), the weekly Euro (reporter), the weekly Ekonom (deputy editor-in-chief, reporter) and the business daily E15 (deputy editor-in-chief, reporter). He is currently editor-in-chief of the monthlies Strategie and Profit and E15 weekly. Mr. Záruba has covered EU affairs since 2002 and has attended many EU summits in Brussels.

**MICHAEL ŽANTOVSKÝ**

is currently Ambassador of the Czech Republic to the United Kingdom. He studied psychology at Charles University in Prague and at McGill University in Montreal, Canada, graduating summa cum laude in 1973. Žantovský was a founding member of Civic Forum, the umbrella organization that coordinated the overthrow of the Communist regime and the peaceful transfer of power during the Velvet Revolution. He subsequently served as the Press Secretary, Spokesman, and Political Director for President Vaclav Havel and was Czechoslovak and later Czech Ambassador to the United States (1992–1997). After returning to Prague, he was elected to the Czech Senate and served as the chairman of its Foreign
Affairs, Defence and Security Committee and was also elected President of the Civic Democratic Alliance, a liberal-conservative political party (1997 and 2001). He co-founded the Prague-based think-tank Program of Atlantic Security Studies (PASS) and served as its first executive director (2003). He was subsequently appointed as the Ambassador of the Czech Republic to Israel (2003–2009). Žantovský has also translated more than 50 works of contemporary English and American literature into Czech, including works by Norman Mailer, Joseph Heller, James Baldwin and Tom Stoppard. He has taught American studies at Charles University and Euro-American relations at the Prague branch of New York University.
The Václav Havel Library serves as a centre for the documentation and research of modern Czech history, with an emphasis on promoting the ideas and works of Václav Havel: playwright, fighter against totalitarianism, leader of the 1989 Velvet Revolution, Czechoslovak and Czech president, and a symbol of vigilance against despotism. The Václav Havel Library runs an electronic archive containing over 24,000 entries, a library and a reading room, as well as issuing publications and organising conferences. It also operates premises at Prague's Galerie Montmartre, where alongside the permanent exhibition Havel in a Nutshell it organises debates and arts events for the public.

www.vaclavhavel-library.org
Sborník vybraných projevů Václava Havla je jeho shrnujícím příspěvkem k veřejné debatě o smyslu evropského sjednocování. Od prvních dnů ve vrcholné politické funkci se integrace kontinentu a postavení Československa, respektive České republiky v ní, staly jedním z jeho stěžejních prezidentských témat, kterému věnoval stovky setkání s občany, politiky i novináři na nesčetných cestách doma i v zahraničí. Skrze myšlenky autora je tak možné sledovat, k jak zásadním proměnám po pádu železné opony a v průběhu dalších let došlo. Po tragických zkušenostech dvacátého století se nedílnou součástí všech úvah Václava Havla stalo zajištění evropské vnitřní i vnější bezpečnosti. Proto jsou zde zařazeny i úvahy o smyslu a rozšiřování Severoatlantické aliance. Podrobnější přiblížení domácích a mezinárodních souvislostí však přesahuje rámec tohoto sborníku.

Martin Vidlák