# **BEYOND THE WALL**

# Twenty years of Europeanisation as seen from the former Yugoslavia

Conference organized by Notre Europe and Kulturni Front Belgrade, 13-16 December 2009

Programme



Strasbourg, 2009 © Martin Kollár





# **OPENING CULTURAL EVENING**

Venue: European Centre for Culture and Debate GRAD, Braće Krsmanović 4

# Sunday, 13 December

6.30pm: Opening of the photo exhibition "The European Parliament – Future archive" by Martin Kollár, Slovak photographer

**8.30pm: Film: Snijeg (Snow)** followed by discussion with lead actress **Zana Marjanović** Moderator: **Milan Rakita** 



# CONFERENCE

Venue: Palace Serbia, Mihajlo Pupin Boulevard

# Monday, 14 December

**9.30am: Welcome of guests: Joachim Bitterlich** (Vice-President, Notre Europe)

Aziliz Gouez (Researcher, Notre Europe); Dejan Ubović (Director, Kulturni Front)

10.00am: Introduction

Božidar Đelić (Serbian Deputy Prime Minister for European Integration)

10.30am: Keynote speeches

Ivan Vujačić (former Serbian Ambassador to the United States of America)

Jacques Rupnik (Professor, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, Paris)

11.30am: State and states of the former Yugoslavia: a political overview Pierre Mirel (Director, DG Enlargement, European Commission)

12.00pm - 1.30pm: LUNCH BREAK

# **SESSION 1: "MY SAFE EUROPEAN HOME"**

#### 1.30pm – 4pm: From Marxism to Marks & Spencer's: promises of prosperity in a re-formed Europe

**Introduction and chair: Chris Hann** (*Director, Max Planck Institute, Halle/Saale*) Tristes socialismes – et plus tristes encore post-socialismes ? [Lecture in English]

Grave economy, Good life: notes from the Bosnian market

Larisa Jašarević (University of Chicago)

The distinctive features and likely fortunes of the Western Balkan economies **Vladimir Gligorov** (Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies)

Muddles in the model or what can one learn from the first agricultural twinning project in Serbia? **Slobodan Naumović** (University of Belgrade)

**Discussants: Pierre Mirel** (Director, European Commission) and **Kristof Bender** (Vice Chairman, European Stability Initiative, Vienna)

#### 4.30pm - 7pm: A new geopolitical order: what's in the pipeline?

Chair: Pierre Hassner (Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, Paris)

Strategic visions and shape shifting in the former-Yugoslavia: Uncle Sam, the Russian big brother, and a reserved Europe

Ivan Vejvoda (Director, Balkan Trust for Democracy, Belgrade)

Expansion and a sustainable future: will Europe have the energy?

**Jérôme Guillet** (Investment Banker); **Milan Simurdić** (Vice-President, Serbian European Movement)

Turkey-in-Europe: the Balkans as bridge or wall?

Soli Özel (Bilgi University, Istanbul); Anne Ross Solberg (Södertörn University, Stockholm)

#### 7.30pm: Cocktail reception hosted by the Serbian Government

9pm: Film: Chia e tazi pesen? (Whose song is this?), discussion with director Adela Peeva

Moderator: Milan Rakita

Venue: European Centre for Culture and Debate GRAD

Braće Krsmanović 4

# Tuesday, 15 December

9.15am: Opening address: Milica Delević (Director, SEIO)

## SESSION 2: BROTHERHOOD AND UNITY

#### 9.30am - 11am: Break ups, make ups and new relations

Chair: Hedvig Morvai-Horvat (Executive Director, European Fund for the Balkans)

Internal Balkanisms: the EU allure as both catalyst for convergence and centrifugal magnet

Nicole Lindstrom (University of York); Ildiko Erdei (University of Belgrade)

A way beyond bilateral bickering: trans-border relations and regional cooperation **Tim Judah** (Balkan correspondent, The Economist); **Milica Delević** (Director, SEIO)

#### 11.15am - 1.15pm: The EU as state-builder: an unprecedented challenge?

Chair: Nina Caspersen (Lancaster University)

Reading off different scripts: can 'Western' and 'Balkan' cognitive categories come to terms? **Dubravka Stojanović** (University of Belgrade)

It's a long, long way from Copenhagen: new means for differing situations

Michel Foucher (Ecole Normale Supérieure, Paris)

The national question, multiculturalism and supranationalism in the Western Balkans **Ivo Banac** (Yale University); **Rusmir Mahmutcehajić** (President, International Forum Bosna)

12.00pm - 1.30pm: LUNCH BREAK

# **SESSION 3: IDENTITIES AS COMPLEXITY**

#### 2.30pm - 4.30pm: Inner and outer Europe: polarities and populisms

Chair: Aleš Debeljak (Director, Centre for Cultural Studies, University of Ljubljana)

No way out? Radical politics of identity Ivan Čolović (University of Belgrade)

Darkening the door: Muslims, Byzantines, Barbarians **Cengiz Aktar** (Bahçeşehir University, Istanbul)

European Bildung and Eurovision: on the importance of border crossing

Giuliano Amato (former Prime Minister of Italy)

#### 5pm - 6.30pm: Narratives for the future: the voices of the Yugoslav émigrés

Chair: Dragan Velikić (writer and former Serbian Ambassador to Austria)

To and fro between wide and narrow categories of belonging: too 'awkward' to fit back in?

**Igor Štiks** (writer and researcher, Edinburgh University)

Hope and hybridity: casting lines, bridging space and time

**Vesna Goldsworthy** (writer and lecturer at Kingston University, London)

#### 8.30pm: Public readings by the authors

Muharem Bazdulj: "The Noble School" published in *The Wall in My Head* Vesna Goldsworthy: selection of short extracts from *Chernobyl Strawberries* 

Igor Štiks: "At the Sarajevo Market" published in Elijah's Chair

Dragan Velikić: selection of short extracts from Astraga

Venue: European Centre for Culture and Debate GRAD

Braće Krsmanović 4

# **CLOSING CULTURAL EVENING**

Venue: European Centre for Culture and Debate GRAD, Braće Krsmanović 4

# Wednesday, 16 December

6pm: Film: Atorzija, discussion with Nevena Daković and Dimitrije Vojnov

8pm: Film: Gypsy Magic, discussion with Vladimir Balževski

10.30pm: Concert "Jazz Future Session"



Strasbourg, 2007 © Martin Kollár

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

#### Cengiz Aktar

was a professor of European Studies at the University of Galatasaray in Istanbul, and is currently the head of European Union Studies at the University of Bahçeşehir. He is the initiator of "Istanbul 2010 - European Capital of Culture".

#### Giuliano Amato

has twice held the position of Prime Minister of Italy and was more recently Vice President of the Convention on the Future of Europe that drafted the new European Constitution and headed the Amato Group. From 2006 to 2008, he was the Minister of the Interior in Romano Prodi's government, and was also President of the International Commission for the Balkans.

#### Ivo Banac

is a Croatian historian and liberal activist. He is the Bradford Durfee Emeritus Professor of History at Yale University and Professor of History at the University of Zagreb. He served as the co-chair of the Open Society Institute (Croatia), the Director General of the Inter-University Centre, Dubrovnik, and the president of the Croatian Helsinki Committee. He was also the minister of environmental protection and a member of the Croatian parliament (*Sabor*). He is a past and current editor of *East European Politics and Societies*.

#### Muharem Bazdulj

is one of the leading writers of the younger generation from ex-Yugoslavia. He has published three books of short stories, three novels, two collections of essays and one book of poetry so far. He currently works as an editor of the Sarajevo-based daily *Oslobodjenje*.

#### **Kristof Bender**

is Deputy Chairman of the European Stability Initiative (ESI), a foreign policy think tank focusing on South Eastern Europe, Turkey and the Southern Caucasus. He leads various research projects on EU enlargement and on South Eastern Europe, where he has worked in various capacities since 1997. Currently he is based in Vienna.

#### Joachim Bitterlich

was the Foreign and Security Policy Advisor to Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, then the Ambassador and Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation in Brussels, and the Ambassador to Spain (1999-2002). In 2003, he joined "Veolia Environnement" in Paris as Executive Vice President International Affairs. He is Vice President and Member of Notre Europe's Board of Directors.

#### Tamara Buschek

graduated from Graz University with a Masters in Law, specialising in European and international law. She carried out research for her dissertation in criminal law in 2001 at the London School of Economics and studied European and administrative law in Paris. She is currently a Candidate Doctorate Ph.D. in European Law ("The role of the EU and the Council of Europe in developing a European Rule of Law Standard in the Light of their Western Balkans Policy"). She has worked at Notre Europe since 2005.

#### Vladimir Blazevski

is a director and screenwriter. He has directed six documentaries and over 200 television broadcasts, and was awarded the first prize for the best documentary (*The Chinese Market*) at the "Duisburger Filmwoche" in 2001 and the "Golden Arena" for the best director (*Hi-Fi*) at the Festival of Yugoslav feature films in Pula, 1987.

#### Nina Caspersen

(PhD, LSE) is a Lecturer in Peace and Conflict Studies. Her research interests are primarily centred on ethnic conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and the Caucasus. She is particularly interested in the dynamics of intra-state conflicts and how these affect the prospect for peaceful settlements. Her recent publications include the book *Contested Nationalism: Serb Elite Rivalry in Croatia and Bosnia in the 1990s*.

## Ivan Čolović

is a leading political anthropologist and ethnologist who has published a large number of studies in the field of literature, urban ethnology, ethno-linguistics and political anthropology. He is a winner of the Herder Award (2000) and has been decorated with the Legion of Honor (2001).

#### Nevena Daković

PhD, is Professor of Film Theory/Film Studies at the Belgrade University Department of Theory and History and joint coordinator of Art and Media Studies (Interdisciplinary Studies /PhD level/University of Arts). Her research is focused on the issues of identity representations in cinema.

#### Aleš Debeljak

is a Slovenian poet, cultural critic, and essayist. He is currently a professor of cultural studies at the Faculty for Social Studies of the University of Ljubljana, a recurring visiting Professor at the *Collège d'Europe*, Natolin-Warsaw, and a member of the European Council on Foreign Relations.

**Milica Delević** is Director of the EU Integration Office of the Republic of Serbia. From 2007 until 2008 she was the deputy to Serbian Foreign Minister Vuk Jeremić. She has recently published a paper with the European Union's Institute for Security Studies entitled *Regional Cooperation in the Western Balkans*.

**Božidar Đelić** is a Serbian economist and politician. He was the Serbian Minister of finance in the first post-Milošević government of Zoran Đinđić in 2001-2003, and is vice-president of the government since May 2007, from the list of Democratic Party. He is a graduate of the Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales and the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales. He also completed a Master of Business Administration at the Harvard Business School.

#### Una Dimitrijević

completed her undergraduate degree in Modern Languages at the University of Cambridge before going on to do a Masters in European Affairs at IEP, Sciences Po, Paris. She is currently undertaking an internship at the office of Mr. Jacques Delors, 'Notre Europe' in Paris.

#### Ildiko Erdei

is Assistant Professor at the Department of Ethnology and Anthropology at Belgrade University. Her research has ranged from politics of time and space in construction of contemporary political rituals, cultural and symbolic aspects of contemporary economic transformation, to problems related to childhood and growing up during socialism. Her latest research project is dedicated to the articulation of the categories of hope and post-Yugoslav post-socialism.

#### **Michel Foucher**

is a geographer and diplomat, former ambassador and head of the French foreign policy planning staff. His research, books and articles are dedicated to European geopolitics and border issues across the world. He is presently a Professor at the *Ecole Normale Superieure* (Paris) and a member of the Council of Foreign Affairs.

#### **Vladimir Gligorov**

is a prominent economist and a founder of the Democratic Party in Serbia in 1989. He is currently Professor at the Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies.

#### Vesna Goldsworthy

is a British Serbian writer whose books have been translated into twelve languages, and serialised in the Times and on the BBC. She teaches English Literature and Creative Writing at Kingston University, London, and regularly writes for the BBC, *The Guardian*, *London Review of Books*, and other British and US media.

#### **Aziliz Gouez**

is the instigator and scientific co-ordinator of the "Beyond the Wall" conference. She is currently a researcher at *Notre Europe*, where she initiated the project "European Works", which follows a criss-crossed ethnographic research path between Italy and Romania, Poland and Ireland, Serbia and Sweden.

#### Jerôme Guillet

works as an investment banker specialising in energy, financing pipelines and windfarms. He created *European Tribune*, a news and discussion website on European issues, and he is a regular contributor to *The Oil Drum*, an energy website, and to *Daily Kos*, one of the most popular political blogs in the United States. He wrote his PhD dissertation on the relationship between Ukraine and Russia in the early 90s.

#### Chris Hann

completed his studies Politics, Philosophy and Economics at Oxford University before switching to Social Anthropology as a graduate student in Cambridge. He was Professor of Social Anthropology at Kent from 1992 to 1997, and has carried out extensive fieldwork in Hungary and Poland, both during socialism and after its collapse. He is currently Director of the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle/Saale.

# Pierre Hassner

is a French specialist in International Relations. He is director of research Emeritus at CERI (The Centre for International Studies and Research). He was a visiting professor in several European and American universities. He is the author of *Violence and Peace: from the atomic bomb to ethnic cleansing*.

#### Larisa Jašarević

is an anthropologist at the University of Chicago. Her research interests include political and moral economies, medical pluralism, and popular politics in the New Bosnian States.

#### Tim Judah

is the Balkans Correspondent of *The Economist*. He is the author of three books on the region. In spring of this year he was a Senior Visiting Research Fellow at the South East European Research unit of the European Institute at the London School of Economics where he developed the concept of the "Yugosphere".

#### Martin Kollár

is a Slovakian photographer who studied at the Academy of Performing Arts Bratislava. Since graduating, he has worked as a freelance photographer and cinematographer. Widely published, his work has also been exhibited throughout the world, and has been awarded several grants and prizes. Since 2003, he is a member of Gallery and *Agence VU*' in Paris.

#### **Nicole Lindstrom**

researches and teaches in the areas of international relations and comparative political economy at the University of York having taught previously at the Central European University (Budapest). Her research interests lie in the dynamic interactions between transnational actors and domestic change, with a regional focus on Central and East Europe and the Balkans.

#### Rusmir Mahmutcehajić

was elected Vice President of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1991 after serving as Minister of Energy, Mining, and Industry. He is a university professor and President of the International Forum Bosna, an NGO which advocates the strengthening of civil society in Bosnia and Herzegovina. His field of interests covers political philosophy, theory of cultural plurality and inter-religious dialogue.

#### Zana Marjanović

completed the Fiorello LaGuardia high school of music, arts and performing arts in New York and graduated acting at the Academy of Performing Arts in Sarajevo. Before acting in *Snow* she worked on several film projects including *It's hard to be nice* (2007) by Srđan Vuletić and *Dub* (2006) by Mathieu Jouffre.

#### **Pierre Mirel**

is a Director at the Directorate-General for Enlargement at the European Commission. He heads the Direction on Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia and Kosovo issues.

#### Hedvig Morvai-Horvat

is the Director of the European Fund for the Balkans, designed to help European donors to become more actively involved in the Western Balkans. Prior to this, she was director of the Citizens' Pact for South Eastern Europe, an initiative focused on cross border cooperation of local communities and NGOs in SEE. She began her civil activism in 1997, as a founder and vice president of the Hungarian Student Association of Vojvodina and has also been engaged in the EXIT Festival team.

#### Slobodan Naumović

is Professor of Anthropology at the Department of Ethnology and Anthropology at Belgrade University, and also works at the representation of the Commission in Belgrade. His research interests include the ethnography of Serbia, political anthropology, historical anthropology, visual anthropology, and internet culture.

#### Soli Özel

is a Professor of International Relations and Political Science at Istanbul Bilgi University. He is the editor of *Private View*, the journal of Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (TUSIAD) and the Turkish edition of *Foreign Policy*. He also writes an editorial column for the daily *Habertürk*.

**Adela Peeva** is a filmmaker who began her career in TV and documentaries before founding her own production company. A very active member of the European film community, she holds, amongst other positions, a seat on the board of the European Documentary Network. Her films *Whose is this song?* and *Divorce Albanian Style* have received two nominations from the European Film Academy for "The Best Documentary" in 2003 and 2007 respectively.

#### Milan Rakita

holds a Master's Degree in socio-cultural anthropology from Belgrade University. From 2001 to 2007 he edited *Prelom*, a journal for contemporary arts and theory while working in the NGO sector (Humanitarian Law Center) and in research agencies as a market and public survey assistant and analyst. He currently works as a copywriter and strategic planner in leading advertising agencies.

#### Jacques Rupnik

is a French political scientist specialising in Central and Eastern Europe, he was the executive director at the International Commission for the Balkans at the "Carnegie Endowment for International Peace" (1995-1996) and member of the Independent International Commission on Kosovo, 1999-2000. He is currently professor at the *Collège d'Europe* in Bruges and has also co-authored the European Policy Center paper on the Balkans (Brussels, 2008).

#### Milan Simurdić

is President of the Forum for International Relations, and vice-president of the European Movement of Serbia. He was a former Serbian Ambassador to Croatia and Advisor to the Board of Directors NIS. He currently works as Advisor to the General Manager for International Relations at Radio Televizija Vojvodine.

#### **Anne Ross Solberg**

is currently a PhD student in the Study of Religions at Södertörn University, Stockholm, working within the framework of the project "Negotiating Knowledge: European Muslims between conflicting worldviews". She has previously carried out research on transnational Turkish Islamic networks in the Western Balkans, as part of the project "Religion and Nationalism in the Western Balkans" at the University of Oslo.

### Igor Štiks

is a writer whose first novel A Castle in Romagna received the Award "Slavic" for Best First Book in 2000. His second novel *Elijah's Chair* (2006) received both the Award "Gjalski" and the Award of "Kiklop" for the Best Fiction Book of the Year. Igor Štiks holds a PhD from the *Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris* (Sciences Po) and Northwestern University (Chicago). He is a postdoctoral research fellow at the University of Edinburgh, UK.

#### Dubravka Stojanović

is a Serbian historian, Professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade.

Her research centres on processes of modernization, history textbook analyses, gender history, urban history and the history of political ideas in Serbia. She is co-editor of the *Annual of Social History* and one of the founders of the Association for Social History in Belgrade.

#### **Nick Thorpe**

is the Eastern Europe Correspondent for the BBC. Based in Budapest since 1986, his book '89 The Unfinished Revolution - Power and Powerlessness in eastern Europe has just been published by Reportage Press. The book brings the story up to date - a human rights perspective of the tumultuous events of the past 25 years.

#### Deian Ubović

studied anthropology and project management in Belgrade. In 2000 he put his knowledge into practice by establishing the cultural centre *Kulturni Front*. In 2008 he initiated the European centre for culture and debate – Grad, in an old industrial building in Belgrade.

#### Ivan Vejvoda

is the executive director of the Balkan Trust for Democracy, a project of the German Marshall Fund dedicated to strengthening democratic institutions in Southeastern Europe. He worked for the Serbian government as senior advisor on foreign policy and European integration to Prime Ministers Zoran Djindjic and Zoran Zivkovic.

#### Dragan Velikić

is a Serbian writer who was awarded the NIN Annual Literary Award for the best novel in 2007 for *The Russian Window*, as well as the Mesa Selimović Award and the Mitteleuropa Preis IDM in Vienna. He was for several years editor in chief of the literary program "Apatrids" on Radio B 92. He has published three collections of short stories, eight novels and five volumes of essays in a number of European languages. He was, until recently, the Ambassador of Serbia to Austria.

#### **Dimitrije Vojnov**

is a writer and former film critic. He is known for his film debut in *Tito* and *I* which won first prize at the festival in San Sebastian. He is a recognized playwright (*Velika Bela Zavera*) and screenwriter, and runs a lecture series on "Cinemas in the shadow", giving a new perspective on the history of the Yugoslav film.

#### Ivan Vujačić

is Professor of Economics and former Ambassador of Serbia to the United States (2002-2009). He became a member of the Democratic Party at its founding and was a member of the Executive Committee of the DP (1991-1994). He was a Member of Parliament (1992-1996) and Faction leader in the Federal Parliament (1994-1996). He was one of the founders of the G17 group of independent economists in 1997 and is a founder and member of the Center for Liberal Democratic Studies.

#### **NOTRE EUROPE**

#### www.notre-europe.eu

Notre Europe is an independent think tank devoted to European integration. Under the guidance of Jacques Delors, who created it in 1996, Notre Europe aims to "think a united Europe."

Our ambition is to contribute to the current public debate by producing analyses and pertinent policy proposals that strive for a closer union of the peoples of Europe. We are equally devoted to promoting the active engagement of citizens in the process of community construction and the creation of a European public space.

In the first month of 2009, *Notre Europe* decided to open a research field on the Western Balkans – a region which constitutes the new "Frontier" of the European project. Indeed the concretization of the European vocation of this region is one of the main challenges lying ahead of the EU in the years to come. This new field of research for *Notre Europe* carries on from an initial exploration conducted in Belgrade by research fellow Aziliz Gouez within the scope of her "European Works" project.

Successively presided over by Jacques Delors (1996-2004), Pascal Lamy (2004-05) and Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa (since November 2005), *Notre Europe* aims for complete freedom of thought and works in the spirit of the public good.

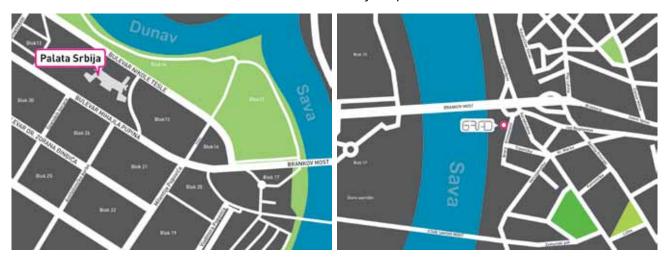
# **CULTURAL FRONT**

www.culturalfront.net, www.gradbeograd.eu

Cultural Front is an independent institution established in Belgrade in 2000. CF's programmes are based on an international exchange of programmes, co-production on European level, treating the media as a free field for expression, commissioning and promoting young artists, advocating the rights of socially marginalised individuals and groups, constructive cooperation and debate between the civil society and power structures, and generally promoting culture as an integral part of wider social and economic development on the national and regional levels.

Since april 2009 Cultural Front is based in an old industrial building in the heart of Belgrade as one of the results of the project Grad – European centre for culture and debate in cooperation with Felix Meristis centre from Amsterdam.

European Centre for Culture and Debate GRAD Braće Krsmanović 4 Palace Serbia Mihajlo Pupin Boulevard



#### **Additional information:**

The languages of the conference will be Serbian, English and French. Translation will be provided.

Contact persons in Belgrade, over the course of the conference:

Mr Dejan Ubović, +381 (0)63 841 62 46 Ms. Tamara Buschek, +381 (0)65 476 01 80

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