

Körber History Forum **Connecting Politics and History**

Talk with each other, not about each other! For over 50 years, the Körber Foundation has been committed to international understanding and dialogue across political, national and religious boundaries, helping to overcome the absence of exchange, to build bridges and to stimulate debate.

To mark this occasion, the Körber Foundation initiated the *Körber History Forum* in 2016. Every year, the forum promotes a cross-border exchange on the political dimension of history and addresses the major challenges of the present day: social cohesion, integration, the legacy of the world wars and Europe's relations with its neighbours to the East and Southeast. These are considered against the background of their historical roots and their differing – and in some cases contradictory – historical interpretations.

The next *Körber History Forum* will take place on 28 and 29 May 2018 at the Römischer Hof, Unter den Linden 10, 10117 Berlin.

Programme

Monday, 28 May

6:00 p.m. Opening

Thomas Paulsen, Executive Board, Körber-Stiftung, Hamburg

6:15 p.m. Keynote

Is Europe failing? Historical and current cracks in the continental foundation

With the sea change of 1989/1991, hopes for democracy, economic progress, integration and growth of the EU were equally high in Eastern and Western Europe. In recent years, however, the financial and economic crisis as well as globalisation and its challenges have increasingly led to calls for a more equal distribution of economic burdens and greater social justice. Where do the EU and Europe stand today in these times of renationalisation and crisis of confidence? Are we currently witnessing the demise of a common vision of Europe? What is at stake in an EU with multiple speeds and centres of gravity?

Ivan Krastev, Centre for Liberal Strategies, Sofia

Moderator: **Gabriele Woidelko**, Körber-Stiftung, Hamburg

Followed by reception

Tuesday, 29 May

08:30 a.m. Coffee and Exchange

09:00 – 10:30 a.m. Panel discussion

Outsiders or neighbours?

Flight and integration as challenges for Europe

Flight and migration are integral parts of Europe's past and present. In retrospect, some migratory movements were perceived as enrichment, others were and are held responsible for social and political problems. How were fears of integration met in the past? What must Europe ensure today to turn “long-time residents” and “new arrivals” into a functioning community?

Lotte Leicht, Human Rights Watch, Brussels

Esra Özyürek, London School of Economics and Political Science, London

Gergely Pröhle, former Ambassador of Hungary to Berlin, Petöfi Literary Museum, Budapest

Philipp Ther, University of Vienna

Moderator: **Ansgar Graw**, Die Welt, Berlin

10:30 – 11:00 a.m.

Coffee Break

11:00 – 12:00 p.m. Panel discussion

Cold War 2.0?

Russia and the West in the age of new armament

After the Cold War left a profound impression on the 20th century, the ideological confrontation of the East-West conflict finally seemed overcome with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. At the latest since Russian Prime Minister Medvedev's appearance at the Munich Security Conference in 2016, the spectre of a “new Cold War” has been sweeping across Europe and the world. Are Russia and Europe or the West engaged in a Cold War 2.0? Which historical continuities are there? And how does the current situation differ?

René Nyberg, former Ambassador of Finland to Moscow and Berlin, Helsinki

Maxim Trudolyubov, Kennan Institute, Washington

Moderator: **Judy Dempsey**, Carnegie Europe, Berlin

12:00 – 1:00 p.m. Panel discussion

1918 – 2018: an uneasy peace?

The legacy of the First World War for Europe today

In November 1918 the First World War ended, and with it the imperial order of the 19th century. For the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, 1918 marked the (new) beginning of national independence, which was often fought for by the continuation of the war under different circumstances. In 2018, the first of the two world wars will once again be at the centre of historical and political debates in Europe. How do different views of the First World War influence relations between the countries of Europe to this day? What significance does the end of the war in 1918 currently have for Poland, Hungary, Finland or the Baltic republics – countries that (re)gained national independence in the years following the war?

Éva Kovács, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest

Andrzej Nowak, Jagiellonian University, Krakow

Erkki Tuomioja, Historians without Borders and Member of the Finnish Parliament, Helsinki

Joachim von Puttkamer, University of Jena

Moderator: **Winfried Sträter**, Deutschlandradio Kultur, Berlin

1:00 – 3:00 p.m.

Parallel, thematically oriented breakout sessions (see attachment)

3:00 – 4:00 p.m. Panel discussion

Is it really the economy, stupid?

Democracy and the promise of prosperity

Bill Clinton conquered the White House in 1992 with the slogan “It's the economy, stupid”. The campaign was based on the conviction that if everyone in a society profited from economic progress, this would bring about not only prosperity but also openness and justice. What are the connections between capitalism, economic progress and social (in)equality? How can growth be distributed more equitably? Are there alternative forms of economy that can contribute to a more inclusive society?

Sven Beckert, Harvard University, Cambridge MA

Mathias Greffrath, Author and Journalist, Berlin

Uwe Jean Heuser, Die Zeit, Hamburg

Per Molander, Author and Adviser, Stockholm

Moderator: **Ulrike Herrmann**, Die Tageszeitung, Berlin

4:00 – 4:30 p.m.

Coffee Break

4:30 – 6:00 p.m. Panel discussion

The seductive splendour of the empire

Turkish Neo-Ottomanism and its consequences for Europe and the Middle East

In 1923, the Treaty of Lausanne marked the end of the Turkish War of Independence under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the birth of modern Turkey within its current national borders. Under President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the Ottoman legacy in Turkey has recently undergone a systematic revival. What significance do the Ottoman Empire and its history have for Turkey today? What does Neo-Ottomanism mean for European-Turkish relations and for neighbouring countries in the region?

Suat Kınıklioğlu, Institute for Security and Development Policy, Stockholm

Abdulhamit Kırmızı, Istanbul Şehir University, Istanbul

İlber Ortaylı, Galatasaray University, Istanbul

Eugene Rogan, St. Antony's College, Oxford

Moderator: **Almut Wieland-Karimi**, Centre for International Peace Operations, Berlin

In cooperation with the Gerda Henkel Foundation

Followed by dinner

Lunchtime: parallel breakout sessions

1. Stumbling blocks

Britain's post-colonial combat zones

Over the last few years, inflammatory debates on Britain's colonial heritage, for example monuments and artefacts in museums, have become increasingly frequent in the UK. Sensitivity to colonial crimes and the victims of colonial exploitation seems to be growing in society, yet the debate remains heated. What does the desire to remove monuments say about British society's critical treatment of its colonial heritage? Which appropriate forms of remembrance of colonialism can already be discerned, what would be desirable?

Afua Hirsch, Author and Journalist, London

Moderator: **Gurminder K. Bhambra**, University of Sussex, Brighton

2. Leninfall – what now?

History politics in Ukraine five years after the Maidan

The legacy of the “Revolution of Dignity” on the Maidan and the outbreak of the conflict with Russia in the wake of the Russian annexation of the Crimea present Ukraine with major challenges in dealing with its own history. How does the systematic “de-Sovietisation” of its national history in the 20th century contribute to the process of post-Soviet nation-building in Ukraine? How does the renationalisation of Ukrainian history affect relations with Russia and neighbouring Poland?

Andrii Portnov, European University Viadrina, Frankfurt (Oder)

Moderator: **Mirko Kruppa**, EU Delegation to Russian Federation, Moscow

3. Only victims and heroes?

How the legacy of Stalinism and National Socialism divides Lithuania

A broad public debate in Lithuania about its own complicity in the extermination of Lithuanian Jews in the Holocaust began relatively late, while older debates about Lithuanian collaboration with the Soviet occupation continue. The Lithuanian writer and author Rūta Vanagaitė broke social taboos concerning the participation of Lithuanians in the Holocaust with her book, *Mūsiškiai* (Our People) and later sparked a fierce public reaction with some remarks about a popular anti-Soviet partisan. How is the subject of collaboration and resistance being discussed in Lithuania today? How does the attitude towards one's own past influence relations with neighbouring countries in the region?

Rūta Vanagaitė, Author and Journalist, Vilnius

Moderator: **Violeta Davoliūtė**, Vilnius University

4. Is anti-Semitism becoming socially acceptable again in Europe?

On the return of old enemy stereotypes

Various studies show that more than 70 years after the end of the Second World War, classic anti-Semitism still exists in Germany and other European countries. In recent years, however, public attention has focussed more on Muslim anti-Semitism and its alleged prevalence in European immigrant societies. This has obscured an open debate on the renaissance of hostility towards Jews as a social phenomenon that cannot be clearly attributed to individual groups. How and where does anti-Semitism manifest itself in Germany and Europe today? Where are its historical roots? And how can anti-Semitism be prevented from once again becoming socially acceptable?

Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, Technische Universität, Berlin

Moderator: **Miriam Rürup**, Institute for the History of the German Jews, Hamburg

5. **Russia and Europe:**

A new “Great Game” in the Balkans?

The “Great Game” of the 19th century revolved around the dominance of Britain or Russia in Central Asia. In the Balkans, too, conflicts of interest between major European powers, including Russia, repeatedly flared up in the past. The legacy of the wars in Yugoslavia, the current crisis in the European Union, the growing insecurity and dissatisfaction of some Balkan countries regarding their prospects for European integration – all these factors have recently led Russia to intensify its efforts to assert its ambitions in the region. Where are the historical roots of current Russian and EU interests in the Balkans? What analogies and differences to the “Great Games” of the 19th and 20th century are there?

Marie-Janine Calic, Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich

Moderator: **Miodrag Soric**, Deutsche Welle, Moscow

6. **Separatism as a centrifugal force in Spain**

A legacy of historical oppressions, prosperity chauvinism or something different?

The vehemence with which the Catalan government pushed forward its efforts to achieve independence with the referendum of 2017 has given rise to discussions in Spain and throughout the rest of Europe, as has the reaction of the central government in Madrid. The Spanish debate centres on the Constitution of 1978, which brought about the transition from the Franco dictatorship to democracy, and the autonomy rights of individual Spanish regions guaranteed therein. These autonomy rights are interpreted differently by the conflicting parties. What are the historical traditions of regionalism and separatism in Spain? What are the current motives for the secessionist tendencies? And what parallels are there to similar movements within the EU's supranational integration project?

Carlos Collado Seidel, Philipps University, Marburg

Moderator: **Veronica Frenzel**, Journalist, Berlin

7. **Shared past, divided memory?**

Presentation of the results of the German-Polish Barometer 2018

The passing of the so-called “Holocaust-Law” in February 2018 confronted Poland's national conservative government with both domestic and international criticism. The initiative aims at separating Polish history from crimes committed by national socialist Germany and shows how strongly German-Polish relations are influenced to this day by the troubled past of both countries. Are differing views on history and heated historical debates currently dividing Polish and German society? How do Poles and their German neighbours view their shared past? Which challenges for common remembrance and which chances for advancing understanding emanate from their shared history? In cooperation with the Warsaw-based Institute of Public Affairs and the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, the Körber Foundation carried through a representative survey in both countries. The results will be presented for the first time at the Körber History Forum.

Agnieszka Łada, Institute of Public Affairs, Warsaw

Moderator: **Bernd Vogenbeck**, Körber Foundation, Hamburg