



25 years free Bulgaria is a civic initiative under the auspices of the President of Bulgaria



President of Bulgaria



Dealing with the Past while looking to the Future

International conference, part of the presidential initiative 25 years free Bulgaria

11 and 12 November 2014, Sofia, Bulgaria

Conference Venue: Sheraton Sofia Hotel Balkan

5 Sveta Nedelya Square, 1000 Sofia

Conference Programme

Tuesday, 11 November, 2014

11:00 **Opening of the Memorial of Georgi Markov** (optional)

Journalist square, 1164 Sofia, Lozenets

11:00 – 13:00 **REGISTRATION OF PARTICIPANTS AND SPEAKERS**

Sheraton Sofia Hotel Balkan

5 Sveta Nedelya Square, 1000 Sofia

12:00 *Light lunch*

13:00 – 13:30 **OPENING AND WELCOME SPEECH**

Royal Hall II and III

President **Rosen Plevneliev**, Republic of Bulgaria

13:30 – 14:00 *Coffee break*

14:00 – 16:00 **Session I: “25 YEARS LATER”**

Royal Hall II and III

Based on the results of a nation-wide survey, the first session will frame the discussion of the upcoming two days. The debate will bring in different perspectives on the following two topics:

- Memories and myths, 25 years later; 1989: what beginning?
- 25 years of freedom: generational and political interpretations.

During the discussion, the main findings of the survey will be presented onscreen.

Boriana Dimitrova, Managing Partner at Alpha research (Bulgaria)

Dimitar Dimitrov, Political Scientist at the University of Sofia (Bulgaria)

Evelyna Kelbetcheva, Professor of History at the American University in Bulgaria (Bulgaria)

Edvin Sugarev, Politician, poet, literary critic and journalist (Bulgaria)

Evgeniy Daynov, Political Scientist and Professor at the New Bulgarian University (Bulgaria)

Mihail Nedeltchev, Professor at the New Bulgarian University and President of the Union of Bulgarian Writers (Bulgaria)

Petya Kabakchieva, Associate Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology at Sofia University (Bulgaria)

Zhivko Georgiev, Research Director at the Polling Agency BBSS Gallup (Bulgaria)

Moderator: Daniel Chipev, Head of Department “Information” at Bulgarian National Television (Bulgaria)

16:00 – 16:30 *Coffee break*

16:30 – 18:30 **Session II: Break-out sessions**

Break-out session A: TRUTH-SEEKING IN EASTERN EUROPE: WHAT DO THE ARCHIVES HAVE TO SAY?

Royal Hall I

This session will explore the impact of opening the archives for uncovering the truth about past regimes and forming a consensual societal position on their legacy that is well-grounded in facts and documents. What is the best way to open the archives? What do they have to say? Is opening the archives a pre-condition for subsequent social reconciliation? How can information from the archives help a society in transition evolve and overcome its past? What is the hidden detriment of not opening the archives in an adequate manner?

Evtim Kostadinov, Chairman of the Committee for Disclosure of Documents and the Announcement of Affiliation of Bulgarian Citizens to the State Security and the Intelligence Services of the Bulgarian National Army (Bulgaria)

Joachim Foerster, Head of the Department of Information, and Deputy Director at the Federal Commission for the Records of the State Security Service of the Former German Democratic Republic (Germany)

Mária Palasik, Head of Department of Research at the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security (Hungary)

Milan Barta, Acting Director, Section for Research on Totalitarian Regimes at the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes (Czech Republic)

Paweł Ukielski, Deputy Director at the Institute of National Remembrance (Poland)

Moderator: Momchil Metodiev, Editor in Chief of the Christianity and Culture Journal, Historian and Writer (Bulgaria)



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Break-out session B: THE WESTERN BALKANS AFTER 1989. WHAT TRANSITIONS?

Royal Hall II and III

This session will examine the transitions that Western Balkan countries have been undergoing since the end of the Cold War. Which was the watershed year that marked the beginning of transitions for the countries in the region? Can we speak of the Western Balkans's 89? What were the reform paths chosen by their governments and why are they different from the rest of Central and Eastern Europe?

Petar Stoyanov, President of Bulgaria (1997 – 2002) (Bulgaria)

Stjepan Mesić, President of Croatia (2000 - 2010) and the last President of Yugoslavia (Croatia)

Jovan Teokarević, Professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade, Serbia (Serbia)

Radmila Šekerinska, Former Leader of the Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (Macedonia)

Remzi Lani, Director of the Albanian Media Institute (Albania)

Panellist and Moderator: Ognyan Minchev, Executive Director of the Institute for Regional and International Studies (Bulgaria)

19:30

Dinner

Sheraton Hotel, Serdica Hall

Dinner speech: Daniel Mitov, Minister of Foreign Affairs (Bulgaria)

The speech will be held in English without interpretation

Wednesday, 12 November, 2014

10:30 – 11:30

Session III: THE PATH TO DEMOCRACY: ARE TRANSITIONAL EXPERIENCES UNIQUE OR TRANSFERABLE

Royal Hall II and III

Each transition society has its own unique path to democratic transformation, determined by national peculiarities that favour certain choices and developments over others. Therefore, it is important to pay attention to their different experiences. However, it is even more important to attempt to extract transferable lessons learned, with regard to both good practices and mistakes to be avoided.

President **Rosen Plevneliev**, Bulgaria

President **János Áder**, Hungary



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Moderator: Boyko Vassilev, Host and Producer of the weekly Panorama news talk show on the Bulgarian National Television (BNT) (Bulgaria)

11:30 – 12:00 *Coffee break*

12:00 – 13:30 **Session IV: 1989 AND THE CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE: MANY STORIES AND THE UNTOLD TRUTH**

Royal Hall II and III

The recent communist past is a topic that fundamentally divides Bulgarian society. It is often the subject of radical affirmation, rejection or emotional appraisals. We have a plethora of diverging stories but no consensual evidence-based history. Common issues in post-communist societies are the recycling of elites and invisible networks that are rotted in the past but influence the politics of the day. A lack of a culture of remembrance renders a society susceptible to mythologizing, nostalgic distortions of the past and partisan confrontation. How can we cope with such deficiencies, especially with regard to younger generations, who have no personal memories of the past?

Keynote speech: **Zhelyu Zhelev**, First democratically elected President of Bulgaria (1990 – 1997)

Dagmar Schipanski, Member of the Board of the Christian Democratic Union and President of the Studienkolleg zu Berlin (Germany)

Janusz Bugajski, Senior Fellow at the Center for European Policy Analysis (CEPA) (USA)

Martin Ivanov, Minister of Culture (2014) and Secretary of culture, education and national identity at the President's Office (Bulgaria)

Nassya Krlevska-Owens, Writer and Journalist (Bulgaria/ USA)

Moderator: Margarita Assenova, Director of Programs for the Balkans, the Caucasus and Central Asia at The Jamestown Foundation (Bulgaria/ USA)

13:30 – 14:30 *Lunch*

Sheraton Hotel, Serdica Hall

Lunch speech: Nickolay Mladenov, Special Representative of the Secretary General for Iraq and Head of UN Assistance Mission in Iraq (Bulgaria)

The speech will be held in English without interpretation

14:30 – 16:00 Session V: Break-out sessions

Break-out session A: POLICIES IN TRANSITION: DEMOCRACY AND THE RULE OF LAW: BULGARIA AND CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN COMPARISON

Royal Hall II and III

This session is organized with the kind support of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation

25 years ago Bulgaria went through a bloodless revolution, but then suffered under severe economic hardship. Nevertheless, we still managed to reach consensus on the currency board and on NATO and EU membership. Alongside critically examining what went wrong, and how, during the years of transition, we wish to reflect on what went right, while also moving beyond the national context and looking at the wider Eastern European experience.

Panelists:

Georgi Pirinski, Member of the European Parliament, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1995-1996) and Speaker of the National Assembly (2005-2009) (Bulgaria)

István Gyarmati, President of the International Centre for Democratic Transition (Hungary)

Ján Čarnogurský, Prime Minister of Slovakia (1991 – 1992) and Chairperson of the Christian Democratic Movement (Slovakia)

Philip Dimitrov, First democratically elected Prime Minister of Bulgaria (1991 – 1992) (Bulgaria)

Wojciech Przybylski, Editor of Res Publica Nowa (Poland)

Moderator: Rayna Gavrilova, Open Society Foundations (Bulgaria)

Break-out session B: ECONOMIES IN TRANSITION: MARKET ECONOMY AND ENERGY DEPENDENCIES

When the Iron Curtain fell in 1989, many expected an order based on cooperation to unfold internationally, and liberal democracy, rule of law and market economy to flourish domestically. However, this was the case only partially and 25 years later we face the lasting effects of some of the dependencies, established prior to 89. So what have we as Europe learned from 25 years of freedom in economic terms? What lessons can be taken from how governments, business, and societies in CEE managed the periods of uncertainty, and how do they relate to our current time?

Royal Hall I

Daniel Dăianu, Professor of Economics, National School of Political and Administrative Studies (SNSPA) in Bucharest and ECFR Council member (Romania)

Julian Popov, Chairman of the Board of the Building Performance Institute, Europe, Fellow of the European Climate Foundation (Bulgaria/ UK)

Juraj Bayer, Member of the Board and Chief financial officer of ZSE Energia and ECFR Council Member (Slovakia)

Krassen Stanchev, Associate Professor at the Sofia University in Economy, Board Chairman, Founder and former Executive Director of the Institute for Market Economy (Bulgaria)

Moderator: Velislava Popova, Editor-in-Chief at Dnevnik daily newspaper (Bulgaria)

16:00 – 16:30 *Coffee break*

16:30 – 17:45 **Session VI: UNFINISHED BUSINESS IN THE HEART OF EUROPE I**

Western Balkans

Royal Hall II and III

Although all of the Western Balkan countries are firmly on the path to EU accession, the news that there will be no progress on enlargement for the next 5 years caused frustration across the region. The pro-EU protests in Ukraine revived the question of the EU accession perspective as a driving force for democratization and reform. So what is the role of the EU perspective in transition? What should be the next steps, in order to sustain the integration momentum in the Western Balkans?

Aleksandar Pejovic, State Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Chief EU Negotiator (Montenegro)

Dimitrij Rupel, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs (1990 - 1992, 2000 – 2008) (Slovenia)

Kristof Bender, Deputy Chairman of the European Stability Initiative (Austria)

Vedran Džihić, Senior Researcher and Lecturer at the Austrian Institute for International Affairs (Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Moderator: Tim Judah, Balkans Correspondent at The Economist (United Kingdom)

17:45 – 18:00 *Short break*

18:00 – 19:30 **Session VII: UNFINISHED BUSINESS IN THE HEART OF EUROPE II**

Eastern Neighbourhood and Russia

Royal Hall II and III

In this session we will focus on EU's Eastern Neighbourhood and Russia from the point of view of the EU. How did the annexation of Crimea change the way Europe thinks of its neighbourhoods? Are we witnessing a revival of Cold War geopolitics and is there a threat of drawing new division lines in Europe, 25 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall? Is the EU running a risk of losing its East and what would that mean for its own credibility as an inclusive union, and one that can handle its



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immediate neighbourhood? Does the fight for Ukraine remind us in the EU of the dilemmas 'old Europe' was facing with the post-communist countries post 89?

Craig Kennedy, President of the German Marshall Fund of the USA (1996 – 2014) (USA)

Ghia Nodia, Political analyst and founder of the Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development (Georgia)

Ion Sturza, Former Prime Minister of the Republic of Moldova, Founder and Chairman of Fribourg Capital, Council member of ECFR (Moldova)

Ivan Krastev, Chairman of the Centre for Liberal Strategies and founding board member of ECFR (Bulgaria)

Nina Khrushcheva, Professor at The New School New York (Russia/ USA)

Moderator: Vessela Tcherneva, Director of Wider Europe Programme, European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR) (Bulgaria)

19:30

Closing remarks

THE BULGARIAN REVOLUTIONS: 1989, 1991, 1997, 2014

Royal Hall II and III

Rumyana Kolarova, Minister of Education (2014), Deputy Chair of the Advisory Board of the Civic Initiative 25 years free Bulgaria and Secretary for Civil Society Relations at the President's Office (Bulgaria)

20:00

Reception hosted by President Plevneliev

Only per invitation

National Historical Museum

Vitoshko Lale, 1618 Sofia