

# 6<sup>TH</sup> SUBVERSIVE FESTIVAL THE UTOPIA OF DEMOCRACY

MAY 4-18 2013



SUBVERSIVE FORUM  
ZAGREB YOUTH THEATRE (ZKM)

SUBVERSIVE  
BOOK FAIR  
KINO EUROPA

CONFERENCE  
KINO EUROPA

SUNDAY (12.05.)

**Balkan Open**  
(parallell sessions)  
In cooperation with  
Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung

10:00 – 11:30  
Hall I **Did someone say  
democracy?**  
Hall II **Inequality in defense of  
equality**  
Hall III **Possibilities for Left  
Unification through Examples  
of Self-organization**

12:00 – 13:30  
Hall I **Towards connecting and  
coordinating Balkan workers'  
struggles**  
Hall II **Against capitalism,  
nesting orientalism, and self-  
imposed colonialism**  
Hall III **Enacting New  
Alliances in the Balkans:  
Queerness, Class and Politics**

14:30 – 16:00  
Hall I **Antinationalism-  
Balkans perspectives**  
Hall II **Who is protected by  
labor laws?**  
Hall III **Capitalism, socialism,  
democracy**

16:30 – 18:00  
Hall I **Feminist Education and  
Its Left Practice in A Time of  
Precarity**  
Hall II **Regional LGBT activism  
and contemporary left wing  
politics**  
Hall III **War and Work**

18:00 – 19:00  
Book promotion  
**Michael G. Kraft**  
“Social Struggles in Ex-  
Yugoslavia”  
**B. Kanzleiter, A. Milat,  
M. G. Kraft**  
Moderator: Stipe Ćurković

19:00 – 21:00  
Round-table  
**FRANCO B. BIFO**  
**SUSAN GEORGE**  
**YANIS VAROUFAKIS**  
“The Utopia of the EU”  
Moderator: Igor Štiks

21:00 – 23:00  
Round-table  
**OLIVER STONE**  
**TARIQ ALI**  
“The Untold History of the  
United States”  
Moderator: Srećko Horvat

MONDAY (13.05.)

**Balkan Forum**  
In cooperation with  
Rosa Luxemburg  
Stiftung

10:00 – 12:00 Panel discussion  
**Common and Public Goods**  
workshop presentation  
Coordinator: **Danijela Dolenc**  
Discussant: **Erik Olin Wright**

12:30 – 14:30 Panel discussion  
**Sex and Class Equality**  
workshop presentation  
Coordinator: **Ankica Ćakardić**  
Discussant: **Silvia Federici**

15:30 – 17:30 Panel discussion  
**New economic models**  
workshop presentation  
Coordinator: **Milan Medić**  
Discussant: **David Erdal**

18:00 – 19:00  
Book Promotion  
**Maurizio Lazzarato**  
“The Making of the Indebted  
Man”  
Q&A Luka Bogdanić

19:00 – 21:00  
Keynote  
**ERIK O. WRIGHT**  
“Transcending Capitalism  
through Real Utopias”  
Moderator: Danijela Dolenc

21:00 – 23:00  
Keynote  
**SILVIA FEDERICI**  
“Gender and democracy in  
the Neo-liberal agenda:  
feminist politics past and  
present”  
Moderator: Ankica Ćakardić

TUESDAY (14.05.)

**Balkan Forum**  
In cooperation with  
Rosa Luxemburg  
Stiftung

10:00 – 12:00 Panel discussion  
**Democratization and  
participation**  
workshop presentation  
Coordinator: **Suzana Kunac**  
Discussant: **Costas Douzinas**

12:30 – 14:30 Panel discussion  
**Mapping the Workers'  
struggles: the role of labor in  
postsocialism**  
workshop presentation  
Coordinator: **Jovica Lončar**  
Discussant: **Catherine Samary**

15:30 – 17:30 Panel discussion  
**Media and the Public Sphere**  
workshop presentation  
Coordinator: **Boris Postnikov**  
Discussant: **Dan Hind**

18:00 – 19:00  
Book Promotion  
**Costas Douzinas**  
“Philosophy and Resistance  
in the Crisis: Greece and the  
Future of Europe”  
Q&A Boris Gunjević

19:00 – 21:00  
Keynote  
**YANIS VAROUFAKIS**  
“Confessions of an Erratic  
Marxist”  
Moderator: Toni Prug

21:00 – 23:00  
Keynote  
**MAURIZIO LAZZARATO**  
“The Crisis of Debt: a Crisis of  
Capital?”  
Moderator: Luka Bogdanić

23:00 – 24:00  
Late Night Conversation:  
**OLIVER STONE**  
Moderator: Jelena Ostojčić

WEDNESDAY (15.05.)

**Commoning the Future**  
In cooperation with  
Heinrich Böll  
Stiftung

10:00 – 12:00 Panel discussion  
**Water**  
introductory note: **Saki Bailey**  
**Vjeran Piršić, Lidija  
Luttenberger, Anne le Strat ,  
Ljudevit Tropan**

12:30 – 14:30 Panel discussion  
**The Railways**  
introductory note: **Christian  
Wolmar**  
**Pippa Galop, Bernard Ivčić ,  
Katarina Mindum**

15:30 – 17:30 Panel discussion  
**Energy**  
introductory note: **Andreas  
Kappes**  
**Toni Vidan, Zvezdan Kalmar,  
Denis Geto**

18:00 – 19:00  
Book Promotion  
**Yanis Varoufakis**  
“The Global Minotaur”  
Q&A Marko Kostanić

19:00 – 21:00  
Keynote  
**COSTAS DOUZINAS**  
“Philosophy and Resistance:  
Greece and the Future of  
Europe”  
Moderator: Boris Gunjević

21:00 – 23:00  
Round-table  
**ALEXIS TSIPRAS, JEAN-  
LUC MÉLENCHON, SLAVOJ  
ŽIŽEK**  
“The Role of the European  
Left”  
Moderator: Srećko Horvat

THURSDAY (16.05.)

**The enlargement of  
postdemocratic Europe**  
In cooperation with  
Transform! Network

10:00 – 12:00 Panel discussion  
**The Bay of PIGS: “Centre vs.  
Periphery” – A Realistic  
Perspective?**  
**Toni Prug, Susan Watkins,  
Francisco Louçã, Raffaella  
Bollini**  
Moderator: **Elena  
Papadopoulou**

12:30 – 14:30 Panel discussion  
**The Balkans in/out of the  
European Union**  
**Mate Kapović, Stipe Ćurković,  
Rada Borić, Catherine  
Samary**  
Moderator: **Waler Baier**

15:30 – 17:30 Panel discussion  
**The Alter Summit: Towards A  
Political Alternative to  
Financial Dictatorship over  
Europe**  
**Elisabeth Gauthier, Felipe van  
Keirsbilck , Elena  
Papadopoulou, Eric Toussaint**  
Moderator: **Tomislav Medak**

18:00 – 19:00  
Book Promotion  
**Eric Toussaint**  
“The Debt Crisis: From  
Europe to Where?”  
Q&A Vladimir Cvijanović

19:00 – 21:00  
Keynote  
**CHANTAL MOUFFE**  
“ How to interpret the recent  
protest movements? An  
agonistic approach”.  
Moderator: Tatjana Jukić

21:00 – 23:00  
Keynote  
**SLAVOJ ŽIŽEK**  
“Love as a political category”  
Moderator: Srećko Horvat

FRIDAY (17.05.)

**The European Left and the  
Global Crisis of Capitalism**  
In cooperation with  
Transform! Network

10:00 – 12:00 Panel discussion  
**Can the World Social Forum  
be reformed?**  
**Raffaella Bollini, Francine  
Mestrum, Bernard Cassen,  
Gus Massiah**  
Moderator: **Walter Baier**

12:30 – 14:30 Panel discussion  
**Deglobalisation as an  
Alternative to European  
Integration?**  
**Christophe Ventura, Lukas  
Oberndorfer, Walter Baier,  
Jan Toporowski**  
Moderator: **Elisabeth Gauthier**

15:30 – 17:30 Panel discussion  
**The Rise of the New Left**  
**Richard Seymour, Kate  
Hudson, Haris Golemis,  
Waltraud Fritz Klackl**  
Moderator: **Marko Kostanić**

18:00 – 19:00  
Book Promotion  
**Bernard Stiegler**  
“Acting Out”  
Q&A Katarina P. Vuković

19:00 – 21:00  
Keynote  
**BERNARD STIEGLER**  
“Conservative revolution,  
ideology and organology”  
Moderator: Igor Štiks

21:00 – 23:00  
Keynote  
**ÁLVARO GARCÍA LINERA**  
Title TBC  
Moderator: Christophe Ventura

SATURDAY (18.05.)

19:00 – 21:00  
Keynote  
**ALEIDA GUEVARA**  
“The experience of Latin  
America”  
Moderator: Igor Štiks

21:00 – 23:00  
Film  
**“Pervert’s Guide to Ideology”**  
Sophie Fiennes 2012, 134’