THE MIND AND BODY OF EUROPE: A NEW NARRATIVE

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HOW THE EU HAS GROWN

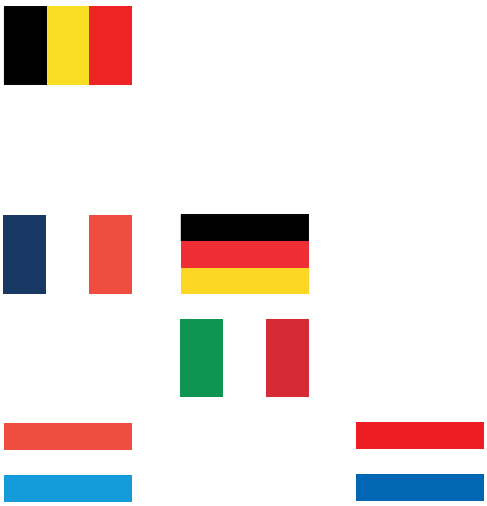
Timeline (1952/2014)

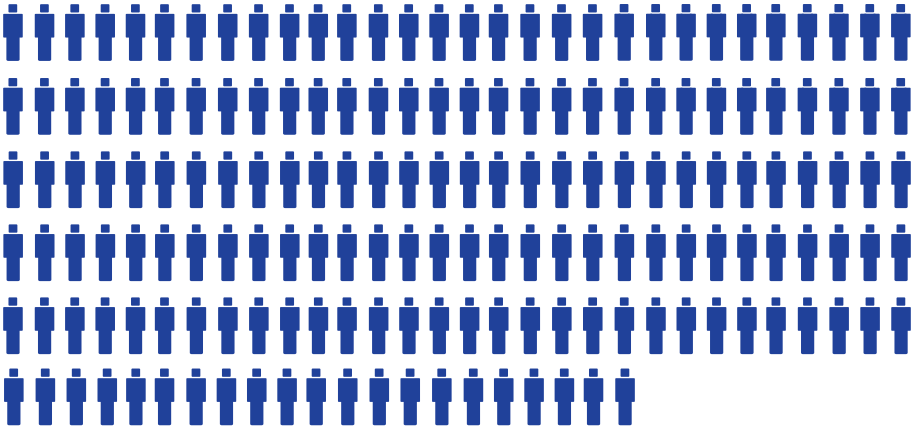
> 1 MILLION

AUSTRIA	BELGIUM	BULGARIA	CROATIA
CYPRUS	CZECH REPUBLIC	DENMARK	ESTONIA
FINLAND	FRANCE	GERMANY	GREECE
HUNGARY	IRELAND	ITALY	LATVIA
LITHUANIA	LUXEMBOURG	MALTA	NETHERLANDS
POLAND	PORTUGAL	ROMANIA	SLOVAKIA
SLOVENIA	SPAIN	SWEDEN	UNITED KINGDOM

TIMELINE

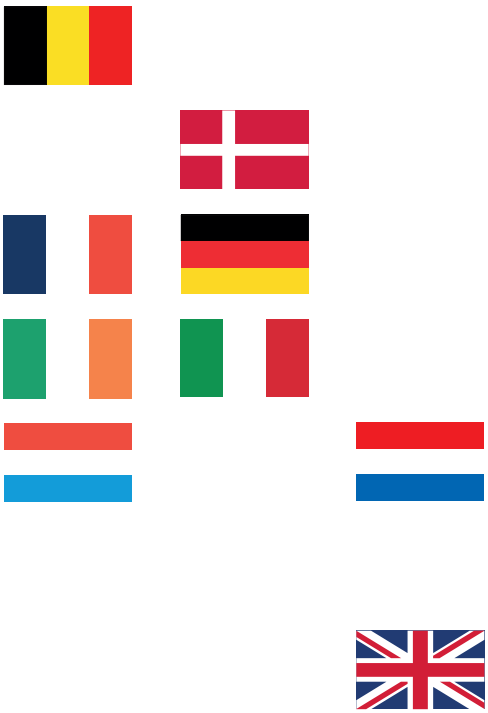
Go to page 4

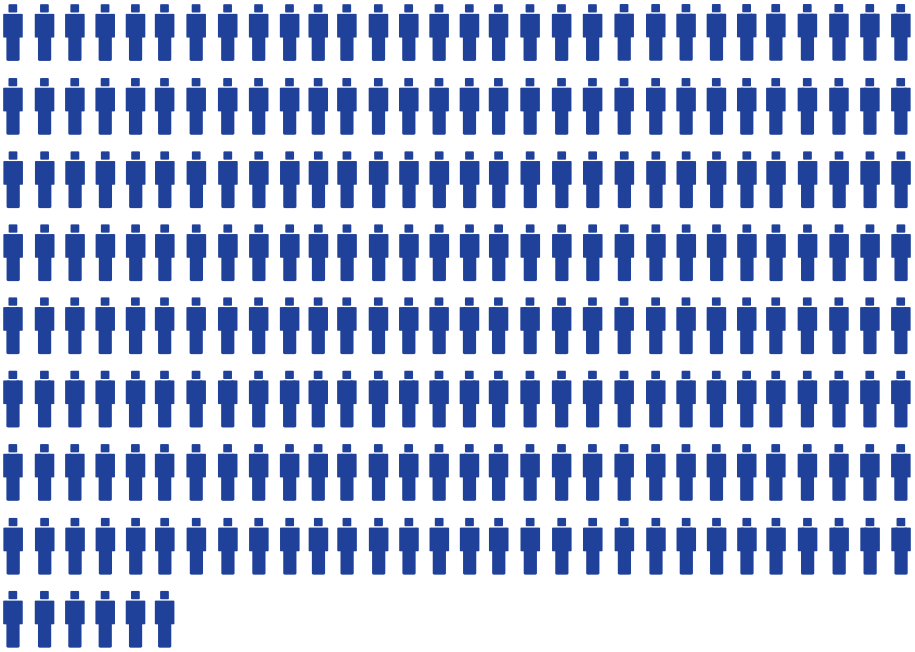




1952/1960

171 MILLION





1973

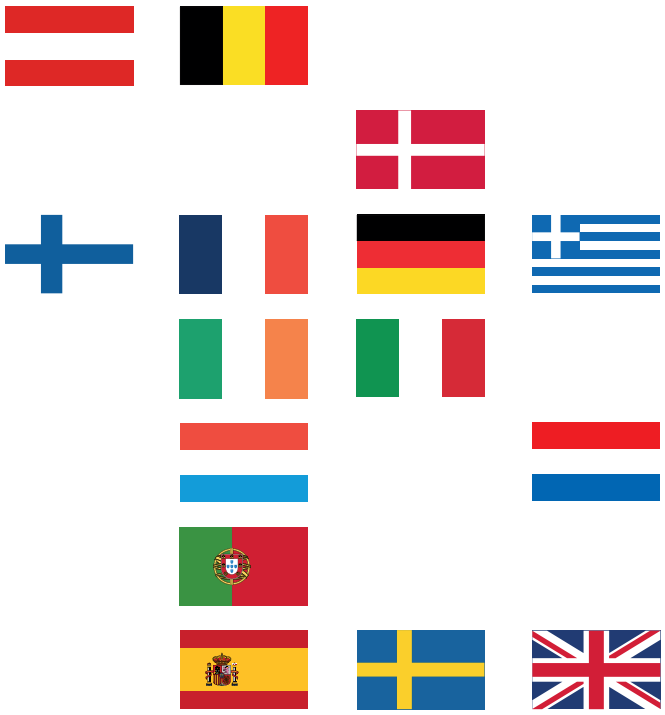
246 MILLION

1981

271 MILLION

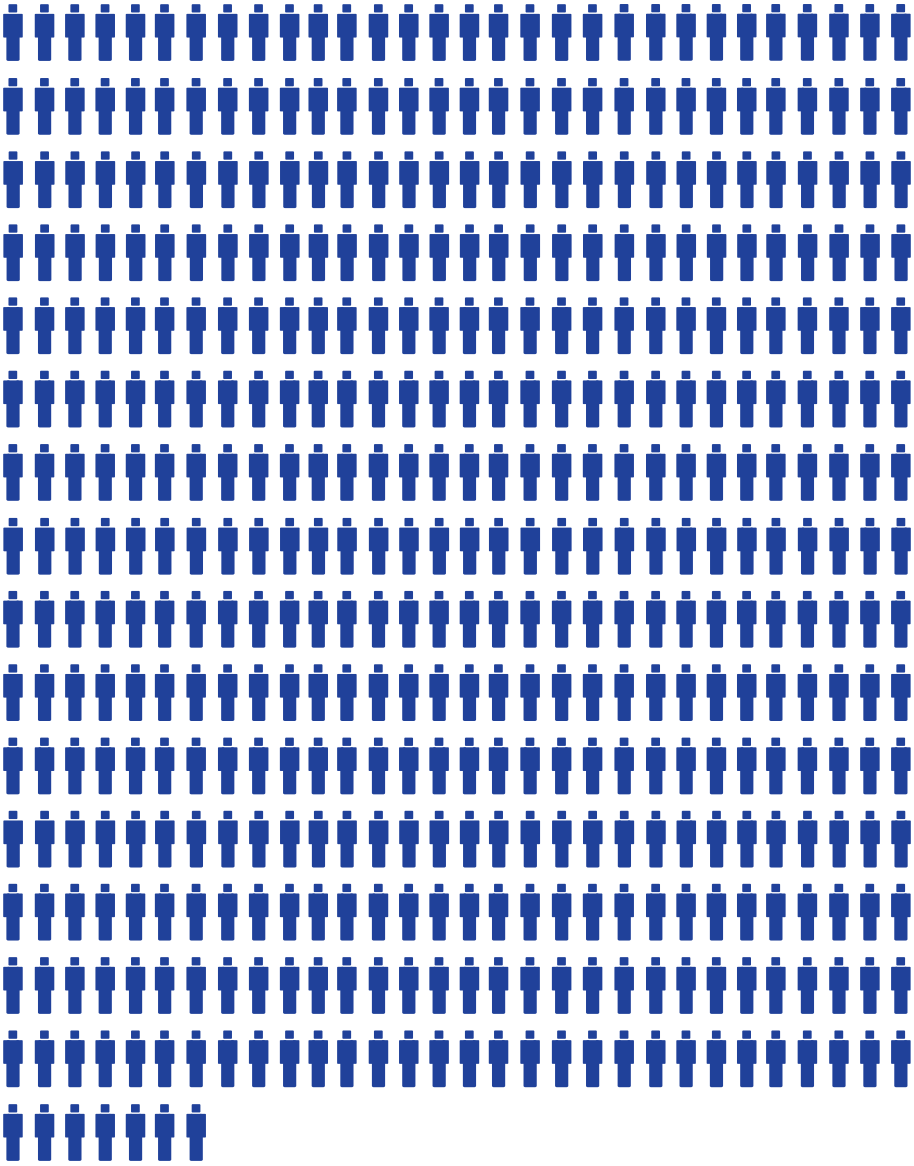
1986

322 MILLION



1995

371 MILLION



2004

457 MILLION

2007

492 MILLION

2013

506 MILLION

Source: ***Eurostat***
Extracted on 19.09.2014

José Manuel Durão Barroso

Interweaving Narratives

It is with great pleasure, and already a touch of ***saudades***, that I take pen in hand to say a few words about the New Narrative for Europe, a project that has been close to my heart from the start, and whose urgency and potential seem to me to be as great as ever.

This initiative was born thanks to a proposal from the European Parliament and in response to my call, and that of several others, for a stronger European public space of debate, where fundamental issues for our Union could be addressed from a European perspective. It has been structured around a series of invitations to women and men of culture to engage in a discussion about Europe and to contribute their voices to articulating what Europe stands for today and tomorrow. As a project and a process it was designed to involve artists, scientists, writers, intellectuals and all kinds of cultural practitioners in an effort to reconnect the European Union with its citizens.

On 1 March 2014, the group of prominent cultural figures that participated in the New Narrative for Europe project unveiled the Declaration ***The Mind and Body of Europe***, at the Academy of the Arts in Berlin, next to the Brandenburg Gate, the symbol of a reunified Germany, and of a reunified Europe. That day, I pointed out that there could not have been a more emblematic place imaginable for the official presentation of a declaration that stands as a powerful act of faith in Europe and its future.

Indeed, tearing down walls and building bridges has been our European story for the last six decades. We tore down the walls of mistrust, extreme

nationalism and hatred, which had led to two world wars and to the worst genocide of the 20th century.

And we built bridges. Working together, we have forged a new type of Union. A Union built on the shared values of peace, democracy, respect for human dignity and justice. That is the founding narrative of the European Union: to make war impossible among us by coming together through economic integration.

And over the decades, successive waves of enlargement have extended peace, stability and democracy across the European continent and spread the benefits of openness to a reunited Europe.

Today, the ***raison d'être*** of our Union is the same as it was 60 years ago: to be freed from fears, mistrust and divisions; to share security, stability and prosperity.

Those who say the peace narrative for European integration is a thing of the past need only look at Ukraine. Peace is never a given. Peace needs to be won over and over again through the generations, through European unity.

Those who say that the reconciliation and tolerance narrative for European integration is a thing of the past need only listen to the xenophobic discourses currently in the air. Tolerance is never a given. Tolerance needs to be fought for over and over again, through European openness and an understanding that European solidarity can coexist with patriotism. As Romain Gary puts it: 'Patriotism is love for one's own people, nationalism is hatred of others.'

The ideas of peace, democracy and respect for human dignity remain as compelling as ever for European integration, the most visionary political

project in recent history. No other political construction to date has proven to be a better way of organising life so as to lessen the barbarity in this world, and overcome war, dictatorship and extreme nationalism.

That was what the Nobel Committee recognised when it awarded its prestigious Peace Prize to the European Union in 2012 for its contribution to promoting peace and reconciliation, democracy and human rights in Europe.

Our Union shows that it is possible to come together in a community of values and interests, with a common determination to act together coherently while recognising and respecting our differences.

For our European unity is not achieved through some sort of levelling process that drives us to uniformity, but through a fruitful blending of differences, contrasts and, sometimes, even tensions. The basis of our unity is a pluralist, multilingual culture, as acknowledged by Umberto Ecco when he says that: 'The language of Europe is translation.'

Today, Europe has gained a truly continental dimension and a global outreach. The forces of globalisation, combined with information technology, have resulted in a new dimension of interdependence that affects every European country and every European citizen.

So, without calling into question the validity of the European Union's founding narrative, as a political project aimed at ensuring peace in Europe through economic integration, we should still ask: is that enough? And my answer is that, while it remains necessary, it is not sufficient. We have to move beyond that.

It is obvious that, in today's global concert, all Europeans will be better off if the 28 Member States act together, rather than separately. Europe has

what it takes to keep doing well in the world, to help manage globalisation in its various facets. Taken all together, we have the critical mass, clout and creativity to promote our values and interests, preserve our lifestyle and be influential in a world of continent-sized nations. In the age of globalisation, pooled sovereignty means power gained for every member of the European Union, and not power lost. Globalisation, too, is a driver for a stronger and more united Europe.

In this new environment, it is now our turn to go on imagining and shaping our future as our predecessors did in their time. The world system is adapting itself as well, forging a new world order. Either we contribute to reshaping it — not by trying to impose our solutions, but by proposing some of our ideas — or we miss out on the future.

We can indeed have a leadership role in shaping this world into a fairer, safer place, one based on the rule of law and the abiding respect for human rights: a more civilised world. What we need is more cooperation, not confrontation. And the fact is that the European Union is in many ways a laboratory for globalisation, a testing ground for successful cross-border supranational cooperation.

We need more cooperation to seek joint solutions for the problems facing the global commons, as we are doing with climate change. We need more cooperation to ensure that everywhere in the world security does not come from building more walls, but from embracing and integrating the existing difrences, from building new bridges.

So we have to give a ***telos***, a renewed sense of purpose, to European integration in the age of globalisation, and to reflect on how we can move towards it. In this process, European citizens should be inspired by the great achievements of European culture and history and also be stimulated

by new ideas and new projects that can help us rise to the challenges of the 21st century.

This is exactly what stands at the heart of the New Narrative for Europe initiative. All participants came together to debate Europe's future, to engage, to share ideas, some critical, certainly, but all constructive. They don't say that our Europe is perfect. But they say that Europe is our future and that it is 'a moral and political responsibility, which must be carried, not only by institutions and politicians, but by each and every European' (see p. 124).

The fact is that it is not enough to say that we, Europeans, share a common destiny. A sense of belonging to Europe, to a community of values, culture and interests is essential to the effort of forging such a common destiny. A sense of leadership for and ownership of the European Union's project is crucial if we are to build upon what has been achieved so far.

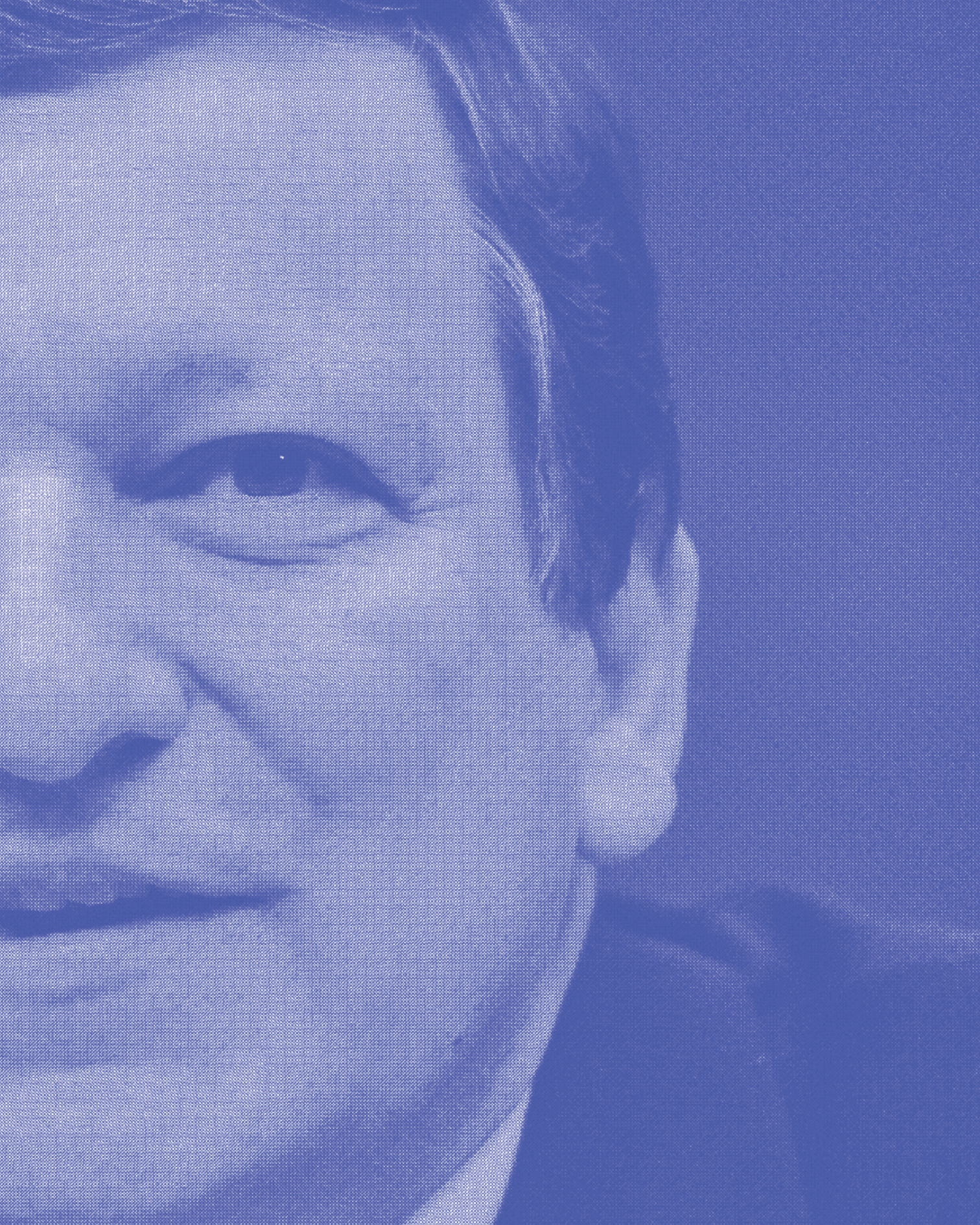
There are undoubtedly different views on the European Union. Some see it purely in terms of economic self-interest, others in terms of promoting the values it stands for. But Europe also calls for a genuine commitment, even a passionate commitment. Some of us believe in it emotionally, passionately. And my intensive engagement with cultural partners is precisely a way of acknowledging that our cultural foundations and intellectual diversity are indispensible to the success of the European integration process.

I had the pleasure to attend several meetings of the New Narrative for Europe initiative, first in Brussels for the official launch of the project, then in Warsaw, Milan, Berlin and, more recently, Venice. The issue of identity returned every time. And I believe we must make the point, clearly and distinctly, that our European identity is diverse and open. There are extreme nationalist discourses that call for an inward-looking approach.

But the fact is that our cultural diversity and our openness are precisely some of the strongest cards we hold when it comes to building a prosperous European future. When I had the great honour, with the President of the European Council, to deliver the acceptance speech for the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, I made it a point to stress that culture and science are at the core of our European project, precisely as a way of going beyond borders.

We are currently living through a time of sweeping transformations, and we need, for the new generation especially, to continue to tell the story of Europe. This is like a book: we have to push ahead past the first pages. We have to continue our narrative, to continue writing the book on the present and the future of the EU project. Many more diverse narratives still need to be interwoven into this book. This is a unique and necessary project, one to be proud of. And I hope that the New Narrative for Europe initiative will be a source of inspiration for everyone in Europe: because Europe is us, each of us. Europe is ours to make or break, never to take for granted. And each of us can make a difference in Europe and contribute to driving positive change.

In closing, let me say that I welcome this opportunity to leave a lasting expression of my gratitude to the artists, scientists, scholars, writers, journalists, political leaders and cultural operators, as well as to the entire team involved in the project: their work and unfailing commitment have made this a rich and rewarding experience for me. It would be a pity indeed if, rather than continue to inspire discussion, the wealth of thought-provoking material gathered here were to be relegated to the 'pale fingers of archivists', as the great Polish poet Zbigniew Herbert puts it. I can only hope that with this publication, the 'findings' — the works, proposals, ideas and debates — produced as part of and in dialogue with this initiative will reach a broad audience and a receptive ear.



SELS

New Narrative for Europe: Launch

BRUSSELS

The New Narrative for Europe initiative was launched at the Centre for Fine Arts, Brussels, on

23.04.2013

Launch of New Narrative for Europe
Centre for Fine Arts, Brussels

From left to right: Viviane Reding, José Manuel Durão Barroso, Androulla Vassiliou, Paul Dujardin and Per Nyholm

Viviane Reding

Stimulating the European Public Space

On its way to a United States of Europe, the European Union needs more than mere institutional reform to address its crisis of legitimacy. Institutions do matter, of course. But the general public is not going to be inspired by the technical details of our Union's institutional setup. If we want Europeans to truly identify with the European Union as a political entity, more is needed. Going forward, Europe also needs a functioning European public space that would connect the Union's political decision-makers with its citizens. This connection should by no means be a one-way street. Information and communication must circulate freely, revealing problems where they arise and allowing for constructive self-criticism and opportunities for engagement. This would help citizens identify more fully with their Union.

According to recent polls (Standard Eurobarometer 81 [June 2014]), almost two thirds of Europeans feel that they are citizens of the EU. Unfortunately, they are not sure what this means. This implies the need for a new narrative for Europe, one that would build on and refine the old narrative, which guided the early stages of post-war European integration. In recent years, the experiences of war, of totalitarian regimes and the Cold War have gradually lost their immediacy in the eyes of the general public, which is to say that those horrors are losing their legitimising force. More and more Europeans regard the experiences of the 20th century – rightly or wrongly – as a thing of the past. The alarming results of the most recent European elections are proof of this trend: the fact that 25 % of the European electorate voted for extremist and anti-European parties shows that they must have somehow 'forgotten' the reasons for which the European Union was built. This presents a particular challenge for a new narrative for future European integration. It needs to give 'heart and soul' to Europe and help prevent people from repeating the mistakes of the past as citizens are increasingly swayed by dangerous, populist rabble-rousers.

The President of the Euro-

pean Commission, José Manuel Barroso, highlighted this need for a new narrative for the 21st century and gave it a decisive political push in his speech on the state of the Union in 2012. I was proud to contribute to this important project as Vice-President of the Commission, starting with its official launch on 23 April 2013 in Brussels.

Activating artists, intellectuals and people from the world of culture to help reconnect Europe with its citizens is a major step towards creating a new European public space. Politicians and institutions can try to give it additional impetus. But a true change of mind, the formation of a new narrative, takes place from the bottom up, across the borders of our interlinked European societies. It emanates from the life experiences – their everyday reality, their cultural diversity – of more than 500 million Europeans.

Politicians should not interfere with this wealth of life experiences, because a new narrative can't be imposed top-down. But politicians should communicate directly with citizens. That's what I aimed to do with the series of 'citizens' dialogues' that the Commission organised across the EU. European, national and regional politicians went to 50 cities across the EU's 28 Member States. I also participated in many of these town-hall-style debates with the public, in cities where the consequences of the economic crisis were clearly visible.

Listening to citizens, answering their oftentimes difficult questions and showing compassion for their problems is a real challenge. But it is also a learning experience: in those face-to-face situations, I recognised that citizens were grateful for the opportunity to express their preoccupations and appreciated that decision-makers do care. I also understood that citizens mostly reason on ethical grounds. The institutional setting is not of paramount interest to them. But values like liberty, democracy, justice and solidarity do matter: and these provide a solid basis for a new narrative!

The Declaration is not a final answer, nor is it the end of a process. Rather, it is a snapshot taken at the beginning of a period of ongoing reflection and debate: it is a major contribution to a fully functioning European public space. We all have the obligation to

continue the debate on the future of Europe: for the people and with the people!

Androulla Vassiliou

Europe as a Shared Purpose

I am grateful to the artists, scientists and intellectuals who have brought the New Narrative for Europe to life. At a time when Europe is facing an unprecedented economic, financial and social crisis, and our institutions, not least the EU itself, are called into question, communicating a new vision for the future of the European project is a means to engage European citizens better.

It is an opportunity to stress once again that the European Union is not merely about markets, jobs and economic growth. Our union is first and foremost about cultural unity, about celebrating our diversity; it is about shared values in a globalised world. Culture, as a vector of identity, citizenship and diversity, and as a vehicle of values, symbols and the imaginary, holds a fundamental, if sometimes overlooked and often misconstrued, place in the European project.

President Barroso launched the New Narrative for Europe in April 2013, and called on artists, intellectuals and scientists to come up with new and creative reflections on a new directional map for Europe. I am very proud to have contributed to it.

The European integration project is the boldest and most visionary political project Europe has seen in centuries. All too often though, it is presented exclusively in the crude light of economic objectives being 'met' or 'missed', as if the integration of our continent served no purpose other than to facilitate economic transactions. This is a simplistic way of looking at the European Union. In reality, political union and the single market were always supposed to build bridges that would create a shared European space and allow sustainable interconnections between people and their cultures. This is the ever-closer union among peoples the Treaty of Rome speaks about.

Jean Monnet, one of the most visionary Europeans, put it very clearly: 'We are not fed-

erating states, we are uniting people.' In the aftermath of World War II, the European founding fathers worked to build a community of people, as opposed to a community of states or administrations, in order to make peace an irreversible feature of Europe.

The Schuman Declaration in 1950 captured this goal in precise words when it described pooling the production of coal and steel as 'the leaven from which may grow a wider and deeper community' that would stand as 'the first concrete foundation of a European federation indispensable to the preservation of peace'.

Since Europe has invested most of its efforts in deepening the single market and establishing common economic policies, as part of a broader and deeper integration objective, it is perhaps inevitable that its standing with its citizens suffers most when economic progress stalls.

The power of western Europe's founding narrative has, almost unsurprisingly, started to fade as the terrible story and pain of World Wars I and II started fading from our collective memory. We tend to remember the first decades after the last war that devastated Europe as a period of unprecedented prosperity and growth. At the same time, the sense of miraculous progress – of what the French call les trentes glorieuses (broadly, 1945-75) – does not ring so memorably in the minds of those for whom these years were marked by Communist tyranny, dictatorship or, as in the case of my own country, Cyprus, war, displacement and partition. Europe – and with it the European project – has indeed grown and moved forward through crises and tensions managed creatively and with political audacity and vision. This is perhaps what Europe needs now when another crisis is punctuating the lives of many Europeans.

Citizens' trust and faith in government at all levels, not just the EU level, has tended to erode over recent years. And, since so much of the crisis that hit Europe in 2008 relates to the global trade in finance and banking services – sectors with which the EU was heavily associated in the popular mind – the current crisis, which has seen governments thrown out of office in many Member States, has put perhaps the greatest strain on the EU's relationship with its citizens. We have seen sections

of Europe's population turning against European freedom of movement and openness and embracing xenophobia and social introversion in their stead.

Phenomena such as these are our wake-up call. Progress towards an ever-closer European Union cannot be taken for granted. Many Europeans hold the EU at fault for their financial woes, and this keeps them from seeing the shared benefits of our union. 'Brussels' is easily blamed even for political decisions taken at the national level. Consequently, if European citizens are to continue being inspired by our joint achievements and by the richness of European culture and civilisation, a new narrative is crucial.

The search for a new legitimacy for European integration is what the New Narrative for Europe is about. The authors' ambition is to forge an inspiring sense in our citizens' minds of an inclusive Europe: an economic project to deliver growth and prosperity, but also a political and cultural project that embodies shared values and emotions about who we are and where we stand as Europeans. Europe is not just an economic project, but 'a state of mind', as the authors aptly put it.

The new narrative has been more than a top-down exercise. It has involved a series of citizens' dialogues between politicians, artists, scientists, people working in culture in one way or another and citizens in different EU countries. It has been a forum where people could voice their concerns and thoughts and where politicians like myself and my colleagues in the Commission could listen, explain and understand.

It will come as no surprise to hear that probably the central concern expressed at those exchanges was about what future exists for Europe's young people. Our young people may have no experience of war, and that is of course wonderful. But too many of them know more than their share about uncertainty: those with a job fear it may not last for long, and those without a job fear that the wait ahead may be a long one indeed.

Europe will not regain the confidence of our young people unless we manage to prove to them that Europe is and will remain a shared space of opportunities and a credible actor for a more humane and fair world.

After 5 years as a com-

missioner for education and culture, I am more than ever convinced that the EU must place greater emphasis on those initiatives which truly affect young people's lives on a human level and widen their horizons by encouraging exchanges with their counterparts in other countries. Europe needs to invest more, and more sustainably, in education, research and creativity. Europe needs to have a human and social face that our citizens, the young in particular, can understand and associate themselves with. Europe must continue to provide creative opportunities for all Europeans to interact with one another, to travel, to get to know each other, to work together and to create networks that help talent, innovation and creativity to circulate.

I have seen it every day when I travel and meet young people who have benefited from EU programmes such as Erasmus, or young researchers who have benefited from Marie Curie actions, which allow researchers to spend time in one or more European countries. Their vision of Europe, and of themselves in Europe, changes profoundly, and for the better: the EU means an opportunity to prove their worth and contribute to the collective good at the same time. It means developing a profound respect and appreciation for difference and for the other.

An essential feature of the new narrative is that it defines the EU in terms of values rather than distant aims. Europe is not presented simply as a means to an end, but as a way of life based on such shared values as the commitment to freedom, democracy, equality, solidarity and respect for fundamental rights and the rule of law.

The authors of the Declaration remind us that Europe is also 'a moral and political responsibility, which must be carried out, not only by institutions and politicians, but by each and every European' (see p. 124). To my eyes, this call to a shared responsibility is a key point.

Europe's history is an evolving narrative based on a story of wars and peace, unity and diversity; it is a story of prosperity, of a space of shared values open to the world. This is the European story we have shaped together and of which we should be proud. The authors of the Declaration are right in reminding us of Europe's past and current achievements.

Needless to say, a lot of

work remains to be done. The most important aspect of the new narrative is that it addresses ideas and messages that could resonate with young people. I hope that the call for shared responsibility will resonate with all Europeans, young and old alike. Europe should be a shared purpose or, quite simply, it will not be at all.

György Konrád

A European Ars Poetica

The artist says we express our antinomies through art, which is to say: we investigate.

We ask ourselves the old questions in ever newer forms. Fortunately, they are insoluble.

European art, in all its forms, literature included, is a rich and enduring conversation over time and space, among Europeans of exceptional talent.

Good and evil have their names: freedom, and its absence.

Our history is an uncompleted path to freedom, which constitutes humanity's gradually unfolding essence.

The more clearly we understand freedom as the embodiment of the supreme good, the more it will indeed be so.

Constitutional freedom is not enough; you need freedom's wizards and monsters as well.

I cannot accept that the borders of a state are also those of the mind.

What is allowed, and what forbidden? There is a point when prohibitions turn existence and all its manifold events into stupidity.

We find people who are resolute and refuse to cater, whether to their own state or to the international financial market.

At the dawn of the third millennium, can we identify a variety of humanism that is distinctively European? A humanism, connected to literature and the arts, with no inclination to bury human truth, or to sanctify it, for that matter?

This kind of humanism does not glorify what it is to be human, for it has observed how sublime talk can pair up with the most sinister of currents, without, for all that, losing its ability to nurture a love for human freedom.

Writers have never wanted anything more than to share their observations – some endlessly desolate, others quite ludicrous – of their time, which was largely savage and

marked by idiocy.

European humanism understands human existence as an experiment in freedom: this is the soul of European pluralism, it is where cohesion is achieved.

The very word 'humanism' might be trite and sullied. But it rises up from the earth again, dusts itself off and reconnects with its power to provoke.

Which current is stronger in Europe: the rise of the bourgeoisie, or of the state? We have extricated ourselves from the disproportionate balance of state power to experience the paradoxes of freedom. Could we now be regressing anew to the order of the 'Daddy State'?

The unification of Europe meant the end of a chapter anchored to principles that lay beyond literature.

Socialist statism had a devastating effect. And, not many years following its demise, nationalist sentiment, laden with its own clichés, is already finding its way into our garden.

I am in favour of constitutional European restrictions on the sovereignty of nation states, and I support the self-governance of societies within individual cosmopolitan areas.

Power needs to be surveyed from within and without.

The new story being built on the edifice of European awareness is expanding what each nation defines as culture. It is the story of a growing familiarity with our shared European home.

Now that our countries are linked and travelling has become easier, we are beginning to feel like our cities, our great minds and their achievements belong to us all. European curiosity is receptive to the mysterious tastes offered by minorities, disparate peoples and diverse personalities. The literature of small nations is also European, even if their masterworks have yet to be translated. A single bookshelf can hold foreign classics and better-known modern works translated into one's national language, all marinating together. Translators are the Europeans of classical times. Through them, we can understand one another.

Freedom of thought is an intellectual's highest priority.

We shift constantly between our personal ego and our collective identity. At the moment I am simply Me, but when we are all together I become Us, and as a group we form a resonant common I.

Who knows when I am Me, and when I am part of Us?

The press can be influenced by waves of ideology that, working in concert, can result in censorship, and do so in the name of various communities.

Writers are wise to protect themselves, their freedom and their most distinguished professional interests prudently and with vigilance. It would be careless for a writer not to.

It is fundamental that only competent members in the field of art – not politicians or governments – are given the right to judge art and artists. The flowering garden of Europe will live or die together with pluralism. Its bouquet may loosen but never disintegrate. Its overall shape remains.

The job of a writer or artist calls for clear thinking, not loyalty or subjugation to any sort of hierarchy.

State supervision of literature (in other words censorship, which emphasises the writer's duty to the state rather than to his/her freedom) is anti-literature in its very essence.

Two centuries after the outbreak of the French Revolution and the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we will only be worthy of the name 'European' if we remain unified in support of each other's individual right to freedom. The European Union can interact with those in other continents on the basis of world humanism, which allows for the peaceful coexistence of religious faiths and secularism.

The secular state that guarantees freedom of thought is indispensible. A liberal democracy is a democracy that ensures human and political rights and freedom for all its citizens. It is, in other words, one that allows for minority as well as majority opinions to be heard.

All Member States of the European Union are liberal democracies – more or less, depending on the extent to which they yield, or not, to the temptation of a majority democracy.

All the same, freedom is not a constant: endless work is required to ensure its continued existence.

By choosing the Union, we have chosen one another, just as we adopt the family members of the ones we love as our own.

Whether we want this coherence or not, it shapes us all. I see the strength of Europe's essence in the fact that no one in a long while has been

able to assert a dominant voice over Europe. The individuals of Europe are too strong to allow that to happen. We have learned that Europe can only be united when it has become free, and that all other catchwords of unity are false.

Which freedom is worth more, that of citizens or of governments?

Given this rosy picture, the realist can easily imagine a reactionary movement that pits isolated national interests against this openness and against collective European well-being.

The protection of freedom is essential not just where democracy is absent, but also where it is already present. New trends may come along that easily set young hearts aflutter, especially if they happen to be drawn by their grandparents' predilections rather than those of their parents.

You can stave off the desire for freedom, but never bury it. Unless you bury all Europeans along with it.

Translated from Hungarian by Jim Tucker

Per Nyholm

Denmark in Europe, Europe in Denmark

I am a Dane, therefore a European. Denmark and Europe have been indivisible entities for a thousand years.

Europe has enriched Denmark. Without Europe, Denmark is unthinkable. Denmark has, if not enriched Europe, at least played a role in Europe. It was an important military power early on. It later tried, as a small state, to create and preserve peace. Denmark sees itself as an example for others to follow. However, these others often view Denmark as a troublesome nation, one that would neglect its own duties and responsibilities in order to teach its neighbours, with great vigour, how important it is for them to do their duties and honour their responsibilities.

This ambiguity becomes evident when one observes Denmark's history over the course of the 20th century: profiting from its neutrality during World War I; then an involuntary, but effective, collaborator with Germany through World War II; originally doubtful about NATO, only

to become one of the founding member nations of that organisation; lastly, sceptical of the EU, which it reluctantly joined in 1973.

As a Dane, I cannot imagine Denmark without Europe. However awful the prospect, I can easily imagine Europe without Denmark. Both before and after Denmark's entry into the EU – in my estimation the Europe that works – Denmark, along with the rest of Europe, has sometimes developed in the direction of a federate or confederate state, at other times in the opposite direction, motivated by the general political climate, recently by economic and financial problems, which leaders of the EU, unwisely in my view, persist in calling a crisis. I see no crisis in the sense of Europe tottering on the brink of abyss; on the contrary, our continent appears strong, free and safe when compared to other continents. Our difficulties, serious as they are, can be overcome through more European integration and should be considered a chance to deepen our union.

A hundred years ago, Europe, unconsciously but with the certainty of a sleepwalker, moved towards a first world war, which was shortly to be followed by a second world war, now rightly considered the ultimate European disaster. In the 21st century, war in Europe is no longer an option. Through the agency of the EU, war between Europeans has been made not only unthinkable, but also materially impossible. If Europeans encounter problems, these will be discussed until a solution, good or bad, has been found. Through the EU, we have made the transition from canons to coffee tables.

Denmark is an inseparable part of the European drama, which began with the disappearance of Western Rome in the 5th century. The following centuries are covered by darkness. But from 800 on, the Danes are there. As Vikings they give, and they take, being everything from highly skilled artists to plain peasants to awful killers. The Norsemen sailed their longboats across the Atlantic to North America, to England and France, into the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the rivers of Russia. They established kingdoms in England and colonial outposts along the Baltic shore. In other places, they settled, forgot about their Nordic roots and created sophisticated states such as Normandy and Sicily.

Until the Napoleonic wars,

Denmark was an often enthusiastic, albeit unlucky, participant in European power games. Only after the handover of Norway to Sweden in 1814, and the loss of Schleswig-Holstein in 1864 to Prussia-Austria, does a noticeable reluctance towards Europe set in. The hitherto open-minded kingdom turned provincial and self-satisfied, a muddy backwater that continues to lap at the shores of present-day Denmark, in many ways a modern and wealthy democracy, but also a place where one is often scandalised by the low level of the public debate, by the country's suspicion of foreigners and by its attempts to hang on to an increasingly outdated nationalism.

Real Europe emerges in the 7th century, a civilisation located along the eastern coast of the Atlantic. Gregory the Great is dead, Charlemagne not yet born. Byzantium is nearing its apogee, only to sink slowly. The Moors conquer the Iberian Peninsula, and the recently christened Clovis establishes his capital in Paris. Soon the Norse, the Balts, the Poles, the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Hungarians and many in emergent Rus will join the new religion of the West. Suddenly Europe is there, the Europe of artists and artisans, of peasants and workers, of cities and universities, of Roman and Gothic churches, the Renaissance and the Baroque, the Europe of crusades and pogroms, of the plague and discoveries, of witch-hunts and humanists, of revolutions and liberties. The Europe of Antiquity was a Phoenician princess on the back of Zeus, the white bull; Medieval Europe turns her into a political idea and a continent of human flesh and blood.

This Europe is a never-ending story, and the unification of its many peoples, cultures and traditions will take time, possibly the rest of the 21st century. The fact that the Union, in its present shape, only a couple of generations after the Götterdämmerung of 1945, consists of 28 nations that cover an area from the Polar Sea to the Mediterranean, is a tremendous achievement. However, this is surely not the end of our endeavours. Ahead of us we have the inclusion of the Balkans beyond Croatia and Slovenia. We have Turkey, Armenia and Georgia. We have Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine. We have Iceland, Norway and the Faeroe Islands. Considering the constant evolution of states since 1789, the year of the French

Revolution, who is to say that we will never see Brabant and the Basque Country, Catalonia, Scotland, Wallonia, Padania, Transylvania and other distinct European cultures as independent members of the EU? For quite some time, the EU has operated as a legal union of sovereign states. The goal, however, must be a united Europe, legitimated by its citizens.

Denmark has been a part of this evolving Europe since around the year 1000. My suggestion is that the first European Dane is Absalon (1128-1201), son of a rural chieftain, bishop of Roskilde, archbishop of Lund and founder of Copenhagen. In his young days, he studied at the University of Paris. When he returned home, he brought with him a French cook and a French cookbook. Denmark's first truly European monarch must be Frederik I (1471-1533) who, during a visit to Rome, obtained permission from the Pope to found the University of Copenhagen; 300 years later, Denmark, then a marginalised and desperately poor, multinational empire, had three universities.

The picture this history paints shows Denmark as undeniably European. The country built 2000 mostly Romanesque village churches and a number of gothic cathedrals in the European tradition. Its great teachers, Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754) and Georg Brandes (1842-1927), are especially European. The Danish Golden Age is European, and includes such figures as Jens Baggesen (1764-1826) and the indefatigable storyteller Hans Christian Andersen (1805-75), who travelled far and wide on the Continent and beyond, only to realise that, to find your way home, you must go out into the world. A very European sentiment. Was Søren Kierkegard (1813-55) a Dane? Formally speaking yes. In truth, his voice and his thinking rose above his motherland and even Europe itself: the global genius in the village.

European Denmark gained many of its best men from abroad and sent many of its best men abroad. There is Ole Rømer (1644-1710), who measured the speed of light and created the fountains at Versailles; Tycho Brahe (1546-1601), the astronomer who found refuge at the court of the rather strange emperor Rudolf in Prague; Melchior Lorck (ca. 1527, died after 1583), one of the foremost artists of the Renaissance, who spent years in Vienna and Constantinople; Niels

Steensen (1638-86), a great name of science and Catholicism; and Virgilius Eriksen (1722-82), who painted the Russian empress Catherine. Others, such as Kierkegaard and Brandes, were among those who preferred Berlin to a myopic, and occasionally enervating, Copenhagen. Music, literature and architecture we imported from Germany, France and Italy. Nikolaj Grundtvig (1783-1872) did not travel much, but from his Protestant church in Copenhagen he taught Europeans that democracy, more than a political system, is a way of life. Incidentally Grundtvig also gave rise to the peoples' high schools, possibly the most important Danish contribution to our common European learning.

I have felt European since 1956, when as a schoolboy I listened to the Danish state radio reporting from the Hungarian Uprising, complete with machine guns rattling in the background. Since 1980, I have lived outside Denmark, first in Britain, then in Austria and Italy. In 2010 I moved back to Austria, to Vienna, which to me is the centre of the centre, a city without which we would have no Europe, a city much more European than Brussels. From Vienna in the 1980s, I covered the demise of communism, the never-ending unrest in Poland, the rumblings in Hungary, the Human Chain through the Baltic states, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the various, mostly peaceful, revolutions down through the continent, to the heroic, but bloody uprising of Romania, followed by the even bloodier wars of what is now former and almost forgotten Yugoslavia. All in all a very European experience, an almost unbelievable privilege for a reporter who grew up in the artificially static Europe of the Cold War, the confirmation that Europe remains the restless continent, the continent of ideas, the continent of the future despite its present, undeniable problems.

To me, Europe and Denmark constitute two sides of the same page in a tale, written in what my deceased Polish friend Bronislaw Geremek would call the language of beauty. It is a tale that inevitably recounts stories of war, destruction and fear, but first and foremost it is a tale of human toil, of discoveries and adventures, of culture and constant creativity, of poetry and the search for a truth that, hopefully, we shall never find.This tale caught my fancy and made my life.

WA

New Narrative for Europe:
First General Assembly

WARSAW

First General Assembly on Forms of Imagination and Thinking for Europe, held at the Copernicus Science Centre in Warsaw on

11.07.2013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Donald Tusk

Speech delivered by the then Prime Minister of Poland at the Copernicus Centre, Warsaw, on 11 July 2013

There are moments in our lives that reflect a deep sense of the course of history in the making. Here in Poland, we have experienced many such moments. Our generation cannot complain of a shortage of historical breakthroughs. Some of these moments, like shortcuts, show us the road we have completed in recent years, in recent decades. Most certainly, today's meeting is such a moment. Warsaw, along with other European cities, is the place where we launch, once more, a major discussion about the future of Europe, a discussion about a – perhaps necessary, as some people think – new Narrative for Europe. The fact that we start this discussion in Warsaw very clearly shows how central Europe grew into being one with the European Community in the last decade. Meeting here gives us a unique chance to harvest the optimism and energy that distinguish Poland, and will hopefully stimulate us to have a truly creative debate, both here in Poland, and in the other cities where we shall meet. The discussion has in fact already begun. This debate has been permanently ongoing, but the crisis we experience makes us all desperately strive not only for this debate, but for much needed conclusions to be reached as well. It would be good, then, to seize the opportunity of this meeting to present our point of view.

It was not long ago when we all talked about Europe as a power of a new type, as an empire of standards and norms, the empire whose strength, attractiveness, wealth and openness was a draw to others. Today, we have to think how to overcome the crisis we are experiencing. Today, not much remains of this firm belief that Europe, particularly in the legislative context, may become a permanent role model for the rest of the world. This change in the language accurately reflects a change that runs deep, not a merely semantic one, and it is a change taking place right before our eyes. The significance of faith and belief, which has legitimised the European Community so far, is gradually wearing off; indeed,

some people think that it has literally disappeared. Faith in the need for integration as a response to the experiences of World War II and the two totalitarian regimes that nearly crushed all of Europe is waning. I have the sense (and I am sure I am not alone) that, for today's 20 year-olds, that history and those circumstances are as remote as the Peloponnesian War. Similarly, support for Europe, grounded on the economic prosperity that followed the post-War integration, seems to be weakening. We are probably through with the era of continuous growth; more importantly, we are probably through with the belief that growth can last forever. The crisis is hitting the young generation especially hard. And, for this generation, Europe is gradually ceasing to be a source of hope, since increasingly it is not seen as the guarantee of well-being and as a source of opportunities for the young.

The change in language I mentioned earlier reveals the even deeper causes of anxiety and fear characteristic for our times. It takes on different shapes and forms. It has its geopolitics of anger and resentment, a new geopolitics that today divides Europe into North and South. It has taken on the face of the foreigner, in a specifically European version of the clash of civilisations, one that has chosen as its war theatre not the fronts where wars between states are fought, but the suburbs of the metropolises throughout the continent. It is also tinged with hues of a generational war: various generations living in Europe today share the same calendar, but that does mean that they live in the same historical time. This may be one of the consequences of the IT revolution, to which we are witnesses and participants. And the very fact that both generations, the younger and the older, are to varying degrees participants in this revolution only deepens the new divisions in Europe further.

That is why we need to ask what symbols and images, what events and ideas, will shape our thinking about the Europe of the future. I say the future, though in fact we are here asking for its contours and shape to be known already today. Are intellectuals and politicians the ones who will, today again as in times past, outline the future of Europe? Or is our task, on the contrary, not so

much to imagine better worlds, but to think seriously about how to prevent the emergence of worlds that are even worse? I must admit that what speaks through me is a kind of 'optimistic scepticism', as I am wont to call it. I mean, I do firmly believe that worse worlds need not become true. At the same time, however, I find it quite difficult to believe that it is possible to build an ideal world, especially given the experiences of my generation. A long time ago, the European imagination as a whole was enlivened by a belief in the usefulness of stories and narrative; in particular, by the belief in a better future, and in the fact that this better future would become a permanent phenomenon.

Today, we live on the ruins of all those great ideas of the 20th century. And we are more likely to notice the debris of empty formulas, the remains of the systems that once provided the ideological and political framework for these illusions in the 20th century. Recipes for a perfect society are no longer valid. The experiences of the past century have deprived those great 20th-century narratives of any splendour whatsoever. Whether they were focused on evolutionary change or revolutionary transformation, they proved, one and all, to be mere illusions.

I mention this because, here in Warsaw, and in this part of Europe generally, my generation, and many of the people gathered in this room, shared the experiences of 1989 and the fall of communism. The fall of communism represented, at first, a symbolic, and eventually a substantive, unification with Europe. It was the beginning of the participation of nations till then excluded. We, the people of solidarity and the then democratic opposition, did not strive to deliver a new world on the debris of the past, nor did we want a new order, understood as an ideological project. Instead, we strove towards ideas we were ready to accept, even though they were in fact old-fashioned. Maybe they were not as old as the world itself, but they were at least as old as modern Europe: freedom under a constitutional government, equality before the law and pluralism.

In other words, we returned to the tradition of the democratic West, founded on the principles of a rule of the people, by the people and for the people. And it seems – even

if some people believe these ideas are only of historical value – that these age-old principles are still a valid milestone for all of us. Our Europe is a common space in which the culture of war was replaced by a culture of peace, with its recognition of the diversity of human acts and of a sort of reason-based human providence. This is the space where conflict gave way to cooperation. Violence gave way to compromise, and solidarity is a principle that, although not always complied with, is always professed, and justice and tolerance are the common norms. This is our continent without borders, and that is the Europe that was gradually emerging in the decades after World War II. We joined this Europe almost 10 years ago and, since then, we have jointly been making attempts to build a kind of unity across a plurality of states, nations, languages and religions.

But we shall not define the final, ultimate goal here in Warsaw. What we know is that Europe must remain a community of the values we dreamed of for decades. These values are embedded in the very core of the integration process, as well as in the European institutions we are slowly establishing. Freedom and peace, solidarity and entrepreneurship, pluralism and autonomy of religion, equal opportunities, and prosperity – these are the undeniable values of our European heritage. There are voices calling for just this, more or less loudly, in many countries. There are, however, also those who would like to make a giant leap, who would like, by dint of radical political decisions, to create a universal, single European state in a short period of time. They have good intentions, but they seem to pay no attention to the fact that this dream of a quick leap is dangerously close to the utopias of the 20th century, and can bring exactly the opposite effects. It can, in fact, come to discourage Europeans from the idea of common Europe. There are also those who favour the idea of the Latin Empire from many centuries ago. For them, this Carolingian Europe should be the formula for the new Europe. A common denominator of these proposals is to limit the community to an exclusive club. Who gets to be a member of this club will depend on the author of the narrative. There is one thing we can be certain of: the narrative of an exclusive club always excludes someone from

the idea of a common Europe. And, in my opinion, what we need today in Europe, with no exception, is unity based on the values I mentioned earlier: solidarity and, more importantly, since it is what we seem to be missing the most, the sense of shared responsibility for Europe. I am speaking here of a shared responsibility founded, not on legal decrees, though they are necessary as well, but on the deep, profound belief that we want and need to be co-responsible for Europe as a whole. For the Europe we know, not the one we dream of. This is, perhaps, the most difficult type of responsibility: to take full, shared responsibility for Europe as it is today.

As banal as it may sound, let me paraphrase Churchill here, since I am convinced that his words perfectly reflect the current state of affairs, for what Churchill once said about democracy, we can truly say today about Europe: 'Well, it is terrible, this Europe of ours, but there has never been a better one. A better Europe has not been invented yet. And therefore we all should strive each day to keep the Europe we have.'

This is not to say that we have to renounce or compromise on the dreams for a better future, only to insist that they will never come true if we give up our daily, sometimes strenuous, duty of taking care of the Europe we have today. Let me tell you that, here in Warsaw, people still regard today's Europe as something of a miracle. And there is ground for this belief in those old, yet proven and valid, ideas.

We must not forget that, as Europeans, we have patent rights: it was here, after all, that democracy, free economy and the rule of law were invented and worshipped the most. And this patent, once adopted by others, also changed their lives for better. The crisis that we all are experiencing today reminds us that the European integration has always been based on a kind of historical risk. When central European countries were joining the Union at the beginning of this century, there was much about the crisis this extension would bring about.

But no one called Europe's basic value into question, nor did anyone think Europe had outrun its potential. And today, in a time of crisis, there are people who are deeply disillusioned or disappointed, and this is a threat to the stability and the pro-

found meaning of the existence of a united Europe. Some people think Europe can exist as a multitude of countries that are not closely linked to one another through common institutions. To my eyes, this is to march headlong towards decay. Perhaps the time has come for us to focus, not on imagining and promoting an increasingly better world, but – as I mentioned before – on preventing even worse times from coming into being. Instead of following idealised abstractions, we should focus on what is valuable and important today. I am convinced that we have the potential that will enable us to reach a balance between the possible and the desirable, the common and the particular. I am also convinced that will be able to reconcile freedom and solidarity, an eternal dilemma, and not only philosophers; that we will reconcile Europe's rich diversity with the need for further political unification.

This, then, is our so modern dilemma. I am convinced that with a specific type of dialectics (a word that arouses much mistrust in this part of Europe), a dialectic between desire for public order and the desire for individual freedom, we will be able to find a balance between those two desires. And, in conclusion, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to recall here some words that were not included in the Preamble to the European Constitution. These are words by Stefan Wilkanowicz, a Polish intellectual and the editor of Znak (Sign). He proposed a text that today some may find a bit archaic, and yet for me it still rings as the clearest expression of the European declaration of faith: 'We, Europeans, aware of the richness of our heritage, drawing from the wealth of Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Greek philosophy, Roman law, and humanism with both religious and non-religious roots; aware of the values of Christian civilisation, which is the basic source of our identity; aware of the frequent betrayals of these values by both Christians and non-Christians; aware of the good and the evil that we have spread to the inhabitants of other continents; bemoaning the social catastrophe caused by the totalitarian systems that have originated within our civilisation, we want to build our common future'.

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for your attention.

Czesław Porębski

The Borders of the European Union [1]

The process of territorial growth of the European Union is facing some barriers that prompt us to ask ourselves about Europe's borders, and this usually means asking: how far should the enlargements/expansion go?

The answers depend, of course, on a conception of what Europe is, and what it should be. The number of standpoints on this head is quite impressive: at one extreme is the thesis that Europe should have no borders at all; at the other is the thesis that Europe should become a fortress. And there are many positions in between.

The first thesis is defended and advanced by the adherents of a liberal conception of European integration. No constraints on the free interplay of economic forces and actors means an increase of competitiveness on global markets, thus removing the obstacles that deform the results of the economic game (one such obstacle was the so-called social market economy, or soziale Marktwirtschaft).

If that is our goal, then, given the fact that the world economy has already entered the phase of globalisation, there is no reason why European integration should be limited by any a priori defined territorial barriers. The liberal system adopted by an integrated European market should be enlarged and gradually immersed into the global liberal system which, of course, rejects all borders and barriers, as Krzysztof Szczerski has argued.

The borders of an integrated Europe are rejected, for a variety of reasons, by those who subscribe to a postmodern interpretation of the European Union. Many postmodern authors are welcoming the EU as the embodiment of all the nice things dear to these authors.

A basic tenet of postmodernism is the declaration that the time of the great meta-narratives, including the meta-narratives of national states, has come to an end. The end of meta-narratives means that the oppressive character of great communities – meaning primar-

[1] Leszek Jesień, (ed.), The Borders and Limits of European Integration (Krakow: Tischner European University, 2006).

ily national communities – will no longer be tolerated. What is appreciated instead is the individual, the small local or regional community, which enable authentic exchanges between individuals. A whole series of other notions that once served as the means of the oppressor is called into question. Unmasking the state means that 'sovereignty', 'territoriality', 'national identity', 'closure' and 'border' itself should also be discarded. All that is opposed by postmodern openness, multiculturalism and the variety of freely chosen lifestyles. The rejection of the very notion of borders implies that the dichotomy formed by 'us' and 'them', 'self' and 'other' or 'native and 'foreigner' loses its grip on us.

Without entering into the technicalities of the expected transformation, the EU's postmodern admirers express the hope that the processes initiated in Europe will reach outwards and transform the entire world, which will succumb to the attractiveness of European 'soft power'. The oppressive power of sovereign national states, the lure of great narratives and communities and the hierarchical structures of centralised powers will finally disappear. The obsolete international order will be abandoned and replaced by the 'chaotic order'.

This 'chaotic order' has two models. One is the Internet, the instrument that allows communities to be created above and beyond any physical borders. And the other is the bazaar, a place of unimpeded contacts and exchanges where everyone may present their offer to everyone else. The other approaches to the question of borders in light of European integration do not reject the notion of borders altogether. But they differ in their starting points, and of course also in the details of how the borders should be drawn (Fabrice Fries's Les Grands débats européens is a good study of this). One group within this view holds that European integration should aim at transforming the European Union into a uniform, state-like structure endowed a parliament elected in general European elections, with a government, an independent juridical system and a president. This structure should define and carry out a common foreign policy as well as a common defence policy. Although the representatives of this conception are not quite explicit

when it comes to specifying the scope of European integration, one can surmise that the borders of the European state would reflect the long-term interest of that state. The central issues, in any case, are well known: striking the right balance between various influences, inter-state cooperation and competition and the share of the dividend of peace the European state might hope for.

A slightly different approach to European integration holds that the European Union should be a union of the nation states that compose it and as we know them today. The main task and meaning of such union is to use the common structures in place to promote the interests of each nation state. It is assumed that that the common structures are simply the most efficient means to promote these interests. The European Union thus means the continuation of the usual political game in Europe, but mit anderen Mitteln, to borrow the Clausewitz formula. The novelty of the EU would then consist only in the realisation that the common structures should be supported because they are in everyone's best interest. There is nothing really new here, but only a recycling of the old adage: 'l'union fait la force'. This position implies that the scope of the EU and its borders should depend on the interests, not of a single European state, but of each and every Member State.

This conception is sometimes modified to suggest that the EU should in the first place be instrumental to the realisation of the interests of some rather than all members. But the composition of that select group is far from clear: 'the founding members', the 'Franco-German engine of the EU' and the 'hard core' are some of the possibilities that surface in various debates. The consequences of that stance for the question of borders are twofold. First, the exact demarcation would be the determined by the interests of that smaller 'club'; and secondly, as a consequence of the first, inner divisions would ensue: borders would separate the 'club' from the rest of the EU members.

Europe as the European Fortress is being postulated on still different grounds. The main argument of those who plead for it is that Europe is in danger. The threat is variously construed: it is either Islam, or the poor South, or some more or less definite Asian

(or recently Eurasian) danger, or all of these combined. This diagnosis is accompanied by the postulate that the borders of Europe should be rather restrictive, taken seriously, carefully watched and, if need be, bravely defended.

A modicum of courage is what the Europeans should display.

A fervent plea for this position is to be found in the publications of Oriana Fallaci.

How to choose the right solution?

Here are some points that might be helpful.The first is that basic facts should be taken into account. One of them is that Europe, owing not only to its own efforts and cunning, but also to the coincidence of favourable circumstances (the military umbrella of the United States was one of these), has succeeded in the integrative enterprise. That success gives Europe once again the possibility of assuming a global role.

The second is that this situation evokes justified expectations. The rest of the world hopes that an integrated Europe will also become a global player politically, in spite of some rather discouraging experiences (as for example in the Balkans, or some regions of Africa, where European countries, insisting on their military presence, failed to prevent political and humanitarian catastrophes).

The third is that the political vacuum that would follow if Europe failed to resume its global role would be filled by others, and there is no shortage of candidates.

In light of what has been said, the perspective from which Europe should redefine its role and decide on its borders becomes quite visible. On the one hand, key decisions have to result from the realisation that the present situation imposes on Europe a fair share of responsibility for the way the main, global, problems will be faced and solved. Europe's current role, that of a more or less hands-off observer and critic, will not be enough. If its present position remains unchanged, it will not be long before Europe finds itself on the margin of world politics. On the other hand, taking the appropriate share of responsibility is a duty that Europe has imposed on itself. This duty is grounded in centuries of European involvement in global politics, in culture that Europe brought to different parts of the world and in those basic values that Greeks and Christians

bequeathed to Europe and the world. A very special ground for living up to this duty is to be found in Europe's recent history, a history of totalitarian experiments, of two world wars and of the export of revolutions and virulent nationalisms. Europe then became the debtor of the rest of the world. It is high time to pay back one's debts.

The problem of how to draw the demarcation lines between the EU and the rest of the world may find its solution only in that perspective. In a sense, though, it is a problem of secondary importance. Also not that important is whether the final borders will be borders in the strict sense, or whether they will follow the various kinds of arrangements now in place with the direct neighbours in Europe. The more important question is whether Europe will be able to face its challenge and make good on the chance it is being given.

The main difficulty, however, is that no one in Europe facing all these challenges and fundamental decisions seems to be ready to accept this perspective. Politicians, for their part, declare en masse that they are indeed ready. However, at the slightest difficult juncture they tend to fall back on the posture of the guardians of national interests. The general public wavers between nationalistic positions and enthusiasm for the profits social welfare is expected to produce. As for intellectuals, they tend to reject the language of values, obligations and responsibility as the obsolete idiom of modern oppression. And they escape into the paradise offered by postmodern morality and political patchwork.

The sooner this changes, the better it will be for Europe, and for the rest of the world.

Alicja Gescinska

Intellectuals, Populist Rhetoric and Democracy

Europe is not merely a continent. It is not merely a geographical entity. Nor is it merely the political organisation of different countries. Over the past decades Europe has been, or at least has attempted to be, a haven of democracy. And thus, it is a moral project: the attempt to reinforce values like tolerance, freedom, self-realisation

and solidarity. These values, so fundamental to democracy, are all moral values and, as such, they are never completely and fully realised: they are a never-ending task. Therefore, the primary task and question for those who seek to sustain democracy is how to realise and reinforce these moral values over and over again.

In a short article, 'Warum Europa?', György Konrád briefly addresses the role of intellectuals in this process, and I would like to pursue that thought a bit further, for I think that indeed intellectuals have a unique political and social responsibility. They can be the watchdogs of democracy, the ones who critically observe and comment on what goes on in society and politics. Intellectuals possess this specific social and political power and responsibility. History tells us that intellectuals have not always made use of this power for the better; indeed, intellectuals have supported the most horrible and anti-democratic regimes. That is 'la trahison des clercs', to borrow Julien Benda's famous description. However, history also tells us that the primary targets of anti-democratic, totalitarian regimes – left and right – are the enquiring minds of people who think differently, and who do not stand by silently as the enemies of democracy dismantle freedom, toleration and solidarity. But whether they make use of their political and social power to sustain democracy or not, the fact that intellectuals possess this unique power cannot be denied, and the significance of intellectual debate and critical enquiry to democracy can hardly be overestimated.

INTELLECTUALS AND POPULISTS

One of the main ways in which intellectuals can contribute to the development of democracy in today's societies is by counterbalancing populism and political extremism, both of which are a greater threat to democracy than we are sometimes willing to acknowledge. Populism is of course a very complex term. In contemporary politics and society (we are not dealing here with earlier uses of the term, such as 'American populism', which emerged as a political and ideological current in the 19th century, or populism as it appeared in late 19th century Russia), the term has a fairly strong negative connotation, though there are

also philosophers and political theorists who argue that populism is a positive phenomenon that enhances the democratic nature of politics and decision-making, inasmuch as it bridges the gap between those who govern and those who are governed.

I do not endorse such a positive evaluation of populism. Evidently, the evaluation of the term depends on how you first define it, and that is what complicates the matter since it is very difficult to find a final definition of populism. Though philosophers and political theorists cannot agree on how 'populism' should be defined precisely, it is possible to list common features usually associated with it as a political, ideological and social phenomenon. One of these features, perhaps the most salient one, is that populists tend to express their views in a rather provocative manner. Populism is in politics what kitsch is in art: noisy, unsophisticated and often obtrusive and offensive. But being more provocative often means being less accurate, and that is why populism poses an intellectual problem: it does not seek to maximise freedom of thought in the exploration of an idea and in the pursuit of truth. A populist worldview – left and right – is by definition a simplification. It does not do justice to truth, or to the complexity of reality. If intellectuals really pursue truth and hope to create a better understanding of reality, they cannot afford populism and must counterbalance it. Just as populism is undesirable in intellectual debate, so too is it undesirable in politics, for it is impossible to take proper political measures on the basis of simplifications of reality. Such a course yields only the false promises that underwrite easy solutions to complex problems, and that is both misleading and dangerous.

That populism is on the rise in intellectual and in political public discourse has undoubtedly to do with the rise of political extremism. The many crises that have swept across the European continent over the past years have fuelled political extremism, a phenomenon that was most visible in Greece, the European country that suffered most from the economic crisis. There is an intrinsic relation between the inability to overcome economic and social problems and the rise of anti-democratic feelings and political extrem-

ism. We have seen it in Greece, where political extremism, racial hatred, violence and social turmoil dramatically increased in the wake of the economic problems the country faced. That the Greek neo-Nazi party Golden Dawn became a significant political force, that members of this party formed, and joined in, goon squads whose primary target was poor immigrants, that the wife of the leader of that party openly expressed the view that immigrants are disease bearers and that special sanitary laws should be installed: these are all phenomena that show how the economic crisis entailed a moral and cultural crisis that undermines toleration, freedom, solidarity and peace as the pillars of democracy. Political extremism entails a populist rhetoric of clenched fists, and that is a severe threat to democracy, that is, to the principle of dialogue and the spirit of compromise that are so fundamental to the democratic process. You cannot have a dialogue with people who clench their fists and who always seem ready to attack. The attitude by which any dialogue begins is an open hand, stretched out, and the clenched fists of populism and extremism make such a dialogue increasingly difficult.

Without dialogue, however, there can be no democracy. As political positions, extremism and populism lack three things that are part of a real intellectual debate, and part of what is required to make democracies work: the capacity to develop nuanced views, the capacity to reach compromises through dialogue and the capacity to be modest. Populists and political extremists tend to believe that 'compromise' is a dirty word. They believe that there is one correct view on everything and, coincidentally, that is their own view. The trademark of populism and extremism is monism: the arrogant claim to truth, and the simplistic claim that this truth can easily be imposed on people by means of political and social measures that are often radical and needlessly harsh.

DEMOCRATIC COUNTER-REACTION

I sense that our democratic politicians do not always know how to deal with political extremism and populism. They are afraid of losing elections, and since populists and extremists tend to do well in polls and elections, particularly in turbulent times, even democrat-

ic politicians are inclined to develop more radical views. As such populism leads to a proliferation of false promises, for politicians have to make all sorts of promises solely in order to win over public opinion, promises that even a whole group of super heroes could not hope to keep. And once a promise is made, however unrealistic, one cannot simply pull back. That would damage one's image of reliability and respectability, a loss that is of course most detrimental to a politician's reputation, for reasonable people do not vote for people they feel they cannot reasonably rely on. The proliferation of false promises, combined with political and ideological radicalisation, is not conducive to democratic equilibrium, whether in politics or in intellectual debate. Democracy would benefit from a de-intensification of the political and social debate and a revaluation of the spirit of compromise through dialogue. That is a task and responsibility intellectuals can try to take upon themselves by opposing populism and revealing the intellectual deficit of a populist worldview based on simplifications of reality. We should try to moderate the political and social debate, and do so while recognising, and making others recognise, the true value of intellectual debate in times of populist rhetoric. This is not only a matter of opening one's mind, but also one's heart. For if Europe, as I have argued, is a moral project and a representation of values, its success cannot be measured only by the efficiency of its political institutions or its economic growth.

The only true measure of Europe's success is the good that lives in the hearts and minds of its citizens.

Pere Portabella

Europe as a Space of Communication

Cultural relationships between the various countries of Europe need to be improved. This should not be confused with some utopia of European cultural unity, for that makes no sense. It is neither possible, because national cultures are too powerful, nor desirable, since Europe's strength will always lie in pluralism, pressure and diversity. Improving cultur-

al relationships means nothing more than creating communication spaces that enable the endogamic tendencies of national cultures to be overcome, so that, bit by bit, cultural debates take on a continental dimension. This is a complicated process, as it requires both open-mindedness and what Paul Ricouer describes as 'translation and mourning'. Open-mindedness means a capacity to think in line with the imperative that what you say has universal value; translation means assuming you have to make yourself understood by the other; and mourning means that, in a genuinely constructive dialogue, everyone has to have the generosity to put aside something during the process, everyone has to be free enough to let him or herself be convinced by the arguments being advanced by others.

Channels of communication are necessary if this is to be possible. We would need a genuine distribution network of cultural products between countries (which would of course include those citizens interested in these products, as they are the ones who make communication possible); policies capable of grasping that culture is a value of the greatest necessity (and as such something that cannot be left completely at the hands of culture industries); and we would need to play a leading role on the worldwide web based on a priority, that is, on a European cultural search engine. We cannot grant Google the unchallenged freedom to be the world's most influential intellectual, tracing out the routes for the vast majority of the globe's population.

Advances in structural changes do not come from the promiscuity of technology, in a process in which millions of individuals frenetically consume to the point of addiction. These advances demand users who intervene with the desire and will to take part, create, share and clone, without dissociating the challenge of the new languages of artistic rupture from the expectation of broader changes: new narrative resources, new creative techniques, new ways of seeing, an incessant demand from our society for images, etc. We are talking of the global screen, of replacing the value of possession by use value. It is a good symptom moving in a good direction for a social movement that seeks to transform things: to join art and politics.

It's simply a question of seeing differently, of look-

ing straight at the unforeseen, of being attentive to chance, of freeing ourselves from the instant images that take the place of experience, retained and kidnapped as they have been by memory.

Pleasure and creativity are not alien to each other, just as curiosity, is not alien to involvement, commitment or the right to contemplate: listening to Bach, or looking at a landscape or a Rothko for pleasure also makes us free.

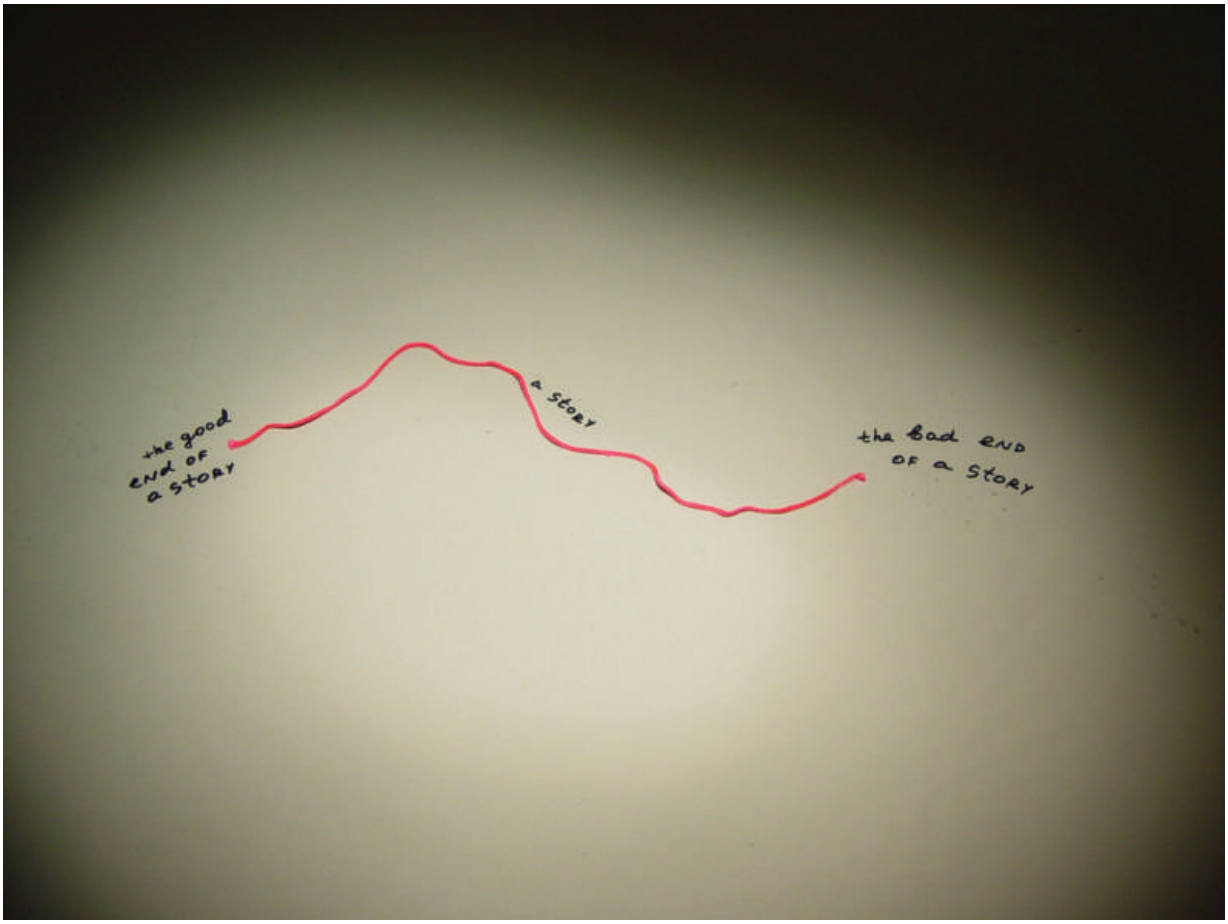
The work of art only takes on life in the gaze of the other, of the recipients-users, who appropriate the artistic proposal while ignoring the ego of the author, who bring to the work their demands and experiences and give free rein to their feelings, emotions, poetic drives or forceful rejection. Science advances comfortably through allegories and metaphors to broaden the space of knowledge. The result of research is always successful, regardless of whether it has wound up a blind alley or hit the target. Politics needs a story to adorn it, an intelligible and credible discourse to inform it and, above all, to motivate and create a following: A NEW NARRATIVE FOR EUROPE.

On this note, it bears remembering that the process is always the result, not its conclusions, for the simple reason that conclusions are never conclusive. Crises have the virtue of being revealing. The current crisis has brought to light something of a cultural and moral crisis in Europe. Culture was silent in the decades of nihilist shamelessness when it was accepted, acritically, that there were no limits, that everything was possible. Culture has been a passive spectator of the austerity policies that have led many countries to a profound social crisis by condemning millions of people to social exclusion. And culture has had no response to certain forms of communication and relationship that have, as Tzvetan Todorov explains, marginalised education: direct contact, person to person, giving richness to experience. The dominant ideology that believes that everything has a price, and that it is the economy that has regulatory capacity, desocialises, breaks social bonds and sends people back to their narrow, enclosed family environment. New technology, with its virtual relationships, marks an estrangement, a confinement to a distance whose cultural and human consequences

we still do not understand. The chain of consumption, as Bernard Stiegler says, removes our libido and leaves us only with drives. If we lose our empathy, what are we in our relationships with others? Are we still human? Culture has not managed to open the horizons that politics and economics have closed down. We live in a continuous present, with no past (tradition) or future (projects). And the voice of culture, reduced more and more to an ornamental option, is heard nowhere. In this respect, culture has to recover its political dimension.

Europe suffers from a lack of democracy. Between the technocratic legitimacy of experts and the balance of forces that determines accords between states, there is barely any space at all for citizen participation, for democratic legitimacy. An economic space has been constructed; we now need to build a European social space. And culture has a lot to say on this point. This is why the principles embraced and expounded by the radical thinkers of the 17th and 18th centuries, have to be recovered, before national cultures impose their order. This requires defending a second, and secular, revolution, which smashes the nationalist endogamy of EU states, and leaves a currency and a flag at the mercy of the elements. The space of Europe has to be understood as an essentially shared space. A shared cultural space is the basis of the 'shared responsibility' Tony Judt emphasises, which should be the core notion of a Europe where people can live together in peace.

Contrary to what is usually supposed, Bourdieu (and I share his view) says that those whom we call 'cultural workers', to the extent that they have an unavoidable public dimension, only exist if 1. the autonomous intellectual or artistic world (autonomous denoting relative independence from religious, political, economic and other powers) to which cultural workers belong recognises that they have a certain authority and if 2. they involve or invest this authority in concrete political struggles. The threat to the autonomy of creators is, therefore, the threat of excluding artists and intellectuals from public debate. And this threat issues, basically, from the ever-greater interpenetration between the worlds of finance and culture, and from the political manipulation caused by this interpenetration.



Nedko Solakov
Good News, Bad News, 1998–2009

Children's toys, glass, water, dice, artificial flower, fossil, thread, Styrofoam peanut; felt-tip pen, hand-written texts on A4 paper and plastic; vinyl lettering on floor, based on the artist's original texts; twelve spotlights (detail)
Collection Kunstmuseum St. Gallen
Installation view – 'A 12 1/3 (and even more) Year Survey', Rooseum Center for Contemporary Art, Malmö, 2004

UNA
Hotels & Resorts

x nicola!
8.12.13

a tiny narrative is searching for
its creator (to be properly updated)
while the creator is watching
the local news

New Narrative for Europe: Second General Assembly

MAJIM

08/

09.12.2013

Second General Assembly on Forms of Imagination and Thinking for Europe, held at ISPI (Institute for International Political Studies), Milan, on


ISPI


Un Nuovo
Racconto
l'Europa


NARRATIVE FOR EUROPE
SECONDA ASSEMBLEA GEN
GENERAL ASSEMBLY


Un Nuovo
Racconto
Europa


Un Nuovo
Racconto
PER
l'Europa
NEW NARRATIVE FOR EUROPE

Enrico Letta

Speech delivered by the then Prime Minister of Italy at ISPI, Milan, on 9 December 2013

Thank you very much, José Manuel Barroso. I want to thank all the guests and everybody here. I think that this general assembly is a great opportunity for all of us.

It is a great opportunity, first of all, because, after the first meeting of the New Narrative for Europe in Warsaw, and prior to the final event in Berlin, we have a chance to meet here, in Milan. As a venue, Milan carries a special symbolic meaning. Milan is one of the most beautiful European capitals; indeed, it was the European capital in 1985, when all the heads of state or government of the European Community met here for a European Council, during which the decision to kick-start the final step towards the Single European Act and the single market project was taken. The single market and its four freedoms are among the most important achievements of the European integration project.

Today, Milan is a European capital again: it is the capital of the political debate about Europe, and it will continue to be a European capital in 2014 and, even more so, in 2015, when it will host the International Expo. In 2014, the Italian government will hold many of the meetings of the Italian semester of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers in Milan. Milan will also host the ASEM [Asia-Europe] meeting, with the participation of all ASEAN [Association of Southast Asian Nations] leaders. Hosting the Expo will be a very important achievement for us, and it means that Milan will once again be the capital of Europe because Expo 2015 will be a European Expo. José Manuel knows very well that this is our intention and I want to thank the European Commission for all the support it has given to the preparation of the Expo and for its commitment to participating actively in the event.

Milan, therefore, is the natural venue for hosting a debate about the future of Europe. Let me elaborate on a concept, which is dear to me, regarding the whole idea of a

European narrative. It is the issue of the European dream, a dream that used to exist and which is now lacking. What is the problem today? The problem is that the dream, the European dream, is no longer there. Debating Europe, its purpose, its shape, takes up much of our time, but I see a strange spin in the debate. On the one hand, we are consumed by tiresome discussions about technical issues. On the other, we discuss feelings or sensations about Europe, which are very strong indeed, but which are prevailingly anti-European or are Euro sceptic. We are missing something in the middle: we are missing the heart, the soul, we are missing the development of the European narrative, and that is why this meeting today in Milan is so important, as a step in the intellectual journey you started in Warsaw and will conclude in Berlin.

When I say that this dream is not there and that's where we have to work I am speaking as an old European, as a convinced European; I am speaking in the voice of many others who are participating in this meeting today, like Senator Mario Monti, my very eminent predecessor as prime minister of Italy. Europe has always looked ahead and always indicated a perspective and defined its future prospects. We need to ask, 'What is Europe?', and 'What is the European dream going to be 10 years from now?' These are urgent questions, and we should discuss them in full knowledge of the fact that the answers are rather uncertain. We have the election campaign for the European Parliament coming up and the question will arise then: is there a shared dream for what Europe should be in 10 years?

I tried to recall what Europe was 30 years ago, 20 years ago and 10 years go. Thirty years ago – so in 1983, just to take representative dates – we had a vision of what would happen 10 years later. Thirty years ago, in 1983, we laid down an objective, the four freedoms underpinning the single market project, the dream launched by Jacques Delors. That project entailed charting a path for Europe; it was a goal that mobilised resources and commitment.

Let's move forward by 10 years, to 1993. Twenty years ago, the dominant issue was the construction of an economic and monetary union (EMU); we had just signed the Maastricht Treaty. We wanted to unite the

Member States around a single currency. This was to be at the very basis of our collective action. Of course, our economies would remain national, but customs and borders had been done away with. That was once again a very effective goal, which we worked hard on and, 10 years later, in 2003, it was a reality.

Let's now go back to 10 years ago. What was on our mind then?

If we were to imagine what Europe would be 10 years later, in other words, what Europe would be today, we would have had to have been inspired by one of the most incredible dreams of the 20th century, namely the reunification of Europe. In 2003, we were thinking of Europe 10 years down the road; we were saying that Europe would be reunited in the next 10 years. There would be no more wars; we would all be together once again. The fact that Prime Minister Alenka Bratušek is here, at this meeting, is emblematic of the success of the enlargement process.

But allow me to add just one other point. This whole process was so successful that today the Presidency of the Council of the European Union is in the hands of a country that had formerly been part of the Soviet Union. The president of the Republic of Lithuania was born and grew up in the Soviet Union. So here Europe has won and that dream which we had in mind 10 years ago has come true. But what would we say is the dream of the European Union now? How do we see Europe in 2023? Well, I think we would all lose our way a bit, we would all go astray. And that is the problem. In this context, I would really like to thank José Manuel and the presidents of the European Council and the Eurogroup and the governor of the European Central Bank.

The only roadmap charting a path for the future of Europe, the only document giving us a long-term prospect for Europe, is the work of the four presidents who have launched the project of the four unions; the banking union, the fiscal union, the economic union and the political union.

And here, I would say that Italy will be in the avant-garde. It will strive to achieve those four unions within the next 10 years. Those unions must be achieved. The first deadline in this process is the European Council of 19 and 20 December, when the bank-

ing union should become active.

I know I am speaking to people who work with creativity, science and their intelligence. I know that the banking union is something that is not particularly evocative of any dream. People don't think about it. But I also know that without the banking union Europe will just sink into an economic and financial crisis again.

If we'd had a banking union such as that which exists, for instance, in the United States, Europe would not have gone through these 4 or 5 years of dramatic crisis, large-scale unemployment and social distress, all of which are at the very basis of the current dissatisfaction with Europe. The economic and social crisis is the background against which we shall see, next year, a clash between the Europe of the people and the Europe of populism.

The social malaise visible in Europe, and in our country, today is the result of this deep vulnerability, which our societies, particularly the weaker sections of our societies, were susceptible to over these past 5 years. When you start worrying about the future of your family, the feelings that come out at that point are very strong indeed, and we have to take them into account and come up with solutions that respond to those intense expectations.

Coming to the end of my speech, the main priority for the next 10 years is to start giving shape to our new European dream. The exercise launched by the four presidents offers a pragmatic, realistic roadmap for the future of the EMU. But we need to do something more than that.

When preparing for the next elections to the European Parliament, in May, we have to bear in mind the real questions: why do we have to go further in and with the European Union? Why do we have to move on to this next stage? Why do we believe that Europe should unite? Why should we say to our citizens today that it is in their interest, and for the livelihood of their countries, to bring European countries together and unite? It's difficult to answer these questions and, indeed, we don't necessarily have the same answers to all of them.

When I speak in terms of a political union, I know that during the election campaign words and slogans can play a crucial role. If I were to go to Slovenia or Portugal for an

election campaign, I think that I would probably have a hard time grasping all the ins and outs, all the little subtleties, and I would have difficulties finding the words that, in that context, would properly capture and evoke what I mean. Yet my point is that all that has happened over the past few years has changed our world completely.

Today, countries that are twice the size of the European Union are among the decision-makers on the global scene. Taken individually,they are just as influential as the European Union. Not too long ago, these countries were not seated around the table where all the decisions were being taken, and now they are, and they are decisive. In the new world dynamics, where size matters, we must understand that the challenge for Europe will be to decide whether it still wants to bring its influence to bear on the world or if it wants to be sidelined and have no influence at all when compared to great regional powers in America, Latin America, Asia and Africa.

Tomorrow I will be in Johannesburg, paying tribute on behalf of Italy to one of the great leaders of the 20th century; José Manuel will be there as well. I think we all know that countries like Brazil, China, India, Mexico, South Africa and South Korea are now emerging as great powers and their influence is only going to increase in the future. We must all realise that if key decisions are taken at that level, we as Europeans will have an influence only if we are united. And the truth is that there are more things that unite us than things that divide us. It is there that we must bring European values to bear.

We must ensure that the values that unite us influence the global decision-making in trade, the environment, human rights, the role of democracy, culture and research. I could draw up a very long list. And you might say, 'Ah, but there are differences between Europeans.' We all share the same values and we must ensure that these values are expressed in a European way. These values must be winning values in the world. They will be winning values thanks to our extraordinary soft power. This is the soft power Europeans have, and there aren't very many Europeans. We are only 500 million, after all. That's not a lot; we are rather small in geographical terms but we are extraor-

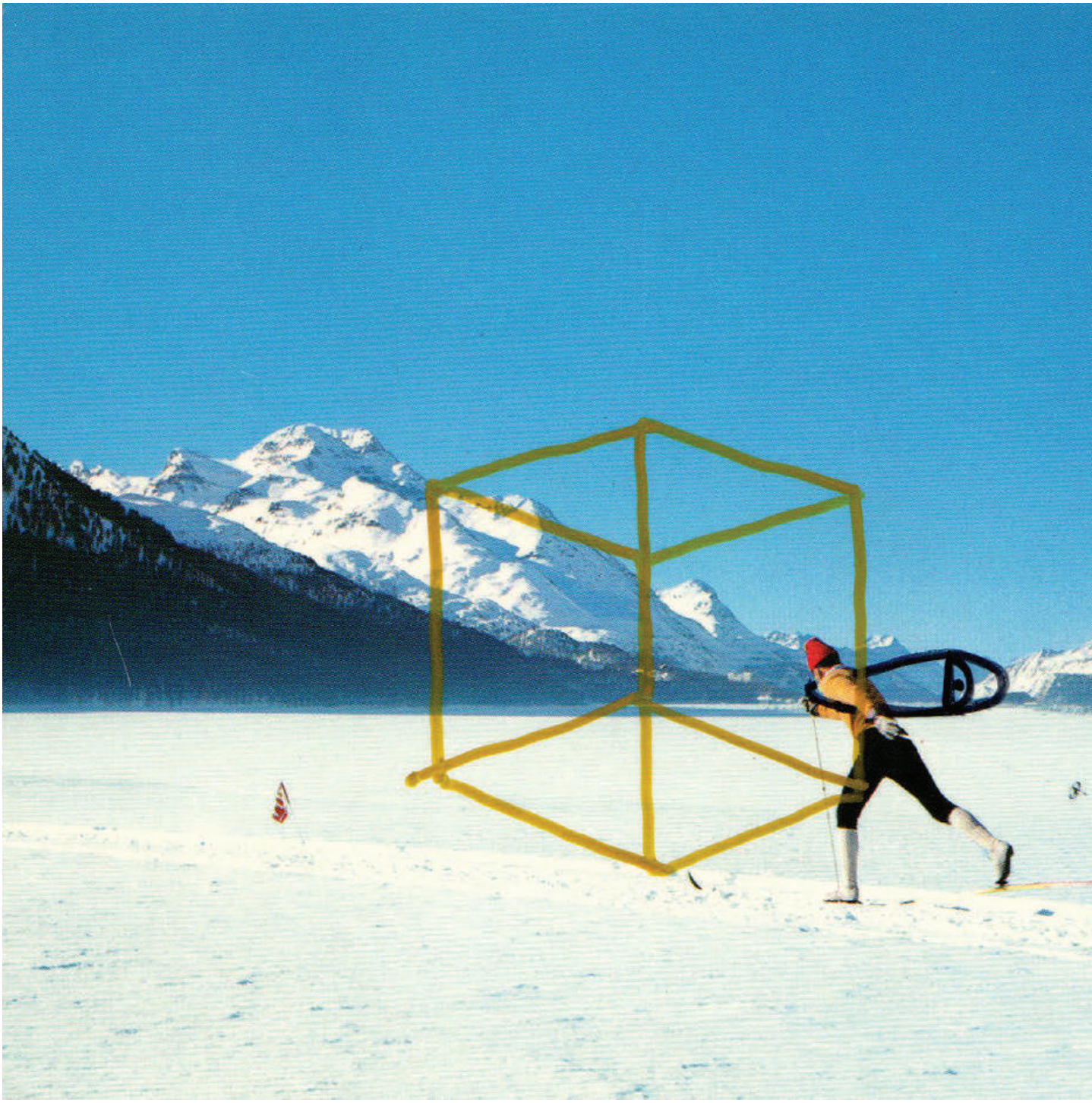
dinary in terms of soft power – when we use that soft power together, that is.

Now we live in a Europe in which we enjoy peace and prosperity. Of course, we have got many, many problems to deal with, but we have managed to unite and we have managed to do away with war and this is thanks to the choices made by our parents. I think that our children will look back to the decisions we are taking now for Europe and they will say that if we give them a divided Europe, one that cannot ensure that European values prevail in all the areas I just listed, they might have no choice but to say that we failed to overcome the differences between us, and hence we did not manage to ensure that our values were upheld and promoted throughout the world.

If you look at the differences in the approach to global challenges between Italians and Germans, French and British, Portuguese and Slovenians, and you emphasise only the differences, then you are being very short-sighted indeed.

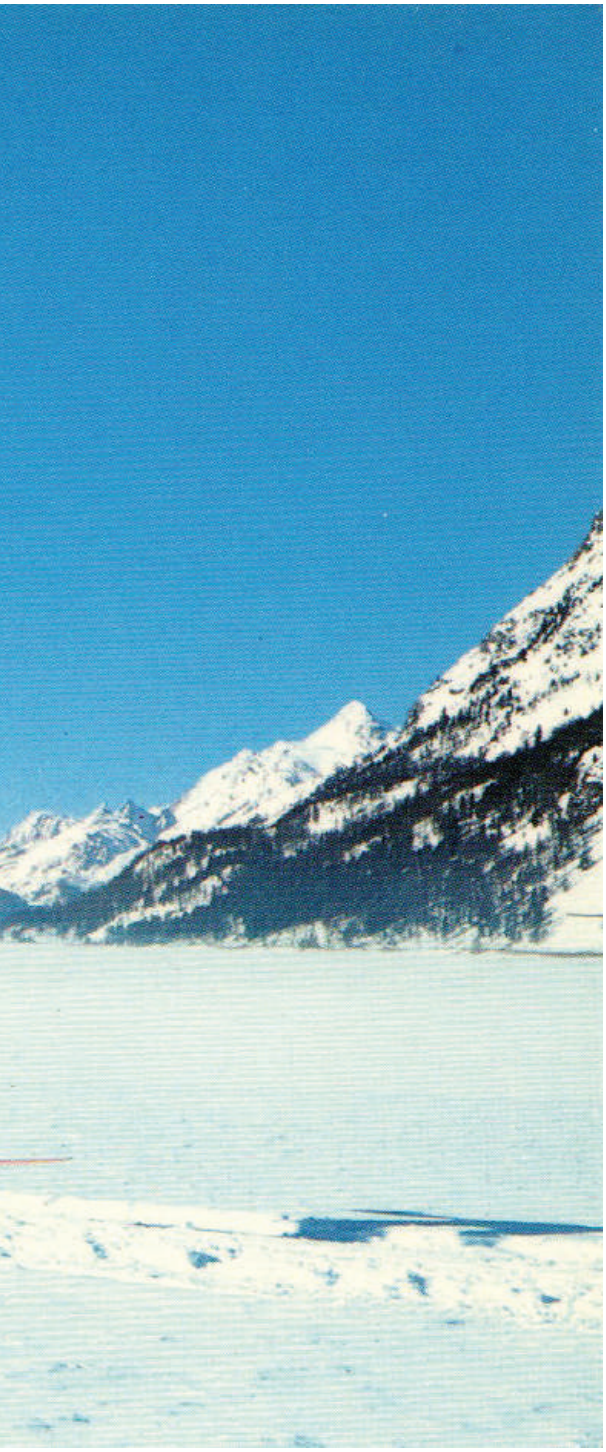
I think that we really have to focus on the forthcoming electoral campaign for the European Parliament. Our campaign shouldn't be based on exploiting the difficulties we are going through. We are confronted by a challenge that we all must face. It's a political challenge, and it's an extraordinary one.

Dear José Manuel, dear Alenka, 2014 is going to be a European year: we have the European elections, and Italy has the Presidency of the Council. And we shall also be preparing the European Expo in Milan. Milan will be the capital of Europe. We really must engage in this fight, a fight for Europe, a fight for a better future for our children.



Letizia Cariello
post(hu)man throughout Europe

Ink-pen on photo (paper print)
Year 2013—14
Courtesy of the artist
and Galleria Massimo Minini Brescia



Alenka Bratušek

Speech delivered by the then Prime Minister of Slovenia at ISPI, Milan, on 9 December 2013

Prime Minister Letta, President Barroso, ladies and gentlemen, I am very pleased to be addressing such a distinguished assembly today. I will not speak about structural reforms, the economic and monetary union, the banking union or the European semester. This is our everyday business, be it in Ljubljana, Rome or Brussels.

Although I do not want to underestimate the importance of debates on the future of economic and monetary union, I want to take 5 minutes and speak about the real things that matter most to us and to our fellow citizens.

Drafting a new narrative for Europe means we are recreating the moment in which the idea of a European Union was created. Its founding fathers wanted to build a better Europe – because they knew that war was not the answer. They dared to translate their dreams into reality. Peace became an absolute objective, cooperation a daily mission.

Today, stepping into their shoes seems a very difficult task. Change has become part of our everyday life. We are faced with fatigue, be it in relation to closer cooperation or to EU enlargement. People feel more and more detached from Europe. We are facing the absence of a proper debate on policy issues. We fear our Union will suddenly become something nobody really identifies with – estranged from our minds and hearts. We fear Euro-scepticism on the wings of popular rhetoric.

Therefore, we have to join efforts in building a new narrative. We politicians cannot do it alone. We must engage with a vibrant society – with you, writers, thinkers, scientists and intellectual circles. We must build together a common European story.

In my country, we draw inspiration from our writer Boris Pahor, a great Slovene and a great European. He was awarded the European Citizen's Prize this year. On celebrating his 100th birthday, he was not only described as a gifted writer but also as a man whose spirit is always on the alert, always ready for debate,

attentive and sharp.

And that is how we should be. With the help of the Commission and the Slovenian Centre of Non-Governmental Organisations, my government decided to launch a discussion on the future of Europe. We discussed important European issues with Slovenian citizens, civil society, the business community and expert circles. The project is titled 'More Europe – more Slovenia', because we firmly believe that Slovenia's future lies in a more integrated European Union.

Let me share with you some views of my fellow citizens which were expressed during the project.

One of our first round tables was about the future of the economic and monetary union. To our surprise, active citizens were saying to us that issues were too complicated for them and hard to understand. We realised we should improve our narrative and involve citizens in the debates at the start of the legislative process.

Youth was another priority area we decided to discuss. We do not want to see young people as a lost generation but as a promise of our future. I have personally participated in the discussions and it was interesting to hear from them that – apart from the obvious crucial problem of growing unemployment – they expressed the problem of mobility as one of their main concerns. And I can only agree with them. Mobility is the most reliable guarantee of creating a new European identity – overcoming centuries of national stereotypes, prejudice, egoism and intolerance.

Our people were hit hard by the financial crisis. The social consequences of the ongoing structural reforms and fiscal consolidation have left them exhausted. They fear that solidarity is disappearing. Our citizens demand the preservation of the European social model, literally and I quote, 'to stop the dissolution of social protection and public healthcare, to find a balance between the economic and social dimension of development that will ensure human dignity'. Since social policy is to a great extent the domain of national governments, it is a major challenge in my present function to preserve the high level of a social state in times of economic crisis.

But savings must and can be found elsewhere, as it is our job to mobilise substantial resources to fight poverty and unemployment, especially of the

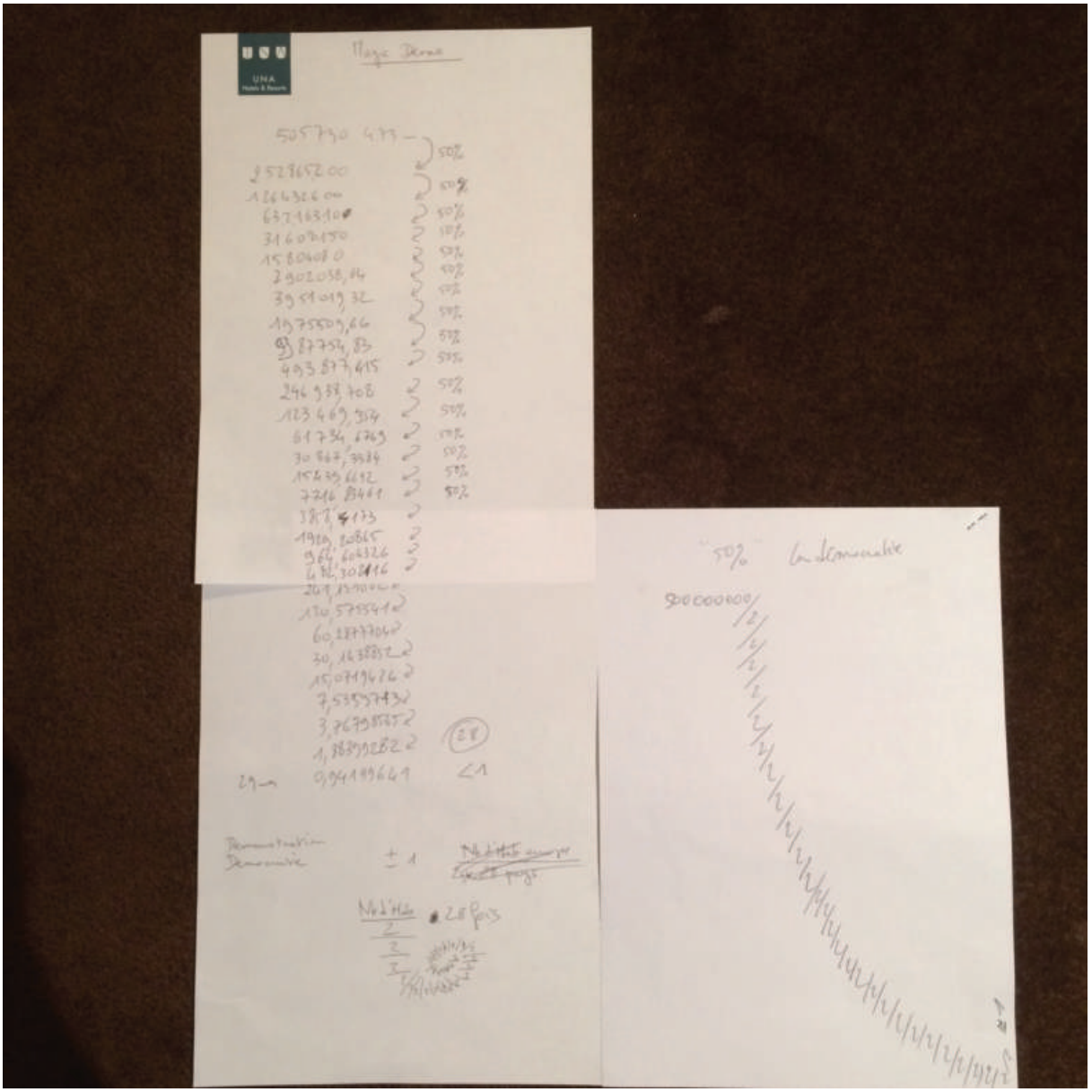
younger generations.

Our citizens gave us another strong message, which should be taken quite seriously by us politicians and institutions. It concerns the declining trust in political parties and representative democracy, at the national and EU levels. Despite national differences, we hear similar demands in the streets of many European countries. Active citizenship is one of the positive collateral results of the present developments. Governments should and must find a synergy with awakened EU citizens. We want our debates to feed into the process of the EU elections. They represent a litmus test for our common future. We should join efforts and challenge the myths put forward by anti-European movements.

We should focus on subjects that appear to be a given and are therefore often neglected: fundamental values of democracy, human rights, rule of law, solidarity, ethics, freedom and culture in all its forms. It is time to get back to the fundamental values upon which our Union is based. These values should not become marginalised because they are not recognised as relevant for the exit from the present crisis. The debate on these issues can give more sense to our efforts.

We should not give up the European project because of the present difficulties; we should look forward, always reviving anew the spirit of the founding fathers of the European Union. Ladies and gentlemen, allow me to conclude with the visionary words of one of them, Jean Monnet: 'When we have decided upon the goal that we want to reach, we must act without making assumptions about the risks of not achieving it. As long as you didn't try it, you can't say that nothing is impossible.'

Thank you.



Fabrice Hyber
50 % of the Population of the 28 European Countries > 1, with 29 < 1 = 50 % Democracy.
Milan, 9 December 2013

'Art is naturally created by human beings in Europe. The climate, combined with the landscape, created the ideal biotope for the crystallisation of this event. We must allow all its different elements to go viral. The artist's behaviour is the link in a mental ecology that binds us to a responsibility without limits'.
(Translation of verso.)

L'Art est naturellement
créé par l'homme en Europe.
Le climat avec le paysage
ont créé un environnement propice
à cet événement humain.
Il suffit d'en propager les
éléments. Le comportement de
l'artiste est ancré dans une
écologie mentale qui nous
oblige à une responsabilité
sans limite.

Angela Dematté

Lust

'For once in my life I should like to describe this. A voice rises in a lift, a woman's voice, of course. And the lift seems to rush madly up into the heights with her {, reaches no goal}, falls, balances in the air. Her skirts billow with the motion. This rising and falling, up and down, this lying quietly pressed up against one note, and this streaming away streaming away, and then constantly being seized yet again by a new convulsion, and streaming away again: this is lust.

It is that common European lust that reaches the pitch of homicide, jealousy, automobile races. Ah, it isn't lust anymore, it is desire for adventure. It is not desire for adventure, but a knife, plunging down from space, a female angel. It is lust that that never becomes living reality. War.'

So wrote Robert Musil while fighting in the valleys of Trentino – then part of Austria, now part of Italy, and Europe – in 1916. As I read this extract from the Austrian writer's diary, I felt a strange, shocking nostalgia, which I at once suppressed and replaced, out of shame, with the banalities of everyday life. What was that omnipresent 'European lust' Musil spoke of? He calls it 'European'. Not Austrian, Italian or French. It is a European lust. Palazzeschi, an Italian, speaks of Europe's warring countries as the 'thronging crowd in the market place, where the mechanic and the shopkeeper, the coalman, the greengrocer and the gardener suddenly forget the many picnics and dinners they have shared and, motivated by their petty little mercantile concerns, set on each other, biting, pulling each other's hair, getting at the other's throat, taking down his trousers and giving him a good hiding'. I apologise for bringing up my own work on the Great War, but I thought it would make an interesting foil in the context of reflections on Europe. Because I think we should remember that that is where Europe comes from, and that that era is a 'myth' (if I may misuse the word in this way) that has not yet crystallised. I believe that Europe's founding fathers understood the diversity of our wide and large (or is it tiny?)

planet, as well as the vast wealth that diversity could yield, notwithstanding the fratricidal struggle between nations. It seems to me that they were better equipped to cope with the contradictions and fragility of human beings.

Today, a hundred years after the outbreak of the First World War, we are experiencing a strange and wretched internal conflict between the pride in being Italian (or Spanish, or German) and the desire to be elsewhere (in France? In Belgium?). We say: 'Oh, things are different in Germany …' Or: 'Oh, in Spain … I could be happy there …' And we live in endless anticipation. So it seems to me that this 'European lust' has been numbed by a rose-tinted view of the outside world. And yet, it still survives, like a muffled scream that no longer knows how to express itself in words.

That's why I don't believe that any of us need be told about industrious Germany, or Belgium, so full of possibilities, or Spain, dynamic and open, or America, which rewards intellect. On the contrary, I believe that there is a perceived need to reawaken that mysterious lust. It is more than just lust. It is desire. It is mystery. It is an abyss. Are we risking war? Let's not kid ourselves. Are we risking chaos? Not enough. We are risking being a community! One with the freedom not to pass over the contradictions in silence – not to while away the time dreaming of a different Europe.

Jean-Marc Ferry

Telos, Nomos, Ethos: Reflections on the Meaning of a Political Europe

Telos, nomos, ethos: these are the three elements on which a new narrative on a political Europe should be based.

Telos: goal, purpose, meaning, raison d'être, objective of the European political project.

I propose a critical history of the European telos. This critical history is marked by a break with the past at the turn of the 1990s.

This break with the past initiated a fairly protracted period of stagnation in the justification of the European project, as far as the reasons

for pursuing integration were concerned: Why? Towards what? 'Quo vadie, Europa?' 'Wozu noch eine europäische Einigung?' 'What's the point of the European Union?'

The question is raised by national public opinions, disoriented nations and confused citizens. European discontent is no longer a figment of the imagination. The commonly used word 'Euro-scepticism' has become a bland understatement to describe a rising Europhobia.

So what happened?
Against the backdrop of the fall of the Berlin Wall, the collapse of the Soviet bloc, followed by the national ratifications of the Maastricht Treaty, the turn of the 1990s marked the beginning of a crisis caused by the decline of the inaugural, founding reason for European integration, namely peace.

As far as both Europeans and Americans were concerned, the political grounds for European integration in the aftermath of the Second World War were inseparable from the economic objective, whether that was thwarting the expansion of communism or making France and Germany interdependent.

Firstly, the Soviet collapse gave rise to an enormous misconception: that it was the 'end of history'. The alleged 'great geopolitical victory' over the Soviet adversary was supposed to herald both the ultimate triumph of the Western system and the end of the great pantoclastic threat of nuclear war. The founding purpose of European integration was thus losing its power, as globalisation was becoming synonymous with prosperity and peace, while the EU was beginning to be perceived as opening the floodgates to global governance.

However, the abrupt 'return of history' in the late 2000s would plunge the European project into a crisis of motivation and justification.

This return of history was marked by an awareness of three decisive aspects – prosperity, peace and democracy.

Firstly, globalisation is no longer synonymous with prosperity, as it tends to prioritise the logic of the markets over that of states, while encouraging an economic drift towards the accumulation of wealth.

Secondly, Europe is not immune to major conflicts. Although there is no direct threat (yet) to borders, we know now that threats have no borders.

Lastly, EU enlargement does

not in itself result in the democratisation of the continent where the lexical order of the Copenhagen criteria is not respected, i.e. the essential condition that new entrants adopt the principles of a democratic state based on the rule of law. However, faced with the shock of the 'return of history', Europe's political class has struggled to credibly explain to the public the new justification needed to tackle the new challenge constituted by globalisation, and the issue for the European Union of whether to simply adapt, or whether it is necessary to make up lost ground, politically, in the global economy?

The positioning of public opinion on European integration depends both on the function ascribed to the EU and the assessment of globalisation.

Telos: Diagram of positions on the political shape of Europe based on interpretations of the European project and the assessment of globalisation.

The view of telos determines the decision on nomos.

Nomos: Basic legal structure, political principle of the EU, body of law of its es-

Duties ascribed to the EU **Opinion of globalisation**	*Economic adaptation* Applying the rules of global governance and managing public opinion	*Political catch-up* Establishing trans-European minimum social benefits and taming global markets
Negative assessment	1 National introspection (sovereignism)	3 Fortress Europe (supranationalism)
Positive assessment	2 The all-powerful market (neoliberalism)	4 Transnational Union (cosmopolitanism)

Nomos

Legal cosmopolitanism as the basic structure of the European Union

Level of law	Legal type	Political principle	Relations	Statutory guarantee
First level Nations Domestic	**State law** *Ius civitatis, Staatsrecht, Staats-bürgerrecht*	**Isopolity Republican Democratic rule of law**	**Between nationals Intrastate**	**Fundamental rights of individuals Human rights**
Second level Federation External (internalised)	**Confederal law (internalised international)** *Ius gentium, Völkerrecht*	**Federation of states or free federalism**	**Between nations Interstate**	**Fundamental rights of peoples and states People's rights**
Third level Union Cross-cutting	**Rights of citizens of the world** *Ius cosmo-politicum, Weltbürger-recht*	**Cosmopoli-tan union**	**Between citizens of the Union Intra-Community**	**Rights of foreign citizens of the Union** **Cosmopolitan law**

sential constitution.

The European Union, an unidentified political object which is neither a great nation nor a simple federation, a federal republic or a post-modern empire, given its particular style of political integration, follows the pattern of a transnational

democratic union.

Note 1: The table represents only the basic legal structure, according to three 'levels of relations of public law' (Kant), namely the political form. This constitution is considered from a normative perspective, not from the perspective of how the Union should be, but how it should be understood.

Note 2: As for the constitutional content, it resides in the body of law which brings together (a) the fundamental rights of individuals (human rights) and people (international law) and (b) the basic values of the Union[1] and the underlying principles[2].

Ethos: Paul Ricœur wrote of a 'new ethos for Europe'[3], characterised by the trinity of translation/shared stories/forgiveness, pointing to the philosophical figure of Wilhelm von Humboldt.

This ethos would see political Europe re-establish the long-severed link with the philosophical Europe dear to Edmund Husserl, while the theme of post-national identity, developed by Jürgen Habermas, is expanded into the concept of reconstructive identity. This is an open identity, based on the principle of willingness to be open to other identities. It contains none of that inward-looking 'identifying identity'

Ethos

Comparative characteristics of national integration and post-national integration

Integration	*Vertical* **(national)**	*Horizontal* **(post-national)**
Systemic	**Principle of sovereignty** **Legitimate coercion** **Government centralisation**	**Principle of cooperation** **Legitimate cooperation** **Multi-level governance**
Political	**Unconditional civic duties** **Closure of inward-looking historical memories**	**Denationalised civil rights** **Reciprocal opening of self-critical memories**

(1) As stated in Title I of the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, the EU 'is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail.'

(2) Subsidiarity, proportionality, conferral, mutual trust, mutual recognition, dialogue, cooperation.

(3) See Paul Ricœur, 'Reflections on a New Ethos for Europe?', in The Hermeneutics of Action, ed. Richard Kearney, Sage Publications, London, 1996, pp. 3-13.

constructed around its spiritual roots and desiring above all to assert its distinctiveness. Political Europe would misjudge its philosophical principle if it were to fall back on its heritage values, turning them into a promotional catalogue to be used as grounds for excluding anything that is not 'European' from a cultural heritage perspective.

Two endeavours are generated by this perspective:

(1) a self-critical endeavour, based on the conviction that, in the current state of relations between the peoples of the world, mutual recognition becomes inseparable from recognition of the violence that these peoples inflicted on each other in the past;

(2) a self-reflexive endeavour consisting of reconsidering the various inherited traditions in the light of their public acceptability, which implies a conscious choice which does not conceal any ambivalence.

In this way, Europe's cultural or spiritual heritage is no longer a limitation of identity, a principle for exclusion, but a resource of values which can be subscribed to or around which it is possible to unite. Management of the historical memory ceases to be focused inward in a nationalistic and self-apologetic way that covers up anything that would hurt national pride. Recognition of oneself in others, being open to other cultures, the emergence of a shared historical memory and a common public culture built on civility, legality and openness: these are the hallmarks of decentring which echo Hegel's profound words: 'In Europe, what matters is the march of life beyond its own borders.'There is undoubtedly a continuity between the European dreams of the Enlightenment, the hermeneutical humanism of Wilhelm von Humboldt, the philosophical Europe of Edmund Husserl and the European politics of the spirit advocated by Karl Jaspers at the first international meetings in Geneva in the aftermath of the Second World War. Behind these various figures and moments of philosophical Europe, the uniqueness of political Europe stands out, the product of a civilisation of writing, dialogue, deliberation, argumentation and debate which is public and which involves the public.

That political Europe rises up to its philosophical legacy

is an ethical requirement; to meet it, fora for serious debate will need to be established across Europe, in each Member State. Failing this, there is a danger that the call for mutual recognition of the peoples of Europe, in order to achieve common recognition of the rights, values and principles intended to bring them together within a truly democratic union, will come to nothing. This is the profound challenge of a new narrative for Europe, a decentred narrative which, contrary to a propagandist apology, does not overlook the urgent need for a critical history, that of an integration which, inspired by the noblest of energies, was also blighted by delusions, blindness and disappointments, and is now opening up to challenges which have not yet been properly responded to and tasks which are still outstanding, which are imperative for us to tackle.

Jimmie Durham

An Incident in Europe

The events I am about to relate happened a while back, not exactly in Calabria but perhaps close by.

There was a young woman who worked as a house cleaner.

She was considered to be attractive by the standards of the region at that time and liked parties and the social life.

She went to a party given by the son of a local wealthy couple even though she had not been invited. Maybe she drank too much or something, but late in the evening she went upstairs, found an unused bed and promptly fell into a profound, drugged sleep.

Much much later The Frog hopped into her room. He was French, and so, because of that American type of cheerful racism, was called 'The Frog'. He was a bell-ringer by profession, even though severely handicapped with the spinal condition known as 'hunch back'. In France, he had worked in various cathedrals, including the famous Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris.

To make an unpleasant story

shorter let me say that he began to undress the sleeping woman. But when The Frog kissed her she woke abruptly and turned into a wolf.

She grabbed a knife and ripped open his belly. His dying screams attracted the attention of the Three Little Pigs – spoiled brats, so called because of their porcine ways. These rough bastards overpowered her and threw her into a cell called 'the Pumpkin Shell' and there they kept her.

Very well. She broke out quickly in her rage and turned on them, knife in hand. They scampered about hysterically, like three blind mice. She, as the saying goes, cut off their dangling tails with the carving knife.

After she had calmed down a moment she found a back door and made a quick exit.

Having no parents, she made her way through the forest for several days until she found the house of her maternal grandmother.

The two of them had never really got along well, but she had no other place to go.

'You eat like a wolf,' her grandmother said, 'but if you work you can stay a week or so.'

A few days later they heard a knock at the door. Peering out a window they saw a young man dressed more or less like a hunter.

He explained that he needed shelter, and that his name was Robin Hood.

The old woman showed him a gingerbread-looking shack out back where he could sleep.

As soon as he had entered she slammed the door closed and bolted it. 'Tomorrow I will devour you!' she said. In that part of the world, that is the slang expression for reporting someone to the police to collect a reward.

During the night the young woman came out and talked to the man. She explained that there could be a good life if the two of them became professional bandits, using her sense of planning and strategy.

The next morning the old woman awoke to find herself alone again.


EUROPE


EUROPE

Jimmie Durham
Jimmie Durham in Europe
1994/2005

Part of a series of about 25 images
with that title. We might say 1994-2005.

Michal Kleiber

The Humanistic and Scientific Sources of the European Narrative

The common heritage of Europe can be recognised, as I see it, through three general categories: unifying historical experience, artistic tradition and philosophical as well as scientific output. All three should be viewed as processes founded on the accumulation of experiences, mutual inspiration and integration, and on the continuous expansion of communities resulting from diverse mechanisms.

Let me start with just a few words about artistic tradition, which is unbelievably rich, fecund and far-reaching. It can be understood as a psychologically and culturally unifying experience, coming from homogeneous aesthetic foundations. Europeans share a common body of literature, they are familiar with the same theatrical works and they have the same experience of architecture, sculpture, music and painting.

This means that Europeans not only share a common wealth of knowledge, but, above all, they share a community of artistic experience and an ability to communicate by means of internalised, verbal and non-verbal cultural symbols and aesthetic codes.

Due to my personal and professional experience, I pay special attention to the third area I mentioned at the beginning – philosophical and scientific output. European philosophy and its daughter, science, come from the Greeks and, speaking broadly, from the systems created by Plato and Aristotle. European philosophy, abstruse in its development, encompasses some of the greatest philosophical minds: Descartes, Pascal, Leibniz, Spinoza, the French encyclopedists, Kant and Hegel. The ontological and methodological principles of these philosophers were a source of inspiration for humanity's greatest discoveries and scientific achievements. Because of this, European philosophy and science have created standards for the world, whose indisputable foundations include rationalism, empiricism, thoroughness, courage and a never-ending search for truth. In reality, we must also recognise the false philosophies and pathologi-

cal ideologies that introduced disaster, crimes and suffering. Nevertheless, in summary, science is, along with the arts, our greatest hope and the best chance we have for a prosperous future.

Scientific practice is inherently based on deeply rooted human values that are part of the European tradition. Over time, science has developed through collaboration and a form of 'soft' competitiveness among peers. Therefore, it offers a unique pathway to a European future that can be designed through rational thought.

I have no doubt that we can and should build a modern European narrative through the alliance of science and the arts, which together form a solid base for progress and economic growth. Europe, after the trauma of war and totalitarian expansion, led the way to freedom of thought and creation. In addition, it managed to break down political borders. Science provided the tools and the means of communication that today allow us to communicate with each other and meet in the real and virtual worlds.

Technology now moves at a pace that was hardly imaginable three decades ago. There are no barriers in the exchange of scientific thought and no restraints on the knowledge of historical and contemporary artistic output. The humanisation of science has undoubtedly influenced the development of creativity. Additionally, the arts contribute to the development of our cognitive attitudes and abilities, while simultaneously reinforcing the importance of a thoughtful perception of the world and its emerging challenges.

No one will question that the arts and sciences offer a unique way to manifest the powers of creative imagination and logical reason. Based on Europe's contribution in these areas to world civilization, art and science should form the backbone for all debates on European values. This is true despite the fact that many critics continuously claim that our desperate search for a new European narrative, one that confronts today's realities, is only an empty rhetoric and a hopeless attempt to defend a continent that is doomed to fail in the global race. According to this view, our debate serves no pragmatic purpose and, at best, satisfies only the intellectual needs of the elite classes with no chance of providing any

hope for Europeans at large. However, even if this common rhetoric may, in fact, be naive and unconvincing at times, we should not doubt the overwhelming need to create a narrative that rightly interprets the past and successfully translates it into a prosperous future. Our strength lies in our past contributions and our contemporary ability, through art and science, to concentrate on the pursuit of wisdom and beauty, not destruction and violence. We have to believe that this soft power has the potential to become crucially decisive in shaping our future.

Yet, many fundamental questions remain unanswered. How should we translate the soft power of Europe into practical actions, actions that are capable of successfully addressing the challenging issues of sustainable development? How can we forge more concrete connections between culture, business, science and education? How should we shape young people's awareness of their cultural affiliation and sense of belonging so that they successfully operate on the global scene and still remain European?

Some people will say that this is not that difficult; we simply need to wisely teach the history of Europe, provide open access to our cultural heritage, emphasise the significance of human creativity and encourage research in the humanities and sciences, thus reasserting Europe's contribution to the ongoing development of civilization and assuring technological advancement. All this is important, but it is just the beginning of the European mission today. The future will be extremely demanding on Europeans. We need not only to understand our past and present but also to develop scenarios for the future. Thinking about the future, I believe, involves identifying the critical mega-trends of civilizational transformation and structuring societal development using the soft power we have at our disposal. With the aid of artistic expression and scientific competence we should not be afraid to have a strong say on all pressing issues of our times. We should have the strength and determination to oppose any lack of global solidarity or violation against human rights. We should fight against trends in consumerism that lead to the irreversible destruction of the environment.

We need to find solutions that will increase global access to clean water, provide security of energy supplies and reduce educational exclusion of large societal groups and the social consequences of globalisation. We need to identify and correct the inefficiencies of our financial markets as well as many other manifestations of human weaknesses or ill will.

In order to face the above challenges, we have to maximise human potential and should rely on our abilities to follow the process of rational evolution. We must construct a society that can successfully adapt to changing and often unpredictable situations. We need strategies that encourage human creativity and effectively protect the intellectual property rights of authors, artists and inventors. At the same time, we should encourage universal access to information, support creation, provide systems for the accumulation and distribution of knowledge as well as increase societal participation in every aspect of public life in order to fight off any form of social exclusion. In the light of the above, I believe we are facing a fascinating and, in a way, very decisive moment in our history. We have every right to remain optimistic – even if we recognise that a positive result will require a convincing vision and will involve enormous determination and hard work. Perhaps we should adopt the following phrase as a guideline, summarising our experience from numerous foresight studies: the future cannot be predicted, it must be invented. Let us start inventing it!

Peter Matjašič

Perceptions Matter: Europe Is What You Make of It

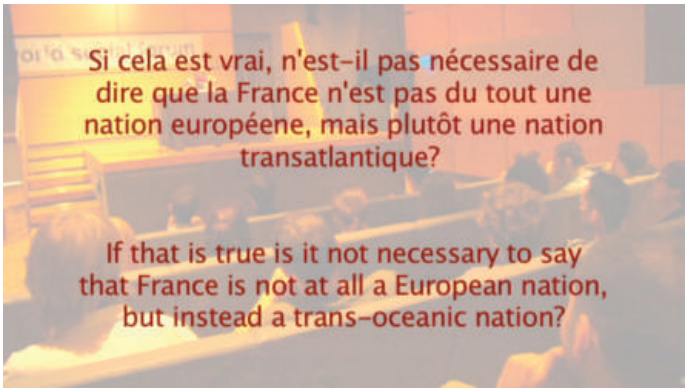
When talking about Europe, it is imperative first to define what we mean by it, since it means a variety of different things to different people, and this as a result of their geographical location, their linguistic and historical background, their personal experiences and their values and beliefs. As someone who was born in a country that no longer exists, Yugoslavia, I have experienced profound changes in the narratives to which I was exposed. The narrative that left the biggest imprint was that of

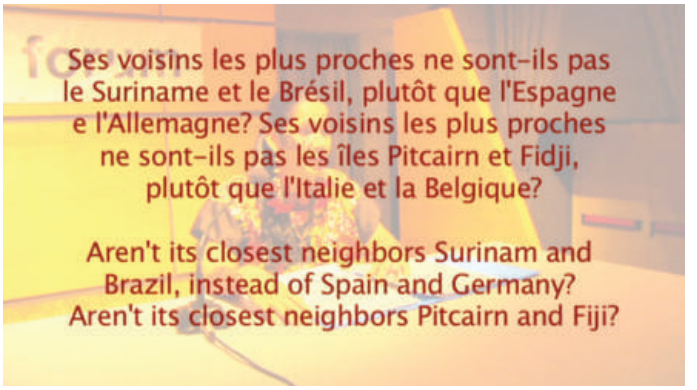
a united Europe in which all Europeans live together in peace and prosperity based on mutual respect and solidarity. But this very notion was problematic from the perspective of a country yet to be formed and recognised, Slovenia, and further complicated by the resistance some European leaders showed when it came to allowing a nation to decide whether or not it wanted to use its legitimate right to self-determination to willingly give up parts of that newly gained sovereignty for a greater, common cause. In Yugoslavia in the 1980s, and in Slovenia in the 1990s, we spoke of Europe as being somewhere else, as a place we did not belong to. This lack of a sense of belonging was linked to the enlargement process of the European Union, and to the fact that the EU claimed a monopoly on the task of defining Europe. The EU of today is not Europe, but it has the potential to become Europe. I have peers from the former Yugoslavia who now live in different countries, some of which are, or are on the verge of becoming, EU Member States, while others are either in the process or still far away from membership. And yet, my peers are all equally European, regardless of what their passports say. They are part of a very important history, which tells the story of our common continent, and they should be treated as such. By artificially creating new borders and distinctions between peoples we are failing to realise the dream of a united Europe. We risk reverting back to nationalistic sentiment, which would undermine more than 60 years of slow but steady progress.

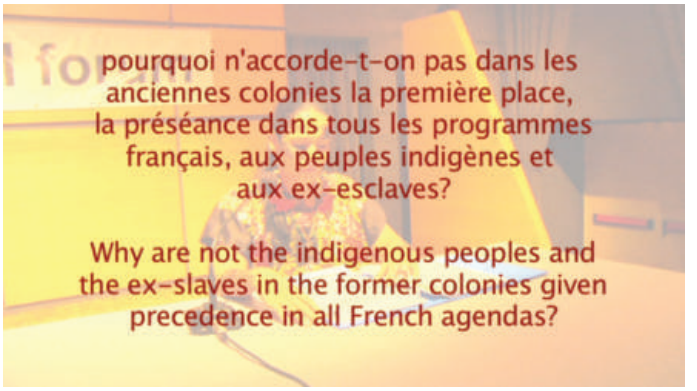
In what concerns the currently prevalent European narrative, we need to realise that it no longer has an impact on our youth – at least not on the youth that was born in western Europe in the 1980s or on the 'Y' generation, which did not suffer from war and never experienced any challenging moments of great division among European nations. This youth has only enjoyed peace and prosperity – until today, that is. The New Narrative of Europe needs to be based on respect: respect for the rule of law, for human rights and for each other. We need to start showing that the existing motto, 'United in diversity', can only hold true if we really live by it. We need to invest

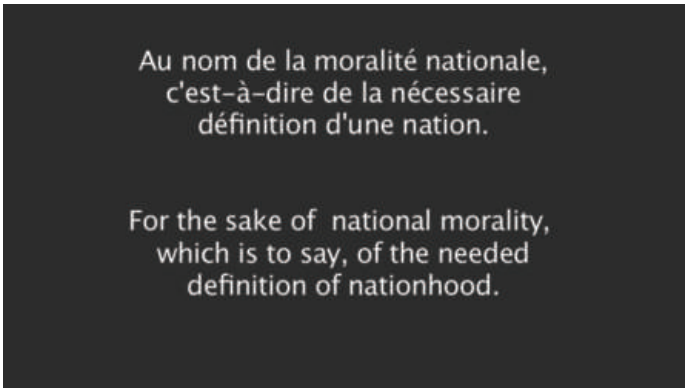
in it by showing commitment to our fundamental values, to living up to our promises and to putting our egoistic partial interests to the side in favour of commonly shared interests. Europe needs to become a synonym for participatory democracy. Its citizens should be heard and respected, but also empowered to fully take part in society. Citizens, especially young people, want to ensure that Europe will take them seriously, that Europe will not decide anything that directly concerns them without consulting them and that it will invest its resources in their well-being.

Especially in times of crisis, European leaders and national politicians should work together towards long-term goals and not be blinded by their election prospects. Culture, politics, language, history and perception: all of this matters and is intertwined. There is no need for a grand new idea: there is need to live up to the promises that have already been made.


Si cela est vrai, n'est-il pas nécessaire de dire que la France n'est pas du tout une nation européene, mais plutôt une nation transatlantique?
If that is true is it not necessary to say that France is not at all a European nation, but instead a trans-oceanic nation?

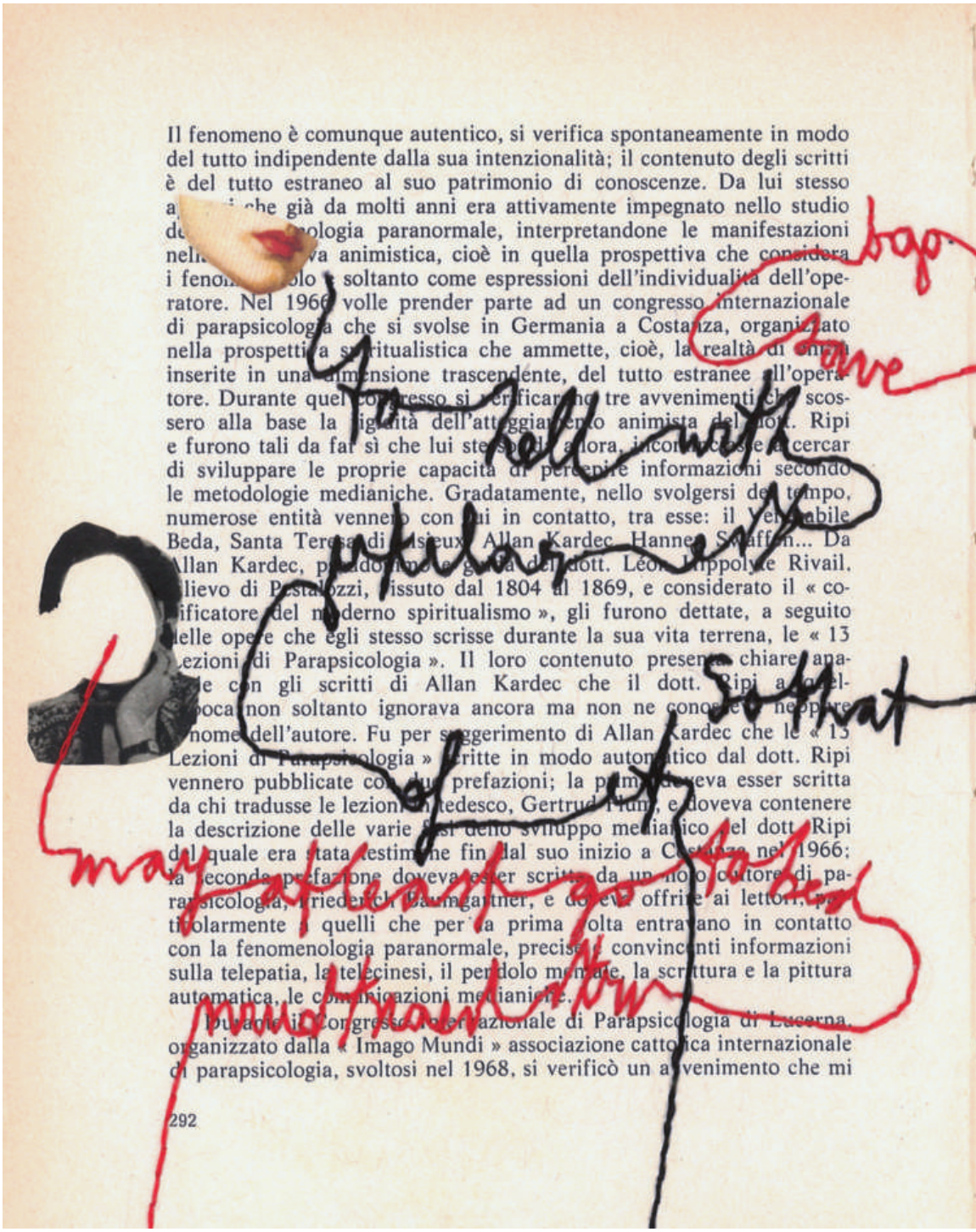

Ses voisins les plus proches ne sont-ils pas le Suriname et le Brésil, plutôt que l'Espagne e l'Allemagne? Ses voisins les plus proches ne sont-ils pas les îles Pitcairn et Fidji, plutôt que l'Italie et la Belgique?
Aren't its closest neighbors Surinam and Brazil, instead of Spain and Germany? Aren't its closest neighbors Pitcairn and Fiji?


pourquoi n'accorde-t-on pas dans les anciennes colonies la première place, la préséance dans tous les programmes français, aux peuples indigènes et aux ex-esclaves?
Why are not the indigenous peoples and the ex-slaves in the former colonies given precedence in all French agendas?


Au nom de la moralité nationale, c'est-à-dire de la nécessaire définition d'une nation.
For the sake of national morality, which is to say, of the needed definition of nationhood.

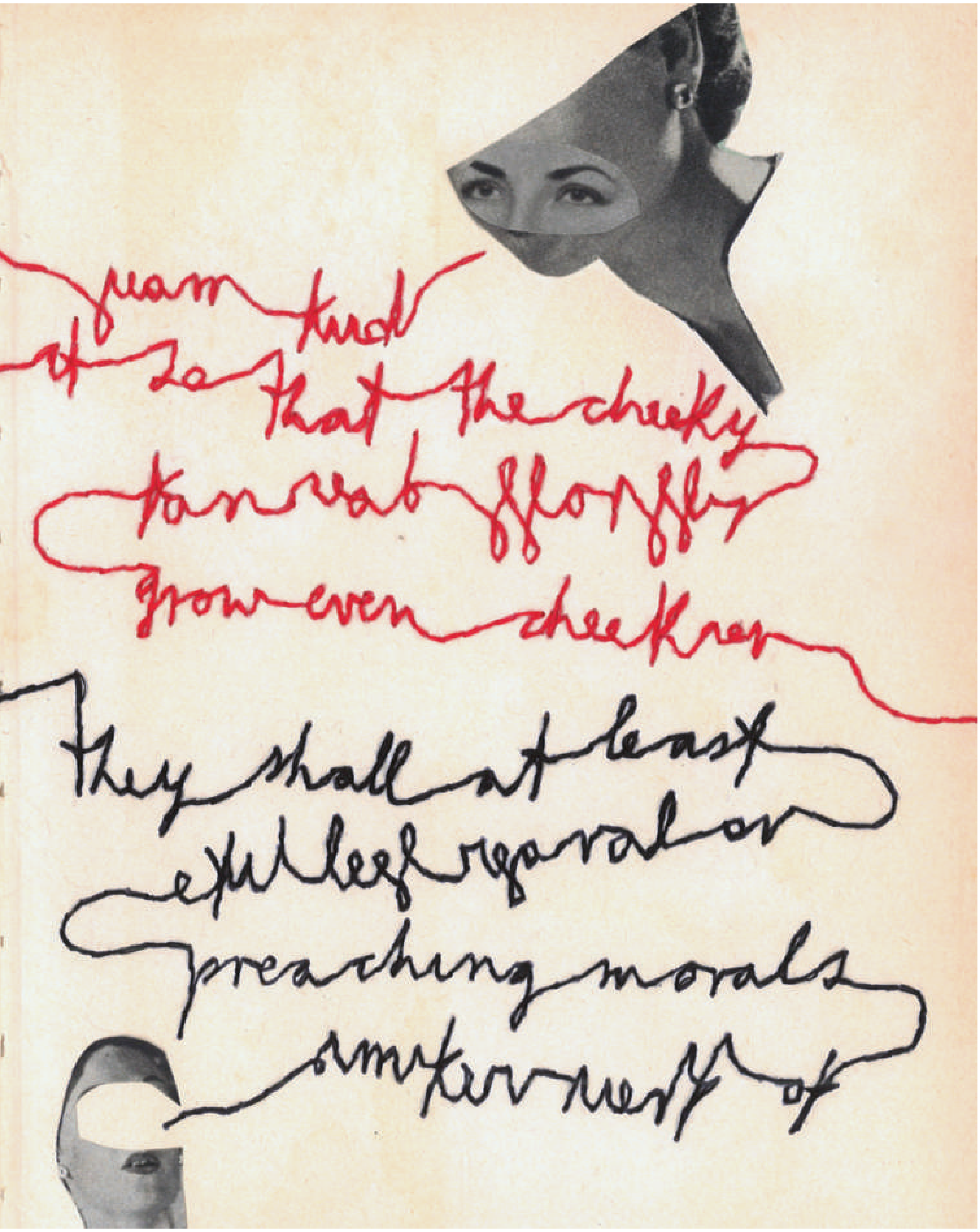
Maria Thereza Alves
Iracema (de Questembert)

2009, duration: 27 min, DV transferred to DVD.
Courtesy of the artist



Chiara Fumai
God Save It

Collage and embroidery on
Konstantin Raudive's Breakthrough
31 × 21 cm.
Courtesy of the artist
and A Palazzo Gallery


that the cheeky
grow even
they shall at least
preaching morals
of

New Narrative for Europe: Third General Assembly

BERLI

28.02/
01.03.2014

Third General Assembly on Forms of Imagination and Thinking for Europe, held at Studio Olafur Eliasson and at Academy of the Arts, Berlin, on


DRITTEN VERSAMMLUNG


Ein neues
Leitmotiv
Europa


Ein neues Leitmotiv Europa
Nico and the Navigators


Ein neues Leitmotiv Europa

Angela Merkel

Translation of the speech delivered by the Federal Chancellor of Germany at the Academy of the Arts, Berlin, on 1 March 2014

President of the Commission, my dear José Manuel, Mr Staeck, Ms Hertling, Mr Dujardin, members of the committee, members of parliament, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,

This morning we received fascinating musical and visual impressions from the world of art in this wonderful setting. Thank you for showing us the appeal of European culture. Thank you for writing a Declaration on Europe's state of mind. It's difficult to translate certain things into German, but 'state of mind' means something like Geistes- und Gemütsverfassung – in this case, the outlook and disposition of the European Union. Gemüt – which roughly translates as 'disposition' – is a very interesting word. And it does not only bring Heinrich Heine to mind, as it can also mean something more cheerful. In contrast to the Declaration and the many forms of artistic expression that we enjoyed today, I am now going to have to rely on what politicians have best at their disposal, namely, simple words. So let's talk about Europe. The three original motives for European unification – the promise of peace, the promise of freedom and the promise of prosperity – remain as relevant as ever today. Many people say that the peace mission has been accomplished. In the post-war period, peace was an obvious motive for European integration. However, we also know that the last war on our continent took place less than a generation ago – indeed, in the western Balkans, we are still trying to ensure lasting peace. We have to continue to stand up resolutely against extremism and inhumanity, which unfortunately are still present in today's Europe. Hatred, violence, terrorism and hostility towards minorities are also still the reality in Germany, and not only in Germany.

I see the Nobel Peace Prize, which was awarded to us as the European Union in 2012, not only as a tribute to the peace achieved through European unifi-

cation since the signing of the Rome Treaties, but also primarily as an undertaking by all of us to continue safeguarding peace within Europe and to help establish peace where it does not exist in other places. This means that we Europeans, including today's generation, are repeatedly called upon not to forget the lessons of history, but rather to put them into practice and live accordingly.

The year 2014 is a very symbolic year. The 100th, 75th, 65th, 25th and 10th anniversaries feature very prominently in Germany. As party chairperson, I often notice this. I am writing quite a few letters to people who are celebrating their 100th birthday this year. When I write these letters, I ask myself about the time in which these people were born. Their date of birth occurred during the year the First World War broke out. When they were 25 years old, 75 years ago, the Second World War began. Fortuitous circumstances led to the foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany 65 years ago and to the fall of the Berlin Wall 25 years ago. The latter meant that Germany could finally be reunited – and enabled central and eastern European states to accede to the European Union 10 years ago. Since then, we have become somewhat more complicated in the European Union, but certainly also more diverse. It is now completely natural that the central and eastern European states are members. However, when we see who is guiding us through the programme today, we also realise that we still have some work ahead of us. For peace in the western Balkans – and this must be said – can only be ensured via the promise of European Union membership. My years of experience tell me that anything else will backfire.

On a personal level, the number 25 in particular means something very special to me. When I was a young scientist, I lived just 200 metres from here. I walked towards the Wall almost every evening and never thought that I would be able to walk freely through the Brandenburg Gate one day. I expected that I might be able to get a West German passport and travel to America once I was of retirement age. At the time, women in East Germany were entitled to a pension at 60 – so I would have been able to travel soon. However, I am very happy that things turned out differently.

When we recall the moments

of transformation from dramatic suffering to genuine happiness in European history, then of course our thoughts these days are also with the people in Kyiv and elsewhere in Ukraine who want to experience what we were lucky enough to experience. This is why we must support them fully in their desire and call for freedom and democracy. We must now do everything to uphold the territorial integrity. Along with many other people, I am trying to do so by speaking regularly on the telephone to the Russian president and to those responsible in Ukraine. We are concerned about what is unfolding in Crimea. This is why we must do everything we can so that what history actually teaches us, namely that conflicts can and should be resolved by peaceful and diplomatic means, will also be possible in Ukraine without us having to deviate from our fundamental principles.

Again and again, we see that freedom is feasible, but that it certainly cannot be taken for granted. Again and again, it has to be defended. Freedom is the foundation of the united Europe. And tolerance may be the characteristic that makes freedom and living in a diverse society possible in the first place. I am convinced that tolerance is something like the soul of Europe, and I said so before when I gave a speech to the European Parliament during Germany's Presidency of the EU. Particularly now during the test of our mettle that we have been experiencing in recent years – what with the national debt crisis, the attacks on the euro and Europe's aim of emerging stronger from the crisis than it was at the start of it – it is so important that we do not forget this soul of Europe, but rather keep it constantly in mind.

Of course we need growth and prosperity. There is no doubt about that, and we saw a nice cartoon on this topic earlier on. But only when our European economic and social model enjoys long-term economic success will we find other people in the world who will agree that this model works. The European economic and social model is based on the dignity of each and every individual. It is based on the fact that people are willing to take on responsibility. Freedom does not mean freedom from something. Some people these days understand the term in a way that trivialises it. They interpret it to mean that they can do as they

please. However, freedom is always linked to a responsibility to do one's part in society. We humans are ideally suited to this task – at least that is my profound belief.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is why the euro, which has been such a concern to us and which we will continue to work hard on, is also far more than simply a currency. The founding fathers and mothers of European unification have often pointed out that people who have a single currency will never go to war against each other again. This is why the single currency is also a symbol of the successful peaceful and democratic unification of Europe. And this is why overcoming the crisis is also really a cultural task, and not merely a political and financial undertaking.

The British historian and writer Timothy Garton Ash gave a speech here in Berlin in 2007 when we celebrated the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Rome Treaties during Germany's Presidency of the EU. In his speech, he explored which strands could be used to weave a new story for Europe. He saw these strands as peace, freedom, prosperity, law, diversity and solidarity. According to Timothy Garton Ash, the European story involves spelling out the shortcomings and inconsistency of these strands. He also saw this as a part of Europe's state of mind. Contradictions generate creativity and can often bring about development. Timothy Garton Ash concluded his speech by saying that 'Europeans today are not called upon to die for Europe. Most of us are not even called upon to live for Europe. All that is required is that we should let Europe live.' I think he put this very well. Letting Europe live and putting Europe into practice as a matter of course every day – I believe this describes the experience of most citizens of the European Union.

The danger is that freedom in Europe will be perceived as something so much to be taken for granted that people will no longer realise how different things could be. Perhaps we should suspend the Schengen agreement every now and then, and make people show their ID cards everywhere as a reminder of what life could be like. When we consider how many students these days have attended a university in another European country with the help of the Erasmus programme, then we realise how normal it is for future academics to study, have

friends and enjoy themselves in other parts of Europe, as well as to be aware of the concerns in other places. I think this experience of Europe is wonderful. It's something my generation didn't have. That is why I find it very important that we have decided to expand the Erasmus programme and open it up not only to people studying at a university, but also to those doing vocational training, so that they too can obtain international experience.

How many people take the opportunity to travel to another European city by plane, train or ferry at the weekend to go to an opera, visit a museum or attend a family gathering? How many people learn a new language or perhaps even start a family in another European city? Day after day, people use the opportunities Europe provides with great enthusiasm. They should also share this enthusiasm with others. Each year, there is an EU project day when I visit a school and talk to pupils about their image of Europe, their experiences with Europe, the partnerships they are able to participate in and the school exchange programmes at their school. There is much to criticise about social networks, but they certainly open up completely new possibilities for such partnerships. And in citizens forums, I often hear that many people are well aware of the practical benefits provided by the European Union as regards travel, price comparisons and being able to pay in the same currency.

But sometimes I ask myself – and I know that we're not really allowed to ask a question like this at today's event – if people really want a new and indeed a grand narrative. Perhaps they simply need the space and opportunity to talk about their experiences with Europe? The idea of the New Narrative for Europe project was to allow people to talk about Europe in the citizens' forums they had set up and in the places where these forums met. When they say that they argued about what they regard as Europe, then this simply means they are talking about their own experiences. This is why I do not see these two things as mutually exclusive. On the contrary, it is worth listening more closely to what people say, to what they have to tell each other.

During the process of German reunification, East Germans often complained that West Germans were not willing to

listen to them when they talked about their lives. This experience can also apply to the way we interact with one another in Europe. Hence, it is all the more important to be able to talk about Europe. Your project has made a valuable contribution to this. I can only encourage you not to let this process fade away, but rather to continue it. We often get stuck in the extremely comfortable rooms that Brussels has to offer – in this context, the word 'cosy' comes to mind. I'm not talking about the restaurants, which I would like to go to one day, but rather about the perfectly equipped meeting rooms where you can have everything interpreted into a large number of languages. Of course, this is important so that people can understand each other. When I'm in these meeting rooms, I frequently realise that while we have certainly achieved great things, European life fortunately means far more than this.

I would therefore like to thank you, my dear José Manuel, and the Members of the European Parliament for this initiative. Your work encourages me to continue speaking about what Europe has become for me. We in Germany know that without Europe, we would never be able to experience the joy of reunification. This is why we in Germany will endeavour – even if not everyone notices this every day – to be good Europeans.

Many thanks.

Sneška Quaedvlieg-Mihailović

Towards Europe's New Renaissance

A personal narrative of one New Narrative for Europe process

It all started in February 2013, when a group of European personalities active in the wider field of culture was invited by President Barroso to assist him with stimulating a wide public debate on the role of culture in EU policy in the framework of the soon to be launched New Narrative for Europe initiative. We had very different backgrounds and life experiences, but we had one thing in common: we were all

very active protagonists of and strong believers in the Europe of culture. Our culture committee came to be composed of a formidable mix of strong personalities: a Danish journalist; a Belgian artistic director of a polyvalent cultural institution; a Slovenian leader of the young generation of Europeans; a Polish academician; a Portuguese ballet dancer and director of a ballet company; a contemporary Italian artist; a Hungarian author; a German spokeswoman for the world of festivals; a Danish/Icelandic architect and artist; a Czech economist; two artistic directors, one Greek the other Australian, of eminent festivals in Europe; a French cartoonist; a Dutch architect; and a Serbian lawyer and activist for cultural heritage. We all felt inspired by this initiative of the European Parliament and by President Barroso's personal commitment to it. And we felt united around the project's vital mission: to reawaken a desire for Europe among its citizens and to re-engage them in the debate on its future.

The public launch took place on 23 April 2013 at at the Centre for Fine Arts, Brussels, in the concert hall designed by Baron Horta in 1928. This staging was very symbolic: with all of us seated on the main stage, with President Barroso, Vice-President Reding and Commissioner Vassiliou, the message was clear: those of us engaged in cultural fields are equally important protagonists in the European integration process. For the EU is and always has been more than a free market or a customs union. This staging was indeed a recognition of the fact that Europe has a heart and soul; that the EU is grounded, not only in the single currency or the common agricultural policy (CAP), but on a shared `state of mind'! We were invited to speak up, to get engaged and not leave the stage entirely to politicians, technocrats and bureaucrats. Since Europe is us, all of us. And we have a shared responsibility to tend to the positive results already achieved and to nurture future ones.

We had thus embarked on a fascinating journey of challenging exchanges of ideas and experiences which brought us to different parts of Europe and allowed us to interact with a large audience composed of artists, scientists and other cultural actors, and also to engage key political leaders in this process. In parallel, a

series of European networks and platforms embraced the process and fed it with many different but complementary narratives and perspectives: the European Festivals Association, A Soul for Europe, the European Youth Forum, Le Forum d' Avignon and my own organisation, Europa Nostra, which has promoted the New Narrative for Europe to a very large audience on several occasions, and will continue to do so.

A number of events have been organised as part of this initiative, and I will never forget a debate hosted by Commissioner Vassiliou, to which I had been invited to contribute as member of the culture committee. On this occasion, Europa Nostra organised a moving visit to the buffer zone in the historic city of Nicosia. While I was walking, in disbelief, through this ghost strip of the city, home to a range of historic buildings that used to form part of the bustling heart of Nicosia, I felt as if I were on the set for a performance of Sleeping Beauty. Only a new narrative for Europe and a renewed engagement of the EU could halt this nightmare and give new hope and life to this part of Nicosia. Europe today needs positive shocks and positive symbols: the reunification of the walled city of Nicosia, with a creative interaction between all communities living in this city, would be one of those much needed and very tangible implementations of the New Narrative for Europe initiative.

Following these numerous encounters and exchanges, it was at the Academy of the Arts in Berlin (one of the oldest cultural institutes in Europe, founded in 1696, with striking views on the Brandenburg Gate), that we presented the Declaration of the New Narrative for Europe to an attentive audience which included Chancellor Merkel and President Barroso. The Declaration bears the symbolic title The Mind and Body of Europe, and encapsulates the many positive and constructive messages formulated along our journey. We imagined it as a kind of manifesto; a sort of wake-up call to all European citizens, and especially to those working in the wider field of culture (arts, heritage, science) and education; an invitation for them to get engaged in formulating and implementing a New Narrative for Europe; a point of departure rather than the end of our journey …

Each participant in this complex, year-long process of intense interaction had his or her own personal narrative of and for Europe, based on his or her personal life story, beliefs, memory, sensitivity and multilayered identity. Why didn't we limit ourselves simply to compiling all those personal narratives and to sharing them with fellow European citizens? There is no doubt that this would have been safer and much easier. But it would also have been a missed opportunity. Therefore, upon the decisive instigation of President Barroso, we took the responsibility to produce a very brief document that would mirror those many personal narratives while giving them a certain cohesion and sense of direction. A document which would serve as an inspiration, as a reference point and above all as an open invitation to all women and men who live in Europe and who care about Europe, to take an active part in shaping the future of Europe. The Declaration presented in Berlin was necessarily the result of a compromise, and a compromise is never entered into lightly – it took hard work. All of us would have liked to say so much more; there were many themes, positions, concepts and, yes, words, that we all thought were important and relevant. But we hadn't set ourselves the task of producing a book, but a Declaration, and the final text is one that each of us was able to find herself or himself in.

The Mind and the Body of Europe: the title reflects the essence of this three-part document. The opening part traces a path for the New Narrative for Europe, a narrative not based on the economical or financial figures and statistics that had been so predominant in the European narrative. It calls for a vital return to Europe's 'fundamentals' – to its corpus of cultural values, based on ethics, aesthetics and sustainability, which form the true basis and inspiration for the integration process. The second part highlights the historical dimension of this process, which it describes as both revolutionary and evolutionary. It recalls that the New Narrative for Europe cannot start from scratch, but has to build upon the various aspects of Europe's raison d'être, which has been in the making in the course of many centuries and crystallised in the last 100 years. Finally, the closing part stresses the need

for a strong political 'embodiment' and leadership of Europe as a state of mind and of the EU as the greatest achievement in our collective history. This final part insists that a new renaissance of Europe is possible, provided that all of us 'occupy' the European public space with the aim to achieve the necessary 'realignment of emphasis' that leads to the acknowledgment that 'culture is a major source of nourishment and supply for Europe as a social and political body'.

Whatever its imperfections, I stand firmly behind our Declaration and wish that our text will stimulate further creative input to our fundamental debate. But we should not miss the forest for the trees. What is really important, much more than the text itself, is the process that it stands for, the process started thanks to the opportunity given to us by the Parliament and the Commission. This process must continue since it is vital to the future of Europe. Today, Europe and the world are confronted with even stronger threats than at the beginning of this process. We are no longer speaking only of the unprecedented economic crisis: we are facing wars, conflicts, all sorts of extremism, threats of widespread epidemics, natural disasters, etc. So many difficult challenges, for which we have formidable resources, not only natural but above all cultural. Only by deploying fully those cultural resources, and by channelling them constructively, shall we be able to turn the course of events and contribute what we can to Europe's new renaissance. Far from being a fortress, Europe, as pointed out in our Declaration, is a mental and geographic space animated by a spirit of cosmopolitism. This spirit can and should nurture a strong sense of pride in our cultural heritage, and a deep sense of humility at the thought – and costs – of its achievements. In this pride and humility is the source of inspiration and energy for our creativity today and our success tomorrow.

ITAЯ

The Mind and Body of Europe

DECГ

As artists, intellectuals and scientists, and first and foremost as citizens, it is our responsibility to join the debate on the future of Europe, especially now, when so much is at stake. Confidence in Europe needs to be regained.
In light of current global trends, the values of human dignity and democracy must be reaffirmed. Populist and nationalist narratives must not prevail.
__The Mind and Body of Europe is our response to the call from the European Parliament and the President of the European Commission to draft a new narrative for all citizens of Europe. This document is not a point of arrival. Rather, it is a catalyst that we hope will trigger more contributions to the debate.

We believe that for there to be a true and well-functioning political body in Europe, an understanding of what Europe as a state of mind stands for is vital. We also know that a narrative that ties Europe's distant and recent past to the present and provides a vision for the future is equally essential.
__Europe is a state of mind, formed and fostered by its spiritual, philosophical, artistic and scientific inheritance, and driven by the lessons of history. It must also now become a genuine and effective political body with the ability and sensitivity to rise to all the challenges and difficulties European citizens are facing today and will face tomorrow. From youth unemployment to climate change, from immigration to data security, the list is long, and the urgency even greater.
__Europe is a state of mind that goes beyond a grouping of nation states, an internal market and the geographical contours of a continent. Europe is a moral and political responsibility, which must be carried out, not only by institutions and politicians, but by each and every European. Europe is asource of inspiration from the past, emancipation in the present and an aspiration towards a sustainable future. Europe is an identity, an idea, an ideal.
__Europe is a state of mind shared by citizens across the continent. The students, researchers, scholars, artists, professionals and politicians who live, study, work, think and travel across national borders do so in order to deepen and expand their knowledge, unleash their creativity and widen their opportunities. They retrace and revive the routes of the men and women who, since Antiquity, and increasingly during the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, developed for Europe a shared grammar of music and art, a common body of science and philosophy, an astonishingly rich literature and thriving trade networks.
__Europe is a state of mind shared by the men and women who, with the force of their beliefs, both religious and secular, always provided light in the darkest hours of European history and generated new communities of spirit and labour. Over the centuries, individuals have joined together to take part in civic, political and social movements that have defended the rights of the powerless, the marginal, the outcast and of those defining themselves as different.
__Europe is a state of mind rooted in its shared values of peace, freedom, democracy and rule of law. Today, vigilance

is required to continuously reaffirm and build upon those fundamental values and principles that, from the outset, have been deeply embedded in the raison d'être of Europe. They need to be reactivated and made relevant for the European citizens of today and tomorrow and protected from internal and external pressures.

__Europe is a state of mind that exists also beyond its borders. Multitudes of people are attracted to Europe by its common values and principles. They are encouraged by Europe's achievements and solidarity. At the same time, Europe should never forget that its prosperity in modern times is often tied to colonial conquest and was, therefore, attained at the cost of those from other continents.

EUROPE'S EVOLVING NARRATIVE

Europe's history has been marked by splendours and miseries. Its Jewish, Greco-Roman and Christian foundations were always confronted with the beliefs of other religions and systems of government. Europe's state of mind matured and found a balance only in the modern era and after the terrible disasters of the 20th century led to the idea of unity in diversity. In the century spanning from 1914 to 2014, Europe experienced three fundamental trials and transformations.

1. AN END TO WAR

The European integration project was born, like a phoenix, out of the ashes of two world wars. A hundred years ago, Europe lost its soul on battlefields and in trenches. Later, it damned itself with its concentration camps and with the totalitarian systems associated with extreme nationalism, anti-Semitism, the abolition of democracy and rule of law, the sacrifice of individual freedom and the suppression of civil society.

Since World War II, however, the ideal of a Europe united by the principle of mutual respect and the values of freedom and democracy has brought redemption. Europe's soul has been restored. Today, the European integration process stands against all forms of war.

2. THE FALL OF THE IRON CURTAIN

The year 1989 saw a new era for Europe, marked by the mobilisation of energy, passion and resistance against communist regimes and the obtuse ideology they developed over years across central and eastern Europe. In the years that followed, the value of democracy was reinstated and the free market became a reality across Europe. The establishment of the free circulation of people, goods, services and ideas was an extraordinary victory over mindsets that sought to impose a single vision on reality and raise barriers. The transformation from a polarised Europe to a multipolar Europe led to a new era of interconnectedness and interaction amongst people and countries. It was the European Union that provided the visionary framework and the sense of purpose that was necessary to respond to the tremendous challenge of reunifying Europe. Europe began to beat as one; its many arteries found a heart.

3. THE BURST OF THE BUBBLE

The year 2008 marked the beginning of the economic crisis, which led to the loss of millions of jobs and the rise of unemployment to levels unimaginable in European countries.

The dominant narrative of the time, with its belief in the self-regulatory capacity of markets and its celebration of profit-seeking speculation, collided dramatically with reality. The systems of economic and financial control had to take a dramatic turn and were suddenly forced to assume responsibility. The European Union took action to accelerate this shift towards stronger political governance of the financial systems. This now needs to be complemented by stronger insistence on civil governance informed by the joint paradigms of participatory democracy and sustainability, which point to a new horizon of hope, solidarity and responsibility for all Europeans. At a time when culture is perceived as optional rather than essential, it has become difficult to tell each other the simplest of stories, let alone articulate compelling narratives about the values that underpin our society. And yet the moment for compelling narratives rather than simple number crunching is now.

THE RENAISSANCE MEETS COSMOPOLITANISM

Europe needs a societal paradigm shift–in fact, nothing short of a `new Renaissance'.The term invokes the memory of the revolutions in thought that were sparked in the 15th and 16th centuries. This was a time when civil society and the arts and sciences shook the established order and laid the groundwork for the current age of the knowledge society. Europe has the resources to be at the forefront of this age.
It also needs to be positioned as the world champion of sustainable living and to be a driving and inspirational force both in setting and implementing a global agenda for sustainable development.

This must be achieved by caring not only for biodiversity but also for cultural diversity and pluralism. Without disregarding the significance of economic and financial legislation, an urgent realignment of emphasis within the European political body is needed and Europe must acknowledge that culture is a major source of nourishment and supply for its social and political body.
__Europe as a political body needs the sciences–natural, technical and social–to find innovative responses to the intensity and extent of energy use; to encourage the use of renewable energy; and to develop or rediscover medicines, therapies and ways of life that will improve humanity's well-being. Technology needs to become an empowering extension of creativity and society.
__Europe as a political body needs the arts to generate new and radical forms of imagination that will educate its sensitivity. Modern art was originally a European phenomenon, one that drew great inspiration from non-European cultures. It linked artistic movements across the continent that shared an overall affinity for differences and a desire for emancipation.
__Europe as a political body

needs to recognise the value of cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible. Looking back, Europe's heritage was forged not only across generations, but also across communities and territories. Cultural heritage reveals what it has meant to be a European throughout time. It is a powerful instrument that provides a sense of belonging amongst and between European citizens.

To trigger this potential, Europe as a political body needs to develop a new cosmopolitanism for its citizens, one that includes dynamic and creative urban environments and healthy competition between cities. European cities should become more than urban centres; they should strive to become capitals of culture that increase the quality of life of all Europeans. Why not begin to imagine Europe as one great mega-city interconnected by means of transportation and communication?

__Europe as a political body must fully deploy its 'soft power' not only across the continent, but also beyond its borders to make it a respectful and respected international partner, promoting a new global model of society based on ethical, aesthetic and sustainable values.

For this new political body to take shape, Europe needs a strong collective commitment: Europe needs brave, imaginative and enlightened political leaders who speak and understand the language of Europe as a political body, animated and energised by culture.

Europe needs artists and scientists, educators and journalists, historians and sociologists, and entrepreneurs and civil servants who are prepared to move beyond the comfort of their autonomy to take on new responsibilities towards Europe as a political body.

Finally, Europe needs citizens to raise their voices and to take part in the European public space of debate by sharing their stories and concerns. These narratives will tell the story of what it means to be a European in the 21st century. As artists, intellectuals and scientists, it is our mission to offer a narrative from our perspective that we are confident will stimulate the debate on the future of Europe. Renaissance and cosmopolitanism are two cultural ideals we look to and consider a vital part of the Europe of today and tomorrow.

Members of the Cultural Committee for New Narrative for Europe pilot project:

- Kathrin DEVENTER
- Paul DUJARDIN (chair)
- Olafur ELIASSON
- Rose FENTON
- Cristina IGLESIAS
- Michal KLEIBER
- György KONRÁD
- Rem KOOLHAAS (associate member)
- Yorgos LOUKOS
- Peter MATJAŠIČ
- Jonathan MILLS
- Michelangelo PISTOLETTO
- PLANTU (associate member)
- Sneška QUAEDVLIEG-MIHAILOVIĆ
- Tomáš SEDLÁČEK
- Luísa TAVEIRA

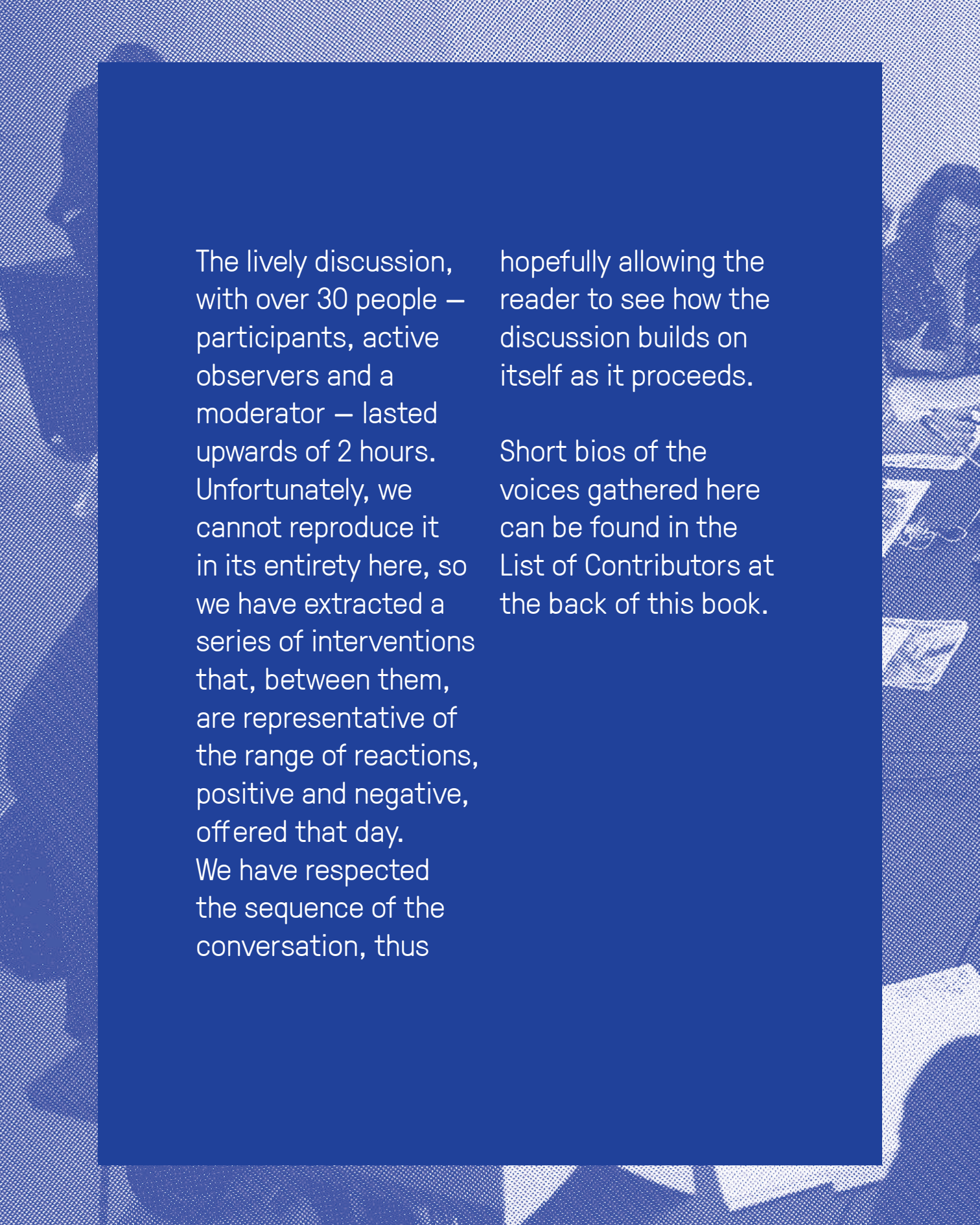
BAT D

Round Table:
Brussels

ИЦОЯ

In an effort to gather some responses and perspectives on the Declaration, New Narrative for Europe organised a round table discussion at the Centre for Fine Arts, Brussels, on

21.05.2014



The lively discussion, with over 30 people — participants, active observers and a moderator — lasted upwards of 2 hours. Unfortunately, we cannot reproduce it in its entirety here, so we have extracted a series of interventions that, between them, are representative of the range of reactions, positive and negative, offered that day. We have respected the sequence of the conversation, thus hopefully allowing the reader to see how the discussion builds on itself as it proceeds.

Short bios of the voices gathered here can be found in the List of Contributors at the back of this book.

Nicola Setari

As we move towards this week's European elections there is more and more talk about Euro-scepticism and its dangers. What if instead we decided to subvert the negative understanding of scepticism and recover the critical legacy the word and philosophy vehicle starting from their Greek origin? The New Narrative for Europe is not about making propaganda for the European Union, it is a process in which there is a large space for critical and sceptical voices that take on a constructive attitude. What if perhaps we need more Euro-scepticism as opposed to the Euro-patriotism some important thinkers are calling for today? The real danger lies in anti-European discourses, but we cannot ignore the discontent of European citizens.

It is against this background that we gather here today, and we look forward to hearing your constructive criticisms of the Declaration and to discussing, thereby, concrete ideas for how this project can move forward.

Luc Tuymans

I have been reading the Declaration and, well, we were just discussing the Internet, which is something very real, and my first sense is that there is not a great deal of reality in this document, only big ideas. In other words, we need something that is far more specific, otherwise it remains something that we all already know.

I thought the idea, from the beginning, was that we were asked to deliver, next to the narrative, a sort of a visual response. That is very important, and it is missing, of course. The thing is, when President Barroso asked for this, he expected you to deliver it: but it can't be delivered that fast, it has to be developed. But we need to develop something that is very real, very precise; what we develop has to be grounded on things, not on big ideas like these, which we all know. The dangers of populism have already been evoked, and in fighting it you have to be quite specific about things: you have to call them by their names. And I think it is only through that that you can actually go back to a basic form of understanding and communication, and

that is really important at this moment. That is what's at stake. It's about staying alive when it comes to culture. The Declaration traces the evolution, it traces what happened in Europe and inspired the EU, but we know all that. So that's not real information for me.

I don't feel any urgency in the way it is written, or on the content. In summary, I am a little bit disillusioned when I read this.

Luea Ritter

I agree with you in what you said about the need to be concrete. But before we can get that, we need to know if we actually understand where the disconnect with institutions comes from. We need to figure out how to connect again with each other and create something together. Right now, the sense is that the EU is a power over and we are a power under it, but there is no sense of a power 'with'.

Regarding the Declaration, the ideas are very nice, but I also have some questions. For example, is it really true that, today, the European integration process 'stands against all forms of war'. I don't see that. I see that the European Union, the member countries, are still very much involved in war. It is true that they may not be waging war, but they are selling weapons. There is, then, an indirect connection between the EU and the escalation of war situations outside of our so-called safe territory. And the way we deal with each other, as well as the way we deal with our resources, are a form of war. So writing that here doesn't strike me as really accurate.

The question for me is whether and how we can understand the pattern and dynamic of this disconnect: where does it come from? Can we build imaginary solutions for it? If so, can we move towards a scenario of creating with others, and not just for others. That's why I would love to see here, not just artists, scientists and people working in institutions, but also youngsters, or even children or elders who come from countries currently feeling the brunt of crisis, so that we could hear these voices here.

Pier Paolo Tamburelli

What I see, looking at the document a bit from the outside, and it may be a some-

what naive opinion, is that it looks and sounds very much like the European Union. It's very institutional. As if the one thing the European Union didn't want was conflict. It doesn't want to appear conflicted. And this fear is based on the idea that this unity would somehow go on because it was started in the 1960s. There was a project then, a sort of hidden project: we sent all these kids to study abroad, hoping that they would marry someone from another country, and slowly micro-events would develop into Europe.

The process, I think, was smart and right, and I am sure I am not the only one in this room experiencing the fruits of that every day in his private life. But I also think we have reached a moment in which these automatic processes are no longer functioning as they were designed to function. Basically, these automatic processes were based on an almost religious belief in the fact that the middle class would continue to expand and expand. And the middle class is shrinking and shrinking. And now I think the middle class kids who had that opportunity – I count myself among them – should take responsibility for this project and fight for it. That would introduce conflict, because at that point their vision might conflict with other possible visions for Europe.

I also know that there are people – in the rural parts of northern Italy or France, for example – for whom the thought of the European Union is only frightening. They believe that all they stand to gain from the EU is that their region will be inundated by cheap labour coming from elsewhere in the Union. And the European Union should be able to reach these people and say something, say something that is in fact conflictual, something that is sharp. I think the discussion we are having makes sense, provided we are willing to discuss these things without sweetening them too much, without saying: 'Don't worry, it will all end well.' Maybe it won't end well in every case. What is missing here, and what could perhaps be introduced, is a certain nastiness.

Francesco Cavalli

I think the value of the Declaration is that it could function as a sort of virus. It's important that the Declaration is not a manifesto put out by artists, like the Futurists,

for example, who share an ideology and vision. The Declaration is born from a request, addressed to a number of people who are perhaps not bound by common beliefs or positions, by President Barroso and the Commission, and it could be effective as a virus connecting the institution and the population. In that vein, we can work over the next few years on the language of the institution and on its image – Luc Tuymans immediately raised the problem of its perception by those outside it. We could work on a real project to remake the image of the EU, rebrand it, if you will.

Because it is horrible. It's not poetic, sexy or anything.

Luc Tuymans

Yes, and we have to confront the situation without being squeamish about it. More than scepticism, we are dealing with a backlash of time, with a missed opportunity. We have an opportunity now to create this narrative, and this opportunity has created these problems, these words, these visuals.

And they should be shown and made public, and not left locked up in administrations and inside debilitating plans and structures that go nowhere.

Sneška Quaedvlieg-Mihailović

I was also a member of the Cultural Committee, and I was deeply involved in the discussions with the many, many people who had a hand in drafting this text. But my point here isn't to defend the Declaration, but to contribute to this discussion. It was said earlier that it would be good to have people from crisis areas around the table, and I think I can say that I come from such an area: I come from the Balkans and, as you know, the area around Serbia has been in crisis – politically, economically in crisis and now, as you are all aware from reading the paper, the region is the site of a natural catastrophe.

I can say that the people I have spoken with in my part of Europe, and I am glad to have Greek friends sitting on either side of me, didn't think that the Declaration only expounds grand ideas that we all already know and that don't really need to be repeated. There are many people in Europe, particularly, perhaps, in its most prosperous parts, who have forgotten what the core values of the European integration process are.

There's been a lot of dis-

cussion about disconnectedness. That's a very good word. But here today it's been used to pinpoint a disconnection between the EU and its citizens. When we were sort of working on this document, however, we had a different sort of disconnection in mind: our guiding sense was that there is, in Europe and especially in its political leadership, a disconnect with the values that are at the core of the European narrative. The idea was to strike a greater balance, or to shift the emphasis a bit away from the tendency, very prevalent in Europe, to speak purely in economic terms, to weigh only material values and consumerism – with not so much as a word being said about the fundamental, existential values informing the entire European project. And it is a project for and about peace. Some of us have it, but some don't. Look at what's happening in Ukraine. If we don't have peace across Europe, then the fundamental values behind it are in danger.

Hence the need, in 2014, of recalling, of reminding people – especially the people who take it all for granted – of the historical path travelled by the European integration process, of recalling that Europe is at heart a peace narrative, a narrative about solidarity, mutual prosperity and, not least, about culture and a shared heritage. This isn't something that everybody knows.

How many politicians, after all, have you heard say that Europe 'is a state of mind'. Probably most politicians don't think about it that way, and instead see Europe as an internal market with a common currency. One goal of the Declaration was to try to operate a shift by getting political leaders, and citizens, to think about Europe in terms of the values that really identify Europe, not least to those outside our borders. Pier Paolo Tamburelli suggested that maybe what the document is missing is a bit of nastiness. The truth is that our political leaders introduce a lot of nastiness all the time; we're surrounded by nastiness in the discourse on Europe today.

I think all of us who are here don't want the European story to end, and in fact this whole process, I mean the New Narrative project, is reacting to the nastiness around us that is destroying all the achievements of the integration process. It is about communicating about the European integration

in positive terms, in terms that celebrate its achievements, and attack its failures and the causes of these failures. That nuanced approach is key to bridging the gap between politicians and citizens.

We should not forget that we have political leaders who are absolutely committed to keeping those gaps, for what they want is to tear us apart. I come from a cultural heritage organisation that works to bring us together, not divide us. And I am delighted that, just this morning, the Council of Ministers of the European Union adopted a historic text which argues that Europe's cultural heritage is a strategic resource for Europe, for a sustainable Europe. There are a number of important initiatives out there, and we have to pull them together and turn the tide.

Luc Tuymans

Yes, but why not formulate the Declaration with the energy you just showed? The values you mention, and the ones in the document, are great, no one will argue with that. And I suppose you are right that politicians, perhaps more than anyone, need to be reminded of them. All I want to say, though, is that the formulations can be made even more precise, even more energetic. And, why not, even a bit funny – all of this might help address the disconnection between Europeans institutions and the people.

Kersten Geers

I was happy to hear Pier Paolo bring up the Erasmus project earlier. For what is interesting about Erasmus is that it is super direct, super simple. And yet, its goals are not necessarily that clear. The whole project is slightly ambiguous, and that ambiguity is fundamental: if you can have a certain ambiguity in combination with the directness, then it's possible to make statements that earn broad agreement, and are not formulated as the Declaration text. My biggest problem with the text is that it tries to emulate the European Commission even in the way it is written. And I find that highly problematic.

If you want to make a statement about culture in Europe, it should be short, and it should include specific projects, it has to have an agenda ready to be implemented immediately. It can't be like this.

It has to be like Erasmus.

I mean, if you believe in putting culture at the centre of the European integration process, you have to be super direct, while accepting that directness contains its share of ambiguity. This combination is of course inherent to 'culture'. Culture and cultural production draw their its strength from the fact that they are understandable only in their own right. And if we don't accept that from culture and cultural production, if we try to define either in scientific ways, if we try to formulate their 'historical' possibilities for Europe, then I think we are missing the point and falling prey to a mistake, since European culture is the name we have for an accumulation of artefacts, concepts and ideas that were never quite understood when they were first introduced, and which we not try to historicise. That's a mistake, I think.

Stefano Boeri

In the 14th century, Florence wasn't enjoying a period of peace and economic growth. On the contrary: there was economic depression and a looming threat of civil war in Italy. And yet, it was at that moment that Florence became a major hub for cultural exchanges.

We should be aware of this historical precedent if we really want to use the notion of Renaissance seriously, and if we are to appreciate the way the Declaration is written. That precedent could help us understand how Europe today might be able to play, in relation to the world, the role that Florence played in relation to Europe in the 14th century.

It could also, and this is important for me, help us escape from the obsession with European identity – that insistence on what it means to be 'European' is for me one of the weak points of the Declaration. If you want to strengthen European identity, nothing is more useless than to focus on European identity! What appeals to me, conversely, about the New Narrative and about President Barroso's idea is that it seems to be a new version of the Republic of Ideas. Francesco Cavalli suggested that the Declaration could function as a sort of virus, and in a similar vein I would say that it can function as a catalyst, a platform of cultural exchanges across languages, disciplines,

practices, etc. I agree with Kersten Geers that we misunderstand our function if we see ourselves as a political commission; that is precisely what we are not, and why we are here. We are here to help establish a platform that could facilitate these sorts of exchanges.

Guido Gryseels

I agree with Luc Tuymans that the Declaration deals too much with generalities. But I'll try to be constructive by mentioning a couple of things that I think are missing, especially when we consider the text in light of the evolving European narrative. The text zeroes in on the effects on the two world wars and the Iron Curtain. But I think the issue of migration and of the development of a multicultural society are entirely absent from the document. And yet, it is probably one of the biggest challenges we are facing today. When I grew up, the only Africans I ever saw were street peddlers going from bar to bar with their suitcases. Other than that, the society was entirely white. Nowadays, as you all know, 15 % to 20 % of Europe's metropolitan population, and more than 50 % of the people, are really born elsewhere, and many don't speak their national language at home, or at all.

And this whole issue of migration hasn't been dealt with at all. And that explains, in part, the rise of populist and racist parties whose platform is based on fear. Dealing with this, and combating racism, requires more than taking measures here: we must also invest in economic development in the countries of origin. The issue of development aid hasn't been dealt with either. Our approach to development aid remains very conventional.

What I mean is that our approach hasn't taken into account that culture is essential for sustainable development. What gives people pride? Well, culture. It's culture that gives a people self-esteem. What do people know about their country? They know their singers, artists, actors, athletes and so on. That's what gives people pride, that's what gives sustainability. And yet, there is very little investment in that. When you go to countries in Africa and talk to the people, you notice that nothing is as popular as culture, music and sports – and these rank lowest in priority for the

politicians in charge of development aid policy. That's a dichotomy I just can't understand.

This is an issue where the EU can play a major, a game-changing role by stimulating and developing partnerships across these fields. We should develop systems that allow Europe to encourage synergies between different countries.

We are very active now in creating networks. And I always say that it is a privilege, professionally, to meet Europe's best and the brightest in some of these European networks. We work with natural history museums across Europe. Now we have joint training programmes; we have joint collection standards; we are trying to develop joint research programmes, so that we can cover the largest range by minimising the overlap of expertise. Science and academic research is the basis of economic development, and here again is an issue to deal with, since the Declaration is very weak on science; it's really almost exclusively on the culture.

I hope these comments are constructive.

Luc Tuymans and Tommy Simoens [1]

Healing symbolic trauma: what the EU can do about its identity with the help of the visual arts

Art and politics generally don't mix: suspicion regarding the integrity and motives of one and the other tends to taint the combination. Some of the defining events of the 20th century taught us to be wary of images used in conjunction with politics. Too often, totalitarian regimes usurped the power of complex imagery for univocal propaganda purposes. The ensuing trauma involving images in relation to cultural identity has never been sufficiently explored, let alone healed. This has left deep traces buried in our visual culture: it is easier, one would think, to mask, block out and forget than it is to face the complexity. Where and how could such a process of healing and reinvention be initiated? How can visual intelligence be activated and stimulated? How can widespread audiences again learn to read the complexity of signs and images, and in so doing under-

(1) The following text was submitted as an addendum to the round table, for it picks up on and develops more fully an idea briefly raised in the course of the discussion (eds).

stand the consequences of the political choices they face as participants of democratic societies? It is obvious that education has its function, but the (contemporary) visual arts also have an essential role to fulfill: to illuminate the understanding of dense and multifaceted topics.

The debate President Barroso launched with the New Narrative for Europe raises two questions about the visual arts: how can contemporary art stimulate the debate about the perception of the EU's identity? And, simultaneously, how can the EU support the field, already flourishing within and beyond its borders, of contemporary art? Problematic questions, at least when approached superficially. However, if we dig deeper into what the EU stands for, we find a central connection between the EU and the arts in the right to freedom of expression, enshrined in Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights.

Rather than lay out an artistic agenda, we invite the EU to create the physical and logistical framework within which artistic debate can thrive and be celebrated on its terms. Were the EU to translate this right to freedom of expression into a large-scale, recurrent exhibition of contemporary art in Brussels, the fields of art and of politics would both benefit. Organised once every five years, its continuity would give it a sense of permanence. And having it be independently curated by a different team each time, one chosen by representatives from the art world, would ensure thematic independence while also mirroring and celebrating the diversity the EU prides itself on.

Not that long ago, Brussels was at the heart of a broken continent, devastated by two world wars. Thanks to its strategic location, the recurring exhibition would continually allow the visual arts, and society at large, to reposition themselves in relation to the past and the ever-changing present, and in anticipation of the future. One has only to look at the precedent set by Documenta, which was initially conceived to deal with the cultural void left in Germany at the end of World War II. Documenta, born as a subsidiary festival to a horticultural event, has become an iconic, benchmark exhibition that attracts international artists and their audiences from all over the world to Kassel every

five years.

Brussels boasts the Heysel exhibition complex, situated in the shade the iconic Atomium: a perfect venue for a summer-long event. It could, in addition, have a foot in the city centre at the Centre for Fine Arts, Brussels, itself an iconic institution that, through the strength of its cultural programme, consistently manages to negotiate, and sometimes supersede, the pitfalls of Belgium's complex identity problems. In order to allow the arts the intellectual space they need, the exhibition's scope would have to be global and anchored to an honest and open artistic debate that transcends notions of exclusive national characteristics and borders.

Such a recurrent exhibition would increase Brussels' visibility by emphasising and reinforcing its function as a centre of cultural excellence. If artistic concerns set the curatorial agenda, the exhibition would naturally reflect the time of its occurrence and allow ample opportunities for discourse.

Serious exhibitions base their exploration on a multiplicity of formal languages: contemporary art exists in sound and moving image as much as it does in 2D and 3D objects. Art works often contradict each other, yet together the diversity of voices found in good exhibitions generates fruitful juxtapositions and debate. Any effort to foster the ability to interpret such complexity echoes the multicultural ambitions of the European Union, itself designed to operate as a cultural polyphony.

This recurrent exhibition would allow the EU to observe how the arts constantly deal with and generate complex imagery, and would provide a platform wherein the issues that surround identity are always in question, and, in the artistic realm at the very least, always being reinvented. Such a celebration of complexity can only help the EU illuminate its ever-changing debates about identity as it develops into its next phase of cohesion.

Domino Conversation with President Barroso

1IMOD

In an effort to gather some responses and perspectives on the Declaration and the project as a whole, New Narrative for Europe organised, in partnership with the Tomorrow, a Dominino Conversation at the 14th International Archicture Biennale, Venice, on

07.09.2014


NARRATIVE
FOR EUROPE
7. SEPT. 2014
Jonathan HILLS

Jonathan Mills

Ladies and gentlemen, I'm Jonathan Mills and I'll be the moderator of this conversation on the future of Europe with José Manuel Barroso, the President of the European Commission, Stefano Boeri, Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev, Okwui Enwezor, Rem Koolhaas, Alice Rohrwacher and Elif Shafak, who will start us off with a statement and a question addressed to President Barroso.

Elif Shafak

Today is 7 September, a day Turks remember well because 6 and 7 September 1955 were the days [of] a dramatic incident in Turkey. A mob of nationalists in Istanbul plundered and pillaged the shops and homes of the non-Muslim minorities, Armenians and Jews, mostly. I once spoke with an old lady in Istanbul and asked her what had hurt her most about that incident. It wasn't, she told me, the crazy mob on the streets, or the slogans being chanted: it was the fact that, overnight, neighbours who had been her friends turned into foes.

I recall this incident because I think something similar is happening in Europe today: friends are turning into foes. And I worry that this might have very damaging consequences socially, culturally and politically if we don't start thinking collectively about ways to turn this around. In one of his essays, the Polish poet Czesław Miłosz discusses how totalitarianism, and other extremist ideologies, are internalised by very intelligent people, people who only yesterday were more liberal and open-minded. It's not just the neighbours who change; we might change as well. People who used to support the European idea, smart, intelligent people, might by tomorrow have changed unexpectedly.

I believe sincerely that, as we are discussing Europe and new narratives for Europe, we must pay attention to what's happening around Europe. We cannot isolate it, for we live in an interconnected world. There was, 10 years ago, great optimism about the idea that the world would turn into a global village, that technological advances and the fast flow of capital would connect us all and render national borders redundant. None of that has happened. Still, we should not underestimate the fact that there are two tides today: we

are indeed becoming more global souls, more cosmopolitan, and we're learning to appreciate this interconnectivity. Unfortunately, and at the same time, the countercurrent is also becoming very strong.

When I look at extremist ideologies around the world, I believe that they are interconnected as well. In other words, extremist ideologies breed extremist ideologies elsewhere: Islamophobia in Europe feeds into anti-western sentiments in the Middle East. We have to be attentive to the connections. We have to see how extremists from different sides might seem to be very different on the surface, when the truth is that their mentalities are exactly the same: they breed one another constantly.

My point is that all extremist ideologies share a fundamental push to reduce human beings to a single, monolithic identity; what Islamic fundamentalism says, essentially, is: you're a Muslim, and that's what you must be, nothing else. The same is true for the extreme right in Europe.

What extremist ideologies around the world have in common is an exclusivist way of thinking that goes hand in hand with an intolerance of plurality and multiplicity. The far right in Hungary, to take one example, is always talking about the Jews, the Roma, unwanted and maligned, and about how the Hungarian identity has been lost because it became too westernised.

I think novelists appreciate difference and diversity because every writer knows that you need diversity to tell a story, to write a book. You can't make a book work only with sameness. Now, if we believe that God is the greates storyteller, then we cannot but understand that we need diversity for the world to move on, we need differences for the story to continue. Nationalism speaks in exclusive terms: it's either/or. Cosmopolitism, conversely, speaks in the language of multiplicity. For a cosmopolite it is possible to be Muslim, French and atheist; and to be Russian, Orthodox and ….

A cosmopolite sees identity as plural: there are concentric circles of identity. I am Istanbulite, but I also feel very much attached to the Balkans. I think I'm Mediterranean and Middle Eastern at the same time. I'd like to think I'm European as well, why not? All these concentric circles mean a wider chance that one will

overlap with someone else's concentric circles; there's a wider chance that we will find common ground.

Intellectuals and artists today should not succumb to 19th century definitions of the nation state. We have to think beyond those terms, and there are great intellectual debates going on right now on that front. But the biggest problem, to my eyes, is the growing gap between the public and intellectuals.

I think that artists and storytellers can play an important role, because we have a more accessible language: we do connect, we can bridge those big gaps. Against the populist xenophobia that is seizing much of the world, what we need is to create accessible, cosmopolitan counternarratives. And I believe that those of us who are come from countries like Turkey, one that has lost a lot by losing its cosmopolitan heritage, know the value of diversity. Thank you.

José Manuel Durão Barroso

Thank you very much. First of all, I don't pretend to know the answers to these questions better than anyone else here. I think you expect some sort of response from me because I still have, at least for some time, a political responsibility and I think we should reflect on the value of this narrative for Europe.

The European Union is the most advanced experience ever in terms of countries coming together and trying to overcome nationalism – in the ugly sense of the word. I like to quote Romain Gary, who says that patriotism is the love of one's own people, and nationalism is hatred of others. The European Union started with six countries only; its founding narrative was to secure peace by making war impossible, through economic integration. That was the EU narrative in the 1950s.

In the meantime, the narrative has changed, it has gone from ensuring peace among six countries to a union of 28 countries. During my first year at the European Commission, 2004, we were 15 countries; we're 28 now, so we've almost doubled in 10 years. The founding narrative is of course still valid for the 21st century. But is it all? Is it enough? No, not at all. What we need, more and more, is an attachment to the cosmopolitan order. The European Union is a great laboratory in the context

of globalisation and, I repeat, the most advanced experience in the sharing sovereignty the world has known.

Jonathan Mills

Thank you, Elif Shafak and President Barroso. Our next speaker is Stefano Boeri, and it is in this hall that you have helped create a wall for the New Narrative for Europe by establishing a partnership between it and the project you initiated: the Tomorrow.

Stefano Boeri

Thanks. It was in an exhibition about 15 years ago that Rem and I started to describe Europe as one unique city. Then, it was only a metaphor. But if we look at a satellite image of Europe at night today, we'll see that this metaphor is now a reality. Europe today really is one unique city, an agglomeration of thousands of different cities, of various sizes, etc.

The Declaration that concludes the first phase of the New Narrative for Europe talks about Europe as two interconnected layers: Europe as a political body and Europe as a state of mind. My question then is: is this image, this metaphor of Europe as a unique city, fertile? It can be, because it can highlight something useful about the narrative dimension. The European city is not a monocentric city. Rather, it is like an archipelago composed of different elements. Especially if we trace the notion of the archipelago, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, perhaps the best thinker in Europe, who describes an archipelago as a reducible plurality of individual elements in which single elements coexist because of their intellectual separateness.

This idea of an archipelago is mirrored by Europe's geographical condition. And what it tells us is that what we need in Europe today, more than a narrative – or before a narrative, or used as a narrative – is conversation. We need to render the strongest dreams explicit. Europe is exactly the sort of weak and paradoxical complex condition that combines diversity and the need for conversation.

That's why we developed the platform the Tomorrow, which we're launching today: the Tomorrow is a platform for those who aspire to a new kind of public lectern to promote a conversation among thinkers

from different disciplines, contexts, geographical traditions and environments. It uses e-mail, because e-mail is what most closely resembles the function letter writing played in the circulation of ideas. The language of the Tomorrow is English, as a sort of Esperanto, since often it is a vulgar English that, nevertheless, helps us to have a conversation, allows us to dialogue. And my point is if we can develop, today, a new platform for conversation, one that is extremely explicit about the series of questions it wants to raise, this may help us also to arrive at a narrative.

Jonathan Mills

President Barroso, an archipelago, Europe as an archipelago of connected but discrete islands or regions. Would you like to comment on this image?

José Manuel Durão Barroso

I have read some of Stefano Boeri's texts on the idea of Europe as a city, and I like the idea a lot. I think it's a great metaphor. Or, as Kenneth Burke, one of my favourite authors, would have put it: it's a great representative anecdote. So a concept that is powerful and enables us to generate different narratives.

Jonathan Mills

Thank you Stefano and President Barroso. I now call on Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev, Artistic Director of the Istanbul Biennial.

Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev

I actually am very happy to come here and make a senseless intervention from a rather sceptical position.

I would like to speak some[what] more artistically and also use this opportunity to propose a solution to all problems.

My senseless intervention is in three parts. The first is a harem story, the second is about why symbols are actually quite dangerous, and the third is about forms of democracy in a digital age that are susceptible of providing forms of agency that might create a better and more flourishing world. That's where the proposed solution is.

I have read the Declaration and I appreciate it, but I have problems with some of the words. The word 'new' is a very

dangerous word. I think that art must avoid becoming [a] constructor [of] what [Louis] Althusser calls ideological state apparatuses, which inculcate ideology and control of subjects. So it's a very dangerous thing to do something top down, to try to build a narrative from the top down. I think art, and that's the reason I'm interested in it, brings doubts and uncertainties. It is not propositional.

But it can be. It can have agency, it can provoke change. Yesterday, William Kentridge and I were walking in a harem in the Topkapi in Istanbul, and I was thinking about my intervention and what story I could tell. And I had a feeling of unease because clearly William Kentridge is a very European man in many ways.

Anyway, I was in Istanbul, a metropolitan European city, at any rate geographically. There is of course an Anatolian side. It is a city like Moscow and Paris, though one not fully accepted in the EU. I am not even sure it wants to be, in fact.

The story of the harem is about this sultan, who was fortunate, or unfortunate, enough to have 500 women in his harem. This was a very prestigious position to have: if you were chosen to be in the harem, you could get an education, you could do a lot. However, it was a regulating system, a system that regulated desire in a way that doesn't conform to the European idea of the regulation of desire in society. So it was a space of potentiality, of course. If you were lucky, the sultan slept with you and possibly you had a child and possibly you had a palace and your child would be very powerful some day. I think this power was a little bit like having a lot of cattle. Actually, it was more like having a large art collection, because with cattle there is no desire, but with the art collection and the use of the art there is desire as well.

When Turkey became a secular state in the 1920s under Ataturk, the harem was abolished, so as to comply with the European mode of conceiving the family and the regulation of desire. But what is this European mode of regulating desire? It's based on the principle of equality, and that equality therefore gravitates towards gender equality. Although there is the need to spread the seed and so on, and although on the woman's part there is often a nesting instinct that will go

against the spreading of the seed, there is the principle of equality that grounds Europeanness completely in this aspiration to monogamy. There is a dream of felicity and joy within this equality, which is this ideal of monogamy, though it is a dream that's shattered all the time through matrimonial crises and, divorces. And therefore, as a woman, I see this schism between the European frame of mind and its reality.

The second point is the one about the symbols. When they're strong, they're not made top down, intentionally, by an artist. If we look at the symbols of what Europe saw as dangerous 10 years ago, 20 years ago, One is the kamikaze, meaning someone who eats too much. So it was a fear of excess of capitalism, excess of ingurgitation, excess of growth, a fear that rose to the surface just as we were trying to develop notions of degrowth. And so, of course, the fear is the fear of explosion from excess, of Pantagruelic eating. Now, that symbol, fear or image, which is very strong, turns course on losing rationality, the brain, on getting one's head chopped off. This is the image that we see now over and over again: it fragilises and visualises the European fear of the loss of reason, loss of control. Symbols are very strong, but can also be dangerous, as we know from Nazism.

The last point I want to make is in fact the proposition. Rather than contributing to all the negativity about Europe, and rather than trying to create forcibly and intentionally an idea of a new Europe, which can backfire completely, let us try to see what we can do. So, if Europe created parliamentary democracy based on universal suffrage, we know that in this age of the digital and of environmental catastrophes, that doesn't work anymore, because people don't vote necessarily for what's best for the environment, etc. And votes can be swayed: the flows of information are too many for that system to work in the digital age.

So I would propose taking the ideas of Bruno Latour and thinking about how we can implement a cosmocracy, such that to be European is to bring out or expand that idea of parliamentary democracy. To be European is to invent a new solution, to have the courage to say, let's make a new system that would work, and I think we can. For example, in the

digital age you could have a passport as your voting device. Your voting device could allow you to vote when you are 5, as well as when you're 90: it has a bar code and it changes according to your status, your age, your education and so on.

The idea is a return to technocracy, but combined with a social justice principle. For example, if you're under 10 you might have a certain vote in kindergartens; a chip allows the system to know if you have a dog, and so you may have more to say about the public gardens for dogs; if you have a degree in quantum physics, you may have more to say than others on certain issues. In sum: to splinter the voting system into a collage of possibilities, with a passport that changes through your life. That's how we build a new democracy.

And now my question. This kind of cosmocracy is based on the fundamental weakening of one thing that is very European, namely the subject-object relation. Under monotheisms, we developed this idea of a philosophical subject that knows the world. This is very close to anthropocentrism. If we are to have a cosmocracy, how can we have the strawberry's vote?

José Manuel Durão Barroso

Carolyn, this is very stimulating, and very dense. I cannot react immediately except with a more practical reference, picking up on the fact that you are the artistic director of the upcoming Istanbul Biennial.

Here we have a Turkish person, so I will not pretend to speak for them. But I think, in a more pragmatic way, that there has been a dialogue between Turkey and the European Union on the question of whether or not to join. And what I can tell you is that many, many persons in Turkey, women especially (at least, that is the message they conveyed to us in Brussels) urged the EU not let them down, because they need to keep this space of freedom. So I hope that at the Istanbul Biennial there will not be the problem that we see in other parts of the world, including that part of the world where Turkey is, because in the countries around Turkey certainly this kind of event could not happen.

Old concepts like democracy are sometimes frustrating, but I believe they still have potential, and certainly they are better than the alternatives so far. Your cosmocracy proposal

is something we can still think about. The important point you make – if I understand correctly your slight provocation in the idea of getting strawberries to vote – is that we need to place respect for nature, which is certainly central to our view of the kind of society we want, on a par with respect for human beings and human life. I am probably old fashioned in this regard, but I don't share that view, though I think that respect for animals and nature should certainly be what Europe stands for. We in Europe have done quite a bit in terms of developing and implementing procedures for protecting our planet and fighting against climate change. I'm afraid, though, that this a very pragmatic answer to your much more dense thoughts and provocations.

Jonathan Mills

I now call on Alice Rohrwacher.

Alice Rohrwacher

[Alice Rohrwacher spoke in Italian; President Barroso sums up the gist of her intervention and question (eds).]

José Manuel Durão Barroso

Alice's question is: how can we preserve diversity in creativity in Europe? She observes that her field, cinema, depends a great deal on support from Europe; many of the films presented at the Venice Film Festival depended on Europe for co-productions, without which they might not have existed. But, precisely because of this, there is a risk of some kind of standardisation and trivialisation, a risk of uniformity.

And my answer is that, yes, that risk does exists, though I thank you for recognising that the EU has also had a positive impact on cinema.

Networks have to be stimulated and created, I think. I like to quote Umberto Eco's claim that translation is the language of Europe. We have 28 countries and 24 official languages. The risk Alice points to is there, but it is not limited to Europe, and I am afraid that we in Europe and its institutions will not solve it, honestly. We have to be is attentive to it, yes, and ensure that the concept of unity doesn't get confused with that of uniformity. The distinction is important.

Jonathan Mills

Thank you, Alice and President Barroso.

Let's turn to Okwui Enwezor. He is the Director of the 56th International Art Exhibition, held here in Venice next year.

Okwui Enwezor

Perhaps one way to talk about Europe is through its alimentary canals, and I say this simply because, when we look at the expression of Europe's alimentary canal, we'll begin to understand and grapple with a kind of politics of bulimia that pervades the entire social body in relation to the construct of Europe and its inhabitants. And I think it's important to make a distinction between European citizens and the inhabitants of Europe. So I would like to make my contribution by thinking about two things, proximity and metabolism, and I will do so through a short anecdote.

In 2006, I came across a story in the New York Times about the battle between the mayor of Paris and a number of activists who had set up a soup kitchen in the middle of Paris in the winter. Why should the activity of these activists be a problem at all? Why would the mayor of Paris be battling activists who set up a soup kitchen in the middle of winter to feed hungry people? It turned out that the activists had reduced the meal they were going to be serve to one food: they were only serving something called soupe au cochon, or pig soup.

The activists' claim was that pig soup represents a traditional French dish, which multiculturalism was about to destroy. And what does that mean? Pig soup is a meal designed specifically for exclusion. Vegetarians will not eat it; Jews who keep kosher will not eat it, and, most pointedly, Muslims will not eat it. This is what I mean by bulimia: this constant attempt to absorb and at the same time to vomit the other.

There is a patriotic dimension to pig soup, and the nationalism of its expression is really fundamentally fatal to what might be called cosmopolitism. In fact, it is an inversion of cosmopolitism, and this inversion is important to think about when we look at the series of internal declinations that are taking place in Europe today, predicated as they are on the question of the

rise of minorities with claims to self-determination. Scotland is number one, Catalonia number two and so on.

But absent from this discussion of self-determination is what I will call the presence of subminorities, by which I mean those inhabitants of Europe whose connection to Europe are, at best, at least in the political sense, tenuous, indeterminate and extremely fragile. And so Mr President, my question is this: in this moment of what I would call intense proximity, proximity between different constructs, between citizens and inhabitants, how do we deal with subminorities, and not with the minorities encompassed by the New Narrative for Europe?

José Manuel Durão Barroso

Thank you. First of all, your pig soup story is really very powerful, and [it is] repugnant that it happened at all. Did it? This is the first time I've heard of pig soup. We don't have it in Portugal, but there you are: we don't have the same kind of soup everywhere in Europe! [The events are factual, and led to a ban on its distribution in France in 2007 (eds).]

The problems you raise about citizens and inhabitants are very much to the point. It is indeed one of the issues that concerns me the most today. I alluded earlier to anti-European parties. Well, surveys show that the reason people give for voting for them is not that they are against Europeans or the EU, but because they don't want more foreigners, say, in Britain, whether from Europe or elsewhere.

One of the most important challenges we have today is, to use your own words, how we can deal with this intense proximity with communities that we refer to as minorities or, as you have said, subminorities. How can we deal with it? I think, from that point of view we – Europe, the European Union and European citizens – have one of the most advanced programmes in the world. We have legislation on non-discrimination, and when there were problems, as for example in France with the Roma people, it was the European Commission that stepped in and was very firm with the French authorities about the fact that this sort of discrimination is unacceptable. I'm proud of that.

There are xenophobic movements now in Europe – indeed, the world over. You see it anywhere you look. And sometimes

it is Christians, for example in the Middle East, who are the minority. We must be fair about this. But we should develop and expand the mechanisms we have for fighting discrimination. All I can say is that I hope European countries will continue to support this policy.

Jonathan Mills

Thank you, Okwui Enwezor and President Barroso. What we need to find is not the soup of exclusion, but the metaphors and the essential ingredients of cuisine that can be demonstrated to represent and reflect all of our cultures. Please welcome Rem Koolhaas.

Rem Koolhaas

I have been working with the European Union on its narrative for about 10 years, off and on, and it's been an interesting, though not a particularly rewarding, experience, because to some extent it has meant listening in on an intimate identity crisis or confession without a possible point of resolution. I think Europe's problem is that it is unclear about its current situation. In that sense, I agree with Carolyn: we don't need a new narrative, we just need a narrative.

We also need honesty about the internal disruptiveness of European organisations, where we have the European Union, which has been an experiment in defining the state based on rules, and here I am showing you the collection of all the European rules: the book, as you can see, of 7 metres long. It is an impressive achievement, although one nobody at this moment is willing to sing the qualities of this achievement. Indeed, we have national leaders who destroy the achievement, who carry on in complete denial of their achievement, and who don't dare confess to their own participation in the achievement.

That is the situation in Europe, I think, and it is crucial to address it honestly, because without honesty all the narratives will remain cosmetic. I also sense a strange atmosphere of permanent crisis. Here we're seeing the new constitution of the new European Parliament. Of course, we are all panicking at the thought that Le Pen and Wilders are in it. But if you actually look at the kind of parties represented, you see that 84 % of the European Parliament is pro-European. In the European

Parliament voted by Europe the situation is much better than in national countries. It is crucial, then, for us to abandon this atmosphere of crisis around Europe: it is premature, and perhaps also dishonest.

There are indeed problems in Europe, and perhaps one of them is that the European narrative is always constructed around achievement. Maybe we should abandon that and look to John Lennon's Imagine instead. We are always proud of achievements, in a good way, but never in a bad way. Of course, we have the right to be shocked by every ISIS beheading, but, at the same time, considering our own history, it would maybe be more sympathetic or more profound if we started to collaborate on the basis of our own terrible past, and not on indignation about how other people behave.

I have mixed feelings about this mobilisation of intellectuals and artists. To the extent that I am, of course, extremely happy to convey my undying belief in Europe, I can say that my motivation would be stronger if I could participate in this formulation of Europe. During my engagement with Brussels, there were a number of territories where I would have loved to have interfered and have had an impact on. I feel that we artists and we intellectuals are now picking up the slack for something that politicians should be doing. You should write strong manifestos. Where are the books by European leaders that are actually compelling?

The image above me shows you where European students go to study abroad, and it is a totally embarrassing statistic. Basically we prefer to go, first, to America, then Canada, then Australia, then New Zealand and only then do we go to China. That is in itself is a radical proof of lack of curiosity on the European part; it makes a mockery of our culture, because if we were really cultural I think we would be seeing the reverse.

Then there is the issue of European representation. On this score, there is constant resentment about our over-representation. We are represented everywhere based on our colonial history. It would be a really great gesture if we stepped back from that. The last thing I want to say on this relates to immigration, for Europe could make an incredibly compelling argument that, in order to flourish, to

have an economy, and to work at all and not stagnate, Europe needs immigrants in large numbers. Consequently, it is dangerous to allow hostility towards a large part of our immigrants, or towards Europe's inhabitants, as Okwui put it.

Lastly, I believe in the mobilisation of artists and intellectuals, in and for the European cause. But let's also tell the truth. In many cases, my experience has been that, for all the intelligent people inside the EU, there is a surprisingly large reluctance to do anything. I understand that, of course: politics is extremely complex and coloured and difficult to address at this particular moment. But a certain raw honesty could work wonders in terms of creating an urgency for Europe other than as something that is in permanent crisis and slouched on a couch.

José Manuel Durão Barroso

I agree with many of the points Rem made. I've been living with the double consciousness of European political leaders for the past 10 years. When leaders meet in Brussels, they manage to agree on something. And then, when there is a problem back home, they don't refer to those decisions as decisions they took themselves. There is a nationalisation of every success and a Europeanisation of every failure.

I also very much agree with you on the need for Europe to be modest and not arrogant. Indeed, I think that the process of European integration is to some extent about that. It's a project built to avoid some of the problems of the past: extreme nationalisms, imperial and colonial visions of Europe and so on. That's exactly what we don't want to repeat.

When the European Union received the Nobel Peace Prize 3 years ago in Oslo, it was recognition to some extent that the European Union had managed to overcome some of the problems we have in Europe. And we should be proud of that. I think this deserves some credit, and I still believe that the European Union is one of the best antidotes to ultra nationalisms, or to the arrogance that has indeed also been a part of the European history and narrative. But that history is also one that has had amazing moments in terms of civilisation and creativity. That this has come together with very awful and dark moments,

including some of the worst moments history has known, like the Shoah, should not blind us to our bright moments.

Jonathan Mills

We have time to take a few questions from the floor.

Joséph Grima

Thank you. My question concerns the idea of complexity.
A narrative, of course, is something that induces simplification or, as Alice pointed out, the trivialisation of a certain kind of diversity of the European condition, when that is perhaps the greatest thing Europe has to offer. My question is: how can storytelling, as in the new narrative, preserve the extraordinary wealth of paradoxes that is Europe?

Elif Shafak

It's a nice question, which suggest that, instead of saying `new narrative' perhaps we should be saying narratives, plural, since there isn't going to be a single discourse, a single angle. However, I think stories play an essential, and not a simplifying, role. At their best, stories don't simplify: they show us what it means to put ourselves in the shoes of another; they do give us the space to imagine being someone else, being many characters. Many of my readers in Turkey are very homophobic and xenophobic; and yet I know that they connect with the gay character in the book and feel for the Jewish one. I have seen this happen over and over and over again.

Jonathan Mills

Thank you. Next question.

Pier Luigi Sacco

I am a cultural economist. It's important to speak about actual capitals of culture. One such capital, Plovdiv, was recently nominated to pursue an important project on the social integration of the Roma people – a topic President Barroso touched on earlier. This is an incredible challenge, one made extremely difficult by the persistence of toxic narratives that characterise this community in entirely negative ways. Years of this are not easily undermined. The real problem is cultural, which is [why] I think it is very important to

develop new narratives. But shouldn't we make this effort, which I've followed from the start, public if we really want it to have effects and make a difference? Wouldn't this be a central element in the social integration of the Roma people, for example?

Rem Koolhaas

Well, we are now in a public space, and a very interesting one at that, because we have gathered here something like 40 European countries, whose projects reveal some intimate part of their history, pointing us to events that are quite sad or deeply embarrassing, but doing so with a rawness that is impressive. In any case, we shouldn't keep talking about the kind of European narrative we need; we should develop it and have it infiltrate our communities through the available media.

It may be worth stressing, also, that there are numerous mechanisms and opportunities for making this space public and available. The problem, though, runs deeper. It's not just a question of the availability of this or that public space, but of the connections between them. President Barroso, would you like to address that question or any of the others?

José Manuel Durão Barroso

Yes, indeed, there are different kinds of public spaces, but the possibility of communicating and having them communicate in a sort of European agora does not exist, no. That's why it's extremely difficult to create links, and I think what we can do is to be forthcoming and courageous at all levels on this front. Many of the fears that exist today in our societies have to do with the economic and social situation, and particularly with the very high levels of unemployment. History teaches us that, when unemployment is high, extreme right[-wing] and nationalist, racist and xenophobic sentiments and arguments come to the forefront. We haven't spoken enough about this today, but it is a matter that deserves urgent attention. You know, one of the problems facing the EU is not that many people in Europe think the EU has made Europe too open. The main objection is that the EU does not protect enough. We find ourselves today in a relatively comfortable place, surrounded by

people who, most probably, are cosmopolitan in the way Elif Shafak described. But Europe is in fact living through a very difficult time, when populism simplifies complex issues and mobilises negative sentiments, like xenophobia and ultrana-tionalism, which go against the values of those men, women and children in Europe who want peace and freedom.


Okwui ENWEZOR
Carolyn CHRISTOV-BAKARGIEV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Miscellaneous Contributions to the New Narrative for Europe

CONTI

Jürgen Habermas

Europe, Hungary and the Transnational Democracy Project

I am delighted to be back in Budapest, for the third time since 1989. I am particularly happy to see old friends again. But I also want to find out more about the situation in this neighbouring country, which we thought we knew so well, where things have recently become much more complicated. On this occasion, my joy at returning to this beautiful city on the Danube, which has played such a memorable part in the history of Europe, is tinged with another feeling – that the distance between us has grown. Hungary appears to have distanced itself from Europe, even though it was the Hungarians who punched the first holes in the Iron Curtain back in 1989. Since the rise of the Magyar monarchy in the 11th century, Hungary, as one of the most important historical actors on the European stage, has been involved in the fate of our continent as much as any other political power. From a German perspective, there are surprising parallels between our two countries: in the 19th century, the liberal movement which led to the revolution of 1848 and ultimately to the Restoration; then, following the settlement with Austria, the creation of a nation state and the First World War fought at the side of the German Empire; then defeat, with the Treaties of Versailles and Trianon, the authoritarian inter-war period, fascism, persecution of the Jews and the division of Europe, which, intellectually, did not separate our two countries as deeply as in other cases.

In 1956, it was the Hungarians, under reformist communist Imre Nagy, who stood up most bravely to Soviet oppression and, subsequently, implemented a relatively 'liberal' regime, if it is permissible to use this word, within the Soviet bloc. This meant that, post-1989, the Hungarian Left was not nearly as discredited as it was in other post-communist countries. Of course, after the change of system, Hungary shared the economic fate of those countries. János Háy gave literary expression to these experiences, in words that were moving without being lachrymose. That transitional phase, once the long-locked gate to the western European fairytale was sprung open, was marked by demoralising experiences of new levels of social inequality, the uprooting and pauperisation of whole social strata and the decline of whole sectors and regions. The misery hurt even more in light of the country's newly won freedom. 'The golden gates have been flung open … (but) it is not modern thought that has crossed our borders but the gaudy ornamentation of the western market economy, the advertising, the private television channels which, in the middle of all this neglect, are like the plastic bags which, back in the day, we carried around so proudly'([1]).

This moving description does not, of course, explain why – after the ebb and flow

of political elites, which is normal in central Europe, and the to-ing and fro-ing between a new beginning and corruption and the swings of the pendulum between Thatcherism and nostalgia – it is only in Hungary that the result of a perfectly normal democratic election has come to be seen as a 'revolution at the polls'. As you know, the measures taken after the election, transforming a change of government into a change of regime, have sent ripples of concern throughout Europe. It would be false politeness to ignore the elephant in the room. A famous German political scientist, now teaching at Princeton, who lived and worked for a long time in Hungary and even met his wife here, has warned that 'the processes of democratisation in the relatively new EU Member States might perhaps be reversible after all. Consider Romania, where, in the summer of 2012, a "cold coup" initiated by the Parliament only narrowly failed, and in particular Hungary, with the government of the populist/nationalist prime minister Viktor Orbán who, since 2010, has been continuously undermining the rule of law and – according to critics at home and abroad – is busy setting up an "illiberal" or dirigiste democracy'([2]).

Ladies and gentleman, I am unable to judge these developments. I have merely reflected on my own mixed feelings. I would have bitten my tongue, were it not for the fact that, as her colleague and friend, I feel personally affected by the experience of a renowned Hungarian philosopher who, following a difficult life marked by politics and the political history of the 20th century – as a young girl surviving mortal danger in the Siege of Budapest in 1944, as a dissident in Hungary, as an emigrant facing the rigours of starting a new life in Australia and then in the US and as a wanderer joyfully returning home to her newly free country – is now, in her ninth decade, once again exposed to political threats in public and repression on the part of the justice system. I did not think that such things could happen in Hungary.

But my subject today is Europe. Seeing the lack of solidarity between other European countries during the recent financial crisis has certainly contributed to Hungary's feeling of distance from Europe. The banking and state deficit crises have, within the euro area, led to a division between donor and recipient countries with obscenely contrasting perspectives on what has happened. This uncomfortable picture of the current European political landscape can only exacerbate the discomfort about Europe felt here in Hungary. There are always two sides that, once they have entangled themselves into a vicious circle, can only encourage each other's wrong behaviour. I would therefore like to talk mainly about a problem that the European Union has with itself. We are facing the problem of how to further deepen the European Union, and in particular the cooperation between the countries that use the euro, without undermining

([1]) Háy, J., Das märchenhafte Abendland, in: Detering, H. and Karadi, E. (ed.), Ungarn und Europa (Valerio 16/2014 –Wallstein), Göttingen 2014, 32f.

([2]) Müller, J.-W., Wo Europa endet (Suhrkamp), 2012, 9.z

the nation states as guarantors of freedom and human rights. This highlights conflicts that need to be played out in Hungary itself.

1. Let me first of all outline a dilemma reflected also in the results of the latest European elections. The fact that a majority, albeit reduced, of Europe's voters chose pro-European parties means that we should stick to the European project, even though we detect no inclination or drive to continue with integration as planned. After the Second World War, the Union grew out of the desire to put an end, once and for all, to the bloody conflicts that had torn Europe apart for centuries. Unexpected events in Ukraine have reminded us once again of this fundamental principle, which has come to be so taken for granted that it has almost been forgotten. However, with globalisation, a completely different problem has arisen as a result of the growing disconnect between a constantly integrating world economy and the continuing fragmentation of the world into individual states. States based on the approval and consciousness of their citizens are still the only collectives that, on the basis of democratic will, can act effectively and have a targeted impact on their national societies. These states are becoming ever more bound by functional links that transcend national borders. In particular, globalised markets and digital connections are forming links, without nation states being fully aware of this. At the same time, the politically undesirable side-effects of these organic developments require a response that nation states are increasingly unable to provide. Politicians and citizens start to feel powerless to act and define what is happening, with the result that, as a psychologically understandable but paradoxical defence mechanism, they cling ever more tenaciously to the nation state and its borders, which have long since grown porous.

In fact, this lack of flexibility at the national level can be compensated for only at the supranational level. It can also happen in the form of inter-state cooperation. The proliferation of influential international organisations has led to a form of governance that transcends the nation state. We say 'governance', but these international treaty regimes mostly tend to eschew democratic control[3].

One alternative is the formation of supranational communities. The path that we have taken with the European Union is therefore justified, as it constitutes a form of democratic self-assertion against the constraints of a, so far, only systemically networked world community resilient to regulatory constraints.

If we wish to avoid the spread of modern serfdom behind a facade of democracy, we must look at the agenda for a world trade policy on which the leeway for having a political effect on the social living conditions within a democratic civil society depends. You do not need a Marxist outlook to recognise the deregulation of

[3] The democratic deficit of these international networks is discussed by von Bogdandy, A. and Venzke, I., In wessen Namen? Internationale Gerichte in Zeiten des globalen Regierens (Suhrkamp), Berlin, 2014.

the financial markets as one of the crucial reasons why[4] and to draw the conclusion that we need to re-regulate the world-wide banking system, first of all in an economic area at the very least with the weight and size of the euro area[5]. Certainly the European banks, which can no longer profitably invest inflated virtual capital removed from the real economy, are calling for a common European solution[6]. Your compatriot George Soros also recently put forward the convincing argument yet again that building a currency community without corresponding political union was an error[7].

From this perspective, citizens recognise the complex dangers that a strong Europe can help to defend against. The need for continuing European integration can therefore be better presented to the general public today in defensive rather than offensive terms – at least not in the kind of intuitively obvious emancipatory terms which once inspired European constitutional movements and which we still see today in the revolutions sweeping the Arab world, parts of eastern Europe and Asia. Although the peoples of Europe have good reasons to want political union, the impact of adding a new floor to the familiar nation state to house a communal area shared with other nations is alien to them, and not only for the psychologically understandable reasons of clinging fearfully to what is familiar. Rather, the policy of the past 5 years or so, as a response to the crisis, the errors of which I cannot examine in detail here, justifiably evoke a fear of a supranational paternalism[8].

I am thinking not only of Greece, where the European Council made such high demands on a national government that the citizens of a democratic community were treated as irresponsible children. Moreover, the policy of pushing problems onto the weakened shoulders of Member States whose sovereignty was by then only apparent had an ironic flip side, because, as the crisis deepened, the power of the European executive actually grew. Under German leadership, the task of managing the crisis made the national governments meeting in the Eurogroup empower themselves. In an alliance with the Council, the Commission and the European Central Bank, they extended their mandate at the cost of the national parliaments, thus

(4) Streeck, W., Gekaufte Zeit. Die vertagte Krise des demokratischen Kapitalismus (Suhrkamp), Berlin, 2013.

(5) The extraordinary decisions made at the first London G-20 summit in November 2008 under the pressure of the emerging financial crisis have, predictably, not been followed up, as international agreements between states are not enough without further institutionalisation to coordinate divergent interests. Politicians can act effectively to combat the imperatives of the markets, which play off the interests of states against each other, only by establishing institutions to pool their interests, i.e. supranational authorities.

(6) Deutschmann, C., 'Warum tranken die Pferde nicht?', Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 25 September 2013.

(7) Soros, G., Wetten auf Europa (DVA), Stuttgart, 2014.

(8) As is well known, the European Council has pursued an investor-friendly line, which has forced the crisis-hit states to implement not only the necessary administrative and labour market reforms but also a savings policy which hits only wages, social security benefits, the public sector and state infrastructure projects. See my Für ein starkes Europa – Aber was heißt das? Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik, Volume 3, 2014, 85–94.

exacerbating the existing legitimacy gap[9].

The European Parliament has had no share in the increase in the powers of EU bodies associated with all the important reform decisions of recent years – the Fiscal Package, the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) and the Six-Pack – even in those instances when it was included in the legislative process.

In this knotty situation, a dry constitutional issue has become a burning political question: even if there are good reasons for continuing along the path of European integration, is supranational paternalism the price we will have to pay? Or is there a realistic way of 'transnationalising' democracy in the form of a federal and supranational community? European citizens do not want a supranational body to have a monopoly on power or final decision-making; rather, it should merely have priority in the application of European law and leave the implementation of laws, directives and regulations to the Member States. Citizens, worn out by the crisis, want to know whether a political union of that kind can ever meet the standards of democratic legitimacy they expect from their nation states.

I do not intend to glibly answer in the affirmative but rather to take their scepticism seriously and show why, contrary to what happened when the United States was created, a European federal state, that is to say, a larger version of the federal republics we already know, cannot be the right response.

2. The French Revolution, with the self-empowerment of the national assembly, led the way in enshrining the principle of democracy in the form of the unified nation state. Democratic self-determination means, in a nutshell, that people are subject only to laws that they have imposed upon themselves through a democratic procedure. In the United States since 1789, this principle of democracy has been implemented in another way, namely: within a federation of states. This confederation of individual states, which split off from the British Empire and became a democratic federation of states, was transformed during the 19th century into a national federal state in a similar way to Switzerland, following its constitutional revolution of 1848.

In early-modern confederations, the integration of legal relations between states with the national legal systems of the Member States was only superficial. The Federalist Papers, on the other hand, illustrate the main problem arising in connection with the development of a confederation into a democratic federal state: how the democratic nature of a federation of already democratic Member States can be maintained[10]. A federation of democratic states does not depend, as in the early confederations, on the relations between sovereign governments and their joint institutions;

[9] Eppler, A. and Scheller, H. (Hg.), Zu Konzeptionalisierung Europäischer Desintegration, Baden-Baden, 2014.

[10] The Federalist Papers are often used as a point of reference for discussions about European integration: see Schönberger, C., 'Die Europäische Union als Bund, Archiv des öffentlichen Recht', Volume 129 (2004); ibid., 'Die Europäische Union zwischen Demokratiedefizit und Bundesstaatsverbot', Der Staat 48, 2009; Robert Schütze, 'On Federal Ground: The European Union as an (Inter)National Phenomenon', Common Market Law Review 46, 2009.

it depends, rather, on the fact that the peoples of the federation must choose to pool their 'sovereignties'. When the United States was founded, the integration of states had already moved beyond this point. For this reason, the international law principle of the equality of states was used for the first time here for another goal, namely the equality of democratic Member States. In international law, the principle of the equality of states grants all states or governments the same status; but, in a federal state, this principle, together with the equal representation of the Member States in a second chamber, protects the democratic self-determination of the now unified peoples.

We can see from the example of the United States that, in a democratic federal state, two conditions are met that European citizens do not want in a supranational community made up of nation states (i.e. a reformed EU). In a federal state, the federal level has ultimate decision-making power, for example in constitutional questions, and thus supremacy over the Member States. Secondly, the identity of the 'people', from whom all state power is derived, is expressed at the federal level. It is the citizens of the nation in their totality who found and maintain a democratic federal state. When the US was founded, these peoples were immigrants who had only recently freed themselves from the colonial domination of their common mother country. But, in Europe, the peoples engaged in the European project have been living, for centuries, in 'ancient' nation states. They cannot form a common nation and have no wish simply to subjugate the Member States to the EU institutions.

At this point, we should refrain from drawing the hasty conclusion that a supranational and democratic community must fail due to the lack of a European 'demos'; this would derail the entire concept. Homogeneity of nation, origin, tradition, language or even religion is not necessary for participation in a common democratic community. Rather, three other conditions need to be fulfilled: a common political public; a common political and cultural background; and a certain degree of mutual trust, including the willingness, in policymaking, not to ignore the views of others.

I take the view that two of these three conditions could easily be met in Europe.

The translingual citizenship unifying many different language communities and now certified by the burgundy-red passport is something quite new because of the diversity; to breathe life into it, we need a Europe-wide public, not a new public. The existing national publics will suffice: they just need to open themselves up to each other sufficiently. Moreover, the existing political media must take on a complex translation task; they must start reporting on the discussions taking place in other countries on topics common to all EU citizens([11]).With regard to the common political and cultural background, the second condition, the unanimous acknowledgement of liberal and

([11]) Habermas, J., 'Politische Öffentlichkeiten jenseits des Nationalstaates?', in: ibid., Ach, Europa (Suhrkamp), Frankfurt/M. 2008, 188ff.

democratic fundamental principles, is sufficient, as this national constitutional patriotism paves the way for an extension of existing national solidarity which transcends national borders.

But what about the third condition? Today we certainly still lack the mutual trust which citizens of different nations need if they are to adopt a common approach to policy relating to common federal matters. Clumsy management of the crisis has shaken the remaining vestiges of trust between euro area countries. But the cause of this failure should not be sought in the wrong place. Nationalism is a blend of two forms of solidarity, which must be clearly differentiated from one another. We should not confuse informal solidarity, which has developed from extended family groupings and other forms of pre-political community, with legally constructed and instilled solidarity. We have to clarify this confusion if we are to properly understand the mistrust and fear of supranational paternalism.

3. In European states forged by national unification movements, the feeling of national consciousness promoted and even generated by the school, the armed forces, historians and the press during the 19th century was constructed on the foundations of older dynastic and confessional relationships, regional cultures and loyalties. As we see in many places today, in times of crisis and uncertainty, conflicts tend to flare up again around these pre-existing regional and ethnic borders, reawakening old loyalties and undermining national solidarity. Just consider Catalonia, Scotland, northern Italy or Wallonia. However, these examples should not draw us into making hasty parallels, given the awkward role which nation states are now playing everywhere in the European integration process.

No nation, in the modern sense of the word, has ever arisen without the political mobilisation of the masses. Nations consist of citizens and form political communities that arise, not organically, but as legal constructs. Contrary to the ethnic-national ideologies that want this distinction to be ignored, today the political level has clearly established itself as being distinct from the socio-cultural level for the integration of citizens([12]). Unlike loyalty towards a particular ruler, based on existing forms of social integration, national consciousness is the result of organised political integration. In a historical perspective, a relatively high level of political inclusion has now been reached in all our countries. This political level must be considered separately from social integration if we are to explain the lack of mutual trust between national populations. In mature western democracies, closer scrutiny reveals that the lack of trust is not primarily a negative rejection and xenophobic sealing off of foreign nations, but rather a positive wish to preserve the

([12]) Interestingly, migration research is now discovering that citizenship status is the decisive parameter in the social integration of immigrants. The communication strategies of state citizenship policies start with this status. The example of the integration of Indians in the US is discussed in Naujolis, D., Migration, Citizenship and Development: Diasporic Membership Policies and Overseas Indians in the United States, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2013.

standards achieved in one's own nation state. Wherever liberal democracy has become rooted and a tolerant political culture has developed, we find in Europe among self-aware national citizens a conviction that they owe the fragile benefits of free and relatively just living conditions, which are at least partially guaranteed by their social security system, to the democratic and constitutional practices and institutions of their own country. Therefore, they have a well-founded interest in ensuring that 'their' nation state remains the guarantor of these achievements, and they do not want to be exposed to the risk of interventions and encroachments by a suspect supranational community. In other words, their mistrust is directed against a super-state, rather than being a xenophobic rejection of neighbouring peoples.

This means that the lack of a single 'European people' does not form an insurmountable obstacle to a common political will in Europe. The 'no demos' hypothesis shifts attention to a factor that we must take seriously: the conviction that the standards achieved by the democratic constitutional state, rather than a handful of imaginary ethnic characteristics, are worth preserving. The self-affirmation of a democratic society is rather different to the reactionary response of clinging to invented features of the ethnic/national myth of origin that feeds right-wing populism. Moreover, democratic self-affirmation is not just an empirical action; it is also a justification that, under current circumstances, constitutes a reason for striving to develop a supranational democracy. It is not as if democracies ensconced in a nation state can remain unaffected by entanglements in the systemic dynamic of the world community while preserving their democratic substance – certainly not in Europe.

And here we find the answer to our initial question. European citizens today have good reasons to pursue two competing objectives at the same time. On the one hand, they want the EU, which has developed on the basis of nation states, to take the form of a supranational community that, in manner that is democratically legitimate, acts effectively and is able to solve the urgent problems of a budding global community. On the other hand, they are prepared to agree to this transnational form of democracy only under one condition: that their nation states should, even as future Member States, remain the guarantors of the level of freedom and democracy that has already been achieved. For this reason, in the supranational community, the higher political level should not be able to subjugate the lower levels. The question of which level has ultimate decision-making power should not be solved in the manner of a hierarchy, as happens in a federal state. Rather, the system should be constructed as a heterarchy between the Member States and the federation.

4. To solve this problem, I would like to propose the following thought experiment: Let us imagine a democratically developed European Union whose constitution has arisen from a twofold sovereignty([13]). The constituting power should

([13]) I introduced the idea of a people's sovereignty separated right from the beginning in: Habermas, J., 'Zur Verfassung Europas' (Suhrkamp), Berlin 2011, 62–82.

comprise the totality of European citizens, on the one hand, and the European nations, on the other, and it should do so in such a way that, even during the founding phase, one side is able to consult with the other for the purposes of safeguarding its interests. The heterarchical relationship between European citizens and European nations would then have been reflected in the very foundation stage.

From the perspective of such a 'double' or 'graduated' sovereignty, if the question arises regarding the need to reform current treaties, in order to remove the existing democratic deficit from a future political union, the answer is obvious: the European Parliament should be able to address this through legislative initiatives; and the ordinary legislative procedure, which requires the approval of both chambers, should be extended to include all areas of policy shared within the Union. The European Council, i.e. the meeting of Heads of State and Government, which has so far enjoyed a semi-constitutional position, should therefore be integrated into the Council of Ministers. And the Commission should take over the duties of a government that is answerable both to the Council and Parliament. By transforming the EU into a supranational community, one that satisfies democratic standards, the principles of equality between states and between citizens would be respected on the basis of parity. Thus reformed, the EU would clearly be different from a federal model. Interestingly, there are already a number of important provisions in EU law that, if we assume graduated sovereignty, can be seen as democratically legitimate deviations from the model of the federal state.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have presented these rather abstract ideas in order to suggest, at least, how we might properly respond to the current risk of supranational paternalism. We can continue the necessary European integration project without the Member States being merged into some kind of supranational democracy. However, that can succeed only if citizens value their nation states as the guarantors of the achievements of the French and American Revolutions – not the priests of a cult invented by their national historians in the 19th century. In Europe, few nations have resisted the temptation to depict themselves, retrospectively, simultaneously as the heroic actor and tragic victim of an epic historical narrative.
The globalised society, however, has no room for epics of this kind.

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Lecture given as part of the series Europäische Denker (European Philosophers), at the invitation of the Goethe Institut and the Representation of the European Commission in Hungary, on 29 May 2014, at the Law Faculty of the Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest.

Antoine Arjakovsky

How to Write a New Narrative for Europe

Oddly enough, the consultation of a certain number of bibliographies reveals that we still do not have a European history of European peoples. In France, since 1995, secondary education programmes have been cast in a European perspective. But one of the rare attempts at a European history of Europe, Frederic Delouche's Histoire de l'Europe, was quickly forgotten. As for the Franco-German textbook of 2008, it is still an embryonic history at the European level. This gap justifies the research project of the Collège des Bernadins in Paris, which should lead to the publication of a European history of Europe in 2016, with more than 40 European historians and intellectuals, and in cooperation with the New Narrative for Europe, launched by President José Manuel Barroso and the European Parliament. This international project is in continuity with a centuries-long reflection on the history of Europe.

1. THE CONTRIBUTION OF EUROPEAN MEMORIES

There are, of course, many histories of the European Union (that is the most common instance), of Europe in general and even of the European peoples. We can mention, haphazardly, a few great pioneer attempts, without pretending to be exhaustive, be they works of historians, political scientists or philosophers. Among those who wrote prior to World War II, we can cite the works of Paul Hazard (The Crisis of European Consciousness, 1935), Edmund Husserl (The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology, 1934-37), Christopher Dawson (The Making of Europe, 1932; Understanding Europe, 1952). After World War II, several generations of intellectuals continued the reflection. These include Denis de Rougemont (Twenty-eight Centuries of Europe, 1961), Jacques Le Goff (Europe Explained to the Young, 2007), Remi Brague (Europe: The Roman Road, 1992), Krzystof Pomian, in collaboration with Elie Barnavi (The European Revolution: 1945-2007, 2008), Jean and André Sellier (Atlas of the Peoples of Central Europe, 2007), Georges Corm (Europe and the Myth of the West, 2009), Verónique Auzépy-Chavagnac (Europe at the Risk of Democracy, 2006) and so on. These works are remarkable in many ways but, once again, these are only isolated efforts or parallel narratives, never concerted histories or intersecting accounts. We must also be grateful for the translation work taking place in Europe, especially that of some pro-European historians, such as Jacques Le Goff, who published his collection Making Europe work in five different languages. Up until now, however, in spite of the quality of the translated books, it has essentially been a question of sharing research work and not intersecting narratives – a factor which limits the reception, and thus the legitimacy, of these works.

2. AN EFFORT TO UNDERSTAND

We can start explaining the absence of a European history of Europe by the way historical research in Europe is still organised very much along national lines. Moreover, dominant academic historiography limits to the maximum any research effort that attempts to reflect on notions judged outdated or divisive of common values. Most often, therefore, historians focus essentially on the short term of European integration, both politically and economically. There exists research on European culture, for example the great History of European Literature, under the direction of Jean-Claude Polet. The difficulty here is the same as in the previous situation. Most often it is a question of very scholarly projects that fail to take into consideration the broader horizon formed by the political, economic and religious history of European civilisation.

My thesis is that if, in the end, there has been no European history of Europe up to the present, this is because sovereign and Eurosceptic historiographical schools have dominated debates in Europe from 1990 to 2000. European historiographical schools favour the national novel over the cosmopolitan novel. Even in Germany, the quest for European heritage is being shifted from the teaching of history (remaining optional in most regions) towards political education.

So it is that, in Europe, those historians who deny the specifically European nature of the history of European nations are dominant. But, as Jean Leduc writes, to consider that the events of 1848-49 were 'European' is not less legitimate, a priori, than to consider them as 'coincidental'. Above all, however, history as a reconciliation of memories can no longer ignore the divergent accounts of the self-same event in the era of globalisation and the global village. Historical knowledge can no longer be individual and national. Finally, after the event of 'sites of memory' (Les Lieux de mémoire, edited by the French historian Pierre Nora in the 1990s), historiography can no longer be strictly conceptual and positivistic. It must make itself symbolic and personalist, consensual and interactive. Here we find the personalist intuition of the first theorists of European integration – Nicolas Berdiaev, Denis de Rougemont and Christopher Dawson – all of whom understood the concept of person as the basically free subject of rights and, at the same time, as in a relationship and capable of finding his/her accomplishment in a communion of values and hope.

3. THE IMPORTANCE OF METHODOLOGY

The historiography of Europe has been an important object of debate in France for the last 30 years, as evidenced by Jean Leduc's 1998 article on the status of history teaching in Europe: 'Enseigner l'histoire de l'Europe: un débat' (Teaching the history of Europe: a debate). The historiography we are defending today is a synthesis of two great currents. It is dialogical, plural and symbolic. It is therefore a continuation of Nora's Sites of Memory, in that it shatters the

sovereignty of the nation state and, with it, the objectivising historiography dominant in European universities up to the 1980s. But the rehabilitation of symbolic history, of the place of memory, does not come at the expense of the shared and coherent narrative, of the theological-political union of the head and the body, which all the European countries have been experiencing for at least two centuries. Thus, this European historiography is, in definitive, close to the communicational, symbolic and reconstructive historiography defended by Paul Ricoeur and, more recently, by Jean-Marc Ferry.

The new European narrative should, first of all, make the European peoples aware of their postmodern, plural identity, of their capacity to be, at the same time, Breton, French and European, or be from Prague, a Czech and a European, or Turk, Berliner and European. But because of its personalism, it does not deny the meta-historic vocation, the capacity to tend towards the universal incarnated in each one of these identities. The history that writes itself is very evidently one of the most powerful levers that ever has been used in the history that makes itself in order to bring about this sentiment of belonging to a same nation and a same people. As Gerard Noiriel writes in Les Fils maudits de la République (2005): 'For a nation to reformulate its history, to share its reading of the past, is like sharing a bit of its soul.'

That is why the historian, to obtain the largest possible objectivity, should be aware of the great luminaries of the present, sincerely admit the values that correspond to the historical dynamic she/he wants to depict, assume through an ego-history the limits of his/her own inscription in time, avoid erasing what annoys him/her or what is not coherent with the overall project, remember that history is not tele-guided but, on the contrary, strives to present the wounds and failures in such a way as to better illustrate divergent memories, to make evident the contrary logics at work in history, to warn against all the possible political manipulations of his work and, ultimately, to remember that the big story, the one to which human beings erect temples and pantheons, is never the narrative of a debt, but a wondrous acknowledgment for a shared humanity.

Translated from the French by Jerry Ryan.

Tomáš Sedláček

Europe: Hidden in Plain Sight

The task at hand is not to invent, create or produce some new artificial narrative for European integration, but to give a name, to write down, to address some vague feeling in the air that we in Europe have about ourselves. In other words, it is to describe that which is all around us, that which remains nameless and hidden in plain sight, and yet determines our beliefs and, hence, our actions. It is to

describe, in a fresh way, the meaning of Europe.

As we know from our personal lives, to talk about meaning is to enter a difficult territory. Even among philosophers, talk about the 'meaning of life' is a slippery subject, and if one embarks upon it, one runs risk of kitschy phrases, empty and all-embracing statements or tautological self-definitions. One must start from distance.

First, we should realise that the most incisive critique of Europe comes from Europe. It is we, Europeans, who are dissatisfied with ourselves. The rest of the world, conversely, has a tendency, if anything, to look up to us. While there is no anti-European movement outside of Europe, anti-Europeanism is very much present within Europe (compare this with the situation of other world powers). This is a better situation, an easier one to deal with; the alternative would be to end up in the predicament of other superpowers, where we are satisfied with ourselves, but our neighbours are not satisfied with us – a far more difficult situation to be in. In other words, the task setting and the task fulfilling are both left to us, as is the complaining. There is no outside force stopping us from being the way we want to be.

Secondly, what is it that we Europeans lack about Europe? Differently put: where, at what places, is Europe not European enough for Europeans? Where does the 'gap of Europe' come from? What is the gap between the European ideal and European real?

We can gain some clarity on the issue when we approach it from the perspective of our EU neighbours, from the near-distant vantage point of the (not so other) Other. Ukraine, for example. What do they mean when they say they want to join Europe? After all, Ukraine is in Europe geographically, as is Moscow. What did we in the former Czechoslovakia want when we chanted 'back to Europe' slogans during the 1989 Velvet Revolution? (Czechoslovakia, let us recall, has always been in the middle of Europe.) If it needed to 'go back', is it because it Czechoslovakia had moved? And, if so, from where to where? It is as if one hears this chant repeated again, but this time from within the EU: Europe is falling short of European ideals; Europe should 'go back' to Europe.

The most important values underwriting European integration have become so automated to us that we no longer notice them; the biggest riches are hidden in plain sight. All that's visible on the tip of the iceberg are quarrels, redundant bureaucracy, fiscal transfers, distance from the voter, technocracy and more. The list of existing grievances could be extended, but it should in no way obstruct our view of the blessings that the united Europe has brought, both to us and to the world.

These problems are there to be solved – and all of them are solvable – not to dismantle or destroy the base which created them, along with many other good things. These problems should be strengthening us as we work on them, not weakening us. Problems are inevitable for any advanced form of being: there will always be some stream of problems with life, work, country, the globe … And we should work to

solve them, not run away. Given the choice of problems he or she must face, a reasonable human being would always choose a set of problems that are solvable and that strengthens him or her in the process of trying to solve them.

This, to me, is the meaning of European integration, and of the associated problems. From this vantage point, all critical voices are constructive, provided they don't fall back on past settings that obviously did not work; had they worked, we would have stayed there and not moved on. People with these critical and constructive voices are more pro-European than people who want to maintain the current status quo, which has already fulfilled its task or used up its batteries: we were happy with it for a while and now we Europeans want to move forward.

War and peace were the issue in the old narrative. Thankfully, this is no longer the case: we now consider peace something normal and natural, the very opposite of the past historical experience of European countries, when war was normal and natural. Perhaps the greatest reason why we have become so rich, and many of our countries globally significant, is exactly because the lands of European integration were able to bloom in times of peace, now that the absence of dictators and totalitarian rules of control and oppression are no longer wasting our potency. Nor are we wasting our energies in competition among member countries, which were once engaged in economic warfare and beggar-thy-neighbour policies: devaluations, dumping, administrative barriers and different currencies.

In the old narrative, competition was a key word; in the new one, the stress is starting to fall on cooperation instead. Immobilities of every sort have been removed. The original intent of the founding fathers of the EU is fulfilled: we now have peace through trade. The north of Finland is trading with the south of Greece, with an ease which was unprecedented and even, for most of our fathers, unimaginable: with the same currency, which is globally respected, and with a uniformity in bureaucracy, so that one quality standard applies for all countries. Is this trading without problems? Absolutely not. But the problems experienced in the past with trade of such distant magnitude were much larger.

Many people complain about the heavy bureaucracy that dominates the EU. This is in fact a strange objection: when people are asked point blank to name the last time their lives were slowed down, be it by 5 minutes even, by some European bureaucracy, they usually cannot think of one. For some Europeans, the integration is advancing too fast; for others, too slowly. We complain about the democratic gap, but when there are elections, we stay home.

In the New Narrative for Europe, peace is a standard. It is not a goal but a starting point; so are freedom and trade. The ability of European nations to talk together in harmony and mutual respect and support has become automatic, and is no longer a goal. And this should be considered an advantage in the process of turning Europe into the Europe that we can be proud for

– in the eyes of our children as well as in the eyes of the world.

In the new narrative, we are no longer cultured by necessity and the basic survival instincts of nations: we are cultured by culture, we are able to grow the way we, and no other, want to grow and contribute to the world what our proper role should be: a place of culture, education, respect, understanding, mutual help and an elegant economy, a place where people are glad and proud to be seen as taking care of all the inhabitants of the planet we inhabit. And this happens to be the only inhabitable planet that we have.

Olafur Eliasson

Your Inner We

How do we make Europe felt? How do we give it a body, presence, relevance?

Answers to these questions require identification with and commitment to a vision that transcends national borders; they require trust in one another, also in the other we don't know. How do we generate such states of being and doing?

To me, as an artist, society matters a great deal. It is a material I work with, a subject of examination, an interlocutor, a context. Art is a part of society, a part of reality. Art is a reality reflector. Or, as the eco-thinker Timothy Morton expressed it during the conference Ungrounding the Object, in Limousin, France, 2011: 'Art is the warning light of reality. The aesthetic experience requires that there is not simply me, but also my mind, and not simply my mind, but a host of others – paint, a jug, some apples, a skull, a peeled lemon, a gallery, a gravitational field, the core of earth radiating a magnetic field that enables life forms to scuttle about, and so on... On this view, art is encounters with strangers and with the strangeness of strangers.'

Being open to encountering something strange, uncertain and unexpected and transforming this something into meaning is a skill that art often asks of its users. It is also an incredibly useful skill in developing social relations in a Europe based on trust. Encounters and exchanges are the nodes that hold together the societal mesh we live in and co-constitute.

An example: on the occasion of the European Parliament elections on 25 May 2014, I did an artwork called Dit indre vi (Your inner we) for the front page of the Danish newspaper Politiken. I thought of it as a literal encounter between the work and the reader, an abstract encounter between individuals and Europe. The front page reads Dit (your) and vi (we); on the reverse of the front page, printed backwards, is the word indre (inner). The 'inner' shimmers through the normal newspaper page to form the phrase 'Your inner we' in varying intensities of black.

The artwork is not just a series of words. It instigates individual and collective reflections. It reaches beyond the pages to the readers of the 114 778 copies of the newspaper

circulated that day. It verbalises something that you may or may not have already discovered inside you. It raises questions about our ability to be empathically in the world with others. Read in connection to the particular day of its publication, the parliamentary elections, it resonates with questions of great political significance.

Culture in general, and art in particular, can be productively provocative while generating basic confidence. It may aid a newspaper in helping to get people to take a stand on topics that are otherwise difficult to verbalise. This exchange between art as a discipline and news media is also part of Dit indre vi.

There are large 'we's and small 'we's, inclusive and exclusive 'we's, static and transformative 'we's. A major challenge for the EU is its lack of 'we' feeling. We can't take a European 'we' for granted. The sad truth is that the European 'we' is not doing well at all. I think it has been assumed, implicitly, that the economic advantages of having a common market would convince everyone of the EU's raison d'être. The quantifiable aspects were mistakenly pushed to the forefront of the European project as the main reasons for identification. But bonds are not created through economic incentives alone. Identity does not simply grow from shared prosperity. Feelings of identity and identification with others require culture, history and trust. If we are to create a European 'we' for the future, we have to include culture and historical awareness – not as the only valid 'we', not as an exclusive 'we', but as one that can include the many other 'we's that we are also part of – in nation states, cities, work, families. The European 'we' cannot operate at the expense of the other 'we's; it has to embrace them and, paradoxically, use them as a stepping stone.

How do we bring this about? Politicians tend to focus on delivering answers – safe, accountable answers. Except for in the shrill rhetoric of the far right, the discourse of politicians is not driven by a desire to make values explicit. If we do not address our shared values in creating a European 'we', then those invested in polarisation will continue to formulate their 'us' and 'them'. If commitment – human, personal, felt – does not shine through in the language used to talk about the EU, whether by politicians, cultural workers, business leaders or others, then we cannot expect the citizens of the EU to feel the European project. And if there is no feeling, there is no action.

Fundamental to the cultural sector is the aspiration to give feelings and knowledge body, to turn them into action. Culture is one of those few systems that offer space for deliberation and inter-human exchanges. It trusts its users. It rarely operates only locally, stretching out instead to embrace global perspectives. This is why I am confident that culture is a reality-producing machine that may forge closer inter-European relationships without polarising the small 'we's against the big 'we's.

Olafur Eliasson
Dit indre vi (Your inner we), 2014

Photo: María del Pilar García Ayensa/
Studio Olafur Eliasson


OLITIKEN
Kunst
Dit
indre
vi

Michelangelo Pistoletto

The Third Paradise

My commitment to the New Narrative for Europe project is in line with my engagement as an artist. My work has always been aimed at drawing new and meaningful symbolic figures that attract society to a future perspective, which can be conceived as a new Renaissance.

It is to that end that I created the symbol of the Third Paradise, which can be seen now in many different materialisations, though its core remains the same: it is always composed of the two circles of the mathematical sign of infinity, with the addition of a third circle, placed between the two: this larger circle represents the finite world, physical and real, in which to develop our future paradise.

The two external circles of the Third Paradise signify, alternately, nature and artifice: one is the natural paradise where human beings were fully integrated into nature; the second is the artificial paradise that has brought us to the achievements of the modern era, but also to the social and environmental degradation we are sinking into.

As an artist, I retrace the roots of modernity - that force that has shaped so much of the modern world - in the history of Renaissance Humanism, which put all things in proportion with the human being. It was in that cultural, economic and political ecosystem that European architects and artists rendered visible, and scientifically verifiable, the concept of perspective. This, starting from the human observer, embraces everything in the all-encompassing vision of 'progress', which implies the concept of conquering the (supposedly virgin) space before us.

The Renaissance gave birth to one of the most extraordinary adventures of humanity: from Humanism, passing through the Enlightenment, it brought us to the era of industry, science and technology, and to modernity more generally.

Art accompanies, and often anticipates, society. In the course of those centuries, it laid the ground for the attainment of the 'autonomy' of the individual, which has been the value at the core of the social structure, political system and economic model of our present-day democracies.

But what were the consequences of the autonomy that art achieved in the 1900s? It didn't produce only the desired intellectual freedom. Artists themselves fell victim to a separation from the social contexts in which they lived, foreshadowing the sense of loneliness and alienation that gradually came to pervade modern society. The enclosure of the artist in his 'white cube', corresponding to the cage of social loneliness, contributed to the acknowledgement of the end of the perspective which had fuelled the belief in progress brought about by modernity.

My story and my narrative add a chapter to the reading briefly outlined here. My work represents the transition from the loneliness of autonomy to a concerted social intervention, connecting the indeterminacy of

personal freedom and the determination of interpersonal responsibility. This vision opens a new perspective, one that brings together art and society. This could be a new 'rebirth', a new and exciting chapter for Europe, which links 500 years of history, from the Renaissance to a perspective future, through art and culture.

This commitment also entails the immediate transition from designing to realising the project represented by the symbol of the Third Paradise.

Paradise comes from an ancient Persian word meaning 'protected garden'. Europe is our garden. We gardeners must take care of its landscape, of the natural biodiversity as well as of the environment developed by humans – different languages and traditions, and scientific discoveries and new technologies – in an effort to develop the sense of creative balance between nature and artifice that promotes sustainability in all areas of life.

Generally, politicians don't grasp the real meaning of culture, or of how it affects social and political life. The new perspective embedded in the Third Paradise would also try to define what culture is and how it can help in the social and political context.

In these times, when European citizens feel political disaffection, the 'epoch-making' project of the Third Paradise activates a new passion in civil society, as experienced with the laboratories we called 'working sites of shared knowledge', as carried out under the direction of the second Bordeaux Biennial of Urban Art in 2011. This was an event aimed at developing the concept of sharing, of collaborating with artists able to create the direct and active participation of all citizens, and to bring this into all areas of practical life.

Since it is not easy for creativity and art to penetrate the technical coldness of politics, economics and administrative systems, it is essential to define an education module that combines knowledge and creation while involving citizens from every age group.

It is my goal to develop this educational process, based on the relationship between art and society. Indeed, that is what informs the University of Ideas at Cittadellarte, an initiative that I have already articulated into a worldwide network, and which I intend to weave more and more into the European fabric.

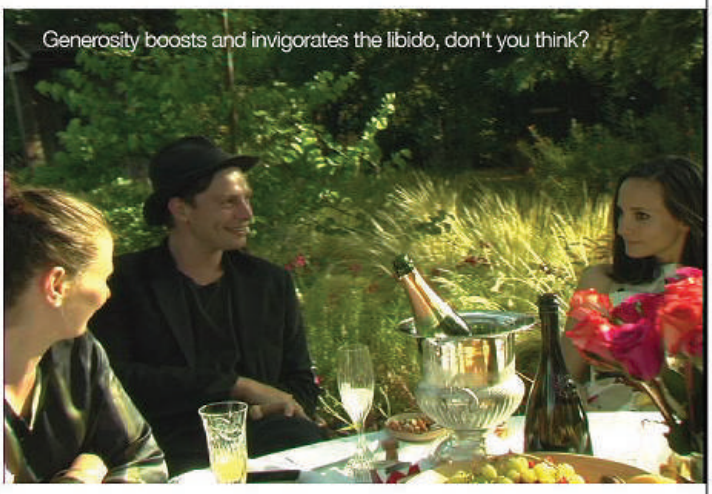
Michelangelo Pistoletto
Terzo Paradizo (Third Paradise)

Installation view, Justus Lipsius Building,
Brussels, 2014
Courtesy Cittadellarte-Fondazione Pistoletto
and Galleria Continua


Presidenza Italiana
del Consiglio
dell'Unione Europea
italia2014.eu

LETS MAKE TAXES SEXY!

A group of friends are having a leisurely afternoon in a beautiful garden. It is a joyous atmosphere with friendly banter and a lot of laughter. Eventually the subjects of taxes AND sex come up, this time together...



Ana Prvacki
Let's Make Paying Taxes Sexy, 2014

Video and production stills by Jessie Chaney
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M4nLliZoTXg&sns=em


I think Taxation IS Sexy!!! If we loosen up and relubricate the language around taxation we can allow for the cash flow to move through.
YES! It would improve both the economy and the fertility of Europe.
Paying taxes is a way of making love to your whole country!
I love a virile, distinguished taxpayer!
Paying taxes becomes something to be proud of!
Ha, ha, ha! A toast to paying taxes and to making love while doing it!

Jonathan Mills

Some Reflections on the Declaration

INTRODUCTION

We live in a world that faces huge social, environmental and economic challenges: exploding population growth, human dislocation of unprecedented dimensions, diminishing natural resources, economic inequality and widespread suffering from preventable or treatable diseases.

The past millennium has been dominated by European science and technology, culture and philosophy. There is some plausible evidence, however, that an era of European hegemony, especially in relation to industrialisation and finance, might be drawing to a close.

Indeed, we have already begun to enter a period in history where no single culture, ideology, theocracy or politics will be dominant. Ours is increasingly a world in which knowledge comes, simultaneously, from various and divergent technological, ethical, cultural and philosophical sources and locations. Such an unusual alignment of forces has the capacity to disrupt and dislodge many of our preconceptions.

Unless we urgently consider new ways to articulate, calibrate and modulate the mores of a rapidly shifting set of social, environmental and economic conditions, they could easily spin out of control.

Philosopher and critic George Steiner has this to say in In Bluebeard's Castle: 'Technical advances, superb in themselves, are operative in the ruin of primary living systems and ecologies. Our sense of historical motion is no longer linear, but as of a spiral. We can now conceive of a technocratic, hygienic utopia functioning in the void of human possibilities'(1).

Now is the moment for compelling narratives rather than narrow statistics. Narratives in which we make the case for culture and the arts, as an essential enlargement of the circumstances in which we imagine our lives; and in which we recognise the substantial advantages, in terms of education, infrastructure and traditions, which Europe enjoys over almost every other region or sovereign entity throughout the world.

If Europe is not a cultural enterprise, then what is it?

It is to address directly this challenge for a New Narrative for Europe – one in which culture must play a central role – that this Declaration has been drafted.

VALUES, TRADITIONS AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Those moments throughout history when Europe has been at its most innovative, inventive and prosperous have been defined by its culture, the arts and sciences in close proximity and collaboration. We see this in Athens during the Golden Age, in Rome during the Augustan era; we see it in the openness and energy that was regained during the Renaissance, especially in Italy, and brought with it a 'sudden efflorescence of creative life in the sciences and the arts'; and we

(1) Steiner, G., In Bluebeard's Castle: Some Notes Towards the Redefinition of Culture, Yale UP, New Haven, 1971, p. 70.

see it also in that period, so full of contemporary relevance, known as La Convivencia: at the height of the Caliphate of Cordoba in 10th and 11th century Spain, Islam, Judaism and Christianity not only 'coexisted', but cooperated and collaborated harmoniously.

Similarly, the bleakest periods in European history have almost always been accompanied by an attempt to eradicate cultural memory; the insane annihilations of World War II are our most recent example.

The triumphs and tribulations of European history suggest that our traditions and heritage are as essential as they are fragile.

Despite many radical upheavals, for reasons that range from local government edicts to the destruction wrought by global warfare, Europe's cultural infrastructure is remarkable for its diversity and scale. The European Commission has recently played an important role in collaborating with local, regional and national governments to conserve and consolidate these precious public assets.

Compared to places such as China or India, Europe enjoys a significant advantage, even in many less developed regions, due to centuries of careful nurturing and local patronage, with an impressive array of public buildings from ancient amphitheatres, mediaeval churches and monasteries, to baroque theatres and modernist museums.

Europe is quite simply the envy of the world for the quality and authenticity of its cultural architecture.

ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

The last decade, let alone half century, has seen a total technological transformation in the collection and dissemination of all manner of information, and in the communication of data of any kind, notably sounds, texts and images. Opportunities seem to have expanded in every direction; from old to very new, from intimate machines to mass markets.

The memory storage capacity of a personal computer today exceeds that of a supercomputer from the 1950s. With specific reference to the arts, it is now possible to store on servers, or even on the hard drives of personal computers, the contents of vast libraries, galleries and museums, or the repertories of whole opera houses and concert halls.

Conversely, our planet is shrinking, ecologically and metaphorically. The march of humankind is causing vast tracts of natural landscape and ecosystems teeming with diverse species, some of which we may never know, to disappear.

When a forest is torn down or an ocean or river is polluted, it is not just the ecology that is affected and the oxygen that is depleted; it is, most particularly, the human relationships with specific environments and places that are destroyed: the poetry and songs, the stories and rituals, the intimate knowledge that goes with the memory of unique locations also vanish.

ENGAGEMENT AND EDUCATION

The work of Howard Gardner offers invaluable insights into the far-reaching potential of

all the arts as an essential component in the education of every child throughout Europe. In Frames of Mind (1983), Gardner describes multiple forms of human intelligence, not just linguistic and logical, but spatial, bodily-kinaesthetic, musical, interpersonal and intrapersonal – forms of intelligence demonstrated by architects, sculptors, dancers, athletes, gymnasts, violinists, actors, business leaders and even politicians.

Gardner's work vastly expands the definition of intelligence: not single-minded but multi-faceted. He describes the need for 'multiple intelligences' to navigate the complex challenges of the world around us. These ideas are highly relevant and interconnected. They cannot take hold unless carefully embedded in our educational opportunities and through our earliest contacts and experiences of one another, in an iterative process that requires thoughts and actions to begin at school.

We believe that the place occupied by the arts is a prism through which to perceive the equilibrium of any society. And the value of the arts will have an inestimable impact on the world we create.

To be genuinely effective, governments must be much more aware of their own potential. They must insist on a greater level of ingenuity and entrepreneurship from public institutions, and encourage the proper coordination of efforts through the mechanisms of a cultural policy that relates directly to other aspects of government activity.

THE FUTURE – TOWARDS A NEW COSMOPOLITANISM

A number of important European thinkers have started to speak about a cosmopolitan, as opposed to multicultural, future for Europe. The German sociologist Ulrich Beck distinguishes between 'multiculturalism' and 'cosmopolitan tolerance'.

He writes:'Multiculturalism, for example, means that various ethnic groups live side by side within a single state. While tolerance means acceptance, even when it goes against the grain, putting up with difference as an unavoidable burden. Cosmopolitan tolerance on the other hand, is more than that. It is neither defensive nor passive, but instead active: it means opening oneself up to the world of the Other, perceiving difference as an enrichment, regarding the Other as fundamentally equal.'

He goes on: 'Cosmopolitanism, then, absolutely does not mean uniformity or homogenisation. Individuals, groups, communities, political organisations, cultures and civilisations wish to and should remain diverse, perhaps even unique. But to put it metaphorically: the walls between them must be replaced by bridges'(2).

Here is a very direct challenge to which all facets of society should listen. A call to action which, if accepted, requires a considerable shift in emphasis throughout our community: in political language and government policy; in the ways we chose to educate ourselves; in the shape and design both of our physical realities – our cities, suburbs, dwellings and public spaces – as well as our patterns

(2) Beck, U. German Europe, trans. by Livingstone, R., Polity Press, Cambridge, 2013.

of thought; our customs, belief systems and personal behaviour; and perhaps, not least, in the way individual artists and arts organisations perceive and define their roles in the future.

We passionately believe that the opportunity to participate in a genuinely new narrative for Europe requires us all to embrace the challenge of a cosmopolitan approach to the relation between 'minds, mentalities and imaginations' as well as to 'nations, localities... and institutions'.

As artists and cultural leaders, it is our particular mission to offer ideas and inspiration as to how this cosmopolitanism might find its way to influencing the shape of a discourse on the arts and society in Europe today. And how the contours of our imaginations must inspire each and every citizen of our Union to appreciate that a new narrative is an essential part of being European in the 21st century.

Jorge Barreto Xavier

What Matters Is the Present

The past does not exist. Only its interpretation, criticism and memory do. Nor does the future exist. Only its prospect, desire and projection. We can, however, reverse these assertions by applying to the future concepts related to the past, and to the past concepts related to the future. That is to say, the past does not exist, except as the prospect, desire and projection of and for the past. And similarly, the future does not exist, except as the interpretation, criticism and memory of the future.

This little exercise puts us through a complex human task: to be able, at each and every moment of the present, to give meaning to the volatility of the seconds, hours and days lived in the bigger picture of the length of time and space. Even though the general and the restricted relativity theories have shown us that these two dimensions, time and space, are, in fact, only one – space-time – and hence that to speak about past, present and future is just a matter of perspective, the truth is that every person, no matter where or when, must develop a spiritual and bodily education and live out the human condition: for each moment of our lives, we can only have one time and one place.

We want this condition to be one of full freedom and citizenship. At some point in the coordinates of time and space, we must, as a person and as a community, and not simply as an individual or group, seek out motivational elements – ethics, aesthetics, politics, economy, religion, science and culture; differently put, we must seek out the society that can be, as a result of debate and sociality, of pluralism and agreement on the basic elements necessary to the community's existence, both stable and fruitful, solid and yet ready for change, free and ready to advocate for its institutions, open and a protector of the rights and duties of citizens.

Europe needs new narratives, not only in its relation to the present, but also to the past and future. From time immemorial, we have spent our journey

through life telling or listening to stories. The story we currently tell each other about Europe does not satisfy us. The challenge launched by the New Narrative for Europe project is to ask: what can we tell each other about our common journey? What do we share in common? What can we tell ourselves about Europe?

Europe is the best place to live in the world. Sometimes we do not want to state this truth so plainly. Everything else aside, in the time and place of the present, we are the most prosperous society in the world, with less social inequalities, the best health system, remarkable levels of education and culture and without wars inside our common borders for over 70 years. However, it is also true that social inequalities have been on the rise and that there are regions in Europe where these inequalities are higher than others. Unemployment has increased, birth rate decreased, the social safety net shrunk and life expectancy increased, though we have not had much to give or propose to our senior citizens. And suddenly, even though we are the most prosperous region in the world, we live in a situation of fear: fear that the negative situation we have lived these past few years will get worse, fear that other world powers will become stronger, fear of not being able to continue playing the same role we have played in the common history of humanity over the past five centuries.

Any person or society who lives in reaction to fear, or in the prudence of survival, has little chances of overcoming this state of mind.

Hence the importance of the challenging claim, in the Declaration drafted as part of the New Narrative for Europe project, which says that 'Europe is a state of mind'.

Often, we, Europeans, prefer to see what separates us rather than what brings us together.

But if we ask other peoples of the world if they see nothing more than a continent on a map when they talk about Europe, they will most certainly say 'no'. Europe, the European Union, is seen as a coherent cultural, political, economic, social and religious complex. A plural complex with core values; diverse but with common rules; with different levels of power but with guidelines that connect them in coherently.

Why do the others see Europe in a positive light, while we, Europeans, highlight its negative features?

Maybe because we do not accept two realities or, at least, two forms of narrative about the present: Europe is a part of humanity, not humanity itself; Europe is crucial for humanity's common future, but only in a concerted way, not as a dominant power.

Maybe because, a few years ago, we enjoyed more stability and a better quality of life, but, instead of using that as a lesson to build the future, we use it simply to lament and to foment nostalgia for the past.

Maybe because the sense of solidarity and mutual respect between different member countries stands in need of new narratives, and urgently at that.

Culture is a major element of construction and destruction, at the individual and communal levels. Through culture, we can create, and we can destroy. Cultural radicalisms

kill, whereas cultural pluralism and the sharing of common values make things happen. Acknowledgement of a common cultural heritage connects; ignorance of the past impairs.

We want a political deepening in Europe based on the common path we have outlined in the last decades. If we approach the lessons of history with humility, we shall understand how the European Union has changed for the better, its flaws, limitations, inconsistencies, antagonisms or excessive bureaucracy notwithstanding.

We really need to be attentive to the way we present ourselves as European citizens to each other, and attentive as well about the way we tell others what it is like to be a European. We need to tell narratives we believe in, because if we do not believe in ourselves, how could others possibly do so?

Culture is the common field of narratives, the field for the construction of diversity and the field for the construction of identity and cohesion.

Europe can be built in the triple propeller of pluralism, cohesion and a common identity.

The Europe of the present needs it. The world needs it. Only then will the narrative of the future be prepared with the joy that the gaze towards the future deserves.

Costa Carras

A Revelation of Europe

The European idea, a dominant theme in Europe since World War II, is facing difficulties. A long and severe economic decline in many euro area countries, some with long-term unemployment rates unprecedented since World War II, and the inexplicable refusal to expand overall demand in the EU economy so as to allow the structural changes being undertaken by economically weaker countries to bear fruit, have created a crisis of confidence and deep foreboding for the future.

In the 'comfortable' years, few concerned themselves with the significance of our cultural heritage for Europe's future. In this context, the crisis has already brought two positive consequences. The President of the European Commission, at the instigation of the European Parliament, launched the project New Narrative for Europe, with the participation and contribution of numerous artists, authors, scientists and other cultural operators.

A year of intensive work resulted in the collaborative drafting of the Declaration The Mind and Body of Europe, presented in Berlin on 1 March 2014, in the presence of President Barroso and Chancellor Merkel, among others. Subsequently, the conclusions adopted by the EU Council of Ministers on 21 May 2014, during the Hellenic Presidency of the EU, affirmed that cultural heritage is 'a strategic resource of a sustainable Europe'.

Such positive developments are welcome, though unlikely to make a deep impression either on European public opinion or on its leaderships, obsessed as each is with the economic crisis, which has been draining all but a few successful countries of popular legitimacy. This article will begin by arguing for the necessity to take further steps if a sense of

shared cultural heritage is to strengthen Europe substantively. The island of Patmos, in the Aegean Sea, where this article is being written, will guide us to other, interconnected themes.

Few will dispute that we should continue to honour outstanding achievements in the conservation of our cultural heritage; as it happens, the island of Patmos has recently distinguished itself by its outstanding conservation of three windmills, two dating from 1588. Thanks to the enthusiasm and skills of a truly European team, and thanks to the vision and generosity of altruistic donors, the historic windmills have been given a new life. The high quality of this exemplary achievement was awarded the EU Prize for Cultural Heritage/ Europa Nostra Award. Initiatives like this are certainly a welcome way in which a common European perception and practice are already being formed.

Today, there is a further need for those involved with cultural heritage in each European country to examine the history and nature of its cultural relationship with Europe as a whole. A series of scientific or artistic works, written or audiovisual, on this theme would lead to constructive and broad-ranging debates. Similar mind-opening publications and debates could also be envisaged on the interrelated European origins of various seminal cultural movements. Finally, there is a truly urgent need for additional educational materials in schools and libraries on central and transversal themes in European cultural history. It should shock us that even EU officials have no alternative but to choose among national histories for their children attending school!

We are perfectly aware that such suggestions will inevitably meet resistance. Some maintain that all culture is 'local', which sometimes means 'regional', and sometimes 'national'. Others argue that culture is, or should be, universal.

When Europa Nostra discussed 'Heritage and the Building of Europe' in the still 'comfortable' year of 2003, I explored this issue by examining the legacy of Patmos, where I was writing, then as now. (Still, I might very well have done the same had I been in north-western, rather than south-eastern, Europe).

Patmos is an island of exceptional beauty. Its indented coastline rivals the finest lace-work. The houses of the world heritage site of Chora, densely clustered around the 11th century monastery fortress of St John the Evangelist, are each one very different yet all in harmony with one another. Patmos has a unique history of creative survival against long odds. Assuming that it is indeed unique, does that mean that its culture is regional, or national?

The more I examined this proposition, the more incorrect it appeared. The architecture of the houses in Chora reflects a mixture chiefly of Byzantine and Gothic features, combined with a few added elements from the Renaissance and the Islamic world, a style created in Rhodes under the Knights of St John between 1309 and 1522. The majority of icons on Patmos were painted between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries by artists from Crete, which at the time was under

Venetian rule. These artists were used to painting in both the western and the eastern Christian styles. It was hardly surprising that one of those artists moved, both geographically and stylistically, to the West, all while retaining the immediacy of approach to the person(s) subject to veneration through the partial absence of perspective so central to eastern Christianity. He became known as El Greco. Concerning later intellectual trends, let me share the story of a French Count who visited Patmos in 1776, before becoming the French Ambassador to the Sublime Porte and later a Royalist exile at the Russian Court. When he arrived on Patmos, he met a well-informed monk who enquired – in Italian – after Rousseau and Voltaire, both of whom the monk regarded as benefactors of the rights of the human race. Makarios Notaras, himself a monk from Corinth, was visiting Patmos at the same time and working on the great compilation of eastern Christian ascetic and mystical teaching, The Philokalia, which was published in Venice in 1782. Its profound influence in 19th century Russia and beyond can be seen in the work of Dostoevsky, as well as in The Way of a Pilgrim.

As we can see, Patmos has been shaped – architecturally and spiritually – by our extremely varied and rich European culture. By contrast, the Book of Revelation, the origin of Patmos' fame, demonstrates that culture is not universal. It was written in a Jewish Greek by a Jew who claimed, precisely when two contrasting interpretations of the Judaic tradition were rapidly moving towards separation, that adherents of the synagogue were false Jews – the implication being that Christians are the true ones. Rabbinical Judaism kept the law but, with the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 AD, lost the tradition of sacrifice. Yet, the Judaeo-Christian tradition retained the centrality of sacrifice, conspicuously so in the Book of Revelation, with its vision of the heavenly adoration of the Lamb sacrificed for humankind. Obedience to the law as the will of God was substituted by an existential commitment both to God and to other human beings, thus helping to establish his kingdom.

The Book of Revelation is remote from us in its description of unlikely earthly catastrophes and in its absolute opposition between good and evil. What is not remote, however, is what rabbinic Judaism bequeathed to Islam, namely the concept of a divinely ordained law meant to govern the everyday actions of all its adherents. While not all European countries follow the tradition of Roman Law, none holds its codes of law to be divinely ordained. This is emphatically, although not chiefly, the consequence of 19th or 20th century secularism. We should in fact recall that, as early as in the sixth century, the Byzantine Emperor Justinian – the very antithesis of a secularist – introduced a law code that was based, not on some elaboration of divine law but on Roman precedent, as it was transmitted by eminent jurists, and codified, with amendments, by the Emperor himself.

Here we have one distinctive element of the European cultur-

al heritage, an element clearly relevant both to our history and to the contemporary world. One might proceed to identify several other such elements. But what are we to say of the evident dangers flowing from such an exercise, such as the temptation to include in the European cultural heritage anything we today consider desirable while excluding from the messy historical record anything we consider undesirable?

There are, perhaps, two legitimate ways to avoid this danger. We might expand the word 'heritage' to include the full range of the historical record. This means we would include not only democratic governance, human equality, the rule of law (a human product and not a divine decree) and the scientific method, but also the repeated apocalyptic disasters caused by European conflicts, the slave trade, colonial oppression, the exploitative destruction of nature, totalitarian denial of the autonomy of each human life and the horrors committed in the last 100 years to the Jewish, Armenian and Roma people.

A valid alternative might be to maintain the distinction between heritage and history while insisting that critical study of the historical record is the only acceptable basis for any recommendation as to which of its parts we should appropriate for the present and build upon for the future. This requires a constant – and by no means always comfortable – dialogue with European history over the centuries.

No wonder, then, that the 'comfortable' years during which we neglected history and heritage alike helped bring us to our current existential crisis. This reflects, among other things, a complex conflict between three sources of legitimacy. One is democratic legitimacy, which flows from ruled to ruler, on a model first formulated in ancient Athens and revived by radical thinkers of the Enlightenment. Another is administrative and legal legitimacy, flowing from above, on the pattern set by Ancient Rome and developed in many European states over subsequent centuries. A third, which has come to dominate an ever larger part of our public life, and influences the other two, is economic success, always a powerful source of human motivation, to which the European contribution has, both for good and ill, proven seminal; first through the globalisation of a commercial and trading economy, and then through the launch of a still ongoing scientific and technological revolution.

It is reasonable to hope that a revived emphasis on our diverse but shared European cultural heritage will strengthen both the European idea and the sense of European solidarity. It is however unreasonable to expect that our heritage should not also illuminate the fundamental nature of our difficulties. In my view, far more serious than the problems of poor governance and weak administrative structures in some countries, or the unwillingness to boost the overall level of demand in the EU economy in other countries, are two contradictions, one apparent and one genuine, which can be observed within the European cultural tradition itself.

The apparent contradiction is that between democratic legitimacy flowing from below and

administrative legitimacy flowing from above. Consider, for example, the decision-making process within the European Union, which is often perceived by its citizens as remote and which also sometimes appears as being contradictory to the working of democratic institutions in EU Member States. The problem is genuine and unavoidable, but it is also true that the continuation of poor governance practices – at local, national and European levels – have seriously undermined the democratic operation of constitutions in weaker or unstable countries. Therefore, since strengthening the demand for administrative legitimacy does not weaken but strengthens democratic institutions, we are not facing a fundamental conflict where this is concerned. An open discussion of the existing problems should in fact help accelerate the pace of constructive change.

The same cannot be said of the contradiction deeply rooted in the European tradition, and stronger today than ever before, which is to measure all things by their economic results. This has indeed reached the point where we can even read that European statisticians are recommending the inclusion of drug money in the GDP, despite the fact that drug trafficking is illegal and drugs kill. Such a suggestion converts what was originally meant to be a measure of human well-being into a paradox: does a day's walk in hill-country not contribute more to actual well-being (but less to the appearance of economic prosperity), than the taking of drugs and the subsequent health expenditure to combat the attendant consequences? One can only deplore that our measure of well-being no longer measures well-being, and that our measure of relative success no longer measures relative well-being.

Not surprisingly, those who hold and promote such views have used their considerable influence to recommend that economically weaker countries should exploit and, if need be, degrade their nature, their landscapes and their cultural heritage through intensive development aimed at improving economic figures and results in the short term. All of Greece's smaller islands, Patmos included, are but one precious example of outstanding natural beauty – a long-term economic asset in itself – now being placed at risk in the interest of promoting tourist developments to achieve short-term results. We are told that this has the full endorsement of the high priests of economic growth in the EU. If so, they stand in direct contradiction to another fundamental feature of our shared cultural heritage: respect for nature. We know all too well that measures for unsustainable growth are counterproductive in the end. They can, in fact, even bring about apocalyptic catastrophes in an age where the innate human desire to achieve unfettered economic success can water consumption and climate change to their absolute and irreversible point. Here we face an ultimate challenge: to 'correct' currently prevalent tendencies in Europe's cultural heritage with resources taken from within that same heritage.

Patmos, as a microcosm with deep historical and environmental significance, can thus

serve as 'a revelation of Europe', and as an inspiration for the New Narrative for Europe project more generally. While its beauty is at risk, thanks to the demand for short-term economic exploitation, its message, conversely, reflects a traditional call to existential commitment and sacrifice, a call enhanced by contemporary challenges but deeply rooted in our shared cultural heritage. A 'lieu de memoire' of great beauty, but little comfort!

Plácido Domingo

Europe as Gesamtkunstwerk

I am proud to be the President of Europa Nostra, the Voice of Cultural Heritage in Europe. Born 50 years ago from the initiative of a small group of dedicated Europeans, our pan-European network continues to grow in size and impact. The vision of our founding fathers lives on, just as the vision and ambition of the 'founding fathers' of the European Union. They form part of the same dream: to bring Europeans together, in peace and prosperity, with respect not just for human rights and the fundamental values of democracy and the rule of law, but also with respect for and celebration of Europe's tremendous legacy of cultural achievements whose diversity remains an inspiration for new accomplishments.

Half a century later, what have we done to make this dream come true? EU institutions and civil society organisations such as Europa Nostra have made huge efforts to build an 'ever closer Union' among Europe's states, regions, cities and individual citizens. Europe has become a continent of peace, albeit a peace that continues to be threatened. Europe has continued to be a continent of prosperity, albeit a prosperity that is facing difficult times today. But in good and bad times, Europe has remained a continent that has known how to draw formidable vitality from the creativity of its culture. It is therefore time for EU institutions to recognise fully that our culture and cultural heritage are prime resources for Europe.

We are today at a crossroads. This is why the New Narrative for Europe initiative is so important and why I have followed its process with so much interest. Last December, I had the pleasure of discussing this important initiative with José Manuel Durão Barroso, President of the European Commission and, at the political level, the driving force of this project. I have also been kept regularly informed on what has transpired at various discussions and meetings by Sneška Quaedvlieg-Mihailović, Europa Nostra's Secretary-General, who has been an active member of the project's cultural committee since the start.

We live in an age of great challenges and of great transformations. An age in which the core values of the European project are being questioned inside and outside Europe. There is a lot of fear and anger in and around us, because a great many people are facing very tough times and because too many of our young Europeans

cannot find a job. But there is also hope! And this is what I wish to focus on. Because I deeply believe that we should always choose hope over fear.

Europe has a great asset that is still underestimated and hence underused: our art, our heritage, our culture. Europe is so much more than a geographical entity, an economic partnership or a military alliance. Europe is a beautiful symphony of cultures! And I am convinced that Europe can prevail if it draws from the 'soft power' of its cultures.

But to prevail, we have to give Europe a new drive. We must find a new way of expressing Europe's core values, a new language, a new melody – indeed, a new narrative, as we have been invited to do by the European Parliament and by President Barroso. We must formulate the right arguments, find the words that inspire and instil positive emotions to help European citizens reconnect with the European ideal.

As so much of my world revolves around culture, cultural heritage and, especially, music, I should like to draw on a few musical comparisons. When I think of Europe, I think of a grand and complex opera. You can hear many different voices and instruments; you can see a huge stage where complex librettos are brought to life. Just like an opera, Europe is a gesamtkunstwerk... our gesamtkunstwerk: a total work of art in which many people with different talents and ideas work together to achieve something magnificent and magical, and whose greatness cannot be reduced to the sum of its parts. And as the word itself says, opera is work, hard work. We all have to collaborate – the older generation and the younger, Europeans whose roots have always been here, and those who have more recently made Europe their home – to keep this continent moving in the right direction and providing inspiration for the rest of the world.

And can we not see Europe as a huge concert hall, and us, Europeans, as a grand orchestra and choir? Are we not an impressive and powerful musical ensemble - with talented players and singers from all backgrounds and cultures – whose voice and timbre resonates across the globe?

Over the years we have learnt to listen more carefully and adjust to each other's voices. We have learnt to seek harmony within our diverse expressions and views and to regard our diversity as our richness and source of mutual inspiration. We have indeed learnt to play a European symphony that continuously evolves, a symphony that is constantly enriched by new instruments, new melodies and new arrangements. But we have to work hard on it, again and again, until we get it right. We will make mistakes. We may play out of tune; we may hit a wrong note or get the timing wrong. But once the musicians start feeling the rhythm, the timbre and the pulse of their fellow musicians, once they become united by the joy of their interplay, the magic comes to life. I have experienced this so many times in my life!

And let us, however, not forget the vital role of the conductor! Just as every orchestra or choir needs the enabling leadership of an inspiring conductor, Europe and Europeans need visionary and committed

leaders. Leaders who seek to bring Europeans closer together and not divide them further; leaders who know how to listen to the aspirations and voices of the young generation and who motivate us to employ all our talents in furthering the European project.

As an artist and as the President of Europa Nostra, I believe wholeheartedly that the key to understanding Europe is our culture, our symphony of cultures. Our 'chorus' is held together by shared ethical and aesthetic values, and also by our mutual respect and trust. We draw our strength and inspiration from all the cultural treasures we have inherited from past generations. They form the fertile soil on which our vitality, our creativity and our success as a continent will continue to grow.

Europe is a 'state of mind', as rightly indicated in the Declaration drafted in the framework of the New Narrative for Europe project and presented on 1 March in Berlin. It is with such a state of mind that we have to find ways to connect the New Narrative for Europe with the 'real' world of politics and economy. We ought to translate and incorporate the ideas developed by the cultural world into the complex world of European policies and action, into policies and actions that give hope and prosperity – material as well as spiritual – for present and new generations of Europeans. As a result, we shall be able to hand over a more peaceful, creative and prosperous Europe to our children and grandchildren.

Let me conclude by stressing that, in my opinion, education is the most important tool for this much-needed transformation in our way of thinking about Europe and engaging with it. We simply need to put culture and cultural heritage (back) in all our classrooms; we have to make them integral components of the entire school curriculum. We need to invest, from early on and throughout the course of our lives, in a deeper knowledge and understanding of art, science, music, literature, cultural heritage and history. This will bring new inspiration, new ideas, new opportunities and a new sense of community, across borders and across social and linguistic barriers.

This is what I wish for Europe: a far-sighted vision, a true commitment and a real sense of community.

Let us embrace Europe's multitude of cultures and let us celebrate their creative interaction, and let us do so both as engaged citizens of our individual cities, regions and countries, and as engaged citizens of our Europe!

Let us join forces, let us work together to give to the entire process of European integration a 'positive shock' through the creative energy and inspirational power of our culture and heritage.

We – the leaders of the various EU institutions and WE, the many diverse protagonists from the cultural scene – have a shared responsibility to make this happen.

This is the moment to revive and reclaim the European dream. This is not a dress rehearsal: it is our life, our story, our future.

BEAT STREULI

One Day
(Rue Neuve,
Brussels,
June 2014)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Afterwords

AFTER

Morten Løkkegaard

The Need for a Narrative

The great Swedish diplomat Dag Hammerskjøld once said that the United Nations 'was not created to bring us to heaven, but in order to save us from hell'. The same can be said about the European Union.

Like any other union or group of people with a common destiny, the EU needs a narrative, a common story that invests our daily lives as Europeans with a sense of purpose and togetherness. Without that, we'll end up doing what we have been doing to each other for millennia, namely, slaughtering one another every second or third decade.

For the founding fathers of the EU, its task was at once very complicated and very simple: the union was to bring peace and prosperity! The 'P2' narrative was clear, and also highly unlikely to happen. An almost desperate experiment. Thus, those of us who were fortunate enough in 2012 to be present at the Council Hall in Oslo had the rare opportunity to witness first hand a truly historic moment: the celebration of the peace narrative, that impossible dream come true which had been from the start the extremely successful raison d'être of the European Union.

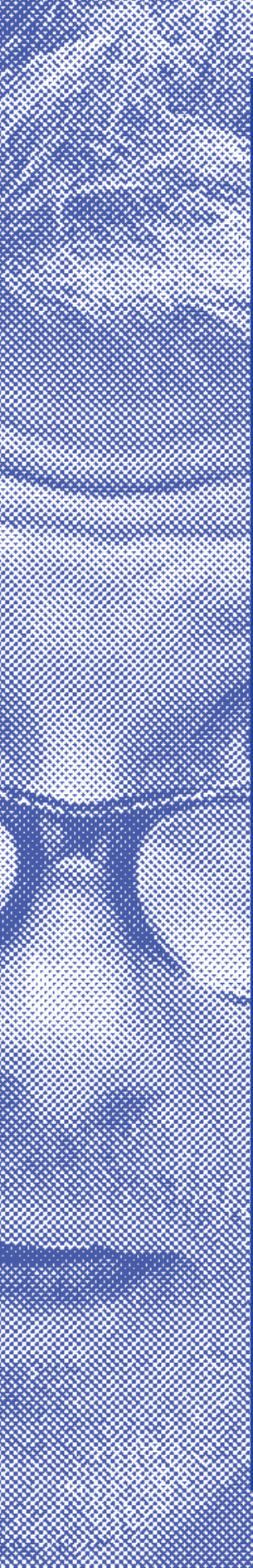
Still, nearly 70 years after the 30 years of collective madness (1914-45), and a quarter century after Francis Fukuyama proclaimed the end of history, we are still living in a time of constant changes and big challenges. Much as Putinism serves as a good daily reminder of the fact that the peace narrative still makes sense, it is also a fact that new generations are asking themselves: why do we need bureaucrats and politicians in Brussels? What is the EU for, anyway?

But peace alone was never enough. So we got the internal market, and in so doing became the leading trading union in the world. But we also grew in numbers, and when the financial bubble burst, economic growth ceased to be the glue keeping us together. In times of crisis, a good many Europeans seem to have huge difficulties in relating to the whole idea of a more integrated Europe. And the EU became the 'other', the problem, the scapegoat and no longer the solution.

All of which is to say that a new narrative is needed, not because the original narrative needs to be replaced, but because it needs add-ons, it needs to be supplemented. The new narrative is a 21st century version and vision of Europe and European integration. This project is not carried out for the sake of the EU, or propaganda, or to solve the economic crisis, and it is certainly not designed to create jobs and prosperity. The point of the New Narrative for Europe is to give voice and form to our common European destiny, and to act as a tool for the future, for making the right choices.

This time around, culture is the key word. It's all about identity about who we are, how we see ourselves, how to live up to and fulfill our role in the world.

It is funny to note, but



these days you have to go abroad, somewhere outside Europe, to get a valid image of who we are as Europeans. We cannot see ourselves through our own lenses any more.

I don't know anyone who denies that he or she is European. But everyone stresses, and firmly, that they are first and foremost Danes, Germans, etc. And rightly so. The problem begins when someone tells you that you have to choose between the two identities, for that is of course a false choice, and one that leads to false conclusions, such as the notion that Brussels is the 'other' and the EU the enemy imposing crazy decisions from on high.

Consequently, culture must be the mirror in which we look at and see ourselves. The narrative must reflect what we see: that we have multiple identities, that we are united in diversity and have created a unique model that serves as inspiration to the rest of the world, that we need to stand together and show solidarity if we want to survive as a region, and as a culture.

I realised this some years ago, when I was working as a journalist, reporting on Denmark in Europe. That is what brought me into politics. And I campaigned for a closer link between citizens and decision-makers on the EU question. For far too long, politicians neglected reality and played a false song with 'trade only' as its refrain. That is part of the reason why voters dismissed them. The EU has to be true to its original purpose, and if peace and prosperity requires more integration, then so be it.

My claim was simple: You will never get the attention, the engagement and the trust of Europeans, unless you tell them the truth and engage them as Europeans. And that takes a narrative, a story about who we are, where we come from and where we are going.

It is time, then, to write the next chapter of Europe's long and great story.

Five years in the European Parliament has taught me that this is not a task for politicians and bureaucrats. It is, rather, a task for scientists, innovators, thinkers, artists, the very people who in the past have pushed Europe forward and who today are remembered as beacons of our culture. It is time to do it again. Those in the world of culture have to speak up and take their part of the responsibility for Europe.

I brought the New Narrative for Europe initiative into the budget negotiations in 2012; by early 2013, we had a budget, and a project. It was then that President Barroso's office called and asked if the President could join us. This was a turning point. It is the first time in modern European history that a political leader at the very highest level has become personally involved in a 'soft policy' area such as this. It took nearly half a minute for me to overcome my surprise and say 'yes'.

We put together a group of 20 intellectual agents in cultural fields in April 2013; less than a year later, the group presented their product the Declaration The Mind and Body of Europe to Chancellor Merkel and President Barroso in Berlin.

The Declaration is a compromise, the result of heated discussions between strong wills. I can attest to this, as

I followed the process as an observer. Europe consists of many narratives. We are, after all, united in diversity.

More importantly, the declaration is not the end of a process, but a milestone on a much longer road. It is a new beginning, we might say. Over the course of this process, I have come to appreciate the wisdom contained in the words of Olafur Eliasson, a great artist and a member of the cultural committee: this whole project, he said, is not about telling people something, but about asking them. We have launched an ongoing process that provides a framework within which to ask Europeans to tell the European story in the 21st century. And, like the century, we are only getting started.

Culture broke the silence, made a move, decided to act. The next step will be for the citizens of Europe to react: to speak up, join the discussion, give their take on what it means to be European. And hopefully, in so doing, to make an impact.

Paul Dujardin

Reinventing Europe: The Eternal Quest for a Narrative

That it is better to travel than to arrive is an old adage, but one that still carries a certain truth when applied to the European Union. In the last few years, it has become difficult to define just what that union is about and where it is headed. But it is undeniable that Europe as a project and the European Union as its main vehicle is not a self-fulfilling prophecy, one that will become true in the blink of an eye, and solely through the impetus of policymakers and bureaucrats in Brussels. Rather, the process of European integration is an ongoing collective journey, unique in human history, founded on imagining a common future grounded on shared core values, stories and symbols, and not solely on a single currency and common market.

The challenges confronting the EU have clearly affected citizens' confidence in and trust of policymakers. The fast pace of globalisation, in tandem with the socioeconomic crisis and the threat of a looming environmental crisis, have widened divisions and inequalities, while fostering extreme positions that are detrimental to solidarity, the core pillar of the EU integration model. Hope does remain but the gap between the European Union and its citizens is growing. This holds true, not least, for artists and scientists, many of whom no longer feel like their voices are heard. In 2012, a mere 33 % of citizens claimed to trust EU institutions, and it is undeniable that these institutions suffer, among other things, from a lack of innovative ways of engaging with citizens.

TOWARDS A EUROPEAN PUBLIC SPACE

Against this background, the New Narrative for Europe initiative has provided the precious mental and physical spaces required to formulate any critical and prospective work around the complex 'European' journey, which is now called into doubt. These spaces have the specific quality of being located at the intersection between the practices and language of European politicians and administrators and those of eminent representatives of the fields of culture and science. This publication is the offspring of the encounters that took place at this challenging juncture and bears witness to the limits and achievements that have attended the difficult exercise of finding a common ground for dialogue. A new wave of policymakers will soon take the reins at EU level for the next 5 years. And it is essential to keep reminding both policymakers and citizens of the critical and connecting role played by the arts and sciences. Most authors in this publication agree that these fields represent the unifying backbone of the European story, Europe being a 'brilliant asylum of the arts and sciences', as Jean-Jacques Rousseau puts it. Artists and scientists can help citizens share their stories,

think 'out of the box', develop new images and visions and forge open identities. I strongly believe in the performative and speculative strength of the arts, through which literary metaphors, philosophical speculation, theatrical stagings and musical performances invest the world with sense and nourish our perceptions (places such as the Centre for Fine Arts, Brussels, are constantly trying to move in that direction, for example by emphasising programmes that bring together children, adults, schools, local communities, etc.). The sad reality, however, is that both citizens and policymakers tend to forget this.

A project such as the New Narrative for Europe cannot limit itself to a few debates, or a publication. The initiative should aim at fostering a European public space that provides the framework for a long-term dialogue aimed at developing the European 'ethos' and its social imaginary. The French philosopher Jean-Marc Ferry stresses the fact that a political Europe is 'the product of a civilisation of writing, dialogue, deliberation, argumentation and debate, which is public and which involves the public'(see page 95). This public space should be an objective for the incoming group of EU officials, as well as for national policymakers. It may in fact just be the most subtle and complex goal on the agenda.

FROM LISTENING TO DISRUPTIVE ACTIONS

The cultural and scientific sectors have a moral responsibility to help develop such a space. The next few years should build upon the work achieved with the collaboration of cultural and scientific organisations, such as the Centre for Fine Arts, Brussels, or the European Network of Science Centres and Museums. Organisations such as these are in the best position to provide a bridge between the general public, the fields of cultural production and scientific research, and politicians. I have personal experience of this: in 2011, and again in 2012, President Barroso asked me to organise a platform within which he could discuss the premises of the European Union with artists. These direct and open conversations proved to be eye-openers on both sides.

The new narrative should turn into a label that stands for the commitment to pursue this exercise and boost its energies. Eventually, it could come to work as a plug-in model adaptable to a variety of formats, events, dissemination tools and actions, including exhibitions and festivals (as suggested by Kathrin Deventer). This would represent a crucial step, and one that avoids any propagandist dimension, since its purpose would be to empower and federate those who want to contribute to the civilisation of writing and dialogue. Supported by a strong communication strategy, this label should trigger a two-pronged approach – to listen and to act – conducted in partnership with existing initiatives.

Firstly, relying on round tables and local participatory democracy initiatives such as the G1000 in Belgium, 'We the citizens' in Ireland or 'Citizens for Europe', the

new narrative can help reach out and listen to citizens. Belgian author David Van Reybrouck has suggested that such a 'listening' approach is absolutely essential if we are to restore trust and gain a better grasp of the wide range of aspirations and challenges on the horizon: employment, the environment, social cohesion, equality, urban development and so on. More specific themes for discussion could be extracted from the Declaration The mind and body of Europe. With the direct involvement of artists and scientists – including from outside Europe – and top EU decision-makers, debates and round tables could be organised at various levels: with citizens and students, but also in 'Brussels' and within national parliaments.

A second strategic step would be the shift from listening to action triggered by scientists and artists, both generators of powerful and disruptive dynamics at the root of new ideas, stories and symbols. Take, for example, Italian artist, Michelangelo Pistoletto, who has been promoting his Third Paradise, a symbol designed to raise awareness about the shared responsibility, for the world and Europe, as part of 'Rebirth Day'. Similar initiatives could inspire other artists, Europeans or not, to share their time to create works – and exhibitions – under the new narrative label, while also involving specific target groups, such as youth, in their creative processes. Could we not imagine, for instance, artists encouraging young students to write down their own narratives and share these with students abroad?

Simultaneously, artists could be instrumental in enhancing a bottom-up approach towards top EU decision-makers and the whole EU administration. Perhaps even more important than imagining and implementing actions geared at citizens is the need to continue pushing to find new ways of thinking and imagining out-of-the-box and arts-driven approaches to play a role in policymaking processes at the highest level.

A pilot project, the New Narrative for Europe has raised high expectations and now deserves continuity, with a renewed impetus driven by different, and arguably proactive, dynamics, such as those suggested here. No one can predict where this journey called Europe will take us. What is sure is that what has been achieved until now by the new narrative initiative is a seed aimed at converting the project into a continuous effort that transcends the EU's electoral cycles to raise consciousness, generate possibilities, explore the crucial challenge of living together better and help to shape a European 'we'.

List of Contributors

List of Contributors, organised per section

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Launch

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First General Assembly

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_Czesław Porębski is a Polish professor of Philosophy and the author of several books and articles.

_Alicja Gescinska is a Polish-Belgian philosopher and was recently a post-graduate fellow at Princeton University.

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_Nedko Solakov is a Bulgarian artist.

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Domino Conversation with President Barroso

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_Stefano Boeri, see Round Table, above.

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Afterwords

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_Paul Dujardin* is the Director of the Centre for Fine Arts, Brussels.

Table of Contents

José Manuel Durão Barroso, 'Interweaving Narratives' 20

Launch of New Narrative for Europe: Brussels, 23 April 2013 28

_Viviane Reding, 'Stimulating the European Public Space' 32
_Androulla Vassiliou, 'Europe as a Shared Purpose' 34
_György Konrád, 'A European Ars Poetica' 38
_Per Nyholm, 'Denmark in Europe, Europe in Denmark' 41

First General Assembly: Warsaw, 11 July 2013 46

_Donald Tusk, speech delivered at the Copernicus Centre 50
_Czesław Porębski, 'The Borders of the European Union' 56
_Alicja Gescinska, 'Intellectuals, Populist Rhetoric and Democracy' 60
_Pere Portabella, 'Europe as a Space of Communication' 64
_Nedko Solakov, Good News Bad News, 1998-2009 68

Second General Assembly: Milan, 8-9 December 2013 70

_Enrico Letta, speech delivered at ISPI 74
_Letizia Cariello, post(hu)man throughout Europe 80
_Alenka Bratušek, speech delivered at ISPI 82
_Fabrice Hyber, 50 % of the Population of the 28 European Countries > 1, with 29 < 1 = 50 % Democracy 85
_Angela Dematté, 'Lust' 87
_Jean-Marc Ferry, 'Telos, Nomos, Ethos' 88
_Jimmie Durham, 'An Incident in Europe' 94

_Michal Kleiber, 'The Humanistic and Scientific Sources of the European Narrative' 98
_Peter Matjasic, 'Perceptions Matter: Europe Is What You Make of It' 101
_Maria Theresa Alves, Iracema (de Questembert) 104
_Chiara Fumai, God Save It 106

Third General Assembly: Berlin, 28 February and 1 March 2014 108

_Angela Merkel, speech delivered at the Academy of the Arts 114
_Sneška Quaedvlieg-Mihailović, 'Towards Europe's New Renaissance' 119

Declaration: The Mind and Body of Europe 124

Round Table: Brussels, 21 May 2014 130

Domino Conversation with President Barroso: Venice, 7 September 2014 146

New Narrative for Europe Posters 170

Miscellaneous Contributions to the New Narrative for Europe 176

_Jürgen Habermas, 'Europe, Hungary and the Transnational Democracy Project' 178
_Antoine Arjakovsky, 'How to Write a New Narrative for Europe' 187
_Tomáš Sedláček, 'Europe: Hidden in Plain Sight' 189

_Olafur Eliasson, ‘Your Inner We’ 192
_Michelangelo Pistoletto, ‘The Third Paradise’ 196
_Ana Prvacki, ‘Let’s Make Paying Taxes Sexy’ 200
_Sir Jonathan Mills, ‘Some Reflections on the Declaration’ 202
_Jorge Barreto Xavier, ‘What Matters Is the Present’ 205
_Costa Carras, ‘A Revelation of Europe’ 207
_Plácido Domingo, ‘Europe as Gesamtkunstwerk’ 212
_Beat Streuli, One Day (Rue Neuve, Brussels, June 2014) 215

Afterwords 230

_Morten Løkkegaard, ‘The Need for a Narrative’ 232
_Paul Dujardin, ‘Reinventing Europe: The Eternal Quest for a Narrative’ 235

List of Contributors 238

Colophon

Project:

The New Narrative for Europe is a EU pilot project, initiated by the European Parliament and implemented by the European Commission. The Commission set up a cultural committee to assist it in implementing the project. The members of this committee are:

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The Committee advised the Commission during the different phases of the project, and some members were involved in drafting the Declaration The Mind and Body of Europe. Frédéric Meseeuw and Anna Vondracek, from the Centre for Fine Arts, Brussels, assisted the Cultural Committee in the fulfillment of their tasks.

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#EUNarrative

New Narrative for Europe is an initiative designed to connect the general public with the European integration project via the arts and sciences. Central to the project is the need to provide a new narrative for European integration - one that goes beyond the principle of ensuring peace through economic and political integration - by mobilising a 'European' spirit formed of shared values and experiences, ready for the 21st Century. In doing so, it aims to demonstrate the ways in which the European Union can empower its citizens, while identifying the common cultural values that unite them across its borders. New Narrative for Europe provides a platform in which cultural practitioners in the broadest sense shared their views on and for the development of a European social imaginary and public space for debate, both of which are essential for fostering solidarity and the democratic process. They are enshrined as such in the document that emerged from this initiative, the Declaration The Mind and Body of Europe, a document reproduced and much discussed in this publication.