

EUROPE AT THE CROSSROADS: DEMOCRACY, NEIGHBOURHOODS, MIGRATIONS

THE VACLAV HAVEL EUROPEAN DIALOGUES 2014–16



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Jacques Rupnik – Pavel Seifter (eds.)



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The publication of this book was supported by
Fondation Zdenek et Michaela Bakala

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Editors © Jacques Rupnik, Pavel Seifter

Cover, graphic design and typesetting (in News Gothic) © Luděk Kubík /3.dilna/
Published by the Václav Havel Library, a registered charity
Ostrovní 13, Prague 1
(www.vaclavhavel-library.org)
Technical editor: Pavel Hájek
Prague 2018

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ISBN 978-80-87490-93-8

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Introduction

Jacques Rupnik
Pavel Seifert

EUROPE'S MULTIPLE CRISIS: DEMOCRACY, NEIGHBOURHOODS, MIGRATIONS INSIGHTS FROM THE VACLAV HAVEL EUROPEAN DIALOGUES

JACQUES RUPNIK AND PAVEL SEIFTER

The basic set of European values – as they have been formed by the eventful spiritual and political history of the continent, and as some of them are now being embraced also in other parts of the world – is, to my mind, clear. It consists of respect for the unique human being, and for humanity's freedoms, rights and dignity; the principle of solidarity; the rule of law and equality before the law; the protection of minorities of all types; democratic institutions; the separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers; a pluralist political system; respect for private ownership and private enterprise, and market economy; and, a furtherance of civil society. The present shape of these values mirrors also the countless modern European experiences, including the fact that our continent is now becoming an important multicultural crossroads.
Václav Havel: Address before Members of the European Parliament, Strasbourg, 16 February 2000

Sixty years after its creation the European Union has been confronted with multiple crises which threaten the very foundations of the European project: **an internal crisis** mainly related to the euro and more generally to the divisive effects of the economic and financial crisis. The European elections of May 2014 revealed the rise of parties or movements which openly reject the pursuit of integration - and this trend has gained momentum since. Although European integration has been studied for decades, European disintegration has become more recently the subject of academic enquiry as well as public debate.¹ With a narrowly approved Brexit and a narrowly avoided Grexit, all Europeans, including citizens of new member states, have been confronted with the idea that the European Union should no longer be taken for granted. Exactly this was our initial impetus for launching the European Dialogues in Prague.

¹ Ivan Krastev, *After, Europe*, 2017, drawing on several conferences at the Institut für die Wissenschaften von den Menschen in Vienna comparing the unraveling of the EU to the break-up of the USSR, of Yugoslavia and of the Habsburg Empire. Jan Zielonka, *Is Europe Doomed?*, Oxford, Polity Press, 2014,.. The historian David Engels even suggests a parallel with the demise of Rome in *Le Declin. La crise de l'Union européenne et la chute de la République romaine*, Paris, 2014. A special issue of *Aspen Europe*, entitled « Breakup of Europe » (n 1, 2014). On EU's declining international influence cf. Richard Youngs, *Europe's Decline and Fall : the struggle against global irrelevance*, Profile Books, 2010 ; François Heisbourg, *La fin du rêve européen*, Paris, Stock, 2013 ; This trend should be contrasted with the « Europhoria » that prevailed at the time of EU's Eastern enlargement : Jeremy Rifkin, *The European Dream, how Europe's vision of the future is quietly eclipsing the American dream* (2004) or Mark Leonard, *Why Europe Will Run the XXIst century* (2005).

For the last two decades two issues have dominated the European agenda: the launch of the euro (deepening) and the Eastern enlargement of the EU (widening). The latter had been largely been considered a success in overcoming of the post-war East-West divide. The former has over the last decade revealed its flaws and opened up another divide inside the EU, between North and South.

Both aspects are relevant to understanding the EU's capacity to respond to the **external crisis** it faces: the simultaneous implosion of its Eastern and Southern neighbours. The Ukrainian 'Euromaidan' crisis and the Russian annexation of Crimea in 2014 as well as the emergence of "Islamic State" (ISIS) in the aftermath of the Arab Spring have caught the EU unawares. Both have shattered the EU's Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and confronted Europe with new security issues as well as an unprecedented migration wave.

The starting point of the **Vaclav Havel European Dialogues**, was that the interdependence of our fates as Europeans in the context of the above-mentioned crisis was not just a matter for states and EU institutions but also for all citizens living within the Union. Hence the proposal to meet annually in Prague, under the auspices of the Vaclav Havel Library, to discuss with leading European voices on the subject, our present predicament, the interaction of the internal and external crisis, and the ways in which they transform our national and European politics.

Three main related themes regarding the crises, their interpretations and our capacity to respond were addressed in successive conferences of the Vaclav Havel European Dialogues between 2014 and 2016: European democracy in times of crisis, the implosion of the EU's neighbourhoods and the related security issues and finally migrations and its impact on our politics.

1. DEMOCRACY, THE FINANCIAL CRISIS AND THE NORTH-SOUTH DIVIDE:

■ What is the scope for democratic politics and what is the meaning of sovereignty in the age of globalization and of a shared European currency? When the biggest international financial bubble since the Great Depression of the 1930 burst in 2008 it exposed the systemic failure of the euro but also a number of national failures. The divide between North and South, creditors and debtors has been exposed. The case of Greece became paradigmatic: a government (led by Syriza) was elected on the rejection of the Eurozone austerity plan, a vote confirmed by referendum, yet the plan was still implemented. Independently of the merits or flaws of the proposed plan, the question of democratic legitimacy was exposed. And that is certainly one of the factors fuelling the populist rhetoric against the EU.

Both 'Grexit', the possible expulsion of Greece from the Eurozone, and 'Brexit', the actual British secession from the EU, revealed two opposite sides of the issue of 'democratic sovereignty'. Europe is in the simultaneous grip of two conflicting and increasingly dysfunctional

systems: one, an un-political technocratic, consensual system built to avoid political conflict, the other a system of national member-states with political conflict built in.

The European contribution to post-1989 democratization of its periphery was known as 'EU enlargement'. It was a catalyst for a change of governance and the stabilization of East-Central Europe. The key leverage was conditionality: introducing norms of democratic governance as conditions for economic and political integration. It worked in the EU accession process (the EU version of 'democracy promotion'), but can it be effective in the post-accession phase when the institutions of the rule of law are challenged in some Central European countries? And can this be replicated in the Balkans or in the EU's neighborhoods where issues of statehood and state-building dominate the political agenda? Can issues related to ethnic or religious conflict, state-capacity and governance be addressed through opening markets, assistance programmes and more open borders? The post-war Balkans suggest that a reconfigured policy of EU integration may work. But the further east and south the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) moves the more it is confronted with state failure and the violent return of power politics. Security becomes a precondition for spreading democracy.

2. SECURITY AND THE RETURN OF GEOPOLITICS. In recent years, issues of nation-state building and security in the EU's periphery challenged the very premises of its neighbourhood policy.

The "Euromaidan" revolution in 2014 in Kiev was followed by the destabilization of Eastern Ukraine encouraged by Russia. It brought in its wake the urgent need to redefine the content and the context of EU's partnership offer. The Arab Spring of 2011 ended in state-collapse and war on the Southern shores of the Mediterranean. The EU discovered the limits of its 'soft power' as external democratizer. The Arab Spring and the Ukrainian 'Euromaidan' confronted Europe with democratic changes that threatened to turn into security threats.

The EU project after World War Two was built on the repudiation of geopolitics and since 1989 extending democracy and stability through interdependence and forms of cooperation. This was indeed the underlying philosophy both of EU's Eastern enlargement and, to a large extent, also of its neighbourhood policy. Yet today the EU is confronted on its peripheries with the return of post-imperial power-politics of Russia. As it discovers the geopolitical limits of its 'normative power' the EU has to reinvent itself as well as its neighbourhood policy.

THE POLITICS OF IMMIGRATION, POPULISM AND THE EAST/WEST DIVIDE.

The destabilization of the EU's neighbourhoods has provoked a wave of immigration, which in turn affects the politics of individual countries as well as their citizens' perception

of the role of the EU. The migrant crisis revealed to EU citizens a growing interplay between external and internal security.

'Fortress Europe' is to a large extent a myth though some would like to turn it into a policy. It is a myth (as data provided in Prague by Catherine Withol de Wenden have shown) since the EU over the last twenty years has welcomed annually between a million and a half and two millions of immigrants, i.e. more than the US, Canada and Australia, traditional lands of immigration, put together. The 2015 migrants (or more precisely refugees) wave was a peak, but has to be understood in this longer-term perspective. The temptation to restore hard borders or build fences is by no means a Hungarian speciality; it was a factor in the Brexit vote, just as the Wall with Mexico was a factor in the election of Donald Trump. The EU is thus confronted with the politics of closure.

This is where the relationship between demography and democracy becomes important for understanding recent changes in the political landscape in EU member-states. Two issues on the politics of immigration were discussed in Prague: 1. Immigration and, beyond the humanitarian response to the 2015 refugee crisis, the inadequacies or failures of old patterns of integration (assimilation, multiculturalism, communalism). 2. The backlash against immigration has provoked challenges to core EU policies: the asylum system (known as Dublin) and most importantly Schengen and the protection of the external borders of the EU (with negative implication for the free movement of labour inside the EU).

Both trends are part of the agenda of the rising cohort of populist and nationalist parties openly challenging EU responsibility in this field. Hence the debate about the need for an EU-wide immigration policy with several interconnected and highly divisive issues such as asylum policy, controlling external borders, burden-sharing known as migrant 'quotas' redistribution. The North/South divide in the Eurozone, it has been said, was about money. The East/West divide over migrants was also about values. The responses to the migrant crisis have brought to the surface difficult and divisive issues concerning security and identity (national/European) and ultimately the very idea of an 'open society' which the European project is based upon.

These were the main issues discussed at the Vaclav Havel Dialogues. The aim of the Dialogues was to confront different views, try to identify and account for different perceptions and preferences within the EU and thus find a way to overcome the internal East/West and North/South divides within the Union. There is much talk nowadays about the need to reformulate the common project and the European narrative. Our underlying assumption, inspired by Vaclav Havel's engagement, is that these endeavors are too important to be left to political elites or experts and require an engagement from the civil society. Our hope is that public intellectuals and involved citizens, such as took part in our conferences, will henceforth contribute, in their own way, to the emergence of a European public space.



Europe in crisis and the return of politics

Petr Pithart

Luuk van Middelaar

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European Values and Courage

PETR PITHART

It is now a quarter century since the slogan “back to Europe” resounded in the streets of Prague. I can attest that it didn’t emerge at the headquarters of the Civic Forum but on packed squares. Hundreds of thousands of people chanted that slogan.

In the interim faith in the European Union has fallen alarmingly and elections in May will probably see even lower turnout by European voters than the previous ones. If there were a vote today in our country on leaving the Union, those in favour of leaving could well triumph. The worst thing is that they wouldn’t even be able to give a cogent explanation as to why. They have simply turned against the EU and Brussels. They don’t trust them.

The Europe Union will need to make decisions after May’s elections. It will be the final chance. Waiting for a miracle for another five years would be like going into a squatting position on a slope and, whether slowly or quickly just trundling downward. Participation in elections continues to fall and referendums had to be doctored in order for things to continue. Legitimacy is at a low ebb. Disintegration would be very costly, but conceivable.

It is entirely appropriate to speak about a crisis of Europeanism. The only issue is what kind of crisis it is, respectively what it involves and how big it is. There is a lack of a political process under which the crisis could be more precisely understood and under which something could be done in response. Instead we have personal pressure, influence, promises, threats, quid pro quo. However, a genuine choice among major alternatives, distinguished in terms of values, is lacking.

The Union is lacking institutions that would be, if they cannot now be time-tested, comprehensible and logical in the context of European historical experience. There is a lack of a European people who would, from time to time, speak up: in elections, in referendums. The absence of political parties offering differing alternatives in value terms regarding Europe’s development makes for a lack of genuine choice. Such alternatives can only be formulated by political parties seeking victory and risking defeat.

What would Václav Havel and his dissident friends have to say about this? Dissidents really did dream about Europe and our return to it, as Jiří Dienstbier put in the title of one of his books. Today Václav Havel’s texts and speeches about Europe, both before and after November 1989, appear rather naïve, if not utopian. Some can easily be described as kitsch. However, such dreaming had a rational, realistic core. Which is more apparent today than in the past.

Certainly, we had naïve notions of Europe and its then structures and direction. Perhaps they were not just naïve. Perhaps they were linked to vague memories of post-war, socially considerate capitalism, of a Europe at that time still based on the vibrant story of a community fending off the threat of a third world war and facing up to the challenges of the Soviet bloc, of a Europe enjoying a precious peace that had long not been a given. Much changed with the fall of the Iron Curtain and the rise of globalisation and we were by no means the only ones unprepared for that. Virtually everybody who expected the dawning of an age of permanent peace and benign, friendly competition over the best nuances of a liberally democratic regime, over the most effective and at the same time fairest financial system, was mistaken.

Václav Havel and I gave more thought to the widening than the deepening of the Union, because we knew that peace was far from a given on the continent, in particular in the East and South East. However, a decision was made – in my view – for deepening, but to a substantial, evidently excessive, degree. I believe that “big eyes”, as we say, generally harmed and still harm the Union.

However, where Václav Havel and I were most mistaken was in the idea that Europeans were willing to sacrifice more than a small part of their sovereignty for the project of unification, just like the imaginary plus 1 percent of domestic GDP that in total made up the Union's budget. We regarded a greater degree of solidarity among member states, among the richer and poorer regions of Europe, as a matter of course; likewise solidarity with those who, wherever they were in the world, had their political and civil rights violated.

Certainly, the dissident perspective was not especially well-informed. But our choice of the dissident life corresponded to an outlook in which sacrifice was a tacit assumption. Václav Havel would not have become president but for his three spells in prison. That imprisonment gave him credibility. His “power of the powerless” was more than an effective play on words.

In those days we were also utopian, kitschy. But without question there was more to us than such characteristics. Otherwise, how can we explain that four years prior to the end of the Soviet empire a text appears in Prague stating that Europe cannot be genuinely unified without the unification of Germany. The voice from Prague was in that moment poorly timed, clumsy, tactless – basically what might be expected from inexperienced strivers who mess everything up. What were these people in Prague – Šabata, Havel, Dienstbier – getting themselves into? It later transpired that this dreaming of an expanding Europe based on a unified Germany would be the only possible practical policy in the centre of Europe. That the richer part of Germany would have to make a considerable sacrifice to achieve that unification. That in this way it would arrive at its own special story, transcending a mere episode.

The story, if it is not a mere anecdote, is based, as I will discuss, on sacrifice. For our dissident vision of the world, this wasn't something unimaginable. We ourselves are in a world in which the power of the powerless has been based on, among other things, the fact that we ourselves have underwritten our opinions with numerous minor, and major, aggravations, in extreme cases with our personal freedom. These opinions thus had greater weight than if they had been expressed, like today, in a completely non-binding way, on social media, for instance. However, there was much of which we could not conceive. That with the division of the world, and the disappearance of the threat to the Western world, the will to sacrifice would weaken so much that a quarter century later the union machine would operate more or less in vain from the perspective of the Union's citizens. Without European citizens and with an ever-shrinking handful of European voters. Without consciousness of a deeper meaning and with flagging solidarity and readiness to make sacrifices. Without a story but merely as a succession of episodes involving compulsory light bulbs and approved bananas. It is immaterial that both light bulbs and bananas ultimately have a rational significance: the important thing is that citizens of member states regard this as nonsense. The economic and financial crisis saved Europe for a time: Europe took action, avoiding a major crash. But this was all worked out between a few influential people. What if Merkel had not been among them?

We were not quite as impractical, naïve and kitschy as is thrown at us today. For instance Central Europe! And its political expression, Visegrad. Another then obsession of impractical dissident intellectuals! It no longer amounts to anything but nostalgia and literature, the rustling of paper, faded scents. Supposedly. They let us play with this toy, though apparently nothing worthwhile could result from it. Then in 1992, without a mandate from voters, Czechoslovakia was split by the functionaries of two political parties. Though dissidents were not responsible for that, the dispute over whether to split or maintain the common state was one reason they lost the elections. What was the outcome of the split? The Slovak elections of autumn 1998, in which Mečiar won for the fourth time, could not only have spelled the end for Central Europe – they could have meant that the Balkans expanded to Europe, rather than the European Union expanding to the Balkans. Mečiar did win at that time, but fortunately not much, as it was insufficient for a majority. He was a few votes short. At that time Prime Minister Mečiar could have rapidly found a willing enemy in Hungary and the balkanisation of Europe could have reached as far as the banks of the river Morava. He would then have triumphed with ease in subsequent elections. Victory comes easy with an enemy at one's back.

So was it just a dream, the one about Central Europe? Even today the dream of a cooperating Central Europe is not a thing of the past. It remains a sensitive space for Europe, though

of course now with the new players Orbán and Fico, who have so far been working successfully on creating regimes with such a degree of one-party rule that it could easily tip over into majority rule for eternity. How will those two handle the dispute over the status of Hungarians in southern Slovakia? Will they minimise it, or instead cultivate it? When I recall how those who divided Czechoslovakia were at the time praised to the high heavens by almost everybody in Europe for managing to split the state without a single shot, I ask myself, who was naive and kitschy? It wasn't us dissidents, who along with others fought for Czechoslovakia till the last moment. Today the Union doesn't know how to deal with Hungary, just as it didn't know how to handle Austria some years back.

Prior to November 1989, we did not only see Europe as a dream. Our position as outsiders had its advantages. We were unaware of how Europe is made in practical terms when it is extremely late and all summit delegates are dreaming of their beds. But we did know everything that we had lost when we allowed ourselves to be, as Kundera put it, kidnapped from the West to the East. Not that we were spirited away, a powerless victim, under the indifferent gaze of the West, but that we had allowed ourselves to be kidnapped. That too, but not only that. Us more, the Poles and Hungarians less – all of us let ourselves be abducted. This enabled us to experience, to feel, the loss all the more. What we regarded as valuable, Europeans were already beginning to find overly matter of fact. And they began trading in that: for more goods, less consideration of the vulnerable; for higher productivity in energy production, less concern about the maintenance of the cultured landscape; for higher turnover, less concern for protection of the soil wealth... This led to our first disappointment in the new member states. That the Union put more emphasis on GNP growth than that which makes Europe Europe but is by no means easy to measure.

We couldn't dream of Europe otherwise than as a Europe of Europeans, European citizens. This stemmed from the logic of an ideal that united us in Charter 77, despite all our differences; from the idea of defence and protection of human, or perhaps more accurately civil and political, rights, because social rights, and their scope, must always be the subject of legitimate political argument. I would like to speak about such rights separately, because for many the general "human rights" have become an empty phrase. For us, it was the only possible practical idea: to start with the citizen, the active citizen. "Passive citizen" is in fact a contradiction in terms. We did not begin with the concept of changing the political system from a concept of political parties, ideology or the state, but from one of active, because safe, individuals who felt free: citizens.

At some point in the mid-1990s, Václav Klaus asserted disparagingly that the concept of the civic society was a dangerous invention of Central European dissident intellectuals. He was

wrong. The history of that concept, respectively of what it means regardless of words, such as most notably the American words “civil society”, is far, far older. However, he was right in so far as Central European dissidents enormously revived that concept in the 1970s and 1980s. Along with the concept of “non-political politics”. For us the isolated, uncertain, frightened, dependent citizen was nothing but the bearer of an ID card who may, or rather must, go to polls once in a while. Only an active citizen, active through his concern not just for himself but also for his community, big or small, a citizen creating a dense tissue of civic society, as Václav Havel put it, only such a citizen is, in our view, a citizen in the full sense of the word. He is the citizen of a state and may be a citizen of the European Union. Today, however, it is as if he were disappearing from the scene. Evidently he won't even vote, in May's elections to the European Parliament, I mean. Political parties won't rescue the situation. So what can rescue the citizen of the Czech Republic, the citizen of the European Union?

Words confuse us somewhat. Non-political politics as an arena for civic society is a misleading term. Not non-political, but rather pre-political politics, for our countrymen the politics of Havlíček and Masaryk in the period when it still wasn't possible to do genuine politics. Not non-political but “sub-political” politics, the politics of Václav Havel, in which the free competition of political parties is admittedly an essential prerequisite for democratic politics but ultimately dries up when there is nothing “beneath it”, when it lacks the bedrock of that dense tissue of civic society. If I could turn back time, I would immediately, in the moment of its inception, correct the word non-political and divest it of the confusing impression that non-political politics should replace, or force out, political politics. That it is its negation. That it is at odds with it.

It wasn't just that Václav Havel was frequently misunderstood. There was no will to understand him. As a person, he was certainly not the prototype of the leader of a successful political party. His concern for civic society was, however, concern for the preconditions under which decent people would, in the future, be able to head such successful and, where possible mass, political parties. Without civic society “beneath them”, these parties would sooner or later end up in the hands of schemers and Mafiosi, if they didn't become such themselves.

Where is the space for the citizen of Europe, the citizen of the European Union, today? Does it even exist? What about the citizen as voter? Will Europe-wide political parties be formed? We have seen the first attempts to create them. Let's not underestimate such endeavours in advance. Nobody can guarantee success. But without European political parties the European Parliament will not be a genuine parliament with a governing majority and opposition, a parliament that draws citizens to elections.

Is at least European civic society, as a prerequisite for European political society, coming into existence? It seems to be, but again it only concerns that dreamt-of fundamental tissue,

which remains sparse. Transparency International, Greenpeace, Amnesty International... today these are perhaps the first fibres of a future tissue.

The dreams of Václav Havel and the dissent in general about Europe, about active citizenship as a basis for politics, were far less naïve and impractical than they may have seemed following the “year of miracles”. They could seem such because in the first years of dissidents in power, i.e., political, politics, they did not stand the test and lost in political contests one after the other. Far be it from me to suggest it was an achievement, proof of their virtue, or to strike up the popular buck-passing song about the revolution devouring its children. Poor children... No, that is not how it was: We were unable to reorient ourselves. We lost because we, some of us certainly, wished to remain in that cosy community, the community of dissent, being incapable of leaving it for the big, rather chaotic, uncomprehending society. Because it turned rather sour for some of us: we used to be better! Certainly, we had had it pretty good in that ghetto of the just. We were superior. To me such self-regarding demagoguery was always extremely odious.

We observe that, whatever the views of dissidents have been, political parties are losing credibility almost everywhere. There is therefore a decline also in the legitimising role of elections. And not only European ones. Political parties are becoming a shadow theatre. A number of powerful leaders create the impression of genuine political competition based on interests, or even ideology. Citizen voters disregard this and stay at home on election day. Politics is, to a marked degree, hollow. This is happening in territorial states, inaccurately referred to as nation states. But what about in the Union?

What will bring voters to the ballot boxes this May? What is at stake in the Union? Is it so important? Is there some Europe-wide story that would spur voters to decide? To actively participate in the elections?

The founding story of today’s unifying European, that grand narrative of two acts of terrible war and a threatened third thwarted by Europe’s unification, is still valid and credible. However, it speaks to ever fewer Europeans. It is simply too long ago. A century this year. This year we will return intensively to the first war. It will remain a memento, but now only as a conundrum for historians and politicians, who in any case will not ultimately agree where the war had to happen and who was most to blame for its outbreak.

Is there another unification story that could replace it? Or is it possible without a story? Just with mathematics of interests, based on vector addition and subtraction? This occurs in the European Parliament only approximately, and without the risk of loss of trust. No, interests, and the obtuse background to them, are not enough for such a large, multifarious enterprise to work. It does not work in a way that would interest hundreds of millions of voters.

In my view, we don't even want to think much about that story actually is. Today we employ the term "narrative", "missing narrative", as if that instantly made everything better. More instructive. Or as Barroso put it: We need a "new intellectual construct".

The main thing I wish to say is this: The great story that people tell and, which binds them to together, is always a story of sacrifice. Sacrifice. Sacrifice always sparks interest, admiration, respect: some people give priority to interests that are not immediate, and behave differently than the majority. What leads them to do so? It has to be something they regard as worthwhile.

Sacrifice is also the very core, the heart, of the great story of Christianity, and one of its spiritual sources. As regards the experience of Christianity in Europe at present, today's consumerist Europe prefers the small, family, idyllic story of Christmas, in which faith is overwhelmed by small sacrifices, gifts, to the great but difficult, initially discomfiting story of Easter. Without Jesus' bloody Easter sacrifice, without the crucifixion, the Christian story would be mere moralising of the type the world has forever been full. Sacrifice is something that always eclipses interests and gives meaning to the lives of millions. That establishes a value system, an order of values, that governs, directs and gives order to the everyday direction of millions of lives. There is no point in thinking and speaking about values without a context of concrete sacrifice. It is literally flogging a dead horse. That is just what we do when we constantly refer to values. By annoying moralising: there should, there must, we should... Such order needs to be created by genuine sacrifice rather than words, even binding ones. The order is set by that which has greater value, which has less value. Some values are higher because we have sacrificed other values which for us are less important, which for us are lower.

Threat played a role in the story of the establishment of post-war Europe. The threat that, just as the first war was followed by the second, a third could arrive.

What is the situation today? Is a third war again on the horizon? Be careful here: threats are also discussed by those who artificially inflate, dramatise and whip them up; they need them in order get to us to give up on wimpy democracy and the rule of law: nationalists, neo-Nazis, fascists, Islamophobes and xenophobes. Those who employ Russia and China as a threat. Not that there is no need to be on guard. Not that multiculturalism needs to be the programme everywhere, and always in the sense of the greater the diversity the better. But great efforts must be made to at least maintain and cultivate the current state of diversity. As soon as a society begins purges and expulsions, nobody can be certain where it will end. With settlements on the outskirts of cities, ghettos surrounded by walls, or concentration camps?

Europe is itself diversity, which was and remains the essential source of its wealth, spiritual, cultural and material. Yes, risks were involved and it enjoyed sufficient time. Now it seems time is scarce, that diversity is growing too sharply. Every country in the Union has to weigh this up

responsibly itself. Free movement in the centre of the Union, meaning Schengen, cannot be abandoned. I do not believe that there should be a European formula with regard to degree of openness. Former colonial countries, from our perspective still extremely rich thanks to those colonies, will probably have to bear greater diversity than, for instance, us in Central Europe, who have neither occupied any countries nor exploited anybody.

If not world war three, if not a flood of hostile foreigners, what other dangers? What threatens us Europeans? What can unite us and provide an opportunity for sacrifice? To the horror of most economists, I have been for some time thinking, speaking and writing that we are in danger of surrendering, in the interest of the idol of competitiveness, our European values. Surrendering what makes Europe Europe, that which is ours alone. I'm not at all saying better, but I do say ours, exclusively ours. What are these values? Social regard for the weak among us, respect for the environment and care for our cultural landscape that is a value of just us, Europeans, and protection for minorities. We will be forced to abandon all of this in the interest of competitiveness, because our competitors, who have not abandoned anything of the sort, never having possessed it, are therefore able to make cheaper products. For accuracy: to date, to date they have not possessed these values.

Right now I can hear Václav Havel speaking with a fear not of growth, but of the growth of growth. We are now with him in the realm of images, so I may say, with utter imprecision, that we could still bring about growth even if we were not forced to sacrifice that which is dear to us Europeans. However, if we wish to stand up not to growth but to the growth of growth, and to pass muster in competition with China, which is destroying its environment and moving millions of abject farmers to cities, with Brazil, where care for the elderly is unknown, then we will lose the economic competition and – as a bonus – lose that which is dear to us and makes Europe Europe. That is, concern for that which cannot be bought or sold, which is not traded on the stock market, which requires completely non-economic consideration. Not just consideration, but economically illogical sacrifice. If we agree that we cannot afford either consideration or sacrifice, it is the end of debate and we will rush headlong into the maelstrom of global competition, from which we will never escape. If we set aside consideration and sacrifices, if we agree that growth need not be the final, decisive imperative, we will be waging a retreating battle. I see nothing degrading in this, as long as we wage it with dignity, and if in doing so we do not kill one another.

Europe, today liberated from any major story centred on always incalculable sacrifice, has allowed itself to be blinded by a prevalently economic view of the world. It is, among other things, an interim victory of something that even the slowest pupil remembers from primitive, simplified Marxism: namely that the economic base determines the intellectual and cultural

superstructure, including politics. Here I will also return to Havel's warning against reductionism of this kind. I will not claim that it is the other way around, or play with words to suggest the superstructure determines the base. All such categories are excessively crude.

I would like to ask what we are willing to sacrifice in order that Europe once again become unified, that citizens of territorial states feel at least occasionally citizens of a greater whole, that, for instance, European elections not be a matter of indifference to them. Whether there has not already been an irrevocable decision to vote for that which promises not just growth, but the growth of growth. Or even that which offers even more: the growth of the growth of that growth. Or that which pledges to purify their country, so that the Czech Republic belongs to the Czechs alone. We can ask what we like, but only the European people can reply. Nobody can be forced into sacrifice. Who will ask Europeans? The president of the Commission? The EP? Some president? In the first instance such fundamental questions must be decided by member states.

But is this impossible? Contemporary Germany is not only doing better economically than most; its authority is also accepted. This is not just a result of its economic power: Germany has its own, partial story of sacrifice behind it. At a cost of substantial sacrifice, new federal lands, the former GDR, are reaching the level of the old ones. Not everyone has welcomed these sacrifices. They turned out to be greater than expected. However, there was fundamental consensus on them. It definitely brought the country together more than divided it. Political life there most approaches the democratic standard.

Unfortunately, it is the opposite story with Czechoslovakia: the Czech right no longer wished to share to the benefit of Slovakia. It definitely divided the country more than brought it together, although it did shrink. But it is not a matter of the size or diversity of a territory, be it a state or a union of states. It is a matter of willingness or unwillingness to sacrifice.

Today the Union's politicians should have the courage to ask: Do you want decent pensions tomorrow and the day after, or cheaper goods from China today? You cannot have both. Do you wish to compete with a country that employs child labour in production? Without social policies? What are you ready to sacrifice? The problem is that politicians promise both, and many voters believe them. Just so there is no talk about that strange idea, sacrifice.

If Europeans concur on the will to save their European values, they will need to be capable of preventing social, environmental, cultural and human rights dumping. The readiness to sacrifice material values to non-material ones could be a major European theme, the kernel of another major unifying European story. We would have to allow more politics, and fewer light-bulbs and bananas, into European institutions. For now we are incapable of this. So the democratic deficit grows, year by year. That deficit is now one of the mainstays of the Union's

buck-passing rhetoric, which always irritated Václav Havel, and me too. Today the word deficit is almost like an objective reality, a given. Something that is, unfortunately, part of the Union.

The language, the rhetoric of the Union, of its agencies and officials, is incomprehensible and aggravating to most people. Insiders speak in abbreviations, symbols, code. In reality the deficit means that the European Parliament isn't a parliament, the Commission isn't "something like a government". That the division of power does not yet exist, just, perhaps, the division of work. Why are those who don't want any Union at all more skilled at describing the deficit than those who believe in it? What prevents us from seeing things clearly is not political correctness but a lack of courage on the part of very well paid politicians.

Embracing the Crisis

LUUK VAN MIDDELAAR

The result of the Brexit referendum sent shock waves across the globe, stopping the world in its tracks and thrusting the European continent into the spotlight. After all, it was not just the future of the United Kingdom hanging in the balance but that of Europe as a whole. The EU's second largest economy – a military and diplomatic power with roughly an eighth of the union's population – had decided to leave. The internal equilibrium of the union was upset, ostensibly in Germany's favor, and populists from France to the Netherlands were emboldened to call for referenda of their own.

For Europe, however, the British exit represents an amputation, not a death sentence – assuming the responsible politicians can rein in the forces Brexit has unleashed. The task now is to prove that the union has the strength and vitality to present credible solutions to pressing problems, all while addressing growing disillusionment with the European project.

The referendum result directly contradicts an ancient adage of European politics that dates back to the coal and steel days of Robert Schuman and Konrad Adenauer: mutual economic interests are supposed to build bridges between grateful Europeans. But British voters turned this axiom on its head. Their aversion to immigration was stronger than their fear of the economic consequences of leaving. The tidal wave they unleashed has also upended the commonly held belief in Brussels that integration is the only path ahead. Indeed, even *more* countries might wish to leave the union, and ceding EU powers back to the national level is also not implausible. Simply put, Europe has until now marched decisively toward an ever-closer union. The certainty of that course has now shown itself to be an illusion.

In order to recover its strength, the EU needs to recognize that it can no longer advance incrementally, as is the standard in Brussels, and that it must be more open to public debate concerning its future. And in the aftermath of the British referendum, three fundamental questions have bubbled to the surface: How can Europe create a relationship with its people? Is the union even equipped to react to major upheavals? Who leads in times of uncertainty – and how do they navigate the differences between European voters, Brussels regulations, and German dominance?

On the first question: It isn't just British voters who are unhappy. Angry rumblings are growing louder across France, the Netherlands, Italy, and Denmark as well. Trust in EU institutions is at an all-time low. The eurocrisis left deep scars, both in countries forced to implement

austerity measures and in those that had to pitch in with their own taxpayer money. The union gambled away its credibility once again on the refugee crisis – first, by ordering reluctant member states to take in asylum seekers, then by attempting to stem the flow of people with a controversial deal with Turkey.

The EU does possess a unique advantage. Its mission is primarily concerned with expanding the freedom and opportunity of its citizens, and less so their protection. The EU has been dismantling borders since it was established. It champions the freedom of movement to study or sell goods beyond borders, to travel or work. It makes Europe – in the words of Michel de Certeau – a *space* and not a *place*.

It has equipped the well-educated with mobility. But it has also disrupted a broad and under-served part of the population along the way. For them, the EU is one more piece of a rapidly globalizing world that moves in endless streams of goods and people, and they feel they are powerless to fight back. As long as there is no balance between freedom and protection, voters will continue to look to their own state for shielding them from Europe.

Disillusionment with center politics has also given way to political extremism on the fringes. In many member states, a well-organized nationalist sentiment has turned against the EU in the name of sovereignty and identity. This centrifugal force has stepped up pressure on Germany, the traditional “power in the middle” (Herfried Münkler), to hold the European center together. For many voters, Brussels has transformed into a sort of foreign occupying power.

■ A comparison with national politics is helpful here. Any national government – the Polish, for example – has to make unpopular decisions on a daily basis, and that can lead to open unrest. But even the most hardened demonstrators aren’t likely to question the legitimacy of the Polish government itself. They may call on the Polish prime minister to step down, but they see the targets of their wrath – “our” prime minister and “our” parliament – as their own.

This “our” is Europe’s Achilles heel. Few people consider European decisions “their” choices, or European politicians “their” representatives. This feeling is unbelievably difficult to cultivate and preserve, yet it is essential to legitimizing decisions.

If the aim is to forge a real connection to citizens, it’s important to recognize that the European game doesn’t start in Brussels. Governments, parliaments, judiciaries, and citizens all take part in European politics. It is impossible to reduce the EU to a few acres of office space in Brussels. Europe can only be built *with* its people, not without.

The second fundamental question the Brexit vote raises is this: Is Europe, hemmed in by Brussels’ rules and regulations, really in a position to react to surprises? Here, we’ve witnessed a fascinating metamorphosis taking place in recent years. After spending decades working to

construct a common market and a system of technocratic rules, member states have been forced to take on a new role since the financial and geopolitical drama of 2008 – they have turned to crisis management politics. They have saved a currency, engaged Russia in a trial of strength, taken on hundreds of thousands of refugees and now, they must wrestle with the demons of Brexit. Europe's transformation into a union started with the fall of the Berlin Wall and German reunification; the structures created then are now being put to the test.

Reactive politics are qualitatively different from the rules-based politics that dominated Europe for much of the post-war period. For member states, it's no longer only about regulating business and market behavior. Now the EU must present a unified front against the myriad challenges to the common order, too. Up until this point, individual member states have been tasked with preserving external and internal security. Only they have armies, diplomats, and security services at their disposal. The union's new ambitions undermine these institutional interests and routines. And the power asymmetry between EU states – long a taboo subject – is becoming ever more significant, especially when it comes to responsibility for action.

Yet there is no practical alternative. We have witnessed a dramatic acceleration of events since 2008, and developing a common ability to act is a question of Europe's basic survival, no matter how difficult the path.

The founding idea behind the European Union was to create a system of rules that would both encourage ties between member states and make them more predictable after the “Second Thirty-Years War” that raged from 1914 to 1945. But when member states have been forced to act together to confront new challenges, the limitations of the original strategy have surfaced quickly. How should the EU respond when one member-state suddenly goes broke, when a neighboring state invades another, when hundreds of thousands of refugees pour across the borders? No project, no contract can anticipate the capriciousness of history, let alone provide adequate solutions.

None of this should come as a surprise. Whoever follows national newspapers knows that domestic politics are an unending storm of surprises, reversals, and scandals with unexpected outcomes. In a democratic system, very little goes to plan. And Europe, a club of unpredictable democracies, is no exception. Momentum is built upon decisions made on the national level, and it is only grudgingly accepted that certain problems are better managed together.

One example is the influence that heads of state and government wield in the European Council. This forum was set up in 1974 as a counterweight to the Brussels rule factory, and it has stood at the forefront of reactive politics since 1993. The circle of presidents, prime ministers, and the German chancellor takes up the task of conquering the storms that beset Europe; in the eurocrisis, for example, the central institutions of the union had neither the

financial means nor the legitimacy to overhaul the rules that lay at the foundation of their very existence. Between 2010 and 2012, Chancellor Angela Merkel, President Nicolas Sarkozy, and their 25 colleagues drew up the decisions that saved the euro.

Influential European voices like Jacques Delors and Jürgen Habermas sharply criticized the role of those heads of government, decrying a “renationalization of European politics.” But the results can be interpreted instead as an “Europeanization of national politics,” a development that would in fact strengthen member states.

Another important aspect of this metamorphosis: while the old, rules-based politics were influenced by relatively quiet experts and interest groups, the new reactive politics are squarely in the public spotlight. Europe and its institutions now make headlines; they are the theme of election campaigns and fodder for passionate debate. That hostility is really the other side of the same coin: The Europe of markets and trade had to contend with apathy, even mockery over stipulations regarding the curvature of cucumbers (political scientists referred to a “permissive consent”); the Europe of currencies, borders, and influence summons powerful forces and counter-forces, high expectations, and explosive mistrust.

Brexit posed a third question: Where does the center of power now lie? In the uncertainty following the referendum, a power struggle broke out in Brussels: Who should lead negotiations with the UK on behalf of the remaining 27 countries? Should it be the commission (Jean-Claude Juncker’s cabinet chief was already gearing up) or the European Council (which made it clear it wanted to take the reins)? The president of the European Parliament expressed his wish to see the commission become a “European government,” but the German finance minister interpreted the growing dissatisfaction as a sign that people wanted more devolution to member states. These are fundamental disagreements, and they are indicative of the intrinsic tensions threatening to tear at Europe’s fabric.

The British exit has also thrown a harsh light on German power in Europe. The union is not only based on rules and contracts, but also on an internal balance of powers. Yet we are now moving from a union that was dominated by a Paris-Berlin-London triangle to one that is oriented towards Berlin alone. Even before Brexit the equilibrium between Paris and Berlin had been growing increasingly unbalanced, but until recently, Paris could use its political weight to compensate for its economic lag. As the old saying went, France used Europe to hide its weaknesses while Germany used Europe to hide its strength. The eurocrisis signaled a dramatic shift in that dynamic. The German chancellor has become the focus of international attention since 2010, and she has played that role with a determination that is often underestimated at home.

Germany’s power is tangible in the most important political institutions – the European Parliament, the European Council, and the European Commission. The European Parliament has

always been a bastion of German power – as the most populous member state, the country has the most parliamentarians (96 out of 751) and controls the Christian Democratic and Social Democratic representations. The Council, meanwhile, has long been dominated by France and Germany, in that order. A president usually outranks the chancellor – the French like to ensure that the Germans know their place. But during the eurocrisis, it became evident who really wielded power as Merkel encountered dwindling resistance from a hesitant François Hollande. Finally, the commission took a decisive turn in 2014, when Juncker took office as president. The commissioner had always had French, British, and German advisers to maintain connections to all three major capitals; now, with 31 Germans, 21 French, and 18 British, there was a clear tilt towards Berlin.

Germany's time has come, and that carries significant dangers for the country and for the union. Some of these dangers have been recognized; others have been underestimated.

The burden of Germany's history, for example, is no secret. Yet even seventy years after Hitler, foreign caricaturists and political opponents instrumentalize the shadow of Germany's past. On the other hand, Berlin underestimates how often its European policies are perceived as naked self-interest, even if they weren't intended to be. The German finance minister in particular was guilty of this during the eurocrisis. "Doctor Schäuble" (as his Greek counterpart Yanis Varoufakis called him) argued from a position of moral certainty, while the outside world perceived him as a merciless, power-hungry politician who wanted to eject the Greeks from the eurozone. The refugee crisis has spurred a similar trend. The German *Willkommenskultur*, or welcome culture, might have been a noble sentiment, but Germany also has a rapidly aging population and a dwindling birthrate – and thus a use for the well-educated Syrian middle class. That makes the choice no less moral, but it has made the European debate more difficult.

Nevertheless, German power is not omnipotent. Germany is not a hegemon but rather a semi-hegemon. Even Merkel has often run up against barriers that date back to the times of Bismarck: Germany is too strong to be forced aside but not strong enough to implement everything alone.

The Germans are themselves not always aware of this fact. During the eurozone's darkest times, many Germans had the distinct feeling that they were being left to grapple with the crisis on its own. That was never the case. The president of the European Council reminded a Berlin audience of this fact in 2012: "A fourth from the German wallet means three fourths from the wallets of other Europeans!"

There is also a further reason why Germany cannot do the work alone, and certainly not without France. German and French attitudes toward certain political concepts are fundamentally different. That can lead to misunderstandings, but it is also constructive for European

politics. Take the concept of rules as an example. In Germany, rules stand for justice, order, and honesty. In France, they stand for limitation and lack of freedom. In the European context, this has led to mutual mistrust. Paris constantly requests more flexibility, for other countries or for itself (to exceed the debt limit, for example); in Berlin that is perceived as opportunism and a breach of trust. Conversely, the Germans, who see themselves as applying the rules strictly but fairly, often find themselves accused of rigidity, stubbornness, and even of playing power games because they prescribe solutions to the whole without understanding individual needs.

Crises are the counterpoint to rules, and this is where France excels. In France, an event, even a dramatic one, is a sign of life and renewal; for a French political leader à la Sarkozy, a crisis offers the opportunity to show his or her mettle. In Germany, on the other hand, crises undermine order – they are destabilizing and dangerous. The German public values heads of government who can absorb shock and still navigate the country through storms, like Chancellor Merkel.

In the coming years Germany will have to combat various economic and geopolitical challenges. But a country that prefers to bind itself and its partners with rules will also have to get used to a world of crisis-based politics. The paradox is that Paris has worked steadily over the past 60 years to ensure that Europe would develop from a group of member states into a geopolitical actor, but it is no longer in a position to lead in a decisive historical moment. Germany has to provide the necessary leadership – it can “no longer practice a well-tended culture of waiting and seeing” (Münkler), but must be ready to make swift decisions and turn improvisation into an art form. The burden of Germany’s past makes this a tall order indeed.

The European future lies wide open before us today, and it must be shaped with an unpredictable array of politicians, voters, and external and internal factors. But the same applies to the post-war history that has led us here. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel famously utilized the image of the owl of Minerva to express a common belief – that we can only understand and explain the truth in hindsight, after the day’s events are behind us. Yet at the same time, we must attempt to grapple with history if we want to shape our present.

Europe Entrapped


CLAUS OFFE

The European Union finds itself at the crossroads of either something considerably better or something much worse than the *status quo*; in other words, in a crisis. That much is nearly universally understood, both within Europe and widely beyond. So I am certainly not alone in believing that the current crisis, a crisis that is the cumulative outcome of a financial market, sovereign debt, and EU integration/democratic deficit crises, is an extremely serious and unprecedented one, frightening due to its complexity and uncertainty. If it cannot soon be resolved (but nobody knows how soon is “soon enough”) through a major institutional overhaul of the EU, both the political project of European integration and the global economy will suffer badly – to say nothing about the massive social suffering it has caused already in the countries of the European periphery.

THE ROAD FORWARD BLOCKED ■ The seriousness of the crisis is due to one core contradiction. In a nutshell: what is urgently *needed* to be done is also extremely unpopular and therefore democratically virtually *impossible* to do. What must be done, and everyone agrees on it “in principle” (namely large scale and long term debt mutualization resulting in massive redistributive measures both between member states and social classes), cannot be “sold” to the voting public of the core member states which so far have been less affected by the crisis than those of the periphery. Analogously, a rapid and sustained boost of the competitiveness of the peripheral countries, an adjustment of *their unit cost of labor* (defined as the ratio of real wages and labor productivity) leading at some point to their approximation to a balanced trade and sustainable levels of budget deficits – all of this is deemed to be “needed” yet is evidently impossible to implement without thoroughly wrecking their democratic political systems. Moreover, the incongruence between what is needed in economic terms and what is politically feasible, or the now symptomatically frequently invoked condition of “ungovernability”, applies to both sides of the current and deepening European divide of core and periphery. Yet if the Eurozone falls apart as a consequence of the failure to square this circle, the EU is very likely to follow suit. I believe that Chancellor Merkel is right in saying so – although she forgot to add what by now is also evident: It is the untamed and institutionally unembedded dynamics of the EMU and the Euro that threatens to disintegrate the European Union.

The chasm between what is “needed” as a set of promising policy responses to the crisis and what is “feasible” in terms of member state politics and available as political support

applies to *both* sides of that new European divide. Northern „populists” (as well as centrist political parties fearing the success of populist competitors) reject further tax-funded transfers and credit guarantees, while their Southern friends (or, rather, enemies) reject measures being imposed upon them that can be denounced as being part of a counter-productive austerity conditionality. Both profit from the crisis in widening their political support. The neo-Nazi party Golden Dawn in Greece has now grown to be the third largest party, as has the rejectionist and anti-political Grillo party in Italy. The moment such a party, together with other rejectionist forces, comes to be part of a governing coalition, the Euro would be a matter of the past due to immediate responses of ECB, IMF, and the financial markets.

NO RETURN TO SQUARE ONE  On the other hand, if a cooperative way forward appears to be blocked, why not simply go back to pre-Euro conditions? I do not think that is an option, which is why I speak of a trap where one cannot move in either direction. Even if it were widely agreed by member states that the introduction of the Euro into a fundamentally flawed currency zone was a huge mistake, the same applies by now to simply *undoing* that mistake. Legally, part of the commitments the new member states made at the point of their accession was a promise to transform their economies in ways that made them viable, as prescribed by the Maastricht criteria, as members of the Euro zone. In return, they were endowed with the entitlement to financial aid from EU funds which supposedly (yet so far widely unrealistically) would help them to boost productivity and competitiveness of their national economies along a trajectory of „cohesion” and „convergence”. If these mutual commitments were to be suspended, an avalanche of adverse economic consequences would be triggered: the re-nationalization of monetary policy would allow periphery countries to devalue their currency yet leave them all the more deeply in trouble with the challenge of servicing the Euro-denominated debt they have accumulated. Also, private sector financial lenders would immediately increase their pressure (“spreads”) on member states that have not yet left the Euro, thus causing the incalculable costs of a domino effect that eventually would also threaten the economy of the trade surplus countries because they would lose substantial parts of their export markets. Moreover, leaving the Euro would force leavers to also leave the regulatory regime of European law, as compliance with its rules would instantaneously become unaffordable to them. The dissolution of the Euro zone and, as an inescapable medium term consequence, the EU would be equivalent to a tsunami of economic as well as political regression.

The EU has served so far, apart from being a machinery of economic liberalization, as a monitoring and regulatory device through which major deviations from standards of human rights and liberal democracy can be kept under control, and be it, in addition to judicial devices,

by the “soft” mechanisms of naming, blaming, and shaming of violators (such as the Orban government in Hungary). The EU is also the only institutional location where binding rules governing the economic and fiscal interaction between member states can be decided upon and implemented, if so far evidently to an insufficient extent. As a supranational authority, it is a common political resource that can be used, if properly designed and further developed, for bringing order and control to not just the political economy of Europe, but also for defending peace and democratic civility on the continent. It could even be argued that the distinctiveness of cultural legacies and identities of European nations can be preserved and protected against homogenizing market forces only through the help of supranational agency. In view of these precious capacities of the EU of being a catalyst of supervisory control and cooperation, it appears frivolous to even consider the dissolution of the EU through a dynamic of re-nationalization as an acceptable way out of the crisis. Such re-nationalization would neither benefit individual member states nor the EU as a whole. Instead, it would cement European divisions.

AN UNSUSTAINABLE STATUS QUO At the same time, there is no denying that the Euro was a mistake from the beginning. If one puts Greece and Germany, just to mention the two extreme cases, into one and the same currency zone, one unleashes pressures and economic constraints on the poorer, less productive participant, the one with higher unit costs of labor and hence lesser competitiveness in international trade, and deprives them of the possibility of *external* adjustment of their national currencies. True, in that regard the Euro ties everybody’s hands. Yet the inclusion of the less competitive periphery into the Euro zone was one of those vicious mistakes which, once having been made, preclude the option of undoing them by returning to the status quo ante.

Currency exchange rate flexibility means that less productive national economies remain free (within limits) to devalue their currency in order to make their exports cheaper and imports more expensive, thus imposing an implicit extra tax on domestic consumers of, say, German luxury cars and Scottish whisky. Once one has adopted the Euro, the devilish implication which people start now to feel is that you cannot devalue your currency any more. Instead, countries must now engage in some kind of *internal* adjustment in order to compensate for large trade deficits, with “internal adjustment” being a euphemism for vast cuts applying to both the state sector and labor - unless, that is, they manage somehow to increase tax revenues from high incomes and wealth, which most political forces, including all social democrats, consider hardly feasible today. Why? Because, as borders are open, wealth can escape to national regimes with lower taxes and has done so since the financial market crisis began by the hundreds of billions (the “Depardieu effect”), depriving countries from which they escape of much of

available capital for investment. And why is that? Because a EU-wide tax harmonization has not (yet) been accomplished.

So after the option of external monetary adjustment is taken out of the game for Euro members, the only remaining options for adjustment are labor and the public sector. The trade and budget deficits must be compensated for through pressures on wages, pensions, labor market regulations, and public services such as health and education. In addition, deeply indebted states are mandated by supra-national authorities (the „Troika“ of ECB, the Commission, and the IMF) to privatize state-owned assets, their political „family silver“, in exchange for financial relief (that mostly serves to recapitalize troubled national as well as international banks anyway). Everything that is financed, provided, and regulated by the state needs now to be „liberalized“. Hence the new and already ubiquitous semantics of “reform”. It used to be the case that by the term “reform” we meant something proactive and “progressive”, a step towards more distributional justice. Now we see that the opposite is meant by reform: budgetary emergency measures with regressive distributional implications. Virtually the entire political elite of Europe and of member states proclaims that reforms (in the new sense) are necessary, urgently called for, and unavoidable as a *quid pro quo* for financial aid. Besides: Whatever the economic virtues of any reform proposal may be held to be, such proposals are most unlikely to be adopted if they are promoted not by a democratic political process of legislation but by foreign imposition and perceived blackmail. Little wonder that this causes a social uproar and huge protest movements. Unions fight with their back to the wall; at times, we saw explosions of these leftist populist mass movements almost every Sunday in the capitals and provincial towns of Greece, Portugal, Spain. Italy is a little better off (but perhaps not so any more, after the outcome of the February 2013 elections), then comes France, where Hollande is trying to assume the position of a mediator. At the same time, the twin motivators of greed and fear lead financial wealth to flee to presumably safe and profitable places, be it within Europe or off its shores.

To provide some statistics, which I found quite telling concerning what measures of “internal adjustment” are aiming at: For the Greek balance of external trade to become even, that country needs to become no less than 40 per cent less expensive in Euro terms. On the other side, German exports would have to be 20 per cent more expensive in order to reduce that country’s export surplus to zero. (Schäfer 2013) (Incidentally, German export surplus for 2011 has been, relative to GDP, *twice* that of China.) Yet a balancing of international trade seems quite inconceivable to happen, as neither Greek workers, pensioners, and political parties trying to defend their interests would allow this to happen nor German employers or any conceivable minister of finance. What makes things worse: Even *if* the Greek state budget were

to be shrunk nearly as much in response to dictates of the EU, the ECB, and the IMF by some authoritarian technocrat at the top of the country's government, the net effect on the debt-to-GDP ratio would not be favorable, but strongly *negative*. (Blanchard and Leigh, 2013) As the debt is made to shrink, the GDP would shrink even more rapidly, thus driving the ratio of the two *up* due to the negative multiplier effect of austerity measures. And as financial investors know that only positive growth prospects (a "credible business plan" of a country, as in Japan) will generate the future tax base out of the taxation of which their claims can be serviced, they are likely to respond to the worsening debt/GDP situation by either punitively denying credit or increasing the spread to even less sustainable levels to the extent such growth prospects are quite plausibly deemed to be missing, an assessment which in turn triggers a self-fulfilling prophecy of economic decline.

SOLIDARITY? So the overall question is: How might such huge and persistent trade imbalance be remedied *within* the framework of the Euro? Or can it at all be remedied? Or should Europeans better give up trying? The main ideas are: a European clearing union, fiscal union or debt mutualization, most practically in the form of Euro bonds, a mechanism that is currently disallowed by the Treaties and would amount to export surplus countries sharing with net importers the substantial (interest rate, tax revenues, as well as external exchange rate) benefits that they derive from their comparatively good standing with the financial and export markets. And something of the sort is being tried now, if with extreme suspicions on the part of public opinion, especially in the northern countries. The EU is, after all, not a federal state with the normal mechanisms of fiscal federalism and a central government which is constitutionally committed to take care of some permanent form of inter-state redistribution. Publics in core countries such as Germany have so far failed to appreciate - and political parties have to a disastrous extent failed to enlighten the public about - the (uncontroversial, behind closed doors) fact that measures such as debt mutualization are not a matter of "transfers" or "altruistic donations", but a matter of *solidarity* in the proper sense. That is to say: Solidarity means to do *not* what "is good for you", but what "is good for *all of us*". Instead, the ruling misunderstanding that mistakes acts of solidarity (in the sense just specified) for altruistic charitable donations invites the frame of asking: "Why should 'we' pay for 'them'?"

This frame is something right-wing populist parties (as well as many forces in centrist parties) are taking advantage of and use it for their campaign purposes, thus preventing national and European elites from pursuing a democratically broadly supported strategy mandated by "self-interest, rightly understood" (as Tocqueville famously put it in a different context), i. e., solidarity. In the EU, the notion of a "we" that defines the scope of solidarity is, however, poorly

established as a reference of a shared identity. The contours of the entity called “all of us” for whose benefit solidarity is to be practiced are, only “objectively” clear (namely “all EU member states”, the number of which is also involved in an ongoing process of expansion and thus remains a moving target), while they are blurred and contested in the subjective perceptions of member state elites and masses alike. The horizon of the solidarity that is called for is not a state, least of all a “family”, and not an association that members are aware of having voluntarily joined and therefore obliged to practice solidarity. It is rather an extensive community that is *still under construction* and hence weak (and getting weaker under the impact of the crisis with its winners and losers) as a source of solidarity obligations.

On the other hand: What a (currently shrinking) minority of EU enthusiasts among elites and non-elites would dream of for many years in terms of deepening the integration process, has suddenly, under the impact of the crisis, turned into the road map for an urgent rescue operation that makes the empowerment of fiscal and economic governing capacities at the EU level a plain imperative. Yet as this rescue operation lacks support of political parties (and hence voters) both in the still prosperous and the declining countries of the EU, the rescue operation is still unlikely to succeed, particularly as it is being conducted in an undemocratic, depoliticized, and technocratic mode that violates standards of democratic accountability which publics in European member states have (fortunately) learned to consider non-negotiable essentials of political life. Even in case the urgent fusion of supranational powers does succeed, it can thus easily be denounced by democrats as what it actually (and at best) is likely to be: A technocratically imposed, incompletely considered, judicially vulnerable, belated emergency operation with a dubious potential for putting the financial markets to rest and under control. To the contrary: As member states undergo a metamorphosis from classical “tax states” to debt states (Streeck 2013), they become ever more vulnerable to the vagaries of the financial markets.

THE FINANCIALISATION OF STATES AND THEIR INADEQUATE GOVERNING CAPACITY

Both proponents of the political left and the center-right have recently called for referenda as an institutional device to bolster the democratic legitimacy of rescue operations initiated by “Brussels”, with the left reluctantly betting on a “pro” outcome and the right on the opposite due to the prevalence of notions of “national” interests and growing mutual resentments between supposed winners and losers of the rescue operation. But, again: before preferences of voters can be *counted*, they must first be *formed*, and formed in the light of consensual normative reasons and the “enlightened understanding” (Dahl 1989) of the nature of the situation and the alternative escape routes and their consequences. In the absence of a Europe-wide party system with some hegemonic potential that could provide

such enlightening orientation, and given the power of national blinders in the formation of voters' preferences, it is not easy to be confident about the "emergency legitimization" referenda's capacity to provide support for strong interventions at the European level.

The supreme policy-making body of the EU is the non-partisan intergovernmental (as opposed to supranational) European Council (EC, not to be confused with the Council of the European Union, a quasi-federal chamber that plays a major role in European law making). It consists of the heads of state or heads of government of member states. It meets four or more times per year and defines the directions and priorities of the EU and gives "impulses" for EU policies; it is not involved in European law-making. (After its sessions, almost always in Brussels, a subtotal of the members, those belonging to the Euro zone, stay on for separate consultations.) The mode of decision-making of this body (that meets behind closed doors) is peculiar: no votes are taken, but the president of the Council draws a "conclusion" which is considered adopted as a consensual policy document once none of the members registers a formal disagreement. It also reflects power relations that serve to silence potential opponents to the (normally) prevailing French-German consensus. This unanimity rule represents the smallest common denominator that national top politicians of member states are able to strike a compromise on. If it were otherwise and some kind of qualified majority rule were to apply, the national constituency of presidents or prime ministers who find themselves in the minority could (and certainly would) protest that they have been made subject to some kind of "foreign rule", the rule of the majority countries. This arrangement severely limits the potential *effectiveness* of (the non-legislative, but "impulse-giving") governance by the EC. Its democratic *legitimacy* is limited by the fact that members, while certainly being elected into their offices of prime minister etc., are thereby mandated to serve the good of the *country* in which they have been elected, not that of the *European Union*; in contrast, members of the European Parliament are expressly elected to represent the European citizenry in EU legislation.

How did we get into this situation of urgently needed yet woefully deficient European and Euro zone governing capacity? What is its pre-history of the chain effects of financial market, debt, and integration crisis? One element of the answer is the inexplicable (as it seems from today's perspective) failure of national and European authorities to regulate the financial industry in ways which might have prevented the chains of banks defaulting and governments stepping in to bail them out – a notable *attention deficit* (Posner 2010) that has afflicted policy elites not just on Europe's side of the North Atlantic. Let me just allude to some of the deeper mechanisms that seem to have played a role in this extremely complex field. Part of the explanation of the story is that the states are so badly indebted and thus so vulnerable to the vagaries of financial markets because they had to bail out their banks, at least those which

are proverbially “too big to fail”. The public costs of saving private banks at the taxpayers’ expense has added to the fiscal crisis which then in turn allows the banks to profit from crediting states – a manifestation of the banks’ “second strike capability” that is an obscenity in itself.

If one were to put oneself in the shoes of a financial investor, he wants one of two things (and there is a trade-off between these two things): *security* for the financial investment (a positive assessment of the probability that the loan will be serviced and paid off) and a high *yield* in terms of interest (as a partial compensation for the remaining risk that the debtor defaults). *States* used to be preferred debtors because they have two advantages, as seen by lenders, compared to private debtors. First, they have the political authority to *impose* taxes on citizens to service their debt. Second, they can *print* money and thus devalue their debt in real terms through inflation. The latter attraction is no longer valid if the debtor state is a Euro state, thereby being prohibited from printing its own money. The former attraction has also been rendered questionable, from the point of view of financial investors, as states are rightly perceived by them to relate to each other, as EU member states with open borders, as rivals in a *game of tax competition*. Raising taxes in order to provide assurance to creditors is not an option either if that came to be seen by investors to undercut the state’s international economic competitiveness, hence its future tax base, hence the ability to service its debt. In an open economy, states must be cautious with imposing taxes on corporations and the earners of high income; if they cannot rely, instead, on imposing them upon ordinary workers and consumers, and to the extent they cannot cut their expenditures, there remains no alternative other than relying on loans from private creditors – loans which become less readily available (or more expensive) due to the two points just made.

Throughout the period of global liberalization, i. e. since the early eighties of the 20th century, the total debt of OECD states has thus been continuously growing. (Incidentally, the gradual transition from the taxing state to the borrowing state has some interesting distributional implications: The *taxing* state *diminishes* the disposable income of the well-to-do through (progressive) taxation, while the *borrowing* state *increases* that income by paying interest on what the well-to-do can well afford to lend the state.) Throughout the same period, the volume of the financial sector as a whole and the portion of the revenues it derives from the financing of public debt has been growing, while the portion of income that financial investors derive from borrowers in the “real” economy has been shrinking.

It has been argued by the German sociologist Christoph Deutschmann (2011) that the shift of the financial industry from financing investments in the “real” economy to financing sovereign debt and speculative trading in debt is due to a relative shortage of “classical” debtors - debtors who take out loans in order to finance investment in productive activities, the returns

from which allow them to service their debt. This shortage of demand for credit in the “real” economy can arguably be attributed to the combined effect of the demographic change of aging societies (wealthy pensioners acting as *rentiers* rather than entrepreneurs) plus a secular decline of economic growth rates throughout the OECD world (as Robert J. Gordon (2012) has argued in an influential paper on US long-term growth prospects). To the extent it does take place, *growth depends on credit* that is granted to states, firms and households. (As Streeck has shown in his new book (2013, 233), the total indebtedness (or degree of “financialization” of the economy and polity) has increased to a factor of *eight* times the annual GDP in Germany and of *nine* times that of the US, roughly doubling since the 70s in the US and since the early 90s in Germany, in the latter country mostly due to debt-financed unification.)

Yet it is also true that *credit depends on growth* for its sustainability. Moreover, the stability of a capitalist society critically depends upon growth. The one thing that capitalist societies, even the most prosperous of them, cannot afford is to *stagnate* (contrary to the hopes and predictions of J. S. Mill who foresaw a liberal steady state economy). For if growth were not anticipated for at least the medium term future, investors would have no reason to invest and workers no opportunity to work and earn an income from being employed. To deepen the dilemma even further, let me just point to the currently widely shared doubts whether we in the advanced societies can at all *afford growth* (“as we know it”) for environmental and, in particular, climate change considerations. Taking these considerations together, we get three propositions, each of which is as plausible as they are mutually incompatible: (1) growth is indispensable, (2) growth rates are approximating zero in advanced economies, (3) growth becomes unaffordable in view of its negative externalities.

I lack both the space and the competence to do more here than just raise these questions rather than outlining answers concerning what happens in a zero growth condition. Instead, let me return to the configuration of forces and strategies in the current debt and Euro crisis. Bailing out Greece (and now Cyprus), to say nothing about Spain and Portugal and Italy, through debt mutualization, Eurobonds, and other mechanisms of burden-sharing among member states is likely to turn out to be an extremely expensive transfer that would have to be paid through inflation or/and increased budget deficits in the North. That is to say, it is extremely unpopular in countries which would be seen and see themselves as net contributors to the rescue operation. The only argument to possibly convince “northern” voting publics that burden sharing (of course with harsh conditionalist strings attached) is still an acceptable idea is the argument that *failing* to do so might be even *more* expensive. This is an entirely prudential argument, not one from solidarity obligations. Nobody can know for sure what is going to happen if *nothing* happens, i. e., if some form of debt mutualization does *not* materialize.

The most recent prognostics from a Bertelsmann study (2012) suggest a disaster: a domino effect throughout the northern Mediterranean, including France and perhaps Belgium would be hugely destructive for the global economy, and in particular the entire European economy. Germany, as well as Finland and the Netherlands, would be very badly affected, too. So, as a matter of prudence rather than solidarity, it is better to bail out Greece in order to stop the predators of the financial industry from imposing ever higher “spreads” on one after the other of the countries in question. To be sure, the financial institutions will warmly welcome such acts of anxiety-driven supra-national “solidarity”, as these acts assure them that their risk will eventually be covered, at least to an extent that allows them to stay in business. Yet more than temporary transfers is needed in order to restore the trust in the debtor countries’ ability to pay and to service their debt: In order to fully assure long-term investors, what Greece would need is not just the (at any rate limited, in both time and financial volume) willingness of vicarious debtors to step in by paying for Greek debt, but a recovery of the tax base of the Greek economy so that, at some point in the fairly distant future, Greece can cover its financial obligations from its own production (plus from permanent transfers from EU funds, such as an economically backward province would be entitled to receive from the central government of an ordinary federal state). That is to say, in order to prevent the banks from anticipating (and thereby causing in a self-fulfilling loop) the risk of default of Greek and other Mediterranean states, the EU, instead of urging counter-productive austerity and “reforms”, thereby further undercutting growth prospects and stirring up disruptive social conflict, would have to become instrumental in rebuilding the ailing and largely uncompetitive economies of the Southern Euro zone. But no one, argues Streeck (2013), pointing to the (presumably “easier”) intra-state examples of the post-GDR *Länder* and the Italian *Mezzogiorno*, knows how to accomplish that in an effective and robust manner. Besides, the sobering fact is that the EU in its present shape (lacking its own taxing power and with its medium term budget just having been significantly decimated, in early 2013, by member states’ governments) is neither institutionally nor economically nor politically willing and able to take the initiative towards any of those things. A minimally promising “Marshall Plan for Greece” is not forthcoming from “Brussels”. Besides, if it were, it would not fall on the fertile ground of a post-war reconstruction boom, as did its predecessor. As long as nothing of the kind is likely to happen, the banks are bound to have the final say on what happens to the populations and economies of the South.

In an economic space where national borders are perforated so that people, investments, goods, and services can freely move from member state to member state, a web of causalities and interdependencies emerges the scope of which vastly exceeds the scope of control, or governing capacity. What “all of us” are passively affected by cannot be actively shaped and

managed by any agency that is endowed with legitimate power. This gap between the horizon of causation and the horizon of control applies with particular force to members of the Euro zone: they are disempowered to manage their national currencies (as there is none anymore) yet unable to collectively establish the governing capacity that would allow them to manage their interdependency in ways that are tolerable for all and capable to curb the power of the financial sector. The ECB, being the supreme fiduciary institution of the Euro zone and remote from any political accountability has neither mandate nor nearly the capacity to fill this control gap.

Sociologically speaking: The scope of functional integration is much wider than the scope of social integration, or what we are passively *affected by* is beyond our collective capacity to *act upon*. The European political economy is (at best) experienced by its citizens as a community of fate, but not as one of fate *control*. Markets and the currency are international, while democratic politics remains essentially national and framed in the code of what has been called “methodological nationalism”. The twist, however is that some participants of this game, such as Germany, have no urgent reason nor incentive to remedy this imbalance because they can live with it or are even favored by its outcomes, while others are on the receiving side of massive and uncontrolled negative externalities, i. e. the beggar-my-neighbor effects originating from member states which have managed to combine high productivity with wage restraint, together yielding low unit costs of labor and high export surpluses. Yet with the EU having no taxing authority of its own, any permanent and appropriately large-scale international redistribution initiated by the Commission would meet with the complaint of “taxation without representation”. But this imbalance can be taken care of in either of two ways: Either by further cutting the budget of the EU or by endowing the EU with a democratically accountable taxing and spending authority of its own (which, to be sure, would require not only amending the Treaties, but also national constitutions, such as the German *Grundgesetz*).

It used to be the case that, in order for one country or a group of countries to take full control of the economy and polity of another country, the former must *occupy* the latter by military means. This is no longer needed. Today one can have perfectly peaceful relations with a particular country and still literally own it - simply by appropriating its economy through a permanent trade surplus and by destroying its sovereignty by depriving the country (in an *ad hoc* fashion of rescue conditionality, if not through European law) of its budgetary and other legislative autonomy. Just an example: 40 per cent of the manufacturing sector of Hungary is estimated to be owned or jointly owned by German companies. And these are only German (co-) owners – if you add France, Austria, Great Britain, this must amount to the majority of all assets of that country. Given this constellation of economic and political power, it does not come as a surprise that within those countries the situation is perceived as a new version of

imperialism and dependency - a view the anti-European mobilizational potential of which yields very gloomy prospects for the future of European integration.

WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY? Coming back to the question of who can or must be “blamed” for such international power imbalances deepening within the European political economy and the Euro zone, the only “agent” we can point at is the institutional setup of the EU and the “attention deficit” of its designers. Their design of the Euro zone was a giant mistake from the beginning because of the (further deepening) heterogeneity of the economies it comprises, as was the failure of the Maastricht treaty to provide effective sanctioning mechanisms for the violation of its criteria as well as the failure of the Lisbon treaty to establish an adequately capable regime at the European level for the implementation of supra-national economic, fiscal, and social policies. Nor can any “automatic” adjustment of socioeconomic imbalances be expected to take place, be it through the lowering of wages and prices in the less prosperous parts of the system or through outward migration of labor to the more prosperous ones; the latter adjustment through labor mobility is largely hindered, within the EU, by its multilingual nature of the EU with its no less than 23 official languages. On top of all, there was the mistaken political decision to engage in the competitive liberalization of the financial industry, in Germany (under the Red-Green Schröder administration) and elsewhere. So it seems that “all of us” have made great, serious and highly consequential mistakes.

Yet this insight, though widely and occasionally even ruefully shared by today’s political elites in Europe, does not really help to re-design policy. What would help, in my view, is not to allocate *blame* retrospectively but what I would call forward-looking *remedial responsibility*. The moral principle underlying this move is simple. It postulates that the *less* an agent (member state and its economy) has suffered as a consequence of the mistakes collectively made or the *more* it even has benefitted from them having been made (through interest rates which are lower than they otherwise would be, and external exchange rates of the Euro more favorable), the *greater* the share of the burdens the agent must shoulder in compensating others for adverse consequences resulting from the original mistake. This moral calculus can even be read in a deontic and a consequentialist perspective - the latter because the beneficiary will have a long-term interest in preserving an arrangement that has yielded it so many benefits at comparatively low costs and sacrifices. Yet however one is to read it, the answer to the question who that agent might be bearing the greatest remedial responsibility in today’s Europe is compelling: Germany. Yet German political elites and publics are far from *appreciating* this answer as compelling and from acting accordingly - quite the contrary and certainly not at a time when incumbent parties and governments are facing national elections.

What we have here is one of the rare cases where the demands of moral duty *coincide* with those of well-considered long-term interest. Yet still its practical implications are virtually universally being rejected. Needless to say, a proposition to

- partially sacrifice national sovereignty and substantial economic resources, for the sake of
- creating an enhanced European-level governing capacity, for the sake of
- bailing out member states and subsidizing their economic recovery as well as alleviating the misery of their social conditions, for the sake of
- appeasing the financial industry and restraining its charges of interest, in order to
- consolidate the Euro zone and eventually the EU ...

such a complex chain of strategic moves is a non-starter in terms of national politics, and not just due to its complexity and the uncertainties involved. Whoever were to advocate this line of action has to face fears, resentments, and nationalistic backlash on a massive scale coming from all over the spectrum of political forces.

THE POVERTY OF PARTY POLITICS To repeat, we face the abysmal gap between policy and politics. Political parties - preferably supra-national political parties addressing a Europe-wide constituency – would have to be able to bridge this gap by shaping and educating public opinion. Instead we see parties desperately clinging to national frames and short-term cost calculations as they are afraid to provoke the worst resentments of the voters and of losing votes to populist competitors as a consequence. What their leaders say and decide behind closed doors in Brussels is often risky to state openly and defend at home in the national media because of the omnipresent suspicion of betrayal of “national” interests. Political parties as power-seeking organizations are corrupted by the positivistic opportunism of responding to voters’ “*given*” preferences, while shying away from the challenge of *shaping* these preferences in the first place - which is arguably the supreme mission of democratic political parties.

If that mission were to be fulfilled, parties would have to accomplish a switch from the dominant code of “nation vs. nation” to an at least supplementary code of “social class vs. social class”. That is to say: Two Germans, one of whom is threatened by long term unemployment, have probably *less* in common, as far as their socioeconomic interests are concerned, than two Europeans being threatened by unemployment (or, for that matter, deriving income from financial investments), one of whom happens to be a German.

As a rule of thumb, politicians can afford the more consistency the further they are remote from a direct involvement in national policy making. Populist leaders, both on the left and the right, are often quite consistent exactly as they cannot hope for government office anyway. As long as governing responsibilities are out of reach, they can be denounced as “sour grapes”,

and office holders denounced as self-serving, incompetent, and corrupt. Populists are obsessed with what Max Weber called “negative politics: politics of obstruction and anti-politics. Populists such as the Italian *Cinque Stelle* movement float mobilizing demands for the benefit of their campaign that they do not expect to have to implement as the makers of public policy. Another current example is Horst Seehofer, the Bavarian prime minister. As his role in EU crisis policy is at best a very limited one, he can well afford to “be tough on the Greeks” - a position on which he has to retract though when it comes to demonstrating support for Merkel’s coalition government of which his party is a junior partner. On the other hand, I am less optimistic than, for instance, Habermas (Bofinger et al. 2012) that political parties *are* in fact able and willing to shape public opinion through argument and persuasion in order to generate support for far-sighted and inclusive policies. What would be needed for political parties to shape preferences through persuasion and argument is the capacity to overcome widespread fears, sentiments of distrust, short-sightedness, and suspicion.

One of those popular attitudes that parties are typically not capable of coming to terms with is the suspicion that if “we” make sacrifices in favor of “them”, “they” will use “our” generosity as an opportunity to take unfair advantage of “us”. In short, “they” are portrayed as engaging in the frivolously self-serving behavior that economists call “moral hazard”. The cognitive bias of mass constituencies that parties fail to overcome is the understanding that a problem is “their” problem, not a problem of “all of us”. This weakness could perhaps be remedied if parties were able to switch from their dominant “nation vs. nation” code to the “class vs. class” code.

Yet the primary problem is the widely shared *perception* of such threat of moral hazard and its anticipated turn into a negative-sum game. If “we” are generous to “them”, “they” will respond by exploiting the situation by stopping to perform “their” obligations, thus spiraling “all of us” into a bottomless pit. If that were so, “we” would do better to stop making mindless sacrifices on our part, which is a politically popular conclusion which drives the whole scenario. It stands in the way of the acceptance of socially inclusive and far-sighted policies. Yet the negative-sum scenario is not just driven by the interest of potential donors in finding an excuse for not donating, but it is often also provided plausibility by observations on how recipients actually *do* behave and are induced by their institutions and traditions to behave. In several of the Mediterranean Euro countries, there is in fact credible evidence of tax authorities and entire political elites being corrupt, tax evasion being considered a mark of cleverness, special interest being institutionally privileged and tax-exempt, organized crime playing a big role in the making (or at least sabotaging) of public policy, and agents in public administration and the judiciary deviating far from what in other parts of Europe is considered an appropriate ethos

of public service. It is the evidence of these deficiencies (which are hardly to be overcome by foreign pressures, threats, and moralizing accusations) that nourishes negative perceptions and resentments on the part of those in the North of Europe who have an interest in excusing themselves from duties of solidarity, if not even a plain propensity to victim blaming. If neither the Greek state nor European legislation finds means to prevent rich citizens of Greece to reportedly transfer every year an estimated 40 billion Euros out of the country into their Swiss bank accounts or elsewhere, this fact, as processed by media reporting, is quite unlikely to stimulate other Europeans' sense of obligation and responsibility. While Greece is probably the most ethno-nationalistic country in the EU, its economic culture is arguably also the least patriotic.

We know from surveys that in none of the countries that suffer from great trade and budget deficits majorities favor the idea of leaving the Euro - quite to the contrary. The economic and political reasons are obvious. First, by exiting from the Euro they would lose their "nuisance value" - the capacity to pressure the EU to rescue their banks, budgets, and economies. Second, they still would have to service their Euro-denominated debt on the basis of a heavily devalued new national currency. Also, no reasonably responsible politician in the rest of Europe would urge them to leave, as chain reactions affecting other countries would be likely (and at least highly incalculable as to their costs) as a consequence.

The EU and its member states suffer from three deficits that are by now almost proverbial: The deepening *trade* deficits of the poorer economies, the ubiquitous (except for Sweden) *budget* deficits, and the glaring *democratic* deficit at the level of EU governance. To briefly illustrate: GDP per capita relates from the (admittedly: outlier of) Luxemburg at the peak to Bulgaria at the bottom as 17 relates to 1, with ten of the 12 new member states together making up the lower end of the distribution. There is not a single Euro country where public debt levels comply with the Maastricht limit of 60 per cent of GDP. And the European institutions, in spite of the direct and deep impact they have upon the life of citizens, operate in stratospheric distance from democratic mechanisms of accountability and representation. The most supranational and most democratic of the EU institutions, the European Parliament, suffers from the anomaly that it does not meet (and will hardly ever obtain) the standard of a "peoples chamber", or a normal legislature; for that, it would have to comply with the "one man one vote" rule and the principle of equal weight of each vote. As, for instance, the populations of Germany and Luxemburg relate to each other in quantitative terms as 204:1, the constituency of Luxemburg (or Malta or one day Iceland) would hardly ever agree to be massively downgraded in its representational weight in the EP through an abolition of the rule of "degressive proportionality" currently in force; yet that rule has already been declared "undemocratic" in lower houses by the German Constitutional Court. (Bundesverfassungsgericht 2009, Tz. 274 - 295)

These three deficits are tightly interrelated, with the last one, the democratic deficit, being the strategic leverage point for any promising attempt to deal with the other two. In order to have a steep increase in terms of integration, fiscal pact, permanent oversight of the Commission, in order to make a regime controlling banks and budgets a stable regime (rather than an *ad hoc* emergency measure adopted behind closed doors), most of all: in order to implement the large-scale redistribution (both inter-state and inter-class) that such a regime would entail, one certainly cannot do without the political support of the European citizenry that expresses its will, as shaped and guided by political parties, in general elections and referenda. And, as democratic procedures go, the outcome can be yes, or it can be no; democratic processes are open-ended choices. Their outcomes depend upon the capacity of political parties to persuade and enlighten citizens. If we were to leave choices concerning policy, but also those concerning institutions, to the technocrats to decide upon, then chances are that everything they decide will be worthless the day after tomorrow, i. e. after the day national constitutional courts or the ECJ have passed their judgments. In order to create solidity, permanence, calculability and continuity of the terms of integration, we need democratic legitimation. This is a functional argument: If we want to be effective, we cannot do without democratic legitimacy in the first place in order to endow policies and institutions with the authority and validity that the (alleged) expertise of technocrats cannot possibly substitute for through “output legitimacy”.

At any rate, the way forward cannot be charted by Thatcher’s (and Merkel’s) TINA maxim that “there is no alternative” to what incumbent elites declare the only way out. Invoking TINA is just tantamount to admitting that previous policies have failed their mandate to *keep* choices open, thereby trapping all of us in an allegedly alternative-less situation.

No doubt, there is a problem here. Liberal democracy has been suspected to be both procedurally slow in recognizing and addressing societal problems and myopic (inadequately “future-regarding”) in setting agendas as elites are fixated on what can be achieved by the date of the next election. (Either of these defects can be easily illustrated using current climate change politics and policies as an example.) On the one hand, it is in the very nature of democratic processes, including appropriate information-gathering, will-formation through public debate and deliberation, coalition-building, campaigning etc., that it is highly time-consuming, compared to decision-making in de-politicized technocratic committees. This applies *a fortiori* to democratic institution-building: The time needed to accomplish a major overhaul of the Treaties governing the European Union can safely be estimated as ranging between five and ten years. Yet in order to produce a viable response to emergency situations in financial markets, one often has a day or two. Sometimes it is a matter of hours to: Brussels’ decisions on how to appease financial markets must be out at 2 am Sunday night, i. e. before the Tokyo stock

exchange opens. Yet still: Those making such decisions must be capable of being held democratically accountable or at least be able to claim legitimacy on the basis of a fiduciary mission democratically granted to them. The solution of this problem might be that policies become more proactive, anticipating and paying attention to seemingly remote possibilities (remote both in time and in probability) in order to be prepared – the opposite of what was the case in the financial market crisis of September 2008.

Besides, the absence of choice is often a false claim of politicians and their ideological preoccupations and ways of framing political and economic realities. Take the familiar case of a gaping budget deficit. The technocratic answer is the call for austerity. Yet instead of cutting expenditures, the gap can also be closed by raising taxes. Yet that would antagonize investors, whose resistance would have to be neutralized by, among other things, harmonizing the system of direct taxes throughout the EU. But trying to do so would provoke objections in the new member states which feel compelled to compete for investment through low (and often flat rate) corporate income tax rates. And so on. Claiming “no alternatives” is often just a cover for surrendering to perceived (and no doubt: accurately perceived) power relations, the powers that defend the status quo of the free movement of financial capital.

Europe consists of nation states, citizens and social classes; there are plenty of alternatives concerning how we want to engage all these various forces and actors into the democratic process. Generally speaking: *input* legitimation is indispensable, particularly at present when *output* legitimacy - the legitimacy claimed for the making of effective decisions - is in such a miserable state. If one thinks of the so-called “permissive consensus” in favor of Europe that prevailed until a decade ago, virtually nothing is left of it. Mass constituencies are up in arms against “Brussels”, “Berlin”, “Europe” – thus we need to rebuild Europe on the basis of democratic mechanisms of representation and accountability.

There is no shortage of policy proposals which serve as proof that there *are* “alternatives”. A EU-wide tax harmonization applying to direct taxes would help to disincentivize “regime shopping” practices and transnational capital mobility – a mobility with which labor cannot cope, partly because labor speaks in 23 languages, while capital is “speechless”. Budget deficits can be addressed not just by austerity measures and “internal” devaluation; they can also be solved by increasing taxes on high income and wealth, and be it by forcing the wealthy to buy government bonds. Indirect taxes have the great advantage that their tax base cannot flee the country and the well-known downside that their incidence is regressive: the relatively poor spend greater parts of their income and thus shoulder a greater proportion of the burden of indirect taxes. Why not applying a progressive schedule on $Y-S=C$ per tax year, i. e. annual income per person minus documented savings/investment as the basis of progressive taxation instead of

a flat sales tax, thus combining the advantages, in terms of distributional fairness, of direct and indirect taxation? Furthermore, proposals have been made to Europeanize the systems of unemployment insurance (Dullien 2008) and social assistance/poverty relief (van Parijs 2012), the realization of which may well boost, as a side effect, the mass identification with Europe as a political entity. Moreover, without violating the “subsidiarity” principle enshrined in the Treaties, a European legislation could be launched that specifies maximum permissible Gini-coefficients for member state societies, with the level inversely tied to their current GDP per capita values. Also, commercial banks can be prohibited to accept deposits from financial investors who can be identified as fleeing from debt-troubled countries. All of this *can* be done, but it hasn’t been done. These and other policy proposals can largely be implemented through European legislation. The problem is that before that can happen, a basic “mental reframing” of the situation is called for in that the prevailing “methodological nationalism” code of “nation vs. nation” must be partly substituted and supplemented by a code of “losers vs. winners” of the crisis, if not socioeconomic “class vs. class”.

Institutionally, and in order for any of those proposals to win favorable prospects, the European Parliament needs to be strengthened and the Commission needs to be transformed into something like a parliamentary government. It are precisely those EU institutions which have the *greatest* impact on daily life of people which are so far the *farthest remote* from democratic accountability: the European Central Bank, the European Court of Justice and the European Commission. They are completely depoliticized and thus can act in majestic independence of whatever citizens, parties, and parliaments prefer or reject. Again: We face a deep divorce between politics and policy: On the one hand, there is often populist mass politics (including identity-related “culture wars”) that has no perceptible implication for policy-making on citizens’ core interests and bread-and-butter issues. On the other, there is elitist policy-making that has no roots in, no links to, nor legitimation through politics. This is the deepening bifurcation of those two spheres within the European polity. Political elites are increasingly unable to achieve outcomes that voters desire and to convince voters that their interests are in their, the elites’, trustworthy and competent hands. What voters need and want is beyond the capacity of the political system to deliver, without the latter being able to explain the former what the hindrances are, and how they might be removed. It is as if one has mail-ordered a shirt and is supplied a pair of socks. The promises and appeals by which political power is *acquired* (i. e., *politics*) are disjointed, under the dictate of financial markets, from the purposes to the achievement of which power resources mandated to governments are *effectively employed* and used for the making of *policies*.

To this situation elites (as well as commentators and academic observers) respond by diagnosing and complaining about an emerging condition of “ungovernability”. Non-elites feel cheated and follow the appeals of ever shriller and ever more anti-political forms of fundamental opposition campaigns, such as that of Grillo in Italy who, right after winning a spectacular quarter of the popular vote in the February 2013 national elections, gleefully predicted that the Italian Republic’s disintegration and exit from the Euro zone within a matter of six months due to its manifest fiscal starvation.

What if the Euro fails and the losers of the Euro game are forced to leave the common currency area? I suppose there are lots of drawers in lots of government offices that are filled with emergency plans for the hour when all the rescue plans have turned out futile. I have not seen these plans, nor has anyone I know. If the EU disintegrates, in “controlled” ways or otherwise, we’ll stand at the beginning of a giant negative-sum game in which everyone is going to lose. That much is well understood, and widely. As I have pointed out, one core problem for the saving of the Euro is that the banking crisis has spilled over into a debt crisis, and the debt crisis is an EU integration crisis. The latter crisis consists in the re-nationalization of horizons of solidarity and rich countries of Europe dictating the poorer ones the austerity cure in order for them to regain the trust of the financial industry. They do so in spite of all the evidence that austerity is a highly poisonous medicine, an overdose of which will kill the patient (rather than stimulate growth and expand the tax base), in which case the weakest Euro zone members (and eventually all of them) become ever more dependent on lenders and allow them to charge ever higher and ever more unsustainable rates. It is becoming ever more difficult to envisage the bootstrapping act by which European political elites might escape from this vicious circle. I think it will eventually need the protest and resistance of those suffering most from the crisis to push those elites on a more promising path. But nobody, as of today, can claim the possession of valid knowledge on what that path may be, nor who may assume a leadership role in guiding us there.

State of Emergency

JIRÍ PŘIBÁŇ

In Ancient Greek, *krisis* meant both a court judgment and the decisive moment when the doctor had to diagnose whether, in view of the course of the disease, a patient would survive, and to act accordingly. Besides its legal and medical aspects, *krisis* also takes on the theological significance of the Last Judgment, in which God separates all those who will be saved from those who will be eternally damned. In all of these cases, there is a moment of decision carrying crucial consequences for everyone involved. Even in dramatic tragedies, a crisis is not a state, but a moment at which inner tension and conflict reach such intensity that the plot cannot move forward, prompting drastic change and the denouement of the entire play.

In this sense, the Greco-European economic and social crisis is not yet actually a crisis, but rather a terrifying wait for a radical decision that both sides are constantly putting off. Nobody wants to risk total collapse and everyone realises that, were Greece to exit the euro area, whether temporarily or permanently, this would trigger further crises of unforeseeable proportions and consequences. The current calls by both sides for “common sense” to prevail are thus prolonging today’s European *stasis* – immobility caused by the mutual strength and weakness of European and Greek negotiators.

In the face of such a situation, we cannot but ask ourselves what *krisis* down the line may be the upshot of the present *stasis* and exactly what rationality will be moulded by the two sides negotiating the Greek debt and economic reforms.

CRISIS AS A HIGHER STAGE OF ARBITRARINESS At the beginning of the summer 2015, the following of developments in the Greek economic crisis became as tedious and insufferable as the heat wave that struck the European continent. It was as though everything had already been said, but we were none the wiser. Each summit gave the impression of being fateful, final and decisive, yet ultimately the only safe bet was that another similar summit would take place in the near future and it was of no consequence whether Greece would be in the eurozone at that time.

Greece’s withdrawal or exclusion from the eurozone, though, would have no basis in European law, which recognises only secession from the EU as a whole. With this in mind, the expulsion of a country – one espousing membership of the monetary union and the EU itself – on account of economic meltdown wrought by European monetary policy is a peculiar form of political extremism unprecedented in the continent’s postwar history.

A second radical solution – the forgiveness of the entire debt and subsequent economic and humanitarian assistance to Greece – would be just as unworkable because other member countries, mindful of the displeasure and poverty of their own citizens, refuse to provide it. The Greeks have no monopoly on democracy. Rather, democracy is part of general European policy, with all its opportunities and limitations, including curbs on social and political solidarity.

All of the solutions are wayward and the crisis, whose actors brandished European interests, democratic values and mutual solidarity, merely stoked prejudices across the continent, so today it is again a place inhabited not by Europeans, but just by lazy Greeks, Nazi Germans, profligate Italians and thrifty Dutch. Some compare the stance taken by today's Greek government to the valiant outnumbered Greeks battling the Persians at Thermopylae or the Roman forces at Corinth, while others dismiss the same government as conspirators seeking revolutionary upheaval at home and throughout the EU. Some see the whole crisis as an ideological scrap between capitalism and socialism, while others believe it is nothing more than a technical act to preserve the common currency and, with it, much-coveted prosperity, even though an overall economic loss is as certain as it is incalculable. Greek political leaders pose as biker gang leaders and heavy metal stars, yet their yelling is drowned out by the plodding – but consequently all the more devastating – rhythm of the German brass band, taming ever-increasing numbers of dancers on the European dance floor. With level-headedness in short supply, helplessness and an intellectual vacuum are all the more rife. In other words, this is a graveyard of sound intellectual judgement and a breeding ground for all types of demagogues.

In the second decade of this century, Europe became governed by arbitrariness and hall-marked by uncertainty. Rampant developments have put paid to established economic and political patterns and rules. These days, no one knows what state the EU and its member states will be in at the end of this tectonic shift, the reverberations of which are felt far beyond Greece. The only consensus is that the current situation is the gravest crisis in the Union's history and that the way it is handled will fundamentally influence the further development and the very existence of the EU.

TWO SETS OF RULES, ONE STATE OF EMERGENCY It would be fair to call the EU's current plight a state of emergency in the economic, political and broader intellectual sense. This is not the classic depiction of a state of emergency found in political science manuals, in which legal procedures yield to coarse political will and society is ruled by fear, the army and a dictator. Generally speaking, a state of emergency is any situation that, despite not being governed by predetermined rules, compels us to take specific decisions. Only time will tell whether these decisions are right or wrong.

Since its establishment by the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, the EU has sought to build its own identity as a community ruled by law. This, however, went to pot the moment France and Germany ended 2003 with budget deficits exceeding the limit of three per cent of GDP. All fifteen eurozone finance ministers voted against penalties for these violations of eurozone rules, and the European Commission President, Romano Prodi was advised by his German and French colleagues not to cause a scene.

Instead of a common Europe under the rule of law, we witnessed the rise of one Union for the great and powerful and another Union for the small and weak! The paradox of two sets of rules within a single Union also explains today's parlous situation where, in something of a turnaround, it is large and strong Germany who is dictating to the small and weak economies of the eurozone's southern wing how they must unconditionally meet all the agreed conditions and drastically scale down their living standards and the social welfare ploughed into their inhabitants.

However, the EU's current state of emergency has not arisen only in the few months since the Greek radical left-wing party Syriza came to power. It is another of those situations that has dragged on for years – at least since the end of 2011, when the President of the European Central Bank Mario Draghi urged European political leaders to form a fiscal union while pledging that his bank would do whatever was necessary to save the single currency. Fresh in the minds of all Democrats are the unprecedented pressure from European, German and French politicians to oust Silvio Berlusconi's Italian government and the abortive attempt of the then Greek prime minister Papandreou to hold a referendum on the economic savings dictated by Brussels and Frankfurt, after which he was forced to resign.

In subsequent years, the EU morphed into a *de facto* debt union, even though this is outlawed by the Lisbon Treaty. Lawyers shook their heads in disbelief at the conduct of financiers, economists were relieved that a recession had been averted, and politicians pretended that they had everything under control and that Europe would emerge from the crisis stronger and more stable than ever. The EU's naked meddling in the Greek elections and in the recent referendum is thus simply a logical continuation of the entire process, in which the stability of the currency takes precedence over political stability and democratic decision-making in the individual EU countries.

A EUROPE OF EXTREMES ■ Extreme politics evokes extreme reactions. Tsipras's government, then, is not a radical force posing a threat to the EU, but rather its child, employing the same extreme lexicon and bruising practices as its opponents in European institutions and other EU Member States.

Anyone expectantly witnessing the Greek elections and thinking that Tsipras's Syriza might forge a democratic alternative to the economic dictate of austerity was forced to sober up in the very first few days after this radical group took over the reins of power. Instead of a national unity government with a broad mandate to negotiate with European institutions, we got a coalition with the fascistic Independent Greeks, according to whom Europe is governed by Nazis, there is no place for immigrants and homosexuals in their country, and everything – of course, as so often before in European and world history – is the fault of Jewish capital.

Instead of attempts to reach a universal consensus that could legitimise Greek demands in Europe, we got a strategy of total delegitimation and a showdown with domestic and European opponents, with no effort by the Greek government to cultivate relationships with potential allies at home and across the EU. Tsipras's Syriza is no proud champion of the fight against the rogue system of European and global capital, even though many a political dreamer may portray it in this light. In fact, this government has decided to harness and exploit the system to the fullest by pursuing a see-through strategy presuming that "the Germans will ultimately pay for everything if only to dodge any blame for the disintegration of the Union".

From the outset of their rule, then, politicians in the coalition government of Syriza and Independent Greeks have put together a programme that, rather than acting as a beacon for the social solidarity of Europeans, serves as a xenophobic warning against the Germans, who have not paid war reparations and have let it slip from memory that they too had a debt that was forgiven in 1953. Tsipras and others, sticking to their ideological rhetoric, have never gone out of their way to explain not only to German teachers, but also to Latvian farmers and Slovak mechanics, why their governments should provide the Greeks with debt relief for the third time in five years. So it comes as no surprise that Greece's belligerent rhetoric, brandishing the sword of popular anger, provokes just as democratic a backlash in creditor countries.

When the then finance minister Varoufakis accused the creditors of terrorism, this was nothing more than a vulgar postscript to the much more fundamental declaration that the Greek government was "losing trust in its creditors", which – despite making further demands for debt relief – it did not hesitate to label as enemies of the Greek people. Indeed, only such a marriage of dilettantism and cynicism can explain how prime minister Tsipras theatrically arranged a referendum within days, in defiance of all practices of democratic debate, only to negate the outcome entirely just a few days later by introducing a new cabinet policy of austerity. Not even the voice of the people was a sufficiently acute warning to avoid embracing extreme economic conditions, and thus it was muted in the cacophony of contemporary political chaos.

POWER IN EUROPEAN CAPILLARIES ■ However, we could hardly find a more apt summary of the Greek paradox in today's European *stasis* than the pronouncement that it is the creditor, not the debtor, who is becoming unreliable. Whereas Manfred Weber, the chairman of the European Parliament's conservative faction, upbraided Tsipras, asking why the Greek debt should be paid by the poor of Portugal, Slovakia and Spain, we might just as well ask why we, the citizens of sovereign democracies, had to pay much higher amounts to rescue private banks during the financial crisis. Just so that those very same bankers could then pontificate about the excessive and unsustainable debt of our countries and instruct us to be more thrifty?!

The current situation is untenable and volatile, but this is mainly due to asymmetries and the new power constellation in global society, in which the EU is just one of many organisations. If we are to understand this power, it is not enough to observe what is happening at the core of these organisations, what documents and rules they are creating, what discourses they are holding in the public arena, and what technologies are in use for general social supervision and oversight.

In this context, the French philosopher Michel Foucault claimed that the nature and productiveness of power cannot be grasped in its heart, but rather on the peripheries, where it is laid bare and manifested in its extreme forms. Hence, in order to understand today's power in the EU, it makes no sense to study the conclusions of European summits, parliamentary declarations or the decision-making practices of the European Commission, known as *comitology*. Quite the opposite. We need to scrutinise how the austerity policy that has been dictated is playing out in Greek villages where people have no choice but to organise collections just to afford basic treatment for their children. It is necessary to analyse how Portuguese or Spanish schools, under the stain of austerity dictated by the eurozone, cannot afford to pay teachers, or how pensioners and refugees in Italy or Bulgaria stay alive today.

These images of the life that flows through the thinnest capillaries of the body of European society indicate how extreme and destructive the eurozone's current economic policy is, despite being doggedly portrayed as a policy of European solidarity and unity!

THE STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE EUROPEAN PUBLIC? ■ The state of emergency in Europe today calls for exceptional changes of direction in philosophical arguments, even among zealous European federalists. As early as 2010, in response to the then global financial and European debt crisis, Jürgen Habermas gave an extremely important interview to the *Financial Times* in which he castigated Chancellor Merkel and other European politicians for their national short-sightedness and inability to resolve the indebtedness

of individual European states by upholding the principle of European solidarity in such a way that would consolidate the powers of European institutions and their democratic legitimacy at the same time.

Since then, Habermas has espoused the idea of European control of national budgets, though arguing that coordination and overall approval should be in the hands of the European Parliament rather than the European Commission. The eurozone, he says, requires further political integration and caps on national powers in economic policy. Thus the deficit of democratic legitimacy at a national level should be counterbalanced not only by the overall economic stability of the eurozone, but also by stronger parliamentarism in the form of cooperation between national parliaments and the European Parliament. Habermas's criticism of German and European policy, which favours investors and capital over citizens and democracy, should therefore result in the further weakening of the nation state and the transfer of decision-making powers to European institutions, whose democratic legitimacy is much weaker and largely mediated through the democratic procedures of the Union's member states.

Anyone familiar with Habermas's intellectual development can see a change in his philosophical and political arguments that is nothing short of shocking. In 1962, the then 33-year-old Habermas published his doctorate work, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, which already contained one of the central pillars of his political philosophy, according to which late-capitalist society and its form of representative democracy are experiencing a systemic legitimisation crisis. Habermas claims that this can be overcome only by the radical democratisation of the public sphere, based on free debate and the rational recognition of common arguments, which can restore humankind's lost link to an authentic lifeworld while yoking the expansive rationality of the economic, political or legal system.

In the past three decades, Habermas has pitted discursive ethics steeped in free and equal civil discourse and in rules on communicative rationality against systemic rationality. On the outbreak of the European debt crisis, however, he performed a volte-face and now wants to see career politicians and economists take decisions in such a way that – through the systemic rationality of the economy and European political institutions – European solidarity, civil society and a democratic public sphere are eventually formed.

But what if such solidarity is not created? Might we not end up with a European dictatorship engendering even greater animosity among the citizens of member countries than now?! Democratising debt will not resolve the impact that it has on citizens in the different EU countries. Nor can it resolve the economic asymmetries sparked by the introduction of the common currency, handing countries such as France and Germany the opportunity to pursue what has effectively been a dumping policy for their products, while governments in other countries,

especially in the southern wing of the eurozone, embarked on the uncomplicated – but in the long run destructive – policy of running up debts so that their citizens could buy those products with a sense of rapidly growing affluence.

SPECIALISTS WITHOUT SPIRIT ■ Rather than moving forward with further Europeanisation and watering down national democracies, in the current situation we must ask ourselves how Europe actually governs itself and how its governance intervenes in the political life of EU citizens.

Two hundred and fifty years ago, the Marquis de Condorcet, a leading figure of the French Enlightenment, claimed that the new ruling class of the Modern Age of Reason would be those mastering the art of calculation and versed in economic sciences, industrial organisation and state administration. The new political sovereign was to be *calculemus*, a method of governance relying on profitability, statistics, systemic analysis, organisational techniques and expert opinions. Monarchs with their bureaucracy were to be replaced by independent experts able to take decisions without succumbing to personal or parochial interests.

This view was also adopted by Condorcet's pupil, Saint-Simon, according to whom scientists and industrialists make up the productive classes in the new industrial society taking over the reins of power from the old “metaphysical” professions of lawyers and career politicians. Political government, according to Saint-Simon and others, was to be transformed into the scientifically managed self-governance of society. Political reason was to give way to administrative reason, which was supposedly able to rationally organise the life of society and satisfy human needs far better than any form of political government, including democracy.

The German sociologist Max Weber considered bureaucracy an inescapable consequence of the modernisation of society, but in this context he also mentioned the “new servitude” and “benevolent feudalism” that might evolve from such a bureaucratically rational government. Modern rationalisation paradoxically increases the antagonisms between the various systems of values, so the universal rule of reason eventually falls apart and an age of “new polytheism” is ushered in. And Weber rounds off this description of the cultural contradictions of modernity with a Nietzschean vision of the “last people”, who will be “specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart”.

Today's Europe lives in Condorcet's shadow of *calculemus* and under the diktat of Weber and Nietzsche's last people – specialists! If we look at the origins and causes of today's Greco-European *stasis*, we can see that this is about so much more than political corruption in a medium-sized European nation with a dysfunctional economy and a state that has thus far been driven by cronyism, not democracy. The overall way in which modern European society

– with an economy and politics based on a concept of the rationality, predictability and calculability of societal risks, costs and benefits – has been moulded is of far greater significance.

The current critical situation is thus a direct consequence of one of the great traditions of European governance, the illusions and prejudices of which need to be shed and separated exactly as, at a time of *krisis*, a judge or doctor must do so that he can take the right decision and thus save either the life of the patient or the honour and property of a righteous man.

NO MORE HEROES In today's Greco-European circumstances, then, we can observe several paradoxes at once, the first of which is the call for European solidarity, manifested as a belligerent confrontation with those who are meant to demonstrate such solidarity. There is only one explanation for this paradox, namely a strategy calculating that the risks of potential losses will ultimately preserve the unity of the eurozone and result in further debt forgiveness for Greece.

A second paradox is that Greece wants to keep a currency that, for many internal and external reasons, is behind its current tragedy and is prolonging its economic and social agony.

The third paradox, however, is the most important, because it is based on the idea that debt can be removed by democratic voting in elections, and perhaps even in a referendum described as the heroic defiance of the people against foreign domination and oppression. The Greek referendum could be interpreted as a heroic act, however, only if, after proper public debate and mature deliberation, the Greeks had voted to exit the eurozone in the name of national freedom. This would truly have been an exceptional response to the equally exceptional state of emergency prevailing in the EU and Greece. Yet this unintelligible question was clearly not articulated in this way in the early-July referendum, nor was it perceived by Greek citizens in a spirit of Byronic national-liberation Romanticism.

“Unhappy is the land that needs a hero,” one of the characters in Brecht's *Life of Galileo* famously says. The rhetoric of Greek politicians – most of whom, paradoxically, subscribe to the same Marxism as Bertolt Brecht – would suggest that there is no country in the world unhappier than today's Greece. Is it the right time, though, for such nationalistically political retro-heroism, or is Greece genuinely such an unhappy land? Why has the Greek coalition government gone so far with its delegitimising strategy that even the otherwise ideologically kindred leaders of Spain's Podemos leaders have distanced themselves and Joschka Fischer, the champion of Greek demands, has called Tsipras a politician who, in his blindness, is leading the country into the abyss?!

Brecht once also noted that “the victory of reason will be the victory of people who are prepared to reason”. Today, this sentence should be read today much more shrewdly than as

classic Marxist dogma, i.e. as meaning that there is no single absolute “reason” controlling the economy, politics, religion, science and other areas of human life. In fact, each of these areas is governed by its own internal logic, which we need to understand if we are to better manage economic, political, environmental and any other crises in European and global civilisation.

People prepared to reason are those who know how to spot and judiciously handle the diverse forms of reason that surround us in society’s various systems. Only these people can prevent the permanent risk, posed by modernity, that we will find ourselves in the throes of specialists narrow-mindedly and fanatically promoting only those solutions offered to them by their specialisation. From such fanaticism, whether economic, political, scientific, religious or any other, after all, is born the immobility of new servitude – the *stasis* Max Weber warned us of, the notion that a specialist is the only one who can legitimately resolve any *krisis*, including the one we are experiencing in Europe in these weeks and months. It is in this dangerous fusion of two classical Greek terms, dictated to us by economic and political managers and specialists, that we should view the greatest threat to our contemporary European society.



Europe's Unfinished Business and the Return of Geopolitics

Ivan Krastev

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Mykola Rjabchuk

Jovan Teokarević

GALLIA

Parvs

Rhenus fl.

GERMANIA

Albis fl.

Danubius fl.

BOHEMIA

PRYMATIA

SV



Putin's Russia and the West after Maidan

IVAN KRASTEV

The West is now living in Putin's world. It is there not because Putin is right, or even because he is stronger, but because he is taking the initiative. Putin is "wild" while the West is "wary." While European and American leaders recognize that the world order is undergoing a dramatic change, they cannot quite grasp it. They remain overwhelmed by Putin's transformation from CEO of Russia, Inc., into an ideology-fueled national leader who will stop at nothing to restore his country's influence.

International politics may be founded on treaties, but it functions on the basis of rational expectations. If those expectations turn out to be wrong, the prevailing international order collapses. That is precisely what has happened in the course of the Ukrainian crisis.

Just a few months ago, most Western politicians were convinced that in an interdependent world revisionism is too costly and that despite Putin's determination to defend Russia's interests in the post-Soviet space, he would not resort to military force to do so. It is now clear that they were sorely mistaken.

Then, after Russian troops occupied Crimea, international observers largely assumed that the Kremlin would support its secession from Ukraine but would stop short of making it part of the Russian Federation. That belief, too, proved to be entirely wrong.

At this point, the West has no idea what Russia is willing to do, but Russia knows exactly what the West will – and, more important, will not – do. This has created a dangerous asymmetry.

For example, when Moldova requests membership in the European Union, Russia may move to annex its breakaway region of Transnistria, where Russian troops have been stationed for two decades. And Moldova now knows that, should that happen, the West will not intervene militarily to protect its sovereignty.

When it comes to Ukraine, Russia has made it clear that it hopes to obstruct the presidential election, which Western leaders hope will cement change in Ukraine, while turning the country's constitutional negotiations into the opening act in the establishment of a new European order.

Russia envisions Ukraine becoming something akin to Bosnia – a radically federalized country comprising political units that each adhere to their own economic, cultural, and geopolitical preferences. In other words, while Ukraine's territorial integrity would technically be preserved, the eastern part of the country would have closer ties with Russia than with the rest of Ukraine – similar to the relationship between Bosnia's Republika Srpska and Serbia.

This creates a dilemma for Europe. While radical federalization could allow Ukraine to remain intact through the current crisis, it would most likely doom the country to disintegration and failure in the longer term. As Yugoslavia's experience demonstrated, radical decentralization works in theory but does not always work in practice. The West will be confronted with the uneasy task of rejecting in the post-Soviet space solutions that it promoted two decades ago in the former Yugoslavia.

Confronted with Russia's revisionism, the West resembles the proverbial drunkard searching for his lost keys under a streetlight, because that is where the light is. With their assumptions invalidated, Western leaders are struggling to craft an effective response.

In Europe, the strategies that have emerged – trivializing the annexation of Crimea or treating Putin as a madman – are self-defeating. The EU is oscillating between rhetorical extremism and policy minimalism. Though some have recommended an ill-advised expansion by NATO in the post-Soviet space, most are limiting themselves to support for symbolic sanctions, such as visa bans that affect a dozen or so Russian officials. But this could ratchet up pressure on non-sanctioned Russian elites to prove their loyalty to Putin, possibly even triggering a purge of the more pro-Western elements in Russia's political class.

Indeed, no one actually believes that the visa bans will make a difference. They were imposed because doing so was the only action upon which Western governments could agree.

When it comes to Ukraine, both Western leaders and Western publics are in a mood of preventive disappointment. Burned by a decade of wishful thinking and over-expectations – from the “color revolutions” in the post-Soviet world to the Arab Spring – Western public opinion has chosen to hear only bad news now. And this is the real risk, because the future of the European order mostly depends on what happens next in Ukraine.

Ukraine's Orange revolution of 2004-2005 deeply traumatised Russia's elite, intensifying its sense of insecurity and leading the party of power to interpret world events through its fear of remote-controlled colour revolutions. The Arab spring, and especially the unseemly haste with which President Barack Obama ditched Hosni Mubarak, the Egyptian president who had presented himself as a staunch US ally since taking power in 1981, strengthened the Kremlin's conviction that the US is a global agent of subversion and disorder. And it strengthened Russia's bond not only with its Central Asian allies but also, most importantly, with China.

Paradoxically, the Kremlin's global war on revolution – and not Moscow's realpolitik – is the greatest obstacle to the normalisation of relations between Russia and the west. Washington and Brussels are being blamed in a way that they seem unable to understand for events they could not possibly have controlled. Waves of popular protest, most often leaderless and unguided by political parties or trade unions, are among the characteristic features of our time.

They erupt in democracies and autocracies, basically everywhere. Although such protests reflect global disappointment with ruling elites, their political impact is difficult to estimate.

Just as paranoid people have real enemies, spontaneous street protests can sometimes be captured by special interests. Foreign powers jump on the bandwagon, seeking to exploit indigenous protests for wholly unrelated foreign policy agendas. Believing that all such protest activity is inspired and co-ordinated from outside is patently delusional. But it is far from harmless. Russia is trying to unravel what the west sees as the global institutional order not because it is reverting to Soviet “imperialism,” but because it has embraced the cause of counter-revolution. This is a formula for endless conflict.

What Russia demands from the west is something that no democratic government can promise or deliver, namely to ensure that protests will never erupt on the streets of Moscow.

Seven Deadly Sins: or Seven Reasons why Europe Gets the Russia-Ukraine Crisis Wrong

ANDREW WILSON

The recent Riga Summit was a typical product of a method born in the EU's internal politics; where doing nothing, or seeking compromise and making marginal adjustments in the hope of changing policy next time, is often the only way to proceed. The summit also showed the characteristic EU tendency towards politics as textual improvement - more effort went into negotiating the final declaration that getting the over-arching politics right. But given the scale of the current crisis, neither approach is adequate to task. Our panel looks at the EU from the perspective of the eastern partners, where I can find at least seven underlying reasons why Europe has got the Russia-Ukraine crisis so wrong.

1. BUREAUCRATISM: THE EUROPE OF RULES I will begin unoriginally. As my colleague Volodymyr Yermolenko has eloquently written, this conflict pits the 'Europe of rules' versus the 'Europe of values'.

There is the Europe that presents a more or less emotionless face of rules and regulations. This Europe ends somewhere along the frontier between Germany and Poland. A kind of Euro-Protestantism prevails: it has lost faith in European civilization but preserved its sense of morality. The European idea has been transformed into a set of rules and a collection of institutional procedures. Where there is no faith, rules become paramount. The other Europe is spontaneous and emotional, the Europe of faith. This is Young Europe, comprising in the main the countries of the former socialist bloc. For the people living in these countries, Europe is still a vision, an ideal utopia.

This is a useful distinction that can be taken further, on both sides. I actually see four related problems with the 'Europe of rules'. First, Old Europe can't think beyond rules. The EU no longer has any *grand projet* or moral *élan*. It sits behind the forest of thorns that is the *acquis communautaire*, which was designed a generation ago.

Second, the rules-based approach of the Eastern Partnership is based on a fundamental misunderstanding of how post-Soviet societies work. They are anti-Weberian. The EU is founded on the Weberian assumption that rules are applied by rational and benign bureaucracies, and that rules are Kantian, in the sense that are universally applicable and applied blind. But in post-Soviet societies, 'rules' are deliberately arbitrary. The law is deliberately capricious – a

means of punishing enemies and rewarding friends. Bureaucracy is a sinecure, a means of extracting rent from the hapless general public. When government positions come with a price list, you know something is wrong.

So the EU's Eastern Partnership offer of 'more rules' doesn't actually make sense, unless politics is changed locally and unless local states and political cultures are changed first. The EU should start by trying to strengthen the rule of law, not the mis-rule of bureaucracy.

If a tipping point is reached towards the rule of law, rules can help rein in corruption and rent-seeking; if not, they may actually end up strengthening them. Too often, the technocratic bias of the Eastern Partnership has translated into a de facto form of 'autocratic modernisation'. Partnership with existing states through trade and functional economic reforms is designed to make those states stronger, but it risks making local autocracies stronger too.

Third, if EU rules are for export, they are a hard sell in a competitive market, and in places like Ukraine where there is war and a highly emotional existential struggle.

Fourth, the rules are too often hollow. The EU assumes that states like Ukraine are more interested in declaration than implementation, but maintains the rule-export process anyway. Tick box cynicism means that genuflecting to the rules is all that matters. I heard this a lot in private in early 2013 – let's sign the Agreement with Ukraine, but we don't expect Yanukovich to actually implement it.

It is therefore pretty obvious what's wrong with the Eastern Partnership. The offer of rules, and an apparatus checking compliance with those rules, has created a giant patron-client, donor-NGO relationship. The Eastern Partnership only pretends to be an exercise in systemic transformation, and is aimed primarily at economies and societies; it seems incapable of transforming local states, and it is local states that are the problem. The Eastern Partnership has been unable to lever the key things that matter: such as preventing the consolidation of authoritarianism under Yanukovich, preventing state capture by two oligarchs with entrenched spheres of influence in Moldova, and preventing political prosecutions in Georgia.

2. THE EUROPE OF VALUES, AND THE EUROPE OF VARIABLE GEOGRAPHY

Although the ENP exists for both east and south, and has not been formally split; the Eastern Partnership implicitly acknowledges the difference. The east is assumed to be vaguely but indeterminately European, in a way the south is not. The northern, western and southern borders of Europe are supposedly clear; it's only the eastern border that we are not sure about. The east is supposed to become more clearly European by adopting policies based on the values of the Copenhagen Criteria; so the problem is one of wavering commitment.

This vague and permeable border in the east might be thought to be an advantage for the six Eastern Partnership states, but the assumptions it depends on are treble wrong. Historically Europe's borders have never been clear in any direction. All of Europe's nation-states have varied over time in their commitment to Europe. And Europe is *not* just about a choice of values; it is also about history and geography.

The EU's version of 'European values' is doubly new. Western Europe only embraced democracy after 1945 (and for Spain, Portugal and Greece even later); and only embraced multiculturalism (gradually and still far from entirely) after 1968.

All European states, East and West, define themselves by histories much older than 1945. And a history of variable, instrumental and often opportunistic relations with Europe is also true of all. Historically, Eastern European states have sometimes been part of Europe, sometimes not. But so has everybody else. The idea that only the eastern border of Europe is undefined is ahistorical. In the south, the Greco-Roman world invented the idea of the Medi-terranean. That world was the reverse of today's Euro-Europe: instead of the frugal north against the profligate south, there was a civilised south against a barbarian north. The Romans didn't often march beyond the Rhone or the Danube, but the Black Sea was an integral part of their world. In Roman terms, Romania and Georgia are therefore more European than Germany or Poland. Scandinavia was off the map. The north is often the edge of civilisation, as viewers of *Game of Thrones* will know.

Europe's Western states, open to the Atlantic, often looked beyond Europe. To the north and west is mainly sea, but the sea was a bridge rather than a barrier in the pre-modern past. It's not just the UK that has trans-Atlantic interests and identities: so does Spain, so once did France. There are still strong undercurrents of a trans-oceanic pan-Celticism and an island-hopping Scandinavian geography that reaches as far as Maine.

Almost every European pole state therefore has three alternative identities – and larger powers have a fourth, post-imperial identity. There are nativist myths that place individual nations on their own. There are kinship myths to build alliances: the idea of Scandinavia, or of north versus south, of 'new Europe', or Protestant Europe. And there are identities that link any given nation to Europe, but this can be done in many ways: the nation as the leader of or best of Europe, the nation as the edge of or defender of Europe.

The choice between them depends on circumstance – both in the west and in the east. Georgia has seen the return of both nativism and Russophilia after the almost über-westernising Saakashvili era since 2012. The Baltic States have not. One reason why they have been so relatively successful in absorbing themselves into the EU and NATO is that the historical carriers of the Russophile idea were the Baltic Germans, and they are long gone.

In the west, an independent Scotland would not be likely to have Celtic allies and would more likely adjust to an alternative 'Scandinavian' identity instead. Ireland has gone back and forth: although it is now one of the EU's most open states, it used to be the opposite, having opted for a Romantic isolationist nationalism after 1922 because Éamon de Valera wanted to disentangle the new state from residual commitments to the United Kingdom, not join new organisations.

So 'Europe' is both chicken and egg. If Europe is a success, it's attractive – both to potential new members *and* within the current borders of the EU. Even advocates of a Wider Europe with whom I am naturally sympathetic have it the wrong way round. They assume the European project will be complete when it ticks all the boxes, when it has expanded to include all parts of objective Europe. In fact it is the relative success of subjective Europe that determines how the pole states chose between their three options. *If* the EU is a success, in other words, it will get bigger. If not, it may well shrink.

3. MERCANTILISM There is a recession paradox. The more that EU standards of living have been threatened since 2008, the keener we are to preserve them. As one group of Ukrainian analysts recently had it, 'Western politicians live and die by tenths of GDP. We [Ukrainians] are prepared to endure the wreck of our economy, even though you are so much richer'. Actually, not all Ukrainians: the number prepared to make sacrifices in the name of economic reforms has risen to 41.4%, but there is a marked difference between the figure of 56.2% in the west and 22.9% in the east.

But it's not just that EU Europeans are materialist. Mercantilism is essentially a philosophy of marginal gain, predicated on the assumption of stable politics. But at the moment the maths fails to add up – those gains disappear when the politics isn't right. France defends the Mistral contracts worth \$1.7 billion, but Western companies have lost billions more in Russia from missed investment opportunities, trade wars and bond losses, because the politics isn't right. Ukraine's bondholders face a 'haircut', because the politics isn't right. Ukraine's oligarchs, for that matter, have lost billions, because the politics isn't right.

The eastern states of course also want prosperity, but their path to politics depends on getting the politics right first.

4. POST-MODERNISM Next are three intellectual sins. Seen from the Eastern Partnership states, so-called modern 'European values' are not necessarily the values of Weber or Kant, but the values of post-modern Europe. The crisis has exposed the limits of moral or even factual relativism. The intellectual revolution since 1968 has run its course. We need a

paradigm shift, one that would keep the critical theory, the underlying commitment to emancipation from outdated authorities, and our belief in cultural pluralism, but ditch non-judgemental relativism and clichéd responses in the garb of world-weary ‘realism’ or cynicism.

The manner in which Russian propaganda exploits Western journalism has been well-described elsewhere. Here I will add three common intellectual traps.

(i) WHAT-ABOUT-ISM. According to which we cannot criticise A, because B is the same – which all too easily becomes a disarming moral pacifism. In the opposite permissive form of this paradigm, if X can do Y, then why can’t we do it too? Russia is particularly adept at framing its actions as the mirror-image of America’s. Crimea is the same as Kosovo; if America can invade Iraq we can invade east Ukraine.

(ii) AN AVERSION TO MORAL CLARITY. The first paradigm precludes what should be easy judgments. As Ukrainian writer Yuriy Andrukhovych put it when receiving the Hannah Arendt Prize for Political Thought in 2014:

My foreign acquaintances doubt. To doubt is an altogether positive trait of a true European. And my acquaintances as true Europeans also doubt. They ask me is it possible in general that good is only on one side, and evil on the other. Isn’t the truth somewhere in the middle, or at least in between?...

Post-modern consciousness foresees the removal of conflict and excludes a black-and-white approach. “Court-martials” and torture [on the Russian side] are not enough [evidence] for my acquaintances. They are looking for villains on both sides of the conflict.

The Western view of events in Ukraine is distorted by the constant search for ‘balance’. But Ukrainians often see a simpler picture, preferring to err on the side of moral clarity. It was interesting how much Ukrainian social media during the Euromaidan increasingly used popular culture tropes of the Yanukovich regime as ‘Mordor’, or depicted the final confrontation in Kyiv as a moral showdown equivalent to *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* .

(iii) IT’S-ALL-OUR-FAULT-ISM. According to which the West provoked Russia by NATO expansion, or somehow the opposite, by giving it too much assistance in the 1990s. This is false moral piety; not self-abnegation, but a narrowing of moral agency to the self. Fault never lies with the other side. Some Europeans know full well that Russia is an aggressor, but such language is squeezed out of a public diplomacy based on the search for ‘peace’. Even worse, other Europeans have lost the language needed to define an ‘aggressor’.

5. (not)THINKING ABOUT RUSSIA Paradoxically or not, these post-modern European reflexes are even more damaging when combined with fossilised *Weltanschauung*, like German war guilt (*Kollektivschuld*) exclusively orientated towards Russia, or interpreting the conflict in Ukraine through the Soviet 'anti-fascism' prism of 1941-5. There are Spaniards fighting in the Donbas to 'pay back' the debts of the Spanish Civil War; which is, to put it politely, a static view of history at best.

One of the most dangerous fossils is anti-Americanism. Either in its domestic forms, particularly in France, Germany and the UK; where the criticism of American methods and motives has deep cultural roots. Or in the mind-set that transfers American agency and omnipotence to Eastern Europe. Events in Kyiv or Tbilisi are always assumed to be somehow orchestrated in Washington. The USA is assumed to be 'behind' the Maidan, when the real story of the last few years has been Washington's radical relative absence.

The other key fossil is the remnant of German *Ostpolitik*. Germany has a special term for *Rußlandversteher*, though their equivalents exist throughout Europe. But 'understanding' is precisely what such people do not do. This type of 'understanding' is a one-way process. There is no critical analysis: just the constant refrain of how we must listen to Russia's worries, interests, and legitimate concerns; and assuage their supposed psychology of 'humiliation'. All are treated as objective givens.

And this is a broader tendency amongst so-called 'realist' commentators. I used to warn my students about the pitfalls of using the cliché that 'Russia is different'. Now I have to warn them about the pitfalls of using the cliché that 'Russia is normal'; that is, just a normal state defending what anyone would agree are Russian national interests.

Putin's Russia is constantly on the look-out for perceived slights. But the real problem is that both supposed 'Russian national interests' and tropes like 'humiliation' are not objective givens, but are the product of Russia's political technology propaganda machine. Tropes like 'Russia has been humiliated', 'Russia is surrounded by enemies', 'The West destroyed the USSR' - none of these are really true. Deep-seated structural problems caused the USSR's decline, but not its collapse. The Soviet Union reached a negotiated end, and the only negotiators were Russians, Ukrainians and the leaders of the other then Soviet Republics.

Russia is a propaganda state or 'political technology' state. Its day-to-day diet is myth. Its foreign policy is full of dubious assertions and fake facts, such as the current process of 'reassuring' Russia over entirely spurious objections to the trade agreement with Ukraine.

Our problem in the West is therefore not just classic appeasement. Nor is it even that we have internalised so much of Russia's agenda. It is that we do not understand the nature of that agenda, and the *modus operandi* that generates it.

6. POST-ORIENTALIST THINKING ABOUT UKRAINE ■■■ We are no better at understanding the European east. We are now used to following Edward Said's invitation to inverse perspective and see the problems of the Middle East and Near East as the legacy of empire. But European intellectuals are not so good at doing the same for our other orient, the European east.

There are many dangers in deconstructing Orientalism. It could easily make Eastern Europe free of all responsibility for its own ills. Analysts who try to give the region voice can accept that voice too uncritically, simply reproducing local myths and stereotypes.

But Ukraine has been made triply subaltern. The Eastern Partnership makes it a supplicant of Europe. Russia behaves towards Ukraine as an imperial power. But, worst of all, Europe all too often views Ukraine through the eyes of Russia, without recognising Moscow's imperial perspective. How else would the European left be able to talk about Russia's 'legitimate interests' in Ukraine? One cannot imagine similar talk about Britain's 'legitimate interests' in south Asia, or France's 'legitimate interests' in the Maghreb.

Ukraine is not allowed to be a subject. This is bad enough at the diplomatic level, as with the notorious Boisto process, to which Ukraine was not even invited. It is even worse at the cultural level and the level of popular understanding, where the classic Orientalist tropes about Eastern Europe – it is always in crisis, and it is full of neo-Nazis and ethnic hatreds – still colour perceptions of events.

7. THE EASTERN PARTNERSHIP IS NOT AN ADEQUATE RESPONSE TO RUSSIA'S PUSH FOR YALTA 2 ■■■ So, finally, seen from the Eastern Partnership states, it's clear that the EU and Russia don't just speak a different diplomatic language; they are on different foreign policy planets. The EU seeks solutions, Russia seeks crises. The EU abjures 'military solutions' and relies on the soft power of economic sanctions. Even Russia's 'soft power' is really hard. I have written elsewhere that Russia does not have 'hard power' and 'soft power' in our sense, but a choice between *groznaya syla* and *grubaya syla* – the power of public intimidation and the power of private sleaze.

Russia's different type of power is also put to different use. The language of a new Yalta is openly stated in Russia. Whereas in the West, 'Yalta', like 'Munich', is a synonym for bad diplomacy and the betrayal of the sovereignty of small states to realpolitik; in Russia it is spoken of positively.



'The Big Three', Zurab Tsereteli, February 2015.

■ According to Sergei Naryshkin, the Chair of the Russian Duma, by condemning the 1945 Yalta Agreement, the West is “deleting from its own history and the history of world diplomacy one of its best and noblest moments”. Yalta kept the peace because of its “military realism” and created a “system of international relations that was more effective than the previous one” until “almost until the end of the 20th century” and prevented a Third World War.

And here’s a poster from a ‘Krym nash’ demonstration. ‘Roosevelt and Churchill were cleverer [than Obama]’.



'The Big Three', Zurab Tsereteli, February 2015.

Which only shows again how different the Russians are. The implications of praising an Agreement with such a bad reputation in the West are startling. The implication is below.



CONCLUSIONS ■ The Eastern Partnership is at least three gear shifts out of date. It would have still have had trouble working in a world in which only the EU existed. It is expansion on the cheap, free-riding on the assumption that the neighbours are prepared to march towards Brussels and do all the hard work themselves. In which case, the policy's labelling was self-defeating - 'neighbourhood policy' is existentially offensive.

The Eastern Partnership also mistakenly copies the EU's traditional Schuman Method – start with economic transformation and political transformation will follow – but in Eastern Europe and the Caucasus 'it's the politics, stupid'. Transformation needs to start at the top, with corrupt elites and inefficient and/or predatory states.

Second, the world has changed radically since 2008, when the Eastern Partnership was first conceived. The EU is much weaker. The USA is more withdrawn. Russia is not necessarily stronger, but it is more competitive. In fact, to be exact, Russian over-reach at a time of growing Russian domestic weakness is the precise nature of the problem. But Russian ambition has more impact and more resonance in an increasingly multi-polar world in which the EU's famously post-modern foreign policy project is not only one of many poles of influence, but is increasingly clearly unique.

Third, the Eastern Partnership doesn't address our own inadequacies. 'Partnership' should be about both sides. But the Eastern Partnership is designed as a technocratic policy to isolate Eastern Europe from national politics in EU nation states where immigration has become one of the key issues since 2008. It is not just that our increasingly inward focus prevents us from designing a proper policy for the east – the Eastern Partnership is designed to *protect* that inward focus. There was actually a sense of pan-European solidarity in 1989 that has now been lost. 'Solidarity' is increasingly an internal issue, not an asset for revenue-sharing and burden-sharing with potential new members.

But the difference between Ukraine today and Afghanistan in 2001 or Syria since 2011 or Bangladesh in 1971 is obviously only one word long: Europe. We are not in Ukraine to be the world's policeman or because of a post-imperial reflex or as a blundering and ineffective mega-NGO. We are in Ukraine to decide the future of Europe. Ukraine is at war. But our policy is far from being based on these basic facts. 'Neighbourhood policy', in other words, is not based in strategic thinking, but has strategic consequences, which too often remain unrecognised. But we continue to act like a giant EU-NGO.

The current crisis is not just about Ukraine. It's also not just about 'losing' Eastern Europe; it's about Europe losing itself. Plenty of EU Member States are rediscovering their inner nativism. Ukraine, you may be surprised to hear, is in some ways an island of multi-ethnic tolerance compared to the toxic nationalisms on either side, in Russia and in European states like

Hungary and France. But choice depends on circumstance. If Ukraine fails, because Putin's Russia is so desperate for it to fail, then we will see a much more dangerous downward spiral across borders, with nationalisms and protectionisms feeding off one another, west and east.

The Unfinished Business of the 1989 East European Revolutions: From Survival to Self-Expression

MYKOLA RJABCHUK

The paper examines the recent developments in Ukraine as a third attempt to complete the unfinished business of the East European revolutions which succeeded in 1989 in Central East Europe and the Baltics but brought mixed results in the Balkans and the former Soviet Republics. While the Balkan states, with the Western assistance, have been pulled onto the track of a rather successful postcommunist transformation, the post-Soviet states, left in the cold, moved into the opposite direction – of authoritarian consolidation. Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia remain the only post-Soviet states where pro-Western, pro-democracy forces defy authoritarian tendencies and keep political space rather open and competitive. The relative openness and resilience of Ukrainian and Moldovan societies can be partly attributed to their non-Soviet experience in the past and therefore a higher share of westernized population, but also, as Lucan Way argues, to a significant identity split that facilitates a peculiar “pluralism by default” in both countries. Besides these two factors, the paper addresses the third and perhaps the most important one – the gradual shift of values and value-based attitudes that occurred in Ukraine in the last decade and that can be described in Ronald Inglehart’s terms as a shift from survival values to self-realization values. The shift is connected to the process of modernization, relative openness of the society and the emergence of middle class who is in particular dissatisfied with a rigid, corrupt and inefficient quasi-feudal system. It still provides its obedient subjects with basic means of survival but fails to provide active citizens with fair conditions for self-realization. This means that the triple agenda of the 1989 East European revolutions – social-economic, political (liberal-democratic) and national-liberation (anti-neocolonial) – remain topical for all the post-Soviet states. To accomplish a much-needed modernization they need to complete the unfinished business of 1989, i.e. to dismantle the obsolete (post)Soviet system and build the new institutions virtually from scratch. Even though the success of each such attempt is hardly predictable due to a great variety of factors, the number and intensity of such attempts would inevitably increase – not only in Ukraine but all over the world exposed to modernization.

Shortly after the fall of Yanukovych’s regime in Kyiv, I got a call from a Czech journalist asking for a brief comment. His first question was fully in line with the Russian coverage of the events: “Was it a revolution or a coup d’etat?”

I lost my nerves and responded in kind: “And what was there in Prague back in 1989? Revolution or coup d’etat?”

He was apparently shocked and perhaps insulted by my arrogance. How could anybody compare the great, spectacular, glorified in literature and film Velvet Revolution with a third-world mutiny of fascist gangs against a legitimately elected president?..

“Of course, it was a revolution!” he said proudly. “The Velvet Revolution!..”

“So, what’s the difference?”

I knew the difference. Back in 1989, there was Gorbachov in Kremlin, not Putin. And the oil price at the global markets were ten times lower than now. Even if Gorbachev was like Putin, he could not pursue the same policy. His country was bankrupt and fully dependent on Western borrowings.

■ Today, all the glorious East European revolutions would have certainly not been so velvet.

To make sense of the Ukrainian “Euro-Maidan revolution” one needs to place it in a proper context. All the East European anti-communist revolutions had three major causes and three closely intertwined agendas.

The first and best known reason was a need for freedom – a demand for the Western standards of human rights, civil liberties, and rule of law. The second and probably even more important was a need for prosperity, for a decent life with free access to goods and services of a proper quality – virtually impossible in the communist economy of total scarcity and inefficiency. These two factors can be summed up as a need for modernization – a desire to catch up with the increasingly more advanced First world and, to this aim, get rid of the obsolete communist system as a major obstacle to postindustrial modernization.

But there was also the third motive usually underestimated or completely ignored – a need for national liberation from Moscow dominance and achieving a full-fledged national sovereignty. The East European revolutions were both democratic and nationalistic, they pursued a triple goal of social-economic, civic, and national liberation. This provided them a broad social base that included not only committed democrats from the ranks of liberal intelligentsia but also various brands of social populists and nationalists, in most cases of democratic but not necessarily of liberal leaning. All these broad anti-regime coalitions fell apart as soon as the external enemy was defeated and the internal discords came to the fore.

■ Ukrainian Euro-Maidan can be considered as the third attempt of the Ukrainian society to complete a profound change of the political and economic system and firmly place

the country on the Western track of development – the way successfully opted by Ukraine’s western neighbors 25 years ago.

The first attempt undertaken in 1991, when the Soviet Union collapsed and Ukraine became independent, had little if any chances to succeed considering very high level of Sovietization, rather weak civic traditions, and lack of Western engagement that played crucial role in Eastern Europe, especially in the Balkans. On December 1, 1991, 90% of Ukrainian voters approved the national independence by referendum, and on the same day elected a president for their new state. Only one third of voters cast their ballots for non-communist candidates, primarily for a former political prisoner and the leader of the oppositional Rukh movement Viacheslav Chornovil, whereas two thirds supported the candidacy of the former communist apparatchik Leonid Kravchuk. This was a clear sign of what kind of the independent Ukraine most people would like – the one which breaks radically with the Soviet past and opts for the Euro-Atlantic integration, or the more familiar one which is largely an extension and continuation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, with virtually the same institutions, cadres, and practices.

For the next dozen years, semi-reformed Ukraine appeared dramatically gridlocked in a grey zone between the post-Soviet autocracies to the east and increasingly democratizing and prosperous neighbors to the west. Nevertheless, the relative openness of the country, diffusion of Western ideas, absence of political terror and persecution of any dissent, distorted but meaningful political competition and pluralism resulted in a gradual growth and maturing of civil society. By 2004, it was strong enough to challenge the post-Soviet oligarchic regime in elections and to defend its free choice in the spectacular Orange revolution. But it was neither strong nor mature enough to make democracy work and to force the newly elected leaders to deliver upon their promises. The second attempt to pull out the country from the post-Soviet, “Eurasian” limbo and push it towards European modernization failed dismally.

The 2010 election of Viktor Yanukovich the president and dismissal of the feckless Orange government changed only bad things for worse. Within a few years, the narrow circle of president’s allies nicknamed “the Family” usurped all the power, destroyed the court system, accumulated enormous resources via corruption schemes, and encroached heavily on human right and civic liberties.

The dire results of their rule became evident not only in economic stagnation and virtual collapse of the financial system under the burden of international and domestic debts, but also in Ukraine’s dramatic downgrading in various international ratings – from the rank 89 in 2009 to 126 in 2013 on the list of “Freedom of the press”; from the rank 107 to 144 in “Corruption perception”, from 142 to 152 in “Doing business”, and from a “Free” to a “Partly Free”

country in the ranking of Freedom House. But probably the most damaging consequence of their misrule became a complete distrust of the citizens in all the state institutions, primarily those that ensure legality and law enforcement. By the end of 2013, only two per cent of respondents fully trusted Ukrainian courts (40 per cent declared no trust at all), three per cent trusted police, prosecutor office, and the parliament (fully subdued by Yanukovich's associates), and 5% trusted the government. The only institutions with positive balance of trust/distrust appeared to be the church, mass media, and NGOs.

Indeed, it might be a blessing in disguise that the Ukrainian government shelved the Association Agreement with EU and the country with such a ruling 'elite' was not taken "in Europe". But the problem is that the ruling elite have already long been in Europe – with their villas, stolen money, and diplomatic passports that make visa-free regime for the rest of their co-citizens unnecessary. Ironically, they have fully benefited from the rule of law and the property rights in the West, while systemically undermining these things in their own country. It was not them, but Ukraine – its forty five million people – who were excluded "from Europe", whereas the ruling elite enjoyed dolce vita in what they domestically call the "Euro-Sodom" – a Putinesque-style nickname for the European Union.

For many Ukrainians, the Association Agreement was the last hope to fix the things peacefully, i.e., to make their rulers to abide the laws and to get the EU's support in attempts to reestablish the rule of law in the country. Most of them had little if any illusion about the ruling clique, and the last thing they'd wish was to see them "in Europe". But for many of them the Agreement had two clear meanings. On the government side, it meant a commitment not to steal, not to lie, and not to cheat so much and so unscrupulously. Whereas on the EU side, it meant merely to take care of this commitment and help Ukrainian citizens, wherever possible, to enforce it.

Viktor Yanukovich's decline to sign the Agreement was a moment of truth, and mass protests in Kyiv and other cities were simply a reaction to that truth – farewell to illusions and recognition of the reality. Maidan meant in fact confrontation of two different worlds, two political systems and sets of values – the so-called "Europe" embodied in the EU and the so-called "Eurasia" embodied in the Putinist Russia, Yanukovich's "Family", and hired thugs that harassed the protesters.

Maidan, indeed, was neither "nationalistic mutiny" nor "election technologies" applied by the opposition, as Viktor Yanukovich and his Kremlin patrons claimed. Rather, it was a classical social revolution, an attempt to complete the unfinished business of the 1989 East

European anti-authoritarian and anti-colonial uprisings. As Anatoly Halchynsky, a renown Ukrainian economist argued, “the goals of the 1991, of Maidan-2004, and of the Euro-Maidan are the same. They are of the same origin, related not only to the assertion of Ukraine’s national sovereignty but also putting an end to the Soviet epoch, freeing our mentality from the remnants of totalitarianism. European integration is merely a designator of these changes.”

As an economist, Halchynsky praises Maidan’s non-mercantile character, which, in his view, is fully in line with global trends from economic determinism toward moral and spiritual values. Importantly, he contends, it was not a Bolshevik-style revolution of lumpen marginals. To the contrary, it was carried out primarily by educated people – the middle class, students, professionals, and businessmen (nearly two thirds of the Maidan protesters, according to sociological surveys, were people with higher education). It resembles, in a number of ways, the 1968 democratic revolutions that spread out in Europe and over the globe introducing a radically new, non-materialist agenda.

■ If these observations are true and a gradual shift from materialist to postmaterialist values is a reality in Ukraine, any attempt to install a full-fledged authoritarian regime in Ukraine is doomed at the very beginning. To the extent the Ukrainian society is becoming a ‘knowledge society’, and the new generations grow up taking survival for granted, further rise of demands for participation in decision making in economic and political life are inevitable.

■ One may refer here to Ronald Inglehart’s and Christian Welzel’s analysis of cultural links between modernization and democracy and, in particular, to their two-dimensional map of cross-cultural variations that reflects correlations of a large number of basic values drawn from the extensive data of the World Value Surveys. (Ukraine was object of these surveys in 1995, 2000, 2006 and 2012).

■ The WVS Cultural Map positions each country according to its people’s values. In one dimension it reflects predominance of Secular-Rational values versus Traditional values; in the other dimension it represents different countries’ drive from Survival values to Self Expression. The former shift coincides primarily with the process of modernization and industrialization; the latter is characteristic primarily for the postindustrial development. This is reflected also, as Welzel and Inglehart prove, in a substantial difference in both dimensions between less-educated and university-educated members of the same society.

Yaroslav Hrytsak, a prominent Ukrainian historian, argues that Ukraine rather disproves Inglehart’s pessimistic conclusion that the peculiar set of values entrenched in mentality of the

post-Soviet people makes all these countries very unlikely to achieve a trajectory of sustainable development in a foreseeable future. He refers to a noticeable values shift in the Survival/Self Expression dimension (from -1.3 to -0.8 on the scale between -2 and +2) that occurred in Ukraine in the past decade – in a sharp contrast to the virtual stagnation of the 1990s.

■ The recent Ukrainian surveys confirm that the values shift in the country, however slow and sometimes incoherent, is rather persistent and probably irreversible. First of all, it is most noticeable in the attitudes of different age groups to various value-charged issues. The national 2013 survey reveals a strong correlation between the age of respondents and their attitude toward some fundamental issues like “democracy versus ‘strong hand’”, “freedom of speech vs. censorship”, “planned economy vs. free market”, and, the most general, “regret/no regret for the Soviet Union”. But one may also discern a significant correlation between all those issues and people’s ethnicity as well as education. (In the table below only “yes/no” answers are shown, whereas “difficult to say / no answer” are omitted. Also, the middle age groups besides the youngest and oldest are omitted, as well as the middle grope of Rusophone Ukrainians – between ethnic Ukrainians and Russians, and all the middle groups between those with the higher and basic education).

Table 1. Value-based attitudes of various social groups to specific political issues.

Question / Education & Language-Ethnicity & Age of Respondents	Does Ukraine need more democracy or a ‘strong hand’? (%)	Does Ukraine need more freedom of speech or more censorship?	Does Ukraine need to develop market relations or come back to the planned economy?	Do you regret for the Soviet Union? (yes/no) 2013 vs 2015	
Basic education	9/75	31/27	23/46	62/2 0	54/32
Higher education	32/55	47/25	58/25	31/5 7	20/67

Ethnic Russians	14/66	21/40	32/44	55/3 1	37/44
Ukrainophone Ukrainians	28/58	47/24	54/28	38/4 7	23/66
60+ years old	19/67	36/31	35/43	61/2 7	49/41
18-29 years old	32/52	49/22	61/19	20/6 0	14/67

Source: Кілька тез про ціннісні орієнтації українців. Соціологічна група «Рейтинг», Травень 2013, р. 8, 11, 14, 18; http://ratinggroup.com.ua/upload/files/RG_Orientyry_052013.pdf

■ This clearly shows that Ukraine is divided but barely split. The conspicuous differences between the proverbial West and East are mitigated by (a) the vast intermediate regions of Central Ukraine, and (b) heterogeneity of any sociologically significant group that makes intra-group differences and cross-group similarities nearly as important as inter-group differences and dissimilarities. For example, as we see from the data above, ethnic Russians are much more prone to regret for the Soviet Union than ethnic Ukrainians. But this means only a statistically significant correlation and not an ironclad dependence and determinism. Whereas in 2013, 47% of Ukrainians expressed no regret for the Soviet Union, 38% expressed it to various degrees. Whereas 55% of Russians (in Ukraine) regretted for the Soviet Union, 31% did not. By 2015, as a result of the Euromaidan and Russian invasion, both groups became more “anti-Soviet” (see the last column of the Table 1) but the multiple internal divides within each of them (depending on age, education, income and settlement) remained the same.

■ These intra-group divisions can be clearly discerned in people’s attitudes toward other political options. Ethnic Russians and/or Russian speakers are more likely to support a ‘strong hand’ vs. democracy, censorship vs. freedom of speech, or planned economy vs. free market. But this is only a probability, not determinism. The reason is simple: for Russians and Rusophones it was much easier to internalize Soviet ideology as “ours” than for Ukrainophones

who strove to preserve their cultural identity under the Russification pressure and therefore had more reasons to distance themselves, to various degrees, from the Soviet officialdom.

There are many other important differences that run across regional, ethnic, or ethnocultural divides. Higher education is one of the crucial factors: in all groups and regions it strongly correlates with pro-Western, pro-democratic orientation and more civic behavior. The same correlation works also with age: the younger the people the more likely they are to support Ukraine's European integration and everything it entails.

Nicu Popescu, at the EU Institute for Security Studies in Paris, aptly recognized the complexity of Ukrainian divides when contended at the very beginning of the Maidan uprising that "the fault line runs not just between east and west, but also within the Yanukovych support groups. Some of them will continue supporting him, and some of them are disappointed by the way he misgoverned Ukraine over the last, almost four years". Indeed, in March 2014, shortly after president Yanukovych escaped to Moscow, Ukrainians expressed overwhelming support for his ousting from power. According to a reputable international GfK company, as many as 94% of respondents supported this move in the West of the country and 70% in the presumably "pro-Russian" South East. By the same token, 91% of Westerners and 70% of Easterners condemned the Russian invasion in the Crimea.

Today, as many as many as 86% of respondents in the West consider themselves "patriots of Ukraine" and "only" 68% in the East; the secession of their region from Ukraine would support 3% of westerners and 7% of easterners; closer relations with Russia are favored by 1% of inhabitants of the West, 3% of the Center, 12% of the South, and 19% of the East. The regional differences are noticeable but hardly they manifest a professed "split" or dramatic political polarization. Rather, within two years of the Russo-Ukrainian war, all groups and regions (except for the occupied territories) shifted gradually into the same, pro-Ukrainian/pro-Western direction, albeit with different speed and intensity.

It might be a good time to get rid of propagandistic stereotypes and to re-conceptualize Ukrainian cleavages as primarily ideological rather than ethnic or regional. "There are two political nations, with different values and development vectors, that cohabitate in Ukraine", Vitaly Portnikov, a renowned Ukrainian publicist, argued in 2013, shortly before the Euromaidan revolution. These two overlapping nations – the Soviet and anti-Soviet, Eurasian and European, the nation of paternalistic subjects and of emancipated citizens – bear the same name but are fundamentally divided by the very idea of what Ukraine is and should be. And now, as two major

strongholds of the “Soviet Ukraine” fell under the Moscow control, the eventual reconciliation of ‘two Ukraines’ became even more problematic. For two decades, as another Ukrainian author, Yevhen Zolotariov, commented, two social realities, Soviet and non-Soviet, had coexisted in one country side by side, in parallel worlds, encountering each other only during elections. Every time the non-Soviet Ukraine got a minimal pass but never a firm victory over its Soviet rival. President Yanukovich managed within a few years to reestablish most of the Soviet practices and symbolism. The problem, however, was that the Soviet Ukraine has neither reason d’être nor resources to exist beyond the USSR or a kind of its substitute.

An American journalist employed the same metaphor of “two Ukraines”, with a remarkable parallel to the U.S. conflict between abolitionists and slave-owners (even though he ascribed, contrary to Zolotariov, some reconciliatory intentions to the Ukrainian ruler): “For three years as President, Viktor Yanukovich has tried to balance the two sides, roughly comparable to the way pre-Civil War U.S. presidents tried to keep America’s house together by waffling on slavery... Time will tell if President Yanukovich can keep Ukraine’s two nations under one roof.”

■ Vitaly Nakhmanovych, a Ukrainian historian and Jewish-Ukrainian activist, argued during the Euromaidan that the reconciliation between those ‘two nations’ is barely possible in the foreseeable future because shift of values occurs very slowly if at all. Instead, he averred, Ukrainian politicians should think about accommodation. It might be possible if one group manages to guarantee some autonomy for the other group, with due respect to its values. It is very unlikely that authoritarian Ukraine can provide such autonomy for democratically-minded, Europe-oriented citizens. But it is quite possible that democratic Ukraine would find a way to accommodate its paternalistic, Sovietophile, and Russia-oriented fellow countrymen. This is actually what both Latvia and Estonia have rather successfully done for their Sovietophile/Pan-Slavonic co-citizens.

In a value-based context, all the arguments that Maidan and the post-Maidan government do not represent the whole Ukrainian society and rather deepens Ukraine’s ideological divide and political polarization, make little sense. There are some fundamental issues like human rights, civil liberties, and rule of law – everything we subsume under a catch-all rubric “European values” – that cannot be solved by a simple majority vote. To put it straight, no majority can legitimize slavery, and no society split can justify preservation of totalitarian values.

■ “The real political divide in the country is not that which supposedly separates Ukraine’s western and eastern regions”, – contends a Russian political analyst Igor Torbakov. – “It is a fault line, where on one side stands a host of emerging and assertive identities (including

liberals, the champions of a Ukrainian civic nation, radical and less radical nationalists, and others); on the other side are found those clinging to a post-Soviet identity, one characterized by political passivity and a reliance on state paternalism. This post-Soviet identity is spread unevenly across Ukraine, being concentrated predominantly, but by no means exclusively, in the east and south”.

■ He believes that the best framework for analyzing Ukrainian developments is not a West vs. East, or Ukrainophones vs. Russophones paradigm but a withering away of the post-Soviet foundation upon which a peculiar system of authoritarian political practices and crony capitalism rests. He defines it as “Putinism” – probably because it was Putin who perfected the system and made it not just exemplary but also mandatory for all the post-Soviet authoritarians. Ukrainians’ break with the system poses an existential threat for the Kremlin and Putin himself. Hence the hysterical reaction of Russian media and brutal invasion of Russian military on Ukrainian territory. “The toppling of the Yanukovich regime [Torbakov argues] created an opportunity for a bold political experiment, one largely aimed at accommodating Ukraine’s multiple identities and opening up political and economic possibilities to a much broader slice of society. This desire to open up society is what strikes at the very heart of Putinism, a philosophy that needs a tight lid to be kept on political expression and economic opportunity”.

■ Russian aggressive actions may seriously frustrate Ukraine’s another attempt at de-Sovietization and profound reforms. But the very persistence with which Ukrainians, once and again, try to complete the unfinished business of the 1989 East European revolutions, implies that Ukraine’s westward drift is rather irreversible, and the best thing Russians can do is to follow the move rather than try to obstruct it.

Western Balkans between Deep Crises and Uncertain Perspectives

JOVAN TEOKAREVIĆ

During the current decade six countries of the so-called Western Balkan region (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia) have continued their long and difficult post-communist transition. The goal of this analysis is to show the progress made since the beginning of the decade, as well as the main challenges and perspectives. In order to do that, I'll first briefly compare transition in the Western Balkans and in East Central Europe. Then I'll turn to the specific Western Balkan dynamics of changes in the current decade in the areas of economy, security, politics and EU integration.

The Western Balkan trajectory of post-communist changes differs significantly from the East Central European one in two main ways. First, in contrast with peaceful transformation in its neighbourhood, Yugoslavia disintegrated through several consecutive military conflicts during the 1990s, leaving a number of grave consequences in regional inter-ethnic relations, as well as in economy, politics and security that are still to be fully overcome. Secondly, in addition to double transition towards market economy and democracy, the Western Balkans has also gone through the parallel third one – nation and state-building – that has made the first two much more complicated. Neither of them has been completed, however, despite undeniable progress made in the last decade and a half, ever since the end of military conflicts. A retrospective look at the past quarter of a century in the region could easily detect three distinct periods: the first post-communist and post-Yugoslav decade of wars (1990-2000), the second decade (2000-2010) of catching-up in democratization, economic development and EU integration, and the third, current period (after 2010) of crises in the same areas.

What has changed in the dynamics of the Western Balkan transition since the beginning of the current decade? The first obvious thing that can be used as an indicator of change is the current prevailing pessimism across the region and about the region that has replaced modest optimism from several years ago. Former optimism was there because, first, at the end of the previous decade global economic crisis did not yet show all of its worst consequences in the Western Balkans. Even more importantly, the region entered the crisis after several years of respectable growth of 5-6% in average. Progress in European integration occurred at the same time as well, particularly if compared with the paralysis from the previous years. Croatia was

getting nearer to the EU membership at a slow but certain pace, while Montenegro and Serbia were following the same trend from a lower starting point and heading towards the status of EU candidate states. With the exception of Kosovo, citizens of all the region's states were in 2009 and 2010 given a non-visa free travel to the Schengen zone, which for most of them was and still is the main indicator of the Europeanization's advancement.

Although the EU enlargement fatigue began to rise at the same time, near the end of the past decade, it still didn't reach the level that could seriously endanger further enlargement to the whole Western Balkans. The EU membership perspective, that seemed closer than today, was still strong enough a motivational factor capable of pushing further legal, political and economic reforms within most of the region. In parallel with this, an encouraging sign that the Western Balkans was finally beginning to change radically was the near completion of court trials against persons indicted for war crimes. Relations between Serbia and Croatia were significantly improved, as well, at that time, together with other bilateral relations in the region, and regional cooperation was on the rise, too. And although it didn't proceed at a fast pace, post-conflict reconciliation within the region seemed almost irreversible.

Today, in the middle of the second decade of the twenty first century, one could remember modest optimism from the end of the previous decade with nostalgia. It was there, because it was based on real progress of the region, particularly if compared with Yugoslavia's disintegration and military conflicts from the 1990s. This optimism has disappeared now, or has at least been greatly reduced in contrast with expectations, and the same is true for the EU membership perspectives, the continuation of reforms and the cooperation within the region. Instead of a steady rise of stabilisation and progress from several years ago, Western Balkans is now faced with renewed destabilisation, stagnation or even an outright backlash in economy, security, democratisation and EU integration. We shall now look at these four areas in more detail.

ECONOMIC CRISIS Throughout most of the region the global economic crisis that began in 2008 has had more destructive consequences than in other parts of Europe. This happened because the region's economies were hit by the crisis at the moment when they just managed to get out of the "transition recession" during which they had become genuinely de-industrialized. In addition, they were structurally unprepared for such serious external shocks, with sudden sharp decrease of investments from abroad as well as of export possibilities. Perhaps even more importantly, Western Balkan governments did not seriously engage in adjusting their economic policies to the new circumstances – a strategy that in a number of European countries led to economic recovery after only couple of years. Western Balkan economies were

hit particularly strongly on two occasions, in 2009 and again in 2012. Faced with the absence of previous levels of foreign investments and exports, most governments chose to react merely by taking new credits which made their countries even more indebted than before.

■ A serious recession thus came about that has been finally replaced during the last few years by a very moderate growth – a result of a number of austerity measures that some countries turned to. According to most estimations a higher and hopefully sustainable growth could be, however, expected only after 2017, as seen in the Table 1. The main obstacles on the road to a stable and long-term growth will continue to be a very inefficient public sector and poor export capabilities of all national economies in the region.

Table 1: GDP growth in the Western Balkans, 2012-2018

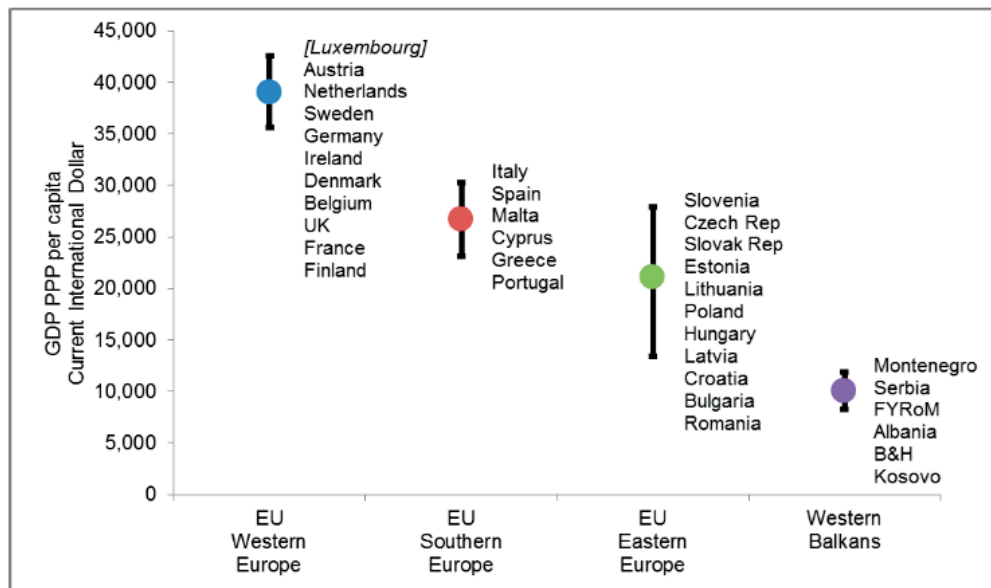
	2012	2013	2014	2015 ^f	2016 ^f	2017 ^f	2018 ^f
	<i>Real GDP growth (percent)</i>						
Albania	1.4	1.0	1.8	2.8	3.2	3.5	3.5
Bosnia and Herzegovina	-0.9	2.4	1.1	3.0	2.8	3.2	3.7
Kosovo	2.8	3.4	1.2	3.9	3.6	3.9	3.7
Macedonia, FYR	-0.5	2.9	3.5	3.7	2.0	3.3	3.7
Montenegro	-2.7	3.5	1.8	3.2	3.2	3.6	3.0
Serbia	-1.0	2.6	-1.8	0.7	2.5	2.8	3.5
SEE6	-0.4	2.5	0.3	2.2	2.7	3.2	3.6

Source: World Bank, South East Europe Regular Economic Report, No. 10, *Resilient Growth among Rising Risks*, Fall 2016, p. 1

■ The much needed diversification of exports has not produced the expected results, since the EU as the main economic partner is still in economic crisis, which has led to numerous spill-over effects in the Western Balkans. The EU has namely remained the dominant economic, investment and technological partner that accounts for two thirds of the Western Balkan countries' foreign trade. Equally important, a large cohort of 400 thousand people lost their jobs in the region in the first years of the crisis, which further increased the already very high unemployment rates (more than 20% in average, with youth unemployment of 40% in average, and up to 50% and 60% in Bosnia and Kosovo, respectively). In the meantime, unemployment rates began to decrease, but are still at the highest level in Europe. Despite

the encouraging current trends, a long-term economic recovery and growth in the Western Balkans are still uncertain, and the region remains the most underdeveloped part of Europe. GDP per capita in the Western Balkans, adjusted for purchasing power parity, is roughly half that of eastern European EU countries, one-third that of southern EU members and a mere quarter of the richest EU members in western Europe (see Figure 1).

Figure 1:

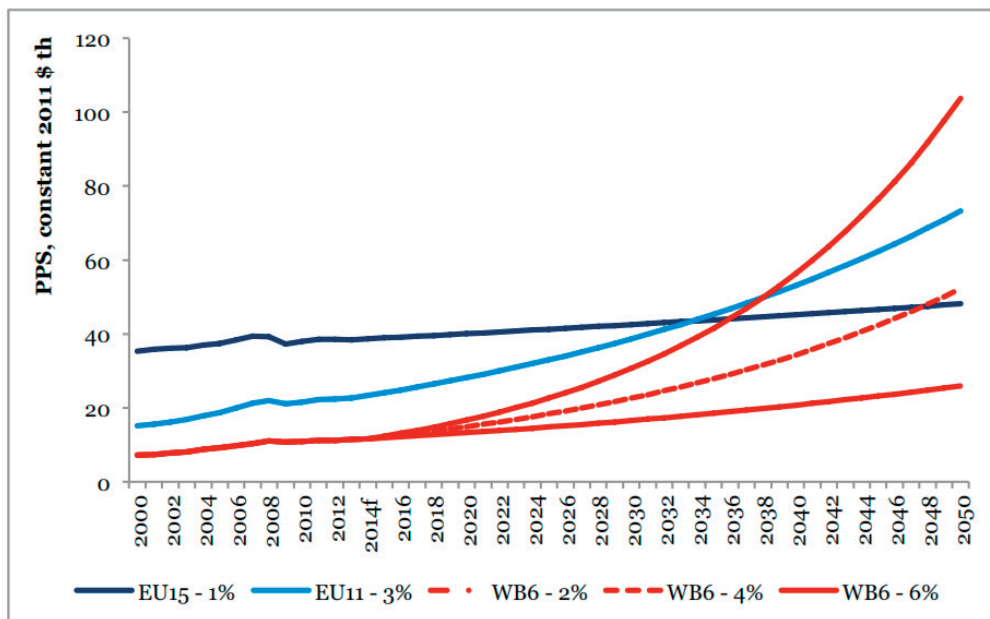


Source: Peter Sanfey, Jakov Milatović and Ana Krešić, “How the Western Balkans can catch up”, EBRD, Working Paper No. 186, January 2016.

Underdevelopment of Western Balkan economies will remain a very big obstacle for its accession into the EU. According to a recent hypothetical calculation, if the old EU member states (EU-15) continue to grow at the pace of 1% per year, and the Western Balkan countries grow six times more (6% per year), it would take at least 20 years for the latter to catch up with the EU-15 per capita income level. Within a much more realistic – but still very demanding

- scenario of 4% economic growth per year in Western Balkans, additional 14 years will be needed for the conversion to happen. If the Western Balkan region grows at 2% per year, than convergence might happen only in a very, very distant future (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: *Convergence potential of the Western Balkans*



Source: Claude Berthomieu, Massimo Cingolani, Anastasia Ri, *Investment for Growth and Development in the Western Balkans*, STAREBEI Research Project, June 2016, p. 91.

SECURITY CRISIS Economic problems were followed in the Western Balkans by negative effects of the worsened security situation in Europe and in the Middle East. Due to the crisis and war in Ukraine since the end of 2013, and particularly because of direct Russia's involvement, including the annexation of the Crimea, the relations between the West and Russia have radically deteriorated during the last years. This has in turn led to tensions and conflicts reminiscent of the Cold War, threatening to destabilise other neighbouring regions,

including the Western Balkans. Both sides in this new confrontation have in the meantime raised pressure on the states in the region, asking them to side with one of them in a more explicit way. The region has thus found itself “on the line of fire”, as US Secretary of State put it at the beginning of 2015.

Following many years of the dominant EU leverage in the Western Balkans, Russia and the United States have again become interested parties there, as well as direct security actors.¹ Without formally leaving their common strategic goal of becoming EU members, some states in the region have shown more direct signs of allegiance than others. As the only neutral country in the Western Balkans, Serbia thus continued and even improved its relations with NATO within its Partnership for Peace program, but has in parallel got closer to Russia, as well. Despite its obligation to gradually align with the EU common foreign and security policy by the end of accession negotiations that started in 2014, Serbia refused to follow the EU (and the US) and did not impose sanctions to Russia. On the contrary, during the last few years it has developed new political, economic and even security ties with Russia. Serbia has increased its military cooperation with Russia, including participation at several joint exercises, but is also the only European country that has joined in 2013 as an observer the Parliamentary Assembly of the Russian-led military block – The Collective Security Treaty Organization. Montenegro, on the other part of the Western Balkan security spectrum, was invited to join NATO in December 2015. Montenegro’s NATO membership will certainly have long-term consequences on the security of the region within which Croatia and Albania have been NATO members ever since 2009, while Macedonia didn’t manage to become one a year before that because of the Greek veto.

Western Balkans has also felt negative security effects of increased confrontations in the Middle East following the demise of the “Arab Spring”. Instead of more stability among the expected democratization, the defeat of the “Arab Spring” led to the opposite – to more instability within and between deeply divided, unfinished and failed states of that region. Such an environment, coupled with the complete fiasco of recent Western interventions there, pushed the Middle East strongly towards the radicalization of the political Islam which in turn resulted in military conflicts and terrorism that the Islamic State (ISIS) is the main but not the only generator of. The Balkans

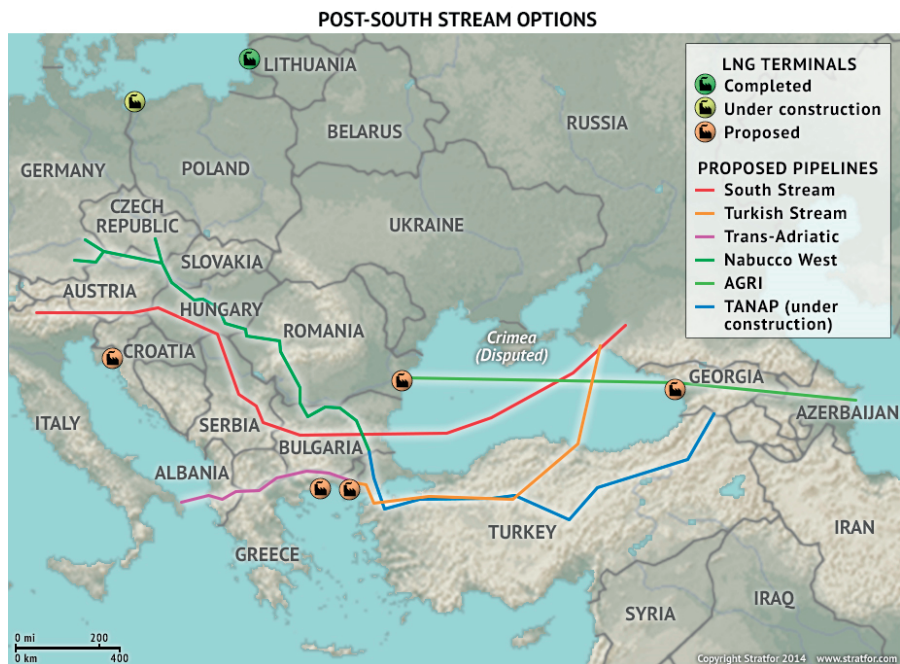
¹ On Russian involvement in the region, see: : Francisco de Borja Lasheras, with Vessela Cherneva and Fredrik Wesslau, *Return to Instability: How Migration and Great Power Politics Threaten the Western Balkans*, European Council on Foreign Relations, March 2016. On Russia and China in the Balkans, see: Jovan Teokarević, „Serbia: Perspectives on Eurasian Integration“, in: *Absorb and Conquer: An EU Approach to Russian and Chinese Integration in Eurasia*, European Council on Foreign Relations, 2016.

is one of many, but a very important area that can be seriously affected if terrorism spreads even more across Europe than until now, among other things due to the fact that many Muslims from the region have in the meantime joined ISIS in the wars in Syria and Iraq.

■ During 2015 the Balkans has also become the main transit route for around 700 thousand migrants and refugees from the Middle East who were fleeing from their countries because of wars, insecurity and poverty, and trying to get asylum and continue their lives in the European Union. This exodus, without a precedent in modern history, has so far not led to permanent and deep destabilisation within the region, mostly because refugees were only passing through the Balkan route as fast as they could, towards their preferred and permanent destinations. If many of them are, however, to stay in the Balkans for ever or for a longer period of time, this might have destabilising consequences in future. Sudden worsening of Serbian-Croatian relations in late September 2015 – with the border closure and mutual trade sanctions - is a good example of the direct effect of the refugee crisis on still fragile inter-state and inter-ethnic relations in the Western Balkans – a region whose high conflict potential can easily turn into real conflicts. Seen from the perspective of EU-Western Balkan relations, the refugee crisis can be also understood as one more wave of destabilization that the region got from the EU itself. Refugees were namely coming to the Western Balkans from one EU member state - Greece, and going in the direction of other EU member states – Croatia, Slovenia etc. This would have not happened if universal and EU norms about asylum and migration had been implemented and if there had been less chaos and more solidarity among EU member states during the refugee crisis. A temporary closure of the Balkan route in March 2016 is certainly not a guarantee for a permanent solution, as thousands of illegal migrants have continued to pass through the region ever since.

■ The last element of the current security crisis in the region is energy security that has been also seriously threatened during the last few years. The main reason for this was cancelling in late 2014 of the construction of the so-called Southern Stream gas pipeline that was supposed to bring gas from Russia to the Balkans and further to Western Europe through a new Black Sea-Balkan route, instead through Ukraine, as until now. Much needed alternatives have so far not been found (see Figure 3), as the idea for another similar project – the so-called Turkish Stream, from Russia through Turkey and further towards the Western Balkans – has also fell victim to the deteriorated Russian-Turkish relations, at the end of 2015. The region thus remains in a dangerous limbo, without alternatives to almost full reliance on Russia for gas imports, but also without any insurance that even Russian gas will keep coming after 2019 when Russia, as announced, will cease transporting its gas through Ukraine.

Figure 3: Possible gas pipelines in the Balkans



Source: <http://www.naturalgaseurope.com/europe-and-russia-after-south-stream-cancellation>

THE DEMOCRATISATION CRISIS

In the period under review here a very disturbing worsening of democratic performance of all Western Balkan states has occurred, too. According to all calculations, there's less democracy, less rule of law and less media freedoms in the region than half a decade ago. And, in harmony with these trends, there's more intolerance and distrust: towards the "others" in general, particularly towards those who are ethnically and religiously different, but also towards the elected politicians and democratic institutions. In contrast to earlier efforts aimed at emulating values and principles of consolidated democracies, role models have now changed: populism, façade democracy and hybrid regimes (those with democratic institutions but without democratic practice) have become the goals of many political actors and governments in the Balkans. Equally important, the institutions that are

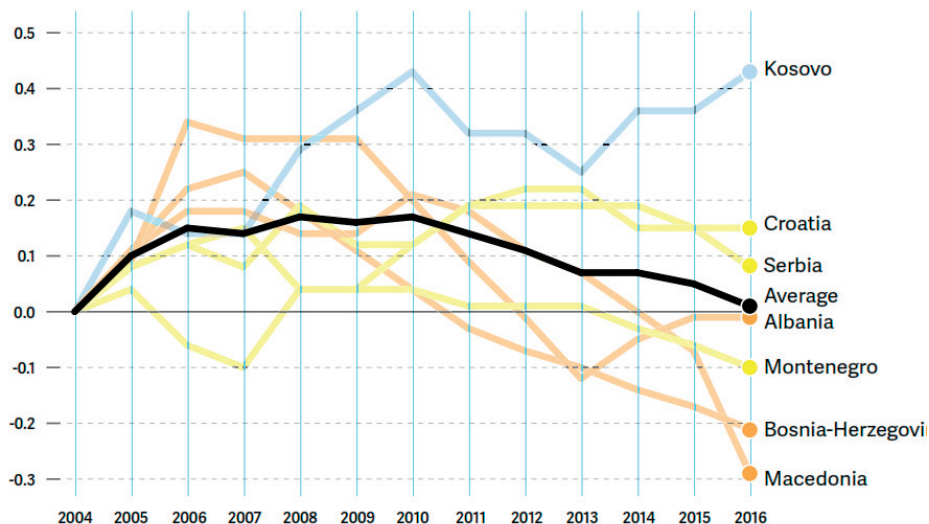
supposed to secure democracy for all are still very politicised instead of being neutral, they are increasingly under the influence of the executive parts of governments, while states have remained weak and incapable of providing basic public good to their citizens.

■ The current democratic step-back is certainly not the Western Balkan specificity. Similar trends are visible in many other countries in Europe and out of it, with different intensity and different consequences, of course. The reaffirmation of authoritarianism in this region is, however, dangerous because it's a result of several powerful factors at work: the slowing down of democratization that despite a hopeful start has never been finished, in combination with the decreasing influence (or “transformative power”) of the EU as the main external driving force for democratization, and all that in the more general context of economic crisis and mushrooming of alternatives both to democracy and to the EU membership. Current levels of democracy are in average equal to the situation of a decade ago, which could be seen in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Democracy ratings in the Western Balkans, 2004-2016

NATIONS IN TRANSIT 2016: BACK WHERE WE STARTED IN THE BALKANS

Chart shows Democracy Scores for all Balkan countries normalized so that 2004 scores equal zero



Source: Freedom House, Nations in Transit 2016.

■ If one adds to all this the lack of basic preconditions for democracy in the region – due to recent military conflicts, complicated nation- and state-building and the absence of democratic political culture – the picture is becoming even more complete. The results of democratization achieved in the region in previous years are obviously too small and basically unsustainable in the long run. In order to understand the real dimensions of the problem, two more factors should be added. The first one is an almost complete disappointment of most citizens with the post-communist and post-conflict period in the Western Balkans, which has reduced already low levels of legitimacy of local governments. Finally, the retreat of democracy came also as a result of multiple crises within which the governments and the citizens tend to choose among many goals that are mutually exclusive. As in many other places, democracy in the Western Balkans has become a victim of much more urgent need to solve economic problems first, very often by undemocratic means, with the help of powerful leaders and the denial of democratic principles. Instead of democracy, stability has thus become the ultimate goal in the age of uncertainty, and the EU didn't seem to mind, as long as all-powerful leaders in most countries of the region managed to prevent destabilization.

This is why the Western Balkans is still plagued by old and still unresolved problems. Among those shared by all countries in the region the most important ones are the following: the lack of the rule of law, most visible in the lack of the independence of judiciary; the “capture of the state and its institutions” by privileged groups, with high levels of clientelism, corruption and organised crime; endangered freedom of expression and suffocation of media freedoms; the lack of the culture of tolerance together with disrespect of the rights of minorities of all kinds; the non-existence of a systemic control of power-holders, coupled with the rising political abstinence.

■ Of special significance is another big problem that stands in the way of real democratization: the lack of wide societal consensus on the most important issues within the countries of the Western Balkans. In places where this has been most felt – within complex, ethnically and politically deeply divided societies of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro and Kosovo – mass anti-government protests have taken the centre stage since 2014. And while the demonstrations in Bosnia and Herzegovina in early 2014 came as a result of primarily rising economic and social problems, mass revolt in Macedonia a year after had a predominantly political character. Macedonian students at first, followed by the opposition parties and a large number of citizens, demanded the Government's responsibility for many illegal actions that suffocated democracy in this country, including mass surveillance of thousands of persons. In autumn of 2015 supporters of Montenegrin opposition parties staged a long

protest demanding from the Government more rule of law, but also no accession to NATO. At the same time the opposition in Kosovo rallied against the agreement with Montenegro on the border demarcation line, and also against the planned establishment of the Association of Serb Communities – the main result of years-long Kosovo’s negotiations on normalization with Serbia. These examples, each with its own specificities, clearly show that the region still needs cohesive elements among different political and ethnic actors, in the absence of which it is difficult to expect soon any respectable level of democratic consolidation.

■ Democratic deficit in the Western Balkans is additionally negatively affected by a still high level of nationalism in the region. In contrast to earlier optimistic expectations that the force of destructive nationalism – that led to military conflicts in the 1990s – will diminish, the region is faced with the increasing number of cases of radical right-wing extremism, and this is the phenomenon shared not only by EU candidate states, but also by the new EU member states, like Croatia (Hungary and Poland, too, for that matter).

■ Nationalism, fuelled by tabloids, is still capable of breaking the thin layer of progress made towards tolerance and recognition of rights of “others”. Examples of this kind can be found everywhere in the region, from the denial of constitutionally guaranteed rights of national minorities and LGBT communities, to the renewed deterioration of bilateral relations among the Western Balkan states.

THE EUROPEANIZATION CRISIS ■ At first sight, it seems that the European integration of the Western Balkan countries, as their common strategic goal, has not suffered much damage in this crisis-ridden first half of the second decade of the twenty first century that we are observing. Indeed, there have been many significant moves ahead in this period: Croatia became EU member in 2013 (thus symbolically leaving the region), while Montenegro and Serbia first became official candidates for membership and then began accession negotiations – Montenegro in 2012, and Serbia in 2014. Albania has also been a candidate since 2014, and Macedonia, without any progress in the status - since 2005! Two laggards – Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo – have moved up the integration ladder, too: the former’s Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) finally came into force in 2015, after a seven year delay, which was followed by Bosnia’s formal application for EU membership in 2016 – the same year when Kosovo’s SAA came into force, too.

■ All these valuable results pale, however, in comparison with earlier expectations of much faster EU accession. They also lose significance in front of a deep crisis of the European Union, with multiple negative effects on the region and its aspirants for EU membership.

■ Expectations have certainly not been met, as the overall bad future prospects from the previous decade turned into much worse ones in the current one. Several years ago it was, namely, expected not only in the Western Balkans but also in many EU member states that the completion of the EU with new members from the Western Balkans would be finished much earlier. The year 2014 used to be often mentioned as the time of accession of all or most of the region's countries, as a symbol of the end of divisions in Europe, one century after the beginning of the First World War. It was soon understood that this would be too ambitious a goal for the Western Balkans, still full of problems and specificities that Central European post-communist states didn't have to deal with at the time when they joined the EU, in a much more favourable post-Cold War context. Predictions were thus changed and ambitions tamed, and the year 2020 appeared in public discussions as the most pessimistic deadline for accession of all countries, with the exception of Croatia that was expected to join the EU much sooner. In the meantime the same year has become the most optimistic of all options, valid only for one or two countries seeking to get the EU membership card.

■ This was, however, only part of the consequences of the deep crisis that the EU has been going through for years now, and which has to do with its identity, democratic legitimacy but also with economic perspectives it could offer to the aspiring candidates for its membership. Recent Eurozone, refugee and Brexit crises² have brought the EU almost to the point of disintegration and the growing resistance to its further enlargement has pushed this important business further down the list of its priorities. Even more precisely, further EU enlargement has lost its strategic meaning which it previously had in the Union's plans. The incumbent European Commission began its work in late 2014 with the announcement that it did not expect any new member to join the EU during its five-year mandate. This is completely in harmony with the public opinion in most EU member states that refuses – with convincing majorities - to accept new members, at least before the solution of multiple crises within the EU.

² On potentially series effects of Brexit on the region, see: Florian Bieber, "Even Farther Union: Balkans and the Brexit", Freedom House, June 2016; "Future of Europe at Risk?", Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and Center for Foreign Policy, Belgrade, 2016.

■ This is how Western Balkan countries' perspectives for membership have diminished, merging with their already insufficient capacities for accession. To make things even worse, the bar of formal membership conditions has been raised at the same time, too. The reaction of the region's governments came as no surprise: although they didn't formally give up the EU accession, they now tend to calculate the cost of accession much more carefully, trying to fake reforms and offer populist solutions to their citizens who are equally losing previous faith in the EU. Two mutually connected negative processes are thus currently at work: the enlargement fatigue within the EU and the reform fatigue within the Western Balkan aspirants for EU membership. The cumulative effect of those two fatigues or crises is in a very serious way putting into question the European perspective of individual countries and of the whole region.

■ The described consequence has an enormous significance for the future destiny of the whole region due to extraordinary roles the EU has played in it. The EU is not only the model and the driver of reforms, as it used to be in previous waves of enlargement. It has many more functions in the Western Balkans, as the security and financial anchor, as the most important partner in the building and stabilisation of new states, and as an increasingly influential internal political actor in several states. The last mentioned role has been gaining strength in the last years, particularly in those states where Europeanization has been for different reasons faced with most problems. This is why the EU has engaged since 2014, within the German-British initiative, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, trying to motivate local political actors to work together and in a much more efficient way on reforms that would allow for a faster rapprochement of the country to the EU. The EU intervention in the internal political life of Macedonia since 2015 has been even bigger: it became a mediator between the Government and the opposition, within efforts aimed to overcome a deep political crisis.

■ Although the popularity of the European option is decreasing everywhere in the region, the so-called transformative power of the EU has not lost all of its strength. This could be best seen in the example of negotiations on the normalization of relations between Serbia and Kosovo that have progressed despite many problems, especially ever since prime ministers of both countries began to lead negotiations in 2012. A year later, the Governments of Serbia and Kosovo concluded the so-called Brussels agreement on normalization of relations – a big step forward that would have been impossible without the mediating EU role and without the membership perspective in the EU for both parties.

Despite often interruptions and internal resistance of both Kosovo's and Serbia's citizens, and a modest implementation record, Belgrade and Pristina are continuing normalization, which could hardly be expected only several years ago.

REGIONAL COOPERATION CRISIS With the intention of reinvigorating the EU integration and regional cooperation in the Western Balkans, the EU – or better said Germany and several other countries - launched a new initiative in 2014 – the so-called “Berlin Process”. Three summits have been held with the region's prime ministers so far: in August 2014 in Berlin, in August 2015 in Vienna and in July 2016 in Paris. Summits were used to forge agreements on future infrastructure projects in the region in the areas of transport and energy (the so-called “connectivity agenda”) that the EU is supporting financially with EUR 1 billion until 2020. Of special significance was another agreement reached at the Vienna Summit on the resolution of bilateral conflicts and on the duty of all parties not to put obstacles to the European integration of others. As of 2017 the region will also have the new institution – Regional Youth Cooperation Office - that will forge further cooperation and reconciliation among young people along the model of the Franco-German Youth Office.

Regional cooperation in the Western Balkans has advanced in the last several years as a result of two parallel processes. On the one hand, it is tightly connected and intertwined with the European integration of all the region's countries, and on the other, a great number of instruments for state and non-state cooperation have been established in many areas. Together with undeniable successes, the region has recently, however, witnessed crises in relations between some of its states and societies. In October 2014 the dron-carried flag of “Great Albania” at the Serbia-Albania football match led to the mutual accusations and insults of politicians and media of two that were just about to renew cooperation after many decades. In summer of 2015, on the occasion of the commemoration of the Srebrenica genocide (1995): Bosniaks protested against Serbia's efforts, supported by Russia, to prevent the UN resolution on this issue. In late September of 2015, as it was already mentioned, Serbia and Croatia failed to find a common solution for the flow of refugees between the two countries. As a result, the borders remained briefly closed, mutual trade sanctions were introduced (which didn't even happen during the undeclared war between two countries in the 1990s) and a heated debate with accusations and hate speech followed in the media of both countries. This continued in summer of 2016 when Serbian-Croatian relations sank further down, to the levels unseen since the end of military conflicts in 1990s.

None of these crises lasted long nor were they continued by other violent means, as was the case during the 1990s. This is a certainly a testimony of the progress made in the post-conflict era in the Western Balkans. At the same it also speaks about the unfinished character of the stabilisation and reconciliation in the region and of a still high conflict potential within it.

Various internal and external factors have their share of responsibility for occasional deterioration of relations in the Western Balkans, but the very system of regional cooperation has its own deficiencies, too. Perhaps the biggest one is the fact that regional cooperation has never really become completely locally-owned. On the contrary, it was imposed by powerful states and international organizations from above, and has remain ultimately dependent on them, while local state and non-state actors participate in it mainly in order to please external mentors, rather than to see regional cooperation as their own interest. Although the region has been turned into a free-trade area through the “Balkan CEFTA” (created in 2006), economic cooperation within it is much smaller than with the EU, which is another problem. Regional cooperation is, in addition, not institutionalized, while coordinating institutions – previously Stability Pact for South East Europe and since 2008 Regional Cooperation Council – can work only on what all governments in the region agree upon, and that is often too little, too late. Multilateral cooperation cannot proceed too much if bilateral relations between states and nations in the Western Balkans still remain bad, and progress here has been lacking despite many initiatives, including the one from the Berlin process - on the necessity to resolve bilateral disputes as fast as possible. Last but not least, the lack of a self-critical view of the recent past led to the unfinished reconciliation in the region and is also preventing cooperation, as well.

In conclusion, one can say that the Western Balkans, hit at present by so many crises at the same time, and only partially recovered from the previous ones, is certainly not capable of moving to a more prosperous future without the external help. The help could and should come, as until now, primarily from the European Union – which is still seen as common future of all the region’s nations and states. Although torn apart by multiple crises itself, the EU should make the Western Balkans its own priority again, for the sake of the Western Balkans and for its own sake, which has, unlike in earlier times, become now one and the same thing.



The Limits of Europe: Refugees, Human Rights, Frontiers

Gilles Kepel
Catherine Withol de Wenden
Camino Mortera Martinez
Jacques Rupnik



Europe and its South

GILLES KEPÉL¹

Has the European Union developed a policy addressed at its two neighbouring areas, the East (former Eastern Europe up to Russia) and North Africa/the Middle East? Or are we rather dealing with something like a division of roles, quite informal, but tacitly accepted EU members, with individual countries initiating activities addressed at particular regions?

I have an impression that the latter is the case. Germany, economically dominant European power, gives the main impetus to the development of policy towards Eastern Europe, which to some extent constituted for Germany a traditional area of expansion up to the borders with the Russian Empire. France plays the role of the leader in Europe's relations with the South or at least with the countries of the South Mediterranean. England is very poorly involved, not only because its foreign policy is much closer America than to European, but also for Brexit-related reasons which are weakening the authority of Great Britain. The British believe that their well-being can be sustained only through gradual depletion of the exclusive prerogatives of their government; for example, the British navy is currently smaller than the French one, which in itself is a remarkable and significant development in this sphere. And Spain and Italy, two other Mediterranean powers, have a smaller influence than France.

It seems to me that the question of the division of roles between the EU and the member-states must be invoked here, for it is connected with the difficulties in defining a coherent and efficient European policy. You have an impression that on the level of public statements there is an emphasis on a number of conditions regarding human rights and the standards of market economy, but beyond that there is no consensus or it cannot be conveyed in a clear manner to the region.

In the East, Europe includes countries which have emerged from the Soviet system. Reforms there have been introduced through European integration with benchmarking formulated by the EU and which candidate countries have to adopt them if they want to join. This significant process is absent in the Southern neighbourhood - in the Maghreb and the Middle East. These countries do not intend to adapt to European norms, and they officially proclaim that. When looking for the fundamental principles of organising society, they will rather reach for their own traditions. It could be the primacy of Islamic law, the Sharia, or other not exactly democratic

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resources. The Arab Spring has sometimes been likened to the 1989 European revolutions an analogy perhaps inspired by the hope awakened by the early stages of the Arab Spring. It was an illusion based on the dubious hypothesis that these two developments – 1989 and 2011 – shared a democratic inspiration. But this was not so.

As far as the so called revolutions in the Arab world are concerned – they were viewed them in the light of two interpretative patterns, two Weltanschauungen of American origin. These two academically transmitted diseases could be called “Fukuyamosis” and “Huntingtonosis”. At first we believed that what was happening in the Arab world was fundamentally similar, structurally identical to what had happened in 1989 in Eastern Europe, the only difference being that in the meantime the world has undergone digitalisation. In 1989, there was no Facebook or Twitter, which appeared in the mid-1990s, so the Arab Spring would be a kind of “1989 2.0” : the power of the Soviets plus electrification! - as Jacques Rupnik, paraphrasing Lenin put it. 1989 and information technology, today’s equivalent of electrification.

The year 2011, the first year of the Arab revolutions, was marked by reaching for the concept of the general theory of the end of history, the Hegelian theory, according to which the young protesters from Bourguiba Avenue in Tunis, from Tahrir Square in Cairo, from Benghazi, from Pearl Square in Manama, from the vicinity of the university campus in Sana - the first five revolutions - and even those who, after March 2011, were to appear on the streets of Syrian cities, initially demanding democratisation, and then the overthrow of Bashar al-Assad, grew up on the same wave of democratic and anti-authoritarian enthusiasm which swept across Eastern Europe in 1989. We focus on the relatively well-educated youth, speaking two or three languages, having access to social networking and media that was dominant in the perception of these social movements.

For example, when we look at Tahrir Square in Cairo, it seems to us that we see all of Egypt, although in reality we are looking at just one courageous and democratic segment of society fighting against Hosni Mubarak. In fact, Islamist groupings, initially not involved in the revolution, were able to take it over thanks to their very well organised structures and the ability to mobilise society, as well as to manage what the failed welfare states were no longer able to guarantee, that is the existing charities, health service, education, the network of mosques, social dialogue. The authoritarian regimes commissioned these tasks to them, while still banning them from participation in the political process. In Egypt there were two states functioning side-by-side: the military state governed by Mubarak and a kind of B state run by the Muslim Brotherhood from below, with the regime making many deals with it, including financial ones. The weakening of the military regimes and especially the feeling that the West, especially the US, left them to their own devices, encouraged the Muslim Brotherhood B states to demand primacy for themselves and try to replace the former authorities.

The first factor differentiating 1989 from 2011 is the fact that this time no democratic model of institutionalising the revolutionary process was adopted, as it happened in Central and Eastern Europe allowing it to later join the EU. Instead there was a model based on native concepts and even if it emerged as a result of a formal dialogue with society through organising elections conforming to European standards, in fact this model upholds ideals of a different type. It was initially believed that 2011 was “the end of history”. Now, unable to comprehend the whole complexity of this development, we are willy-nilly reaching for Huntington’s model, that this the theory of the clash of civilisations. In the first stage it was wonderful: people concluded that the Arabs were just like us, they had Facebook; away with bin Laden, away with Al Qaeda, away with terrorism, away with the niqab, with Kalashnikov and Jihad. In the second stage, that is from 2012 on, a different perspective prevails: in fact we have nothing in common with the Arabs, they are irrevocably different from us. Their main political destiny is the Muslim Brotherhood, the niqab, Jihad etc. This development will be accompanied by a process of growing fragmentation of society based on rediscovered old divisions manifesting themselves in new forms.

The first division which coincided with the revolutionary process was the split between the Sunnis and the Shiites. Starting from the end of 2011, the Sunni-Shia conflict, in English known as sectarianism, has been finding its reflection in Syria, where the Sunni majority has been supported in its democratic efforts to overthrow Bashar al-Assad both by Western democracies (they did not provide resources sufficient for the emancipation of these movements) and the Sunni Persian Gulf states. The latter saw it as an opportunity not so much for strengthening democracy – the oil monarchies are afraid of democratising processes – as for the weakening of the Assad regime, an ally of Iran.

In relation to the European question it is interesting that besides Iran it is Russia that is the main ally of Bashar al-Assad, and the game about Ukraine is seen in the Middle East as a sort of extension of the Syrian issue. Reaching for hard power methods in the Crimea and supporting the pro-Russian separatists in Ukraine, Moscow is also supporting the regime of Bashar al-Assad and demonstrating its ability to maintain its great power status and opposing the processes of destabilisation, which could undermine its control over the areas of the former Soviet empire, in the form in which Putin rebuilds it in the mental sphere.

Iraq, which after the 2003 invasion was presented as a model of the American nation building, has found itself in a state of total collapse. A Shia state created by the United States paradoxically could be taken under its protective wing by Iran – American neoconservatives gifted Iran with the best foothold in the region, although formally the US and Iran remain in a state of acute conflict. In its turn, the Sunni « Islamic State » is now assuming its Jihadist shape. It

erased the Syria-Iraq border established by the Sykes-Picot agreement at the end of World War I, and its territory stretches from the suburbs of Aleppo in Syria to the Iraqi Fallujah, becoming something of a Sunni state/hinterland of the Fertile Crescent. All this culminated in the proclamation of a self-styled caliphate of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant .

In addition, also a Kurdish state is in the making. It had enjoyed autonomy even earlier but as a result of the Kurdish conquest of Kirkuk, the Kurdish Jerusalem, and thanks to the abundance of oil pumped by Turkey to the port of Ceyhan on the Mediterranean Sea, it now possesses all the features of a state. I always ask my students about the definition of the state in the Middle East. The correct answer is: any entity that can sign a contract with an international oil company, and if possible, has a capital city. So we see the pieces of the regional puzzle finding their place; this process suppressed the current processes of democratic nation. It looks nothing like what happened during the European revolutions, even if today it is obvious that Ukraine, Transnistria, Moldova and Crimea are also struggling with the processes of decay and fragmentation.

Tunisia is the only country so far which allows you to have a feeling that this whole process also has a democratic element. The middle class, secular and French-speaking, partly Islamist and partly moderate, managed to gain control over the constitutional process. This is the only country so far that has undergone such a change. Tunisia continues its profound dialogue with the European Union. It is not exactly the same type of dialogue as in the relations with the East of Europe, but one of its results is, for example, that ten members of the Tunisian Parliament are elected in France, as well as in other countries, but mostly there, because one tenth of the Tunisian population lives in France.

Various ways of interpreting events, those inherited from 1989, as well as those which emerged after September 11, demonstrated their limitations. In the East, a triumphalist version of the end of history was promoted, and then a more pessimistic scenario which appeared during the conflict in the Balkans. With the war in the former Yugoslavia, Europe discovered that communism does not necessarily have to be followed by liberal democracy, for nationalisms and authoritarian regimes may also develop there. This situation, enclosed in the small space of the Balkans, was regarded as unique to the region, not to say as a regional aberration compared to the changes in Central Europe marching towards the European community, which was the key theme of the European narrative after 1989: the triumph of democracy over totalitarianism and a “return to Europe”, democratic transition and European integration.

This is where I see the fundamental difference: the 1989 revolutions, but also the colour revolutions in Georgia in 2004, in Ukraine and Moldova, and more recently the Euromaidan in Kiev, have a European aspect. In Kiev there are two competing logics: the logic of Maidan

occupied by protesters, or Maidan of contestation and “direct democracy”, and the logic of the presidential election of 25 May 2014, and more broadly speaking, of representative democracy. What is striking here is the idea of the modernisation of civil society, which in the case of Ukraine is invoking Europe above all as method for distancing themselves from the corrupt authorities and the despotic regime sliding towards Putin’s model. So the reference to Europe plays a special role in this context.

These are leaderless revolutions. Neither the Egyptian revolution, nor the Ukrainian one, neither Tahrir, nor Euromaidan produced a leader or their own representation. The 1989 revolutions in Central Europe were personified by Lech Walesa, leader of Solidarity, and especially by Václav Havel, the symbol of the “velvet revolutions”. Dissidents were a shadow political elite, which after 1989, however briefly, assumed power.

Tunisia, a small country with a relatively high level of education and wealth, resembles Hungary in the first phase of transformation after 1989, the best student in the post-communist class, a small country where the transition did not involve violence and where reforms were quickly undertaken and a compromise was built around them. It seems that also Tunisia found some kind of compromise between secular and religious parties. Egypt in its turn is a large country and the centre of gravity of the region, the equivalent of Poland in East Europe.

People soon found out, watching the war in the Balkans, what questioning the map established after World War I may lead to. The further we move to the South, the more perceptible is the difference between the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Empire. Sarajevo and Beirut were part of one empire. While drifting towards an authoritarian regime Turkey is looking for leverage in its post ottoman neighbourhoods.

In parallel neo-imperial Russia throws its weight around and you can connect the Crimean intervention with the support for Assad’s regime. The Russian president wanted to demonstrate his main concern, the other being the affirmation of Russia’s great power status on the international stage, making the point that Russia plays an indispensable role in resolving the Syrian question. European support for democratic transition in its periphery, appear rather distant today. The role of Russia in the simultaneous crises in Syria and Ukraine leads us back to the topic of European real politics.

L'Europe et la crise de l'accueil des réfugiés

CATHERINE WIHTOL DE WENDEN

INTRODUCTION Depuis ces vingt-cinq dernières années, l'Union européenne a été confrontée à des mouvements migratoires appartenant à des profils divers: regroupement familial, demandeurs d'asile, étudiants, élites qualifiées, migrants à la recherche de travail, mineurs isolés, réfugiés. Contrairement au passé, les migrations de travail sont devenues très faibles en nombre par rapport aux autres flux, de regroupement familial, d'asile, d'études. L'Union européenne reste la première destination migratoire au monde en terme de flux, devant les Etats-Unis (seconds), les pays du Golfe (troisièmes), la Russie (quatrième), autres grands pôles migratoires, dans un contexte de mondialisation des migrations.

Aujourd'hui, l'Union européenne connaît un afflux de réfugiés sans précédent (plus d'un million de demandeurs d'asile en 2015). Elle est entourée de pays en guerre ou en conflit intérieur, qui ont produit des flux de réfugiés au sens large (plus souvent demandeurs d'asile que migrants venus à la recherche de travail, mais presque tous migrants forcés) d'une ampleur exceptionnelle. Ces flux viennent actuellement de Syrie (5 millions ont migré à l'étranger, dont 3 millions sont en Turquie, plus d'un million au Liban et 600 000 en Jordanie), d'Irak, de Libye (ancien filtre des migrations sub-sahariennes vers l'Union européenne, par le biais d'accords bilatéraux conclus notamment avec l'Italie), de la corne de l'Afrique (Erythrée, Somalie), d'Afghanistan, du Soudan et du Kosovo.

Après une période de frilosité et d'atermoiements, le discours, le 7 septembre 2015, d'Angela Merkel, déclarant l'Allemagne prête à accueillir 800 000 demandeurs d'asile durant l'année 2015 et la proposition de Jean-Claude Juncker de partager 160 000 demandeurs d'asile entre les pays européens ont lancé les bases d'un nouveau tournant migratoire. Les valeurs de l'Union européenne : solidarité entre pays européens, respect des droits de l'homme et du droit d'asile ont alors été mises à l'épreuve de la réalité. La photo, diffusée dans le monde entier, du petit Syrien de trois ans mort sur la plage turque de Bodrum suite au naufrage du bateau conduisant sa famille de Syrie vers la Grèce à l'automne 2015 ont participé à cette remise en question de l'approche sécuritaire qui a dominé la politique d'immigration et d'asile en Europe. On compte en effet 22 000 morts aux portes de l'Union européenne de 2000 à 2015 et 3000 morts en méditerranée, pour l'année 2015, presque autant pour l'année 2016.

Ces chiffres masquent la diversité des migrants et des raisons de migrer. Dans la réalité, beaucoup de migrants ont été, ces dernières années, des flux mixtes : partis à la recherche

de travail, fuyant des pays en crise et ne leur offrant aucun avenir à leurs yeux. L'absence d'espoir, quelle qu'en soit la cause, est souvent à la source de la décision de quitter des pays mal gouvernés, instables, insécurisés et corrompus (régimes sans alternance, en proie au clientélisme, aux ressources très inégalement distribuées, avec un marché du travail très étroit pour une population majoritairement jeune). Elle nourrit la cause des « *harragas* », ces « gril- leurs de frontières » entre le Maghreb et l'Europe, qui recourent à des passeurs pour s'offrir une autre vie, ou ces migrants transsahariens, prêts à tout pour vivre ailleurs. Mais la cause essentielle des départs récents est la guerre, l'instabilité et la violence politiques : en Erythrée, en Somalie, en Syrie, en Irak, en Libye.

I - L'EUROPE, PREMIÈRE DESTINATION MIGRATOIRE AU MONDE ■ Si, au sud, on est souvent face à des « flux mixtes » d'hommes jeunes venus seuls fuyant la situation économique et politique sévissant chez eux, au Proche Orient la plupart des nouveaux venus sont des familles de demandeurs d'asile. Ceux qui empruntent les voies de la migration irrégulière transsaharienne puis méditerranéenne, ou turque, grecque et ex-yougoslave par la route des Balkans, sont le fruit d'une sélection parmi les jeunes. Il faut être en bonne santé, déterminé, capable d'affronter les difficultés de tous ordres du voyage, avoir accumulé un pécule qui peut atteindre jusqu'à 30 000 euros, et avoir pour projet de vivre à l'étranger une durée suffisamment longue pour régulariser sa situation. On est loin du migrant de main d'œuvre venu en Europe par les services du patronat comme dans les années 1960, aisément régularisé et animé par le projet de retour au pays. Certains ont travaillé dans les pays qu'ils traversent comme les Sub-Sahariens en Libye, et ont perdu leur emploi à cause du chaos qui y règne, d'autres ont été victimes de la guerre qui sévit chez eux (Syrie, Libye), d'autres n'ont pas trouvé après la guerre d'opportunités d'emploi (Afghanistan) et sont chômeurs dans des pays où le taux de chômage atteint 40% de la population chez les jeunes. Tous voient dans l'Europe une terre de paix, de sécurité, de respect des droits et d'avenir pour eux et leurs enfants.

L'Europe, ancienne terre de départ, ne s'est jamais pensée comme continent d'immigration et celle-ci apparaît illégitime à beaucoup de ceux qui refusent cette réalité. L'Europe a en effet longtemps été une terre de départ vers les grandes découvertes, la colonisation, le commerce international, les missions étrangères, le peuplement de pays vides. Il y a un siècle on comptait 5% de migrants internationaux sur la planète contre 3, 5 % aujourd'hui: la plupart étaient des Européens car l'Europe était aussi très peuplée par rapport à d'autres continents. Puis, les migrants sont venus durant la période de croissance, à un moment où beaucoup de pays européens manquaient de main d'œuvre pour leur économie minière, industrielle ou agricole, et de reconstruction après les deux guerres mondiales et qui requérait surtout des « bras ».

Tous les pays de l'Union européenne sont signataires de la Convention de Genève sur l'asile de 1951 et partagent entre eux les valeurs fondamentales de droits de l'homme qui font partie du projet politique européen. Ces pays sont pourtant traversés par la poussée des populismes qui ont placé la lutte contre l'immigration en tête de leur programme.

Depuis les années 1990, l'Union européenne n'a cessé de multiplier les initiatives destinées à dissuader les nouveaux arrivants : passage des questions d'immigration et d'asile du troisième au premier pilier communautaire (traité d'Amsterdam, en 1997) en faisant de l'immigration un thème sécuritaire, responsabilisation des transporteurs et privatisation de certains agents de contrôle des frontières, mise en place du système intégré de vigilance externe (SIVE) le long des côtes espagnoles (2002), restriction du droit d'asile (notion de pays sûr, de pays tiers sûr, de demande manifestement infondée, amendement Aznar de 1997 rendant très difficile la demande d'asile d'un pays européen à un autre), tentatives d'européanisation du droit d'asile avec les accords de Dublin I (1990), principe du « *one stop, one shop* » (Dublin II, 2003) selon lequel un demandeur d'asile doit obligatoirement voir traitée sa demande dans le premier pays d'accueil européen où il a mis le pied, informatisation des empreintes digitales (Eurodac, 2000) pour identifier les demandeurs d'asile frauduleux entre plusieurs pays de l'Union, militarisation des frontières extérieures et mise en commun des forces policières pour les protéger (Frontex, 2004). Un arsenal d'accords bi et multilatéraux entre pays européens et pays extra-européens (près de 300) situés de l'autre côté des frontières extérieures de l'Europe à des fins de reconductions aux pays de départ ou de transit des déboutés du droit d'asile et des sans papiers est venu compléter le dispositif.

La gestion des frontières extérieures de l'Europe, pendant de la libre circulation intérieure établie par les accords de Schengen de 1985, est devenue l'objectif essentiel. On pensait en effet il y a trente ans, lors de l'adoption de ces accords, que l'ère des migrations de masse était terminée, que les non Européens retourneraient chez eux grâce aux politiques de retour, que la mobilité interne des Européens augmenterait significativement, qu'il y aurait substitution des nationaux et des Européens sur le marché du travail hier occupé par des immigrés non Européens et que les politiques de développement des pays de départ seraient une alternative aux migrations. Or, la plupart de ces scénarii se sont trouvés erronés : les Européens ont été peu mobiles pour travailler en Europe jusqu'en 2004, date de l'ouverture de l'Union à dix nouveaux pays européens, il n'y a pas eu de substitution sur le marché du travail compte tenu de la très forte segmentation de celui-ci, les retours, peu nombreux, ont été un échec. Quant aux politiques de développement, elles n'ont pas offert une alternative aux migrations et les quelques initiatives tournées vers la rive sud de la méditerranée (accords de Barcelone de 1995 à 2005, Union pour la Méditerranée en 2007) n'ont pas été en mesure d'offrir un

pendant à l'ouverture à l'est de l'Europe. Enfin, des crises telles que celle des grands lacs en Afrique, le conflit de l'ex-Yougoslavie et la crise algérienne et syrienne ont produit des demandeurs d'asile très éloignés de ceux prévus par la Convention de Genève : des demandeurs aux profils collectifs en raison de motifs sociaux, ethniques, religieux, des victimes de la société civile et non des Etats dont ils provenaient, d'où la plus grande difficulté de prise en compte de leur candidature à l'asile.

Il en est résulté un repli vers la gestion nationale des frontières du fait de l'attachement des pays européens à leur souveraineté dans ce domaine : appel à la fermeture des frontières nationales (comme cela a été le cas entre la France et l'Italie à Vintimille en 2011 et 2015, puis entre la Bulgarie et la Grèce, l'Allemagne et l'Autriche en 2015, la Hongrie et ses voisins en 2015) et hostilité à l'imposition de « partage du fardeau » entre Européens de l'Union par de nombreux pays européens de l'est. L'Europe joue les valeurs sur lesquelles elle a été fondée à travers l'accueil fait aux demandeurs d'asile.

DES RÉPONSES PEU LISIBLES À LA CRISE DE L'ACCUEIL DES RÉFUGIÉS

■ Face aux flux auxquels elle a été confrontée depuis ces dernières années, l'Union européenne a répondu par une position restrictive qui a accru l'influence des passeurs et provoqué des milliers de morts, transformant la Méditerranée en un vaste cimetière. On en compterait 40 000 depuis les années 1990.

La première difficulté d'une réponse solidaire a été le fait que les pays européens ont été inégalement confrontés à l'afflux d'immigrés et de demandeurs d'asile. De loin, l'Allemagne est le premier pays d'immigration en Europe avec 7 millions d'étrangers et le pays qui a accueilli les trois quarts de la demande d'asile en Europe depuis 25 ans. Elle forme avec la France, le Royaume Uni et la Suède le peloton de tête pour l'accueil des demandeurs d'asile en termes de chiffres depuis cinq ans

La seconde est la difficulté d'harmoniser l'asile sans une politique étrangère commune des différents Etats. L'harmonisation de la délivrance du statut de réfugié est souvent rendue complexe en Europe par les différences d'interprétation des conflits d'un pays européen à un autre car chaque pays a sa diplomatie, son histoire, ses voisins, ses accords politiques et commerciaux et ne donnera pas la même réponse à un même demandeur selon le risque que celui-ci présente de faire jurisprudence pour des profils analogues vers tel ou tel pays européen. De plus le positionnement géographique entre en ligne de compte : tandis que l'Italie a accueilli le plus de migrants maghrébins et sub-sahariens, notamment sur ses îles comme Lampedusa, et que d'autres îles comme Malte ou les îles grecques de Lesbos, Kos et Samos ont dû également gérer l'accueil des touristes et celui des demandeurs d'asile sur des

espaces restreints, la Grèce a vu arriver par voie terrestre également l'essentiel des Syriens et des autres Proche et Moyen Orientaux frappés par la guerre : Afghans, Irakiens. La voie terrestre, via la traversée de la frontière gréco-turque, en Thrace a conduit à la fermeture de la frontière entre la Hongrie et la Serbie, la Bulgarie et la Turquie.

Enfin, la troisième raison des réticences des Etats à l'européanisation de l'asile réside dans leurs politiques intérieures, habitées par la montée des populismes attachés au symbole des frontières et à la confusion d'une partie de l'opinion publique entre l'immigration de culture musulmane, incluant les réfugiés, et le terrorisme.

Une porte de sortie a été tentée par l'Union européenne dans sa tentative de renforcer les frontières externes de l'Europe: en construisant des « *hot spots* » (lieux d'accueil et de rétention des nouveaux arrivants) dans les deux principaux pays d'arrivée, l'Italie et la Grèce, faute de pouvoir conclure avec les pays de la rive sud de la méditerranée, et avec l'accord avec la Turquie de mars 2016. Une promesse de six milliards d'euros a été accordée en échange de son engagement à contenir dans le pays les nouveaux arrivants, les négociations d'entrée dans l'Union européenne ont été réouvertes et la requête de la suppression des visas pour les Turcs entrant en Europe a été introduite). Un autre instrument de contrôle des frontières a été décidé avec le sommet euro-africain de La Vallette, en novembre 2015 où il s'est agi de poursuivre la politique de partenariat avec les pays du sud en échange d'une aide au développement, de la facilitation des visas pour les saisonniers et qualifiés et d'une aide au retour financée par un fonds créé à cet effet.

II - L'ESPACE EURO- MÉDITERRANÉEN L'UNE DES PLUS GRANDES LIGNES DE FRACTURE AU MONDE

Le sud de la Méditerranée constitue, malgré la relative fermeture des frontières, une région d'émigration considérable : Maroc (3, 5 millions d'émigrés), Turquie (5,3 millions), Egypte (2,7 millions), Algérie (un million). Au Maroc, l'émigration a doublé en onze ans. Les quasi – diasporas issues de l'immigration sont aujourd'hui l'objet de beaucoup de sollicitudes car elles peuvent permettre aux pays de départ d'exercer une influence dans les pays d'accueil: acceptation de la double nationalité car beaucoup de pays européens ont ouvert, au cours des années 1990, leur droit de la nationalité à des éléments de droit du sol alors que tous les pays musulmans sont des pays de droit du sang avec allégeance perpétuelle au pays de naissance comme au Maroc, acceptation, par les pays de départ, des droits politiques exercés par les non communautaires à l'échelon local dans les pays d'accueil et parfois mise en œuvre du vote à distance pour les ressortissants de l'étranger installés dans les pays d'accueil, reconnaissance des associations militant pour la condition de leurs ressortissants dans la cité et implication de ces associations dans des

programmes de développement local dans les régions de départ, organisation du religieux à distance. Des réseaux transnationaux matrimoniaux, commerçants, entrepreneuriaux construits par les migrants traversent la méditerranée et font de la frontière une ressource pour leurs échanges.

Mais l'Europe n'attire que la moitié des migrants de la rive sud de la Méditerranée, car ils se destinent aussi aux pays du Golfe ainsi qu'aux Etats-Unis et au Canada. Certains pays de la rive sud de la Méditerranée sont aussi des pays d'immigration. C'est le cas pour Israël, la Turquie, les territoires palestiniens, la Jordanie, la Libye. Il s'y ajoute un nombre inconnu de migrants illégaux ou en transit, dont des Sub-sahariens au Maghreb, des Soudanais en Egypte.

LA MÉDITERRANÉE, LIGNE DE FRACTURE ET DE PROXIMITÉ ■■■ Des murs se sont construits comme à Ceuta à l'initiative de l'Union européenne et de l'Espagne, des frontières de barbelés, au sud-est de l'Europe, avec des camps dans les pays de passage comme le Maroc, la Libye mais aussi Malte ou dans les pays limitrophes : prisons, zones d'attente, centres de rétention avant la reconduction à la frontière, lieux d'accueil et d'assistance et plus récemment « *hot spots* », des centres de tri des nouveaux arrivants en Italie et en Grèce depuis 2015.

Durant ces soixante dernières années, la population de la Méditerranée s'est accrue de façon significative dans la région est et sud, alors qu'au nord elle stagnait. D'ici 2025, la population des Etats européens qui la bordent (Espagne, Italie, France, Grèce, Malte) aura à peine augmenté, tandis que celle des pays de son pourtour sud se sera accrue de 70%. approchant les 400 millions de personnes. L'écart des classes d'âge va se creuser : sur la rive sud de la Méditerranée, 50% de la population a moins de vingt-cinq ans face à une Europe du sud où l'âge médian est de plus de 40 ans. La fracture démographique est néanmoins en train de s'atténuer à cause de l'entrée de la plupart des pays de la rive sud dans la transition démographique, c'est-à-dire le passage au remplacement des générations (deux enfants et demi par femme en moyenne). Aussi, la pression migratoire sud-nord en Méditerranée est en train de diminuer. Sur la rive nord de la Méditerranée, des pays comme l'Italie, l'Espagne sont entrés dans une phase de vieillissement démographique avec un nombre d'enfants par femme qui se situe au-dessous du renouvellement des générations et l'entrée dans le quatrième âge d'une part croissante de la population, ce qui nécessite un appel à de nouvelles sources migratoires pour garder les aînés. Dans le même temps, on voit apparaître des migrations nord-sud qui sont souvent un prolongement du tourisme international, chez les seniors qui décident de leur installation durable au soleil (en France pour les Britanniques, en Espagne et au Portugal pour les Allemands et les Britanniques, à Malte pour les Britanniques, au Maroc et en Tunisie pour

les Français). De leur côté les jeunes diplômés d'Europe du sud au chômage vont chercher du travail au nord de l'Europe, mais aussi au sud, en Afrique, en Amérique latine ou en Australie.

Les révolutions arabes, avec l'arrivée de Libyens en Tunisie, de Tunisiens en Italie et en France, au printemps 2011 ont eu d'abord peu d'impact migratoire en Europe, car il ne s'est agi que de quelques dizaines de milliers de nouveaux venus. Leur impact a été surtout la crise syrienne, bien plus tard, à partir de 2014-2015. Quelques îles de la Méditerranée, lieux de tourisme et aussi d'arrivées récurrentes de sans papiers ont été confrontées à un dilemme difficile à gérer, entre l'ouverture toute grande aux touristes et l'arrivées des illégaux : il en va ainsi de Lampedusa, de Malte, de Chypre, des îles grecques, des îles Canaries et, à moindre degré, des Baléares. De nouveaux lieux de passage, comme la « route des Balkans » ont été investis avec la crise syrienne pour laquelle il n'avait pas été anticipé que le régime syrien durerait et qu'il serait à la source d'autant de réfugiés. Les passages frontaliers, amplement médiatisés sont souvent une mise en scène du contrôle des frontières pour l'opinion publique qui suggère la réponse de l'Europe à une invasion : dans un monde où l'aspiration à la circulation n'a jamais été aussi grande, on n'a jamais autant éprouvé le besoin de mettre des barrières à la migration.

Les îles de la méditerranée sont devenues le lieu d'arrivée des demandeurs d'asile et des sans papiers originaires de la rive sud et du Proche Orient tout en accueillant les touristes, leur principale ressource estivale et les illégaux arrivés sur des embarcations de fortune, *pateras*, *cayucos*, *zodiacs*, bateaux de pêche ou cargos hors d'âge avec le concours de passeurs. D'autres îles, comme les Canaries, ont aussi été le théâtre de drames humains sur leurs côtes.

UN SYSTÈME DE CONTRÔLE DES FRONTIÈRES MARQUÉ PAR LA FERMETURE AU SUD

De plus en plus, la Méditerranée, fait figure de nouveau Rio Grande entre sa rive nord et sa rive sud. Les visas sont accompagnés de murs, camps, radars, capteurs, drones et du système Frontex. Cette prolifération des contrôles migratoires s'appuie sur trois raisons essentielles : l'économie sécuritaire, où des sociétés privées se sont spécialisées dans le convoi des expulsés et où la technologie militaire propose ses instruments au domaine civil, la surenchère sécuritaire, amalgamant immigration illégale et lutte contre le terrorisme international, l'utilisation des migrants comme instruments de négociation à travers les accords conclus avec les pays du sud (Sénégal, Libye, Algérie, Tunisie, Maroc).

La lutte contre l'immigration clandestine est une priorité affichée par l'Europe en Méditerranée. Des accords de réadmission entre l'Union européenne et les pays du sud de la Méditerranée tendent à faire de nombreux Etats tampons les « garde-frontières » de l'espace européen, d'autres Etats (africains notamment) étant déjà liés par une clause de réadmission obligatoire.

Des officiers de liaison immigration et asile à travers le programme Frontex, formalisé dans une agence spécialisée installée à Varsovie depuis 2004, assurent un contrôle renforcé des frontières externes et le rapatriement communautaire (c'est-à-dire par plusieurs pays de l'Union, qui joignent leurs efforts de façon conjointe) est considéré comme un signal fort de dissuasion.

Les autres instruments utilisés pour contrôler les frontières sud de l'Europe ont été les accords bilatéraux. Il s'agit d'accords conclus entre les pays d'entrée et de départ sur la réadmission des étrangers en situation irrégulière vers les pays d'origine. La Libye a fourni un exemple d'accords marchandés au nom de la lutte contre l'immigration clandestine. Elle n'a pas ratifié la Convention de Genève de 1951 sur les réfugiés ni adhéré à la politique européenne de voisinage. Quand, en 2011, 1 500 immigrés arrivés dans l'île sicilienne de Lampedusa, ont été expulsés vers la Libye, les migrants à la recherche d'une protection internationale n'ont pu faire valoir leurs droits. Le colonel Khadafi avait demandé cinq milliards d'euros à l'Union européenne pour « stopper » l'immigration illégale et la construction d'une autoroute de l'Egypte à la Tunisie. Mais la révolution de 2011 a mis fin à ces négociations.

Les accords bilatéraux ont souvent pour objet de limiter les flux migratoires en échange de politiques de développement, d'accords commerciaux ou de l'attribution de titres de séjour pour les élites. Ils comportent souvent des clauses de réadmission des migrants irréguliers dans les pays d'origine. L'Europe a ainsi conclu quelques 300 accords de réadmission. Mais ces accords parviennent très difficilement à reconduire les migrants aux frontières (moins de 5% pour la France, 6% pour l'Allemagne) car les pays de départ ne les reconnaissent pas toujours comme leurs nationaux, que la procédure est très coûteuse et qu'on ne peut pas reconduire quelqu'un qui vient d'un pays en guerre. Les migrants, souvent écartés de ces accords, sont parfois revenus sur la scène par la voie de leurs associations. Ainsi, le Mali qui en 2009 devait signer un accord bilatéral de réadmission avec la France en a été dissuadé par la mobilisation des associations de Maliens en France qui ont accusé leur Etat de les « vendre » au profit des bonnes relations entre le Mali et la France, dans une période de transition politique au Mali.

Un autre type d'accords concerne les accords multilatéraux signés entre un pays de départ et de transit avec l'ensemble de l'Union européenne. Plusieurs pays riverains de l'Union en sont signataires. Mais d'autres résistent sur la clause migratoire, comme le Maroc en raison de la faiblesse de la contrepartie offerte par l'Europe : le Maroc souhaite en échange le statut de partenaire privilégié avec l'Union européenne, faisant valoir que la signature de tels accords risquerait de ruiner les relations qu'il entretient avec les pays d'Afrique de l'Ouest, d'où viennent de nombreux migrants qui transitent par le Maroc pour entrer en Europe.

On observe un retour à une gestion des frontières comme affaire des Etats, alors qu'est affichée avec force l'existence de frontières européennes sur les marges extérieures de l'Union,

ce qui révèle un manque de confiance des Etats européens envers la politique européenne. Malgré ces fermetures, les initiatives des migrants et de ceux qui en sont issus contribuent à construire des espaces transnationaux entre la rive nord et la rive sud de la Méditerranée : d'abord par les transferts de fonds; ensuite, par leurs associations, qui sont souvent autant de réseaux, de liens culturels, de formes de mobilisation civique; également par les doubles nationaux dont les élites sont courtisées par les pays de départ comme éventuels investisseurs et créateurs d'entreprises ou cerveaux, mais aussi comme élus dits « de la diversité » ou comme responsables politiques dans les pays européens ; enfin par leurs pratiques transnationales au quotidien à travers les mariages, les échanges d'informations, de biens, la création de petites entreprises, l'organisation de l'islam dans les pays sécularisés d'Europe.. Une quantité d'initiatives culturelles métissées fleurissent dans la musique, le théâtre, la danse, le sport qui sont aujourd'hui partie prenante de la culture populaire européenne. L'Europe ne peut plus faire abstraction de cette composante de sa diversité, dont les migrants sont parmi les principaux acteurs.

LA MÉDITERRANÉE, LIEU D'EXERCICE ESSENTIEL DE LA SÉCURITÉ EXTÉRIEURE ET INTÉRIEURE

L'espace sécuritaire européen trace de nouvelles frontières à la périphérie de l'Europe. Des villes frontières ont pris de l'importance et vu leur destin bouleversé. Melilla, enclave espagnole sur la côte marocaine, vit en partie de la contrebande et des migrants potentiels. Vlores, en Albanie, est devenue durant les années 1990 le théâtre des passeurs et de ceux qui rêvaient de l'Italie vue à la télévision. Sangatte, puis Calais permettent aux Anglais de déléguer à la France le contrôle de leurs frontières en amont. Les frontières se déplacent là où se dessinent de nouveaux mouvements migratoires. L'Espagne, au premier rang de cette région stratégique, a dû mettre en place une politique migratoire dans une contradiction entre la fermeture officielle des frontières à l'immigration de travailleurs et le développement d'une économie instable et flexible qui bénéficiait largement du travail irrégulier jusqu'à la crise de 2008. La fermeture des frontières, renforcée dès 2002 par la mise en place du système SIVE (Système intégré de vigilance externe) autour des côtes espagnoles, loin de mettre un frein aux migrations, y a conduit à la professionnalisation d'une économie organisée du passage clandestin, une réponse à une demande massive de candidats à l'immigration. Le cas des mineurs immigrants non accompagnés s'est particulièrement répandu entre le Maroc et l'Espagne, protégés par la Convention de 1989 sur les droits de l'enfant. La plupart d'entre eux resteront sur le territoire espagnol.

Puis c'est l'Italie et notamment l'île sicilienne de Lampedusa, qui, de nouveau est la destination des passeurs depuis l'été 2016. Ce pays a mené l'opération Mare Nostrum en 2013-2014

, sauvant ainsi 140 000 personnes en une année tandis que Frontex répétait que sa mission était le contrôle et non le sauvetage. La Grèce a été la plus touchée par les arrivées de 2015 : les îles du Dodécanèse avec Lesbos, Cos, Samos ainsi que des points de passage terrestres à travers la Thrace et la rivière Evros, depuis la crise syrienne, même si l'accord entre l'Union européenne et la Turquie signé en mars 2016 était destiné, à tarir les flux de passage irrégulier entre la Grèce et la Turquie. Mais cette trêve a été de courte durée, face aux réticences de l'Union européenne à respecter les clauses de l'accord concernant la suppression des visas pour les Turcs, accordée en échange et à l'intensité du trafic du passage depuis les côtes libyennes.

Au gré des régimes migratoires et des nouvelles entrées dans l'Union européenne, certaines frontières ont été supprimées pour les uns tandis que d'autres ont été érigées pour les autres. Ainsi, les Portugais, entrés pour la plupart clandestinement dans les pays européens en traversant les Pyrénées (*O salto*) avec ce qu'ils appelaient un « passeport de lapin », c'est-à-dire sans papiers, sont devenus invisibles juridiquement quand ils ont bénéficié de la libre circulation européenne en 1992 (la même année que les Grecs et les Espagnols) alors que les Algériens, qui bénéficiaient de la libre circulation aux termes des accords d'Évian (1962) et soumis à visas depuis 1986, viennent aujourd'hui grossir le flux des « grilleurs de frontières » (*harragas*). On mesure ainsi le poids du changement des frontières institutionnelles.

Mais la frontière est aussi intérieure aux États, entre les Européens et les extracommunautaires, pour qui le défaut de papiers en règle constitue une frontière, lourde de conséquences pour le travail, la vie quotidienne, la mobilité pour les sans papiers. Une fois franchies les frontières juridiques, par régularisation, mariage, entrée régulière, accès à la nationalité, une autre frontière perdure : celle de la visibilité physique, des imaginaires. Les nouveaux nationaux continuent alors à être considérés comme des étrangers du fait de discriminations en tous genres : assignation à résidence dans les cités, racisme institutionnel de la part des forces d'autorité, difficulté d'être considéré et traité comme un citoyen ordinaire dans l'accès au logement, à l'emploi, aux filières scolaires recherchées, jusqu'aux boîtes de nuit. Le développement de situations de bi nationalité, du fait de l'extension du droit du sol dans la plupart des pays d'accueil européens depuis les années 1990 et du maintien du droit du sang dans les pays de départ permet de franchir les frontières du déplacement de part et d'autre des frontières externes de l'Europe, sans pour autant abolir la frontière des représentations collectives liées à la visibilité. Mais le droit de la nationalité a des règles différentes pour chaque pays européen, car il est souvent le symbole de son histoire nationale et de sa géographie, d'où un accès différencié à la citoyenneté européenne : les règles du jeu sont les mêmes pour tous ceux qui sont citoyens européens alors que le droit d'entrée dans la citoyenneté européenne tient du cas par cas (l'accès à la nationalité). Des zones grises perdurent, avec

la pratique discrétionnaire des régularisations, des critères de naturalisation, du principe de non refoulement des déboutés du droit d'asile, du maintien sur le territoire des mineurs non accompagnés, des menaces de dénaturalisation parfois introduites dans les débats publics, comme en France en 2015.

CONCLUSION ■ Des solutions existent à la crise, mais elles sont peu visibles à présent, car beaucoup de politiques migratoires, européennes ou nationales sont davantage faites pour rassurer l'opinion publique à court terme que pour fournir des solutions durables. Tout d'abord, un dispositif de protection temporaire, prévu par une directive européenne de 2001 pour les Kosovars aurait pu être appliqué, mais il semble avoir été oublié dans les débats récents. Les discussions européennes ont aussi lancé et mis en œuvre des « hot spots », des centres organisés par des agences européennes pour accueillir les demandeurs d'asile dans des lieux d'arrivée en Italie et en Grèce, mais ils ressemblent davantage à des centres de tri. Le système de Dublin II, qui consiste à renvoyer les demandeurs d'asile dans le premier pays où ils ont mis le pied serait à revoir car il crée beaucoup d'effets pervers, comme à Calais, où ont campé jusqu'à 6000 personnes dans l'attente de traverser la Manche et de pénétrer au Royaume Uni. On peut aussi relancer le débat d'une diversification des voies d'ouverture des frontières à davantage de catégories de migrants, afin d'éviter que tous ne s'engorgent dans la filière de l'asile, grâce à un plus grand accès au marché du travail des étrangers non communautaires. Si l'immigration économique était plus ouverte qu'à présent, certains flux dits « mixtes » choisiraient cette voie plutôt que la demande d'asile. Les flux dits « mixtes », couplant recherche d'emploi et fuite de pays où l'insécurité règne pourraient y trouver un débouché sans demander l'asile. Ce fut le cas, dans le passé, des Portugais qui ne sont pas entrés en France comme demandeurs d'asile malgré la dictature de Salazar mais comme sans papiers et régularisés par la suite à la demande de leurs employeurs. Une politique de visas plus diversifiée, notamment pour les jeunes migrants (étudiants, touristes, recherche d'emploi, création d'entreprise) constituerait en effet une réponse à l'absence d'espoir des nouveaux arrivants et aux besoins d'immigration qualifiée et non qualifiée face au vieillissement de l'Europe. Une autre solution serait la suppression de la préférence européenne à l'emploi qui date de 1994 et a conduit à des pénuries sectorielles de migrants (liste des métiers dits en tension). Enfin, l'ouverture plus grande au statut de réfugiés (31% des demandeurs ont obtenu l'asile en France en 2015) permettrait de légaliser beaucoup de demandeurs d'asile antérieurs à la crise syrienne qui s'interrogent sur leur avenir, une fois déboutés et de leur ouvrir l'accès au marché du travail. Rappelons qu'au temps de l'accueil des Vietnamiens, les taux de reconnaissance des demandeurs d'asile atteignaient les 80%. Les conflits et leur

résolution par les Européens et les pays concernés semblent être une entreprise de longue haleine, et faire la guerre aux migrants et aux réfugiés ne servira à rien. Il convient plus que jamais d'inverser la logique en considérant que le droit de migrer est un principe universel et la possibilité de fermer les frontières, la marge de man?uvre laissée aux Etats en fonction de leur contexte et de l'exceptionnalité de la situation. Car si crise il y a, c'est bien de crise de la solidarité et de la dissuasion qu'il s'agit.

A Death Foretold

CAMINO MORTERA MARTINEZ

The worst refugee crisis since World War II, a seemingly never-ending string of terrorist attacks, and the rise of populism across Europe threaten to bring the Schengen area down. If the European Union wants to save Schengen, it needs to be more serious about protecting its external borders and managing the flow of refugees.

In June 1985, representatives of five European Union countries gathered on a boat on the Moselle river to sign the treaty that would abolish passport controls at their borders – and change the nature of travel and commerce across Europe for generations.

The Schengen agreement, initially an intergovernmental treaty covering Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany, became EU law in 1997 and would become a defining feature of the European Union. Schengen covers 26 countries: EU member-states (except for Britain, Ireland, Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia and Cyprus) plus non-EU members Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Iceland. The treat covers a population of 400 million people, in an area of four million square kilometres. It has made trade and labour mobility between European countries easier.

Younger generations of Schengen citizens do not even conceive having to stop at borders when travelling across Europe: many have never even seen what a border post looks like. For the older generations, who recall long queues and burdensome checks while doing business or going on holidays abroad, Schengen is one of the most visible contributions the EU has made to their lives.

Up until a couple of years ago, everybody loved Schengen. But this love story seems to have come to an abrupt end, with politicians clamouring for a shutdown of the Schengen area, and EU countries reintroducing border controls.

The past two years have been rough for the European Union. Four major crises are challenging its very survival: debt, refugees, terrorism and, more recently, Brexit.

After several years of economic recession, the Eurozone experienced moments of panic when Greece was almost expelled for its inability to tackle its growing debt crisis. Greece also became the epicentre of yet another crisis, when hundreds of thousands of refugees, mainly fleeing from Syria, used the country as a gateway to claim asylum in Europe. On the first days of 2015, a terrorist attack hit French satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* in Paris. It was the first strike of a terror campaign orchestrated by the Islamic State (IS) against Europe, which has

seen attacks in Belgium, France and Germany, and continues to further threaten the EU. Finally, in June 2016, Britons voted to leave the European Union. Although Britain is not part of Schengen or the Eurozone, the EU's growing pains in dealing with its economy and its borders played a key role in swaying the vote.

All of these crises are intertwined. They have all contributed to the EU's poor performance in recent years, which, in turn, has increased popular disenchantment with the European project and the rise of populism across the continent.

The problem with Schengen is that it was designed with fundamental flaws that politicians hoped would eventually be solved once the EU became more "integrated" – that is, something akin to a federation of states, more similar to the United States. The abolition of border controls was always supposed to be accompanied by a stronger external border, with common migration and security policies that would allow all Schengen countries to know who was getting in and why, and let Europeans and others roam freely across borders. But that never happened. Schengen was not prepared for external shocks, such as a massive exodus of refugees and the previously unthinkable possibility of European "home-grown" jihadists carrying out terrorist attacks on the continent.

The Schengen area showed weakness at the first sign of trouble. Seven countries (Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, Norway, Poland and Sweden) have border controls in place – although for different reasons. France shut its doors, declaring a state of emergency following numerous terrorist attacks in 2015 and 2016. Poland brought in temporary checks to deal with Pope Francis's visit to Krakow and the Warsaw NATO summit; and the remaining countries because of uncontrolled flows of migration.

At the height of the refugee crisis, in February this year, some in the EU were prepared to drop Greece – the first time a country would have been expelled from the Schengen area. Talks of establishing a 'Mini-Schengen', or a smaller borderless area between a handful of countries, was gaining traction as the only alternative to restore order in the EU. The German government suggested that, before trying all this, the EU negotiate with Ankara to send failed asylum seekers back to Turkey. In the end, Angela Merkel's view prevailed, and the EU signed a controversial deal with Turkey that has temporarily halted the influx of refugees. But the deal relies too heavily on Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's good will – which is not something he has shown much of in recent months.

To save Schengen, the EU must realize that the idea of a European borderless area with no burden-sharing between countries is a thing of the past. The European Union may have been able to muddle through when it had the wind at its back. But that is not the case any longer, and there is little the EU could do to save Schengen if it does not agree on a common

migration and security policy. EU countries should put more effort in controlling Schengen's external border; and they should accept that some sort of quota system to distribute asylum seekers across Europe will be needed. Otherwise, they should face the inevitable: The EU will have written the chronicle of a death foretold.

Migrants as a Mirror: European Divides and Central European Narratives

JACQUES RUPNIK

Europe has recently been confronted with the biggest migration wave since the end of World War II, provoking contrasting responses and wide-ranging political debates across the continent. It has helped to bring to the fore across Europe nationalist and populist parties thriving on the politics of fear but also public intellectuals, artists and civil society organisations who, in a context of rising temptations of closure, argued for an open door policy. It is a distinguished tradition in European thought that goes back to Immanuel Kant's notion of the 'world citizenship' or Hannah Arendt (another philosopher from Königsberg) considering the refugee as an emblematic figure of the 20th century¹. Ai Weiwei's, the Chinese dissident artist outspoken stance on this issue was a way of showing his concern for human rights was not confined to China. His position seems close to Jacques Derrida's view of hospitality as an imperative of 'an unreserved and un-calculating welcome, a limitless exposure to newcomers'.² This approach, may in some respects, fit with the legacy of Central European human rights movements such as Charter 77 demanding free circulation for people and ideas had contributed during the cold war. The idea of an "open society" went hand in hand with open borders and seemed to part of European unification after 1989³.

Yet this philosophic and political tradition is by no means prevailing in Europe today, especially not in East-Central part of the continent. Indeed, it appears today under threat or in a defensive mode. In this respect, the migrant crisis that has been shaking Europe since 2015 offers a mirror into the state of the European Union, deeply divided over policy responses, but also in the contrasting narratives that justify them.

1 Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York, 1951 : »The fist damage to the nation-states caused by the arrival of hundred of thousands os stateless people was that the right of asylum- the only symbol of human rights in the sphere of intrnational relations- was abolished ...The general decomposition of political life is illustrated by nothing beter than the vague hatred permeating all and everything ».

2 Jacques Derrida, *De l'hospitalité*, Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1997.

3 Liberal politics « without borders » can be traced back to the legacies of 1968 , for instance, Bernard Kouchner's « Médecins sans frontières », leaving the barricades of Paris for the famine in Biafra. It extended in the 1970's thanks to dissidents and the Helsinki process to human rights « without borders » and the right to interfere. It provided and ideology for the post-1989 period translated into « global civil society », global "democracy promotion", "global governance". Despite some achievements in the 1990's it exists mainly virtually, through networks connected on the internet. The most successful and enduring globalization has been that of markets and migrants, which brings back the important distinction between political and economic liberalism.

The migration crisis has revealed the return of an East-West divide in Europe. Since joining the European Union, the Central Europeans appreciated the economic benefits but often complained of the lack of attention to their specific experience, concerns and identity. Well, be careful what you wish, for you may get it sooner than you imagine! Central Europe got in one year more attention from the Western media and politicians than ever in the previous twenty years. To be sure, these were often simplistic or moralising views, but all had one thing in common: stressing the distinct Central European approach to the migrant crisis, the otherness of what used to be the 'Other Europe'.

Indeed, it was the leaders of Central European countries whose peoples regard freedom of movement as the greatest benefit arising from the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, who responded most negatively to the migration wave by building fences on their borders. The country that is the symbol *par excellence* of the end of the post-1989 era is Hungary. During the summer of 1989, it was the first to dismantle the Iron Curtain between Hungary and Austria, allowing tens of thousands of East Germans who 'voted with their feet' to reach the German Federal Republic. In the summer of 2015, the Hungarian government had a 175-kilometre long fence built along the border with Serbia to prevent migrants from entering its territory. In 1989, Victor Orbán stood for opening of borders and open society. A quarter of a century later, he became the symbol of the opposite: closing the border and the populist backlash against liberal democracy.

BALKAN TRANSIT, CENTRAL EUROPEAN CLOSURES ■ The most surprising rebuff of Orbán's policy came from the Serbian prime minister who, at the Balkan summit in Vienna at the end of August 2015, declared: 'The answer is not building walls.' Adding that this time Serbia was not 'generating' migrants: 'We are just a transit country'. Whereas Hungary claimed that it was protecting the EU frontier, the Serbian foreign minister, Ivica Dačić, allowed himself a touch of irony: 'The Balkans are facing a wave of migrations ... from the EU!' And indeed, the migrants were (and still are) arriving in Macedonia and Serbia from Greece, a member-state of the EU, a signatory to the Schengen Agreement concerning the control of European borders.

Therefore, we have to distinguish between the Balkan countries and the Central European countries that are part of the EU. The former are a source of economic migration, mainly from Albania, Kosovo and Bosnia, but they are also a transit zone for refugees from the Middle East heading for the EU. Here, an increase of 600 per cent occurred in 2015 in comparison with the previous year. Hence the noteworthy contrast between the Central European and Balkan responses. Whilst the Serbs have, on the whole, given a sympathetic welcome to the migrants,

providing them with food and even with wire-cutters so that they can get through the barbed wire, the Central European countries were distinctly more hostile. And not only in Hungary, where only ten per cent of the population was in favour of accepting asylum seekers. Eighty per cent of Slovaks and some three-quarters of Poles were hostile to receiving migrants, no matter where they were from. Just like the countries of the Visegrad Group, most East European governments, from Estonia to Romania, opposed the idea of quotas for sharing out migrants, whilst certain claim to be ready (as in Poland and Slovakia) to receive some provided they were Christians. The three Baltic countries out of these agreed to accept 725 asylum-seekers.

The first paradox thus is that countries, whose populations consider the freedom of movement the greatest achievement of the 1989 revolutions after half a century of confinement, were most reluctant to apply this principle to non-Europeans. Whilst they have been enthusiastic about globalisation for twenty years (the slogan for the Czech presidency of the EU in 2009 was 'Europe without barriers'), today they are now calling for a 'Europe that protects' (the slogan of the French presidency in 2008). The Brexit vote, primarily motivated by hostility to migrants (from Eastern Europe!) and Donald Trump's decision to build a wall on the border with Mexico were welcomed by parts of the Central European political elites as vindication of their own position.⁴

The second paradox is that post-war era pro-democracy movements in Central and Eastern Europe were put down by Moscow and gave rise to major waves of refugees. More than 200,000 Hungarians fled from Soviet tanks to Austria in 1956, and were welcome in the rest of Europe, which no one questioned. The same occurred with the Czechs and Slovaks after the August 1968 invasion that crushed the Prague Spring, and the Poles after 1981 when the repressive clampdown on Solidarność movement drove many into exile. Is this amnesia or is solidarity supposed to remain solely intra-European?

Several explanations can be suggested to better understand the situation as seen from Central Europe. Observing Hungary in the 1920s, the historian Oskar Jaszi noted that a regression of democracy (*Rückschlag*, a term borrowed from psychoanalysis) occurs in times of crisis when old structures resurface.⁵ Perhaps Central Europe or indeed Europe as a whole has entered such times of crisis and regression. Another Hungarian political thinker, István Bibó, argued in his masterpiece on Central European nationalism written during the war, that

⁴ See Viktor Orbán's interview in the Daily Telegraph (London) on 11 November 2016: with Brexit and Trump's victory 'The liberal non-democracy is over. What a day! What a day! What a day!' Czech President Zeman wrote to the American President-elect: 'In my country they call me the Czech Trump'.

⁵ Oskar Jaszi's 1927 essay was republished in *The United States of Europe*, Budapest: Hungarian European Society, 2006, p. 13.

democracy was under the threat of fascism 'when, following a cataclysm or an illusion, the cause of the nation separates from that of freedom, where a historic shock generates the fear to see freedom threaten the cause of the nation'.⁶

The migration wave of 2015, unprecedented in post-war Europe, was framed by the political elites in East-Central Europe as such a shock. The 'cause of the freedom' (freedom of movement) embodied in the EU and German chancellor Angela Merkel's decision to open the borders, was presented (and widely perceived by the population) as a threat to the national, and indeed European identity, and asked to be protected by all means. That entailed building a fence on the Hungarian border during the summer 2015, followed by a firm rejection on 4 September 2015 by the countries of the Visegrad Group of the EU Commission quota system for sharing refugees. The politics of fear as well as the threat of a 'Muslim invasion' have clearly been used and abused by the political elites. Kaczynski's PiS (i.e. the Law and Justice right-wing political party) would possibly have won the elections but not with an absolute majority in Parliament. Orbán's hitherto declining ratings in polls rapidly surged since summer 2015. The referendum on immigration on 2 October 2016 was meant as a plebiscite and the date chosen to coincide with the re-run of the Austrian presidential election. Austria-Hungary is back, in populist garb! In both cases, though, the populists were disappointed: Norbert Hofer narrowly lost in Austria, while Viktor Orbán got a 98 per cent approval in Hungary,⁷ but with only 40 per cent participation, which made the anti-immigrant referendum invalid.⁸

Historically, since the late nineteenth century the countries of Central and Eastern Europe have been lands of emigration rather than immigration. Since 1989, about one million Poles, Slovaks and citizens of the Baltic States arrived in Great Britain and Ireland. Romania and Bulgaria have seen about fifteen per cent of their population leave for southern EU countries. More importantly, these nations embarked on building on the ruins of multi-national empires (Habsburg, Ottoman, Russian). All had minorities accounting for about a third of their population. At the end of World War II, during which Hitler had exterminated the Jews and Stalin had encouraged the expulsion of the Germans, we witnessed a process of 'simplification' of the ethnic jigsaw puzzle in Central Europe. The map that used to resemble a painting by

⁶ István Bibó, *Misère des Petits Etats d'Europe de l'Est*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 1986, p. 115.

⁷ Leading among those who in Eastern and Central Europe resent EU-imposed immigration, Orbán argued that had he not built a fence at the border, "within a year or two one would not recognise Hungary anymore, it would be like a vast refugee camp, a kind of Marseille in Central Europe".

⁸ The question of the Hungarian referendum on 2 October 2016 was, to put it mildly, a rather loaded one: 'Do you want the EU to decree a compulsory relocation of non-Hungarian citizens in Hungary without the approval of the Hungarian Parliament?'

Kokoschka, made of subtle touches of different shades, turned into a painting by Modigliani, made of compact mono-colour blotches. Poland and Czechoslovakia (later the Czech Republic) became homogenous nation-states. At the same time, Western Europe with its post-colonial heritage and economic migrations from southern Mediterranean countries had been undergoing significant transformation since the late 1960s. Central and Eastern Europe had experienced the age-old problem of national minorities whilst in Western Europe they were trying to cope with integrating immigrant populations.

This is one of the keys to the current contrast. Whereas a liberal model of multi-ethnic societies has been in the making with some variants for nearly half a century in Western Europe, Eastern Europe was experiencing closed societies prior to 1989 and had not experienced migrations from the South since then. These nations had been colonised, most recently by the Soviet empire, and did not share the post-colonial complex of the West. Most importantly, there is a widespread perception in the east of Europe of the Western multicultural model as a 'complete failure', to borrow the term from Angela Merkel's speech at the CDU Party conference in December 2010. And now this failed model is being imposed on East-Central Europe. There is a pithy phrase that is going around in these societies as well as in political discourse and the media: 'Migrations from the South today will become our "suburbs of Islam" tomorrow'. Orbán in Hungary has been the most strident in his 'invasion' rhetoric: according to him, the EU has 'let itself be invaded by migrants threatening the European countries with an unprecedented social, economic, cultural and security conflict.'⁹ Slovakia's Social Democrat Prime Minister Robert Fico adds: 'Slovakia is not bound by any duty. It was not Slovakia that provoked the chaos in Libya by bombing Ghaddafi'. Well, that may be true, but Slovakia like Poland and the rest of what Donald Rumsfeld called in February 2003 the *new Europe* supported with some rhetorical and even military fervour the war in Iraq led by the administration of the then American president George Bush. This is now considered as the main turning point in bringing about the disaster: the state-collapse in Iraq, and the destabilising of the Sunni-Shiite balance in the region, which spread to Syria in fact account to a large extent for the current refugee crisis.

A shared reading of the migration challenge led the countries of the Visegrad group on 4 September 2015 to jointly reject the quota system proposed by the EU Commission for the sharing of arriving refugees. They successfully resisted the pressure from Brussels and mainly from Germany. Hungary was not to bow to the 'diktat' and Slovakia even decided to sue the European Commission at the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg. The Czechs, as often, reluctantly made a concession so long as quotas were a one-off measure, not a permanent

arrangement. 'A new Munich', 'End of sovereignty', 'Do not give-in to blackmail' read some of the headlines in the Czech, Slovak or Hungarian press. In the end, the EU backed down at the Bratislava Summit in September 2016 with a splendid cop-out, which allowed member-states to accept burden-sharing on the migrant issue on a voluntary basis. The term used to describe the compromise was 'flexible solidarity': 'solidarity' is when you need something from your Europe, 'flexible' allows you to opt out of a European commitment. In my opinion, a classic case where the adjective empties the noun of its substance, like 'fried snowballs' or 'socialist democracy' in the pre-1989 East-Central Europe.

IMAGES AND NARRATIVES ■ The migratory wave facing Europe also demonstrates that, whilst the East-West convergence of economies and political systems over a period of twenty years has been spectacular, changes in society, mentality, coping with diversity and co-existing with other cultures are a different matter. Many in Western Europe now (re)discover the 'otherness' of the countries of East-Central Europe in the context of the migration issue. Images and narratives are being reshaped and reinvented.

Twenty years ago the image of Hungary was that of the most liberal, open and pro-European of the countries that came out of the Soviet fold. Meanwhile Serbia embodied the Balkan paradigm of a closed society obsessed with redefining (even with violence) its national identity and territory. The migrant crisis somewhat reversed the roles between the Balkans and Central Europe. Perhaps the most spectacular, much discussed and even admired was Germany's reinventing its identity and image through a daring welcome of a million of immigrants. Austria joined (for a couple of weeks at least) in the 'humanitarian Anschluss' in a highly symbolic moment: seventy years after trains were deporting people from Germany to death camps in Middle Europe, in the summer of 2015 trains were bringing to Germany refugees from the Middle East... Beyond changing images and their perceptions by people in all corners of Europe, there are different narratives that are attached to them and different ways of defining what Europe is or is supposed to be.

On the one hand, Angela Merkel appealed to the duty of offering an asylum and showing solidarity in the name of European humanism, while on the other, Viktor Orbán replied that in building the fence he was protecting 'European civilisation'. Two versions of what Europe stands for can be seen from the antithesis. One, associated with the EU, is based on shared norms and rules. Asylum policy, to take only that aspect, is not an option but an obligation consistent with human rights commitments endorsed by EU member-states. 'The dignity of man is inalienable' says the first sentence of the German Constitution (most EU member-states'

Constitutions carry similar formulations), which Merkel now interpreted as offering a *de facto* unlimited right to asylum. Germany's recent evolution in the definition of nationhood from an ethnically defined *Gemeinschaft* to a legally defined *Gesellschaft*, from an 'ethnic' to a 'civic' concept of the nation and multicultural society, is the most visible illustration of this understanding of Europe and European values.

According to Jürgen Habermas, the European project should be based on 'constitutional patriotism'. In the words of the sociologist Ulrich Beck, Europe stands for 'substantial void and radical openness'. Self-definition could be interpreted as excluding others, not just outside Europe but also 'others' in our midst. This German/West European quest for **neutrality** of the EU as a 'normative power' is perhaps most explicitly at odds with the Central European *Zeitgeist*.

The Central Europeans have their own narrative, a different definition of Europe, which, they now discover, is at odds with that prevailing in the EU. How to account for it? These nations, themselves long without a state, were *Kulturnationen* (on what used to be the German pattern) defined by language, culture and often a religious denomination. At present, Central Europeans have transposed this approach to their cultural/civilisational definition of Europe. They have considered themselves historically and geographically to be the protectors, the 'rampart' (*Antemurale Christianitatis*), against external threats: e.g. the Ottomans who seized Budapest in the 16th century and were stopped at the doors of Vienna in 1683 by Prince Sobieski's army. In the post-World War II era, they offered cultural and spiritual resistance to Soviet totalitarianism that came in from the East. While the West considered Europe to be a 'Common Market', they emphasised belonging to Western culture and European civilisation. This narrative about the 'kidnapped West' (as coined by Milan Kundera) developed in the 1980s by the writers and dissident or exiled intellectuals triumphed in 1989. For a while, as dissident intellectuals were propelled to the centre-stage, there was an expectation or a messianic illusion that Central Europe could help to re-define the identity of a re-united Europe. Instead, with the eclipse of these intellectuals and the priority given to economic integration in the European common market, the Central European narrative fizzled out in the more prosaic process and normative agenda of EU accession.

No less importantly, throughout the 1980s the Central European discourse combined Europe as a culture/civilisation **with** human rights. Today, the two seem at odds. The EU defines itself through universal values and human rights, rejecting any culturalist definition of Europe. The very word 'European civilisation' is either taboo or used simply to oppose the barbarism of jihadi terror. When Central Europe claims to resist the 'Muslim invasion' from the South in order to protect European or Christian civilisation, it has thus rediscovered or rather revamped a discourse on Europe's cultural identity which, to the European mainstream, smacks of the

'clash of civilisations'. It is nevertheless increasingly loudly echoed on the nationalist, populist and anti-EU end of the political spectrum.

CENTRE AND PERIPHERY Beyond East-West divides and narratives, the rise of xenophobic populism relates to the combination of the internal crisis of the EU with the external crisis on Europe's doorstep. The EU is confronted with the simultaneous implosion of both of its neighbourhoods: East with the hybrid war in Ukraine and the return of the long-neglected Russian question, and South where after a brief Arab Spring came an Islamist Winter with state collapse and civil wars. These opened the way for the expansion of ISIS which constitutes the background of the recent mass migration wave.

These developments reshape the European narrative in at least two ways. Until now the Europeans held shared post-1989 assumptions about the extension of the liberal order from the centre to its periphery. The enlargement of the EU to the East was the demonstration of its 'transformative power', and the logic of extending European norms and democratisation thanks to its soft power. This approach has clearly reached its limits. Europe is not only facing security threats; it also discovers that it may no longer rely on the attraction of its soft power in its neighbourhood. It is no longer a centre that is shaping its periphery, but the other way around: the chaos on the periphery has a significant impact on the political dynamics and cohesion of the centre.


The second related new trend is the blurring of the separation between external and internal, between domestic and foreign policy. Europe is surrounded by 'bad neighbourhoods' south of the Mediterranean, which now resonate with 'bad neighbourhoods' in the suburbs of some of its major cities. The simultaneous nature of the migration wave and recent terrorist attacks has been exploited by nationalist and xenophobic parties, making a connection between the two and playing on the fears of their fellow-citizens. Significant domestic political debates on law enforcement, on the welfare state or on education usually directly relate to the migration question. That is now reshaping the domestic political dynamics in European member states, and it is not difficult to guess which kind of political forces are likely to benefit from it. Even Germany, till now considered an exception, is no longer immune to the poisonous politics of national-populism.

The European Union is the prime target of the populist backlash because it stands precisely for elite consensus beyond Right and Left, and most importantly, for the world without borders associated with globalisation: outsourcing of jobs and importing of migrants. For decades the EU stood for security and predictability, combining prosperity with new freedoms. Now it stands

in the eyes of a growing part of the citizenry for loss of control, dispossession, and insecurity not only in its usual meaning of the term, but 'cultural' or 'civilizational' insecurity. It is the loathing of the 'world without borders' that the populist politics thrive on and no amount of moral hectoring about human rights and *Willkommenskultur* from the liberal elites is likely to contain the tide. The European project itself is at risk.

'As we all know from the history of the Roman Empire, big empires go down if their borders are not well protected' said the liberal prime minister of Holland, one of Europe's most open and tolerant countries. The EU could suffer the same fate if it does not regain control of its borders and stop 'the massive influx of refugees. We really have an imperative to do that'.¹⁰ In other words, if 'Schengen 1' is abolished, we have a political obligation to promptly replace it with 'Schengen 2'. Otherwise we will face the tide of nationalist populists' politics of closure.

To avoid the latter, the second imperative is, beyond welcoming refugees, to think about their long-term integration. As Europeans we have a moral and political duty to rescue those who are drowning in the Mediterranean while escaping from war. Moreover, now we may also have a moral and political obligation to tell them who we are, what kind of European societies they are joining. That entails the separation of religion and politics (rule of law, not sharia), the freedom of expression (if you have a problem with *Charlie Hebdo* caricatures, go to court, the paper has been sentenced to heavy fines dozen of times), and equality of men and women (not an obvious proposition in the cultures some immigrants come from). Since Auschwitz, the categorical repudiation of anti-Semitism has become part of 'European identity', while the refugees come from a region where the confusion between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism is rampant. The first to urge us to do exactly that are the courageous writers from the Arab world, such as Boualed Sensal,¹¹ Kamel Daoud,¹² or Abdelwahab Meddeb,¹³ among others. They know a thing or two about the subject and we should listen to these 'unfamiliar voices'.

 In short, the migration wave, the erasing of the dividing line between domestic and foreign policy and the powerful populist challenge is forcing **Europeans to self-definition**. That is too serious a matter to be left only to politicians, the likes of Orbán or Kaczynski, as well

¹⁰ Mark Rutte on the eve of assuming the EU presidency, see *Financial Times*, 26 November 2015

¹¹ Boualem Sensal, *2084*, Paris: Gallimard, 2015.

¹² Kamel Daoud, *The Meursault Counter-Investigation*, New York: Other Press, 2015. The author retells the story of Albert Camus *The Stranger* using an indigenous voice. A bridge-builder between Algeria and France, between the Arab world and Europe, Daoud has been an outspoken opponent of Islamist radicals.

¹³ Abdelwahab Meddeb is a writer and philosopher from Tunisia, among other books the author of *La maladie de l'islam* (2002) and *Contre-prêches* (2006).

as – by default – to Angela Merkel. It should become the subject of a trans-European debate among intellectuals, artists and, more broadly, civil society. Maybe that way, in dire straits, we may help rebuild something of the European public space without which neither immigrants' integration, nor the European project will succeed.

Annex

The authors
VHED conferences and dialogues 2014-16



The authors

(CVs and editorial comments)

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MYKOLA RJABCUK Mykola Riabchuk is a senior research fellow at the Ukrainian Center for Cultural Studies in Kyiv and co-founder and a member of the editorial board of Krytyka, a leading Ukrainian intellectual magazine. An activist in the underground movement of the 1970s, he gained prominence as a literary critic and publicist during the perestroika

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CATHERINE WITHOL DE WENDEN Catherine Withol de Wenden is Director of research at CNRS (CERI). For 30 years she has been a researcher on international migration, from a Political Science and Public Law approach. She studied in Sciences-Po Paris and University Paris I (Panthéon- Sorbonne). She got her PhD in Political Science in 1986. She has published 20 books, alone or as co-writer and around 150 articles. She is also teaching at Sciences-Po, at the University La Sapienza in an EU Socrates Program. She has been President of the Research Committee Migration of ISA –International Sociological Association- (2002-2008) and expert for several international organisations (UNHCR, Council of Europe and European Commission).

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2012 (3rd edition), *Les couleurs du drapeau* (with Christophe Bertossi), 2007, *Sortir des banlieues* (with Sophie Body-Gendrot), Autrement, 2007, *La Globalisation humaine*, PUF, 2009, *La question migratoire au XXIème siècle* Presses de Sciences-Po, 2010 and 2013 (2nd edition), *Les Nouvelles migrations*(Ellipses, 2013). Among her most recent books : *Faut-il ouvrir les frontières ?* Paris, Presses de Sciences-Po, 2014 (2nd edition) and *Le droit d'émigrer*, Paris CNRS Editions 2013. Her *Atlas mondial des migrations* (Paris, Autrement 2012) has been published in its 3rd edition since 2005.

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