

14. Manifest for Europe

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Manifest für Europa, Felix Unger im Europäischen Parlament, Brüssel, 2012 © EASA

Am 5. Dezember 2012 konnte man das „Manifest für Europa“ in den Räumlichkeiten des Europäischen Parlaments an den damaligen Präsidenten des Europäischen Parlaments, Martin Schulz, übergeben.

Nachfolgend das von Felix Unger und Werner Weidenfeld unterzeichnete Manifest:

Manifest for Europe in the 21st Century

- Europe is the place of freedom, tolerance and peace, conditions for the co-harmony of a multidimensional society. It is the cultural treasure of the future and for our descendants
- Nationalism is the biggest opponent of the European integration project. Overcoming it cannot be achieved only through vertical integration, but must focus increasingly on those processes that occur horizontally. A horizontal approach creates a European society, which is able to overcome the nation-state barriers and break through nationalist mindsets permanently.
- The European political system is characterized by a lack of democratic legitimacy and transparency. The participation of citizens in political decision making processes is insufficient, and

- limited to direct democratic and/or representative elements. A lively and prosperous Europe requires the participation of its citizens - an improvement in their political participation and transparency needs to be tackled to abolish democratic deficit in Europe. Overcoming national boundaries will lead towards a tangible success for Europe.
- The European Parliament must be strengthened in its role and be integrated stronger in the important processes of decision making. The Lisbon Treaty has provided a first and important but not sufficient contribution. As the only directly democratically elected body, the competencies of the Parliament on key policy areas, such as the financial and economic policy, have to be extended
 - Europe is in a fundamental crisis of orientation lacking long-term strategies for the future of the European project of integration. Greatest importance is to the sciences, to make a significant contribution to a definition, which way Euro-

pe wants to pursue and therefore which paths have to be selected.

- Europe's economic competitiveness must be increased. The Member States are encouraged to keep their political promise to invest 3% of European GDP in research, development and innovation. The current crisis serves as a reason to cut back on their research and development budgets. However, these areas are essential for Europe's medium-and-long-term development and international competitiveness.
- The role of education and science for the design and future of the European project must be perceived consciously. The stronger integration of European topics in the structures of education and science must be a declared goal of all states to lay the foundation for those European citizens who will later carry Europe
- Europe is more than just politics. The sciences, arts and religions enrich Europe; their freedom must be protected and



Felix Unger, Martin Schulz, Werner Weidenfeld, *Manifest für Europa*, Europäisches Parlament, Brüssel, 2012 © EASA

ensured at all times and their important contributions for Europe and its society has to be acknowledged. European citizens altogether must be motivated in shaping our European future and overcoming of the past. Combating poverty and promoting jobs are a priority.

Brüssel, 5. Dezember 2012

Für die Akademie:

Felix Unger, Präsident der EASA
Werner Weidenfeld,
Rektor der Alma Mater Europaea
Stefan Schepers, Dekan der Klasse VIII
(Corporate & Public Governance)

Dieses Manifest wurde von einem ausführlichen Kommentar von Seiten der Europäischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste begleitet:

Comment on the Manifest

The European integration has fundamentally changed the continent “Europe”. For the first time in history the whole of Europe is united peacefully. The 27 Member States of the European Union have moved extensive decision-making powers from the national to the European level and embrace these now jointly. Its citizens live in a Europe where national borders were removed. The European single market generates market opportunities and thus jobs - even beyond the EU itself. Worldwide, the European Union is seen as a role model for the successful transformation of conflict, mistrust and war towards peace, trust and unity.

Nevertheless, crisis scenarios characterize the current image of the European Union. The terms “euro crisis”, “Europe crisis” and “European currency crisis” are encountered on a daily basis in the headlines of the media. General confusion seems to reign about the solution of the current crisis, the fundamental future of the euro and the European Union. The economic crisis scenario is not the only challenge that Europe must tackle currently. Rather, three other fundamental critical topics are again acute

that were thought of having been overcome by the Treaty of Lisbon:

On the one hand here the fundamental crisis of legitimacy of European policy towards its citizens has to be mentioned. In the decision making structures of the EU there are still too few direct democratic or representative elements. Also, the opportunity of a European citizen’s initiative has not created any lasting improvements. In addition, increasing the transparency of European procedures is not as successful as it had been hoped for by the Lisbon Treaty. The Council meets mostly behind closed doors and the decision making is not always comprehensible for the public. Add to that the technocracy of policy making, which is driven by hectic crisis management. The lack of opportunities for active participation and the problems of transparency occur due to the lack of European politics more than ever and raise again the question of the legitimacy of European politics.

This is primed by a development which can be regarded as crisis of orientation. The nation-states operate on a purely situational crisis management and are not in a position to develop even a medium-term strategy, which provides guidance on how to continue with the European integration. Within the euro zone, the economically strong countries oppose the establishment of permanent transfer mechanisms, while the receiving countries fear a hierarchy of relationships that could limit their political choices permanently. Some of the Member States in turn, which have not adopted the euro, fear a twotier EU with the euro group in the centre and all other at the political periphery. The reactive crisis management stirs distrust within Europe on the one hand, and opens up long-term consequences which magnitude cannot be fathomed yet on the other hand.

The third dimension of the crisis relates to the institutional level of the EU. The Treaty of Lisbon had launched major reforms which particular provide for the greater involvement of the European Parliament. The Parliament has been made a co-decider in most areas of policy. Currently it is obvi-

ous, that the Parliament as well as the Commission is not holding any key positions in areas such as the financial and economic policies. The heads of state make their decisions on an intergovernmental level and bypass the reforms of the Lisbon Treaty by non-contractual arrangements in key policy fields. Thus, the already existing potential crisis of confidence is reinforced. Similarly, the crisis of legitimacy is further pushed, since the European Parliament as the only elected European body is by-passed.

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Hence, Europe's crisis cannot be made smaller. The history of European integration has also shown that Europe has emerged stronger from each crisis so far. This requires, however, a strategic reflection, of which currently nothing can be seen unfortunately. It is the noble and urgent task of scientists and intellectuals to make a contribution here. They must bring up this painful subject and raise the basic issues that have been neglected due to the acute economic crisis. They must leave the beaten paths, question seemingly legitimate practices and thus provide the necessary intellectual corrective to the status quo. As independent and critical thinkers, they must focus on strategic and normative questions and consider political, social and cultural issues that are overlooked in the wake of the economic crisis. Recently, the European integration process in the context of the debate on the European Constitution has been accompanied by the input of science. The small results that have been achieved during the then proclaimed "phase of reflection" fatigued supposedly the intellectuals, although the results have also shown, that the question of the orientation of the EU has not been resolved finally.

So far it has been attempted to respond to the crisis of legitimacy primarily through communication activities, which are based on public relations strategies. The crisis management aimed at preventing further loss of legitimacy. Transparency and inclusiveness as foundations of legitimacy are rarely taken into view - on the contrary: They seem to be seen as an obstacle. Science here has a communicative-media task

to accompany the debates at the European level critically but fair, in order to mediate and question on European politics and thus facilitate and bring the discourse between society and politics in motion. Europe only has a future as a democratic community. This also requires an intellectually vital European cultural debate.

At the same time, however, it is valid to state, that European policy is always characterized by a certain degree of complexity. European issues must therefore be anchored in sustainable education and research structures in order to strengthen European political competencies and thus provide an indirect contribution for improvements and transparency.

To overcome the crisis in orientation and transform the challenges of the time in strengthening Europe, it requires strategic thinking and action. The sciences are encouraged to politically question the prevailing economically focused crisis management. It concerns a problem definition which takes into consideration the fundamental political challenges facing Europe. Only on this basis it is possible to develop a sustainable solution strategy, including a forecast on the consequences which provide long-term orientation assistance for Europe.

The institutions crisis can be overcome through critical analysis and honest self-reflection. Europe needs more than ever constructively cooperating institutions.

Europe is a place of freedom and peace and cannot be reduced only to banking crisis, sovereign debt and bail outs. But what Europe lacks is a confidence-building strategy, a vision, which provides orientation for European policy and which includes the normative dimension politically. Answers are missing to the question, where Europe wants to go and how the path can be treated. A European debate which is searching for answers to these questions is missing and therefore we are lacking the prerequisites, that this crisis will become an opportunity to make Europe stronger than before. Science plays a special role to address

these shortcomings and to contribute actively to eliminate these.

Dieses Vorhaben wurde koordiniert von: Felix Unger, Werner Weidenfeld, Konrad Meßmer, Stefan Schepers.

Und zusätzlich unterzeichnet von:

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15. Next Europe

Aus den Trümmern der Geschichte mit großem visionärem Blick konnte sich das neue Europa in den letzten fünf Dekaden entwickeln. Das war ein beispielloser Wurf, auf große historische Ideen aufbauend. Kurzum, das Europa von heute ist ein einmaliges Erfolgsmodell, ein Friedensprojekt. 28 Nationen mit ihren vielen Sprachen, Geographie und vor allem unterschiedlicher Geschichte.

Nun verliert die ursprüngliche Idee an innerer Attraktivität und Kohäsion. Unterschiedliche Ideen prallen aufeinander. Identitätsschwierigkeiten ergeben sich durch die rasche Überdehnung und bauen Spannungen zwischen gemeinsamen Interessen und nationalen Eigenheiten auf. Obwohl der Euro und auch Schengen da ist, fehlt die Einigkeit zu einem optimalen Handlungsmodell. Das hat zu mehr Diskord als zu Akkord geführt. Auch das Governance-Modell in Brüssel bedarf einer strategischen Fortentwicklung. Das positive Bild von Europa wird durch einschlägige Berichte von einigen Fehlentwicklungen getrübt. Umfragen weisen auf ein sinkendes Eurobarometer hin. Europa ist keine isolierte Insel, sondern lebt global im Konzert der Kontinente. Die politischen Verschiebungen betreffen natürlich auch Europa. Auch das Verhältnis zu den unmittelbaren Nachbarn verändert sich. Die Veränderungen und Spannungen, die wir erleben, sind endogen und exogen. Im Inneren stehen im Vordergrund nun die gewaltigen Finanzierungsverschiebungen, ein Heer von Arbeitslosen, insbesondere von Jugendlichen. Ebenso gibt es finanzielle Verpflichtungen der einzelnen Länder. Diese endogenen Ursachen erzeugen eine Zukunfts-

angst. Restliche nationale Probleme sind neu zu bewerten und zu lösen.

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Was die Bürger derzeit von Europa spüren, ist eine Regulierungswut, wie Glühlampen, Gurkenkrümmung und Staubsauger. Das empfinden die Menschen quälend, als Macht der Bürokraten und Lobbys. Der Bürger wird weder eingebunden noch gehört. So kann er kein Verständnis für Brüssel aufbringen. Wichtig wäre, die Balance von wichtigen und weniger wichtigen Dingen zu halten und nicht das Ziel mit Verordnungen zu verwässern, zumal ja die legitime Grundlage weitgehend fehlt. Die Lenkungs- und Verordnungswut aus Brüssel - Resultat einer bürokratischen Beglückungsmaschinerie - produziert eher mehr Ablehnung, auch fehlt bei den Institutionen die Legitimität. Europa kann nur von seinen Bürgern getragen werden. Ein funktionierendes Europa wird nur alleine von den Bürgern gelebt. Die externen Probleme berühren Europa, wie die Weltfinanzen, der Welthandel, ebenso die Krisenherde vor der europäischen Haustüre, die massive Asyl- und Immigrationswelle, die Radikalität der Dschihadisten und Terroristen. Das alles zusammen gibt ein Amalgam, das die europäische Grundidee gefährdet.

Ein zunehmender Nationalismus rät, aus der Europäischen Union auszutreten oder gar ein Land aus der Europäischen Union hinauszudrängen. Ein Regredieren in die Vergangenheit ist tödlich. Das Gezerre dokumentiert sich eindrucksvoll in der Griechenlandkrise und der Ukraine. Das Bild von einem einheitlichen Europa wird aus balancierter Subsidiarität und Solidarität weiter

zu entwickeln sein. Wir müssen Europa völlig neu denken, nur dann ist ein neuer Europaschub machbar.

Ein Symbol für die europäische Einheit ist auch die Fahne, auf dunkelblauem Hintergrund stehen 12 Sterne im Kranz. Die Europäische Idee wird ängstlich beschworen, während sie beim Bürger nur schwer ankommt. Europa ist nicht in den Herzen angekommen, die Herzen der Bürger verschließen sich weitgehend. Das hat die letzte Wahl zum Europaparlament bewiesen. Getragen von dieser Sorge lädt die Europäische Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste die Mitglieder der Akademie, die Nationalen Akademien und gezielte Kreise ein, in einem Narrativ über Europas Zukunft nachzudenken, einem Narrativ aus Nord, Süd, Ost, West, um verschiedene Strömungen des Zusammenlebens und des Verstehens widerzugeben.

Akademien haben sich aus dem Narrativ begründet, sei es in Athen oder später in Florenz. „Hortus Philosophorum“ war der Boden einer Akademie. Vor zweieinhalb Tausend Jahren sind im Garten vom Arzt Academos Gelehrte, wie Platon, später Aristoteles, spazieren gegangen und haben durch das Gespräch die Grundlage zu aller Wissenschaft gelegt. Sie haben miteinander gesprochen und neue Entwürfe eines idealen Seins, der Wahrheit und des Staates entworfen. Skizzen, wie man die Zukunft aus seiner eigenen Vergangenheit sehen kann und damit die Gedanken und Visionen zur Gegenwart zu setzen. Das ist der Boden, auf dem Visionen zu Mythen erblühen. Miteinander im Hortus Philosophorum zu gehen heißt letztlich, einander zuzuhören und erzählen, einen Mythenmotor in Gang zu setzen, der die Mythen in Betrieb setzt.

Der Garten Europas, - „Hortus Europae“ - wird nur von uns zusammen gestaltet. Das ergibt den Mechanismus. „Next Europe“. Jeder ist eingeladen, seine Vorstellungen, wie er die Zukunft Europas sieht, zu entwickeln, was er sich erwartet und wovor er Bedenken hat. Damit käme man zu einem neuen europäischen Paradigma: Von einem politischen Europa zu einem Europa der

Bürger, von Bürgern gestaltet. Das kann dann Grundlage zur weiteren Legalisierung des Zusammenlebens in Europa bilden. Ebenso ist es spannend, auch Akademien außerhalb Europas um ihre Rezeption zu bitten. In einem weiteren Schritt sind europäische Bürger eingeladen, Europa als eine Quelle des Erzählens, des Handelns und des Lebens zu sehen.

Ein neuer Schub - sozusagen ein Europaschub - wie ein Raketschub für die Zukunft soll damit bewirkt werden. Im freien Narrativ wird miteinander diskutiert, die Ergebnisse dienen als Grundlage für das „Next Europe“. In den Garten zu kommen sind alle Bürger eingeladen, narrativ mit Gedanken beizutragen. Ihre Beiträge ergeben zusammen den Rahmen der Vision, wie wir Bürgerinnen und Bürger Europa leben wollen. Im freien Diskurs und Gedankenentwicklung ist dann ein gemeinsamer Rhythmus auszumachen, in dem Europa pulsieren kann, ein

„NEXT EUROPE“.

In seinen „Greetings from St.-Peter“ vom August 2015 schildert EASA-Präsident Unger die gewünschte Vorgehensweise in diesem Projekt so:

*“In September you will get the first call for participating in our project **NEXT EUROPE**. With this project we want to address European problems as well as building a new solid Europe with the ideas from its citizens. The title of our project is **NEXT EUROPE** - **In search of its narrative**. Our Academy feels mandate for this project as we are one of the biggest Think Tanks in Europe with over 1.700 members and 32 Nobel Prize Winners. The project will be launched in September. All our members as well as friends are invited to send in comments and contributions. After this we are going to compile the comments and then we start to interview all European Academies as well as the Academies outside Europe. In 2016 we will compile all the material and organise different meetings such as round tables of the delegations and other societies. The goal is the organisa-*

tion of a big event. I made contacts with the Biennale in Venice and they are willing to have an event within the framework of the Biennale. Finally, we are going to prepare the official publication which is supposed to be issued in the beginning of 2018."

Gesagt, getan: Genau dieser im August 2015 vorgestellte Plan, wurde in den darauffolgenden Jahren in die Tat umgesetzt. Im Oktober 2015 berichtet Prof. Unger beispielsweise von sehr ertragreichen Treffen mit den Kolleginnen und Kollegen der slowenischen, lettischen und tschechischen Wissenschaftsakademien. Besonders bei dem von Präsident Jiří Drahoš organisierten Seminar an der Tschechischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste wurden substantielle Themen für NEXT EUROPE diskutiert.

Ein Jahr später - am 27. Oktober 2016 - begann man mit der Durchführung einer Reihe von Diskussionsveranstaltungen zum Thema. Die erste dieser Reihe an Konferenzen fand im SN Saal der Salzburger Nachrichten in Salzburg statt. Die unter dem Titel „Next Europe - Traum oder Albtraum“ laufende Veranstaltung wurde vom Chefredakteur der Salzburger Nachrichten Man-

fred Perterer moderiert. Akademiepräsident Unger startete hierbei den Gedankenaustausch mit einem Aufriss und einer Vorstellung des Projektes „Next Europe“. Dazu gab es drei Vorträge von Werner Weidenfeld (Die politisch-kulturellen Probleme und Perspektiven der EU), Marco Jorio (Die Schweiz als Modell für Europa?) sowie Wolfgang Schmale zum Thema „Politik und Bürger“.

Nächster Punkt auf der Reise zum neuen „Manifest for Europe“ war eine Sitzung im März 2017 im Prinz-Carl-Palais in München. Nach den Begrüßungsworten von Akademiepräsident Unger und der Staatsministerin für Europaangelegenheiten und regionale Beziehungen in der Bayerischen Staatskanzlei, Beate Merk, folgte die Einführung in die heute zu besprechende Thematik von Werner Weidenfeld, seines Zeichens Direktor des Zentrums für angewandte Politikforschung an der Universität München. Die ganze Konferenz stand unter dem Titel „Next Europe - Auf der Suche nach einer Sicherheitsstrategie“. An der weiterführenden Diskussion, die von Akademiepräsident Unger moderiert wurde, beteiligten sich Marcel Huber (Leiter der Bayerischen Staatskanzlei; Staatsminister für Bundesangelegenheiten und Sonderaufgaben), Stefan Cornelius (Journalist und Publizist), Klaus Gretschmann (Präsident CATE; Generaldirektor a.D. im Ministerrat der EU), Julian Nida-Rümelin (Inhaber des Lehrstuhls für Philosophie und politische Theorie an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München), Clemens Fuest (Präsident des ifo Instituts) und Erich Vad (Brigadegeneral a.D.).

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Der darauffolgende Gedankenaustausch fand am 8. Juni 2017 wieder unter dem Titel „Next Europe“ an der Österreichischen Botschaft in Berlin statt. Die Begrüßungsworte wurden vom Gastgeber, damaligen österreichischen Botschafter in Berlin und jetzigen Ständigen Vertreter Österreichs bei der Europäischen Union, Nikolaus Marschick gesprochen. Nach den einführenden Worten von Vertretern der beiden Veranstaltungsorganisationen (Prof. Unger für die Europäische Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste und Antje Kuchenbecker als Vizedirektorin des Aspen Instituts Deutschland)



Felix Unger und Jiří Drahoš, Präsident der Tschechischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste, Next Europe, 2015 © EASA



Next Europe München, 2017, Stefan Kornelius, Klaus Gretschmann, Werner Weidenfeld, Felix Unger, Julian Nida-Rümelin, Clemens Fuest, Erich Vad © EASA

hielt der dienstälteste Europaabgeordnete und ehemaliger Vorsitzender des Ausschusses für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten im Europäischen Parlament, Elmar Brok, die Key-note Speech.

Danach wurde in zwei Panels über die Themen „Good Governance -Bad Governance: Muss sich Europa neu erfinden?“ und „Digitale Transformation: Eine Herausforderung für Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft Europas“ debattiert.

Am 25. September 2018 war es schließlich soweit und die Europäische Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste konnte das „Manifesto for Europe“ in einem herrlichen Ambiente im österreichischen Pavillon der „Biennale di Venezia“ präsentieren. Umrandet wurde diese Präsentation von einer Diskussion an der Universität Ca’ Foscari di Venezia , welche Felix Unger, Werner Weidenfeld, Klaus Mainzer, Wolfgang Schmale sowie Michael Kleiber mit ihren Gedanken und Beiträgen angeregt haben.

VENICE DECLARATION - MANIFESTO FOR EUROPE

Nachfolgend das von Felix Unger, Eva Feldmann, Klaus Mainzer, Wolfgang Schmale und Werner Weidenfeld editierte Manifest vom 27. März 2018:

Initial Situation

1. Europe in need

Politics degenerates into the staging of power games without a recognizable strategy. This is far from the great task of designing public space out of convincing ideas, rationally implementing co-responsibility as a citizen and as its representatives. The election results acknowledge these oddities. Regarding the traditional parties, they prove the respective leadership dilemma as well as the loss of authority. The conventional parties are losing their approval and at the same time voters’ frustration is linking elsewhere. The political set up just keeps going as if nothing had happened.



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Elmar Brock, Österreichische Botschaft Berlin, Next Europe, 2017 © EASA



Nikolaus Marschik, Österreichische Botschaft Berlin, Next Europe, 2017 © EASA

Legitimation crisis describes best the crippling mildew that has spread over Europe. The dream of embarking into a new historical era looks different.

Politics is facing the major historical challenges - from the current mass migration, which may lead to a new migration period, through the terrorist threat to the current landscape of global political risks - either with perplexity or situational crisis management. The longing of citizens for strategic prospects remains unanswered. Politicians say goodbye to the cultural horizon. The political elite remains speechless.

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A society without orientation is a society in need.

In essence, the process is tangible: Every person and every society must constantly filter and sort out the almost infinite number of incoming information. This is especially true in times of dramatic increase in complexity. One thinks of globalization and digitization, of technological progress and

demographic change - the demand for regularity is immense. History and politics usually provide orientation that places the individual data in understandable contexts. In times of the East-West conflict, this global political order of worldwide antagonism was a major source of orientation. As this era of a global political architecture collapsed, this demand for orientation was more directly and massively addressed towards domestic producers. Since then, the political artistry is mostly dealing with challenges of political attention solely with technical finesse.

The premodernity has established its identity through relatively simple, manageable ways of life, through closed world views, through a stable milieu, through a public consensus about the everyday significance of man's transcendence reference. In the modern age, these cultural conditions no longer exist: Growing complexity of social organizations, pluralization, but also instability through liquefaction of the worlds of life, anonymity of social regulations, mobi-



Felix Unger, Klaus Mainzer, Werner Weidenfeld, Wolfgang Schmale, Österreich-Pavillion, Biennale di Venezia, Manifesto for Europe, 2018 © EASA

lity and increasing speed of decay of historical experiences, devaluation of traditional loyalties. In this context, the sociology of knowledge quite vividly speaks of the suffering of modern man in a constantly deepening state of homelessness.

If we realize today's political failings in that dramatic way, then we must keep in mind an existential fact: In the political meaning of our lives, we are not box-office owners who are bored and relaxed following the salvation drama on stage. No - we are participants, co-responsible, we are contributors. And we must take that very seriously. Otherwise, we will not succeed in freeing ourselves from the misery of the state and society. There is no political discourse in the public domain. A narrative is totally missing, even though the narrative allows to find new ways.

2. Innovation space Europe

In the worldwide competition of global markets, Europe depends on the innovation dynamics of its people. Innovation requires creativity, which is increasingly concentrated in interdisciplinary research clusters. Energy networks, material science, information technology, environment, climate change, robotics, life science, data science, medicine and health, cultural studies, identity research, migration, just to name a few, are problem-oriented research areas which connect interdisciplinary disciplines, transcend beyond traditional subject boundaries and grow together in new research clusters. Problem-oriented research aims to get to designing new products and new skills from basic and applied research.

Europe must therefore set the framework conditions and incentives for innovation centres in which re-search and development of universities and colleges cooperate with companies and public institutions. Innovation thus becomes a crucial factor in securing future markets and the quality of life of a society. However, innovation is not only determined by technical and economic factors, but must also take social, cultural and ecological aspects into account from the outset. They become factors of sustainable

innovation. Only sustainable innovation secures the future viability of a society.

The increasing complexity of infrastructure tasks today is so vast that we cannot cope without the support of digitization and intelligent algorithms. Examples are mobility (autonomous driving), smart cities, energy systems, industry and employment (industry 4.0). At the same time, algorithms and big data are changing not only science and technology but also economics and society in an alarming way. The influence of globally operating companies and major powers shows in their influence over data and algorithms! Europe must prove to be a strong innovation space for digitization and artificial intelligence to compete globally with the USA and China for example.

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In Europe, however, not only did science and technology emerge, which in the age of globalization led to global innovation dynamics. Europe has also created a unique cultural space based on democracy and human rights. This spirit of the European cultural area must be combined with the dynamism of Europe as an innovation space to remain an attractive living environment in the future. Specifically, the working and living space will change dramatically under the influence of artificial intelligence and big data. Europe must therefore create the framework conditions for education and training systems so that in the age of digitization job opportunities and zest for life for young people are opened and promoted in Europe. But in the end, Europe must also ensure the ethical and legal framework conditions (e.g. privacy, cyber-security) to shape these future technologies in such a way that freedom, human rights and democracy are safeguarded as Europe's trademarks.

3. The Europe of young people - strengthen Europe

Many factors prevent young people from committing themselves to the European Union. These include the enormous levels of youth unemployment in many southern EU countries. Young people hardly see a professional - and as a result, no private - perspective. This stops them from being

interested in trans-national problems and issues at the European level. The younger generation often feels „not understood“ and „ignored by politics“. This applies to a Europe, which seems very far removed from the reality of life of young people. In addition, in many places in the EU there is a lack of possibilities for economic participation in clear offers for political and social involvement for young people. Only two members of the EU Parliament are currently under 30 years of age. Particularly in view of the demographic change and the resulting colossal challenges facing the young generation of Europe, the inclusion of young people in European decision-making bodies and processes in the sense of democratization and a fair coexistence of ages is indispensable. Important for a young Europe of the future is a clear commitment to freedom as well as a practice of solidarity and sustainability. Ultimately, it is both Europe's responsibility and interest to effectively integrate the existing human capital of the younger generation in order to remain competitive in a global context through innovation and young ideas.

4. Confidence in freedom

Every innovative development happens in freedom, which you must trust. There are enough restrictive criteria, the entire regulatory rage, laws still and bad, details of behaviour down to the smallest vitality, so that every freedom of the individual is stifled. Today's cancer is called regulatory administration.

Digitization, with its increasing form, also contains elements that restrict freedom and allow a total control of people. While this brings efficiency everywhere, there is a danger of political destabilization due to people's displeasure. One can say that subsidiarity is essential at all levels, because in everyday life, one can better assess and appreciate things. Here again a facet of freedom emerges, that the regions and municipalities develop themselves further, but subsidiary in harmonization with the entire line of own responsibility and in the context of the competition of the powers of the markets.

Any development in all its facets thrives only in freedom, at a freedom guaranteed in confidence, which is not restricted.

Due to a good material foundation and a spiritual condition, the development of the whole of Europe can be carried on in freedom, where art, sciences and religions play a big part and are also the subject of narrative, talking and developing ideas. The narrative falters. The tensions between East and South, North and West can only be overcome by an intense narrative, that is, to overcome the unnecessary differences if they are ideologically substantiated. The narrative makes you free, laws constrict you.

What to do?

1. Development of a strategy to overcome political stagnation.

Politics must always relate to the citizens of Europe; hence the narrative of what citizens think. It is about a clear governance of Europe and a strategy with the neighbours, such as Russia, China and the USA, a positioning as a global player. A reform of the European Council is needed to make clear, essential decisions. It's about mastering a language for security, migration, finance and development. Europe must develop future perspectives, clarify its legitimacy, provide transparency and identify a clear management structure.

2. Innovation

Innovation and research can and should be done by everyone, not only at the university level but also by non-university companies. All this contributes to an innovative power to develop a market for 2050 that is necessary for all. A big topic of the future lies in the digitization with all its facets, up to the artificial intelligence and robotics, also the human being.

3. Young Europe

The young Europe is the basis of the wider Europe. Here it is necessary to take the concern and their roots of all seriously. Further, the youth must be included in the poli-

tical discussion. In the young generation lies the power of innovation. Youth strategy means greater involvement of the younger ones. Legislative periods of representatives should also be shortened to foster a better flow of opinions.

4. Europe of the elderly

The increasing shift of demography shows a significant aging of our European population. This creates recent problems in the care of the elderly. It is important to emphasize here that people are in good health to age mentally or physically. The treasure of their experience must not be lost, and this must be increasingly considered. Here, the dialogue between the elderly and the younger should be deepened.

5. Confidence in freedom

This is about to further build Europe in freedom and seeing all its cultural achievements in a tense continent. Europe now has a diversity that is to be welcomed and that is the very charm of the European profile. Working towards a goal, like 2050.

We live mentally in a tight space, but this one must be designed in such a way that each regional space contributes to the overall cultural performance. But this is only possible if the freedom of development is given and the people who develop can assu-

re themselves of the confidence in freedom. Europe must not play the role of Greece in the Roman Empire. We cannot become a museum.

What is important:

Europe must remain a living place of the future. Today, the 30-year-olds are already working to shape Europe. Since the founding fathers, Europe has reached a dead end due to a complicated administration. Therefore „Next Europe“ - for the „Next Generation“.

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1. The democratic principle applies everywhere. Strengthen and consider the NGOs. Transparency for the European citizen
2. Real legitimacy of Europe. In the election of the European Parliament, pan-European parties must enter as candidates, which gives Parliament genuine democratic legitimacy as a legislature, in the interplay between the majority and the opposition.

Freedom means co-responsibility.

This means increasing transparency and not just effective crisis management, but also developing a strategy based on a narrative



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