

# EUROPE'S TORN IDENTITY

Result book





**EUROPE'S (TORN?) IDENTITY  
RESULT BOOK**



**ASSOCIATION DES ETATS  
GENERAUX DES ETUDIANTS  
DE L'EUROPE**

**AEGEE-Ljubljana**



**INTERNATIONAL POLITICS  
WORKING GROUP**



# **EUROPE'S (TORN?) IDENTITY**

RESULT BOOK

of  
the International Conference  
held in Ljubljana  
from 12<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> of October 2003



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# GREETING

A great opportunity opened up for Europe at the end of the previous century. The tremendous energy of dissatisfaction with the unnatural barriers and walls separating peoples, nations and states in 20<sup>th</sup> century Europe brought down these walls and created an opportunity for peoples and nations to live side by side in tolerance, respect and solidarity. Moreover, it allowed them to live with one another in active and responsible coexistence.

Today such a Europe can be described as our realistic common future. It is no longer Utopia; it is becoming a real possibility. Borders in Europe are quickly disappearing. They are disappearing from maps and documents. They must also disappear from our minds, from the realm of thought, which we have inherited. That is where they are most stubbornly rooted with all their consequences. That is where each of us ourselves must bring these borders down. Borders towards fellow man, borders towards those who are different. A Europe of peace, cooperation, progress, social justice, trust and creativity is a state of mind of the people of Europe.

Such a Europe will be capable of being an influential and responsible factor in the world. Faithful to its great spiritual tradition and ethical values, it will be capable and willing to engage in an equitable dialogue with other great civilizations and seek together with them elements of a common ethic that would serve as a basis for effective common governance of our interdependent world and for taking responsibility for that world without anyone perceiving that ethic and its values as spiritual violence and hegemony over their own spiritual tradition. Such a common ethic comprises not only respect for man, his life, dignity and rights, but also the golden rule of human coexistence: do not do unto others what you would not want done unto yourself. Even more than that, it takes on the active form of this principle: do unto others what you want others to do unto you.

Such a Europe is not a given yet, however. It is the vision based on understanding, knowledge and a high level of spiritual and material creativity. It is an opportunity that you in your International Politics Working Group are well aware of. I wish for you to put this conference to good use in seeking answers to questions about today's Europeans and Europe's torn identity.

**Milan KUČAN**

Former President of the Republic of Slovenia

Honorary patron of the "Europe's (Torn?) Identity" conference



# »UNDER THE EUROPEAN ROOF«

## **Editorial**

We Europeans share the same continent and the same sky. Throughout history, this part of the world has witnessed on the one hand the efforts of unification, like for example in the times of the Holy Roman Empire or Napoleon's conquests, and on the other hand the attempts of the "big ones" to prevail over the "small ones". The painful memories of the times of fascism and nazism are still alive to remind us of how a unified Europe should not be constructed.

By realizing Schuman's idea of a unified Europe presented in 1950 based on free movement of goods, people and services, and defending the basic human values such as freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law, the European mosaic of bigger and smaller countries started slowly but surely gaining a certain common identification/distinction. The European Union was primarily founded on political (ideas, history) and economic motivations (formation of a common market) of the larger countries, which already played an important role in the shaping of the history in the past. With the accession of ten new member states in May 2004 and the eastward expansion of the European Union, the Union will justify its name as well as encompass the greater part of the European continent and go beyond the line of the Berlin Wall, which had been separating the continent for so long. The new Union will join under the same roof 474 million inhabitants, 20 official languages, major religions and a multitude of cultures, manners and customs, as well as differences and inequalities in economic development.

Due to such a wide variety of interests and desires, peace in Europe can only be guaranteed with an equal position of all the nations and an equitable distribution of power among all subjects. For open-minded people this heterogeneity can represent a positive contribution and personal enrichment. However, understanding and mutual respect can only be achieved on the basis of recognizing and accepting the diversity around us and respecting the differences. And this can only be brought about through movement: travelling, associating, meeting and accepting "others". Immobility and reservation in this context are retrograde and ruinous.

This trend has reached full swing in the last two decades, as various (student) organizations placing emphasis on international cooperation have sprung up. Each new generation has at its disposal more options for travel, studies, exchanges and education in different areas of Europe. Distances no longer pre-

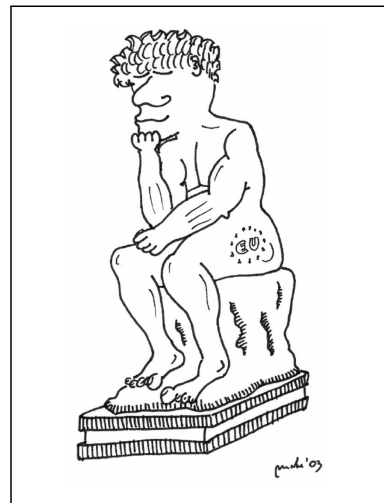
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sent such a problem and modern technology enables quick exchange of information with all parts of Europe – flamenco isn't so distant any more and French baguettes are being sold around the corner.

Being situated in this cultural crossroads is interesting as long as it doesn't threaten the national identity. How can we assure that all inhabitants of Europe think of themselves primarily as French, Spanish, or Slovene, but also as European? Less numerous nations, whose national identity has only recently been affirmed, will now be in the same field with the nations with a strong national identity and a long national tradition. Despite the theoretical principles of equality, reality reminds us that these are not always brought to life. I guess it's up to each state's apparatus to decide what forms and means of protection of national identity and national priorities will be carried out.

So posing questions about the future and the “common” European identity is at this time very relevant, as this topic raises many doubts and questions in the minds of young people. Thus at the conference on Europe's identity gathered under the same roof of lecture room, participants from 19 European countries with their different beliefs and customs in order to spend a week together listening to lectures on regional, national and European identity, exchanging opinions, taking part in discussions, and trying to find answers to some questions as well as opening some new ones in the process. Of course it would be unrealistic to expect that this week would bring a definite conclusion. It did, however, enrich the participants not only with new knowledge gained in lectures given by experts, but also with the fact that they were a part of a multicultural environment and maybe dispelled a prejudice or two. This type of activity is essential today, as it enables an individual to identify him/herself not only with his/her local identity but also with a wider European context and makes him/herself feel at home in Europe.

The publication, which you now hold in your hand, dear reader, is the result of this conference. Through reading the articles of the lecturers, the thoughts of the participants and other contributions, I hope that your neighbors under the common European roof will be brought closer to you.



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## AEGEE-Europe

Association des Etats Généraux  
des Etudiants de l'Europe

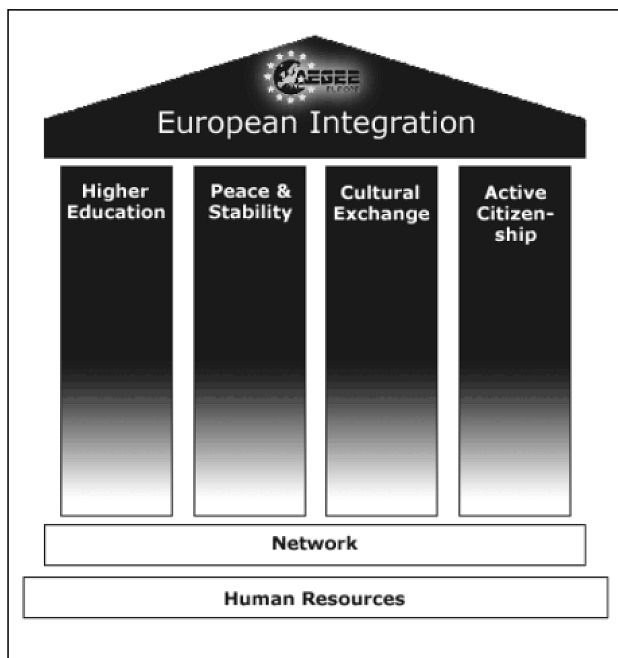


The European Students' Forum AEGEE takes its name from one of the birth-places of democracy, the Aegean Sea, and the first parliament at the dawn of the French Revolution, *Les Etats Généraux*. Founded at Sorbonne in Paris (F) in 1985, AEGEE has become one of Europe's largest interdisciplinary student associations, which promotes a unified Europe, cross-border co-operation, communication, integration among students and strives to create an open and tolerant society of tomorrow. AEGEE is a voluntary, non-profit organization that operates without being linked to any political party. It is represented in 271 university cities, in 40 countries all around Europe and has about 17 000 members.

AEGEE enjoys support from the European Commission, has consultative status at the Council of Europe and UN. AEGEE is also a member of the European Youth Forum and has co-operated with UNESCO on international projects.

Last but not least, AEGEE is made of incredibly motivated young people, who work for what they believe in, getting in return personal satisfaction and the hope that they have slightly influenced the course of things they were a part of. In short, a Europe oriented person finds in AEGEE an almost perfect environment to learn and act as a European.

In the last few years, AEGEE has mainly dealt with topics of Higher Education, Peace and Stability, Cultural Exchange and Active Citizenship. Therefore, at the 30<sup>th</sup> General Assembly held in Udine (I), November 2000, it was decided and voted upon that these topics represent the four main pillars of AEGEE's youth involvement. We call them **FIELDS of ACTION** and here is what they represent in short:



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### **Higher education**

AEGEE has a long history when it comes to its involvement in the higher education matters. Everything started already in 1987 when AEGEE began to support the Erasmus program of the European Community. AEGEE insists on *Mobility* as one of the most important tools of developing higher education in Europe.

### **Peace & stability**

Spreading knowledge on democracy, value of tolerance and open-mindedness, AEGEE has always held quite an important role when it comes to peace and stability, especially in Southeast Europe. AEGEE projects are the best example of how AEGEE has been working towards that particular goal. "Peace Academy" in 1999 dealt with conflict resolution whereas "Education for Democracy" since 2000 and "Palestinians-Israelis-Europeans" since 2002 brought students from conflict areas into the EU countries to study and develop an objective viewpoint on the conflict issue.

### **Cultural exchange**

The most successful AEGEE project is the Summer University project. Summer Universities are organized by most of our local branches and incarnate the nest of cultural exchange in AEGEE. More than 5 000 students every summer go for an adventure somewhere in Europe to learn about the language and culture of another country for two whole weeks.

### **Active citizenship**

AEGEE follows the events in Europe. If it touches upon one of the fields of our interest we, the AEGEE members, feel the need to express our opinion. We recognize the need to be well informed about the issues, which shape our future, e.g. strict VISA policies or Bologna process.

For more information, please visit [www.aegee.org](http://www.aegee.org)



## **AEGEE-Ljubljana**



AEGEE-Ljubljana was established in 1991 and has been from the start a full-member antenna - a local branch in the AEGEE network. By bringing together the students of all studies, it has grown throughout the years and reached its peak in 2003 with more than 280 members, which makes it the fifth antenna in the whole AEGEE network!

AEGEE-Ljubljana is active at the local as well as at the international level. For our members, we organize educational seminars such as courses in photography, motivational weekends and sports activities. Every summer we host 35 students from around Europe at the Summer University. Through the excursions and other activities participants get acquainted with the local culture, habits and language. There is no need to stress that many life-long friendships have been formed on the "sunny side of the Alps". It is also important to mention the regional cooperation and friendships with branches in former Yugoslavia, the result of which was the organization of three Case Study Trips around ex-Yugoslavia.

The academic events at the international level gave AEGEE-Ljubljana a reputation of an NGO (Non Governmental Organization), conscientious of its surroundings. These high-level events were mostly conferences:

- »Slovenia in Europe« in March 1992.
- »Slovenia in Europe - part II« in February 1995.
- »Ecocamps« with 4 editions in 1992, 1993, 1994 and 1995.
- »Foreign Direct Investment« November 1997.
- »Tourism and Marketing« in December 1998 in collaboration with AEGEE-Maribor.
- »Europe's (Torn?) Identity« in October 2003.

Within the AEGEE network we co-organize educational congresses, which provide our members with additional knowledge in the field of project management. After organizing the »PR European School« in 2000 we will continue in this tradition with the seminar »Training for Trainers« in November 2004.

On the verge of Slovenia's accession to the European Union, AEGEE-Ljubljana can point out that our main aim has always been to strive towards a united Europe without borders, whether it be the physical ones between countries or in our minds.

**Katarina BERGLEZ**  
President of AEGEE-Ljubljana  
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# **INTERNATIONAL POLITICS WORKING GROUP**



AEGEE's International Politics Working Group (IPWG) is the association of AEGEE members from all over the continent who are interested in international politics. The Working Group actually has over 200 members who discuss topics related to international politics on a specific mailing list.

Since its foundation in 1997, IPWG has become a strong pillar of AEGEE activities by giving thematic input to different conferences and seminars as well as by organizing conferences on its own. It played an important role in the realization of AEGEE's "Peace Academy Project" where it contributed to the organization of about 15 seminars and conferences all over the continent. Also important was the project "Ten Years of Transition" after the end of the Cold War and various activities in and dealing with the Balkan region. Throughout 2001, IPWG got actively involved in the "Quo Vadis Europe?" Yearplan topic of AEGEE-Europe dealing with the future of Europe. IPWG organized the "Summit of 28", a simulation game about decision-making in an enlarged European Union, taking place in the European Parliament in Brussels. In August 2002, a conference on "Europe's role in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict" gave life to the independent AEGEE project "Palestinians – Israelis – Europeans" (PIE).

## **IPWG ACTIVITIES IN 2003:**

- **"Europe's (Torn?) Identity", Enschede, February 2003**  
At the "Think Europe" Planning Meeting of AEGEE-Europe in Enschede (The Netherlands), IPWG gave a workshop on Europe's identity. These two days filled with hard work showed the need for discussion in this field and led to the decision of focussing on this topic in the near future.
- **"IPWG goes Den Haag III", Den Haag and Leiden, March 2003**  
The conference concerning international law took place for the third time and included a visit to the main international institutions located in The Hague (The Netherlands). The enthusiasm of the participants led to the creation of the "International Law Club" within IPWG.
- **"Europe and/in the Arab World" and "European Identity", Constanta, May 2003**  
At AEGEE's general assembly in Constanta (Romania), IPWG gave a workshop on "Europe and/in the Arab World", discussing the recent developments in Iraq and the future activities of IPWG in this field. At the same gathering, the delegates approved "European Identity" as Yearplan project of AEGEE-Europe for the year 2004.



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- **“Diplomatic Seminar”, Bucuresti, May 2003**  
“Diplomatic Seminar” in Bucuresti (Romania) consisted of a week of intensive courses in the field of foreign affairs, intended to offer practical and theoretical guidelines for the career of a future diplomat and training skills such as negotiating, lobbying, dealing with the media etc.
  - **“E[YOU]rope – let's get closer”, Osnabrück, May 2003**  
The European Union is influencing our daily lives, but many European citizens are not well informed about Europe and its institutions. The conference in Osnabrück (Germany) aimed at creating ways and visions about how people can be helped to better understand the EU.
  - **“Europe's (Torn?) Identity”, Ljubljana, October 2003**  
At the conference in Ljubljana (Slovenia), the participants reflected on their own local, regional, national and European identity, elaborated on what tendencies of nationalism and regionalism we are facing in Europe and what makes us “European”.
  - **“IPWG in 2004”, Zaragoza, October 2003**  
At the workshop at AEGEE's general assembly in Zaragoza (Spain), the IPWG activities for the year 2004 have been discussed. Divided into groups, the interested participants gave their input concerning the three pillars “EU & Europe”, “International Justice and Diplomacy” and “Muslims and Europe”.

#### **ACTIVITIES PLANNED FOR 2004:**

- **EU and Europe - Europe's Identity**
  - ❖ Romania, Bulgaria & EU, Sofia
  - ❖ Russia & EU, Moskva and St. Petersburg
  - ❖ Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova & EU, Minsk
  - ❖ UK & EU, Cambridge
  - ❖ EFTA & EU, Oslo
  - ❖ Former Yugoslavia & EU, Banja Luka and Sarajevo
  - ❖ Turkey & EU, Izmir
  - ❖ European Convention, Nijmegen
  - ❖ Knowledge contest EU & Europe
- **International Justice & Diplomacy**
  - ❖ Trip to Den Haag IV, Den Haag & Leiden
  - ❖ Diplomatic Seminar, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Beograd
  - ❖ Conflict management and conflict resolution, Leuven

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- **Muslims & Europe, Muslims in Europe**

- ❖ Case Study Trip: Muslim Communities in Western Europe, Rotterdam, Cologne, Strasbourg
- ❖ Western democracy and human rights in Muslim countries, Ankara

Further information can be found at the following website:

[www.aegee.org/wg/ipwg](http://www.aegee.org/wg/ipwg)

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# **THE CONFERENCE EUROPE'S (TORN?) IDENTITY**

During the past organized events in the frame of AEGEE-Europe and local branches it was established that there is an interest and a need among the young for the debate about the identity and the future of Europe. Based on the results of the IPWG Workshops at AEGEE's Planning Meeting in Cagliari (Italy, September 2002) and of the conference "Europe – In-Sight-Out" organized by IPWG and AEGEE-Münster (Germany, December 2002), AEGEE voted upon "European Identity" as Yearplan Topic for the year 2004 (General Assembly in Constanta, Romania, May 2003).

The conference "Europe's (Torn?) Identity" in Ljubljana marked the opening of a series of activities in the frame of the Yearplan Topic "European Identity". Its significance can be seen in the fact that almost 200 young Europeans applied for this conference as well as some non-Europeans from all continents.

Among the numerous applications 35 international and 12 Slovenian participants were chosen on the basis of several criteria: primary on the basis of their essays, the so called motivation letters and curriculum vitae, but also the balances in country origin, in gender and in membership of AEGEE organizations were taken in consideration. This way, the meeting of young people from 19 countries, studying anything from Political Sciences, Economics and Law to Sociology, Languages, Psychology, Philosophy and Literature was a forum for discussing Europe's identity.

## **The aims of the conference:**

- To discuss possible definitions of what Europe is in terms of geography, customs, politics, culture.
- To find the key elements for describing European identity and its value system.
- To make the participants aware of the European dimension of their lives from the different perspectives previously mentioned.
- To discuss in-depth topics such as "Europe of the regions" and the "European Convention".
- To raise awareness of the growing phenomena of nationalism, racism, rightist movement and xenophobia that have been recently observed throughout Europe and to make a step for fighting against these developments.

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- To provide the participants with some additional knowledge about the relevant topics of the theme.
  - To immerse the participants with a multicultural environment, giving them the chance to experience intercultural learning and, consequently reduce prejudices and stereotypes.
  - To offer to the participants a non-formal learning environment where the exchange of ideas, opinions and knowledge is encouraged and the participants get a better understanding of “the other”.
  - To enable the participants to state and defend their opinions and to negotiate in order to find common positions and agreements.
  - To initiate further activities in the field of active citizenship on all three levels: European, local and regional level.

## **THE BACKGROUND OF THE CONFERENCE**

### **An idea is born ...**

*September 2002:* The two initiators Olivier Genkin and Katarina Berglez found themselves sitting next to each other on the flight from *Sardinia to Rome* and one word led to another... so they agreed upon having a conference co-organized by AEGEE-Ljubljana and IPWG on Europe's identity, nationalism, regionalism, rightist movement and xenophobia. The preparations started.

### **The name is born ...**

*February 2003:* At AEGEE's Planning Meeting in Enschede (*The Netherlands*), the workshop held by Olivier Genkin and Ioana Muresan attracted the most applications. It was entitled “Europe's (Torn?) Identity” – the name was born!

### **Preparations start ...**

...immediately. AEGEE-Ljubljana was happy to take on a new challenge of organizing a high-level youth meeting and the response from the local institutions was promising right from the start.

The team grows, we get IPWG members from France, Germany, Romania and The Netherlands, and more and more people from Ljubljana get involved. This was necessary since task division makes life easier for (almost) everyone. It was

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great to see that borders do not count and that we can work on this project together!

*August 2003:* Ioana Muresan and Olivier Genkin visited *AEGEE-Ljubljana (Slovenia)* and the local organization team for the first preparatory meeting. Besides some personal talks, many productive discussions and quick decisions, this meeting gave an additional boost of motivation to the organizing team, enough to bear the stress of the last month before the conference.

*September 2003:* The second preparatory meeting was in *Magusa (Cyprus)* at the AEGEE-Europe Action Planning Meeting. Europe is small and we are mobile.

Communication held us together, not only internally, but also communication towards and between speakers and applicants, resulting from our successful PR (Public Relations). Only for this conference Olivier Genkin wrote and received more than *10.000 emails* so the total number would be... but sky is not the limit for AEGEE!

### **The realization of the project ...**

*October 2003:* Finally, we know what we have been working for in the past year - *Europe's (Torn?) Identity* became reality and a starting point for the Yearplan Topic of AEGEE in 2004.

On their arrival in Ljubljana the team members welcomed the participants, the non-Slovenian organizers and the speakers and the getting-to-know-each-other started!

It was *great* to meet other people personally, in many cases for the first time.

It was *impressive* to see the motivation of all my fellow organizers and of all the participants.

It was *interesting* to listen to many informative and provoking lectures.

It was *sometimes challenging* to participate in the discussions and to find some consensus.

It was *fantastic* to live the combination of work and social gathering.

It was *wonderful* to discover - during the excursions - what a nice country Slovenia is.

On the weekend trip we enjoyed three incredible days of recreation organized by AEGEE-Ljubljana. This was a time to get more contact and to draft future projects in the framework of "European Identity". But also many more activities, such as rafting on the wild river Soča, walking up to the magnificent waterfall Kozjak or visiting a museum. Europe united.

### **The evaluation of the project ...**

*November 2003 - January 2004:* It has been a long time and a lot of work from the beginning of the idea until the final implementation of the conference. It has

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been a challenging experience for all of us, inspite of some difficulties. But our main memories are of the lessons we have learned, all the cheerful moments we had, and especially all the new friends we met.

**Olivier GENKIN**

Speaker of the IPWG Board  
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and

**Katarina BERGLEZ**

President of AEGEE-Ljubljana  
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*A nice footnote:* Some of the organizers from Ljubljana were even not members of AEGEE when they became part of the organizing team. They decided to join AEGEE-Ljubljana thanks to the great experiences they made during the preparation and the implementation of the project. Welcome!

## ORGANIZERS



*From the press conference (from left to right): Staša Podgoršek, the announcer and the main organizers: Olivier Genkin, Katarina Berglez and Berta Mrak.*



---

### **Main organizers**

Katarina BERGLEZ, Slovenia

Berta MRAK, Slovenia

Olivier GENKIN, France

Ioana MURESAN, Romania

Theijs VAN WELIJ, Netherlands

### **With the support of AEGEE-Ljubljana local team**

Katarina BRUVO, Erika CAHARIJA, Nataša FLORJANČIČ, Robert KAPLAN, Ines KEŽMAN, Uršula KORDIŠ, Darja KUNEJ, Mirjam KURENT, Mojca NEMGAR, Irena OVEN, Alenka PANDILOSKA, Ksenija PIRC, Staša PODGORŠEK, Urban POMPE, Aleš ROVŠNIK, Jon SLEVEC, Manuela TOPLAK, Grega ZRIM, Zmago ŽNIDARŠIČ.



*(From left to right): Manuela Toplak, Irena Oven, Alenka Pandiloska, Ines Kežman, Mojca Nemgar, Mirjam Kurent, Robert Kaplan, Darja Kunej, Zmago Žnidaršič, Grega Zrim, Olivier Genkin, Katarina Berglez, Berta Mrak, Katarina Bruvo, Theijs Van Welij, Uršula Kordiš, Nataša Florjančič, Aleš Rovšnik and Jernej Sever.*

## MEETING POINT IN SLOVENIA

The conference was held in the part of Europe where the South, the North, the East and the West meet and where the question concerning identity is appropriate, since the Slovenian nation lived under different foreign supremacies throughout history and managed to conserve its own identity. The most important turning point in the history of Slovenia was the year 1991, when we proclaimed national independence on 26<sup>th</sup> June. Before Slovenia used to be part of Yugoslavia. With the international recognition of Slovenia in January 1992, Ljubljana with only 280.000 inhabitants, became the capital of a new, independent state and took over a number of new functions. It began to make its presence felt as the seat of various institutions as well as commercial and diplomatic representatives.

During the conference, the participants not only attended the lectures about the transition of Slovenia, but were also introduced to Slovenian culture and tradition also in a less formal style because of two excursions. Each of them was organized



*Photo by Igor Modic.*

Source: <http://www.uvi.si/eng/slovenia/photos/tourism/085/index.html>



*Group photo of participants and members of Slovene folk dancing group – Juliana.*

to a specific region of Slovenia; this was the best opportunity for the participants to get to know more about the hosting country.

Since Lake Bled appears to be Slovenia's ultimate attraction as far as scenery is concerned, we chose it to be our first destination. We certainly made the right decision – the combination of our famous cake 'Krem šnita' and the spectacular view over the lake and island will surely stay in the participant's memories. The excursion continued with a visit to the Bled School of Management, which

has over the past years earned the reputation of an esteemed international management school. As Uroš Bole, Operations director explained to us, the school is well known for its international lecturers, originating from the best business schools in the world, for the internationality of its participants and for the quality of its services.

After the dinner there was a social program with performance of Slovene folk dancing.

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For us, the organizers, it was totally amazing to see all the participants taking active part in the dancing. There was one interesting remark by one of the participants from Italy, who mentioned not ever having imagined dancing this weird Slovene folk dance that he had seen on TV occasionally. From our point of view we can certainly perceive this as a compliment, since we already managed to cast away one of the stereotypes about Slovenia.

In order to present the variety of our landscape and of our culture as well, the other excursion was to the region of Dolenjska, which has a lot to offer: the slowly flowing river Krka, the picturesque rolling hills and the countless vineyards throughout the region. We first visited Krka d.d, a prosperous pharmaceutical company. Our host, Uroš Matanovič, explained that Krka ranks among the most successful pharmaceutical companies in Central and Eastern Europe. One of the reasons is certainly their professional expertise, deriving from an asset of skilled and motivated staff. Beside the pharmaceutical and chemical activities, Krka also operates in the field of tourism and health resorts.

After sightseeing in the city of Novo mesto, we went to a wine cellar on Trška Gora. Along with tasty salami sausages, cheese and home made bread we were introduced to different delicious sorts of choice wines. Of course the most important one to sample was the typical wine of Dolenjska, the so-called “cviček”. After the arrival of the accordion player, the wine tasting turned into a pleasant entertainment and we all started dancing the polka that we learned a few days ago in Bled ...



To conclude, I can only confirm the participants' feedback that it was definitely an extremely pleasant experience. Organizing a conference was for me a unique opportunity to acquire some knowledge and experience on project management in a very practical way. At the same time the rest of the organizing team were able to practice their team-work capabilities and improve their organizational skills. In non-formal environment of the conference in which participants were able to share their opinions, views and remarks and actively participate in every discussion, many issues concerning identity, also the Slovenian one, were cleared up.

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## **WHAT WAS IT LIKE?**

(Results of feedback forms)

After the closing of the conference, the participants were asked to fill the feedback-form on the web page of the conference with the aim to better evaluate the conference and to get some general opinion about it. The filling-out was anonymous and the results were being collected for about one month after the closing of the conference. 23 persons returned the forms, which makes up 54.7% of the whole group.

The feedback form was a descriptive type of questionnaire. The advantage of it is to get personal comments from the participants and in this way much more representative results for the organizers, but at the same time this makes the presentation of the results very long. Since some remarks expressed the same opinion, we decided to make a summary and keep only a few original comments and those that differentiated from the common answers. The questions are in bold and the comments from the participants are in italic to separate them from the rest of the summary. Individual comments are deliberately not separated.

In the first part, the participants were asked about the logistics of the conference, then they commented on the lectures and finally they had a chance to express their opinion about what should have been done better/differently.

### **A. What is your general opinion of the conference Europe's (Torn?) Identity?**

In general the participants were very satisfied with the conference. The most common positive comments touched on the rich program, the smooth and good realization of the conference and the friendly atmosphere, which enabled the exchange of opinions and heated debates on the topic. The participants appreciated the combination of the serious approach of the lectures and the light one of the social program.

*Organization, lectures, selection of participants, social events: all were first class. A very delicate and round conference; the lecturers were selected with much care, and the program was well planned as well as very rich in topics, useful, and taught me many new approaches and gave me new ideas. Conceptual, professional and a very stimulating atmosphere for discussions. The choice of participants was crucial in reference to the topic, because we had people from the EU countries, from countries joining the EU, and those who are about to start the process of accession, present and willing to discuss the questions of European identity and problems arising such as nationalism, xenophobia etc.*

Negative remarks, which were rare, only dealt with the program.

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*The only “amendments” would be the fact that it was a bit too much lecture-oriented. Thus I would’ve preferred it if it were rather more interactive. I think that the program was a little bit too full.*

## **B. Please give us your evaluation of:**

- **Accommodation:** Participants were in general satisfied and impressed with the hostel CELICA (“the cell”). With regard to the often heard comments about the small and impractical rooms, it has to be said that this is the only hostel in Ljubljana open year-round and that its renovation was made according to the possible conditions.

*More than a hostel, it is an experience in itself! The best-looking hostel I have ever seen. Clean, artistically designed and the staff is friendly. Small and quite crowded rooms, but an incredible building. It’s a fantastic idea to blend art and daily use. The only problem is that they don’t have beds for 2 m tall guys.*



- **Food:** Participants were very satisfied with the number of meals, the quality of food and the portions. Unfortunately this doesn't go for the accommodation in Kobarid.

*I don't remember ever having such good food for a week constantly. Great cafeteria, smooth service and cool environment; perfect. Breakfasts were nothing exceptional; it was tasty and most importantly, the portions were big enough. Excluding the post-event, the food was relatively good. A little crowded (& loud music) for deep talks on deep topics.*

- **Parties:** Every day concluded with a different type of a social gathering, which participants liked very much. They only wished that they would have lasted longer, but since this wasn't the main purpose of the conference, it was necessary to finish them at a reasonable hour. And, yes, the wine on the first night was terrible. We know.

*The parties usually provided an opportunity to promote friendship among participants and organizers. The organizers were so nice and involving that every party was great.*

- **Organizers:** The team got only the highest points with one exception. Absolutely flawless!!! Very strong sense of responsibility and cooperation; everything worked. Numerous, well trained and motivated. Responsible, enthusiastic, friendly.

*I think you were now and then a bit to baby-sitting like. Please hold in mind that we are all adults and can manage by ourselves. Just the way you handled things now and then might have been a bit more relaxed.*

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- **Lecture rooms:** The participants estimated the lecture rooms to be sufficient to very good, which shows their subjective approach. But they all found the reception in Bled and in Novo mesto perfect.

*The opening might have deserved a bigger room, e.g. an auditorium. It was only once that we were not sitting in a modern classroom. Maybe it would have been better if all the lectures were at the same place (at the faculty e.g.), so that we didn't have to spend time going back and forth... nice coffee breaks.*

- **Lectures:**

The chosen lectures provided with motivational approaches for the topic, made the participants aware of the European dimension. The list of lectures was made according to the schedule of the conference. In general, the participants were very satisfied with the lectures. They most well-liked lectures were delivered by prof. Debeljak, M.A. Stamenković, prof. Hadjipavlou, prof. Stania and Minister Potočnik. Lots of participants only commented shortly on the lectures. This means that the following descriptive comments can be very subjective.

**Dr. Peter Jambreč: “15 years of transition in Slovenia”**

*It was good to open the event with the focus on Slovenia; perhaps more interesting for the Slovene participants. The professor focused mainly on the way in which Slovenia gained its independence while he wasn't too particular about the economic and democratic reforms. A bit too dry. Too elaborate; he seemed imprecise. He seems to be unprepared, he wasn't exhaustive enough when it came to his answers; in the end it wasn't neither interesting nor formative.*

**Dr. Vladimir Simič: “Historical overview of European integration”**

*Familiar. Boring style, read from his papers, but had some interesting data. The topic chosen was not so easy to explain in one lecture: it seemed a bit chaotic to me. Fair account of the historical development of EU. The subject was interesting, but the lecture was given in a somewhat boring way.*

**Dr. Maria Hadjipavlou: “Stereotypes and the perception of the “other””**

*One to remember. Involving. Dividing participants in groups to discuss lecture contents was a good idea... After all, she had a lively way of working and active discussion with us. I appreciated the speaker and her infectious vitality and will to involve all people in the discussion. Interesting, showed us that even though we pride ourselves to be young educated and free thinking individuals there are still the prejudices in all of us. The lecture forced us to take a more neutral position. Much better style, but much demagogy. The professor insisted too much on the questions of gender.*

**Dr. Aleš Debeljak: “Nations, nation-states, nationalism”**

*It's the lecture I liked most, both for the speaker and the way he handled the topic and the lecture. Well prepared, teaches in a bit informal way. The best lecture of the conference. A very charismatic person. One of the best lectures*

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*of the conference. Outstanding level of English of this professor, nice way of thinking, I consider this lecture quite inspiring; great style, very interesting, easy to remember, but full of new information and ideas. The professor presented the historical facts but also had a personal and interesting view. Too bad we did not have more time to discuss after the lecture because there were a lot provocative points raised. He was a little bit narcissistic even in speaking.*

**Dr. Anton Gosar: “Europe of the regions”**

*Very informative; a boring topic well presented. He didn't impress me very much, but the power point presentation was well done. Ok. Funny. Woke me up. Too fast, therefore not understandable. A bit unclear. It seemed he couldn't focus on any specific problem.*

**Dr. Maria Hadjipavlou: “Xenophobia in Europe”**

*Good job again, very interactive in any case, spoke about everyday problems like xenophobia, which made Hadjipavlou's lectures very involving. No surprising conclusions; didn't keep the debate in hand. What can also be said for the previous lecture of the same professor is that it did not have a concept behind it-seems to me that the purpose of it was for us to relate our own experience which is not bad per se, but the professor should have come out with a certain idea for us to grasp. Very similar to the other.*

**Igor Stamenković, M.A.: “Negotiations between EU and SEE countries”**

*Concise and complete presentation of the SEE. Very good explanation and management of the process. The simulation was a bit exhausting but it clarified in practice how a decision process is conducted. Learned a lot about how hard negotiations actually work; I never expected them to be like that. After some embarrassment at the beginning, negotiation gave us the possibility to discuss and interact with each other, and I think this is or should be the real aim of a conference like this.*

**Dr. Mitja Žagar: “Regional identity”**

*Very self-reflexive approach. The beginning was boring, but later got interesting, especially the debate; unfortunately there wasn't enough time for that. Critical and communicative with the audience. It was the lecture closest to the topic of the event. I remember the following discussion that perhaps went a bit off the point, but the lecture itself explained some subjects well.*

**Peter Stania, M.A.: “European identity and formal democracy”**

*Interesting subject, presented in a clear, colloquial way. Provided us with a general and principal outlook to the European identity He encouraged discussion and interventions from the "audience"... A very nice professor, knows a lot, very nice talking to him! My favorite thing was when the professor blended objectivity with personal feelings and experiences. Maybe his lecture was too much idealistic. In reality, I didn't grasp his meaning of European identity.*

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**Bernd Knuefer: “Multi-level governance”**

*Creative approach, but a bit confusing. A bit vague now and then. But a good discussion nevertheless. Interesting ideas with slogans, performance did not correlate with room space. Not well prepared, didn't keep the debate in hand, fortunately Mr. Stania helped. I think that the discussion, which arose among the participants, prevented Bernd from relating to us.*

**Anita Štefin: “European Convention”**

*Good but too serious. People were bored, it was hard to concentrate. She was doing her best but still to me it was a bit boring.*

**Dr. Janez Potočnik: “European integration”**

*Very informative. Quite a clear, well illustrated, politically correct lecture. Provoked discussion. Interesting and well presented, unfortunately not enough time for a debate. Very accurate presentation with power point; I appreciated it also because it dealt with very concrete matters.*

**Dr. Silvo Devetak: “New ethnic diversities in the enlarged EU”**

*Ok. Just great! Very critical and extremely enthusiastic. Too general, too many aspects were touched upon. Interesting topic, presented badly with bad English and bad slides. It was the last lecture and it was a bit sacrificed for that.*

**IPWG: Closing of the conference**

*Very intriguing, great opportunity for participants to express their views. There wasn't enough time to evaluate the subject thoroughly. Perhaps we had too little time to recollect what we learned from the lectures and it was difficult to say if our opinion regarding the European identity had changed or not.*



*Participants expressing their enthusiasm for the lectures.*



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**C. Do you feel that anything should be done better or in a different way?**

**D. If there are any other comments, please share them with us, so that the next conference we organize will be even better from the organizational point of view**

In general the participants were satisfied with the organization; everything went smoothly without any bigger problems. The participants would only have liked to have more free time.

*Do not change the managers!!!*

*Organizing the trips to Bled and Novo mesto, I liked that very much!*

*It was very good that you had an organizer responsible for every field, including the wake-up calls; we never felt lost, always knew what was going on. I have learnt a lot from the lectures and from the organizing as well.*

On the other hand the participants missed more opportunities for discussion and the exchange of opinions. Some individual suggestions were e.g. a whole day for debates or a daily evaluation. Talking about such an interdisciplinary topic as identity demands that lectures have many different approaches, which made the program quite strict. To achieve the aims of the conference it was necessary for the participants to take active part in the lectures, therefore an interactive approach was suggested to the speakers. Unfortunately all lecturers did not take this into account. As one of the participants discovered, the lectures in Slovenia are mostly »ex cathedra« while at his university *“the lectures are often just an introduction to the topic, for a discussion among students. But the nature of the lectures is not necessarily a disadvantage since the professors of the conference seemed much better spoken and spoke more as well.”* As to the closing of the conference, more time would have been needed for summing up common conclusions and discussing results of the past week together.

Someone also suggested the possibility for participants to present their own discussion on a specific problem – *It would be great to have an additional panel for the participants who during the conference want to present their vision on a certain problem and need the audience to discuss it.*

And someone found that the chosen lectures did not cover a large enough topic: *There was predominantly political science, also law, history, conflict management and ethnology; but what about sociology (post modernity, dynamics of societal movements etc.), ethnology (intercultural understanding, rituals and symbols of European cultures), languages (Latin, lingua franca, Esperanto, etc.) and pedagogy (Europe in schools, media and education of multiplications)?*

At the end we can conclude that one week's time was not enough!! At the time of integration processes, which are taking place in Europe and the changes brought about with them, the topic about identity is very current and important.

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The concern among young people explains why this conference will not be just one of the conferences, but will have many more follow it!

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*From left to right: Davide Capasso, Rikke Ansbjerg Larsen, Ines Kežman, Guillaume Dupleix, Alexey Korostelev, Dzmitri Korenko, Carmen Ferrara and Arnaud Furger.*

*"It's been a great event with great people, and perfectly organized. Please do it again!"*

**Andras SCHWARCZ**  
Hungary

*"What I can say is that I didn't expect that this event would have enriched me so much."*

**Carmen FERRARA**  
AEGEE-Trieste

*"... my thoughts are still wandering to the sunny side of Alps."*

**Konrad KRASUSKI**  
AEGEE-Warszawa

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*“Charming, thoughtful and heartfelt organizers professionally prepared and managed the conference. Great job, AEGEE-Ljubljana and International Politics Working Group!*

*So, have we escaped or accepted our destiny of the European torn identity? The thing is that at the very end of the heated discussion there was a lot of clapping, so that the European identity exploded into many small individual pieces scattered and traveling all around Europe to meet somewhere somehow again.”*

**Dzmitri KORENKO**

*AEGEE-Minsk*

*“The organizers did a really great (and enormous) job – accommodation, meals, lectures, locations, free-time, excursions, post-event. Every part of the conference seemed to be carefully planned and thought of. No delays and the most unpleasant tasks (like waking up the participants at 7 am) were done with a smile upon their face. Could they be more perfect?*

*The theme of "Europe's (Torn?) Identity" was dealt by lectures, a workshop and a simulation, which enabled us to perceive the problem using all possible ways of acquiring knowledge. The subjects were different but followed the guidelines of the main theme. Participants - 42 people from 19 different European countries - a great possibility to exchange ideas from Madrid to Izmir, from Denmark to Rumania, etc. and a constant change of languages (French, Spanish, Slovenian, English, Serbian...).*

*In the end, we had a wonderful time with kind and funny people, great food and locations and the possibility to see a lot of Slovenia. The conference was a good mixture of education and fun.*

*We'll join AEGEE.”*

**Simone PASCHETTO & Milica RAKIC**

*Italy & Serbia and Montenegro*



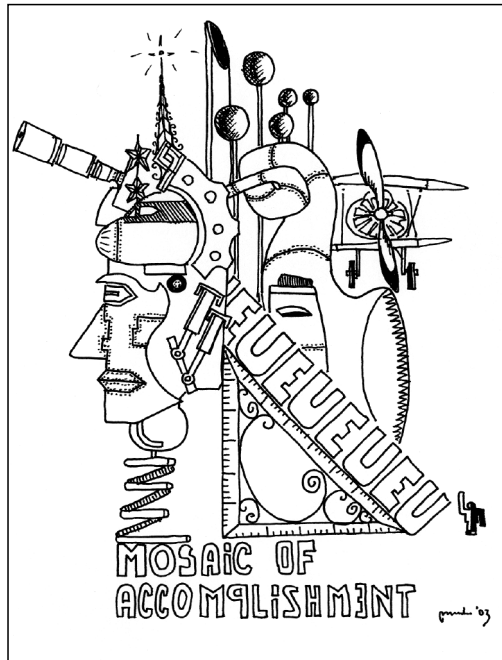
# EUROPE'S IDENTITY – TO BE OR NOT TO BE?

Contemplation about what exactly identity is and of what identity, if any, we speak of in the case of Europe, demands an interdisciplinary approach. Therefore the lectures at the conference were organized in such a way that the participants could enlarge their knowledge of processes of European integration in the past and get acquainted with guidelines for the future and could consider different levels of identity – local, regional and European. Special stress was as well laid on the issue of nationalism, xenophobia and acceptance of others, which is particularly important for the multicultural continent of which we are a part.

Lecturers active in different working spheres were invited to cooperate at the conference. Also four foreign lecturers from Austria, Cyprus, Germany and Serbia accepted the invitation. Below, there is a series of different contents containing differing approaches and opinions on the subject of what Europe is and what its identity is. Each authorial article is followed by notes taken at the lecture in order to reflect the discussion at the lecture and to provide supplementary information. To avoid repetition only extracts are published.

To conclude, on the behalf of the organizing team I would like to thank all the lecturers who accepted our invitation for cooperation and for the articles they contributed.

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## **HISTORIC OVERVIEW OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONS**

Most of the member states of the European Union belonged some time in the past to other political units, which were sometimes much bigger. Within these units many ideas and concepts developed, which are present in contemporary processes of European integration.

One can start with the notion of Europe. This is the question that becomes an issue regarding the limits of integrating new countries on the fringe or even outside the European continent such as Turkey and countries of North Africa. The answer to the question on what Europe was depended on what was not supposed to be Europe. To the Greeks, Europe was the continent settled by Greeks as opposed to the barbarians and Asians. Later on, it was the part of the continent ruled by the Romans. In the 8<sup>th</sup> cent., the Europeans were the ones who fought the Arabs conquering the continent from South. From the 13<sup>th</sup> cent., the danger was coming from Mongols and Turks from the East but then to the contemporaries it was mostly the Christians and not Europeans that were in danger. This would make the Western Europe the real Europe.

One can use the expression integrations because there are few kinds of integration of Europe and even if we speak only about political integration there were several political disintegrations of Europe.

The Greek Europe was organized as a multitude of city states poleis. But those eventually joined together in order to resist the external danger coming from Persia and for this purpose they were successful but this was in the nature of military alliances symachies. Greek city states formed alliances also when they were fighting among themselves and some of these alliances were in the historiography sometimes termed empire like the Athenian empire. The constant military conflicts of the states gave birth to ideas of peace, which had to be based on the recognition of the right to independence (autonomy) of respective states. They were supposed to unite in their fight against Persia because the Greek states were supposed to be organizations of free people as opposed to subjects of oriental despots.

The unity of territory under Roman rule was achieved mainly by force and we have mostly the sources of Roman origin about this, where the Romans are witnesses in their own case. However after the fall of the empire the Roman rule was remembered as a period of stability, peace and economic prosperity compared to disorder and economic relapse in the Early Middle Ages. So it is no wonder that the empire of the Franks under Charlemagne was seen as the revival of the Roman Empire. The new empire was a worthy successor of its model in the way in which it integrated new regions by military means. To some Charlemagne was the first European. This means the recognition of the shift of the centre of

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Europe to the North. The Empire of the Franks lacked cohesive forces to remain together and was divided by the 9<sup>th</sup> cent. The title of the emperor remained, including the will to rule with the shift of the centre further to the East.

New disintegration caused a new wave of wars in Europe and new peace projects. The project of the Czech king George in the 15<sup>th</sup> cent. called for political integration of Christian Europe and planned even some common political and judicial institutions. The desire for peace was behind some other integration projects at the time and even later. The best known among them is Kant's program of eternal peace, which includes an idea of a peaceful alliance, union of states of republican constitution where the citizens are free as opposed to being the subjects of an absolutist state. This could be seen as one of the original ideas that were realised in the demand that only the states with sufficient guaranties of liberty to their citizens may join the union.

The European Union is also based on economic integration of its member states. A Greek orator Isocrates already wrote about Athens integrating the Greeks as their common market place. Pax Romana was to some extent dependent on the empire as a complex market for the goods from all its parts. For this reason the original law of Romans was made the law of the entire empire in 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. This law became the common law of Europe from the 12<sup>th</sup> cent. on and it facilitated the exchange of goods on the continent and then further economic development, which made Europe the most developed part of the world from the 15<sup>th</sup> century on. It should be stressed that the common law of Europe did not mean that the law was equal all over Europe but that the counties of common law shared the same legal principles. Those legal principles prevailed in the civil law codifications in the 19<sup>th</sup> cent.

The 20<sup>th</sup> cent. is the period when Europe experienced the worst consequences of its political divisions during the two wars that due to the dominant position of European states became world wars. After the first war a Paneuropean movement came to existence. This movement was not able to prevent the second war and the European communities, which were founded in the fifties were the new attempt to assure peace in Europe.

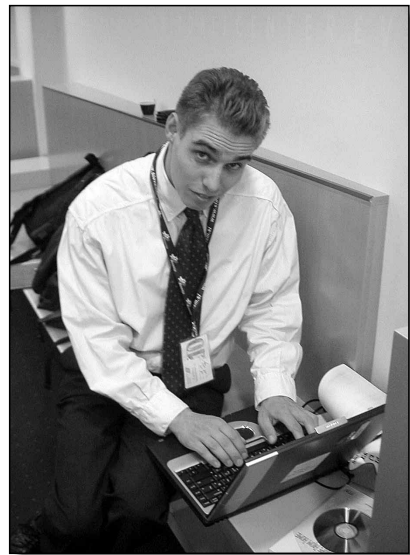
The first goals of the communities were less holistic but perhaps more demanding because a democratic establishment and respect for human rights were the conditions to join the communities. The economic growth of the less developed countries, which joined the communities seems to be the main reason why the European Union is a complete novelty in the history of integration. Earlier new territories were most often included by force, now the neighbor states want to join by their own will.

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## From the lecture ...

- What is Europe? This is not only a theoretical question. It's a question concerning mainly Turkey and northern Africa. They already wished to apply once, but the member countries were afraid of competition of cheaper/poorer countries. The definition of Europe is a serious subject for discussion in the Constitution of Europe.
- Establishing peace: Christians versus non Christians. Present integration is successful to extent that makes a religious war unlikely.
- Ius Commune: Does not mean that the Roman law in the Roman Empire and/or Europe was the same everywhere.
- Ideas of integration: the Greeks spoke about unity when it came to defending against the Persians who wanted to conquer their territory.
- A new movement after World War II: European integration movement by the European Economic Community. The Maastricht treaty established a lot of changes, which led to the European Union as we know it now.
- Another movement after World War II was the organization of European Economic Cooperation. It was an organization to manage the Marshall Plan, created by 16 European states.
- The European Coal and Steel Community was based on the initiative of the French minister Schumann. The Benelux, France, Germany and Italy became the founding member states.
- Rome treaty: Euratom, established supranational law - the member states transferred rights to another (superior) level (loss of sovereignty).
- We have several identities: inside Europe we are Slovenes, out of Europe we feel Europeans. Differences should be respected when we look at the history. Take Britain for example: the Celts strengthened their identity.
- *Comments/questions from the participants:*
  - ❖ We are not aware of the "Europeanness". The real test will come after the expansion by ten new member states happens.
  - ❖ An opinion regarding Turkey: The membership would not be necessary for Turkey if the European markets were open. It's only necessary for economic reasons. That opens a new question: should North Africa join as well?
  - ❖ What will happen to Slovenian language after joining the EU? This shouldn't be considered a problem. One can find historic monuments restored with European funds everywhere, so cultural heritage will be preserved by the EU.



*Theijs Van Welij at work: taking notes during the lecture(s).*



# **EUROPEAN UNION - HORIZONTAL (WIDENING) VS. VERTICAL (DEEPENING) INTEGRATION**

(Power point presentation)

## **Challenges for the enlarged Europe**

- **Economic problems within the EU**  
Inconsistency between single monetary policy and national fiscal policies.  
Ageing of the population is a strong fiscal threat.  
All segments of the internal market are not functioning well.  
Inadequate international competitiveness.
- **Political problems within the EU**  
Political discontent with centralized EU, democratic deficit.  
Inadequate common foreign and security policy.  
Institutional problems in the enlarged EU.
- **Challenges associated with the EU enlargement**  
This enlargement is significantly different from the previous one.  
It involves countries at very low level of development.  
It is far the largest in terms of new entrants – need for new quality.
- **Changed international environment**  
Globalization – growing development gap.  
Multilateralism vs. unilateralism and regionalism.

## **Key building blocks of the future EU**

### **1. European Convention and IGC**

The Convention completed its work on 13 June 2003 and presented the Draft Constitutional Treaty to the European Council in Thessaloniki on 20 June 2003.

DRAFT CONSTITUTIONAL TREATY COMPRISES A PREAMBLE AND FOUR PARTS

- Part I lays down the definition and objectives of the Union, fundamental rights and citizenship of the Union, Union competencies and actions, institutions, exercise of the Union competence, democratic life, finances, immediate environment, membership.

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- Part II contains a charter of fundamental rights.
  - Part III relates to the policies and functioning of the Union and has two Annexes: a Protocol Amending the Euratom Treaty and a Protocol on Eurogroup.
  - Part IV sets out general and final provisions.

#### THE REFORM OF THE COMMISSION

- As of 1 November 2009, the Commission will consist of a College comprising of its President, the Minister of Foreign Affairs/Vice President and 13 Commissioners, elected on the basis of equal rotation between the member states. The Commission president will appoint non-voting Commissioners, chosen according to the same criteria, which apply to members of the College and come from all other Member States.
- The European Council, deciding by the qualified majority, puts forward a candidate for the President of the Commission to the European Parliament, which then elects it.

#### THE REFORM OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

The number of the members of the European Parliament shall not exceed 732. Representation of European citizens shall be regressively proportional, with a minimum threshold of four members per Member State.

#### REFORM OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL AND COUNCIL OF THE EU

- European Council Presidency: rotation is abolished. European Council will elect its President for 5 years at the most (renewable once after two and a half years). The President may not hold a national mandate. Functions of the President: chairing the work, ensuring continuity, facilitating consensus within the European Council. The President ensures, at his level, external representation of the Union on issues concerning Common Foreign and Security policies, without prejudice to the responsibilities of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.
- The Foreign Affairs Council is chaired by the Union's Foreign Minister who will conduct the Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy (mandated by the Council) and will be responsible for handling external relations and coordinating other aspects of the Union's external action (bound by Commission's Procedures). He is appointed by the European Council, with the agreement of the President of the Commission.
- For all other Councils, rotation will be preserved for periods of at least a year. The rules of rotation will be established by the European Council, taking into account European political and geographical balance.

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- Most decisions will be taken by a qualified majority. Unanimity is preserved for some politically sensitive areas. The role of the European Parliament in adopting decisions will strengthen.
  - As of 2009, the decisions will be taken by double majority which shall consist of a majority of Member States representing at least 60% of the Union's population. Weighting of votes will be abolished.

## 2. Lisbon Strategy

- It establishes a framework for economic and social coordination, with regular spring European Council.
- Extends policy coordination to new area.
- It's also aimed at convincing observers that the EU is serious about undertaking structural reforms.
- Key objective: Europe “should become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge – based economy in the world by 2010, capable of sustainable economic growth, with more and better jobs and greater cohesion”.
- Instruments required for achieving this objective: Lisbon Strategy, which includes benchmarking based on quantitative and qualitative indicators, the setting of specific timetables and translation of European guidelines into national policies.
- Competitiveness concept (national vs. company level).
- A competitive country is the one which can maintain high rates of growth and employment at medium-term.
- Lisbon Strategy defines specific objectives: creating an information society for all, a European area of research and information, completing the Single Market (services and financial markets), strengthening entrepreneurship, social inclusion and sustainable development.
- Lisbon Strategy and accession countries:
  - ❖ as a group they are far behind the EU,
  - ❖ largest gap compared to the EU: financial services, sustainable development, innovations and R&D,
  - ❖ new members will suffer strong competitive disadvantages in the EU,
  - ❖ best performing accession countries: Estonia, Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovenia.

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### 3. Next financial perspective

- Financial perspective is a financial instrument for meeting the EU goals (Convention, Lisbon Strategy).
- Some of the key values that will shape the Next Financial Perspective:
  - ❖ quality of life – spending for agriculture, environment,
  - ❖ sustainable development – spending for Lisbon Strategy,
  - ❖ solidarity within the EU – 10 new less developed countries,
  - ❖ security – spending on the Schengen border,
  - ❖ foreign policy – spending on neighboring countries, crisis resolution and poverty alleviation.
- Two approaches towards setting the global figures about the Next Financial Perspective:
  - ❖ to determinate priorities first and then adjust the budget needs required to meet these priorities,
  - ❖ to determinate the global volume of funds available first and than allocate resources among selected priorities.

### **Some possible conclusions**

- We should not think about these processes as in opposition to one another; they can be parallel and they have been for most of the history of European integration.
- They are equally important; there is no need to make priorities between them.
- Horizontal integration, i.e. enlargement, is so attractive to the EU neighbors also because the EU has been successful in its vertical integration, i.e. deepening of the EU (Euro, Schengen, Common Trade Policy). Enlargement could thus hardly be an excuse to slow down the deeper integration of the Union.
- The thesis that in the larger EU vertical integration will become more difficult is only partly true. More countries necessarily lead to a wider variety of interests and possibly a harder way of reaching decisions. However, many newcomers, among them Slovenia, are strongly pro-integrationist (Euro barometer figures: introduction of Euro, CFSP, Common Defence Policy).
- It is true that the deeper the integration of the EU, the larger the gap between current and future EU members. It is thus vital that the appropriate EU policies towards the EU neighborhood are put in place.

**Dr. Janez POTOČNIK**  
Minister of European Affairs, Slovenia

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## From the lecture ...

- Key building blocks of the future EU
  - ❖ EU Convention / IGC
  - ❖ Lisbon strategy
  - ❖ Financial perspective 2007-2013
  - ❖ Some thoughts on Slovenia's orientations
- What next? Different perspectives:
  - ❖ Copenhagen & Madrid criteria
  - ❖ Accessions of Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, the Western Balkans, Turkey
- Discussion about visa policy of Slovenia & Schengen countries towards former Yugoslavian countries follows.
- Can we “simply” continue the success story of the EU enlargement?  
Multi layered Europe as a possible answer.  
A pan-European security guided by multilateralism.
- Cyprus is more Asian or African than European, according to a Turkish participant.



*Dr. Janez Potočnik, Minister of European Affairs, Slovenia.*

# **THE ROUTE OF EUROPEAN CONVENTION**

For over half a century now in the countries of the European Union there is peace. The countries have common objectives: democracy, stability and growth. With the enlargement of the EU, there are new challenges to be met, which are incentives to the European Union to rethink its role, improve its operation, and go down new avenues of progress and democracy.

Europe is changing, and the operation, rules and the very role of the European Union must change too. It is that capacity for change which has underpinned the construction of Europe for over fifty years.

It was at the summit of European Council in Nice in December 2000, where Heads of Governments and States have adopted a Declaration on Future of Europe and pleaded towards enlarged and in-depth discussion regarding the future development of the European Union. In the first phase, this debate was down to the level of national states individually. On January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2002, the debate moved on the level of the Union.

However, the ground for establishment of a special body - European Convention - was set in Laeken Declaration in December 2001. Its fundamental goal was the preparation of proposals for institutional changes of European Union. Therefore, the European Convention's task was to propose ways of adapting and renovating Europe's institutional and political framework.

To do so, the Convention was facing an assignment to propose clear and consensual answers to basic questions as for example:

- How is the division of competence between the Union and the Member States to be organized?
- How can the European institutions' respective tasks be better defined?
- How can the coherence and efficiency of the Union's external action be ensured?
- How can the Union's democratic legitimacy be strengthened?

The Convention started with its work on February 28<sup>th</sup> 2002 with opening speech of Mr. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing as Chairman of the Convention. European Council appointed Mr. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and both Vice-Chairmen of the Convention, Mr. Giuliano Amato and Mr. Jean-Luc Dehaene. In addition to the above mention, the Convention also composes:

- 15 representatives of the Heads of State or Government of the Member States (one from each Member State),

- 
- 13 representatives of the Heads of State or Government of the Candidate States (1 per Candidate State),
  - 30 representatives of the national parliaments of the Member States (two from each Member State),
  - 26 representatives of the national parliaments of the Candidate States (two from each Candidate State),
  - 16 members of the European Parliament,
  - 2 representatives of the European Commission.

The observers present at the Convention were: three representatives of The Economic and Social Committee, six representatives of the Committee of the Regions, three representatives of the social partners and the European Ombudsman. The Laeken Declaration provided for the Candidate States to take a full part in the proceedings without being able to prevent any consensus, which may emerge among the Member States.

Moreover, how was the work done? The Praesidium provided the impetus for the Convention's proceedings.

Those working in the Praesidium were: the Convention Chairman and Vice-Chairmen, two representatives of the members of the European Parliament, two representatives of the Commission, two national parliament representatives and representatives of the Spanish, Danish and Greek governments (the countries holding the Presidency of the Union during the Convention). The Praesidium invited also one member of the Convention designated by the representatives of the candidate countries to all its meetings.

The Convention met in plenary sessions once a month, at the premises of the European Parliament in Brussels. In the mean time, the members of the Convention participated in working groups to look into particular issues more closely.

From the very beginning of the establishment of the Convention, European Youth Forum, a pan-European platform of national youth councils and non-governmental youth organizations in Europe, welcomed Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's opening speech to the Convention on the Future of Europe in which he pledged to listen to the young, and expressed his desire to organize a Convention for the Young People of Europe. The European Youth Forum wanted to facilitate the participation of young people in

the debate on the future of Europe by helping co-ordinate the Convention for the Young People of Europe in partnership with the established Contact Group composed of different civil society organizations.

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The Youth Convention finally took place on July 2002 in Brussels. It had 210 members, 168 of which were selected by Member States and Candidate States on different ways, 32 were appointed by the European Parliament, 6 were appointed on proposal of President and Vice-Chairmen of the Convention.

210 members of the Youth Convention worked two and a half working days and went through all the materials that the "big" Convention was discussing for several months already. It was an event of tremendous efforts, disillusion, discussions, arguments and a real believe that we, the young people, can make a difference. For the young people of different backgrounds, from organized to unorganized youth, young people from schools and other environments, this was also an event of frustrations and a good experience for the future. After a meeting that went late into the night, a final text of a European Youth Convention was adopted.

From that time on many youth and other civil society organizations struggled for their beliefs and interests to be inserted in the proposal for the new Constitution. Without their efforts, it is hard to believe that the aspirations of young people in Europe about the future of Europe would be included in the proposal.

After the big Youth Convention in July 2002, there was also a small meeting of people attending the Youth Convention in May 2003. The meeting was again negotiated with the help of European Youth Forum. Though smaller in the number of participants, it was clear to all that we cannot go far from what was decided in July 2002. Our task was therefore to interpret the document adopted in July in a way in which it would correspond and comment the proposal of the new Constitution that was on the table at that time. I believe that was done successfully.

The final draft of the new EU Constitution endorsed by the Convention plenary Thursday 10 July, reinforced the EU's commitment to young people's participation in democratic life. It follows calls for a consolidated treaty base for youth participation from youth organizations, the Youth Convention and the amendment that were put forward. Combined with the new chapter on the "Democratic Life of the Union" this is a very positive outcome of the Convention.

To conclude, the Intergovernmental Conference with the extraordinary Summit of Heads of State and Government held in Rome on 4 October, has confirmed the need to give the enlarged Union a solid and common constitutional foundation, which is the indispensable requisite for Europe to increase internal cohesion and strengthen authority and credibility in its international role, as stated in the Declaration of Rome. But will the next summit adopt a new Constitution?

**Anita ŠTEFIN**

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# **NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE EU AND SEE COUNTRIES ...**

(Simulation, working groups)

## **Introduction**

After a short introduction of the region of SEE and its past and present initiatives (given in ppt form), the participants were divided in groups on two levels: the basic one was the national one, and the higher one involved several countries gathered in the groups of EU and SEE. Each country had its own goals in the frame of border regimes, CAP (Common Agriculture Policy) and building infrastructure. The goals were to be achieved using negotiating, lobbying and debating skills. The skills were used during three parliamentary debates, group consultations and even coffee breaks! At the last debate a joint declaration was charted.

## **Power point presentation**

### **Objectives**

- To be informed of the SEE region and the initiatives for the cooperation in the region and worldwide.
- To become aware of the negotiation skills needed for achieving certain goals.
- To play and have fun!

### **What is SEE?**

In the broadest, geographical sense, the Balkan Peninsula today encompasses the area with 10 states: Albania, Greece, Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey and five countries, which are members of the former Yugoslavia - Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Slovenia and Serbia and Montenegro.

Population	Surface (km <sup>2</sup> )	Region
(total) 137,762,365	1,613,922	SEE
(total) 374,500,000	3,234,000	EU

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### **Background of cooperation in SEE**

- The Balkan Entente (1934 - 1940)
- The Balkan Alliance (1953 - 1955)
- The Balkan Conference (1930 - 1933)
- The Conferences of foreign ministers (1988 - 1990)
- Top issues concerned border security, territorial integrity and defense while issues of broader economic and cultural cooperation were present but less importance was placed on them.

### **Obstacles to the process of Sub-regional cooperation**

- The lack of tradition in multilateral cooperation.
- The peripheral position of the region as compared to leading European integration centers.
- The underdeveloped level of economy and limited resources (financial, human resources) for cooperation.
- Longstanding and unresolved regional disputes and conflicts, including disputes concerning national minorities.
- The political and economic incoherence of the region.
- Differences in national, political and economic interests and orientations alongside the existence of nationalistic, populist governments that have little interest in improving cooperation with neighboring countries.
- Insufficient international incentives for regional cooperation, particularly when the engagement of international resources or political encouragement is concerned.

### **Present initiatives for multilateral cooperation**

- Central European Initiative (CEI) [www.ceinet.org](http://www.ceinet.org)
- South-East Europe Cooperation Initiative (SECI) [www.unece.org/seci](http://www.unece.org/seci)
- Black Sea economic Cooperation (BSEC) [www.bsec.gov.tr](http://www.bsec.gov.tr)
- Central European Free Trade Association (CEFTA) [www.cefta.org](http://www.cefta.org)
- Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe [www.stabilitypact.org](http://www.stabilitypact.org)
- Balkan Regional Center for Trade Promotion <http://balcantrade.org>
- Education Network in SEE [www.see-educcop.net](http://www.see-educcop.net)
- Balkan Information Exchange [www.balkan-info.com](http://www.balkan-info.com)

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### **AEGEE initiatives in SEE**

- Peace Academy (1991-2000) resulted in 11 congresses, 3 summer universities, 1 film festival, 1 case study trip.
- Case study trips in ex-Yugoslavia: a 3-week-long research trip in 5 countries in order to increase the knowledge of the area and the culture (1996-1999).
- Youth for South Eastern Europe (Youth4SEE) resulted in 3 trainings at which over 200 youth leaders from 57 non-governmental organizations gathered (2001- ) [www.youthforsee.org](http://www.youthforsee.org) .

The presentation gave the past and the present alliances and initiatives within countries in South Eastern Europe (SEE), and between SEE and the rest of Europe.

### **The simulation**

For the simulation, the participants were divided in three different groups and each one had its own chairman. One was assigned to chair the debates. At the

#### **EU and SEE joint Declaration**

Chairmen: Jelena MAKSIMOVIC & Simone PASCHETTO

The will of SEE countries to find solutions to the problems and the willingness of EU countries to open and constructively help has really influenced the good outcome of the talks. Agreements on every issue were reached without major problems. The results of our parliamentary debate were formulated in a form of a declaration:

##### **1) BORDER POLICY:**

At first it was obvious that the participants representing SEE countries (Igor chose those who were not originally from there) did not know what asking for a EU visa entails, so they could not make precise and realistic demands. After that was explained to them, they asked for complete abolishment of the visa regime (the people of SEE countries should have the same rights of freedom of travel as inhabitants of EU countries). That was, of course, denied by representatives of EU countries. Here is what they agreed upon and what we put into the draft of our Declaration:

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- Tourist visa for all (up to period of 3 months) - students, or people involved in cultural exchange could stay longer but with a guarantee from a certain institution.
  - Family members could join their families in the EU countries also with a guarantee and if supported financially because they would not be granted a work permit for a certain time.
  - The EU promised to meet again in 3 years with the SEE countries to discuss the complete abolishment of visas. Nevertheless, due to the need to enforce the border policy and the fight against illegal immigration and human trafficking, some supplementary agreements were established.
  - The SEE and EU will cooperate to create a specific EU-SEE commission to check the border policy, to establish a penalty regime for those countries who will not cooperate, to enforce the collaboration between countries and their policies.

## **2) AGRICULTURAL POLICY:**

There won't be any substantial changes in customs; penalties will be enforced for those who won't follow EU instructions, also some economic facilities will be introduced for the SEE countries in order to help them reach the EU market and to front their increasing economical efforts.

## **3) ADRIATIC HIGHWAY:**

Highway is seen as the means to improve the general infrastructure. The first proposed highway would connect capital cities, which are the biggest commercial centers; the second would improve the economy of the underdeveloped parts and decrease the isolation of what can be perceived as Europe's peripheral area. The goal was to agree, which highway should be built considering particular interests of the countries concerned as well as the significance of such a highway for the larger region. EU has the resources to finance only one highway and it was upon the countries participating in discussion to decide which. It was a very vivid argument because neither of the sides agreed to back down. Only right before the closing of the game and drafting of the document did they reach a solution (the result of lobbying during the coffee break) that the 2<sup>nd</sup> so-called Adriatic route is more necessary because of the low development of the region. Also by realizing the importance of the highway connecting capital cities (Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Athens), the EU agreed to look for

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additional resources but encouraged the interested parties to look for resources elsewhere; as this route could be commercial, private investors might be interested. Both the SEE and EU countries will participate in the building of the highways. The EU companies will provide most funding for the projects while the hard work will be done by SEE countries. The technical commission composed by experts from the EU and SEE will monitor the building process. The cost of the highways will be partly covered by the fact that the use of the highway will not be free.

by **Jelena MAKSIMOVIĆ**  
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very end, after all three declarations were read, people shared their opinions on skills they challenged during the game, and new perspectives they faced since the EU citizens represented a SEE country in the game, and vice versa.

The whole presentation and simulation lasted for five hours.

Interactive learning gives great possibility to each participant to get great practical knowledge: the more effort one invests, more things one experiences! I got the proof for this statement during the game: the people joined the game with great enthusiasm and energy, due to the fact that the group returned from Bled very late the night before. The debates were vivid, sometimes very loud, and the two coffee breaks were spent in the groups of two or three people in which they stated the position of “their” country. Some of such discussions even continued during lunchtime, after the simulation was over. The arguments in the debates were taken from the real situations, and the discussions were often based on the lectures that had been given earlier during the conference. The simulation proved to be good field for challenging the things just learned.

**Igor STAMENKOVIĆ**  
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## **Impressions after the simulation and its applicability:**

*“We achieved greater knowledge / experience and understanding of each other. We learned how one would react in the position of another country with its own agenda.”*

*“We can start in our daily conversations to change our focus to the 'other'.  
The purpose here was to create equality.”*

*“If we were the negotiators, things would have been much easier, especially because we didn't represent our own country in this simulation.”*

*“How to negotiate in order to achieve the goals which we can fulfill in our daily life; for example regarding student associations, citizenship or education.”*

*“Think globally, act globally, stand up for your rights.”*



*Working groups.*

## **EU: ENLARGEMENT AND DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES IN THE BALKANS**

“The Balkans are in Europe, but unfortunately Europe is not in the Balkans” (Janusz Bugajski, Director, East European Studies, CSIS). In the volatile context of the era of dramatic change in Southeastern Europe, the EU deserves a leading role in the political and economic reconstruction of the Balkans. The Balkan Stability Pact and the decisions taken at the EU summit in Helsinki in December 1999 have created a new reality, a framework of principles and a road map for the Balkans, in their course towards European integration.

It was the European Council in Feira in June 2000 that confirmed the objective of the EU integration of the Balkan countries into the political and economic mainstream of the EU and recognized the countries as potential candidates for the EU membership. The Copenhagen European Council in December 2002 reaffirmed this perspective by underlying EU's determination to continue to support them in their efforts towards integration. The EU diplomatic initiatives have therefore been focusing on the preparation of the Balkan countries for integration into the EU structures.

The EU meeting in Thessalonica constituted an important step for the Balkan countries towards reiteration of their expectations concerning their place in Europe. However, as it was clear in the immediate aftermath of the summit, the fate of the region and the future of the Southeast Europe are essentially bound to the political and diplomatic machinery in Brussels. A new form of contractual relations, namely stabilization and association agreements between EU and Balkan countries (Albania, Croatia, Former Yugoslav Rep. of Macedonia, and Serbia and Montenegro) have been initiated for the stabilization and the association process.

In particular in 2003 many countries – including the USA, the Czech Republic, Italy, Russia, Turkey, France, Great Britain, Germany and Canada – have sought bilateral cooperation with the Greek Presidency to implement the Balkan initiatives.

The Thessalonica Summit redefined the nature of the EU engagement in the Balkans by sending a strong signal about the promise of the 'Europeanization' for the region. The Summit has provided the EU with the opportunity to make a commitment to cohesion for the Western Balkans, and begin a process of engaging a new set of instruments and strategies to help the region in its struggle towards EU accession.

Since the Kosovo war and in particular since the Helsinki European Council, the self-definition of the EU has changed. A decisive impulse for these changes was given by the war in Kosovo, but the consequences reach far beyond the Balkan region. As a still emerging regional power, the EU increasingly bears responsi-

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bility for the enlarged Europe of 25. This means synchronizing the EU as an economic power, the EU as a stabilizer in the transformation process and the EU as a fledgling foreign and security policy player. To illustrate the extent of the recent development of various aspects of the EU foreign policy, the human rights and preventive diplomacy became central key instruments for regional democratization and stabilization process.

The human rights policy advocates for vigorous and integrated insertion of human rights and democratization in the EU's aid programs and relations with the Balkan countries. Many of its treaties with other states already include such human rights clauses and on occasions aid has been suspended for perceived violations.

At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century human rights diplomacy has earned the status of a new chapter in the global diplomacy as a privileged domain for experimental EU political co-operation and common foreign policy and security. The issue of human rights, in general, has been tackled relatively late within the European construction. The Cold War period made the question of human rights less important, EC's international relations focusing mainly on economic co-operation. Thus, in case of the states that would conduct acts of terrorism for example, the EC member states would impose economic sanctions. It was only in the 90s that the human rights diplomacy succeeded in becoming a viable instrument of the European common foreign policy.

Election process observation has increasingly become one of the most important processes within the EU human rights diplomacy. Its premises are to be found also in the engagements made within the OSCE in the prospect of adopting an assisted co-ordination program for election assistance and monitoring.

Following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the EU decided that it was "morally imperative" and strategically necessary to overcome the historical division of Europe. Benefits and costs of enlargement process as well as the benefits and costs of non-enlargement have been calculated. The EU gave its full support to the new democracies in South Eastern Europe, and the prospect of membership. However, movement towards EU membership is uneven for the Balkan region as some states progress faster than others. Slovenia will be the first Balkan country to enter the family of EU in 2004. Accession negotiations are under way with Romania and Bulgaria. The rest are in a process of pre-accession high-level talks. The membership criteria adopted at the Copenhagen European Council require the applicant country be a constitutional democracy, and to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms and the rule of law. A functioning market economy and the capacity to deal with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union are also required. This means major adjustments to the applicant countries' institutions and administrative structures.

In the 1990s, the EU's political, economic and social relations with the Balkan region focused mainly on crisis management and reconstruction, reflecting the countries' emergency needs at that time. The partition of the former Yugoslavia



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and the separation wars that shook the entire region have left a deep mark on the EU and one might say the ongoing reforms the EU is going through are due to the 1990s events. Given the geographic proximity of the Balkans, and the EU's declared aim to create in the Balkans as well as in the Southeast and Middle East region a situation in which military conflict will become unthinkable, the EU got deeply involved in both political and economic diplomacy in the whole neighborhood stabilization process. From conflict resolution to political and economic diplomacy, and from the genuine human rights and prevention diplomacy, the EU has put at stake all of its diplomatic action assets towards the enlarged European Union and its CFSP consolidation.

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# **EUROPE WITHOUT BORDERS**

In Europe nation-states are about 200 years old. In the 1800's loyalty to the King was replaced by loyalty to the Nation. The highest priority of a nation became getting control on a compact geographic setting. Nations of same origin have, in all matters, insisted on unification, others have fought to become autonomous. Nations have subsequently surrounded themselves with borders. Borders have become important institutions of a nation's sovereignty. State institutions (military, police, customs,...) have enforced positions on them. On one side of the border loyalty to one nation, on the other side of the border loyalty to the other nation has been expected. Several dividing meters between residences, often belonging to people of the same nationality, have made a big difference. The character of borders changed with time. Literature distinguishes between closed, filtered, semi-open and open borders. Open borders enable free passage, trade and communication across real, existing border settings. Eliminating borders completely became Europe's trend in the 1990's. After Europe's 200 years of nation-state history, in 1998, for the first time border posts, in a physical sense, were abandoned by a dozen European Union nation-states. The outer borders of the EU federation have, on the other hand, been strengthened. The Schengen Accords, signed in this tiny Luxembourg village in 1992, enforced the control on borders towards non-members. Belonging to "the club" of the 15 nation-states has become a privilege worth making an effort to join. In 2003, 10 non-EU member nation-states were invited to become full-time members and to eliminate, in an adequate time-span, borders dividing them. The outer-border, however, still remains tough to cross.

The early 20th century nation-state demography showed a pure national character at the centre and a weak one on nation-state's periphery, in border areas. There, by default, a mixed character of ethnic groups existed. With all means and with no exceptions, nation-state's dominant culture and ideology has been enforced at this periphery. Majority's chauvinism and nationalism has interacted there with irredentism of the nation-state. Due to this fact and due to in general lower level of economic development permanent and semi-permanent migration, underground resistance and political activity opposing central government has taken place. The Italo-Slovene border area (in Yugoslavia and Italy) was in the time frame from 1919 until 1970 abandoned by more than half of its autochthonous citizens. New and loyal ethnic and social groups have been introduced into the area. Opposition against fascism, communism/socialism and liberal capitalism was and remains strong.

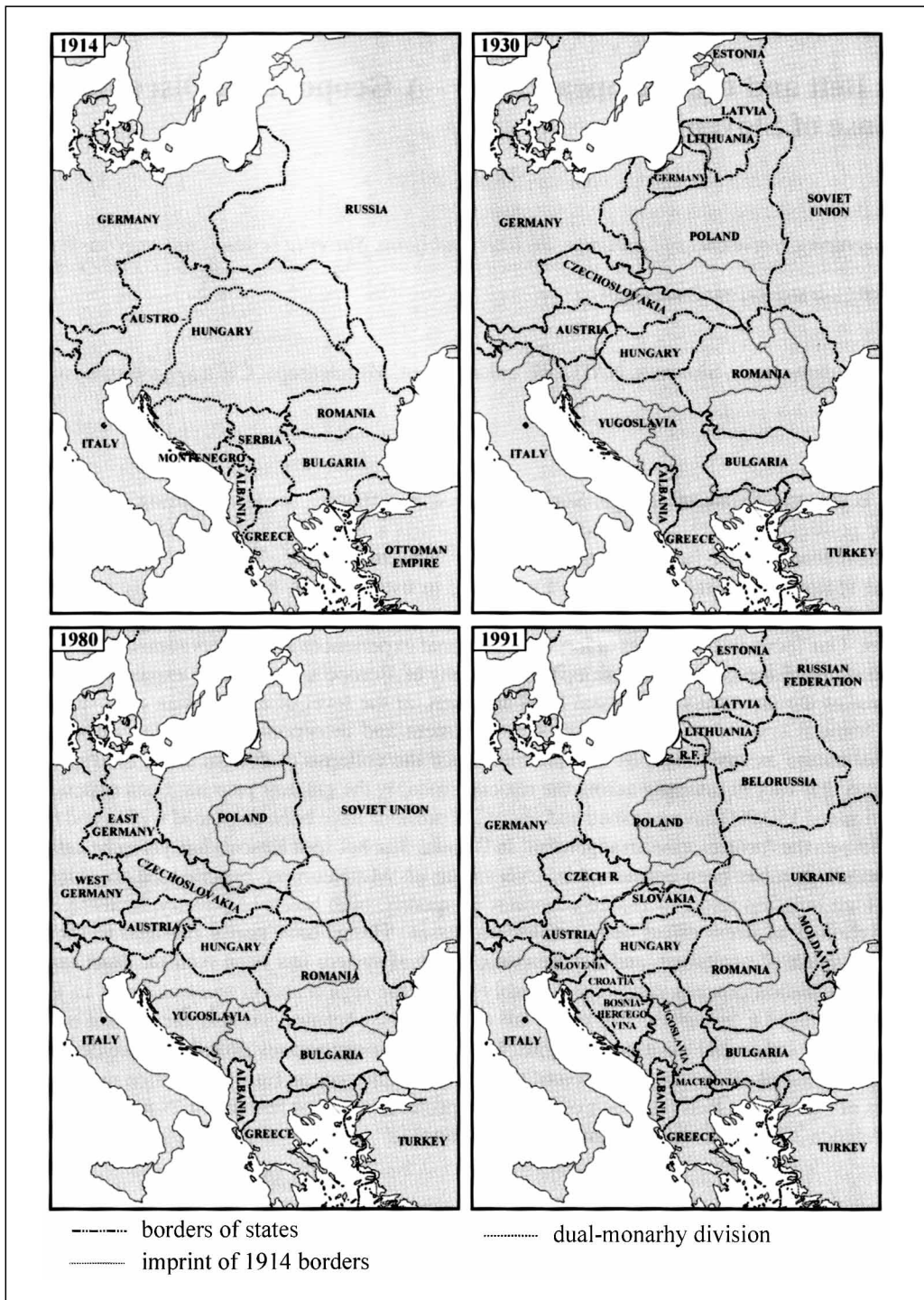


Figure 1: East and Central European shatter belt.  
 (Source: Geojurnal, 52, 2000, 2, p. 108.)

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Borders in Europe are often anachronous due to the pretext of a war. This can be said for the above-mentioned border in particular, because the post-WW2 peace agreement was based on the equilibrium in the number of minority members on each side of the border. Before WW2 neither nation-states as such, nor provinces of the nation-state periphery, or border municipalities acted to eliminate the effects of the “closed border”, enforced by the nation-states. They rather stuck with the geographic, economic and functional anomaly borders had introduced, or worked towards overcoming the negativity of the border by introducing new and expensive investments. The constructions of the town of Nova Gorica (Slovenia/Yugoslavia) and of Esuli settlements in the hinterland of Trieste (Italy) are good examples. But soon, in the early 1950's, the attitude in Western Europe and even between rivals across the Iron curtain changed.

The Udine Agreement and other subsequent agreements between the western Italy and socialist Yugoslavia opened the area of the Northern Adriatic for cross-border passage and trade, the so-called “Regio Basiliensis” was established as a functionally interdependent multi-national border region of Switzerland, Germany and France (exchange of goods, free access to infrastructure regardless of geographic setting within nation state), and in the middle-ages single, now dual township of Herzogenrath/Kerkrade (Germany/Netherlands), separated by the border since the early 1800's, as the post-Napoleon Europe was circled-off, has started to eliminate physical barriers and to unify the city's infrastructure. In 1998 the “Eurode region” completely dismantled the effects of the 200 year long border setting within the town.

Political and economic circumstances in the 1970's became favorable to cross-border interacting/communicating among peripheral provinces. Cooperation was enforced by local, provincial governments in projects that have become known as “working alliances”: Alpen-Adria, Arge-Alp, Oder-Neisse. Prior to the 1990's, Europe had 31 cross-border associations (“Arbeitsgemeinschaft”), in the EFTA and EWG 55 Euroregions, as forms of local cross-border co-operation venues, were established. A dozen Euroregions were added to the spectrum as socialism collapsed. After that, living along the open border has become profitable for the local residents, the economy and the administrative entities (example: Trieste, Italy; Villach, Austria), as citizens made use of different pricing policies and nation-state base-laws. Participating economies have been making profit and cross-border investments have flourished as well. The appearance of several dozen gas-stations, duty-free shops, casinos, butchery shops, the abundance of hair-dressing saloons, dentists and other medical services and, recently, shopping malls in areas close to the “open border” border-crossings is typical for this period. Investments, such as the German Mercedes Smart plant in France's Alsace region, are another good example of financial cross-border flows in the times of open borders. In 1999, the world's first international bid of its kind, aimed at organizing Winter Olympics (in 2006) at the so-called “Dreilaendereck” – the Three-Border Area of Slovenia and the provinces of Carinthia, Austria and

Friuli-Venetia Giulia, Italy, was another example of the high level of the cross-border co-operation at the level of local communities – being (in part) supported in this and other similar attempts by their nation-state governments.

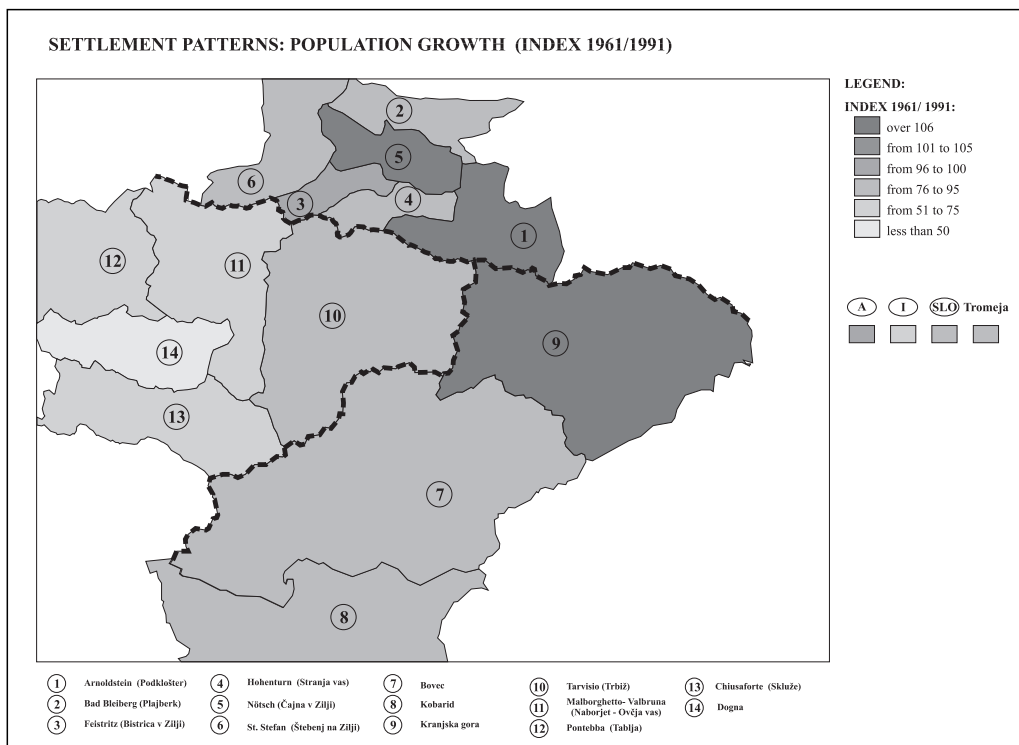


Figure 2: The Three-Border Area: population growth. (dr. A. Gosar)

In 1998 instead of the stop and go policy on inner EU borders a full speed cross-border traffic policy was implemented. In 2002 in several EU member states a non-nation-state (cross-border) currency, the Euro, was introduced; no custom and no VAT is added if goods are transferred from one country to another. From 2003 onwards the cross-border pursuit of criminals has been permitted. Air-traffic control tends to be unified for the whole EU air space (the Maastricht space). But, in spite of all this, the benefits from living in one state and purchasing goods in the other are still an issue in the EU-15. The tax-heaven Monaco has become very popular. Purchasing cars in Denmark has been proven to be most inexpensive in the EU (at least in 2002). If criminals see no escape they let themselves get arrested in Sweden due to the comfort of the correction facilities.

A specialization in services brings lower costs and subsequently lower prices. What can Slovenia offer to become complementary and at the same time competitive? Are therefore gaming and similar entertainment services an economic niche which could bring benefit to Slovenia, becoming an EU member state in 2004? Would Gorizia and Nova Gorica merge into one township with one

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instead of two hospitals, fire-stations, police stations, universities, bus-stations, railway-stations, telephone-codes and areas, power-supplies, etc. Would the harbors of Koper and Trieste share goods regarding better overall equipment or would they compete? Will competitiveness of other EU nation-states hinder Slovenia's citizens' progress?

Borders are out, capitalism is in!

**Dr. Anton GOSAR**

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### **From the lecture....**

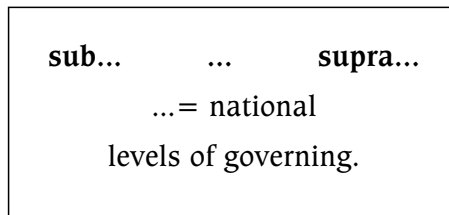
- Mr. Gosar starts with music...whose identity is it?  
There are existing and past (historical) identities.  
Are we going to build new identities?  
The sunny side of the Alps: Slovenia. Bavaria and Slovenia are identical in a way. They identify themselves with the same music.
- Europe of no borders already existed: it was the Europe of Royalties.
- Dias and transparency used:
  - ❖ Loyalty to the nation.
  - ❖ Cross-border interactions: 55 Euroregions: they try to eliminate borders.
  - ❖ Persistence of borders.
  - ❖ Cooperation, competitiveness and specialization.
  - ❖ Borders and 7 basic social functions.
  - ❖ The blue banana.
  - ❖ Regions are different in development (Slovenian Language).
  - ❖ 10 candidate countries: some regions are more developed than others.
  - ❖ The cross-border regions in Northern Europe.
  - ❖ Overview of Euroregions.
  - ❖ A cartoon: aren't we disappearing as a nation in a region?
  - ❖ Transparency map of border between Trieste.
- When the border disappears, we probably won't like the neighbor! We see the neighbor as competitor.
- The nation-state's identity would be demolished, new identities will be created in historical or new regions. Either natural or human resources are unique in every region.

# EUROPEAN IDENTITY AND MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE (MLG)

At a meeting of young interested European students it is nice to have the opportunity to ask questions like the following:

- What is your perception of your home government in the developing European integration?
- Do you agree the policies are being accepted?
- Do you know whom to trust and whom to address with requests for responsibility?
- How strongly do you identify with your »European« government?
- How are we »European« citizens?

It is also a nice thing to question the participants on their understanding of



Did they get the momentum that the state centric orientation of governing in the daily world is over? They might. MLG is an authority & policy-making influence shared across multiple levels of governments in the levels printed bold above. The progressing European integration is weakening the nation-states. There is a more independent governing role above the state level, above national executive forces.

Multi-level governance does not confront state sovereignty directly. Nation-states melted into a multi level policy by sub- and supranational actors.

Citizens find more accession points in the democratic system for accession of their interests via multiple points of access through MLG.

The singular and exclusive nexus of national governments and their linking role between domestic politics and international relations is changing towards better accessibility and openness. Are we enlightened enough to be able to participate in this advanced complication? Is it not rather a loss of participatory power? Who knows?

Are we able to follow this development since we are used to locate the legitimacy of the democratic rule to “our” national government? What is definitely

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necessary here is a far stronger need for a sense of community. A European community?

How will our loyalties shape up? Towards a strong identification with Europe itself or towards our roots in our very own regions?

The aspects of the MLG are basically as complex as our own identities. We face big chances, combined with a big challenge for orientation in this developing European integration process. This is an opportunity we might best take advantage of by openness and eager participation as well as vivid discourse to find our place in Europe for us.

**Bernd C. KNÜFER**  
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IPWG Treasurer  
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### **From the lecture ...**

- Multi-level governance is a scientific name for how the policy division in the European Union works.
- Bernd Knüfer shows some papers:  
Reproduce: make babies  
Supra: subnational level, national level, supranational  
Supranational level is the most confusing.  
The more levels, the less transparency.  
How can we control that and where do we find safety?
- Chemistry laws come directly from some interest groups, and are taken directly over by the EU.
- Can we cope with the law of the EU? Can we adopt directives, which are destroying our former national laws? Now Germany has a European Environmental law based on the British law.
- European identity is based on an octopus you can't see.  
The legitimacy you give to your political institutions is hard to give if you don't know who designed the new laws.
- How do I see myself as a European citizen? My commissioner, my representative member of the parliament, the director of the pharmacy industry?
- Loss of sovereignty of the national parliament. Your native state gave away power to the European level. By doing this, the national identity starts to ebb away. Did you recognize that you lost control? Will we feel more European if we participate more in decision-making? AEGEE has multi-level governance as well: "Comité Directeur". Compare the EU with the US way of governance: "we" should keep the role of the national level because of the cultural and human identity.



# **IN SEARCH FOR NEW EUROPEAN IDENTITIES: REGIONAL IDENTITIES AND INTEGRATION PROCESSES<sup>1</sup>**

## **Introduction**

Identities are important issues for every individual. Our identities define us personally and in connection with other individuals. The simplest way by which we can define our diverse identities is to answer the following basic and seemingly simple questions:

**Who am I?**

**Who are WE?**

**Who are THEY – the others?**

The answers are not simple at all. For sure - there is no single answer. Depending on diverse situations, contexts, perspectives and circumstances, we can answer these question in different ways that define our several individual and collective identities.

We will focus on collective identities. Regional and ethnic identities are just two types of several collective identities that can have diverse impacts on ethnic and other social relations in plural societies. Recent tragic development in SE Europe have shown destructive social and political potentials of closed, intolerant, aggressive and exclusive ethnic identities, based on specific nationalisms. Although many collective identities are negatively defined and exclusive in their nature, we hope that diverse open and inclusive collective identities can play a positive role in plural societies. Open and inclusive collective identities, which are positively defined and offer an adequate basis for equal cooperation based on common interests, could serve as important vehicles in strengthening mutual understanding, trust, tolerance, coexistence, coherence and equal cooperation in plural societies. Hopefully, new common European identities can become such open and inclusive collective identities in SE European plural societies.

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<sup>1</sup> For the references used in writing this contribution see, e.g., the bibliography in ŽAGAR, Mitja. "Enlargement - the search for a European identity." In: BRANDSMA, Andries ERTEL, Sigrid, FARRER, Patricia-Ann (eds.). *Proceedings Forum Bled: Enlargement Futures Project, Forum Bled, 2-4 December, 2001*, (Enlargement Futures Report Series, 07). Seville: Insitute for Prospective Technological Studies: European Communities, 2002, 2002, pp. 217-227.

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## **Collective identities: Traditional and new identities**

A collective identity can be defined as the feeling of belonging to a certain entity, determined by diverse objective and subjective criteria. This feeling of belonging and specific criteria should be agreed upon and shared by persons belonging to a certain collective entity (members of this group). Additionally, it might be required that “others” also recognize these criteria.

Considering its temporal and spatial dimensions, every **identity is a process** rather than simply a state; it appears, changes, transforms and, eventually, ceases to exist. In its inter-humane perspective and content every identity, individual and collective, is **a social phenomenon**; it is usually based upon the comparison with or against other individuals and/or groups. Additionally, **diverse collective identities determine and/or (at least) have influence on individual identities of persons and *vice versa*.**

## **Regional, national and European identities**

If people from different parts of Europe consider themselves Europeans, they must also share a certain common European identity. Although their specific European identities differ, they all have certain common characteristics. Differences among various common European identities, which are also internally diverse and pluralistic, are conditioned by the existing diversities (including specific historic developments). These communalities, similarities and differences determine the basis also for the formation of future common European identities. We believe that new common European identities will be complex, inclusive and plural ones. In addition to diverse European identities they will have to accommodate many local, regional, ethnic, cultural, religious, national (state based), but also supra-national and global identities that exist or will exist in Europe.

Although our European identities are predominantly studied as collective identities, we could argue that at this time their individual dimensions might be more developed than collective ones. A “new” common Europe yet has to be formed as a specific – social, political, cultural, etc. – community; we expect that in this process a number of those who consider themselves Europeans would increase and that their common European identities would strengthen. Diverse European identities will be based on specific experiences and cultural environments that people share in diverse parts of Europe; they will be specific combinations and mixes of diverse local, regional, national and universal identities. The simplest way to define a specific regional identity in this context would be to say that it is the shared feeling of belonging to a certain region; consequently, national identities are the feeling to belong to specific countries.

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## **The formation and development of new European identities**

Taking into account the duration of the existence of diverse European identities, these identities could be considered persistent collective identities. Diverse European identities differ substantially. Many are still exclusive and closed; some are even based on such extreme and destructive public and political discourses as are populism, nationalism, xenophobia etc. However, there are also a few inclusive identities (e.g. citizenship identities based on democratic civic citizenship, equality, cooperation); unfortunately these positive and inclusive identities are not as vocal as exclusive ones. Hopefully, more inclusive European identities will develop and will become more visible; they could stimulate cooperation of different entities and also formation of new common inclusive identities.

In creating its new common identities Europe has to face its reality: Regardless of fears and even xenophobic feelings among people in most European countries, their economy and well-being require at least some immigrants (e.g. people with specific training and skills, etc.). Also, Europe cannot completely shut its door for refugees and asylum seekers or prevent undesired immigration – especially illegal economic immigration. Europe can contribute to the reduction of undesired economic immigration by increasing its economic aid to less developed regions and countries. We could expect that the improvement of living conditions in less developed and often politically troubled regions and countries of emigration – within Europe and especially in other continents – would reduce the pressure for undesired emigration from these environments.

Several different actors can and should be involved in the formation of new European identities. Considering different – often conflicting – concepts of European identities it is not at all clear which concepts will prevail or how they will evolve. However, we call for the creation and development of new inclusive and democratic common European identities. The EU, its and national institutions, but also all advocates of European integration (including NGOs and individuals) have to take part and lead in this process. This is a magnificent task that requires a firm political will, consensus, clear concepts and consequent political leadership.

The first step should be the formulation of principles and concepts – taking into account different views and opinions in every European country: in the existing EU member states, in current candidate countries, but also in the countries that aspire to join this integration sometimes in the future (possibly a very distant future). However, we hope that a consensus can be reached on the **basic principle that common European identities can exist only simultaneously and in coexistence with other traditional and new identities present in Europe. New common European identities should be complex, internally diverse (plural), open and inclusive in their nature.** They should be used to marginalize and

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neutralize aggressive and exclusive identities and ideologies (e.g. nationalism(s), racism or hegemonism), and eliminate their destructive potentials.

**Every individual in a modern plural world possesses several identities that interact and sometimes contradict.** This interaction can lead to new, structured multiple and multi-layered identities. These multi-layered identities are not just simple sums of single identities, but represent new qualities with characteristics of their own. In our view, every true common European identity has to be inclusive and should include several different identities that (co)exist in Europe.

### **Main characteristics of new inclusive common European identities**

New common European identities have to build upon positive experiences and traditions. Europe produced aggressive and hegemonic nationalism(s), colonialism, Fascism, Nazism, concentration camps, holocaust, hegemonic Communism, gulags, “ethnic cleansing”, etc. Hopefully, such negative phenomena and impacts can be avoided in the future, if they are well known and if people are aware of their negative consequences.

Consequently, Europeans need to define and develop **positive contents and concepts of new inclusive and pluralistic common European identities.** Their formation and development are only possible with adequate **comprehensive and functional strategies.** These strategies shall include a plan of concerted actions of all relevant factors – the EU institutions, states and civic society, educational systems, science, media and politics, everybody who can contribute to the goal. Although speaking about ideologies is not popular, new inclusive and pluralistic common European identities require a new **“ideology of cooperation”**, based on inclusion, equal co-operation, equality and recognition of diversity. This ideology, which can complement the currently prevailing culture and ideology of competition, shall mobilize people to oppose all exclusive political ideologies and explain advantages of equal cooperation and inclusion.

European integration will not do away with nation-states any time soon. Therefore, new common inclusive supranational European identities have to complement the existing national identities and patriotism. This requires European democratic supranational patriotism, which is only possible if the democratic legitimacy of the European integration is ensured. For this reason legitimacy and democratic deficit need to be addressed seriously. This task might require a possible transformation of the existing integration into a closer union or even European federation. Additionally, a broad political coalition will be necessary for the development of **new common inclusive European identities**, which could be described as:

- **open and inclusive identities, built on (equal) cooperation and solidarity,**
- **multiple, multi-layered and plural identities that will have to incorporate many existing different sub-national (local, regional), national and supra-national identities,**

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- multicultural/intercultural identities that will recognize, respect and facilitate the existing (linguistic, cultural, religious, etc.) diversity, but also development of new identities,
  - identities built upon human rights (including rights of minorities), democracy and democratic vision of Europe,
  - identities built upon democratic, supra-national patriotism, etc.

Their important element will have to be also a coherent policy of integration of "others," especially non-Europeans, into European societies. Based on multiculturalism and/or interculturalism, traditional immigration policies, legislation and standards will require adequate reforms.

### **Main problems and obstacles in building new common European identities**

A major problem will be the integration of traditional (ethnic, religious and national, etc.) identities. These collective identities are usually closed, exclusive and based on the belonging to and close integration into specific entities. Built on historic constitutive myths, which perceive traditional communities as homogenous entities, these identities are very present and persistent, though they do not correspond to our ethnically and culturally plural reality.

The existing collective identities are often exclusive and static. Cross-border or/and supranational identities, especially complex and internally plural identities are not very frequent and are usually much weaker. In many ways, the (feeling of) belonging to a cross-border or international entity or to a multicultural entity as the basis for cross-border or supranational identities yet has to be strengthened.

Considering everything, we think that the most **dangerous obstacles to the development of plural and inclusive common European identities** are:

- intolerance, national exclusivism (exclusiveness) and nationalism(s),
- racism and xenophobia,
- internal colonialism and inequalities, unequal treatment, discrimination,
- hegemony, tendencies of possible future monolithism,
- the lack of legitimacy and democratic deficit,
- the lack of the necessary political will,
- the inability of the EU and other actors to mobilize the coalition necessary for the formation and development of positive, plural and inclusive common European identities and European supranational patriotism; etc.

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## **Conclusion: Is there a chance?**

In addition to several European identities, which have existed and continue to exist, several new common European identities are being shaped. Most European identities are multiple and multi-layered identities, which complement existing traditional collective identities, including national identities. European identities may differ in their concept and nature substantially; however, they all share certain common characteristics. Although at present most European identities are still exclusive (at least with regard to non-Europeans), inclusive and open European identities are also being created.

Collective identities should be observed as processes. Historical experiences show that new collective identities can be created and that several factors can play important roles in their formulation and development. We hope that attempts to create open and integrative common European identities will be successful and that all relevant factors – at local, regional, national and European levels – will contribute to this important task. Open and integrative common European identities should be in their nature democratic and will need to recognize, accommodate and integrate all existing and emerging diversities and distinct identities. Recognizing the existing diversity, new common European identities should treat possible conflicts as normal phenomena and provide the basis for adequate mechanisms for their prevention, management and resolution.

The existence of integrative common identities might be key factors for the necessary cohesion in internally diverse societies; the absence of such identities (as the necessary bases for the elaboration of common interests and internal cohesion), however, can contribute to their collapse or disintegration – as in the former Yugoslavia showed.

Although there are several negative experiences and some signs show intolerance and xenophobia on the rise, we believe that new common inclusive identities are emerging – not only within Europe, but also globally. If a common European home is to be a realistic goal, we urgently need to develop positive, plural and inclusive European identities, based on principles of democracy, equality, recognition and respect of diversity and on the ideology of (equal) cooperation. For this end, the EU, nation states and their institutions, public and private sector, individuals and NGOs (all relevant actors of civic society) should undertake everything to start the awareness raising campaigns and to contribute to this magnificent goal.

**Dr. Mitja ŽAGAR**

Director of Institute of Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana

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## From the lecture ...

- What is identity? This is a complex question and is therefore difficult to answer: every identity changes in time.
- Two types of identity:
  - ❖ Individual personal identity
  - ❖ Collective identity – as the feeling of belonging to a certain identity – has a social nature; objective and subjective criteria of belongingness. Individual and collective identities are interlinked.
- European identities, as specific collective identities, depend on the definition of Europe and Europeanness. Diverse traditional definitions in the West, East and in Central Europe; new European identities are constantly emerging.
- Existing and coexisting identities and their relationships in Europe:
  - a) Local identity: Oldest existing identities.

Folkways (as defined by David H. Fischer) → traditional ways of how things are done in a specific community (food, clothing, housing, communal relations, cultural traditions, etc.).

Based on the fact that everybody knows who is part of the community.

Local identities become stronger when they encounter other identities.
  - b) Regional identities: a few towns / villages representing an economic space. Strong in the Middle Ages and up to the industrial revolution.
  - c) Associational identities - common characteristics:
    - ❖ dialect / language,
    - ❖ cultural space,
    - ❖ mobility is relatively easy,
    - ❖ shared religion.
- Regionalism as the best solution to these problems, that's how it was introduced again in the Western, Central and (South)-Eastern Europe.

Several regional identities are different from those of the nation state: Catalonia, Pays Basque, South Tyrol.
- National identity:

Two dimensions: ethnic and civic identity.

### *Model 1: state → nation*

When a state became a nation-state and build a nation as an ethnic group. The most known example is France. France was hardly an ethnic nation in the 15<sup>th</sup> century – it was rather a collection of diverse local and regional ethnicities; people living in this state were all subjects of French kings. In the period of absolute monarchy, especially in 17<sup>th</sup> century, a process of creating a common French nation started; a common national language, culture, history and patriotism were created in a process in which education played a central role; the feeling of belonging to the great French nation developed. 3 ingredients: State, people living in a state, sovereignty.

### *Model 2: nation → state*

Reverse process: Italy and Germany

Small cultural elites that created common states. The opposition against foreign rulers (Habsburg Empire) and the inner Italian states obstructed economic development.

- European integration: Civic nation heavily discussed in Britain and Denmark. Cross-border regions are developing / being institutionalized at the moment.
- European identity: it does exist, but is not one single identity; it consists of clusters of various (local, regional, national, supranational and European) identities. European perceptions are different from American perceptions. The European Community / EU is political entity that needs to develop its common identity. There is aversion against the American way of thinking.
- Most collective identities formed in a negative way:  
Group A is not aware that they are one group, until they encounter group B  
US / WE ↔ Others  
But, group A becomes aware of their specific characteristics when they observe group B, and see that they have different characteristics.
- Europe's torn identity: Europe is one continent: the border can be defined in a very distinguished way. 3 cultural circles: Catholic, Orthodox, Muslim.
- We all share several (common) identities. We can have several local identities as well as several regional identities and some European identities.
- *Comment:* Simone PASCHETTO: Our European Identity: common share of values – Western Europe was against the war: we learned from wars, the USA didn't. The same goes for opposition to death penalty.
- We need to develop a positive ideology/identity: cooperation. We should observe collective identities as inclusive identities. Supranational European patriotism.
- How can we build a European identity from now on? We are all so different that only cooperation will be the solution. Some principles are already written in the UN charter. It is the lack of political will, which causes historical mistakes. With one single concept you can establish fear in several European regions. We need to define as many European identities as possible.



*Dr. Mitja Žagar.*



## **EUROPEAN IDENTITY(-IES): INVENTING NEW DREAMS OR REDISCOVERING OLD FACTS?**

“Let's talk about the European identity”, they say. And here we are, talking, feeling and dreaming about this unknown colossus. But before starting, why do not we have a break? Now that we are almost beginning this long way of auto-definition we need to clarify our not-so-clear concept and reflect if we are affirming things that only exist in our minds.

Is there a single, clear as water, pure European identity existing as an obvious fact right in front of us, waiting for its discovery or rediscovery? Are there different identities inside our single Common House? And in this case, are they positive or negative? Or is there nothing more than air which some people try to sell to us as our European identity?

Difficult questions in either case. I will not create any false expectations or pretensions about this paper. Those questions flying on the wind for the past decades will not find a definitive, certain conclusion. This young European has not found the key, and what is more, I doubt strongly that there is an absolute answer to all our anxieties. But at least, let me show you that these questions are more than a black and white contrast. A wide range of grey tones is waiting for our reflection. Once more, the reality shows all its complexity.

Let me assume for a while the role of a devil's advocate, and repeat the speech of Euroscepticism. For them, it's clear that there is no European identity at all, and from this point of view, is it really necessary to create one? Do we really need it? Maybe the only aim of that topic is to offer a false and fictitious identity in order to serve our needs.

What about this other problem, the cultural imposition? It points out the danger of the main Member States prevailing with a uniform, plain and simple cultural reality, a vast plain that threatens the small languages, the traditional minorities and our multicultural richness.

More arguments with the tendency to reject the European identity are the possible gap between people and institutions. The European identity is perceived as an invention of Brussels' bureaucrats who are trying to impose the economic and administrative vision of the cosmopolitan, dominant elite of each society, which represents the rawest capitalism for them. The lack of democratic legitimacy in this elite is a widespread feeling. Our politicians can build a European Citizenship, but could hardly build a European identity without taking into account the authentic engine, the people. I find that such a wonderful word as “Staatsvolk” represents what I am talking about. The European Institutions must follow the civil society, never go the opposite way.

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So at this point, even when it is more or less clear that the European identity is a never ending process, let us focus on the optimistic perspective. Maybe there is no sign of it in front of us and maybe it will remain hidden to our short vision. This does not mean that we are following a ghost. We just need to clean the dust, which covers it and rediscover those facts that have been in our blood for centuries, but of which we are only nowadays becoming conscious. That consciousness is emerging step by step, developing faster and faster among young people all over Europe.

And how can we forget History (with capital letters), which is so often neglected by young people? What a big mistake it has been not to respect the heritage of many centuries. Somehow I understand the negative reaction against the uncomfortable witness of our bitter memories. Fascism, communism, colonialism etc. are parts of our bitter History, and facts of which we can not be proud. Anyway, I believe wholeheartedly in that other History of collaboration, unity and cultural exchange among different European nations. Periods of peace, alliances against external threats, common knowledge from Roman or Greek golden times on all preserved in our monasteries and universities, which gave foreign students the chance to experience harmony, real focus of wisdom. The Sorbonne, Bologna or Salamanca have been more than simple national universities. Just think of the Enlightenment, the Democracy and the Human Rights. Our cathedrals, our museums, our libraries etc. and nowadays the most valuable historic example which we are giving to the whole world: different nations, old enemies that keep their differences apart and live together, building a common project of peace.

And that reminds me of a core characteristic which we must defend: our identity cannot be an exclusive honour, a selective club. Our identity must force us to open Europe to the world, to fight against the injustice, famine, totalitarianism, terrorism etc. Living in a global world means that there is no distant problem that does not affect us. To fight that evil concept of "Fortress Europe", we must embrace everybody.

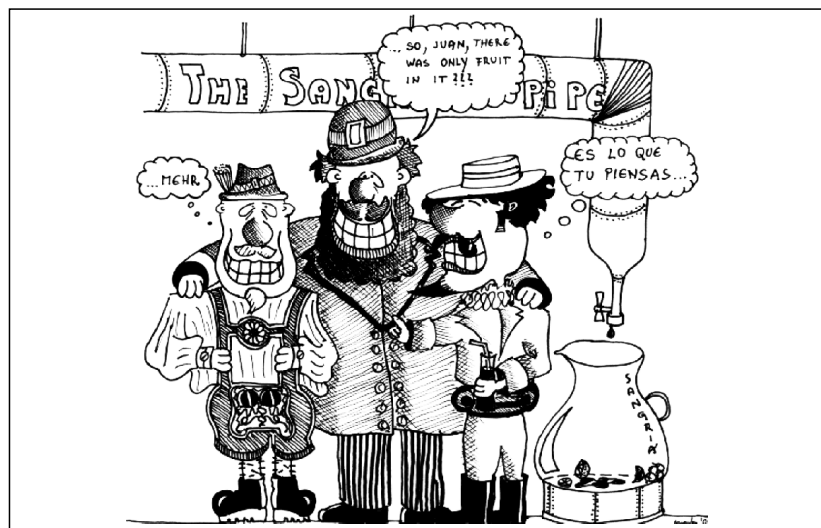
Our identity is plural. Sometimes when I look at the US society, which I respect very much, and which in fact has so many positive facts, I become aware of that distressing homogeneity: the same food, the same high school balls, the same habits from East Coast to West Coast. I cannot help thinking that this would not be the Europe I love today. I am not feeling less Spaniard each time I travel around our Europe but I adore that sensation of feeling more Slovenian or more Dutch. The cultural uniformization would be the end of our charm. I am sure that rather than our great monuments, people from the USA, Australia, Japan or Argentina look for and enjoy that great diversity when they visit us. And now back to our identity. Habermas said that there will never be a so-called common cultural identity, but instead of it, he claimed there would be the loyalty to the constitutional principles, a system of rights and liberties because these, and not the cultures, will or would be completely uniform from the Atlantic Ocean to the Eastern limits.

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We are conscious of our differences, this is obvious, but the fact that we love our diversity is what really matters. Unlike other cultures, we Europeans are showing our open-mindedness. We are a dynamic society, always ready to adapt to the rhythm of changes. Because of our History, we are conscious that the framework changes faster and faster in this post-modern world in which we are trying so hard to live and our parents discovered the best solution is to change with the times.

Some people who are sailing in the European dream are skeptic about the achievement of the European identity. Let me be optimistic once more, but never impatient. Only time, the inexorable time, will let us see the success of that ship. Dangers and threats will create strong ties among societies. A Europe that cries and laughs together will develop a strong identity, which does not mean it will evolve into a single culture. And as concerns History, let me be optimistic and look at my national example. After centuries of living in our common Motherland, Spain, we have not forgotten our regional identities, which make Spain unique and positively diverse. This will also happen in Europe, I am sure of it.

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## THE YUGOSLAV LESSON AND THE EU

»Europeanness«<sup>1</sup> as a particular form of transnational identity might help us in the search for the kind of democratic community that provides existential credibility and brings meaning to an individual life. However, it would be inaccurate to understand “Europeanness” merely as a top-down political demand that would rob us of our concrete experience of the immediate surroundings and the life-world. Such a model would be contrary to the ideal and the desire for a meaningful belonging to the community, a belonging that rests on the assumption of concentric circles of identity. These circles flow from an individual self and his/her immediate environment, the family, stretching onto the locale and the nation, attempting to reach regional and trans-national identities, possibly ending in an embrace of humanity as the ultimate, albeit weakly conceived community.

Individual and collective bonds first arise from within local boundaries and later spread beyond them. Any attempt to leap-frog local boundaries in favor of a *global citizenship* or an *unmediated Europeanism* is probably destined to fail because the consequence of such an identity politics would be that people would no longer feel at home. The old cliché that Moliere slipped into *Le Misanthrope* that he who loves all of mankind cares not for individuals and their concrete reality no doubt still holds true. Only if we establish our needs and fulfill them in the framework of particular identifications can we begin to hope for an access to more general forms of identification.

National and ethnic identities are neither insignificant nor necessarily harmful, as many leftist thinkers would have us believe. The central question of identity must be reformulated: how and on what basis can we balance the demands for an ethnic identity *vis-à-vis* trans-ethnic identities in which we balance both types of bonds and responsibilities? Reflection on these choices and the search for equilibrium is unavoidable in a pursuit of an appropriate framework for European identity, a framework that will not sacrifice national identification *tout court*.

One way to approach the issue is through education. For example, if European children learned early on about ligatures of belonging based on the self as *being part of the whole*, they might become acquainted and comfortable with the concept of broader communal ties. In this way, they might gain a solid foundation for coping with the complex world beyond their specific locality. They may thus acquire a greater level of self-confidence as they move along the concentric cir-

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1 Edited impromptu speech.

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cles of identity, allowing for the situation where one circle of identity does not replace the other, but instead enlarges the capacity for appreciation and the horizon of the individual's mental, emotional and political worlds.

When contemplating the notion of defining »Europeanness« as the outermost line in the concentric circles of identity for European citizens, we could do worse than to devote some attention to the Yugoslav lesson. This is because precisely such a notion of Yugoslavia (as a common mental frame) once did exist, albeit under different circumstances. As we know, this common frame was based on the ideological project of the communist party, that is, the will to surpass national affiliation and instead embrace and enforce an invented tradition of *brotherhood and unity*. The goal of this political mythology was, in part, to devalue specific ethnic identifications. In the process of construction of Yugoslav identity from the top down, it was precisely this mythology that certain nations no longer wanted to accept, that caused the collapse of the political state.

Other less abstract factors must not be ignored, either. The corruption of the communist regime and Tito's personality cult were not the only historical reasons for the downfall of this promising trans-national identity. The hunger for power as was increasingly manifest in the largest single nation in Yugoslavia (Serbs) drove considerable segments of its elites to dominate other, smaller nations in the former federal structure. This state of affairs prevailed (at the very least) after the 1970s, the decade during which individual republics enjoyed the right to manage their own cultural affairs more or less independent of the federal government.

The attempt to create a synthetic Yugoslav culture was doomed to failure largely because it favored Serbian elements and as such, it contributed to a situation in which increasingly manipulated ethnic tensions had not other recourse than the one offered by respective republics and their desire for autonomy. I am convinced that we must remember the unpopular memory of Yugoslavia as a vibrant and viable cultural conglomerate, its subsequent collapse notwithstanding. There is a positive aspect to it, too. After all, as a structure that allowed for manifold identities, it did succeed, if for the time being. It bound the South Slavic nations together while a common goal existed and was negotiable up until the early 1970s. However, when the ambitious Icarus lost the sense of reality principle and flew too high, the wax on his wings began to melt in the heat of desire for nationalistic self-sufficiency.

Of course, matters are far more complicated in the case of Europe. In view of the Yugoslav lesson, the attempts to force English or German as the sole official languages in the sphere of business communication (and perhaps eventually in all public spheres) with the excuse that this is the most practical solution does not fill me with hope for "European-ness" as an authentic, shared and all-inclusive master narrative. A true master narrative will call for a common public sphere as the first condition for democratic discourse, which was lacking in Yugoslavia.

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Because the EU also faces problems regarding the so-called democratic deficit, I cannot help but hear an echo of the half-forgotten Yugoslav rhetoric. Today when I hear demands that respect for cultural differences also includes the use of different languages, the gap between ideals and reality is painfully obvious, as it was in Yugoslavia. When, for example, Slovenian or Macedonian representatives tried to claim the right to use their mother tongue in the federal Yugoslav parliament (where all languages of nations and national minorities were legally equal) they were quickly silenced and dismissed as reactionary and as nationalist. The existence of equal rights was only formal as the very concept has not been collectively internalized.

If the nationalism of the large European nations in recent history and even today is viewed as utterly normal – that is, if it provides the general light in which all other lights can be seen – then it should be no surprise that the basis for “Europeanness” that might be tempted to draw only upon the cultural heritage of the large European nations, the traditional West (Germany, France and Great Britain), will never provide for a more just and free Europe, still less for a closely connected community.

From this vantage point, the dangers of European unification can clearly be seen in the cultural sphere. The EU was not created as a community of shared values or memories, but rather as an economic structure. I am no pipe dreamer. I accept that those member-states that bear the economic costs of unification do have a point when they claim that the support of different languages and cultures might facilitate “Balkanization” and further intra-national disputes. Still, when this is presented as the primary argument in favor of establishing a common European identity that could have the capacity to appeal to a common sense of values, solidarity and mutual support, one has to be cautious. It seems more likely that noble gestures in the direction of a future European identity, common to all and shared by all EU citizens, mask the main dilemma: *how to preserve the former inequality between the West and the East and at the same time support the future program of equality?*

Make no mistake. The global market was not formed by common deliberation and jointly accepted democratic decisions, but rather by the conviction of large transnational companies that they would be more profitable without the trade restrictions and tariff barriers. The latter still remain in the jurisdiction of individual nation-states though disagreements are arbitrated by the trans-national WTO. Political exercise of democratic procedures is often curtailed by the large-scale processes of global capitalism. Its central feature is the drive to eliminate the obstacles for conducting successful business. Not only national borders and trade barriers, but also cultural, linguistic and culinary traditions, ethnic customs and habits, i.e. whatever might hinder economic development, fall into this category.

Of course, I do realize that cultural differences will not disappear overnight. I am not predicting the coming end of all ethnic differences. I do not think that

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Europe has to fear the American myth of *melting pot*. I understand, too, that regional identities and local traditions will continue to have a valid place in an individual experience, no matter how reduced. However, I cannot seem to get rid of the nagging impression that cultural diversity in Europe is acquiring the flavor of folklore, traditions that are endorsed by transnational corporations as long as they remain quaintly frozen in time and above all powerless. Corporations are happy to support mass tourism and the increasingly popular heritage industry. At best, this is a short-term economic strategy for survival of small European nations (and especially post-communist ones), a strategy that is by definition politically defensive.

In such a context, it becomes necessary to entertain the possibility of re-shaping *inter-cultural competence* instead of simply and passively tolerating the existing condition. Unlike *tolerance* (a term frequently used in the vocabulary of modern European ideas), inter-cultural competence encompasses the desire to learn about the other and a true effort toward familiarization. This means that when dealing with relatively unknown cultures, an individual is not a slave to his/her own tradition but instead his collective habits of self-reflection and self-evaluation assume an added layer of meaning as they are, in the light of inter-cultural exchange, subject to critical scrutiny. This, in turn, deepens individual's sense of himself and expands his horizon. What is crucial is that the concentric circles of multiple identities that form the basis of European identity stem from mutual respect, and not from a hierarchical order of cultural values.

We have a long way to go. The moment when annual budgets become the main topic and the size of a particular European nation becomes the main standard for a participation in a common life is the moment when cultural diversity is lost. And let it not be overlooked: cultural diversity is Europe's greatest asset.

If we allow the contribution of each nation to our common narrative be based solely on its "net weight", then we will soon find ourselves in a situation where our lives will be divided into two different streams. Our official, public, economic and political life will be carried out in two or three large European languages, whereas the private and emotional life (of both individuals and ethnic collectives) will be carried out in smaller local languages. From then on it will not take long for cultural values to be perceived only in terms of their museum and folkloric value. Tourism would be transformed into an unprejudiced gesture of voyeurism that by definition is of an egoistic and isolating nature and has nothing to do with urgently needed inter-cultural competence and understanding.

Unfortunately, it seems that there is a good chance that the small, exotic, rural languages will affirm Marx's presumptuous prediction about a class of *unhistorical nations* that will grow obsolete in the name of more effective unification. Such unification would enforce only exclusive standards of economy, rather than any real notion of collective European identity. The sustenance of European cultural, linguistic and ethnic diversity is the most credible basis for

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a commonality in which France Prešeren's Romantic vision that *not foe, but a friend our neighbor shall* be might one day hold true for all Europeans.

**Dr. Aleš DEBELJAK**

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## **From the lecture ...**

The concentric circles of identity.

### **French Model**

The revolution created an abstract identity of France, based on citizenship.

Displacement of identity: rational geometric identity based on citizenship instead of kingship.

### **German Model**

Romantic local and regional identities, supported in the Balkans. Why? The Middle and Eastern Europe were divided into 3 empires: the Hungarian-Habsburg, the Russian and the Prussian.

- When the political stage did not exist, the language had to bind people together.
- Nothing in terms of national identity existed at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Nationalism is based on selective belief in nations past which people can not reach ...
- The organic identity was a conscious product of the cultural elite. Scottish traditions are the romantic imagination of the cultural elite. Romanticism re-created ancient stories to build a nation.
- Take notice of this when you take a look at the design of the European identity. It does not exist. Europe is not binding ... yet. That depends on some conditions.
- The banknotes: personalities (faces) are missing. They suggest the lack of a biography. None of the entities on the bills really exist. In order to be a European one needs to make a moral choice.  
Constitutional patriotism: needed to change the culture because of WWII. It is important particularly for the Eastern European Countries. Hungarian and Italian identities have constitutional protection.
- Contradiction between the republican and the organic identities (the 3<sup>rd</sup> Reich).
- The idea of European identity is welcome, but void of any substance. There is no representative government.
- In UN nation-states are represented; a political arrangement.  
Slovenia: nation ↔ nation-state. Not a political state.



- Advice: read “Democracy in Europe”, Larry Siedentorp  
Lingua Franca should be the language of the EU.
- Global citizenship is a noble idea, but fake, because there is no ethnic representation on a global level. Only those who had the opportunity to arrange a nation-state are represented in the UN.
- Inherent in the efforts to abolish all borders in order to sustain a common market.
- In order to be able to participate in the European identity: concentric circles of identity. It can be fully adopted by any citizen.
- *Answer to the Question:* The difference between Constitutional patriotism as a concept is more an economical idea than identity.
- Flag Europe: designed by the Council of Europe, in 1955. Turkey objected to the use of a cross. But 12 yellow stars represent the 12 apostles.
- *Answer to Dima from Byelorussia:* Nation is an articulated consciousness of ethnicity. Nation is connected to urbanization, economization and secularization.
- *Simone from Italy:* Italy was in the past as divided as Europe is now, there was no Italian identity. Europe is without European identity now, because there is no European identity. It might come / be created in the future.  
*Answer:* European identity is struggling to emerge out of the European “other”. The other is Eastern Europe or the Arabic world. European cultures exist and a European political identity exists.



*The lecture of dr. Aleš Debeljak in Center Evropa.*

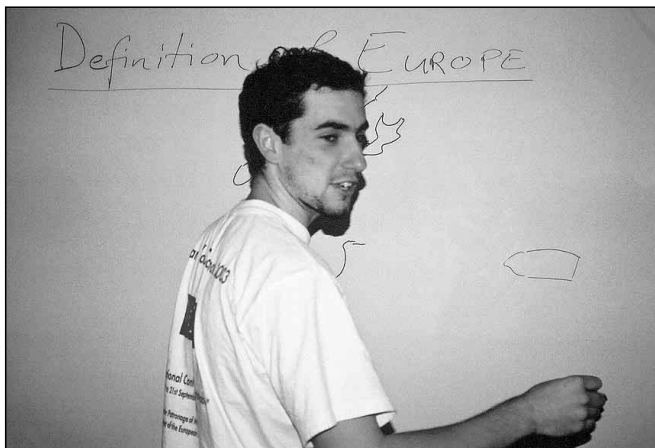
# THE FUTURE RELATION AMONG REGIONAL, NATIONAL AND EUROPEAN IDENTITIES

(Essays written for the selection process)

In Denmark, Europe and the EU are perceived as something big and scary; it is the monster eating away our national identity. To me, there is something entirely wrong with the fact that American culture is allowed to influence Danish culture to the extent it does, whereas European cultures are pushed aside.

I always wonder why people are afraid of losing identity. Can you hold on to it? Is it possible to live your life and never change? I would like for Europeans to broaden their view of identity. Not to limit themselves to being Danes or Germans or citizens of one region. **I would like identity to be like a big basket in which you can throw as many things as you like.** I would also like for Europeans to focus more on the things we have in common instead of the things that make us different. To join a large community of individuals instead of small groups of people who look alike.

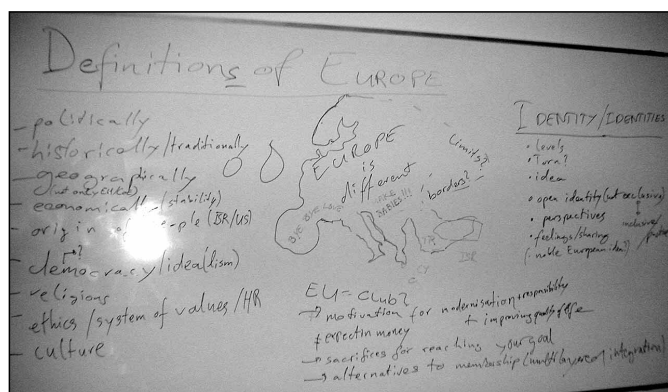
**Rikke ANSBJERG LARSEN**  
AEGEE-København



*Kostadin Krastev, participant from Bulgaria.*

The recently announced enlargement of European Union to 25 member states, and the long debates about the new Constitutional Charter, with their bombastic pronouncements, drew the attention to the construction of a new European identity. In a period in which national and nationalistic interests seem to be still strong, to “feel European” would be a remedy to all problems, a guarantee of peace and civility. But often too optimistic and idealistic views like these distort the real perspective of the problem; the first step to the creation of an European identity is not to consider the union as a substitute of national and regional realities, but on the contrary to recognize that the real force of Europe is the extreme variety of peoples, histories and cultures that compose it. **To think of the union as an enormous extension of cultural, human, occupational opportunities, as a territory in which everyone can freely travel and move and feel “at home” in this sense: this is the best way to avoid the error of considering Europe as a oppressive super-state and to see it as a source of possibilities.** The most violent impulses to the nationalism are given by the attempt of repressing and homologating peoples' identity; a Europe that is going to redesign its own map and fix its driving principles in a written document has to consider the deep variety of its physiognomy and to promote it as a positive value. National pride and European citizenship, state interests and dialogue with other union members to find agreements and common positions (particularly on great themes such as human rights, war and peace, etc.) can well coexist and mitigate each other's extremes. Dialogue, communication between people and especially between youth is fundamental in achieving these goals and in building a new Europe's identity.

**Davide CAPASSO and Carmen FERRARA**  
AEGEE-Trieste



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To say it in a nutshell, **I think that the feeling for regional identities will grow stronger. On the other hand, the sense of national identities will weaken.** The feeling for one big European identity will be artificially created. Why? As the European Union grows and grows, individual countries will have less and less influence in the European Union decision making process. Inhabitants of these countries will therefore feel threatened. They will derive to their own identity. This would be their national identity. Their national government will (try to) prevent this though, as they would like to see a European identity emerge. So, the inhabitants will derive to another identity, their regional identity. The regional government will not try to prevent this, because they feel threatened too; they fear that they might lose influence as well. The feeling of a regional identity within European regions will grow stronger because even pro-European inhabitants will not automatically agree with all the decision made by the European Union and will therefore not feel at home within one big European identity. They will derive to their European region identity, because this identity expresses their thoughts better. For example: the maritime countries that together disagree on the European Union fishing policy. The sense of national identities will weaken because the inhabitants are forced to choose between either their regional identity or a (regional) European identity.

**Hilko MENKE**  
AEGEE-Enschede

Contemporary Europeans have different mentalities and value systems. The situation is simple. Since we still don't have a clear European identity, national/regional is used. For them for many years national identity will be the basis for distinction (and sometimes discrimination) of people. To be Ukrainian (Ukraine will be admitted to the EU only after 2010) will always be less prestigious than to be French. In my opinion, the best solution is to promote a formation of a wide European identity. A typical citizen of Europe should not necessarily be white, Christian, understand English and lead a "European" way of life. **The only rule to be a European is that you must be a citizen of Europe.** It is probably good that a strict European identity is still not completely formed because this leaves place for the existence of multiple European identities.

**Maxim ZHEREBKIN**  
Ukraine

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Several important developments concerning our discussion on Europe's identity are currently unfolding in Europe. It is becoming apparent that the political and economic integration of Europe will be accompanied by a process of identity building that, many scholars think, will ultimately weaken national identities. A united Europe is definitely an ideal stressed by eurocrats, who promote the necessity of ethnical and cultural unity of the EU members. But with ten future member countries entering the EU (all with different cultures, languages and ethnic identities) one must consider whether such homogenizing ethnic policy is possible or even appropriate. **From the global point of view I would tend to agree that a certain level of European identity must be achieved, but rather than assimilating we should try to accommodate side by side and create a multicultural Europe without outbursts of nationalism and xenophobia.** Although multiculturalism cannot be considered a new phenomenon, its political relevance in the western democracies seems to be increasing. Perhaps in the future national identities will be totally obsolete, however I do not believe this is the case for the foreseeable future. As a citizen of a country that will enter the EU next year, I am proud to be entering such a prestigious unity, but also expect not to be forced to assimilate into a different culture, just as Slovenia should not force its culture on others. I am however aware of the fact that my identity will in some perspectives inevitably change and consider this as a good and enriching experience. All European nations should build their common identity on values including (to name a few) democracy, multiculturalism, tolerance, peace and justice, and if we achieve that, I believe we will obtain a unique identity in the world, without weakening ethnic ties of individual nations or groups.

**Mojca VAH**  
Slovenia

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*"Life isn't about finding yourself. Life is about creating yourself."*

G.B. Shaw

The issue is not whether we have to replace a national identity for the European identity, the challenge is to blend the European with the national and perhaps go even further to a global identity. I think that it is important to remember that Europe is what its countries and people make it to be. There are national minorities in European countries whose culture and language are not supported, which could bring rich diversity to all society. **Only when we realize that the measure of civilization based on how we treat the weakest persons in our society, we will raise a strong and natural sense of a European identity within us all.**

**Oana Marija GOJE**

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# EUROPEAN IDENTITY AND FORMAL DEMOCRACY

## Introduction

Asking oneself what is European identity or what might be in the future, or even in the past is a clear sign of the expression of a certain lack of knowledge on that matter. Or at least it is an indicator of insecurity of opinion. In fact it is a confession that something has to be identified, which was not the case before. A lot has been published on that topic, a lot has been researched, many pretend to know and some state that there is nothing like a common identity.

I personally belong to the category believing in European identity, but I confess that it is somehow difficult to get around especially in view of the political processes happening right now. It might be possible to detect the roots and to dedicate more attention in fields where certain common values and developments took place.

On the other hand it is an extremely important issue to ask oneself what the common European identity is. In today's ongoing process of a widening European Union, the embedding of Europe in today's global situation is a question, which concerns the destiny and fate of anyone of us living in Europe, but at the same time also for those linked with European interests, if they want it or not. It is not a theoretical question, it is highly political.

I put the notion of European identity in relation with democracy; a notion which has not always been part of European history and politics. Nevertheless, democracy has its origins on European soil and from there it spread all over the world. Although there were big breaks in between, it finally did succeed in being the ruling system of today's world.

In that context it is impossible to divide those two notions and see them separately or as if they existed one without the other in Europe.

When talking of Europe, and I want to make this clear at the very beginning, I include not only the EU. Europe for me is defined by its common roots, by its history and geography and countries today not on the list of an expand-



*The lecture of prof. Stania in IDCSE in Ljubljana.*

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ed EU are as well part of Europe as those which form the European Union today. In times of the Cold War, the term Europe was used to refer to those countries in front of the Iron Curtain and automatically excluded those behind it. This was a tool of the cold warriors and even today efforts of that sort have been noted.

## **History**

When in ancient Greece democracy as we know it today was developed and put into practice, no one thought at the time that it might one day become the main system of governing, which it is today in the world; not even in theory. And it did help to develop a power, which provided the democrats and those parts ruled by democracy with ample possibilities for its people to live well and in a more just society.

Even in the Roman Empire, certain democratic structures helped the Romans to achieve and maintain power as never seen before. They defended what they called *res publica*, one of the most stable elements in Roman history.

Let's do a rather big historical jump into the British Empire. It was from the inner democratic structure of this country, from the famous history of the British parliament, that one of the main columns of the Empire was built. And it was this very democratic development, which eroded the authoritarian parts of the monarchy. People from that moment onward lived in a free space, with a more just way of living.

Another decisive step forward in Europe was the French Revolution. No matter what some of the extremist phenomena have been, this was one of the most important steps forward to a more just and democratic life and it without doubt contributed to the strength of the French empire.

In a way the same happened with the October Revolution in Russia. It laid the basis of the development of Russia into one of the two superpowers worldwide. And this was based on the will of the masses.

Whenever the once established democracy ended for some reason or other, the system broke down. The last case, the Soviet Union, was a clear-cut example of this. German fascism, the most ferocious and cruel regime ever and the opposite of what is meant by democracy, showed in its disastrous existence what happens when democracy is eliminated.

## **Culture**

Culture is not only the sum of all artistic, poetic, musical or other oeuvres; it is not merely the addition of poets, painters and musicians in European history.



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The indicator of whether a country is enjoying a high grade of culture is not the number of theaters on its territory. It does not have much to do with, for example, the fact that Mozart was born in Salzburg and for that reason Salzburg at that time enjoyed a high grade of culture. Possibly Shakespeare is more known and loved in Germany than in England. But culture is certainly the accumulation of experiences acquired throughout centuries in the field of the relation that one person established with another. It has to do with art, with politics and with their interrelationship.

Culture is also closely related to the relationship between those who elected a government and those who form a government. The notion of good governance is an expression of the positive relationship between the electorate and the members of governments; if everyone is doing their duties. Culture has lots to do with how democracy works in a given country. An example for this statement are the countries where corruption is overwhelming; where this cancer of modern societies is growing democracy is weak and at the same time culture is undergoing a deep depression.

I do not pretend to give a new definition of what is culture; I only show a part of my understanding of the nature of culture.

## **Policy**

Worldwide the economic development shows a high grade of neo-liberal typology. Globalization goes hand in hand with the extinction of regional and national elements of culture and economy. Nevertheless Europe today is a result of processes upholding the values of justice, equality, even development, human rights and social justice. In that context it is absolutely different in its formation to other powers like for example the United States of America, where social values stay far behind the importance of capital growth and the shareholder value exceeds the importance of human development by far. In the US the golden calf is the object of desire, in Europe till now we have tried to escape this process.

Identity can be formed in two ways:

- either by developing one's own criteria or
- as a counterpart, a kind of a polarized version of another system.

It might be the case that in view of the widening gap between the US and Europe based on their identities and differing value systems in specific parts, European identity is somehow growing vis-à-vis the actual US policy.

Today it seems that with the day to day policy, with the overall development in world policy, a great danger exists for Europe to lose its basic value system through the influence of the neo-liberal character. It might adopt a position close to the one of the USA and at the same time lose its identity in the cultur-

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al, political and economical dimensions. The neo-liberal influence is sharply downgrading human criteria in the case where peoples and nations are living together. A system where the human being is seen only as a production factor and if the person is old he or she forms merely a costly element, in a system where only that person counts who is able to produce and where a certain part of unemployment is a basic element of economic structure, is not compatible with the European identity.

**THESIS: Because of the lack of real democratic development (democracy is a process) European identity is endangered.**

Next I will try to give some reasons for the thesis formulated above.

**The domination of Europe by the USA**

Europe is in a way still the junior partner of the US, although economically it does much better. There are some governments within the EU like those of Great Britain or Spain as well as Italy – to name a few – who take an absolute position of a vassal. This has only little to do with ideological patterns, be it social democratic or conservative.

Much more important is the penetration of neo-liberal thoughts from the US into the regimes and also the personal friendship of their heads of state with the President of the US. There is a kind of man-friendship; one might think that in view of the women's liberation movement successes this should be a part of the past, where this kind of loyalty counts more than principles of responsibility to their nation. Some kind of reminiscences to the middle ages are resurging when looking and analyzing personal relations of heads of state today. The best example of this is the war against Iraq. Loyalty understood as in Wagner's opera referring to the fate of the Nibelungen.

The British and even more so the Italian and the Spanish population were and still are in their overwhelming majority against this war. And there are many good reasons for this. Nevertheless, their governments went to war. What kind of democracy is this, where the main and decisive issue, the issue of life and death, the issue of war and peace is decided against the vast majority of the population? I would call these democracies merely formal. Their electorate voted every four years and in between they had no say. Actually, they could say it, but the governments would not listen at all.

Since democracy is a process, which must be watched and cultivated every day, this is an example of anti-democratic positions, which should not have a place

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in Europe's policy today. This is a clear cut change in society, copying the development in the USA. More: democracy is endangered in countries where the biggest part of the media are owned by one person who is at the same time the elected Prime Minister and thus exercise control over even state owned media.

When Jean Anouilh wrote his famous drama "Becket ou l'honneur de Dieu" he painted the picture of a man, who, after having been named archbishop, did everything only for the sake of his office. He put his own personal interests behind the tasks at the office and was even in danger of being killed. Today's governing heads of state of these three countries do the exact opposite, they have only their own interests in mind, regardless of whether they are expressed in terms like personal friendship or neo-liberal group interests with distorted loyalties.

In general democracies of that style have been downgraded to an association of people advocating their individual interests and taking advantage of democratic elections. Competition is out, corruption and friends-economy is in.

### **Usage of mass media by the ruling groups**

Like in Italy, media concentration is also taking place in many other countries, perhaps to a lesser extent, but constantly. Opposition parties are facing great problems by the monopolization of media in favor of certain groups.

### **Special laws are created to protect those groups and people**

There are no checks and balances any more, tricky methods are used to stay in power and to prevent any change in the forthcoming elections. The wealth and destiny of the nation or state is not the aim, shortsighted advantages for small groups dominate. Democracy is just a fake protection for group interests.

### **Economic evasion and distribution of wealth for the rich**

The social contract does not work any more; it is being eroded by the egoistic interests of these groups in order to form monopolies. An example of Austria: For the sake of a ridiculous defense policy extremely expensive war planes are being bought and at the same time pensions are being cut, the health system is suffering and education and science is of little importance for those ruling. For whom are these airplanes being bought?

### **Neo-liberal development of economy**

When not so long ago conservatives oriented themselves following Christian democratic lines, for example the Catholic social theories, nowadays social

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thoughts are not being followed. Capital is no longer seen as having a social function; it is only there to make those who have it richer.

### **Lack of solidarity or distortion of the notion of solidarity**

Solidarity has been the word for those processes, which are intended to help the poor, be it in one's own country or in the so called Third World. This term has been perverted by the notion that solidarity has to be exercised in order to help the strong, for example the USA in their wars. NATO is cited in the same context, and solidarity is demanded for war-like structures and no longer understood as it was by social democratic oriented minds or Christian people.

When in Chile in 1973 the fascist coup took place (by the way, on September 11<sup>th</sup>), Europe was in solidarity with the persecuted and tortured and opened its doors. When a similar coup was going to take place in Venezuela last year, no one stood up, on the contrary, certain governments backed it. Where was democracy in April 2002?

Where are the discussions of Lomé in the WTO?

### **New structures of authoritarian directions**

The notion of “we” is replaced again by the notion of “me”, which is a step back into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Methods of dividing societies (like in Austria by accusing the young generation of having only fun and not reproducing and forgetting that it is exactly this kind of policy which leads to the ego) are applied again. The same governing ministers are responsible for the change in society and blame it on the young, whose chances for a better future are being taken away today by the same people.

New structures to prevent a change in forthcoming elections show a lack of democratic understanding, the fair play of the rules of democracy are seen as a weakness. Those opposing the opinion of governments are accused of not being loyal to the fatherland, seen and shown as traitors and not much of a difference is being observed to authoritarian ruling in its consequences. People are not put into prison for differing views – not yet. The terminology resembles the one of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## **Conclusion**

With a development of democracy of the Latin American type (where voters only vote every four years and nothing else), nothing can be achieved. Some of the conditions for a united Europe beyond national egoistic interests with a clear identity are:

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- Establishing a real democratic constitution, for all and with all, creating a transparent Europe understandable for everyone.
  - Maintaining the identity in order to construct a social minded Europe and no fortress; giving us a socio-economic context based on social principles, solidarity and social security.
  - Strengthening the independence vis-à-vis the USA and at the same time maintaining good and friendly relations.
  - Formulating a common security and foreign policy with no nationalistic approaches.
  - Working for a better integration of new members of the EU.
  - Starting a discussion on a very broad basis and including all sectors of the population in order to help the creation of a common European consciousness following the pattern of European identity on the basis of a common value system.
  - Opening up to the poor and especially to European neighbors.
- The times of Bushes, Aznars, Blairs as well of Berlusconi are limited. Basically I am optimistic, although many steps have to be taken and obstacles in the form of some current members and some new members of the EU have to be removed. There is no other choice anyway. The EU is the biggest peace project ever in the history and will continue on this path even if it does not look this way like sometimes and national egos seem to dominate.

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*Prof. Stania talks about the cultural definition of Europe.*

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## From the lecture ...

- Culture is one of the main identities in Europe. Culture is a reflection on how politics is done in a country.
- There is a big difference between the US & Europe. With Iraq, the US undermined the function of the UN. Its rule: the supranational Security Council who decides about war, not solely countries.
- The ones who are accusing the young of not multiplying are the cause of these neo-liberalist views where capital becomes only capital, and having children is no priority anymore. To change the mode of development in this context is difficult. Philosophy and ideology can not change the world anymore, today only economic development counts.
- Transparency is lost. Brussels is anonymous, you can not blame a commissioner.
- The national governments are destroying the proposal for the European Convention, for ego reasons, like the demand for 25 commissioners and Nice treaty in reference to the national weight.
- Absolute submission to the US is not necessary. Spain and Italy (governments) are not in favor of European interests, but of their own and the American! So solidarity is far removed and the European Identity is being destroyed.
- *Discussion:* What is your cultural definition of Europe, which has so many cultures? Today only competition enables you to survive. The differences of the European regions are the richness of the European culture. Axes (ally) forming is destroying Europe: France – Germany, Spain – Poland. Democratic deficit is a big problem – Europeans were against the Iraqi war (see demonstrations), there were only some politicians who were in favor.  
Media presents information in a sensational way: it sets up even European countries against one another.
- European Union is beyond an economic identity.
- Until an average Austrian will not feel as if they are represented on a European level, they don't identify themselves as European. They don't want to identify themselves with Brussels bureaucrats.
- Having the axes in mind, the Europeans protesting on the streets don't want to rely on old structures, but cooperate on basis of transparency like in the European Convention.
- I came to see students because they still have the ideology and are the generation which wants / will be able / has to change the world.

## PRAGMATISM AS A NEW PARADIGM IN THE UNION

*The road to pursue is neither easy nor certain.* This sentence concludes the so-called *The Manifesto of Ventotene* (formulated by A. Spinelli), and characterizes the current situation in Europe.<sup>1</sup> The pivotal changes of the 90s certainly changed the way in which we perceive the issue of European identity. A historian, Norman Davies, quotes Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in his *Europe*, where we can find the story of the mythological Europa, Cretan princess, who was kidnapped by a bull over the sea. *Tremulae sinunantur flamine vestes* – “the wind was blowing through her clothes” – in the words of Ovid. This ancient phrase led Davies to the conclusion that in the nowadays continent we cannot simply go back to those old ideas. The wind is still blowing through Europa's clothes. She is still galloping...

Because I came to the conference from one of the accessing countries, Poland, which was called in a recent issue of *The Economist* “the big cheese of central Europe”,<sup>2</sup> I'm aware that my attitude towards Europe is probably biased. I am also aware, as many of my compatriots are, of the significant waste of time in trying to look for common values. The 2<sup>nd</sup> article of the European Constitution draft lists human dignity, liberty, democracy, equality, the rule of law etc. as pillars of the Union. However, by means of these terms we cannot distinguish *explicitly* those who should enter the EU from those who should not. To repeat *A Charter of European Identity* (signed in Lübeck in 1995) – Europe is “a community of destiny” rather than “a community of values”. Otherwise, pathos rules.

The problem of “what exactly is Europe?” leads to the question of its borders. As a Slavonic person I would not agree with the Roman *limes* nor with Churchill's “iron curtain”. During the conference, we heard the experienced voices of the representatives from such countries as Turkey or Ukraine. Besides, what of Strahlenberg's border for Europe set on the river and mountains of Ural, which dates back to the year 1730?<sup>3</sup>

François Guizot, nineteenth-century French historian claimed that the identity of Europe lays in its diversity.<sup>4</sup> I wonder if the countries, which already belong

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1 in the year 1941.

2 *The Economist*, Nov 22<sup>nd</sup> edition.

3 Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg, *An Historico-geographical Description of the North and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia, but more particularly of Russia, Siberia, and Great Tartary* London: W. Innys and R. Manby, 1738.

4 François Guizot, *The History of Civilization in Europe*, London, no date.

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to the EU, will fully understand Guizot's point of view in the light of the forthcoming accession. We are expected to catch up with "the Fifteen" as soon as possible (for Poland the period for doing this is estimated at mere 59 years). But do we have to? Now we are forced to agree on double standards – the same requirements and law obedience, but surely less means to fulfill them. Perhaps it could be even more motivating. But Europe seems not to acquiesce to any country that meets tough criteria. The toughest are definitely the economical ones (the ones from Copenhagen, for instance, but the Maastricht criteria in the broader "Euro" vista as well). What does it mean for our identity? Simply that more emphasis is being put on practical, measurable concerns.

Slovenian minister, Janez Potočnik, reminded us of the aims of the so-called *Sapiro's document*, which recommends allocating more expenditure on R&D in the EU. The same was said at the Lisbon Council in 2000. In *Presidency Conclusions* that were formed as usual, after the Council, we can trace a desire for the EU to be *the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world*. Again, we are coming back to the practical question of "How?" From now on it is easier to understand federalism not as an elite-driven movement, but rather as something happening by itself (K.W. Deutsch came up with the idea of "integration threshold", which I find applicable to the recent situation<sup>5</sup>). Will federal Europe be possible? It depends on the common needs.

It is hard to agree that Europe of clear-cut symbols and ideas is passing away. Even despite the fact that not so long ago The Adonnino Committee recommended some kind of iconography for the EU (e.g. 12 stars)<sup>6</sup>, which could become a new spectacular symbol. From my point of view, the ring of stars indicates a quite bureaucratic institution rather than some deeper meaning. That is a pity, because up to this moment everything "European" was respectfully perceived in my country. For example – the most eminent persons of Polish culture were emigrating to the west in order to sip Roman ancient history, speak French or simply enjoy the uncensored life over there. The delight that the Western architecture and paintings evoke probably came from the humanistic education.

Now I heard about a different situation. The EU specialists present in my country recommend sending the best of their counterparts to work in the EU. Again, instead of any high-brow theories, simple practice...

In my speculation of how Europe's identity will develop, I feel that everything depends on how many common interests there will be. Perhaps this contradicts with the methodology, which Prof. Mitja Žagar showed us during the lecture

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5 K.W. Deutsch, S.A. Burrell, R.A. Kann, M. Jr. Lee, M. Lichtermann, R.E. Lindgren, F.L. Loe-Wenheim, R.W. Wagenen, *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area. International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience*, Princetown 1957.

6 Committee on a People's Europe (Adonnino Committee), 1985.



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that a local identity progresses to the state one. But keeping in mind all Polish *Diasporas* I would rather stick to the voluntary theory of the state.

Meeting other participants in Ljubljana was, in my opinion, a confrontation between political background of participants and me, probably the one person representing the economic department. And it succeeded!

The EU was established on the basis of *Schumann's Declaration* from 1950, typically described as an anti-war document. I do not accept the view that the approaching integration and reorganization of the Union we are witnessing are not mere signs of fearing the rest of the world, of fearing globalization. Instead of being afraid again, we should labor on some brand new work ethics. This can once again become the conscious European identity.

And the wind is still blowing through Europa's clothes...

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# **NEW ETHNIC DIVERSITIES IN THE ENLARGED EUROPEAN UNION – PROBLEMS AND DILEMMAS**

1. There are many objective reasons for the expectation that there will be problems regarding inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations in the enlarged EU, including the status and rights of relevant minorities, both a humanitarian and legal and a first class political and security issue for the enlarged EU. As an illustration we would like to mention the following situations:

In the enlarged EU (in this short review we're taking into account also Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey) there will be new seeds for the possible emergence, if these matters will not be managed properly, of a number of conflict situations related to the inter-ethnic and inter-religious issues, and the status and rights of the relevant minorities, which will live within the "new territory" of the Union. On domestic level, the EU members will be confronted, in addition to the present conflict situations (as are those concerning the Bask country, Northern Ireland and Corsica), with specific situations of this kind concerning Cyprus, the position of Russian minorities in the Baltic States or of Hungarians in Slovakia and Romania. On the bilateral level these issues will constitute a sensitive issue, for instance, on the agenda of the relations between Hungary and Slovakia, Hungary and Romania, Germany and Poland and Germany and the Czech Republic. On the all-European level the EU has been confronted with ethno-political problems (racism and xenophobia, neo-nazi ideologies, Roma's open question) or problems of religious character (for instance, relations with the Islamic communities, relations between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, the problem of the Greco-Catholic religious community, the attitude towards the Judaic communities and towards Israel).

The seeds of possible conflict situations, as considered above, in the relations of the EU states with the states on the "other side" of the present and future EU borders are deep-rooted. Hence it is reasonable to expect that they could persist for a long period as a potential political and security issue on the EU's external borders (for instance: 1. the Balkan area, 2. the Baltic-Russian relations, 3. relations inside the Orthodox Churches: Russian Orthodox Church and "national" Orthodox Churches, relations between the Russian and Romanian Orthodox Churches, relations of the Serbian Orthodox Church with the Macedonian, Romanian, Montenegrin Orthodox Churches, 4. relations between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches; the problem of the status of the Greco Catholic Church, 5. the Caucasus area, 6. a special case are the relations of Romania with Moldova and Ukraine.

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2. There is a great disparity between the use of human and minority rights as a tool of the EU's foreign policy – also as a condition for establishing its relations and co-operation with some countries and geographical areas – and the political willingness of its members to elaborate on their own standards of inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations and minority rights. An illustration of the former are the agreements on the co-operation with underdeveloped countries, criteria for the recognition of the newly established European states (dec. 1990), Copenhagen's criteria for the EU membership (1993), Balladour pact (1995), Stability Pact for SEE (1999), EU's policy towards the Western Balkan (2000).

For the Community regulations the following is essential: 1. The rights of members of minorities have not been included in the treaties providing the legal basis for the functioning of the EC, 2. The attempts of the European Parliament in this regard since 1976 have been fruitless. 3. The failure of the last two inter-governmental conferences and scarce prospects for the inclusion of these norms in the Convention under consideration.

The so-called European standards on minority rights are for the time being composed of the norms enshrined in the bilateral instruments, in the international agreements adopted within the Council of Europe and of those included in the constitutional and other legal enactments of several European countries.

3. The European integration is a socio-economic and political process interwoven with ties, which emanate from the cultural, ethnic, religious and linguistic diversities of the member countries. Hence the efficiency of the political and economic actions is directly interrelated with the stability of inter-ethnic, inter-religious and inter-racial relations both within the Community and with its neighbors as well.

The main problem in this regard is that the EU, in spite of being confronted with the above reviewed situations, has not yet elaborated on the adequate policies and relevant legal norms and other standards concerning the management of these issues; neither within the EU's structure nor regarding its relations with its future neighborhood. The situations mentioned above are for the time being under control “on the surface”. Nonetheless it is impossible to exclude the possibility that these Pandora boxes could be opened in suitable circumstances. The situation is even more complex in this regard because the factual political, historical, economic and other causes of their existence have not at all been eradicated (nationalism, irredentism, neo-nazi ideologies, anti-Semitism, stereotypes about the “others”, historical reminiscences and the like).

What should be done on different fields and levels in order to bridge the gap between the needs and the present situation? This issue calls for deep and overall analysis. In brief the following measures could be proposed for consideration: 1. Improving the situation within the member states and elaborating ade-

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quate solutions for Roma population both on domestic and international levels, 2. In the frame of the adequate EU policy the following practical measures should be adopted: a) Strict implementation of the Council's Directives 2000/43/EC on the elimination of ethnic and racial discrimination and adherence to the Protocol no. 12 of the ECHR, b) All EU members should accede to the international legal instruments on minority rights adopted within the Council of Europe, c) The Nice Charter of December 2000 should be improved and given legal character, d) Minority protection should be included in the Constitution under consideration (slim chances), 3. Ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic issues should be included in the emerging EU policy concerning its relations with the new neighborhood (Ukraine, Belarus, Russian Federation, and Moldova).

The decision makers within the EU member states and in the EU structures should also be aware of the importance of good inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations and of protection of minorities for the efficiency and credibility of the future phase of the European integration, and for the stability on the European space as a whole. The main obstacle for the development of positive EU policies is the hypocrisy of the European states (not only of the members of the EU) and hence the lack of their political willingness for elaborating on and adopting adequate policies and standards. Such a state of affairs could not be an encouraging factor for the functioning of the future EU.

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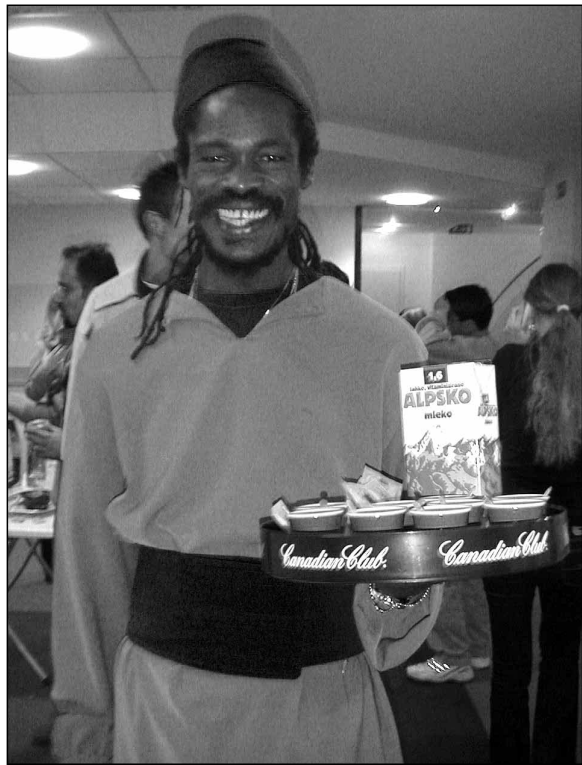
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### **From the lecture...**

- A common European Space: how to deal with the new Eastern borders & the North Region (Baltics). Europe is not able to respond to the challenges of today.
- Kutschma and Voronin (Ukraine & Moldova) want to become members of the EU in theory, but there are too many practical problems: Kutschma is Russia's puppet and Moldova has the Transdnestrian problem.
- Turkey should be included. The main concern is Islam. Europe is not able to accept Islam as an equal religion, neglecting the fact that Islam brought civilization to Europe.

- Examples of inter-ethnic & inter-political problems: Pays Basque, Corsica, Cyprus, the Baltics (a large Russian minority does not have their language recognized), Hungarians in Romania and in Slovakia, the Turkish issue, Western Balkans, Moldova (Russian Church vs. Romanian, Bess Arab church)
- EU will be confronted with conflicting situations, which will violate security. Chechnya, Caucasus with Ossetia, and Nakorno Karnobach (Georgia, Azerbaijan). These problems will come close when Turkey becomes a member.
- Visegrad countries were encouraged by EU to solve ethnic problems by signing a separate treaty, the Baladour-pact (political treaty)
- South Tyrol had a lot of weapons: trying to defend their autonomy, which was not recognized. By including Austria in the EU, this problem could have been solved easily which is exactly what happened.
- How to implement the EU's own legislation, which is the basis for ethnic equality and minority rights, adopted in 2000? Many European countries didn't sign the 12<sup>th</sup> protocol of the HER Charter.
- To conclude: we are bringing hundreds of new problems which politicians and bureaucrats haven't considered. How can the Union manage so many identities without having a structure/plan?



*Commercial representative for "Zamorček" coffee contributed to full ethnic diversity during the coffee break.*

# SOURCES OF RACISM AND STEREOTYPES IN EUROPE

## METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH:

I will adopt the interactive approach in our session because I believe each one of us here is a resource of learning FOR THE OTHER and has a wealth of experiences and ideas. Our topics today – racism, prejudices and discrimination – are current because more or less all of us have experienced some form of them either in our private or public life. So I would like to invite you to think together and share experiences of such phenomena. At the core of this issue lies the question of how to come to terms with “otherness” without feeling threatened psychologically, socially, economically and politically.

This discussion will address the phenomenon of racism in Europe, its causes with regard to our perception of the other, the role of stereotypes, prejudices, of culture, social structures, economy and education as well as ways to address racism interconnected with ethnicity, class and gender.

The 1980s were characterized by many authors as the period of the transcendence of national identity as a criterion for the treatment of citizens in the European space. It seemed that old prejudices and national stereotypes created during WW II and in the course of many inter-state conflicts and antagonisms gave way to cooperation and to a shared vision for the future. The fact that “you

are not one of us” was not a sufficient reason to be treated in an exclusionary and sometimes inhumane way.

The post cold-war era proved us wrong. The rise of new forms of nationalism, especially cessationist movements, created new types of conflicts mainly intra state ones. The heart of Europe blew up in the tragic Bosnia-Herzegovina experience and later the Kosovo conflict. This showed us how renewed nationalisms led to the re-emergence of old hatreds and mobilization of past historical traumas leading to violence, bloodshed, death and dislocation of thousands of people as well as the development of post-traumatic syndrome. The migrations of millions of



*Dr. Maria Hadjipavlou.*

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people to both the European member states and to non-EU countries gave rise to new problems both social and political which states and their societies have been called upon the deal with.

**Exercise 1: I invite you to reflect on the most urgent world problems:**

**Main problems we face today in the world:**

- Pollution.
- Social inequalities.
- North-South-inequalities.
- Domination of none power over many-asymmetry of power.
- Human rights: abuses, violations, the western definition and understanding of them. “Human rights are women's and children's rights”, minority rights.
- Terrorism and militarization.
- Water / shortage of natural resources will lead to new future conflicts.
- Changes in values, perception of East-West.
- Gender issues.
- Overpopulation.

When societies experience tensions and conflict we note that certain parts of our identities (ethnicity, language, religion, social class, identification with borders, etc) freeze and become rigidified and when mobilized we are called upon to defend them and even die for them. Often this environment encourages the rise of racism and exclusion of the other.

We are not born with stereotypes and prejudice, or racist. We learn to be them from family, peers, the media and the society around us. This is part of what we call socialization, which refers to the process by which children learn the conventional social norms of their surroundings. It is easy to document the existence of norms of ethnic and racial prejudice all over the world. For example, white North Americans have historically tended to be more prejudices against those who originally came from Africa, Asia, and Latin America than against those who came from western Europe. Russians have been historically more prejudiced against the Jews, the English against Africans, the Greeks against the Turks, the Chinese against Japanese etc.

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### 20<sup>th</sup> CENTURY: VIOLENCE

- 100 million people were killed through armed conflict.
- 170 million people were killed through political violence.
- 170 million citizens were estimated to have been killed by Governments but not in war:
  - 62 million in the Soviet Union
  - 35 million in mainland China
  - 35 million in Nazi Germany
  - 6 million in Imperial Japan

Sources for 1 and 2: Preventing Deadly Conflicts (Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict)

Sources for 3: Putting people first, SAIIA, 2000

### 20<sup>th</sup> CENTURY: DEMOCRACY

- Beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century only 6 out of 43 States recognized as Nation States had a democratic system of Government.
- 1980 – 37 of 121 countries were democracies.
- At the end of the Century – 117 of the world's 193 countries, over half the world's population, could be considered democratic.

Sources for 3: Putting people first, SAIIA, 2000

*Prejudice* is a kind of emotional involvement of the subject (positive or negative) whereas the stereotype involves the representation of the other from the point of view of the agent.

Social discrimination and or racism means differentiated treatment: either positive or negative...



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**Exercise 2: I would like you to give me your definition or understanding of the following:**

1. *What is Racism for you? Why do we feel uncomfortable with it? Why do nation states and INGOs try to gradually promote ways to address it and if possible eliminate it?*
2. *What is Sexism? Why is sexism more socially acceptable than racism? What are the historical and cultural factors that make sexism more bearable and even acceptable?*
3. *What is the image you have of a “racist” or a “sexist” person? How does he or she behave? What kind of language does he or she use?*

## **OTHERNESS**

The perception of the other not as a unique human being with his/her own personality and biographical characteristics but with a collective identity is often used to interpret individual characteristics of the other. In this way individuality becomes a part of the social identity.

The need for categorization is to turn complexity into easily understood levels. The use of language to classify our reality and put order in the chaos has consequences both in the environment and the subject (if people define situation as real, they are real in their consequences). Different characteristics, which define categories acquire different meanings in different historical moments and environments. For example: the Jew neighbor before the rise of ethno socialism and after show us for instance that when religious identity is mobilized it acquires a new meaning leading to tragic consequences.

We can give many examples from the recent tragic events in former Yugoslavia and elsewhere too whereby former neighbors and friends engaged in killing each other.

*“Stereotypical thinking”* is the kind of thinking which develops from the starting point of classifications of an individual in a specific category (e.g. white, Greek, Southerner Asian, young, old, teacher, politicians etc.) and leads to unsubstantiated generalizations as far as the characteristics, which are supposed to carry every individual who belongs in one or more of these categories are concerned. This type of thinking also leads to a *generalization* of how the other is constructed. A feature of the stereotype is the value judgment which is included in the image of the other as well as the hierarchy of superior and inferior that is also constructed. When this stereotypical thinking is challenged and we meet individuals of a certain category not carrying these attributable characteristics we tend to say “but this is the exception!” thus discarding the possibility that a category can be complex and multi level.

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The use of value judgment can be either positive or negative depending on the category one belongs to.

A feature of the stereotype is *exaggeration*, meaning the non-realistic transfer of the qualities, which are supposed to characterize a group and by extension each of its members. Often these unsubstantiated assertions are presented as empirical certainties, which are not acquired through an experiential approach of the study of the behavior and personality of the other, but have been inherited and reproduced through education, the media and the general social environment.

## **MAIN THEORIES THAT TRY TO EXPLAIN THE RISE OF STEREOTYPES, PREJUDICE AND RACISM**

The answer to what gives rise to prejudice and stereotyping goes back to the old question whether this is part of human nature or there are specific social conditions that create these behaviors and attitudes. Let us consider some social-psychological theories that try to explain inter-group hatred, prejudices and stereotyping.

### **Realistic group conflict theory (optimistic view?)**

This theory informs us that hatred and prejudices arise because of bad conditions: social inequalities, asymmetric economic development, competition over scarce resources, like territory, and domination. These theorists proposed the concept of super ordinate goal as a means to reducing inter-group prejudices and hostility. By changing the conditions we can eliminate many of these hostile behavior. In other words, real conflicts over scarce resources result in perceptions of threat, which in turn causes attribution to negative characteristics to the threatening group in order to explain the experienced threat. (Sherif, 1961 and Bar-Tal, 1990).

Thus the intervention here concerns the institutional policy makers and changes in the socio-political system. Thus satisfaction of political, economic, socio/cultural needs, cooperation, the experiences of shared values and issues of security and mutual support can according to this theory enhance conflict reduction and changes in the partisan perceptions and negative stereotyping. The role of education and the media is also stressed here.

### **Social identity theory (pessimistic view?)**

This theory as developed by Tajfel and his associates (1978) contends that a central part of our identity is made up of our group affiliations (such as our ethnic group, our professional association, our nation, our state etc.) and we tend

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to view our group as better than the other (construct the “us” and “them” dichotomy). We have the tendency to downgrade the other because of the basic human motivation to have feelings of personal worth and positive self-image and self-respect and self-esteem. Individuals constantly classify others into social categories and evaluate them on the basis of those categories. Group members ascribe to members of other groups homogeneous traits, intentions, and stereotypes. In other words it is a basic human need to favor one's own group at the expense of the out-group. If so should we thus despair?

The main intervention here is public sensitization and awareness building and conflict resolution workshops, dialogue and sensitivity training as we are doing in this workshop.

More recently new findings (Aboud 1988) show that stereotypic content is not universal, but it is *culturally* bound. That is, different groups usually hold different stereotypic contents about the same group and within the same group and also individual group members may hold different stereotypic contents about a particular out-group, this view complicates the picture of us and them.

### **The contact theory**

According to this theory (Allport 1954) lack of knowledge of and information about the other, is the cause of hostility, prejudice, racism and fear. It proposes to create conditions for groups to meet and get to know each other as human beings, engage in dialogue and open up to new information which will help break down negative stereotypes and prejudices. For this model to work certain conditions must be met such as institutional support, a cooperative atmosphere and equal status of groups. At this level citizens' unofficial dialogue meetings and communication conflict resolution workshops can be used.

*Examples:* From the work carried out in Cyprus between Greek and Turkish Cypriots over the years today a strong grass root human infrastructure was being built to prepare the environment for a future solution whereby a culture of peaceful co-existence and cooperation can prevail along with the appreciation and respect for differences. A lot of long-term and hard work is needed to deconstruct the conflict norms that have become a part of people's daily life in a divided society but alternative views and options are being offered today by the peace building community in both sides...

### **Basic human needs theory**

This theory as was developed by Burton (1967, 1990) it claims to be ontological and universal for it transcends race, gender, class and culture and it posits that frustration and violation of the basic human needs such as identity, security, recognition, participation and justice lead to tensions and conflicts, which

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increase hatred and prejudice. Thus any effort for conflict resolution has to take into account the satisfaction of these needs of both parties thus do away with the traditional power over paradigm.

## **CAUSES OF RACISM**

### **Psychological factors**

The classification of groups into “us and them”: in-group and out-group classifications. As mentioned earlier we tend to attribute positive features to ourselves and negative or evil motives to others who do not belong to our ethnic group, our family or our nation. This is a psychological need. On the other hand we find that the dominated groups often internalized their oppression and lower status as being “the natural state of affairs!” and this attitude can lead to the consolidation of the status quo of inequality and power over and to mutual stereotyping.

*Examples:* In the early 1990s in Greece with the coming of Albanian illegal migrants to Greece their wages were much lower than those of the local workers but because the point of comparison was differentiated there was no feeling of unjust treatment because their reference group was the Albanians back home and not the average Greek worker. But gradually when their point of reference became the other Greek workers then prejudice arose in both camps: the minute the Albanian migrants demanded equal treatment and equal wages as the local workers were getting for the same kind of work and considered their work as being widely exploited, they started feeling hatred and revenge. On the side of the employers it was noticed that the refusal of the Albanians to work under the unjust conditions was interpreted as being selective, arrogant, lazy and that since they were not hungry any more they wanted to earn more money from robberies, drugs and thefts!

Also research in social psychology has shown that there is a relationship between personality types and prejudices. The need for scapegoats that is finding a weaker social group to blame for being responsible for any ills and social disorder often misdirects the responsibilities of the governing institutions.

### **Economic factors**

Economic crisis – stagnation, unemployment affecting lower social strata of people with no or little education. Competitive environment leads to limited opportunities and to the issue of prioritization in relation to the access of limited resources: political representation, jobs, administration, in the area of mass media and technology and sciences. When there are divisive lines in a society, for instance racial or national divisions (or deeply defined class divisions), then rarely is the representation of all social groups in the various social subsystems

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symmetrical. This usually leads to prejudices and discrimination. Usually we note the high representation of one group, say in the U.S. of black people in jobs of low status and manual labor. In democratic systems with parliamentary democracy we often note a contradiction between the announced and espoused equal treatment of the citizens and in the adoption of priorities for the access to resources; this contradiction is usually permanent and unsolvable. Because in democratic societies this unequal treatment, which is the selective access of citizens to the resources has to be justified, prejudice plays a role in the justification of asymmetric distribution of social resources. (Give examples). The blacks are not in high positions in the administration because they are lazy, incapable to deal with complex issues due to their low intelligence which characterizes this social category, as some claim! (Let's remind ourselves of the S. African situation; the institutionalized racial discrimination and oppression).

Let us look at the other more difficult factor, the cultural one, which is instrumental in the formation of attitudes and behaviors over time and across generations.

### **Cultural factors**

Who is the Other? Is it a group of individuals, or a social category with whom the agent interacts regularly? It could also be another distant other who may live in another country or continent. Culture contains or is defined in terms of belief systems, attitudes and widely exercised practices in a human community. The interaction with the other in the sense of present or historical is not indispensable for the appearance in the consciousness of the agent convictions, and attitudes towards him or her. For instance we may have convictions and beliefs about the Chinese although we have never met any of them. Or the definition and perception of Turks that Greek students have without having met a modern Turk but the story of the Turkish nation in the school textbooks suffices to them!

The definitions of stereotypes and prejudices of the other especially for the national or religious other derive sometimes from centuries old historical experiences of the agent's group, for example the Greek Orthodox and the Turks, Muslims. Despite the fact that some of these stereotypes carried some reality with the passing of time and close interactions, they no longer hold a just portrayal of the other and yet these stereotypes continue to exist across time. We forget that reality is much more complex.

The characteristics we assign to the other are not the result of our observation and experiences of the other's behavior. Even when what we believed about the other is disconfirmed, we do not differentiate our assumptions about the deeper nature of the other. Our beliefs about the other are more ideological and less logical or rational conclusions of our own experiences. This can explain the rise of xenophobia when the conditions of co-existence change as for instance bad eco-

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conomic conditions, nationalism, the fall of political systems, technological abrupt changes - the stereotypes always existed but were in a dormant condition!

The young people are not devoid of any influence and are called to take a position on the stereotypes about the other that circulate in this/her community. On the contrary the young generation is encouraged to adopt the stereotypes and to refrain from questioning them. Such pressures come from various levels. This is related to the level of expectations of the young to conform.

In the context of a multi-ethnic society or multi-racial society the divisions take place on the basis of cultural traits such as ethnicity, religious, color, etc. Geographic ghettos, outside the common communication space, create xenophobia especially of migrant groups or refugees and other new social groups. The hostile attitude toward the one who is different from us in public spaces shows that tolerance is not an easy process as we have indicated. The factor of fear has always been used by politicians and other interested parties in order to promote and implement a certain unpopular policy or interventions as has been the recent invasion of Iraq.

**Exercise 3: Experiential exercise (work in groups):**

1. *Who is the “other” in your country?*
2. *What are the main stereotypes, perceptions prevailing in your societies about the “other”?*
3. *How do you think your society can address these stereotypes?*
4. *Make any recommendations for policy-making and attitude changes.*



*Participants discussing about (each) “other”.*

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## **From the lecture ...**

- **What have I learned?**

The interactive aspect is very important (Simone PASCHETTO). The self becomes the other, we interconnected all the time with the other.

- **Who is the “other”?**

- ❖ Someone we do not always talk about. (Simone PASCHETTO)
- ❖ The self and the other are interdependent. (Mojca VAH)
- ❖ Dependency relationship is not healthy because of the power issue.
- ❖ Independency relationship is positive: there is an acknowledgment that one needs the other, thus there is a mutual respect.

- **The States can improve:**

- ❖ Economic conditions of new migrants.
- ❖ Issues of unemployment.
- ❖ Issues of competitiveness among local and migrants.
- ❖ Institutional programs to get to know the facts and more information about these migrants.
- ❖ Public awareness about our own connectedness to the “other”.
- ❖ Integrative policies, especially in education.
- ❖ Programs that aim to bring out the positive elements of the “other”.
- ❖ Conditions for inter-marriages not to be viewed as a taboo.

### **Exercise 4: I would like us to think about the other important stereotype which is cultural, political and social:**

#### **Gender stereotypes**

#### **1. In what ways do you think men and women differ?**

Use personal experiences

## **From the lecture ...**

- Racism is a reaction in a non-rational way.
- Sexism is different: man and woman are different.
- Both sexism and racism are exclusions.
- Xenophobia: being afraid of the other.
- Yet “Xenos” in Greek also means not only the stranger, but also the quest, the visitor and we are expected to offer hospitality.

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## **Gender stereotypes - beliefs about the personal attributes of males and females.**

Every stereotype whether based on gender, race, ethnicity or other groups, is an image of the typical member of a particular social category

Women as a social category is complex and consists of subcategories such as mothers, career women, beauty queens, feminists, spinsters, female students, etc... The same goes for men-fathers, businessmen, sissies, etc... In other words, we may form schemas about specific types of males and females who embody distinctive clusters of traits, which usually are recycled through socialization into different roles, values and expectations.

The use of gender as an analytical instrument in understanding women's and men's experiences in the world has opened up both a theoretical and a practical debate amongst academics and activists. Women's stories and experiences today constitute a valid scientific field of study with new methodologies giving rise to a new history of women which is the product of interaction between the political perspective of contemporary women's movements and the new social theories about change.

The emergence of Women's Studies in the 1960s and later Gender Studies in the 1980s in colleges and universities have enriched the connection between the academic world and the social movements. In addition they have created an area of intellectual inquiry and brought to the wider public the contribution of women to culture, the arts, history, the sciences and politics thus, expanding our perception of femininity and masculinity.

The "personal is political" notion and the false separation of the public and private spheres is a recognition world wide of the common oppression of women irrespective of ethnicity, class, age, sexuality, etc. Women's discourses have brought to the political discourse issues of domestic violence, abuse, abortion, contraceptives, family planning, issues which once were considered to be only private and belong to the household area. This led to new laws and new understanding of women's rights and personal freedom.

The contribution of women's movements and the rise of the ideology of feminism has also led to an acknowledgment by INGOs (U.N.O, EU and many national NGOs) that the issue of gender stereotyping and gender role differentiations lead to an uneven development on issues of democracy, human rights, peace building, post conflict reconstruction. as well as to unequal access to all opportunities for both men and women. Numerous are the UN resolutions and decisions on women's issues and women's contribution to social change. The biological differences do not constitute a factor for promoting social inequality and exclusion.

We encounter many gender stereotypes in various cultures, which refer both to appearance and traits. Research finds that men are commonly rated higher than



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women on traits associated with competence, and instrumentality, such as leadership, objectivity and independence. In contrast women are usually rated higher on traits associated with warmth and expressiveness, such as gentleness and awareness of the feelings of others. Although many women today are employed in demanding jobs the typical stereotypes still prevail.

Typical women are gentle, cry easily, enjoy art and literature, do not use harsh language, are religious, interested in fashion, are aware of feelings of others, strong need for security and dependency are talkative and unstable emotionally, etc.

Typical men are aggressive, unemotional, like maths and sciences, are ambitious and worldly and rational, objective, dominant, competitive, self-confident, independent and act as leaders, etc.

Discuss the promotion of gender stereotypes in the mass media such as television, movies and popular music all these images convey messages of masculinity and femininity as these are socially constructed and they do shift over time.

Consider the following data, which illustrate the gender inequality in many areas of men's and women's life, especially in domains where decisions are taken which affect issues of war, peace and development.

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## **EUROPEAN TORN IDENTITY: BORDERS OF RATIONALITY**

Why is it that all of a sudden almost everyone keeps repeating such words as: “identity”, “European identity”, “in-between”, “national-trans-national”, “local-global”, “modernity-post-modernity” etc. all the time? What is going on and where does it lead?

An attempt to take an in-depth look at the European Identity by problematizing traditional unity, deconstructing the initial elements, reflecting on the origins and finding out the possible sustainable configuration, was undertaken at the “Europe's (Torn?) Identity” conference. Indeed, this is a provocative point of view.

Firstly, the very concept of identity requires some looking into. As it turned out, identity is not simply what anyone thinks or feels they might be. The crucial and defining component is the perception of the other and others. Throughout history, European identity has attempted to assert itself by negating the Other. Is this still the path, which we should follow; establishing a border between those included into “the club of the privileged”<sup>1</sup> and those excluded for the reason of being the “other”?

Secondly, I'm personally convinced, that “European identity” should remain a concept with no final application in reality, but rather constantly revised, debated, different and torn. As such, as a concept, the “European identity” is ultimately open, without any geographical borders, and a non-exclusive phenomenon. To a critical mind this would sound theoretical and idealistic. But at least it escapes any fixed and thus ideological definitions.

Thirdly, the result of the conference was a discovery of the multi-dimensional and multi-layered structure of the European identity, which lead us to admit that the proper expression would actually be European identiti-es. In economic, political, religious, national-ethnic, virtual and other aspects the European identity covers different entities. Why should we stick to geography when looking for those hidden European “borders”? The word European should signify the character and the intention of being together as well as a commitment and responsibility. Europe is a cooperative identity, according to Professor Mitja Žagar.

And yet what is still missing in these often idealistic visions? We agree that “European” so far remains a very abstract idea lacking emotional and affective dimension. No jokes, no personification, no strong feelings are to be attached to the European identity. Here, it seems Europeanization can be paralleled to globalization, which in order to be effective needs to rely on the local level.

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1 “Club of the privileged” was the paraphrase for the EU during the conference days.

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To me, as a Belarusian in national terms, “European torn identity” is a way of perceiving the disjuncture of Belarusian identity as something normal, something happening all around Europe (and the world?). It also opens up ways for cooperation. It problematizes any “Other” identity as being torn: Americans are not all the same, the outward image may harshly contrast with the inward (political) tensions.

Probably everything stated above is too theoretical, abstract and idealistic. No certain characteristics, no indication of common values, common history and prospect of future. I liked the beginning of Professor Silvo Devetak's lecture, “Europe lacks the intellectual vision, being a highly politicized phenomenon” very much. The text above was an attempt of critical and self-critical approach, which can be a firm ground for any further constructions.

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