EDITORIAL
By Isabelle Ioannides

Talk different
Last September, in his ‘State of the Union’ speech, President Barroso appealed to the men and women of culture and to European thinkers to join the debate on the future of Europe. It is in this spirit that the pilot project on “A New Narrative for Europe” was launched in April to explore how to create a sense of a shared European destiny that we can work together to achieve.

This endeavour recognises the need at the beginning of the 21st century, to refresh the narrative of European development and to tell the story of Europe differently. Europe is a daily reality for more than 500 million Europeans; yet public opinion today reflects a feeling of anxiety coupled with a lack of understanding of the benefits of the EU project. At a time when many Europeans face unemployment, uncertainty and growing inequality, and when Europe is experiencing a resurgence of populism, European unity cannot be taken for granted.

In response to this situation and in support of sustainable European integration, strengthened European democracy and a quest for greater European legitimacy, the ‘new narrative for Europe’ aims to be inclusive and all-encompassing. Europe is not just about the economy; the European Union is a political and cultural project based on universal values.

As President Barroso emphasised in his speech at the Centre for Fine Arts of Brussels (BOZAR) where the “New Narrative for Europe” project was launched, “It is with new ideas, new concepts and new projects that we will rise to the challenges facing us to make our future a reality. And that’s why the European Commission defends a Europe that invests in culture, in education, in research and innovation. These are investments in future growth, jobs and social cohesion.”

Following logically on last month’s BEPA Monthly Brief which concentrated on the rights of EU citizens, this month’s issue explores the construction of a ‘new narrative’ as a potential outlet for new ideas on the future of Europe. Our readers will be able to learn more about the objectives of the “New Narrative for Europe” pilot project, its political underpinning and read a sample of the work of one of its prominent members.

For the sake of future generations of Europeans, we must leave a legacy of democracy, prosperity and hope. This project offers a genuine opportunity to help us articulate this aspiration.
1 A new narrative for Europe – The ongoing quest

By Paul Dujardin*

2013, the European Year of Citizens, may turn out to be a cornerstone in Europe’s history. For the first time, the EU has given a central role to its top artists and intellectuals to reflect on the future of our continent and propose a vision, a narrative.

The timing is particularly fitting for such an exercise. Following a proposal adopted by the European Parliament and the Council in 2012, the European Commission launched the pilot project “New Narrative for Europe” last April, at the Centre for Fine Arts of Brussels (BOZAR), in the presence of President José Manuel Barroso, Vice-President Viviane Reding, and European Commissioner for Culture and Education Androulla Vassiliou.

This ambitious project acknowledges the importance of artists and intellectuals to help reconnect Europe with its citizens. It arrives at a crucial moment of our history; a moment when dialogue with its citizens has become a matter of extreme urgency and a vital condition for Europe’s long-term survival.

Although different in its scope, the “New Narrative for Europe” project can remind us of the US Federal Writers’ project launched by President Roosevelt during the New Deal. The aim of this American effort was to send out artists and intellectuals to schools, cities and villages to compile local histories, oral histories, ethnographies, children’s books and other works. This approach was greatly welcomed by US citizens.

This European version wishes to formulate a new ‘narrative on Europe’ in 2013. Through the work of a Committee of artists and intellectuals as well as through three General Assemblies to be held in Poland (11 July 2013), France (October) and Germany (January), it wishes to propose a new vision and identity for the European project, reflecting on its cultural values and unity. These events will bring together European intellectuals, civil society representatives, artists and national policymakers, such as Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk or French President François Hollande. It is of course quite remarkable also that President Barroso will make these a priority in his agenda.

It is an ambitious initiative that will certainly raise many suspicious and pessimistic eyebrows, in particular regarding its true impact. Yet, in the light of the numerous positive reactions received from famous intellectuals and artists towards the project (e.g., Hungarian writer Gyorgy Konrad – whose article on the need to include the voices of the intelligentsia our readers will find in this BEPA Monthly Brief – or Italian artist Michelangelo Pistoletto to name but a few), the project is worth the effort since we desperately need reasons to hope and to look forward to the future.

There are reasons to remain positive. As Danish journalist, Per Nyholm, highlights, “the European Union, in the course of only two generations, has been able to bring this continent out of a 1500 year old culture of war and destruction, onto a stage of welfare, peace, security, democracy and the rule of law”. The Nobel Peace Prize awarded to the EU in 2012 was a clear celebration of this achievement. In the same vein, although Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas sees Europe as a Greek theatre show, he also sees Europe as “the first nation that started to work together on a voluntary basis. It is a work in progress, but it is ‘copied’ by other regions of the world such as the Gulf, the Asian or the South American countries.”

Despite this positive picture, Europe seems to have reached a turning point with an increasing mistrust and disenchantment of citizens towards the European project. The reality reminds us of an urgent need not only to create jobs but also stories that unify Europe – like those tales of the Brothers Grimm – and build bridges. Without a sense of a common past and

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a common destiny based on the respect for cultural diversity, there will never be solidarity between the European citizens. Instead, we risk ending up with no European project at all and a total lack of European mentality.

Expanding public debate has become of crucial importance, as President Barroso rightly points out in its State of the Union 2012 address: “We need a serious discussion between the citizens of Europe about the way forward.”

European intellectuals and artists are ideally positioned to propose new perceptions of Europe and shape new visions and trends. They are those who can really help change the image of Europe around the globe and create the European story that our citizens are calling for. Throughout their works, they constantly explore the history, values, frustrations, symbols which we all share as human beings. As Spanish film director Pere Portabella writes, “It has become urgent to design open stories. Stories with images and strong metaphors to enable an intelligent and credible policy discourse to win the support from citizens.”

What narrative?
A ‘narrative for Europe’ can be explored through various perspectives. It is an ongoing exercise for which each single citizen could propose his/her own version. Perceptions from Northern Europe will differ from those from Southwest Europe, while views expressed a certain year will certainly have nothing to do with those that will emerge in the coming years. A narrative for tomorrow will not be the same as the narrative of yesterday.

As Luisa Taveira, Director of the National Ballet of Portugal, recently noted, “Europe is not a sole succession of events but a multiplicity of narratives”. Yet global questions can help define what a ‘narrative for Europe’ could look like at present. A narrative can identify the main developments of European society since the founding of the European Union, and look at the past, current and future values, symbols and stories we want to tell about Europe – from solidarity to social cohesion, citizenship, cultural and scientific creation, interdependence or diversity, to name but a few examples.

Finally, raising the question of the ‘narrative for Europe’ also implies raising the question about what do we want it to do – what commitment can one expect from citizens, policy-makers, artists and intellectuals to put into practice ideas conveyed by this narrative?

To guide this dynamic, the Culture Committee of artists and intellectuals will gather several times during the project to reflect on and discuss the topics that this new narrative in construction must address.

A never ending story
As explained previously, the narrative is an ongoing process which certainly deserves more thinking in the coming years. This one-year exercise will only acquire full credibility if it manages to turn into a long-term objective, able to move from a top-down approach to a bottom-up dynamic where citizens at grassroots level are included.

The project should therefore aim to provide a space for discussions on Europe between artists and intellectuals, in particular as an answer to President Barroso’s recent call for more Europe and for expanding the public debate in his speech on the ‘State of the Union’ in 2012. Numerous artists and intellectuals, such as Belgian painter Luc Tuymans or Dutch writer Geert Mak, have also been calling for such a platform for several years.

We are now at a starting point of a process which must go beyond a mere rhetorical exercise and develop into an Agora for constant dialogue. By the end of the year, the project should present a Manifesto introducing this new narrative. It should be an all-encompassing narrative that considers the evolving reality and diversity of the European continent and highlights that the EU is not solely about economy and growth, but also about cultural unity and common values in a globalised world.

We do hope that this ‘new narrative’ will offer an optimistic vision of Europe, fully aware of its reality and challenges, but still able to propose a long-term ambition and story for its citizens.
I was one of the lucky few who was given the possibility of being present at the town hall of Oslo on the historic day in December last year when the European Union was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. It was a moving—and in the best meaning of the word—solemn ceremony, where the European project and community were given the recognition that they should have received a long time ago.

Ironically, it took a country outside the European Union, namely the Norwegians, to remind us of the deeper meaning of the EU project. Often it takes an outsider to see things from a clear perspective.

It is also ironic that the Nobel Peace Prize is the formal recognition of the European Union’s contribution, considering that the success of the Union has been a reality for a very long time. Yet again we can learn from the Norwegians. Norway implements most of the legislation that comes from Brussels. Thus, the sceptics who claim that they would rather free themselves of EU legislation, participate anyway. They probably do so because the advantages are very significant.

The narrative of peace through trade has therefore been given a much deserved renaissance in Oslo. In spite of this, in my experience, the lack of public support can be clearly linked to the fact that for many Europeans the idea and vision of the European Union is far from clear. The result of a lack of awareness and understanding by citizens of what the European project is about can be witnessed all over Europe in the form of increased scepticism and populism.

So what is wrong with the existing narrative?

Nothing—to put it bluntly. Peace and prosperity is the ultimate narrative. But peace and prosperity is something that is taken for given by most citizens under the age of 50 years old, since they have grown up in stable societies where these concepts are part of the norm.

What to do then when social upheaval, unemployment, and poverty seems to be ‘the new normal’? For many it is tempting to equate this misery with the European Union and the Euro. It is tempting and of course very far from the truth.

The entire affair has the classic characteristics of a tragedy. For this reason, I believe that the solution to the serious challenges we face should not only be about dealing with the debt-crisis, the absence of structural reforms and the flawed constitutional architecture of the European Union. On top of that, we need to look at the legitimacy of the EU, and the lack of public support for the European project.

This is why the narrative for Europe is relevant. Without a common narrative, one cannot expect citizens to have a common understanding of what it means to be European. Or to be more exact: if I am to convince a Danish citizen on the necessity of lending money to Greece and if I am to work to fight the crisis and unemployment all over Europe, then I need to be able to offer another common narrative than that of a narrative of crisis management. And if I am to convince a young unemployed Dane on the benefits and wisdom of the Union, then I need more than the narrative of peace among nations.

It is important that suggestions on this new narrative come from others than politicians. And here the world of culture has a lot to offer. So far, there have been initiatives, but on the whole, the intellectuals, the writers and creative forces from the cultural sector have not been in the forefront on the debate on Europe.
For this reason, I suggested to launch the pilot project “New Narrative for Europe”, which will bring together a number of independent citizens from the cultural and creative sectors. They will be a group free of politicians with a very clear mandate and task: to sit down and formulate the new narrative on Europe. It will not be a rejection of the existing narrative, but a modernisation of this narrative: a Europe version 2.0.

I am happy to see that I am not the only one with these ideas. Both in the European Parliament and in the European Commission we have benefited from important support and backing for the idea. The group is already working together with the aim to create – or reinvent – the European narrative.

The group consists of a number of very engaged and bright individuals from very different backgrounds, who have been given a free hand. A concrete result of the first meeting is that the end product – a Manifesto or Charter – should not stand alone. Public support and involvement takes more than just words. Citizens in Europe should be involved through action.

The deadline of the project is in the beginning of 2014. Before then, three general assemblies will be organised in Poland, France and Germany, where citizens will be invited to participate. It is important that we have now set an agenda that is not only about crisis.

I encourage everyone to take part in this project. Hopefully this is only the beginning of a much wider engagement and involvement of citizens in Europe, where we can all participate in creating a new narrative: a Europe version 2.0.

Council President Van Rompuy, Commission President Barroso and European Parliament President Schulz receiving the Nobel Peace Prize 2012, in Oslo, on 12 October 2012.
We are all gradually getting used to our new identity, namely what it means to be a citizen not only of our own country but also of the European Union. What is new about this compared to before? Perhaps it is the number of different identities that are recognised.

The European Union must build not only on common interests but also on common chosen values and lasting friendships. Being linked together brings increasing diversity in its wake. European integration is helping to boost the number of people involved in the cultural sector.

Why do we need European integration? It is so that we Europeans, divided into nations and alliances, do not continue the centuries old tradition of bloody conflict.

So that none of the states of Europe can slide down the slippery slope into war with the others, since being bound together in this way imposes discipline on everyone.

So that we, as citizens of the Union, can enjoy equality before the law, can work, and can come and go as we please, thanks to peace.

Inevitably, I have experienced many unpleasant situations in my home country, which mostly have to do with National Socialist and Communist extremism. But although first the German and then the Soviet rulers expected the home administration to act as they wanted, it nevertheless enjoyed considerable independence and readily made use of this independence to the detriment of their subjects.

When it comes to deciding in whose name to oppress us, the choice is not extensive: in the name of the nation, the international working class, or some religion or other. The flow of ideas spreading through Europe may infuriate a country or two, but not all twenty seven member states.

I think that the constitutional limits that Europe places on national sovereignty are positive. I also think that it is a good thing for the national community of towns and villages to govern themselves. Power must be kept in check from both outside and inside.

In the European Union, we are less susceptible to local prejudice, we move more freely on the international labour market, and there are no political or bureaucratic barriers to prevent information or capital from crossing our borders.

There are plenty of national politicians, but European ones are far rarer. The influential governments and heads of state usually defend national interests when they come together around the table. What they say is aimed at their own electorates in the hope of gaining approval at home. They have to show endurance in the escalating struggle for the defence of national goals that domestic populists seek to exploit.

But there are some thoughtful Europeans who are working to align both further-reaching and more limited interests, so that a compromise will emerge that is close to a fair solution.

Behind a proud façade of national sovereignty, the state under Hitler and Stalin did what it liked with the population. I would welcome it if being a part of Europe meant that the power of national political leaders was curbed both from above and from below.

I would like to know that for many years to come, the history of my homeland would not bear the stamp of approval of just a single person. I think that it would be positive to limit the national local political class, because I do not trust them much.

There is right wing and left wing populism. Both tend towards statism and both would like to see Europe divided into coalitions, alliances and axes. The national political classes have both an interest in European integration and no interest in it. Both the right wing and the left wing in the former Communist countries have

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an underdeveloped sense of the ethics and practice of self-restraint. They equate their own power with the nation’s vital interests and they do not take kindly to foreigners interfering in their affairs.

Suitable politicians in the European Union come from the ranks of reliable technocrats rather than charismatic leaders. They attract less attention in the media and they are not the focus of expectations or negative reactions.

However, if we are looking for an answer to the question of what holds Europe together, I would say without hesitating: its symbolic culture, the arts, literature, including Europe’s religious and secular literature, all of which existed hundreds and thousands of years before our continent’s economic and political alliance.

When the ruling classes manage to engage in a discussion of important matters with the thinking public we talk about a red letter day in politics. It is important that the intelligentsia in the European Union is given an appropriate part to play.

We also need counterbalances; positions endowed with authority from which there is no legitimate path to governmental power.

We need outstanding thinkers, scientists and artists whose opinions unanimously agreed around the table are of interest to public opinion.

We need points of view whose importance is determined not by how many people support them, but by the argument itself and the spiritual and moral authority of those expressing it.

Advisors are not career politicians nor do they want to be. Yet they are interested in public affairs and have an opinion on them. They attain this position not by election or nomination, but through invitation.

Politicians are subject to party discipline and can never be independent. In contrast, those invited to sit around the table are independent. Invited participants should be given an important role on the stage of European decision-making, alongside the elected and nominated players, so that public opinion can follow the dialogue between politicians and independent intellectuals with greater attention.

This piece is a summary of the chapter “Why Europe?” which appeared in the author’s book, Europe and the National States, Berlin, Suhrkamp Verlag, 2013.
4 Think Tank Twitter

Think Tank Twitter (TTT) aims to provide regular information and updates on what is produced by think tanks and research centres across Europe (and beyond) on EU policy issues. As an analogy to the original Twitter, each summary – or tweet – does not exceed 140 words, rather than characters. Those who wish to signal new publications for possible inclusion can send them to the email address bepa-think-tank-twitter@ec.europa.eu

Think Global – Act European IV: Thinking strategically about the EU’s external action

New trends are reshaping our current world order. This publication aims to provide the EU with a new outlook on these evolutions. The authors outline ten key recommendations, providing the EU with a new strategic thinking in the ambit of its external relations. They advise to improve the coherence of internal and external EU policies; to address the fragmentation of economic governance; to engage with traditional and new global players, especially with China; to develop a comprehensive approach for sustainable growth; to support legal migration thus moving beyond a "security-driven perspective"; to develop mutual interests with the neighbourhood; to shift towards a proactive, cooperative engagement with regional actors (e.g. Turkey and Russia); to conduct an EU defence policy review and lastly to grasp the nettle of military capabilities.


The EU’s Global Climate and Energy Policies: Gathering momentum?

Over the last three years the European Commission was able to launch a significant number of initiatives in the field of energy and climate. This advancement in the external dimension of its energy policy has laid a solid foundation for a coherent international climate strategy, giving the EU a leading role in international climate negotiations. However, the author is not certain whether this development marks the beginning of a new EU leadership era, or rather if it is an *ad hoc* expediency. He furthermore sees problems emerging from the growing tensions between the internal and external dimensions of this policy. A debate on what kind of energy actor the EU wants to be in the future, that is, whether it wants to focus climate change or energy security, is needed.


Europe’s Growth Problem (and what to do about it)

Since the crisis erupted in Europe, growth rates have slowed down significantly. This undermines, however, public and private deleveraging and makes banks even more fragile. Unemployment rises and it becomes even harder for economies to recover competitiveness; investment is discouraged and the social model is in danger. To address this stagnation, the most urgent priority is the full restoration of a functional financial system. The authors believe that a Banking Union with clearly defined burden sharing arrangements, bank resolution and recapitalisation are vital to restore growth. It is important to address divergences on intra-European competitiveness to ensure the reallocation of factors to the most productive firms. To promote growth, it is advisable that the European Investment Bank increases its activity and that EU funds are directed to countries in deep recession.


Europe’s Strategic Cacophony

On the basis of the 27 national security strategies the authors observe that most of them are incoherent, deprived of a common European geopolitical sense, or simply out of date. A framework to effectively allocate defence resources in Europe and set priorities in security policy is lacking both at national and European levels. In the current state of the crisis, defence budgets are cut in a disordered manner and at the expense of European defence capabilities. Looking at the European Council (December 2013) *inter alia* on defence, the authors advise to live up to the concept of pooling and sharing through a European Defence Semester and common rules for the European airspace. The evolution towards a common and shared sense of an EU geopolitical role and EU strategic capacity building is needed.

http://ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR77_SECURITY_BRIEF_AW.pdf
Nothing Ventured, Nothing Gained? The EU-Ukraine Association Agreement and the effectiveness of the European Neighbourhood Policy

Although an EU-Ukrainian Association Agreement is ready, it has not been signed due to EU concerns regarding political developments in Ukraine. This does not only put EU-Ukrainian relations to the test, but the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) as a whole. In the Ukrainian case, the author suggests to scale down normative ambitions in the short term, provide more funding to the Ukrainian civil society, and treat remaining incentives carefully.

In order to increase the ENP's impact and effectiveness, a shift of priorities needs to take place in the long run: to this day, the top EU priority is to avoid political and economic risks that clearly undermine EU leverage on policy objectives, such as norm transfer and security cooperation.


The Future of Mediterranean Europe: Between the euro crisis and Arab revolution

The author argues that the combined effect of both the Arab spring and the severe impact of the economic crisis on southern European countries, could give rise to a Mediterranean space that is characterised by instability rather than regional growth and development. To prevent this from happening, proposals are made along the lines of the concept of openness: openness in a political sense, but also openness of economies and job markets, societies and attitudes. This implies a strong civil-society-to-civil-society engagement that could eventually bridge divides and address problems such as demographic change in Europe. For both the youth in Mediterranean Europe and in the MENA countries, skilled-oriented education and the free flow of people are necessary. A Mediterranean market for energy could complete this South-South integration agenda.


Unconventional Oil and Gas – Global Consequences

Although shale gas findings in the US will change the landscape of energy supply dramatically over the next years, the author advises the EU to adhere to a stable energy framework and clear climate targets. Shale gas is surrounded by great uncertainties: exact knowledge about technological risks, emissions and the ecological footprint is not yet available. In any case, shale gas does not represent the long-term solution for sustainable energy supply; it can only serve as a transitional energy source towards reaching this goal. The author fears however that the shale gas boom increases the opportunity costs for a fast energy transition. In a world that is today multipolar, the energy mixes in countries will develop in a fragmented way. To ensure trust in markets and smooth trade flows, increased international cooperation and dialogue is advisable.


After the Crisis: Some thoughts on a global EU – or how to turn a crisis into regeneration

Europe’s relative power in the world seems to be declining. But the authors make clear that neither the European idea nor the EU as a global actor are bankrupt. Just as the European project evolved after a major crisis following WWII, the authors believe that this crisis bears an enormous potential for renewal. The current crisis teaches Europe how to deal with internal interdependencies: instead of introspecting, the EU can turn this experience outward to manage interdependence on a global level. The authors suggest promoting global governance and multilateralism. The EU is a flexible and cosmopolitan actor that needs to be more ambitious in its goals and more humble in its representation and presentation.

Departures
BEPA congratulates Margaritis Schinas, Deputy Head of BEPA, on his appointment by the College as Director of the DG ECFIN Office in Athens. We thank him for his great contribution to BEPA’s work and wish him all the best in his new endeavours.

Activities
On 7 May, BEPA staged a major one-day conference titled “Blueprint for a Deep and Genuine EMU: Debating the future economic, monetary, banking and political union”. The conference deepened the debate on the Blueprint and engaged MEPs, representatives of national parliaments, business and trade unions and other stakeholders on the meaning and benefits of the proposal for Europe’s citizens. President Barroso opened the event. High level speakers also included Commission Vice-President Rehn, Eurogroup Chairman Dijsselbloem and Portuguese Finance Minister Gaspar. The panel sessions focused on economic governance, banking union and the debate on democratic legitimacy and accountability.

On 15 May, BEPA organised jointly with the European Humanist Federation and the Grande Loge Féminine de France a seminar on “Populism in Europe”. Around fifty participants discussed the increase of populism and focused on measures taken by the EU institutions to fight populism, as well as future possible ways for tackling this issue.

On 27-28 May, President Barroso hosted the Third High Level Meeting on Inter-Regional Dialogue on Democracy, dedicated to upholding and strengthening rule of law in the regions. Participants included Commissioner Georgieva, and the Secretary Generals and other senior officials from regional organisations. The event was facilitated by International IDEA.

On 28 May, BEPA organised a seminar on “Implications of shale gas for Europe’s energy future” to examine the implications of the global revolution in unconventional oil and gas for Europe. It assessed the impacts of shale gas on EU economic competitiveness, particularly vis-à-vis the United States. Panellists — including Commissioner for Energy Oettinger and Vice-President Rehn — and participants discussed the influence of this development on Europe’s economic recovery, the fight against climate change and energy security.

On 30 May, Commission President Barroso, Council President Van Rompuy, and EP Vice-President Surján met high level religious dignitaries and leaders. In view of the European Year of Citizens 2013 and the 2014 European Parliament elections, the religious dignitaries discussed EU citizenship, how to rebuild trust in the European project, and how to bring citizens closer to the EU.

Forthcoming Events
On June 7, following the “State of the European Union” conference, BEPA will organise a seminar on the attractiveness of Europe. Commissioner De Gucht will deliver the keynote speech, and INSEAD, Booz & Co and Ernst & Young will present studies on European appeal, highlighting why Europe is an important part of their global strategy. Participants will discuss ways to promote an environment where multinational companies maintain and increase their inward investment to generate growth and employment.

The EGE will hold its next monthly meeting on 18-19 June to continue its work on the Opinion on security and surveillance technology.

In cooperation with the Church and Society Commission of the Conference of European Churches (CEC) and the Commission of the Bishops’ Conferences of the European Community (COMECE), BEPA will host on 20 June a seminar on “EU citizenship – challenges and benefits”. Representatives of several Christian denominations, Commission officials, academics and MEPs will discuss the concept of European citizenship and citizens’ understanding and awareness of it.

On 24 June, BEPA will co-organise with the Austrian Institute for European Law and Policy a seminar on dialogue with civil society under Art. 11 (2) TEU. Senior European officials will be able to debate with experts on the promises, reality and limitations of the “vertical civil dialogue”; clarify facts and myths regarding civil society and representative organisations; and debate on the opportunities and challenges for EU legitimacy.