

NEXT EUROPE[©]

In search of its narrative

COMMENTARY

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Balas, Andrew

New Europe for Scientific Innovation and Cultural Inclusiveness

The old Europe has always been known for its rich history, tremendous cultural diversity and many landmark discoveries in science. It has also been known for its artistic heritage, welcoming people, and great centers of ideas. Periodically, the old Europe failed to maintain peace among its nations, showed intolerance to minorities and found itself on the losing end of the brain drain of talents. The old Europe is also struggling with economic growth and aging population.

Scientific innovation is a major driver of economic development, human progress and population health improvement. The overall positive impact of universities in contributing to the local and regional economy has been repeatedly explored (Guerrero, Urbano, & Gajón, 2014; Trequattrini, Lombardi, Lardo, & Cuzzo, 2015).

Recent literature highlights the importance of “2D” diversity in promoting innovation that includes (i) inherent, such as gender, ethnicity and sexual orientation, and (ii) acquired diversity based on learning and culture. According to Hewlett et al. survey respondents of firms with 2-D diversity are 70% likelier to report that the firm captured a new market (Hewlett, Marshall, & Sherbin, 2013).

In the world of business, racial and gender diversity in leadership positively influences economic outcomes (Catalyst & Catalyst, 2004; Herring, 2009; Miller & Del Carmen Triana, 2009). Ozgen et al. merged data from different sources and created an employer-employee micro dataset of 4582 firms (Ozgen, Nijkamp, & Poot, 2013). They found that firms employing a more diverse foreign workforce are more innovative, particularly in terms of product innovations and in sectors employing skilled immigrants.

Diversity among interdisciplinary collaboration partners promotes interdisciplinary learning and expands the reach of innovative research (Stirling 2007). Studies suggest that when faculty are encouraged to creatively collaborate, research productivity increases as well as benefits from accountability, standardization across disciplines, and economies of scale.

The role of faculty diversity in innovation is an often overlooked input in innovation research (Valantine & Collins, 2015). Women currently receive about half of all doctoral degrees in the life sciences, but remain underrepresented at the faculty level and in research (Sheltzer & Smith, 2014).

In the United States, the academic workforce with research doctorates in science, engineering, and health (SEH) was nearly 370,000 in 2013 and the foreign-trained portion was about 59,000 (National Science Board, 2016). Innumerable landmark discoveries, including Nobel Prize winning achievements, and major successes of industrial innovation start with stories of immigration (Wadhwa, 2008).

Is the melting pot approach of the United States the only workable option to attract and grow talent or cultural preservation can coexist and indeed enrich innovation? Cultural diversity, respect and tolerance have great significance for maintain peace, preventing

war, and promoting stimulating discussions that spark innovation. Furthermore, protecting diversity in wildlife and languages is recognized as essential for the survival of humanity. There is more value in cultural diversity and inclusiveness.

Considering the already well-recognized, tremendous scientific and practical values of the Mediterranean diet (Michel de Lorgeril, 1999), the Seventh-day Adventists healthy life style (Fraser, 1992), and several traditional medicines one may suspect that that plurality of lifestyles and preservation of cultural diversity is not just about tolerance and peace but also about much needed innovation for benefiting society and economic growth.

There are many reasons to believe that the new Europe should be known not only for its rich history but also for protecting its cultural diversity while welcoming immigration. Harassment of minorities and minority languages will no longer be tolerated. Preserving traditional cultures and welcoming immigrants can and should coexist. Together, they can win and separately they will likely lose. The new Europe of diversity and inclusiveness can successfully promote science, innovation and economic development.

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Babuder, Maks

I would point out two Statements which I found in the NEXT EUROPE Introductory Paper has encouraged me to express my below comments and propositions.

The first one is worded:

“The changes and tensions we are experiencing are endogenous and exogenous. Inside Europe the focus is now on the massive financial transformations, an army of unemployed people, in particular among the youth. Similarly, there are financial obligations of each country. These endogenous reasons are causing a fear of the future. Remaining national problems are to be re-evaluated and solved”.

And the second one:

“The Garden of Europe, Hortus Europae can only be created by us together. This results in the mechanism “Next Europe”. Everyone is invited to develop his ideas about how he sees the future of Europe, what he expects and what he is concerned about. Thus we might arrive to a new European paradigm: From a political Europe to a citizens' Europe, designed by citizens. This can then form the basis for a further legalization of cohabitation in Europe”.

The recent events in some European Countries, the intensive and partly uncontrollable excessive migration flows justify the endeavours and needs of SEE Countries to foster the cooperation in the Electric Power Industry field.

These events put the objectives and drawing forces for cooperation of several CIGRÉ National Committees of the Central and South-East European Region in the focal point.

The main aim of the regional cooperation is to increase capacity of knowledge of the technical issues in the range of the CIGRE activities, to support each other in organization of technical events, to support efforts in better regional market designing, to give support in developing of new technologies for electricity power sector and development of a new energy perspective.

In accordance with CIGRE working methods to incorporate international experts to share best practices and join forces for present and future the Power System, SEERC is sharing and adapting these methods to regional needs. This regional cooperation will be realised mainly through activities of new regional working groups and Regional Conferences as well as Workshops.

Importance of CIGRE is free expert thinking and independent opinions out of institutional or national consensus.

CIGRE as one of the world oldest international technical organization has a great tradition in Region of Central and South East of Europe. Many Countries have developed CIGRE National Committees as central hub for exchanges information and upgrading knowledge of electric power systems as well as supporting creation of a new standards and recommendations for Power System. SEERC will try to expand positive aspects of CIGRE in SEE Region.

South East European Region comprises more than 200 million of population and has a great potential for faster development in Power engineering sector. SEERC as a regional branch of worldwide organization of large electric power systems could be a catalyst and a great technical support. Energy and knowledge are crucial parameters for faster development in today fast changing world. Cooperation of members of SEERC means better possibilities for development of future Power network and equipment.

The conceivable themes of common interest between cooperating NC CIGRE of the region are:

- Planning and development issues particularly large investments as undersea AC and DC cables across the Adriatic sea as well as Mediterranean (linking Italy, Greece, Montenegro, Malta, Croatia, Albania, offshore wind parks, etc.),
 - Modernization of network, implementation of intelligent technologies in power systems, refurbishment of existing power system,
 - Asset management issues considering regional particularities,
 - South-eastern European electricity market designing, specific regional issues,
 - Mutual supports and cooperation in the field of new technical standards,
 - New European energy orientation towards sustainable developments, regional issues, solar & wind technologies, smart grids,
 - Assessments of Environmental solutions (legal issues, EMF harmonization, aesthetic solutions, sustainable innovative technology solutions),
 - Dissemination of knowledge from other advanced regions,
 - Innovative forum establishing in the region involving local intellectual potentials.
- The Academia may give an efficient support and make possible the transition in the new energy era aiming to achievement of global environmental goals.

Bountis, Tassos

I read carefully the text entitled Next Europe In Search of its Narrative sent to us by Prof. Dr. Felix Unger, President of the European Academy of Sciences and Arts and I believe it eloquently expresses the feelings of an overwhelming majority of Europeans from all countries and ranks of society. It is a very good idea to start a discussion among us members of EASA, which will lead to a number of conclusions that we may then distribute more widely among other European Academies and European intellectuals in order to reach a consensus that we may then communicate to our governments. Let me summarize briefly here some first ideas, which may be included in the open forum to which EASA is inviting us to contribute. I will outline a number of areas where I believe Past Europe has failed its citizens and where Next Europe can really make a contribution:

1) European values and principles: As the text of Next Europe states these were first proposed by my ancestors as their greatest contribution to Western Civilization and refer to democracy, respect of others' opinions, and devotion to building a society aiming to provide its citizens with equal rights, obligations and opportunities to fully realize their potential, with equality, justice and compassion for the needy and the weak.

2) European independence and respect of self-determination: Next Europe should value highly its independence as a world entity, with a leadership that acts independently of other entities to protect its citizens and doesn't follow blindly the policies of other entities, putting thus at risk the safety and well-being of European citizens. Next Europe should not engage in any acts of aggression against other sovereign states or independent countries, unless it is attacked by them and therefore has to act in self-defense. This attitude will make Next Europe a credible partner in intra-national conventions and negotiations to help in resolving disputes and propose solutions to world problems, whenever invited to do so.

3) European Focusing on Education and Civilization policies: Next Europe should greatly enhance its already existing education activities and infra-structures and cultural activities and policies on all levels to promote what distinguishes human beings from other creatures on this earth. National languages, religions, customs and heritages should be respected and not amalgamated into a featureless whole as it has happened in the USA. Every European citizen, as was the case in ancient Athens, should have the opportunity to participate actively in all education and cultural activities to improve oneself as an individual and contribute to the advancement of these values in its own country as well as throughout Europe.

4) De-centralization and detachment from strict Economics: Finally, Next Europe should detach itself from its present exaggerated adherence to Economic measures, regulations and policies that tend to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. It should have a European leadership that does not only serve the interests of only a few economically powerful partners. Next Europe should be viewed in theory and in practice as a truly democratic entity that cares about its partners and helps them in their difficulties, demanding at the same time that they also faithfully adhere to a European Bill of Rights and Obligations.

Boldea, Ion

- The Next Europe Study is timely
- To do it, however i feel we have to do preliminary review and trend studies on:
 - Climate evolution and consequences on society
 - Economic developments(see Thomas Piketty : Capital in the 21st century
 - Demographics
 - Societal arrangements and mentalities
 - Science and technology : status and trends
 - Energy: status, challenges and solutions
 - Education: PreUniversity, permanent education and University :for all(many) and for creating an Elite
 - Culture foundations: philosophy,history,sociology, arts

Only based on the above, I think, a challenging but practical Investigation about „Next Europe“, a part of the „world village“ ,societal arrangements will be possible.Maybe the subject of he study should be renamed more modestly „ Europe in the 21st Century“ To introduce a bit of doubt I would add what Pythagors noted after seeng the world from China to Chartage and Alps: „ small but well thought changes are less expensive than big changes“.

Finally ,if I would have to reduce the Plan to one item I would choose „How to elicit an Elite through our Universities“; that Elite, step by step can then produce small but meaninfull changes.

Bajd, Tadej

Next Slovenija

Current reality

Slovenia today

- Small, flexible, average European country in most aspects
- Beautiful countryside
- Country of many lost opportunities and big economic mistakes after independence
- Mostly hardworking people somewhat spoiled by the decades of socialist regime
- Aging population: health problems, the possibility of work for active retired people

Slovenia's strengths and assets

- Industry: pharmaceutical, chemical, automobile, electro, mechanical
- Forest and wood: smart homes, new products, promising research capacities
- Water: drinking and mineral water
- Science: excellent basic research evaluated through the bibliometric methods
- Educated population: inclusion of intellectual potentials into political power

Biggest challenges Slovenian society is facing

- Health: aging population
- Energy: renewable sources: hydroelectricity, photovoltaics, reduced consumption of energy, smart energy networks, transport
- Food: self-provision to a largest extent possible
- Science: importance of applied research, out-of-date organization of our research institutes and universities
- Unemployed people, in particular among the youth, brain drain, how to bring young experts back home, problems of young women scientists
- Cooperation: not enough cooperation on various levels in academia and industry
- Natural and cultural heritage

A vision

A vision for Slovenia

- Slovenian language spoken in the territory of Slovenia also in 2050: education, vocabularies, terminology, literature

- Country of culture: philharmonic orchestras, theaters, galleries, museums, natural parks
- Peace, excellent relations with the neighbors (Central Europe, Danube region, Western Balkans)
- Human rights: children, elder population
- As little unemployment as possible, strong industry mainly based on the SMEs
- As much independence as possible with regard to energy and food

The priorities of the Slovenian future

- Health: public health system open to all, preventive medicine, paediatrics, family medicine, aging population, palliative medicine, research in medicine, health tourism, health industry (biomedical engineering)
- Industry: researchers in industry, improved collaboration between universities and institutes and industry, proper ratio of private and state property, innovation communities, technological parks, SMEs
- Education: less permissive elementary schools and secondary schools, internationalization of the universities, more students in natural sciences and engineering, improved vocational education

Balaban, Alexandru

Let us summarize some of the main events during the last six centuries.

Positives

- European explorers mapped the whole terrestrial globe
- Europeans invented the printing press
- Europeans invented engines for transport over land, sea, and air
- European discoveries in physics, chemistry, biology, and medicine almost doubled life expectancy.
- Europeans started the development of electronics that led to all applications of informatics, radio and television. Instant communication around the globe is now possible (due to Europeans and Americans). USA and other countries are active in space travel and communication satellites

Negatives

- Global warming due to burning fossil carbon-based fuels threatens with production of greenhouse gases, depletion of these precious fuels, water scarcity, and aggravation of natural disasters
- Gradual destruction of rain forests will reduce photochemical assimilation, leading to lowering of oxygen content in the atmosphere
- Uncontrolled population explosion may lead to conflicts and epidemics
- During the last century, the most horrific world wars started in Europe
- Nuclear bombs in a global conflict may destroy life on our planet

It is evident that the real problems facing mankind are neither the nostalgic dreams of country borders as before the two world wars, nor obsolete ideologies or religious fanaticism. For the Next Europe the essential tasks will be to strengthen the collaboration between countries in the European Union, perfecting the present agreements, improving border controls, reducing bureaucratic abuse in step with mutually advantageous trade agreements.

A comparison between USA on one hand and the front-runners of the EU (Germany, France, UK) reveals that whereas social benefits favor Europeans, USA is still a magnet for many Europeans with higher education. Ideally the Next Europe should combine the high productivity of American or German industries with the superior health and social assistance of Scandinavian countries. If French workers will understand that more effort and less holidays are required, or Greek citizens would agree that above-board tax payment is necessary in a sound economy, then the chances of a prosperous EU would have better chances. So far, Germany's effort for harnessing solar energy is an example for all countries, including USA.

Thus, despite the alarming situation about global warming and resulting natural disasters and possible conflicts, it is still possible to have an optimistic attitude.

Botos, Katalin

Europe in the first part of the post WWII period had the economic history that can be described as an area of „Fordian Growth“. In this 25 years economic growth and wages went hand in hand. The nomination of this quarter of century stems from an anecdote, according to which Ford told those, who criticized his action of wage-raising: „ I raise the wages of my workers to make them able to buy the car they produce...“. In Europe, even more than in the US, this was the basis of the golden fifties and silver sixties.

In the seventies situation has changed. The internal market-based economic growth was replaced by an outward-oriented, export led growth, to earn enough foreign exchange to pay for the energy-bill. The labor and capital forces started to fight against each other, inflation soared. The European countries, having started the integration process in the fifties, tried to deepen their collaboration by accepting the Maastricht treaty in 1992, and also by introducing the euro in 1998. Because it did not bring the wanted results in raising competitiveness, the EU changed paradigm: instead of deepening their economic bond, they started an enlarging process. More than ten Eastern European countries joined to the core countries. The idea of the „4 freedom“ turned into reality by allowing free labour movement within the borders of the community. It did not lack problems, however: the former socialist countries having lower wages could not resist the brain-drain of the more advanced EU countries. Not only the high qualified persons, but average workers also decided to migrate into the more developed areas. One of the causes was the sweeping power backing these countries, having demographic deficit. Partly this might have been one of the roots of the migrant invasion from outside, which now is one of the greatest problem of the EU

Other existing problems are the existence of the deeply indebted states within the community and the necessity of debt reduction, including the restructuring of the indebted states' debt. It must be taken into consideration that credits always depend on two partners, the debtor and the creditor, so responsibilities as well, must be shared in a certain sense.

Dani Rodrik, one of the scientists dealing with international cooperation refers to the post war-period as one adequate to the recent problems of the European (and other) countries. The “full convertibility for all” is not fitting for those countries which suffer from the free capital movements. The original Bretton–Woods system is more convenient, where the countries were able to defend their souverain economic interests better. He says, that even within the Union there is not such a mechanism which would compensate the losers in a righteous way.

So my vision of the Europe of the future is the following:

The EU defending European values, is ready to defend the integrity of its borders. It is impossible, (though simple fact now), that migrants come in by force without any controll; and amongst them there are possible religious fanatic terrorists. Europe must preserve the communities' basic value, humanity, but it should not mean that the Union is viewed capable of solving all the the developing countries problems at large. The solution of the wars on other continents cannot be that we absorb all the refugees. A possible way of handling this problem is to help their fight against fanatic forces, on the spot where they used to live. Differentiating between men in threatening danger and

migrants seeking economic prospect within the Union is only possible if we can control Europe's border.

It is very important to be self-critical in the European behavior concerning religious feelings. Tolerance doesn't mean that we are allowed to make a joke from things which some people take very seriously. This provocative behaviour drives fanatics to sacrifice their lives for their religious conviction. I believe that the fact that we have no ideals to die for, is not good. Having strong convictions, stronger ideals backing them, others will win in the battle against us. An important European spiritual value had been denied by the European Basic Law: the Christian religion as one of the roots of our culture had not been acknowledged. Although, Chinese scientist had found this the explanation for Europe's quicker development over Asian economies'. I hope that the next Europe will correct this mistake. Not because Christianity was an exclusive explanation for our results, but is an important spiritual factor, containing tolerance, activity, solidarity. Not to be scornful against other religious people or atheist, but to acknowledge the contribution of Judeo-Christianity to the evolution of mankind, especially that of Europe.

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Bowis, John

The European Union has two great achievements - it brought together, in lasting peace, countries that had twice in a half century brought the world to war and devastation and it went on to reunify the countries that had been divided by the Iron Curtain. I was an MEP in Strasbourg, when the Speakers of the new Member States symbolically raised their flags outside the Parliament.. My sense of optimism was confirmed that day and survives the irritation that pernicky rules from all too remote institutions can bring.

I know that pollution and health threats recognise no borders. I know that science and research need collaboration, not isolation. I know that many generations of Europeans have grown expecting to be able to travel freely throughout Europe for holidays, study and work. In so doing they expect high standards of safety, reliability, quality and efficacy, in products they buy and services they use, not least in the area of pharmaceuticals and medical devices. They want protection but not to be smothered by it. They want managed risk and not no risk, because they know that progress inevitably involves some risk. They have come to demand from Europe more patient rights and opportunities such as through Cross Border Healthcare and Europe has responded.

Now they expect collaboration on the prevention and response to terrorist threats and the management of and care for genuine asylum seekers, just as they expect collaboration on diseases from flu pandemics to ebola. These show the need for our Union but also for our Union to be fit for purpose and constantly to review its priorities and procedures to ensure they are relevant to real lives, real threats and real potential.

Braun, Michael

Gestern 14.9.15 erschien in der FAZ Seite 11 ein bemerkenswerter Aufsatz mit dem Titel:

„Europa ist gar keine Wertegemeinschaft“ und im Text wird sogar klar der Beweis erbracht: nicht einmal eine Interessengemeinschaft. Es wird sogar z.Zt. das Fundament entzogen.

Im Wirtschaftsteil werden Maßnahmen diskutiert, dass die Einlagensicherung der deutschen und österreichischen Sparer kassieren und vergesellschaften wird, weil die anderen Länder so was nicht haben. Moral und Tugend können nicht die einzigen Ressourcen sein.

Brunnhuber, Stefan

The Relevance of a Post-growth debate

Alternatives to the given strategies to finance our common future: Especially a parallel ,green Quantitative Easing and parallel Currencies

Identification of the European Values in opposite to Asia, Africa and the Americas. in short: What is specific and characteristic for EUROPE? What is its own and unique contribution to the world and to its citizens.

Casati, Giulio

We all agree that one of the main problems of Europe in future years is related to immigration. Scientific collaboration, I believe, is one of the most efficient and powerful tools for promoting peace and cultural integration. In scientific discussions religious, ethnical and cultural diversity are basically irrelevant.

With this in mind, an international group of scientists has promoted „dynamics days central Asia: the 21first century silk road“.

It is a series of international scientific conferences which take place every year in a different country of central asia. In 2015 it has been held in Khiva (Uzbekistan), in september 2016 it will take place in Astana (<http://dd3ca.kz/>) , in 2017 in Isfahan and we are planning Pakistan for 2018. The idea is to create an opportunity for scientific discussions, on important field of scientific research, between international known scientists on one side and, on the other side, scientists coming from different countries of central Asia.

I thinks this is an opportunity for our Academy to play an important role for the future of Europe.

Christaras, Vasileios

Reconciliation among European people:

In a period that the establishment of an environment which permits neighboring people to live and progress together, a frame of trust, understanding and friendship is necessary to be created.

The rapid integration of markets, mobility of capital and increase of investment flows, in the broader area, open new challenges and opportunities for the pursuit of sustainable development.

The reconciliation presumes the education of peace comprehension and cooperation among the citizens of different countries, creating social conditions widely accepted, without forgetting the historical conscience of each country. Nevertheless, a new study of the modern history, gives importance to the peace, democracy, economic development with respect to the environment.

Peace, it is a goal that can be achieved through service. Through service, we become more tolerant of our differences and more grateful for the people in our lives.

We can be educated from the ancient past and especially from Delphi, in Greece: Mystical place, loaded with old memories. Place where morphoplastic forces saw the first light of a spirit which established the fate and the future of mankind.

Today, thousands of years later, the same spirit continues to drive our concerns. The Oracle can fell silent, but not the ideas which come from that place, considering the ethical commands, like "Know thyself" and "Meden Agan" as a searching of our redefinition and requirement for the observance of self-knowledge and moderation.

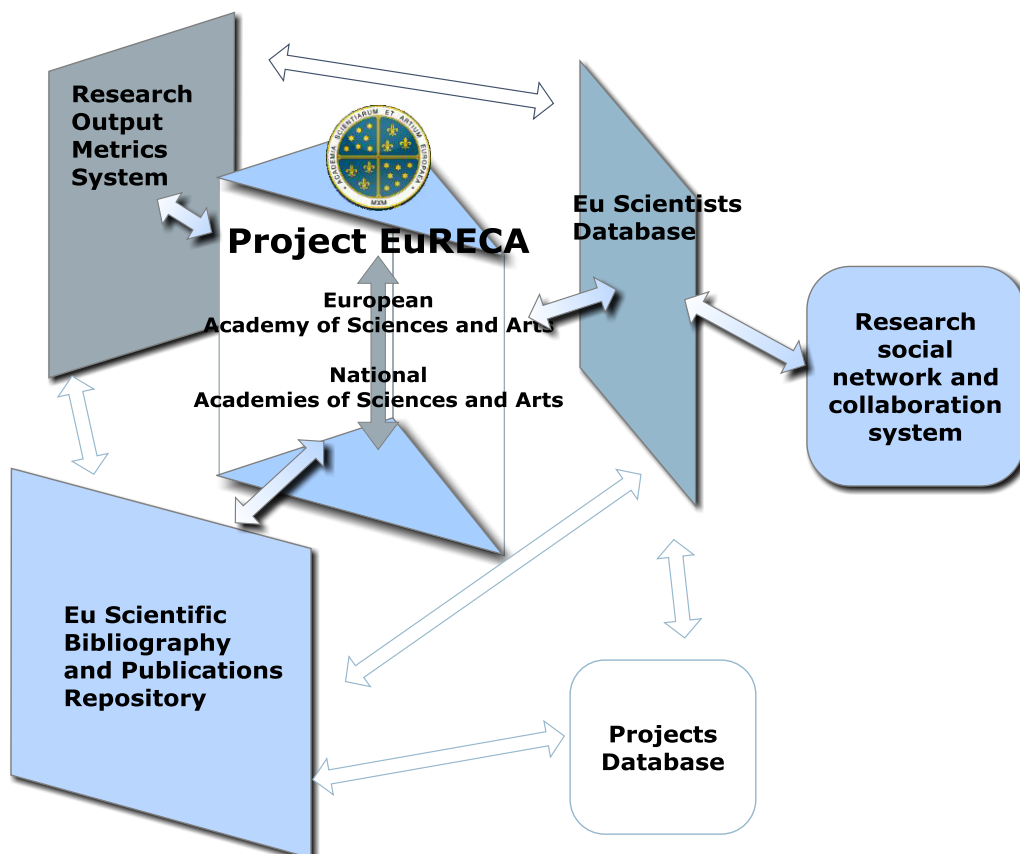
The perpetual and eternal request for peace and fraternization among peoples calls insistently solution, drawing from this corner of the Earth, fertile ground. The eradication of poverty and social injustice create the pursuit of peace, brotherhood and social justice to which we turn every effort.

One wonders what might be the message of Delphi in our days. Question difficult, although there have been many responses. Undoubtedly, it is a message of fraternity, peaceful coexistence and cooperation, a conciliatory message. It suffices to recall that Delphi was the Center connecting the Greeks of Asia Minor Hellenism of the western coasts of the Mediterranean, the Greeks of North Africa with the Greeks of Pontos and the main Greek area.

Project
EuRECA
(**European Research Capacities**)

Project **EuRECA** is a set of project aiming to integrate European research community by creating cohesive infrastructure connecting loosely coupled and shattered national research capacities into integrated European system. Project EuRECA consists of 5 connected projects :

1. Research Output Metrics System
2. Eu Scientists Database
3. Eu Scientific Bibliography and Publications Repository Database
4. Research Projects Database
5. Research social networks and collaboration system
6. Research Output Metrics System
7. Eu Scientists Database
8. Eu Scientific Bibliography and Publications Repository Database
9. Research Projects Database
10. Research social networks and collaboration system



Project Eureka Project summary

There is a growing recognition around the world of the role science and research can play towards economic growth and social development in the modern "knowledge society" as lay out by the Lisbon Strategy. Although Lisbon Strategy has defined mission, identified the stakeholders and defined the goals, there is lack of performance indicators to measure progress towards those goals.

One of the main problem in creating metrics for research is, that there are no officially recognized bodies that are accepted as authorities that may define the rules. European Academy of Sciences and Arts as coordinator (on European level) and National Academies of Arts and Sciences (on National level) should act as principal authority in defining and then implementing research metrics.

First part is a project aiming to create multidimensional Eu research output indicators and metrics system. While several ranking systems exist mainly for the journals, all other research output individual journal articles, conference publications, book chapters, artistic performances, films ... lack any cohesive methodology.

Evaluation of universities, research projects and scientists involves metrics like journal impact factors and h-indexes based on different citation counts retrieved from mainly commercial databases, but one of the central characteristics of bibliographic and citation databases is their selectivity. These databases are predominated by journals as a major medium of scientific information dissemination in most fields. In some scientific fields, books (monographs) play a major role, while book chapters or conference proceedings have a higher status in other fields. Therefore, focusing only on journal articles may not do justice to the research performance in particular disciplines. Moreover, the complexity of knowledge has led to a diverse range of output formats and research outlets. Traditional bias toward journals in citation databases not only diminishes the perceived value of other publications, but also include incomplete citation records because of their selectivity.

Project Eureka is aimed to create multidimensional metrics that should be designed to value the complexity of knowledge that has led to a diverse range of output formats and research outlets, such as publications, audio visual recordings, computer software and databases, technical drawings, designs or working models, major works in production or exhibition and/or award-winning design, patents or plant breeding rights, major art works, policy documents or briefs, research or technical reports, legal cases, maps, translations or editing of major works within academic standards.

Second part of the project involves creation of the European research and scientific personnel database. Although there are national databases, creation of a common database would constitute a step towards creating a common European scientific area. Creating a unique scientists' identification number and its widespread use, would represent a psychological step towards creating a common and unique European scientific domain. Furthermore, all data from CV including bibliography should be part of the database, allowing evaluation of scientists for promotion and budget allocation.

Third part of project is bibliographical database used

This will lead to more effective and efficient services being provided to society and industry as institutions seek to improve their standards, improving the quality of their lifelong learning provision and other services. Funding bodies will be provided with a tool to understand Third Mission performance, rewarding excellence and rectifying lower standards.

GENERAL OBJECTIVES

- To improve the quality, efficiency and effectiveness of education and training systems in Europe, improving the global competitiveness of European Higher Education Institutions. The standard indicators developed will enable the management of HEIs to continually assess and improve their performance.
- To encourage and improve Higher Education Institution's contribution to society. By developing standard indicators and a ranking methodology, the project will allow higher education institutions to improve the services they offer to society, including industry and to policy makers' strategic needs.
- To foster the creation of a European Area of Higher Education by means of increased communication and mutual understanding. The networks developed during the project will build links between institutions, working towards a common European Area.
- To stimulate excellence and improve the visibility of university activities focused on services to society and industry. The networks, materials and conferences arranged by the project will serve to promote the Third Mission.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

- To create European standard indicators to measure the effectiveness of third mission provision. These will allow the governing boards of HEIs, funding bodies and policy makers to share a common understanding of excellent practices. In this way, the Third Mission can be more effectively promoted. These indicators will be divided into three dimensions we believe to be indicative of Third Mission activities: Continuing Education, Technology Transfer & Innovation and Social Engagement.
- To validate the standard indicators. This process will allow institutions to further develop their understanding of best practices, and the literature developed will be used to improve the visibility of these services. HEI management will be able to engage with the rankings, ensuring more cost-effective and excellent services.
- To create a ranking methodology to benchmark European Third Mission Services providers of HEI. This ranking methodology will allow funding bodies and industry to better understand the Third Mission and assess institutions based on performance. It will directly solve the need for Third Mission rankings.
- To create good practices for institutional dialogue in a European Area of Higher Education framework.

Project 1. Multidimensional Eu research output metrics system

First part is a project aiming to create multidimensional Eu research journals, conferences and other research publications indicators and metrics system. Research output is mainly referring to individual journal articles, conference publications, book chapters, artistic performances, films, etc. While journals are the primary publication channel for almost all disciplines, their importance differs across disciplines. In some fields, books (monographs) play a major role, while book chapters or conference proceedings have a higher status in other fields. Therefore, focusing only on journal articles may not do justice to the research performance in particular disciplines. Moreover, the complexity of knowledge has led to a diverse range of output formats and research outlets. Traditional bias toward journals in citation databases diminishes the perceived value of other publications. Project is aimed to create multidimensional metrics that should be designed to value the complexity of knowledge that has led to a diverse range of output formats and research outlets, such as publications, audio visual recordings, computer software and databases, technical drawings, designs or working models, major works in production or exhibition and/or award-winning design, patents or plant breeding rights, major art works, policy documents or briefs, research or technical reports, legal cases, maps, translations or editing of major works within academic standards.

Project will have three phases:

- First phase, (2 years) defining multidimensional research metrics and equalisation of results between different fields : Humanities, Medicine, Arts , Natural sciences , Social sciences /Law and economics, Technical and Environmental Sciences and World Religions.
 - European Academy of Sciences and Arts as coordinator , and National Academies of Sciences and Arts
- Second phase (1 year), creation of computer system for ranking research output
 - Should be created as cloud services in accordance with European strategy on cloud computing
- Third phase (continuous) operations and maintenance of the system
 - National Academies of Sciences and Arts should be responsible for own national records and European Academy of Sciences and Arts should align all efforts.

Conrad, Michael

hier nochmals in schriftlicher Form meine Idee für eine Initiative/Organisation, die vielleicht in den Rahmen Eurer gut fokussierten Diskussion passt.

REFUGEES HELP REFUGEES

Wer kann am besten fühlen, in welcher Situation Flüchtlinge sind, als Menschen, die in ihrem Leben auf der Flucht waren.

Die Idee ist es, Flüchtlinge, die es in ihrem Leben nach der Flucht zu wirtschaftlichen Erfolgen gebracht haben, zu motivieren, zu spenden und/oder aktiv zu werden. Auch Flüchtlinge, die Wissen und spezielle Kenntnisse nach ihrer Flucht angehäuft haben, könnten dieses und diese auch einbringen.

Das gilt auch für Flüchtlinge auf der Flucht.

Ich würde mich freuen, wenn diese Idee im Rahmen von NEXT EUROPE für Euch Resonanz findet und wir diskutieren könnten, wie sie als Initiative oder Organisation erfolgreich etabliert werden könnte.

Dimirovski, Georgi

Next Europe by all means does depend on common values, which by and large emanate from arts, musik and literatur as well as from common historical heritage and the individual ones. And by all means the real-life shall demand to reconcile non-coinciding interests among nations despite the world is becoming more and more interconnected every day. In my humble opinion, it is this paradigm of growing interconnectedness in every-day life which is becoming the real-world in this century that ought to be made to serve the purpose of Next Europe to grow united. Having said this, it is not solely the technological background that I have in mind, although by no means it should be underestimated. In the first place, I meant and foresee the interconnectedness paradigm as a medium for spreading across Europe the awareness of coinciding interests and common values, on one hand, and for cultivating a kind of pan-European social networking media for public debate of the issues like: Society & Arts; Society & Cybernetics; Society & Science; Society & Technology; and Science, Technology & Ethics. For, not only Next Europe but entire future on Earth shall have to rely on reconciling the demand for economic growth and technology developments with the urgent demand for environment conservation. To some aspects of these pending issues, no doubts, the approach of cybernetic systems shall shed novel insights. Furthermore, even it may well give some new hints for the common future not foreseen in so far without simulation modelling of evolutionary games and of evolutionary networks.

Dominese, Giorgio

Next Europe is also the title of one of my journal and I welcome with full support the special initiative in this really moment of debate over Europe and the perspective of the EU.

Many ideas and suggestions will come ahead....when from intention we will move to tangible researcher, proposals and initiatives.

The case of European Union is emblematic. The clichés arguments we frequently read and hear are assessing EU would need to build more “state-like” institutions for its governance efficiency. But many researches demonstrate the really opposite. A similar approach by the way would put at risk the stability of the Union.

We should start from the extraordinary successful political, economic, financial, scientific and intellectual EU main achievement better than with scepticism or populist attitudes. In fact, I invite to dedicate the initiative to analyse how governance with less statehood had proved, in the past history and in the contemporary public policy, to be valuable, effective, stable in peace and war.

Donev, Doncho

STRENGTHENING THE FOURTH DIMENSION OF HEALTH – THE SPIRITUAL HEALTH

A b s t r a c t

Aim: To review the concepts and definitions of health from the ancient period until today, with an emphasis on the definition of health included in the Constitution of the World Health Organization (WHO), as well as to indicate the importance and the promotion of spiritual health as an essential dimension of the overall health, wellness and humanity.

Methods: Critical analysis of relevant published literature, materials and documents, Internet sources and personal experience, opinions/thoughts and observations of the author.

Results: The definition of health, included in the Constitution of the WHO, has been increasingly amended and supplemented, within the last few decades, by a fourth dimension - spiritual health. Generally speaking, spiritual health involves a sense of fulfillment and satisfaction from our own lives, system of values, self-confidence and self-esteem, self-awareness and presence, peacefulness and tranquility with dynamic emotional balance, both internal and towards the environment, morality and truthfulness, selflessness, positive emotions, compassion and willingness to help and support others, responsibility and contribution to the common good, and successful management of everyday life problems and demands as well as social stress. The emotional and spiritual intelligence and potential are components of our spiritual health, which in a broader sense is synonymous with humanity and the overall integrity of a person. The low level of spiritual potential of an individual is the basis for expressing a multitude of negative personality traits, causing damage to other people, to the value system in the wider community and to the common good.

Conclusion: At all levels, starting from the WHO and other UN agencies and international organizations, through national and lower levels, down to local communities, competent institutions and authorities, as well as the role of family, it is necessary to pay more attention to the importance and promotion of the individual, group and collective spiritual health of the population.

Key words: spiritual health, spirituality, emotional intelligence, spiritual intelligence and potential

Health is one of the most important elements and attributes of our lives, a prerequisite to carry out daily activities for quality, fulfilled and a happy life. Ideas for understanding health, its protection and promotion follow the development of the society and the medical scientific thought in general. From ancient times until present day, many attempts have been made to explain and define health more comprehensively.

Concepts of Health in the ancient period

The concept of health as a balance between a person and his/her environment, the unity of soul and body and the natural origin of disease, is the backbone of the perception of health in the Ancient Greece. Similar concepts existed in the ancient Indian medicine, as well (1-3).

Pindar, in the 5th century BC, defined health as "harmonious functioning of the organs" emphasizing the physical dimension of health, of the physical body and the

overall functionality, accompanied by the feeling of comfort and the absence of pain. Even today, his definition bears importance as a prerequisite for the overall health and wellness.

Plato pointed out that a perfect human society can be achieved by harmonizing the interests of the individual and the community, and the ideal of ancient Greek philosophy "a healthy mind in a healthy body" can be achieved if people establish internal harmony and harmony with the physical and the social environment. According to Aristotle's teaching, man is a social being by his very nature, he tends to live in communities with the duty to respect the moral standards and the ethical rules. He emphasized the necessity for regulating the relations in the society in order to achieve harmonious functioning and development of the society and preservation of health of its members.

Hippocrates explained health in connection with the environmental factors and lifestyle. Hippocrates was free from superstition and he is called the "father of medicine" as he contributed healers to become doctors instead of sorcerers. Hippocrates is the creator of the concept of "positive health", which depends on the primary human constitution (we consider it today as genetics), diet and exercise. He thought that proper diet and exercise are essential for health, and that climate changes have a profound effect on the mind and body (1-3).

Modern concepts of health

The philosophical and mental hygiene concept of health implies maximum capacity of the individual for self-realization and self-fulfilment, taking into account the human inner forces and possibilities and the feeling of pleasure or dissatisfaction in his/her relations with the environment.

Social medicine and public health approach to health advocate that we should not only observe the health of the individuals but also the health of the groups and the community, as a result of the interaction of the individuals with the social environment.

The holistic concept of health is contained in the expression of wholeness (English. whole = complete). According to this concept, human health should be considered in terms of: a) complexity and multidimensionality; b) absence of disease and disability; c) inner equilibrium and balance with the environment; d) positively valorized psychological sense and experience. In addition, every human being is an integrated wholeness, a unique and united individual, who has vital or life force that functions as a whole and interacts with the environment and the universe that surrounds us (1-4).

In recent times, when we talk about health, we define two dimensions of health, which are important both for the individual and for the community: health balance and health potential. *Health balance* implies maintaining of physical, mental and social balance while *health potential* is an essential precondition for health balance and an ability or a particular type of interaction between the individual and the environment, which is necessary to maintain balance, or to re-establish it, if it is compromised. *Health resources* and *health risks* include numerous factors that influence health balance, either by supporting and strengthening it - health resources, or by threatening and disrupting it - health risks (3-6).

The Salutogenic model of health deals with the links between health, stress, and coping with it. As a key factor for the theory of salutogenesis, Antonovsky emphasizes the sense of coherence or someone's own personal integrity. The salutogenic perspective on the origin of health is abolishing the dichotomy of *health-disease* and assuming the position at the health-disease continuum, and through that continuum every individual is positioned closer to health or closer to disease

throughout his/her life. The salutogenesis theory allows to identify and strengthen the factors that protect individuals and communities and allow them to move towards health promotion rather than diseases (7, 8).

Definition of health by the World Health Organization

Modern understanding of health became official when the World Health Organization (WHO) at the time of its establishment in 1948 included the definition of health in its Constitution, which was proposed by Dr. Andrija Štampar, a prominent scholar from Croatia in the field of social medicine and public health and one of the "fathers/founders" of the WHO. This generally accepted definition, which completely changes the idea of health, states: "Health is a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (9, 10).

For the first time in the modern era, this definition internationally promoted that, in addition to physical and mental health, social welfare is an integral component of the overall health that is closely linked with the social environment and the living and working conditions. The definition of health, included in the Constitution of WHO, has a great importance and it should be accepted as an "ideal goal" which we need to strive to, without designating any particular time period to achieve it.

Respecting this definition as a global concept, many researchers and theorists advocated for adoption of working/practical and operational definitions of health. In 1977, with the adoption of the WHO Global Strategy "Health for All by the Year 2000", a pragmatic concept of health - *the ability to conduct a socially and economically productive life* - was accepted indirectly, which was an essential goal of this Strategy (11).

There have been very successful attempts to define health in operational and working terms, in order to get the opportunity for more precise measurements and for creating policies and programs for maintaining and improving health, and they considerably managed to exceed the widely rooted notion that health simply means the absence of disease. The Ottawa Charter from the 1st International Conference on Health Promotion, held in Ottawa, Canada, in 1986, says that health is created in the context of everyday life and environment, where people live, love, work and play, and thus active and interactive understanding of health was introduced. The goal of health promotion is to combine the approach for addressing the social determinants with the resolution and commitment to motivate and encourage the individuals and the community for their active approach toward health and embracing healthy lifestyles (12).

Controversy and debate about the definition of health is probably not yet finalized, although at the International Conference on Primary Health Care, held in Alma Ata, Kazakhstan, in 1978, in the first article of the adopted Declaration, health was reaffirmed as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (13).

Spiritual health as an essential part of the overall health, wellness and humanity

Within the last few decades, at the international professional gatherings in the field of biomedicine and public health, as well as in the published literature and articles in the scientific journals, the definition of health included in the Constitution of WHO has been increasingly supplemented by a fourth dimension - spiritual health, as a vital component of the overall health and well-being (14).

Spiritual health, healthy spirit or spirituality of a person includes a wide variety of features, value systems and beliefs as a basis of the meaning and purpose of life

and human existence in harmony with oneself and with others, seeking to achieve a balance between internal needs and the external world (15, 16).

There is no single universally accepted definition of spiritual health due to differences in the value systems and beliefs in various environments, cultures and religions, and due to individual differences in searching answers to eternal questions, such as "Who am I?", "What is the purpose of my life?", "Where do I belong?" etc. (17).

Generally speaking, spiritual health involves a sense of satisfaction from someone's own life, positive values, self-confidence and self-esteem, self-awareness and presence, peacefulness and tranquility with dynamic emotional balance, both internal and towards the environment, morality and truthfulness, selflessness, positive emotions, compassion and readiness to help and support other people, responsibility and contribution to the common good, as well as successful management of everyday life problems and demands and social stress. The basic meaning of the spiritual health is to live life honestly and humanely in accordance with the social morality and professional ethics, laws and systems of values and beliefs in the community and society (16, 18, 19).

The level of spiritual health of an individual is synonymous with his/her own system of values, meaning and purpose of life, morality and adherence to universal values (truth, social justice and the rule of law, respect for human dignity, freedom, understanding and tolerance, love, solidarity, etc.). The emotional and spiritual intelligence and potential are components of the spiritual health, which, in a broader sense, is synonymous with humanity and the overall integrity of a person (4, 20, 21).

Emotional intelligence and potential is the ability to recognize, control and freely experience someone's own emotions in a full-range and with a positive orientation towards people and the environment, to understand the emotions and needs of others and willingness to help without self-afflicting (empathy), to be released from passions, to start positive initiatives, to inspire and stimulate the development of other people and to engage in teamwork and joint problem-solving. Inner peace and emotional balance is crucial for a person to be able to engage in creative work. When an uncontrollable passion arises, and if it conquers the individual, it is followed by anxiety, anger, fear, bigotry etc. Excessive passion is impoverishing and enslaving the emotional part of the individual and obstructing his/her free functioning in other fields as well (20-22).

Spiritual intelligence and potential is the cognitive ability for creating higher spiritual awareness and a sense for life, compassion, rising above the ego and selfishness, as well as above preoccupation with only daily personal concerns. It means rising above someone's own "self" or "I am" and achieving a higher level of awareness in the context of closer and wider social environment about the common social good and contribution to its advancement. Creativity includes those actions and functions that contribute to the common good, the positive feelings of fullness and satisfaction, promoting sustained and unconditional happiness for the individual and for the others (17, 22). Selfishness and greed lead the person towards a state of pain, moral crisis and spiritual confusion, affecting the creative serving to the community and the unity with the truth. A selfish person is sick in the deepest layers of his/her being proportionally to the intensity of his/her own egoism. The low level of spiritual potential of an individual is the basis for expressing a multitude of negative personality traits, first of all, egoism and greed, but also envy and hatred, evil and destruction, aggression and violence toward others, denial and distortion of the truth. These negative qualities of a spiritually poor person are "favorable soil" for abuse of responsibilities and powers related to his/her job, management function or political authority for the purpose of unlawful wealth accumulation, forming lobby groups and unprincipled coalitions for

protecting personal selfish and narrow group interests, destructive and sociopathic behavior with denial of basic human and working status rights, inflicting evil and suffering of other individuals within the working and the wider social environment. Such person and behavior contribute to increasing the level of social stress and spreading of moral crisis among people, which leads to impairment in the value systems and the cohesion in the working and academic environment, as well as destroying the social tissue and structure into its core (4, 22, 23).

Beside the danger of environmental catastrophe, it seems that the cultural and social changes on a global scale, especially in many developing countries and countries in transition, are accompanied by moral confusion and spiritual crisis, endangering security and human life in many countries at all meridians, shown by several indicators of socio-pathological phenomena that frequently occur at international, regional and national levels (various forms of discrimination and violence, increased nationalism, corruption and crime, religious fanaticism and terrorism, wars and civil wars, massive murders and suicides, trafficking and migration crises, incest, pedophilia etc.), (23, 24).

The current situation in the education system, particularly the university autonomy in the higher education in many countries in South Eastern Europe Region have significantly worsened in the last few decades with extreme politization, centralization and bureaucratization that creates poltroonery, allegiance and defamatory mentality instead of promoting university autonomy of thoughts, expertise, science and creativity. University professor and man as a human being is lost at the sea of inhumanity and inertia of social institutions and the court for protection of academic freedom and basic human rights. It's obvious the ways should be found to return to the true values.

The last twenty years are marked with significant growth in interest and research about spirituality, health, and health care. Spirituality is increasingly accepted as integral to human psychology and essential for physical and mental health. Knowledge of spirituality can provide a deeper understanding of peoples problems and can help them develop resilience and aid recovery. Psychological or spiritual needs and practice are very important for the overall health, both for preservation and promotion of health and prevention of diseases, as well as for successful treatment, favorable outcome and recovery in the event of illness and surgery (3, 25-29). There are various forms of spiritual support and care for healing the body through mind and spirit, and for improving patients' well-being and satisfaction, as well as to offer release from mental and spiritual suffering. All forms of spiritual practices should be supportive in order to attain sense of peace, contentment and to develop a sense of meaning and purpose in life of the patient. In such a way, medical professionals should be looking at the spiritual needs and might help a patient to cope with pain, stress and advanced chronic diseases, to decrease suffering and to prolong life. Transcendental meditation, prayer, group support and other spiritual practices, hopefulness and positive thinking, beliefs and expectations have power and ability to tap into patients' inner resources to heal and to help them maintain their sense of coherence and meaning of life in the face of resulted personal changes due to illness (7, 8, 30).

Promotion of the spiritual health, wellness and humanity

Each individual needs to strengthen the spiritual potential for self-recognition and self-improvement, for spiritual growth and enlightenment in the course of life, his/her respect for moral norms, ethical principles and laws as social norms with prescribed negative sanctions for deviations from expected behavior, with positive orientation for social awareness and collective contribution to the common good.

Family is the most important institution for fostering and transmission of social culture, ethical norms, traditional values and goods (material and spiritual) from one generation to another. It is the most important generator of altruism, sacrifice and learning to help others in the society, whose progress cannot be imagined without cooperation and association, which is based on these characteristics. Moral and ethical norms, and entire culture of a certain society are transferred to younger generations, from the early formation of the personality and its moral maturation, and later in life through the process of socialization by which the biological person becomes a social person. The family can contribute to creating diversity among people in terms of morality, tenderness, nobility, generosity, open-mindedness, wisdom, emotional maturity, aggressiveness and attitude towards health and universal values (31, 32).

Besides the family, the social system of schooling and education is very important in the further process of socialization. At all stages of the pre-school and school period, and in the course of the academic education, the influence of the peer groups is very important, through which someone learns from the equal peers (most influential in the adolescence period). Mass media are also very important intangible factors of the general moral culture in the population and in the process of socialization, which for many people is a process spreading throughout their entire life, known as lifelong learning (23, 31, 32).

Conclusion

There is a need for an organized undertaking of appropriate projects and programs with diverse measures and activities for spiritual education at all levels, starting from the WHO and other UN agencies and international organizations, through national and lower levels, to local communities, relevant institutions and the family, emphasizing the importance and promotion of the individual and the collective spiritual health of the population. Beside the formal forms of education and socialization, informal education of the broader public through tribunes, movie presentations in schools, working environment and other settings, musical concerts and expositions/exhibitions in order to promote culture of democracy and peace, tolerance and respect of others is also necessary. Medical schools and residency training programs should develop more comprehensive curricula on spirituality and medicine in order to improve the spiritual support and care of the patients.

It is necessary to create communities/ societies where the positive traits of a person as a human being would be strengthened along with his/her autonomy of thought and human rights. And this requires an objective value system, a solid judicial system and rule of law and highly functional educational system and academic autonomy and creativity. Of course, many other systems are important (health care, social protection, science and culture, etc.) for society as a whole to function in harmony and every member of society to perform its social roles optimally, as advocated by Aristotle in the ancient times.

The problem is complex and all stakeholders should be involved in creating humanitarian consciousness and ethically and intellectually healthy current and new generations tending toward peace and tolerance, unifying of nations, strengthening civil societies and accepting democracy and love as a global religion. Europe and mankind need mental healing and moral renewal, especially to educate young generations for creating a new way of thinking, strengthening the sense for freedom, peace, democracy, tolerance and cohabitation. The cohesion, positive interaction and stable relations, mutual respect and trust, support and willingness to help others, both among members of family and within working and wider social environment, is the basis for development and prosperity of the society and for maintenance and

improvement of physical, mental and spiritual health of the individual, the family, the community and the society as a whole in The Next Europe.

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SPIRITUAL HEALTH AND NEEDS AND COMPASSIONATE CARE OF PATIENTS

A b s t r a c t:

Aim: To review the definitions and importance of spiritual health and needs of the patients, spirituality and psychological medicine with compassionate care as an essential part of the overall care for establishing functional relationships between doctor and patient, influencing the positive behavioral, emotional, and physical health outcomes of the treatment and decreasing sufferings of patients with severe diseases.

Methods: Review and critical analysis of relevant published literature, materials and documents, Internet sources and personal experience, thoughts and observations of the author.

Results: Spirituality as a factor contributes to health in many people. Introducing spirituality in health care might be a source of affirmation, inspiration and practical approaches for doctors and caregivers who are passionate about supporting patients' journeys toward healing and wholeness. Spiritual or compassionate care involves helping the person as a whole, meeting all dimensions of health needs—the physical, mental, emotional and spiritual. Patients care may involve spending time with them, holding their hands, spiritual conversation and talking about what is important to them. There are mutual advantages for doctor and patient from understanding patients' spiritual needs and practicing spiritual care to patients and their family members.

Conclusion: Spirituality is being increasingly accepted as integral to human psychology, vital for physical and mental health. Integration of spirituality in health care is paramount but still an essential question remains - how to bring it into the professional work of doctors, citing lack of time, training and skills. It is necessary to pay much more attention, involving national efforts, for improving medical education, research and practice related to spiritual needs and care in hospitals and other health care settings, strengthening the multidisciplinary teams and evaluation of outcomes, as well as development of shared ethical codes for systematic incorporating spirituality and compassionate care into an integrative medicine of the Next Europe.

Key words: spiritual health, spirituality, spiritual needs, spiritual care, compassionate care

Mental health, mental disorders and spirituality have always been intriguing in human life and in human society, worth either fear or admiration. Human society, at different times of its development, has approached mental health and spirituality in different ways. The concept of spirituality is found in all cultures and societies. It is expressed in the individual's search for ultimate meaning through participation in religion and/or belief in God or a higher power, humanism, naturalism, rationalism, family and the arts. Spiritual health means so many different things to different people. It encompasses peacefulness, presence, simplicity, acceptance, compassion and self-awareness. All

of these factors can influence the perception of patients and health care professionals toward health and illness and how they interact with one another. Spiritual wellness is a personal matter involving values and beliefs that provide a purpose in our lives. While different individuals may have different views of what spiritualism is, it is generally considered to be the search for meaning and purpose in human life, leading one to strive for a state of harmony with oneself and others while working to balance inner needs with the rest of the world [1-9].

The basis of spirituality is discovering a sense of meaningfulness in someone's life and coming to know that s/he has a purpose to fulfil. For some, spirituality may be equated with traditional religions such as Christianity, Hinduism or Buddhism. For others, it may mean growing in someone's personal relationships with others, or through being at peace with nature. Each person has moments of spiritual wellness and moments of despair and need for support and encouragement. Spirituality is an important element in the way patients face chronic illness, suffering, and loss and, consequently, doctors who are focusing on the spiritual state of patients enable themselves to deliver more compassionate care. It is necessary to improve clarity in the definition of the goals, methods and procedures, the design of protocols and a stance on important ethical issues, respect for the various faiths, different cultures and both religious and nonreligious or secularized customs. Knowledge of spirituality can provide a deeper understanding of peoples' problems, emotions and sufferings, and can help them develop resilience and aid recovery [6, 7, 10-14].

Understanding of mental illness, suffering and spirituality from the ancient times till present-day

Ancient doctors sought health and disease to connect and explain them with the state of bodily liquids. They even interpreted mental disorders in relation to organic changes. Thus, famous globus hystericus (so-called lump in the throat or "hysteria") was interpreted as the strolling womb (in Latin "uterus"; in Greek "hystera") in a woman's body that is entering the trachea with a sense of suffocation or a swallowed lump. In the Middle Age patients with mental disorders were often considered to be witches or people obsessed with the devil, so they were put in chains and beaten, and the most frequently recommended therapy was exorcism (ritual of exorcising evil spirits from the patient's body). In the 18th century an attempt was made to synthesize medicine at the level of physical and mental, i.e. describing physical diseases that are caused by mental imbalance and disorders. Such approach developed the beginnings of the psychosomatic medicine, which had a task to lead to a new integration of medicine at the scientific level. Major breakthroughs in the basic sciences in the 19th century, among them germs as the causes of infectious diseases, created the illusion that any disorder, physical or mental, is essentially of organic origin. It was considered that everything should be sought and found material cause. In the era of domination of bacteriology, causes of many communicable diseases were identified, knowledge of physiology and biochemistry was developed and the man became par excellence organic being, but everything psychological and spiritual was marginalized and placed

in the background. Thus, the dichotomy of medicine began, which continues to persist until today [1-3, 15].

Medicine of the 20th century, especially of its second half, was marked by high, even explosive, technical or technological developments and advances. Life expectancy at birth was increased from less than 50 years in 1900 to about 80 years in the most developed countries in the first decade of 21st century. The demographic transition with ageing of the population was followed by an epidemiologic transition with dramatic increase of the chronic non-communicable diseases morbidity and mortality, first of all predominance of cardiovascular diseases and cancers as leading causes for death in most of the countries in Europe and worldwide. Very subtle, exhaustive and extensive diagnostics, involving a lot of precise equipment, was developed, and now therapy is often as a transplantation replacement. The technological advances of the past century tend to change the focus of medicine from a caring, service-oriented model to a technological, diagnostics and cure-oriented model. Transplantation of different parts of the body developed inexorably, followed by the development of immunology, molecular biology and genetics. Medical professions continue the dividing tendency into narrow field specialties and subspecialties and the patient as a human being is dropped out of the spotlight [1, 2, 4].

Even so called 'personalized medicine' promotes approach for providing more precise, predictable and powerful health care (better disease prevention, more accurate diagnoses, safer drug prescriptions and more effective treatments) that is customized for the individual patient based on the growing understanding of genetics and genomics – and how they drive health, disease and drug responses in each person. Tailoring health care to each person's unique genetic makeup – that's the promising idea behind personalized medicine, also variously known as individualized medicine, precision medicine or genomic medicine [16].

In the late 19th century and the early 20th century, as a counterweight to technology, an initiative for research of a person's inside world appeared in medicine. Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) offered psychoanalysis to mankind, the method for studying the human unconscious aspirations, needs and natural impulses. Freud believed that people could be cured by making their unconscious thoughts and motivations conscious, and thus gaining insight. The aim of the psychoanalysis therapy is to release repressed emotions and experiences, i.e. make the unconscious conscious. Freud began to explore the inner human life due to treatments of depression and anxiety disorders. Psychoanalysis has opened vast inner worlds and allows, in addition to treatment of human mental sufferings, understanding emotional reactions and, in general, behavior. In its application, psychoanalysis has helped to see the patient as a person who suffers, and not only as a dysfunction of organs that we can deal with by replacing or repairing, as it is done today with cars and other machines [15, 17].

Modern concepts of mental health and suffering and the use of psychological medicine for addressing the spirituality of patients

In the definition of the World Health Organization (WHO), included in the Constitution of the WHO, health is defined as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-

being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity [18]. In the last two centuries, no one has questioned the organic medicine, but mental and spiritual medicine and care were often questioned. To what extent the individual who is suffering, the individual as a complete person, is in the focus of today's medicine? The answer to that question depends on the emotional relationship and proper communication between the doctor and the patient. In the past few decades, in U.S.A., Canada and some other countries, physicians have attempted to balance their care by reclaiming medicine's more spiritual roots, recognizing that addressing spirituality was often linked with better health care outcomes. Spiritual or compassionate care involves helping the whole person, meeting all dimensions of health needs—the physical, emotional, social, and spiritual. Such service is inherently a spiritual activity. The recognition of the spiritual dimension as a vital component of human wellness has led to an increased interest in spiritual education, yet very little progress has been made in identifying possible intervention methods for enhancing spirituality in patients. Imagery, meditation and contemplation, prayer and group support activities may address various components of spiritual health such as meaning and purpose of life, self-awareness, and connectedness with the self, others, and a larger reality. In the second half of the 20th century the focus in medicine was shifted from biomedical to bio-psychosocial and humanistic aspects of medicine [1-5, 11, 19-23].

Emotional relationships between the doctor and the patient and spirituality in health care

The patient, a person who suffers, awakens various emotions in the doctor. The doctor may be sympathetic and may like the patient, but also may hate and be angry with him, may extend compassion and regret, be indifferent, tedious, and so on. Everything depends on how the patient as a person fits or does not fit the physician's views, i.e. how the patient reminds him/her of the people who were important in his/her life. The doctor is acting unconsciously under the influence of emotional forces, which strongly affects the patient. Doctors, in general, do not like patients who are dying, or patients with severe sufferings whom, due to the nature of their illnesses, they have little or nothing to help. Doctors often avoid such patients. Such situations, in which a seriously ill patient is disappointed because the members of the medical team skipped his/her bed during their visit, are often described. It is difficult for a doctor to meet with his/her failure and defeat, and in certain ways that's a dying patient, or a patient whom the doctor can't help [1, 2]. Unfortunately, people who are dying are often ignored. DNR—do not resuscitate—is often interpreted as “do not round”, meaning to avoid and don't pay attention to such patients. Those patients are often observed as non-persons, recognized not as persons by their names, feelings and spiritual needs but as objects named by their diseases/diagnoses or number of rooms and beds they are placed to [4, 22]. On the other hand, especially such patients have unrealistic expectations from the physicians. Patients often see the doctor as an almighty person who knows everything and is able to solve all their health problems. Even the patients who are dealing with issues of transcendence need someone to be present with them and support them in this process. Attending and paying attention to the dying patient is an important experience for a physician, both in order to comfort the dying and to broaden

his/her own understanding of life at its ending. Those patients, who were surveyed, cited several spiritual reassurances that would give them comfort. The most common spiritual reassurances that might give comfort to dying patients were beliefs that they would be in the loving presence of God or some higher power, that death was not the end but only a passage, and that they would live on through the memories of their children and their descendants [4, 10]. This often means that the gap between the patient's needs and expectations, from one side, and the capabilities of the doctor, from the other, is very big. It is not easy for a doctor to tolerate such difference and to have reasonable sense for it, but experiencing the reaction of the patient when s/he finds her/himself betrayed in her/his faith in the doctor and in the power of medicine is much harder for the doctor. The patient's need for human contact, understanding and support is very strong. Empathy is paramount in the health care setting, optimizing communication and rapport with patients and improving clinical outcomes. Clinical communication skills of doctors might be strengthened by additional education and proper motivation. Thus, a doctor who has a great ability for clinical communication and empathy or identifying and understanding the patient's emotions, and also the ability to overcome his/her own negative emotions, can stand in his/her psychological conflicts that arise in relation to the patient and his/her disease [1, 2, 19, 22 24, 25]. Patients' care may encompass spending time with them, holding their hands, spiritual communication and talking about what is important to them. Patients value these experiences of compassionate care with their physicians. The word compassion means "to suffer with" and/or "to feel with, understand". Compassionate care calls physicians to walk with people in the midst of their pain, to help them find meaning and acceptance in the midst of suffering and chronic illness, to be partners with patients rather than authorities dictating information to them. Religion and spirituality form the basis of meaning and purpose in life for many people. Beside the struggle with the physical aspects of their disease, patients with terminal cancer and advanced diseases have other pains related to mental and spiritual suffering, to the inability to engage in the deepest questions of life such as the following: Why is this happening to me now? What will happen to me after I die? How will my family survive my loss? Will I be missed? Will I be remembered? Is there a God? If so, will he be there for me? Will I have time to finish my life's work? It is difficult for doctors to know what to say as there are no real answers. Patients with advanced diseases are often aware they probably have a few weeks or months left and are often scared and overburdened with additional suffering as the loss of health creates grieving experiences for self-blaming, i.e. "I'm afraid that I haven't been a good person", "I'm afraid that God doesn't love me, since my prayers for healing have gone unanswered", "I'm afraid of where I'm going after I die", "I'm afraid of leaving my daughter and son, and never seeing them again", "I'm afraid, doctor, I'm so afraid..." [4, 9, 26]. For people who face a serious illness, these are often the most pressing concerns. Both health professionals and the medical system must tackle such personal inquiries. Real cure is not possible for many illnesses, but there is always room for spiritual healing and alleviating of the sufferings. The efficient communication between the doctor and the patient is an interactive process crucial for recognizing the spiritual needs and expectations of the patients and to provide proper information, support, encouragement, motivation, correction of errors, advice and explanations if their expectations are unrealistic. Features of an efficient clinical communication are accessibility, understandability, continuity and

repeatability, to be evidence based and culturally competent, as well as delivered in time. Healing can be experienced as an acceptance of illness and coming at peace with one's life. This healing might be considered spiritual at its core [1-3, 5, 20, 22].

Choosing the medical profession and desired abilities and skills of the future doctors

A very important psychological question relates to the conscious and unconscious motivation for choosing the medical profession. Many young people, who have completed high school, perceive the medical profession as human, but more often as a profitable (lucrative) profession or opportunity for promotion and narcissistic satisfaction considering the high social status of doctors. Furthermore, needs for identification, especially with parents, family members or physicians that helped him/her in childhood, are frequent. Becoming a doctor in order to be able to help a sick family member is also a frequent motivator, and so on. It is difficult to list all conscious and unconscious motivational factors in choosing the medical profession. A consultation with an experienced doctor can be of great benefit to a young boy or girl, before entering medical studies, to see his/her true motives for choosing the medical profession, and to assess the threshold of tolerance of the suffering of others. Such approach and consciousness would result with less disappointed young people leaving medicine or moving into non-practitioners professions (excluding direct contact with patients) within the field of medicine. In testing their skills and humanity needed for the medical profession and clinical work, it is necessary that the curriculum for medical students during their first year of study includes clinical practice for immediate contact and confrontation with experiences and sufferings of patients. Individuals who have difficulties accepting such a relationship are hardly suitable for clinicians. Waivers from medicine are not only those who fall unconscious in the hall for autopsy or those who can't see blood. The mental sufferings of patients, sooner or later, are chasing many students out of medicine. The strength of the patients' need for emotional contact, understanding and support can't be emphasized enough, as well as the importance of doctors' ability for clinical communication, empathy and delivering compassionate care [1, 2, 22, 24].

What the doctor needs to tell the patient?

The patient usually wants to be informed about the nature of his/her illness, the therapy and prognosis. On the other side, doctors typically don't talk too much and those who tend to increase their income by enormous increase of the number of patients in their outpatient offices and clinics, shorten the time devoted to each patient. The patient, in fact, is eager to know what is happening in his/her body or in certain organ and, in addition, to understand what effects will the treatment result in and why. Unfortunately, only patients, who are privileged on various grounds, receive such information, and for the most of other patients information is denied. The key question raised is what to tell the patient about the nature of his/her illness, especially if it is deadly or incurable. Opinions on this issue are very different. As a rule, the patient should be told what s/he can psychologically bear. It requires a highly individual approach to each patient, and it is something very difficult and demanding for the doctor, for whom it would be much

easier to accept a general rule and to act upon it. The patient needs the doctor to listen when s/he speaks. While patients love communication, doctors often act as if deaf, dumb and blind. It is not uncommon that the doctor writes a prescription for drugs or looks through the window without interest while the patient is still talking about his/her disabilities and symptoms. The close relationship with the patient is often difficult for the doctor either because of the failures of therapy due to any errors in the procedure, diagnostic or therapeutic, or because of the demands or aggressiveness of the patient, lack of appropriate communication skills and for many other reasons. However, one should keep it in mind that the patient didn't choose his role but the doctor did choose his role voluntarily [1, 2, 4, 22, 26].

Doctors often forget how important it is to give advice to their patients on healthy lifestyle when they leave the hospital. These tips apply to diet, lifestyle activities, sexual life, and overall behavior (**Box 1**).

Box 1. Situations in which the doctor should give advice to a patient [1-2]

Example 1. The doctor needs to explain to a young patient who has suffered from a spraying of a smaller blood vessel in the brain (aneurysm) that s/he must stop sexual activities for some time and later remain careful about his/her blood pressure rising because it carries a risk for bursting a blood vessel in the brain again. In such situations the patient probably would blush with embarrassment and discomfort. It is not always an easy thing for the doctor to explain to the patient, and for some doctors it is particularly difficult to talk about sexual life at all;

Example 2. Patients with a history of myocardial infarction have completely given up sexual intercourse though it is not required by the nature of the disease as they didn't ask and doctors didn't talk about it. These and similar cases are frequent in practice.

In the era of replacement medicine, there are many examples of mental/spiritual suffering and needs of the patients who have transplanted body parts (**Box 2**).

Box 2. Spiritual sufferings and needs for support of the patients who have transplanted body parts [1, 2].

Example 1. A young girl may complain that she has problems due to transplantation of her heart valve because boys leave as soon as they approach her even if she is a very beautiful girl. When a boy would kiss her, he might become frightened because her heart works as a "locomotive". In essence, the heart valve produces a lot of noise. Doctors need to understand that and advise such patients to warn the boy of the phenomenon in advance;

Example 2. A patient who has a hallucination that he is followed by a dead man whose kidney was transplanted to him/her. Similar heavy dreams can happen in patients who have undergone transplantation of other organs or bone marrow.

Here, two issues arise, one is the quality of life of these patients, while the other is the problem of mental preparation for the consequences of transplantation and further experiences of patients after transplantation.

We must not forget the needs, wishes and feelings of the patient's family, especially when it comes to parents. The parents of terminally ill children often have very irrational guilt and unconsciously believe that they have somehow caused the illness of their child. Psychological assistance to parents or family members is also a way of helping the patient. In practice, group psychotherapeutic methods with family members proved as very helpful, for example for children suffering from leukemia or other serious diseases [1-3].

Besides the described problems that doctors have in communicating with patients and working with them, there are also psychological problems of ethical nature. The main ethical dilemma is, first of all, who should be given medical attention primarily or who should be protected at first: the patient, the family members or the society? At a first glance it seems that the patient should always be protected, but in practice it is not that simple (**Box 3**).

Box 3. Ethical dilemmas in health care about giving priority for attention and protection [1, 2]

Example 1. What should be done when a doctor discovers that the patient is infected with the virus of HIV/AIDS? Is it ethical to hide this from his/her sexual partner and how to proceed in relation to the society which he/she is a real danger for?

Example 2. Woman during pregnancy requires an examination that would prove whether her child is a carrier of the blood disease haemophilia, which, in principle affects male offspring while women transmit the disease. The doctor takes blood from the mother and the father of the child and determines that there is no danger to the child for haemophilia but s/he proves that the father, in fact, is not the biological father of the child. What should the doctor do in this case: should s/he carry out tests on a pregnant woman (meaning puncture the abdomen and extracting amniotic fluid for examination, which is not a safe procedure), tell only her or tell the father that he isn't the biological father?

There is also a problem in the length of exposure of clinical patients to physical and psychological discomfort and suffering in favor of student's education, i.e. how many students and in what circumstances may perform auscultation to a patient with heart disease or bronchopneumonia.

Implementing spiritual care in medicine and promoting spiritual wellbeing

The effect of spirituality on overall health is an area of active multidisciplinary research and studies are directed into 3 major areas: mortality, coping, and recovery. Results from a number of observational studies indicate that people who have regular spiritual practices tend to live longer. Religious and spiritual commitment may improve stress control by offering better coping mechanisms, stronger social support, and strength of personal values and worldview. For reaching spiritual wellness it is important for

everyone to explore what s/he believes is her/his own sense of meaning and purpose. The path to spiritual wellness may involve meditation, prayer, yoga, affirmations, or specific spiritual practices that support one's connection to a higher power or a belief system. Having compassion, the capacity for love and forgiveness, altruism, joy, and fulfillment, helps one enjoy his/her spiritual health. Religious faith, values, beliefs, principles, and morals define person's spirituality [7-9, 12, 13, 27]. Patients who are spiritual, and with a strong sense of coherence, may utilize their beliefs in coping with illness, pain, and life stresses. Some studies indicate that those who are spiritual tend to have a more positive outlook and a better quality of life with a meaningful personal existence, fulfillment of life goals, and a feeling that even a life with advanced disease have been worthwhile. Spiritual well-being is related to the ability to enjoy life even in the midst of symptoms, including pain. So, spirituality may be an important clinical target. Prayer, meditation, imagery and group support activities as methods of pain management and spiritual suffering alleviation have been used more frequently than intravenous pain medication. In turn, positive changes in health behaviors such as communication, diet activity, and treatment compliance have been noted, as well as a number of beneficial physical and emotional health outcomes such as heart disease reversal, decreased cancer mortality, reduced anxiety, and improved mood states as reported. Spiritual beliefs can help patients cope with disease and face death with peace as transcendence. Spiritual commitment tends to enhance recovery from illness and surgery. In general, people who don't worry that much (worry less) tend to have better health outcomes. Perhaps spirituality enables people to worry less, to let go and to live in the present moment. The power of hope and positive thinking is closely related to spirituality and better health outcomes [4, 7-10, 12, 13, 21, 27-29].

Understanding health and spiritual needs of a patient requires addressing spiritual and existential issues, and healthcare is therefore challenged to respond to the ways spirituality is experienced and expressed in illness, suffering, healing and loss. If healthcare has compassionate regard for the humanity of those it serves, it is faced with questions about how it understands and interprets spirituality, what resources it should make available and how these are organised, and the ways in which spirituality shapes and informs the purpose and practice of healthcare. [9, 27].

The doctor-patient relationship is one of the most complex social relationships because it is multifaceted and multidimensional. Good clinical relationship encompasses mutual trust, social orientation and commitment of the doctor, friendly approach with empathy for the feelings and sufferings of the patient, careful listening of the patient's words and catching the meaning of partial messages ("reading between lines"), encouragement and non-blaming, expressing honesty, interest and willingness to help, extending compliments to patient, smiling and joking. An appropriate patient-physician relationship with positive beliefs and expectations on the part of the patient and on the part of the physician is important for spiritual care and good outcome. Specific spiritual practices have been shown to improve health outcomes. Some people practiced transcendental meditation, 10 to 20 minutes twice a day. The results suggested this leads to decreased metabolism, decreased heart rate, decreased respiratory rate, and slower brain waves, and it was beneficial for the treatment of chronic pain, insomnia, anxiety, hostility, depression, premenstrual syndrome, and infertility. It was also a useful adjunct to treatment for patients with cancer or HIV. Evoking the relaxation

response by meditation is an effective therapy as any disease is caused or made worse by stress [4, 7, 8, 12, 21, 22, 27].

Benefit for doctors and patients from psychological medicine and spiritual care

Spiritual needs and psychological medicine are very important and somehow neglected as issues in the broader medical professional and scientific community in Europe. Doctors should carefully ask appropriate questions in order to get answers with important information from the patient and to create mutual trust to minimize the risk for misunderstandings, as well as to motivate the patient to accept the treatment offered to him/her. There is benefit both for the doctor and the patient from the application of findings of psychological medicine and spiritual care.

For physicians, the application of knowledge of psychological medicine and spiritual care means better diagnostics and a greater therapeutic effect. The patient will better cooperate with the doctor who has a moderate psychological approach, and better cooperation will often provide more accurate, easier and faster diagnosis. Accepting the physician with confidence, as well as treatment and advice recommended by him/her, will surely reflect positively on the patient's behavior and on the effects of treatment. A doctor with an adequate psychological approach and empathy will surely enjoy a growing reputation in his/her environment, rather than a doctor who lacks it. The doctor who takes care for the emotional and spiritual needs of the patients will certainly be more satisfied with him/herself and with the patients. In many patients' lives, spiritual or religious beliefs may affect the decisions they make about their health and illness and the treatment choices offered to them. Physicians and health care providers should address spiritual beliefs of their patients and be sensitive to their value-framework, be ready to listen to all aspects of patients' lives that can affect their decision making and their coping skills. Religious convictions and spiritual beliefs may affect health care decision making and patient coping with hope for recovery, but it can also help the patient's family to cope with their suffering and loss. Patients may want to discuss their spirituality with their physician, to use their church group as a social support, or to join faith-based organizations for support and guidance [1-4, 14, 19, 22, 24, 25].

The benefit for the patient from the application of the knowledge of psychological medicine and spiritual care is that the patient becomes an active subject and more interested in helping him/herself in treating his/her illness. An understanding of the patient's spirituality is an integral part to the whole patient care and leads to positive coping. Some patients seek control through a partnership with God, ask God's forgiveness and try to forgive others, draw strength and comfort from their spiritual beliefs and find support from a spiritual faith-based or religious community. These actions lead to lesser psychological distress. Better communication between the patient and the doctor would ensure better outcomes and better quality of life for the patient. Good emotional relationship with the doctor facilitates preventive, therapeutic and rehabilitative actions and positive effects for the current and eventual new diseases [1-4, 14, 22, 25].

Each person responds in the uniqueness of his or her spirituality. The resources of family, friends, faith-based and social groups are very important in providing a compassionate and loving presence. Faith and hope are the greatest assets of the patient and listening is the greatest asset of the doctor and the caregiver [9].

Various aspects of spiritual care

Spirituality is as unique as each person is. For many it is expressed through religious practice. Overall it is about the relationship someone has with oneself, family and friends, as well as with God. Spirituality also includes hopes and dreams, and whatever helps someone feel the vitality of life and a sense of belonging. Connecting with that means connecting with inspiration and meaning and these are just as important in patient's healing as medicine is [30].

In helping patients and providing spiritual/compassionate care, physicians should start with practicing compassionate presence and attention in listening to patients' fears, hopes, pain, and dreams, and being supportive to their patients in all of their physical, emotional, and spiritual sufferings. Physicians should obtain a spiritual history and be attentive to all dimensions (body, mind, and spirit) of patients and their families in order to be able to incorporate appropriate spiritual practices and to involve, if necessary, psychologists and/or chaplains as members of the interdisciplinary health care team respecting professional boundaries. The physician should not initiate prayer with patients, but if the patient requests prayer, the physician can stand by in silence as the patient prays in his or her tradition or can contact the chaplain to lead a prayer. Most patients ask for health care in vulnerable times and physicians are in a position of power with them. But, it is critical that when discussing spiritual issues with patients, the physician listens and supports and does not guide or lead. Physicians should take spiritual history as part of social history at follow-up visits as appropriate. A spiritual history gives an opportunity for conversation about values and beliefs, uncovers coping mechanisms and support systems, and provides an opportunity for compassionate care [4, 9, 10, 30].

Many Americans rely on prayer and spirituality for the benefit of health. There is already some preliminary evidence for a connection between prayer and related spiritual practices and health outcomes. In particular, religious affiliation and religious practices are associated with health and mortality—in other words, with improving health and prolonging life. Such connections may involve immune function, cardiovascular function, and/or other physiological changes. It is in this realm that pastoral care has been so helpful. Institutions like the Healthcare Chaplaincy, New York, bring together clergy from a variety of faiths to work with those in spiritual suffering and need [9].

Canadian Association of Spiritual Care (CASC) is educating, certifying and supporting people involved in spiritual care, pastoral counselling, education and research. CASC provide educational programs for interested groups who are preparing to become professional providers of spiritual care and pastoral counselling (Master of Divinity,

Master of Theology, or a master's degree in a related discipline) in their practice of spiritual care and religious support and to facilitate provision of sacraments and rituals on request from patients, veterans, clients and their families. They are also trained to respond to requests for cultural and religious resources, to counsel and support patients, veterans, clients and their families experiencing spiritual distress due to injury, prolonged illness, trauma, unfavourable prognosis or loss of hope and meaning, to provide end of life care and to offer counsel and support to those who are experiencing grief, loss or bereavement, either individually or in groups. They are engaged to supervise the training of spiritual care interns and residents through courses in clinical pastoral education [30, 31].

Since addressing spiritual issues can make such a difference in an individual's experience of illness and in health outcomes, weaving spirituality into medical education has become a priority among integrative medicine leaders. Today two-thirds of the 125 medical schools in USA include courses on spirituality and faith, up from just three in 1992. Through its commitment to return the soul to medicine, integrative medicine will continue to develop innovative and meaningful ways to address the fundamental connection between mind, body, and spirit in health and healing [9].

Conclusion

From the Public Health point of view, the topic of psychological medicine and spiritual care deserves a much bigger attention in medical practice, education and research in Europe. Spiritual care and services should be an integral part of health care and daily life. Physicians should extend compassionate care for patients with advanced chronic illnesses by increased attention to their physical, existential and spiritual suffering.

Health professionals should take spiritual concerns more seriously and consider spiritual needs of patients in order to approach individual patients more compassionately, as well as to strengthen and reform the health-care system and clinical care in the right direction. Spiritual concerns should be taken into account in the coming years and decades in the European countries and the options how religious organizations and faith communities as new resources might be helpful should be explored.

Research on spirituality, religion and health is advancing as never before, but most doctors are still not trained for specific communication skills and talking to patients about these issues.

Greater involvement in the multidisciplinary patient care teams is necessary. Beside hospital chaplains as possible integral part of the team, stronger integration with public health operators and cooperation with the psychosocial professions should be introduced. There is a need for specific training on spiritual/ compassionate/ pastoral care and professional certification of chaplains, as well as the development of shared ethical codes for the profession.

There is a need for training on theoretical and methodological foundations of interventions like meditation, imagery, and group support and a need for further evaluation research on the impact of such interventions. Medical school curriculum and

education should be strengthened by adding the key elements of spirituality, cultural issues, compassion and end-of-life care. Students should learn how to take into account all aspects of history—physical, social, emotional, and spiritual, and how to integrate spiritual care into all of their care for the current and future patients with a holistic approach, empathy and altruism. Additional courses on spirituality and compassionate care should be offered for doctors and for other health care professionals. Doctors should seek to understand the meaning of patients' stories in the context of patients' beliefs, family and cultural values, and continue to care even for dying patients when disease-specific therapy is no longer available or desired.

Physicians need to address and be attentive to all sufferings and health needs of their patients—physical, mental, emotional and spiritual, and deliver compassionate care. Physicians should be true partners to their patients' living, suffering and even their end-of-life and dying moments, providing compassionate care and being able to truly listen to patients' hopes, fears and beliefs, as well as to incorporate the spiritual needs of patients into their therapeutic plans.

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Dror, Yehezkel

By way of personal disclosure, while being a “half European” I have spent more than two years at the European Institute of Public Administration (Maastricht) working on main EU policy issues, in close contact with the Commission in Brussels. I found an amazing lack of long term policy thinking, including consideration of alternative futures. All the more so, the „Next Europe“ project is important, though it raises a number of problems. Thus, without an approximate time horizon statements necessarily hang in the air. There is a big difference if one envisages Europe in, say, the year 2100, or in 2050.

To move to some substantive points, very briefly at this phase of the project:

1. Throughout history future-imagining and future-shaping strata have included only small parts of populations at large. It is fine to „milk“ publics for ideas, but serious pondering on the future requires scarce knowledge, cognitive qualities and creativity. In other words, however it may be „politically incorrect“ in Europe to say so, thinking elites are of core importance for the project.

2. I regard it impossible to ponder seriously on desirable futures for Europe without major attention to emerging science and technology. Thus, issues of employment will change radically with increased life expectancy on one hand and expanded use of artificial intelligent robots on the other. And „human enhancement“ may change the fundamentals of societies. The outline of the project is missing this cardinal dimension.,

3. Similarly, I think it is wrong to consider visions for Europa without pondering on the future of the world as a whole. Alternative global futures are essential frames for designing preferable futures for Europe.

4. Thus, Western civilization may decline in global importance, with Asian civilizations displacing it in part. In terms of long-term history civilizational centers always shifted with time. This may well occur, at least in part, within this century – with many implications for possible and desirable futures for Europe.

5. Thus, a central question is what will/should be the contributions of Europe to Homo sapiens problems as a whole – which, in turn, will reflect back on the self-images of Europe.

6. I find the proposed background paper biased against the Commission. True, there is much that needs improvement. But a central governance authority is essential for maintaining and guiding the EU (while decisive global governance is likely to become critical for the future of humanity and its very existence. This requires, inter alia, radical upgrading of the quality of politicians, even though in the long run spiritual leaders and creators of all types are more important.

7. It is quite possible, and in my assessment very likely, that humanity as a whole, including Europe, will run into serious crises, related to moving into what I called in my recent book „metamorphosis,“ driven both by a radical science and technology revolution (think on the digital revolution, which is relatively simple compared to „human enhancement“ and synthetic biology) and radical value transformations (think on the „sexual revolution.“ Gearing Europe for high quality crisis coping, including developing

anti-fragility, may be an essential part of a realistic „Next Europe.“ The relatively benign current refugee mass movement into Europe illustrates mildly what is in store, as well as the lack of foresight and weak crisis handling capacities of the EU as a whole and its members in particular.

8. Finally, at this stage of the project, let me make a distinction between seeking a much better future and avoiding a worse one. Avoiding a serious decline of the EU and many of its member states may be quite an achievement given possible/likely global crises. Too much optimism on what may be possible for Europe may be a doubtful frame for thinking on Next Europe. Striving for a vision should go hand-in-hand with steps to avoid realization of nightmare (just think on the „unthinkable,“ such as a nuclear war not far from Europe – which is very unlikely but definitely not impossible).

With this cautioning, let me conclude this set of preliminary comments.

Ećimović, Timi

It is nice idea, time of action well chosen, and it is time when people need initiative from EASA.

I agree with proposal and possibility to work on “Next Europe”.

I think, as main target of the project it is sustainable future or sustainability of people in Europe and larger. As short definition of sustainability it is al right “The Sustainable Future of Humankind is Harmonious and a Complementary Coexistence of Humankind and Biosphere of the planet Earth.

As second I think, it will be nice to organize “Next Europe” as European project with regional and national impact as working project. For Instance: “Next Europe” as main project; “Next Balkan” (Scandinavia etc.) as regional project and “Next Austria” (Germany, Slovenia etc) as national projects.

As third I think, national academies could play not only European role but also national projects co-ordination.

Due to my work of many years on sustainable development and sustainable future I hope to co-operate with project as and if needed.

Please accept my congratulation for making “Next Europe” project.

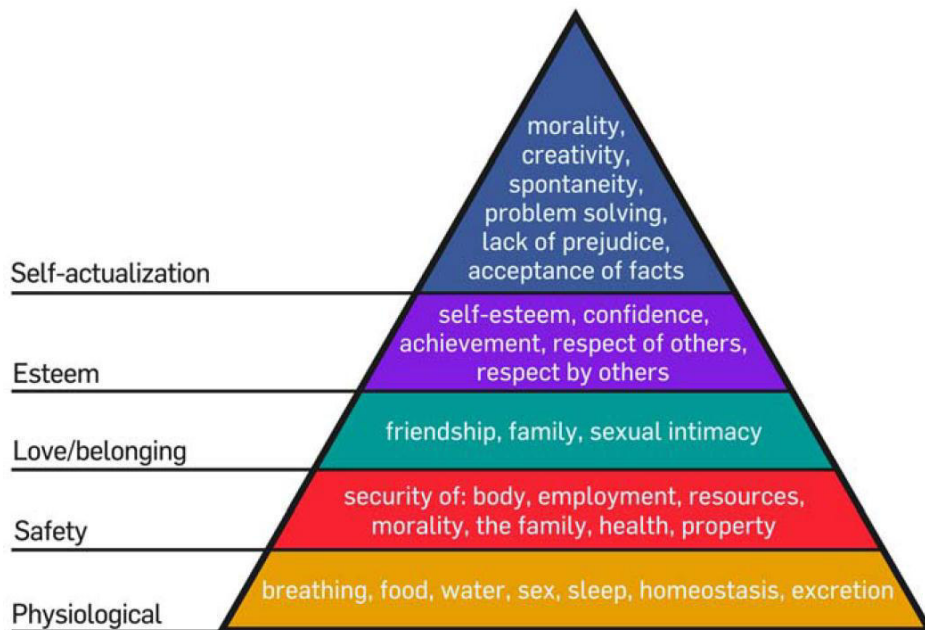
Furdui, Teodor

In order to ensure a dignified life and sanogenous livelihood of the population of each European country, we consider that is necessary to assist the implementation of the following ideas:

1. To stop the migration of the population from the countries with political conflicts, because this fact generates economic, religious and social problems in Europe. The fact that the Muslim population migration takes place not in the rich Muslim Arab countries, the USA, Austria Canada, but in Europe, this generates the idea that this process is focused on disrupting the development of Europe.
2. To organize, as soon as possible, at European level elaboration and adoption of a Law on population planning by increasing this indicator of each country according to its potential of natural resources, potential technological development of the country and the scientific level for ensuring its citizens with a good and rest life level. It is time to renounce at the spontaneous strategy regarding the population reproducing, which is growing; meanwhile arable soils in Europe are limited and are deteriorating more and more each year.

Garzia, Fabio

I would suggest, to concentrate, as an expert of Safety&Security from Technological, Psychological and Sociological point of view, also on these aspects that represent the second level, after the first level of physiological needs (representing, the two mentioned levels, the basic wants of human being), according to the Maslows' pyramid of necessities (see figure below): I'm available for any further depth about the proposed theme.



Gill III, Thomas J.

The fundamental problem that Europe faces – and one that is developing in the United States – is the lack of a clear societal identity. Western Civilization is based on the concepts and principles of Greco-Roman Civilization and Christianity. The erosion of this understanding has led to a systematic compromise of the ways in which people interact, make decisions, and organize their institutions. This situation is abetted by a rising tide of secularism and an interpretation of tolerance and diversity that often means eroding the bedrock of our civilization. There is room for integrating new ideas and peoples into the West, but with the caveats that they must adapt to our vision of society and its purposes and that they must obey the rules of behavior and assimilation that our society requires.

Gleiter, Herbert

In principle, I fully agree with the analysis of the present situation in Europe presented in your paper „Next Europe“. In particular, the summary about the present difficulties such as the world finance, the international trade, the trouble spots at the European borders, the massive asylum and immigration wave and the radical nature of the jihadists and terrorists.

This analysis agrees completely with my experience in meetings with several Government officials and as a former science advisor of a Prime Minister of a State. However, it is not that Government officials cannot see these difficulties. Their evaluations and their reactions are primarily controlled by the pressure of securing their re-election. It is this aspect that forces them to make decisions that may partially disagree with their conviction. Contrary to the decisions we make in science, the decisions made in politics are not made on the basis of peer review recommendations. In politics the public opinion, the media presentations and the positions of the other parties are key factors in the decision process.

In fact, the approach mentioned in your paper to speak to each other and to developed new concepts of an ideal being, of truth and of the state sounds convincing. However, it does not include the reality of the daily life of politicians. In order to make our paper convincing for politicians, we should try to expand it at this point in a way so that he/she can use our advice for his/her situation in real life. When I was for some time a President of a National Laboratory with about 3000 people, I was frequently told by colleagues involved in the daily business that my advice is logically convincing but it comes from a professor working on “cloud number seven”. We should keep an eye on this aspect so that the politicians do not see our paper as a “paper from cloud number seven”.

Hence, my recommendation would be that we include in the paper a way that allows us to analyze the different facets (economy, technology, social aspects etc.) of any situation by independent peer committees consisting of internationally well-known experts in their fields. The recommendations of these committees should then be presented to the public in a language that can be understood by a very broad majority. If no serious errors are discovered in these recommendations, they should be the guidelines for the decisions of the governments. I know from my work in the US National Academy that a similar approach is used for certain decisions in the US.

Hager, L. Michael

The first priority should be to close the wide gap between Brussels bureaucrats and citizens of the 28 diverse member states. To do this, the European Parliament should be given wider scope, a popularly elected chief executive position (EU Prime Minister) should be created, and the European Central Bank should be given more flexible powers to deal with local crises. In the reform process and in building citizen participation for the longer term, the popular social media could be an important tool to invite citizen opinion and EU-wide conversation.

Hartmann, Wolf

It is a great idea to build new visions for Europe! I try to organize a local event for it.

My ideas are focusing on the following 3 topics:

1. What we can learn from the giants of renaissance for Next Europe.

(Essay)

2. Conclusions from system transformation in Eastern Europe for a United Europe for pressing tasks and programs:

-Ensuring essentials supplies of foodstuffs and medications in all countries and for all refugees/displaced persons

-Stabilization of energy supplies and infrastructural services as reform prerequisites for survival and economic growth

-Creation of a regulation framework on the principle of a legal system, tax system and financing rules

-Defusing the acute environmental dangers, especially of nuclear potential and the implementation of conversion for pollution technics

-The promotion of small and medium-sized businesses, support of the formation of enterprises, particular in consumer goods sectors, in trade and in the service sector et.al.

(Study)

3. Developing a new science for huge problems of Next Europe called EVONETICS (Methodology)

Haschke, Ferdinand

The European Academy of Sciences and Arts as an European player takes the lead to liaise with selected European Academic institutions, industry (European players only), and consumer organizations to develop standardized programs: industry sponsored research and product development needs to follow scientific, ethical, and commercial standards, which should be transparent. Such standards should be further developed and if already available in certain segments – e.g. pharma industry – be reviewed and modified, if necessary. The outcome of the collaborative work should be communicated to the respective DGs (science, consumer protection, health, industrial affairs, and trade) and be presented to European NGOs, associations which are active in the field of consumer protection, industry associations at EU level, and at selected scientific meetings. A social media platform should be established by the Academy to communicate outcome and provide room for an interactive dialog.

Hewitt, Geoffrey F.

I believe that the (great) idea of Europe would be better served if a Government of Europe was seen to be *responsible* to the people of Europe. The Commission and its agents are perhaps not seen as being *accountable* to the people of Europe and a new election structure needs to be established. This might take the following form:

(1) At present, Europe has (broadly speaking) a grouping which would call itself *centre right* and another grouping which would call itself *centre left*. Let us imagine that these two groups form two parties which would stand for election to a European Parliament. Each party should (in principle) represent voters from a multiplicity of nations. The nations themselves might have roughly the same type of role as do States in the USA.

(2) That a *President of Europe* be elected by a popular vote of all the people of Europe. The two parties would each nominate a candidate. However, the President would represent *all* the people of Europe on the international stage. Perhaps he would also be the commander-in-chief of the armed forces of Europe.

(3) That the President invites the leader of the majority party in the European Parliament to form a *European Government* whose principal officers are actually in the European Parliament and who can be held accountable by members of parliament for their actions (and, through parliament, be accountable to the people of Europe).

Of course, there are many structures which could be postulated as alternatives but the important thing is *visible accountability* of the politicians to the European people.

Horváth, Miklós

The question how we imagine the Next Europe - the future of the continent. The answer is very complicated because of the permanently changing situation so an estimation can be eligible today but not tomorrow any more.

A further point: every remark cannot be without politics or political concern however we try it to make permanently.

The emerging problems /see below/are unsure because we don't know which group of people are represented by the main actors and what kind of means they have or want to use: not only the European leaders but those in America, China, Russia - who have for us not quite understandable influence even / far late / plans for the future.

The weakness of the possible information does not allow us to create a correct answer of the genuine question : which are the best solutions that are good and acceptable for the overwhelming majority of the European people.

The main topics to discuss are as follows:

1.Limits of the globalization role of the nations.

European countries not belonging to the EU, especially Turkey, Russia, Israel.

The question of the United States of Europe.

2.democracy, elections, minorities - tolerance to other nations, other cultures negative role of the migration,

3.Unemployment, under education, pauperism.

Solidarity and social humanitarian aid - their limits.

4. Common army, corruption, organized and international crime, terrorism.

The exposition of these topics above wants tremendous work and a lot of files-even the details The argumentation of the emerging questions could be homework of the different /political, economic, law etc/teams - not for a simple neurosurgeon as me. But because of the European Academy of Sciences and Arts requires own opinion of the members I can summarize my remarks in several subjects without giving voluminous basic grounds and explanations, such as

1.More independency to the component nations in many fields: immigration, priorities in the economy etc with harmonization of the other countries. NOT United States of Europe but Union of Independent States - defensive alliance of sovereign nations. The NATO must have an European section, not subordinated to the USA - on the basis of the same principles.

2.the leaders of the EU must be elected by general European elections!

/democracy/

3. Far stronger control and publicity of the financial background and manipulations of the press.

4. Many tasks mentioned above /employment, education, pauperism, solidarity, religions homosexuality/ must be managed locally by state governments with general EU directions.

I regret but I do not hope a rapid arrangement likely because of the multiple and not only European interests and as mentioned - a lot of unforeseeable events.

Jähne, Joachim

It is often forgotten that the idea of Europe has resulted in 70 years of peace within Europe. That is a crucial point that needs to be stressed every time the idea of Europe is questioned.

To foster the idea of Europe and to deal with the challenges of today, it seems to be essential

- to provide knowledge of languages
- to provide enough **historical** knowledge of Europe and its various countries
- to increase pupils' and students' exchange between countries
- to decrease European bureaucracy

It appears worthwhile to discuss earlier ideas of a Europe of various velocities.

Next Europe should strengthen the cultural diversity of Europe on the one hand, but should also focus the political unity. The major field in this respect is a common foreign policy.

Another issue may be that integration should be more important than further enlargement. At the moment there should be a moratorium not to incorporate further countries into the European Union.

Additionally, political discussions with Russia appear to be necessary. A mutual understanding of the own perspectives is essential for a peaceful coexistence.

In light of the actual refugees' challenges concepts should be developed how to integrate these people in the various countries of Europe (acceptance of professional qualifications?, handling of religious diversity?, integration of refugees regarding political and legal structures of Europe?).

These are just a few ideas and suggestions, and I congratulate to the brilliant idea to think a „New Europe“.

Jansen, Thomas

Der Integrations- und Einigungsprozess in Europa zielt ab auf die politische Einheit in seiner nationalen und kulturellen Vielfalt. Solidarität und Subsidiarität, Frieden und Freiheit, Versöhnung, Toleranz und Gerechtigkeit sind die Werte, die für die inhaltliche Bestimmung und die Motivierung dieser Europapolitik von besonderer Bedeutung sind; sie machen die Ethik der europäischen Einigungspolitik aus.

Die politischen Institutionen und Verfahren, in denen sich im Laufe der relativ kurzen Zeitspanne seit dem Ende des zweiten Weltkriegs die europäische Einigungsbewegung manifestiert hat, haben auf dem Wege einer allmählichen, dynamischen Verschränkung und Verflechtung einer immer größeren Zahl von Staaten die Versöhnung der Völker Europas voran getrieben und ihren Frieden gesichert. Diese Methode ist jedoch an ihre Grenzen gestoßen.

Das „nächste Europa“ wird in der Kontinuität dieses Prozesses verwirklicht werden und in seiner Methode ebenso wie in seinem Inhalt den sich verändernden Forderungen der Zeit entsprechen müssen. Die Aufgaben, die Europa zu bewältigen hat, verlangen dringend nach einer Autorität, die sich gegen egoistische oder nationalistische Positionen, die Aktionen und Maßnahmen zu ihrer Lösung verhindern, durchzusetzen weiß.

Die schweren Krisen, die das politische und institutionelle System der Europäischen Union immer wieder an den Rand seiner Funktionsfähigkeit gebracht haben, sowie zuletzt die große Herausforderung durch einen unübersehbaren und unaufhaltsamen Strom von Menschen, die als Flüchtlinge aus den Kriegsgebieten des Nahen Ostens und den Elendsgebieten Afrikas in den Ländern der Union Zuflucht suchen, machen Europa schwer zu schaffen. Aber sie sind vielleicht geeignet, die Erschütterung zu erzeugen, die notwendig zu sein scheint, um den Reformdruck entstehen zu lassen, der ein „nächstes Europa“ hervorbringt, das mit den nationalen Mythen bricht.

Es ist an der Zeit, dass die Verantwortlichen in den Mitgliedstaaten der Europäischen Union der sogenannten „nationalen Souveränität“ abschwören, von der ohnehin nicht viel mehr übrig geblieben ist als die Fähigkeit, notwendige Entwicklungen zu verhindern. Sie sollten endlich anerkennen, dass ihre Staaten heute und morgen Souveränität nur in der Gemeinschaft miteinander finden können. Denn unter den Bedingungen der Globalisierung und der Digitalisierung besteht Souveränität nicht mehr darin, unabhängig von seinen Nachbarn tun oder lassen zu können, was man will, sondern vielmehr darin, sich auf die Nachbarn verlassen zu können und mit ihnen gemeinsam die gemeinsamen Probleme zu bewältigen.

Diese Einsicht sollte zur Einberufung eines aus nationalen und europäischen Abgeordneten zusammen gesetzten Verfassungskonvents führen, der den Umbau der Union in eine Europäische Föderation, das „nächste Europa“ diskutiert und beschließt. Dieses „nächste Europa“ wird über eine institutionelle Struktur verfügen müssen, die wesentliche Elemente der Europäischen Union übernimmt, um diese jedoch im Sinne der Demokratie und des Föderalismus radikal umzuformen. In der Europäischen Föderation wird die Regierungsfunktion für alle Politikbereiche der Kommission obliegen, die vom Europäischen Parlament kontrolliert wird. Der Ministerrat wird als Staatenkammer neben dem Parlament für die Gesetzgebung zuständig sein. Die

Legitimation der Kommission als Regierung wird vom Parlament im Einvernehmen mit dem Ministerrat besorgt, die in gemeinsamer Sitzung den Präsidenten der Kommission wählen – und zwar im Anschluss an die Europa-Wahlen, bei denen die Europäischen Parteien ihre jeweiligen Kandidaten für diese Position ins Rennen schicken; der gewählte Präsident designiert sodann die Mitglieder seiner Regierung und holt dafür die Zustimmung des Parlaments ein.

In der Europäischen Föderation nehmen die Mitgliedstaaten für weite Bereiche der Politik ein erhebliches Maß an Verantwortung wahr – und zwar insbesondere für die Bereiche der Innenpolitik, der Sozialpolitik, der Kultur- und der Bildungspolitik. Im Übrigen stehen ihre Ressourcen der Föderation für die Bewältigung gemeinschaftlicher, föderaler Aufgaben zur Verfügung. Durch ein System des föderalen Finanzausgleichs wird darüber hinaus die finanzielle Solidarität der Mitgliedstaaten institutionalisiert.

Der Euro ist die Währung der gesamten Föderation. Außen-, Entwicklungs- und Sicherheitspolitik gehören ebenso wie Organisation und Einsatz des Militärs zu den ausschließlichen Befugnissen der Föderation.

Über ein Forum der Regionen und Kommunen erhalten die Gebietskörperschaften Möglichkeiten der Mitwirkung an der Gesetzgebung und der Mitgestaltung der Politiken, die sie in besonderer Weise betreffen. Die Stärkung der partizipativen Demokratie erfolgt über das Forum der Zivilgesellschaft.

Die Mitgliedsstaaten der Europäischen Union, die der Föderation nicht beitreten, bleiben jedoch assoziiert und den Regeln des Binnenmarktes unterworfen. Allen anderen europäischen Staaten, die der Föderation nicht beitreten können oder wollen, bietet die Föderation entsprechende Assoziations-Verträge an.

Die Europäische Föderation räumt der Außen-, Entwicklungs- und Sicherheitspolitik ein hohes Maß an Priorität ein. Die Handlungsfähigkeit, die das föderale Regierungssystem bietet, erlaubt ein entschiedenes Auftreten und Eingreifen wenn es im Interesse des Friedens nötig ist. Die Mittel und Möglichkeiten, die sich aus der neu gewonnenen Einheit ergeben, setzt die Föderation dafür ein, in solidarischer Partnerschaft mit den notleidenden und gefährdeten Ländern Afrikas und des Nahen Ostens, deren wirtschaftliche, soziale und demokratische Entwicklung aktiv zu unterstützen.

Izakovičová, Zita

Climate changes belong among important factors that can significantly affect the face of Europe. Their effects have already been observed and it is believed that they will be even more pronounced. The average temperature of the Earth rises, frequency and force of hurricanes, tropical storms and cyclones increase, flood periods grow, climatic zones move, snow covers decrease, glaciers melt in extreme speed and raise long periods of heat and drought.

It is expected that extreme weather events, including heat waves, droughts and floods will be even more frequent and intense. The largest temperature increase in Europe was recorded in southern Europe and in the Arctic. In southern Europe rainfalls decrease and in the northwest rise. This affects natural ecosystems, human health, natural resources and especially water resources. The consequences of climate changes affect apart from changes of ecosystems and loss of biodiversity also economic sectors, especially forestry, agriculture, tourism and building industry.

It is expected that in the future climate changes will become the strongest driver of biodiversity loss directly after the land-use changes because species have tendency to evolve within fixed range of environmental factors such as temperature, humidity and so on. Due to climate changes these factors alter and so species need to migrate to remain in optimal conditions. Some species are more adaptive than others. However, to the overall increase in average temperatures by more than 2 °C the nature is not able to adapt at all. This would mean the gradual disappearance of ecosystems as we know them nowadays.

It is also expected a shift of vegetation zones from 200 to 300 kilometres to the north, respectively from 150 to 300 meters to higher altitudes. Consequently, in different countries will change types of grown crops and ways of farming. These changes will affect types and quantity of pests (e.g. insects and rodents) and weeds. Afterwards these changes will be reflected on lifestyle and overall picture of Europe. Many of causes and consequences of these changes have not been sufficiently investigated so far and that is why they call for attention from the point of evaluation of the "Next Europe".

In addition to existing social and economy problems which are in Europe, there will arise problems resulting from the climate change. There is to expect that the migration caused by climate change will increase substantially (shift of climatic zones, change of ecosystems, etc.).

Kaasik, Ain-Elmar

Europe has lived through remarkably more perilous conditions than the recent violence in Paris or the migration crisis. In 1241-1242 Europe very scarcely got free from the Mongol invasion – only the Eastern part suffered. However, the main reason for this escape was the death of the Khan and the Mongols still ruled Russia for 200 years. In the 14th century Black Death or plague devastated about two-thirds of her population and this created a wave of pessimism that considerably postponed Renaissance and modern history of Europe. In 1453 the Osman empire conquered Byzantium and in 1526 gained the victory over Hungarians in the battle of Mohàch. However, in 1529 they could not capture Vienna and in 1571 they were crushed in the Lepanto marine battle. Millions were killed in two World Wars in the 20th century but Europe survived, restored and flourished.

Nevertheless, it is unreasonable to believe that the history itself will settle all problems. There are different options for the future. Until 410 A.D., when the Rome was ravaged for the first time, the Romans believed that the world proceeds without changes. However, in 1683 the Polish King Jan Sobieski united the European military forces and saved Vienna from the second attack of Osmans. Comparison of these alternatives does not mean that any military activities are necessary today but certain active and united measures are unavoidable to save the European culture. The Romans knew that *tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis*. However, there are some basic principles that are prerequisites considering Next Europe. There seems to be a bit scanty consensus determining the basic positions we are willing to preserve.

Kakabadse, Nada

The Overwhelming Case for a United Europe

Europe faces an ever worsening fragmentation. The evident impact is citizen disengagement from European institutions. The European Commission heeding to the demands of the European nations through drafting legislation on which the European Parliament votes, only smacks of democracy and more reflects the disengagement of the citizen from this cumbersome process.

Dig deep into the Commission and one finds projects that have never seen the light of day but could have created such wealth for Europe. Such suppression is due to factional interests promoting their limited agenda at the profound expense of moulding a wealthy and ever prosperous Europe.

To counter the ever growing misalignment of interests is the recently promoted remedy of collaborative governance. The notion that working towards shared interest solutions can be readily embedded within the European context is deeply flawed. Pioneered by the private sector, those entities that meaningfully pursue collaborative governance are few. And why? Because living according to deeply held values such as service or quality requires a scrutinising feedback process pinpointing the occurrence of collaborative governance malpractice. No wonder a limited number of entities adopt such an approach. The resilience and humility needed to encourage and acknowledge such feedback is not evident amongst the current Europe elites.

Instead, the globally emergent Anglo-American shareholder value governance model is edging forward as the mechanism to align the complex interests across Europe. Such development is deeply worrying. Even the private sector is littered with examples of protocol determined governance best practice which act as no defence to the management hubris that allows for the corporate collapses and scandals that litter the press and media. Good governance is not based on procedural process but on having a well rooted and shared philosophy running through the enterprise. Such deeply shared sentiment eludes Europe especially as the European social, partnership-based market model is receding against the growing dominance of the transactional debt-based Anglo-American form of governance.

So, the European socialised capital model of governance is in retreat and the interests of shareholder value inequalities are slowly taking root. Little wonder the European citizen is losing faith in European institutions. The pursuit of transactional interests, the diminishing investment in education and health and the control of resources flowing to those who already control resources, naturally stimulates despondency at the heart of Europe.

The solution is a powerful campaign to have Europe as “One Nation”. A two-tier Parliament, the Lower House being the Chamber of the Citizen and the Upper House the Senate, will act, as the political heart of Europe. The “have-nots” and the “haves” will have their say, but unlike the US, the Lower House will have a term of five years and the Senate (the Upper House) a term of 30 months. Both Houses will be able to initiate legislation, but the constitutional longevity of the Lower House will have the

citizen shaping the European agenda. The European Commission becomes the civil service of the two Houses of Parliament.

Within such a context, there is little need to continue with the other current European political institutions, such as the European Council, which are in reality there to promote the status quo agendas of the current European elites. The present lack of transparency promoting hidden power is as much responsible for current citizen disenchantment.

The future model of Europe democracy must have the citizen in mind. The resource interests that have so subverted Anglo-American representative democracy need to be put to one side in favour of participative democracy. It is true that participative democracy faces the critique of being cumbersome and certainly that comment holds weight in a context of the citizenry being “dumbed down”. The active education and development of the citizen is the basis to active participation in the affairs of the state. Who championed such thinking? – ironically the greatest of all US presidents, Thomas Jefferson, whose message is lost today.

The socialised, participative market model underlying the future of a “One Europe” will attract little support from the current elites. Already there is talk in the Brussels corridors of power of nudging towards a united Europe but in the same breath is the talk of the necessity for an Anglo-American market based mind-set to work its way through Europe. It will take a brave man or woman to sustainably counter such a development. In so doing, the danger of being side-lined from the European political debate is considerable. As a result, catastrophe is likely to shake the Europeans from their lethargy. Yet irrespectively of catastrophe, what is needed is those brave few who have the resilience to weather the political storm in their promotion of the Europe to be. When the time is right, and through their striving, an infrastructure of interests will be in place to shape the united Europe of the future.

The challenge facing Europe is not a lack of intellectual insight on how to move forward, but more the reluctance to challenge current elite interests which inhibit the sharp deliberation needed to engender a socially concerned, united Europe.

Khan, Nadeem

The 'Next Europe' project is very interesting and a great initiative. I also liked very much Prof. Kakabadses' contribution and ideas to the debate.....to which I add that:

'elected politicians should declare an oath in the upper house and have regular professional reviews, as their current accountability is to a self-designed constitution. This should be broader and not supersede the lower house calls for potential constitutional reforms or adherence.'

The issue is that:

there remains a need within an integrated Europe for broader participative engagement and accountability of the politicians to their citizen. This is in contrast to the typical political/corporate/legal inter-play which seems to benefit particular dominant political interests, in turn forcing deliberate dysfunctional policy progression in addressing and impacting economic, societal and humanitarian concerns co-operatively and collectively.

The European Ideal can only succeed where all member states are bound to fully co-operate in unity of European citizen interests and where Europe can stand politically independently and distinguish itself from other regional blocs (U.S.) that seem to be instrumental to many of Europe's issues in the last decade.

Thus the urgent solution calls for : 1) integrative participation 2) political accountability - in reflecting 'what it means to be European.'

Kirchhof, Paul

Europa ist gegenwärtig mehr als ein Staatenverbund, selbstverständlich weniger als ein Bundesstaat. Der Begriff Konföderation ist in Deutschland in Erinnerung als Zwischenstufe zur Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands. Er wurde bald verworfen und im großen Zugriff auf die erhoffte Einheit erübrigt.

Ich schlage vor, von „Staatenverbund“ zu sprechen. Dieser Begriff anerkennt die Eigenständigkeit der Mitgliedstaaten, betont aber ihre enge Verbundenheit, die in der bisherigen politischen und rechtlichen Entwicklung ohne Beispiel ist. Zugleich klingt in dem Wort der Auftrag mit, an der Erneuerung und Zusammenführung einer Verbundenheit in Werten zu arbeiten. Diese ist nicht vorgegeben, sondern aufgegeben.

Laschet, Armin

Die Europäische Union ist groß geworden. Was mit einer Keimzelle von sechs Gründungsstaaten begann, ist heute ein Verbund von 28 Staaten und mehr als 500 Millionen EU-Bürgern. Diese Größe ist eine Stärke; sie verleiht Europa Gewicht. Die größte Gefahr für die Idee Europa besteht gegenwärtig darin, in Zeiten großer Herausforderungen und äußerer Bedrohung wieder auf die Nation zu setzen: beim Umgang mit Flüchtlingen, bei der Abwehr von Feinden und der Sicherung der Grenzen.

Eine Renationalisierung aber ist die falsche Antwort. Europa sollte stattdessen den nächsten Integrationsschritt gehen: mit einer starken Institution zur gemeinschaftlichen Sicherung der EU-Außengrenzen, einer stärkeren Kooperation der Sicherheitsbehörden und der Polizei sowie einer koordinierten Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik. Es muss nicht jeder mitmachen – der Euro und das Schengen-Abkommen zeigen, dass Europa mit diesen unterschiedlichen Geschwindigkeiten gut umgehen kann. Aber wir sollten den Weg der stetig vertiefenden Integration weitergehen. Denn was wir in dieser Lage brauchen ist Europa.

Llamas, Manuel Ramon

This is only a first mail to show my interest.

One relevant topic for NEXT EUROPE should be the connections between SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND ETHICS.

HUMANITY TODAY IS A GIANT IN TECHNOLOGY BUT ALMOST A CHILD IN ETHICS.

THE ROLE OF SCIENCE FOR ERADICATING EXTREME POVERTY AND INEQUALITY HAS TO BE CONSIDERED.

YOU CAN SEE THE BOOK „WATER ETHICS>“ THAT I ALREADY SENT FOR YOUR LIBRARY A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO

Mockenhaupt, Gerhard

„Next Europe“ muss sich m. E. auf den Impuls besinnen, der die „Gründerväter“ Robert Schumann, Alcide de Gasperi und Konrad Adenauer, Charles de Gaulle wie Viele mit und nach ihnen bewogen hat, nach der Katastrophe der beiden Weltkriege für eine Friedensordnung in einem Prozess der fortschreitenden Einigung Europas zu arbeiten. Vom Jahrgang 1931 habe ich seit Schulzeit, Theologie- und später zusätzlichem Philologie- und Geschichtsstudium mit großer Begeisterung diese Entwicklung begrüßt und nach Kräften unterstützt.

Nun betrübt auch mich: Eine ärgerliche „Verbürokratisierung“ der Union einerseits und die Zunahme nationaler Egoismen andererseits schwächen Europa gerade zu einem Zeitpunkt, da es als einflussmächtige Einheit gebraucht wird, um dem aktuell wieder bedrohten Weltfrieden wirksam und nachhaltig zu dienen. So gilt – m. E. mehr als ein neu zu erzählender „Mythos“ – in diesem Zusammenhang eine vor fast 25 Jahren, unmittelbar nach der Deutschen Einheit, geradezu klassisch formulierte These immer noch:

„Ein Zusammenleben der Völker in Gerechtigkeit, Frieden und Freiheit gibt es nicht ohne strukturelle Christlichkeit.“

(Peter Lippert CSsR, Kirche im künftigen Europa, in Theologie der Gegenwart, 1/91, S. 3 -10).

Was meint Peter Lippert damit?

Gewiss vor allem nicht, dass nicht auch die anderen Religionen aufgefordert seien, das Friedenspotential aus ihren eigenen Überzeugungen einzubringen. – (Dazu ja auch die Bemühungen von Professor Küng u. a. um ein „Weltethos“!)

- „Die Würde und Unersetzbarkeit jedes einzelnen Menschen;
- Vergebung und Barmherzigkeit als feste Stilelemente gesellschaftlichen Lebens, die über Gerechtigkeit und Solidarität hinausgehen, ohne sie jedoch auszuschließen;
- gemeinsame Verantwortung für das Gemeinwohl auch dort, wo dies bedeutet, dass Einzel-, Gruppen- oder Schichteninteressen zurückgestellt werden müssen;
- eine Bereitschaft zu ertragen und auszuhalten, dass es in der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit Spannungen und Konflikte gibt, die in interessenbewusstem und versöhnlichem Geist ausgetragen werden müssen.

Für die Geschichtsbetrachtung im Vergleich der Weltkulturen ist die so beschriebene strukturelle Christlichkeit keine Selbstverständlichkeit, die sich auch in anderen Kulturen und Religionen so entwickelt hätte. Sie verdankt sich dem historischen Christentum, so sehr auch manche seiner Vertreter im Laufe der Geschichte diesen Prozess nicht selten behindert oder verdunkelt haben. Es scheint unbestreitbar, dass – auch ohne eine bewusste Glaubensbindung des Einzelnen an Das Christentum – diese Elemente struktureller Christlichkeit für die politische Gestaltung des Lebens der

Völker als heilsam zu erkennen sind und dass darüber auch in den Ländern Europas ein Einverständnis möglich ist.

Für alle politischen Kräfte, die sich an Freiheit und demokratischen Ordnungen orientieren, müssen diese Elemente folgerichtig schützens- und bewahrenswerte Güter sein. Dabei stellt sich die Frage, ob sich diese strukturelle Christlichkeit ohne die aktive und glaubensbezeugende Präsenz der Kirche und der Kirchen nicht schnell aufzehren würde. ... Darum muss das bewusste Zeugnis der Christen für das Evangelium den Elementen struktureller Christlichkeit immer neue Kräfte zuführen.“

Eine „Bestätigung“ dieser Position durfte ich wenige Jahre später erfahren:

Auf dem Programm einer Chinareise i. J. 1994 des damaligen Bischofs von Rottenburg-Stuttgart und heutigen Kardinals Walter Kasper, den ich zu begleiten hatte, stand in Beijing u. a. eine Einladung in das *Institut für Weltreligionen der Chinesischen Akademie der Sozialwissenschaften*. Bischof Kasper hielt vor Direktorium und Abteilungsleitern des Instituts einen Vortrag über das Thema: *"Einheit und Vielfalt der Religionen und Kulturen aus der Perspektive des Christentums"*.

Prof. Zhuo Xingping, bei Professor Eugen Biser in München promovierter Religionswissenschaftler und Nichtchrist, stellvertretender Direktor des Instituts, fungierte als Dolmetscher. Der Bischof resümiert am Schluss: Christentum stehe für die von Gott gegebene unverletzliche Würde eines jeden einzelnen, für Toleranz, Respekt und Frieden mit allen Menschen. Als Religion mit einer universalen Sendung suche es den Dialog mit den anderen Religionen mit dem Ziel der Einheit in Vielfalt. Die katholische Kirche verstehe sich als Sakrament, wirksames Zeichen, für die Einheit der Menschen in der Anbetung Gottes.

In der lebhaften Aussprache, die sich anschloss, erwiesen sich die chinesischen Zuhörer, die alle in Europa und/oder den USA eine akademische Qualifikation erworben hatten, als ausgezeichnete Kenner der verschiedenen religiösen Traditionen. U. a. trat in der Aussprache ein Begriff in den Mittelpunkt, der auch auf den anderen Stationen der Reise angesprochen wurde: *Kulturchristentum*. Der Begriff bezieht sich dabei weniger auf die im eigentlichen Sinne theologisch-religiösen Inhalte. Er bezeichnet vielmehr ein Interesse am Christentum, verstanden als Motor der "überlegenen" westlichen technischen Zivilisation und der sozialen Ordnung, von der man für die Entwicklung der eigenen Gesellschaft lernen zu können hofft. Bischof Kasper erinnerte in den Gesprächen daran, dass gleichwohl – wie es auch im letzten Satz des Zitates von Lippert gesagt wird – strukturelle Christlichkeit nicht ohne lebendiges Bekenntnis gläubiger Christen überdauern könne.

Ich bin überzeugt, dass unser verstorbener Freund und langjähriger Dekan der Klasse *Theologie und Weltreligionen*, Professor Eugen Biser, die beschriebene Sicht der Dinge geteilt, bestätigt und einen entsprechenden Auftrag darin erkannt hätte.

Morgan, Robert

EUROPE AND THE EU:
VISIONARY ACCESS TO A NEW DISCOURSE

At the outset of my academic career in southern California more than five decades ago, I still recall Professor Kenneth Applegate striding up to the podium on the first day of class to inaugurate a course in what was then Modern European history. His first words were that “history was a continual flow of development.” To substantiate his argument, he noted that the city of Kiev had been destroyed and rebuilt twenty-nine times, yet was still functioning today as an important urban metropolis.

Indirectly, Dr. Applegate was referring to the fact that those of us born and raised in the United States had little or no comprehension of the significance of what this meant, a presumption that was undoubtedly correct, given the pre-twenty year old audience to whom it was addressed. However, his words still resonant today as I confront the subject of the next Europe. What can this mean in the current context of a seemingly faltering European Union, which fifty years ago did not exist, perhaps not even in the visionary stage? I suspect that the next Europe is largely contingent on two factors: One, the proposals, discussions, and agreements made between the representative officials of the EU as various components of the megalithic issue concerning the future of Europe is brought to the table; and two, the events that occur indeterminately outside these offices that undoubtedly will impact the degree of success or failure further achieved.

Here I would like to emphasize that the discussions might focus more directly on Europe as a topic distinct from the EU (although the two, in fact, cannot be separated). Here one might argue that a major aspect of the tensions between parts of Europe and the EU relates to the inability of the organization to focus on the continent as an organism apart. What Europe needs may not necessarily concur with the operations of the EU, and what EU requires in order to function may be different from what the existence of Europe in its entirety. To separate these differences as topics for discussion at the outset may prove useful.

As to the role of the two works by Anselm Kiefer in relation to the multifold problems that currently exist between Europe and the EU is problematic other than to say that Kiefer 's works offer a visionary point of view. They suggest a philosophical terrain from whence Europe has historically evolved and where it might be moving at the current moment. There is a conditional aspect to these visionary works that is closer to art history than to history itself. Therefore, speaking as an art historian and critic, I am not convinced that a literal interpretation is the correct one. Given that Kiefer's works traditionally tend toward a mythic status, we might consider that what happens in the realm of myth is not necessarily what happen in the course of history, whether the myth occurs *a priori* or *a posteriori*. Although both are important, myth and history are not the same. There are problems likely to ensue when myth is given the authenticity of history, or vice versa.

Having said this, I should conclude these brief remarks by saying that I like very much the work of Kiefer in that it continues to help clarify the past and possibly to steer a way of thinking positively towards the future. When I look at his painting, I do not take it in a negative light. Rather I read a desire to understand the mechanisms of the universe as a metaphor in connecting matter, material, and zeros and ones, with the spiritual needs of human beings. From another angle, it might inaugurate the origin of a discourse between the EU and Europe that will allow progress toward a new world order, rather than remaining within the realm of solipsism.

Narkiewicz, Urzula

In the frame of the Next Europe we will cooperate inside, but we should also create a common policy in the spirit of scientific solidarity with our neighbours. The members of EASA could react on the vague of refugees coming to Europe. We cannot help everyone, but maybe we could do something for our colleagues scientists?

We could also help the scientists from the neighbouring North Africa countries, even if they are not affected by a war now, but their economic situation is not fruitful enough to intensively develop a scientific activity.

And, last but not least – another EU neighbour needing a support because of the severe situation – Ukraine.

The possible solutions:

- To create a Mediterranean (or Mediterranean-Black Sea) Division (or a sub-division?) of EASA and invite the best scientists from countries in need
- To create a virtual information centre, helping the scientists from these countries to find a vacant position for a temporary job or an internship in the EU research centres or universities
- To help the scientists in their countries mentioned here above, e.g. by promoting and supporting the bilateral or multilateral research projects founded by EC

Nagy, József

According to the initiative, it would be desirable to create a Europe, which its citizens can see as their own, without nationalism or unemployment or terrorism. To find the direction to such a dream, we must analyse its obstructive factors.

Nowadays Europe is hardly religious but the way of its thinking definitely has similarities to religion. Not just Europe, but North-America and nearly the whole World is led by the faith in progress. This way of thinking has successfully suppressed traditional religions, and has become integrated into the global culture to such a degree, that we hardly can imagine a world without it. However the unilateral interpretation is based on half-truths, and in the name of this attractive and successful idea, one-sided economical-political regimes brought humanity to seemingly fatal crises many times.

While in the age of colonisation European states divided and conquered the world, today natural resources are fought over by international companies, which try to exploit any accessible resource with the greatest possible speed. By taking advantage of their economic and political power they could easily provoke wars, if it is in their interests.

As a result, in developing or underdeveloped countries social tensions are rising, they are becoming less and less stable, while radical groups more and more influential. Instead of progress, they are ruled by, often fundamentalist, radicals who see the developed world and its ideals as their enemy, and are willing to use terror as a weapon against it. Wars, the reign of radical regimes and economic crises resulted in an extensive migration to the developed world, most importantly, Europe.

The economic-financial system which mistakes increasing consumption for progress defiled nature. The only goal that the now near-global capitalism can rationalise is the constant increase of productivity and profit. The individual person is only valuable in its aspect as a source of cheap work and lavish consumer. This wasteful practice has depleted most natural resources of our planet, flooding it with non-reusable garbage in the process. The complex system of environment are spoiled, climate had changed, significant part of the world's flora and fauna are destroyed forever.

This over paced change, called progress, rushes humanity toward unavoidable catastrophes. Experts had realised and warned forty years ago, that without using replenishable resources, we are headed toward a crisis endangering mankind itself.

One glance at history will reveal how often flourishing societies collapse under their own weight, never to recover. While unrelated climatic and environmental factors were often significantly affecting such outcomes, the main reason for the decline of civilisations was, their selfish and uncalculated relations to their respective environments. It is evident from these historical facts, that the only reasonable way for humanity is that of sustainable development.

The current crisis of Europe is a complex phenomenon best discussed in its separate aspects, as an: labour, a regional, a demographical and political crisis, effected by the global trends of overpopulation and environmental change.

Crisis of Labour: Today, standards of living are relatively high, mainly because a significant part of production is mechanised and cheap. As a result, both the number and status of artisans are rapidly diminishing. Our current society is dominated by neither artisans nor farmers. Even repair work is done by replacement of mechanical units, not by the actual repair of the units themselves. The so called consumer society prefers to buy anew, increasing its already enormous ecological footprint. While previous generations have a good chance to actually understand the devices they

used, technological progress rendered people to simple users, with the ability only to operate the devices of everyday life.

Specialisation also has grown to previously unseen levels. Only a very few people has applicable knowledge on more fields. Global companies only require specialised and limited knowledge, resulting in a workforce very similar to the machines operated by them.

This robs the individual the joy of labour and creation, which, is one of the most important needs an individual has. Today, however, only a selected minority of the workforce can experience it. Those who work directly with people or nature, are in a lucky position. Artists, scientist, expert, those who create, can experience the fulfilment of such work, but they constitute only a minority of the workforce, while others are forced to toil in soulless positions, if they are lucky to have jobs at all.

As the automatized production is becoming the dominant form of industrial production, the number of jobs also decreases. More and more people become superfluous. New jobs only open in services, trade, the financial sector and state bureaucracy. To accommodate the whole working age population, new services arose, which are not vital to the existence of society. Many sectors only grow in themselves, satisfying desires they created for that very purpose, without producing actual output.

Marketing is becoming more and more important, as not the production, but the sale of products are the hardest task in the current economy. As a result, the price of the product grows exponentially over the cost of production, supporting a marketing and sales system, advertisement culture and a growing bureaucracy of quality control. Taxes are often taxed by corruption and inefficient governments.

As a result only a fraction of the working population actually produces anything, most work on fields which only exist to support the overgrown economical-bureaucratic system. Only the fraction of prices flows back to production, and thus to research and development, and socially useful services, like healthcare or education. Most of it recircles in the service and marketing fields.

The most important thing, that have to change, is the thinking which dominant in Europe, as the crisis, is ideological in nature. Profit oriented thinking must be changed to a more human view, based on the importance of sustainable development, with less wasteful production and distributing methods, with reuse and recycling as a core concept, rather than an afterthought. Education, healthcare and preservation of nature should be the main goals, as only a well-educated, free and morally sound generation will be able to build a healthy, united society. If these ideas shall be highlighted by Brussels, than they could be the foundation of a new Europe.

Regional crisis

The mentioned problems are present in all 28 states of the European Union, but in vastly different scales, which in itself create internal tensions. The reasons for the creation of an European community were chiefly economical, enabling more extensive trade. Today, the greatest question of the union is whether it can be more than that. The nations of Europe are widely different, speaking a great number of languages, and are different in many regards, but share a common set of values and culture, which grants them the ability to life in relative peace together.

Unfortunately, the conditions of a true European Union between states are missing, as the regional differences created by the division of Europe in the aftermath of the second world war are still very much present. The core of the European community on the Atlantic seaboard is a centre of global economy, while the Mediterranean are suffering from an long-lasting economic depression, and the post-communist and post-soviet states are, in many cases, suffer from their social and economic differences and its

unsuccessful transformation in recent decades. Greece, a long standing member of the European community has been on the brink of financial collapse for years, the eastern, most recently joined post-communist states are still secondary members of the unions in most regards. The sudden change of the economic systems of these countries after the fall of socialist regimes inhabited these countries to modernise their industry, service sector and infrastructure on their own terms, and came to be dominated by global companies. The influx of 'western' capital and goods left the Eastern-European countries without sufficient economic power to repay their debts gathered in the previous political era, leading to unemployment, lack of economic stability, and the lack of capital necessary for autonomous regional development.

As a citizen of Hungary, I see that being the member of the European Union has its disadvantages. The industrial disparities mentioned earlier are prevalent in the agricultural sector as well (eastern european farmers gaining less benefits than their western colleagues). Furthermore, even the sectors which underwent extensive development by foreign companies, as the communication, trade and service sector, the greater part of the profit leaves the country which in it made, and are elsewhere used. This creates and maintains an economic and social difference between the regions of Europe. As a result of this, the well-educated cultural elite flights to the regions with higher standards of living, further increasing the difference.

In international politics, however the western states 'loose' more as they actively finance the development of the new members of the European Union. As a result, Hungary are not developed, but constantly supported, and are conditioned to remain so, not to be able to develop itself autonomously. A significant part of European founding is spent on prestige investments with little economic value, and won be western European firms, channelling back the profits to the more developed regions, or distributed to eastern European firms with close personal ties to the governments. It should be a step forward, if such support only would be given to productive sectors of the economy, and the development of their infrastructure, such as education, research development, and healthcare. As a result Eastern-European product has a chance to appear on the global market, and the economical difference between the European state would decrease, decreasing the tension amongst these countries as well.

Nationalism seems to strengthen again in the Union. Citizens of both the supporter and the supported countries (which are however developing only slowly, as seen not only in the case of Easter, but southern European countries and regions) can rightfully feel, that the Union are not adequate for its claimed task and goals. These effects are further worsened by the neo-liberal economic policies, which denies the importance of the control of society, and tries to decrease the difference between European countries not by the direct economical means, but by trying to negate the national and cultural differences, which naturally, only strengthens nationalist movements. In eastern Europe some countries are new formed (Slovenia, Croatia, Slovakia, Serbia) and currently creating their identities, and many groups are only starting to fight for autonomy (such as the Szeklers of Transylvania).

The main problem here is the great economical differences between European countries, which should be decreased, but maintaining cultural and national identities and autonomies. Europe is not the United States, which has a unified culture, but it can be an union of economically equal states.

Demographic Crisis

The last important factor is the demographic crisis, which is one of the greatest problem Europa has to face. It is a simple fact of life: any group without sufficient reproduction

will disappear, giving away its space to a more populous one. The population of Europe are steadily decreasing, while the overall population of the planet are increasing rapidly, growing well over seven billion people as of today. The main problem is that the greatest rate of increase can be found with regions with the least resources. The developing countries suffer from underdeveloped economic systems, agricultural challenges and regimes of questionable political goals, while servicing international companies, which has no reason to share their profits with them, made from their natural resources. The religious and ethnic wars plaguing these regions create an enormous number of refugees, surviving on charity well below their needs. It is the responsibility of the developed world, to aid these countries, and create a stable economic and political system. It is not enough to aid the refugees, the goal should be the creation and safeguarding of peace, developing of economy, healthcare and education, to ensure the self-reliance of these regions. This, of course requires a much greater effort, but without it Europe will face a much greater problem. If the great masses of refugees start to Europe, as some already did, Europe can become the new Rome, disappearing completely in a new Migration Period.

The demographic crisis of Europe, and most developed countries are not the result of the high standards of living, but lack of healthy view of the future. A consumerist hamster wheel do not produce result which are future oriented, beyond the lifespan of one individual. The constant pressure to earn and to consume leave little space to anything else, removing family and children from the main goals of life. It is not surprising that many people are only concerned by their immediate happiness and do not, or cannot want children.

The only solution which can counter the constant aging of such societies are immigration, which, however can be in itself be a source of social problems, if the immigrants do not want, or are unable to integrate the society accepting them. Unemployment and racism can arise in such situation, creating tensions with minorities, resulting in inter and intracultural clashes ending in terrorist attacks.

The main task of the European elite should be the creation of an acceptable view of the future, which would, again, increase the importance of family and children. The European governments should strive to become able to make and implement political and economic decisions, which, in the future could protect Europe from the possible threats of migration, and other unwanted effects of global demographic trends.

Political Crisis

Unfortunately our the current political system creates antagonistic relationships between political parties, and as a result, the primary goals of politicians are not the overall advancement of national and European community, but the goals of particular need of politically significant groups. These groups create specialised and favour biased media groups, and try to influence distribution of information. As a result, citizens lose faith in media, and rightfully feel that they are manipulated. The populace lost faith not only in the government, political parties, and political elite, but in the political system as a whole, and not without good reason.

To rebuild this faith, the activities and operation of European and national government should be overseen and communicated by the educated, experienced, morally sound members of society, such as the members of national and European academic institutions, artists and scientists. This academic elite should partake in the formation of European ideas. Reason should triumph over petty conflict and enmity.

This is the very reason I believe that the Next Europe initiative of the European Academy of Sciences and Arts is necessary and worthy of praise, I hope that there will be enough strength and will in the European cultural elite, to gain the control of the

future of Europe from the political and economic system, which should serve, and not hinder it.

Oszlányi, Július

Climate changes belong among important factors that can significantly affect the face of Europe. Their effects have already been observed and it is believed that they will be even more pronounced. The average temperature of the Earth rises, frequency and force of hurricanes, tropical storms and cyclones increase, flood periods grow, climatic zones move, snow covers decrease, glaciers melt in extreme speed and raise long periods of heat and drought.

It is expected that extreme weather events, including heat waves, droughts and floods will be even more frequent and intense. The largest temperature increase in Europe was recorded in southern Europe and in the Arctic. In southern Europe rainfalls decrease and in the northwest rise. This affects natural ecosystems, human health, natural resources and especially water resources. The consequences of climate changes affect apart from changes of ecosystems and loss of biodiversity also economic sectors, especially forestry, agriculture, tourism and building industry.

It is expected that in the future climate changes will become the strongest driver of biodiversity loss directly after the land-use changes because species have tendency to evolve within fixed range of environmental factors such as temperature, humidity and so on. Due to climate changes these factors alter and so species need to migrate to remain in optimal conditions. Some species are more adaptive than others. However, to the overall increase in average temperatures by more than 2 °C the nature is not able to adapt at all. This would mean the gradual disappearance of ecosystems as we know them nowadays.

It is also expected a shift of vegetation zones from 200 to 300 kilometres to the north, respectively from 150 to 300 meters to higher altitudes. Consequently, in different countries will change types of grown crops and ways of farming. These changes will affect types and quantity of pests (e.g. insects and rodents) and weeds. Afterwards these changes will be reflected on lifestyle and overall picture of Europe. Many of causes and consequences of these changes have not been sufficiently investigated so far and that is why they call for attention from the point of evaluation of the "Next Europe".

In addition to existing social and economy problems which are in Europe, there will arise problems resulting from the climate change. There is to expect that the migration caused by climate change will increase substantially (shift of climatic zones, change of ecosystems, etc.).

Overy, Richard

**The End of World War II and the Division of Europe: Aspects of a European Culture of Remembrance
Inaugural Address**

In a small cemetery in the town of Latsch (Laces in Italian) in Südtirol a monument has recently been installed with a long list of all the military dead from the Second World War. On the surface it is a simple and discreet memorial to the high proportion of the village's young men who died in the fighting. But it masks a great deal of complicated history about how the war should be remembered. The soldiers were killed or died in a variety of conflicts: some were lost in Africa fighting to build Mussolini's new empire; some died in Sicily in combat against the Anglo-American invasion; some died on the German-Soviet front, doomed members of Mussolini's contribution to the Barbarossa campaign; others died in Germany as captive POWs after the Italian capitulation; but because they were mostly German speakers, some were recruited into the Wehrmacht in 1943, fighting in eastern Europe. The last soldiers on the list died in Slovakia and Croatia in the final desperate defence of what remained of the German 'New Order'. Death was all that united them.

This is a small example to illustrate a much larger problem about how the war and the post-war division of Europe should be remembered. In Italy, public commemoration of the war years is profoundly ambivalent. After 1945 Italy was an ally of the major Western powers and had a special interest in forgetting the years of Italian imperial aggression and Axis warfare; hundreds of thousands of Italian soldiers were regarded as 'victims' of the German war because they were deported to Germany in 1943, and in some cases murdered by their former German comrades, which also helped to distance Italy from responsibility for co-operating with Germany's war beforehand; some Italian soldiers, almost entirely erased from the historical narrative, served with British Empire and American forces in the long campaign fought along the Italian peninsula to liberate the rest of Italy. Italian society had also been deeply divided during the later stages of the war between a hard core of Fascist supporters and the partisans of the democratic and revolutionary left. After 1945 the Fascist dead from Italy's civil war were not commemorated, while memory of the Resistance remained a rallying point for the Italian left, and has remained so ever since. The small memorial at Latsch is unusual for its candid remembrance of conflicts most Italians would prefer to forget, and a reminder that German-speaking Italians had loyalties distinct from those of most of their Italian-speaking compatriots.

Only in the United Kingdom is the memory of the war in Europe relatively unambiguous because there was no invasion, no occupation, no divisive civil war. In Britain the widespread public awareness of the war derives from an enduring sense that Britain liberated Europe from tyranny. British memory culture is still triumphalist even where, as in the case of the memory of the bombing war, the emphasis is on British stoical resistance during the Blitz rather than the mass bombing meted out to German cities. British area bombing does not fit the heroic narrative so well, which is why it took seventy years before a national monument to the dead of Bomber Command was constructed, and even then it was paid for by voluntary contributions. But that aside, British memory of the war remains an important element in British

national identity, a form of compensation for the relative decline of British power and the end of empire.

The Soviet Union, and now Russia, also generated a simplified version of the war narrative. Remembrance of the Great Patriotic War against fascist imperialism glossed over all the less glorious aspects of the Soviet war effort, Soviet aggression against Poland and Finland, the GULag system with its millions of camp prisoners, the mass deportations and the awkward reality of the German-Soviet Pact of August 1939. Many of these things can still not be discussed easily in Russia, even in academic circles. The recent celebration in Moscow to mark the 70th anniversary of the end of the war demonstrates the extent to which remembrance of the war has retained a strong political imperative beyond any simple commemoration of the millions of Soviet dead. The culture of remembrance in Russia is bound up with problems of modern Russian identity after the crumbling of the Soviet Empire and the end of the revolutionary state. In the Lenin Museum outside Moscow the small museum shop sells metal figurines to tourists, but they are models of Stalin and Zhukov. There is no Lenin model.

Elsewhere in Europe, memory of the end of the war and its post-war political consequences is affected by differing historical realities, both external and internal. German defeat, for example, produced a literal political division that remained for forty-five years; memory of the war in the two Germanies differed substantially. The eastern zones were 'liberated' from fascism and imperialism in order to become Communist; the western zones were conquered by the West and within a decade had become a proxy for Western strategy against the Soviet bloc. The war in the Democratic Republic became an imperialist war (as it had been in Soviet discourse between 1939 and 1941), making little distinction between National Socialist imperialism and the new imperialism of the capitalist West. In the Federal Republic the war played a less public role, and if the degree of collective amnesia has been exaggerated by historians, there was little to be gained by generating a public memory culture around the dictatorship, war and genocide and much more to be gained from integration into the Western democratic world and the global economy. It is significant here that the United States military had no difficulty absorbing German scientists into the rocket programme or using senior German officers to offer advice on military organization and operational practice now that the new enemy was the Soviet Union. This somehow validated the German war and avoided awkward questions. In 1955 Field Marshal Erich von Manstein was even able to publish his memoirs under the tendentious title *Verlorene Siege*. The twin concepts of a criminal regime but a clean Wehrmacht made it possible for the war to be remembered as a Faustian fable. Only years later, was Manstein's complicity with the criminal orders of the regime unearthed by historians. The exhibition of the 'Crimes of the Wehrmacht' which opened in Hamburg in March 1995 inaugurated a new era in confronting the harsh reality of the war years.

The problem of an internally divided legacy is true across all of Axis-occupied Europe where resistance movements fought against the occupier or, in many cases, in a civil war between rival ideological movements. In the immediate post-war period, identification with the resistance movement could be advantageous. In Bulgaria, for example, much of the resistance movement was communist, so too in the Czech Protectorate and Slovakia. Across Eastern Europe nationalist resistance was heavily penalized in the Soviet satellite states (and later, in the final Stalin years, or the Hungarian revolution of 1956, native communists too). In western and southern Europe, however, resistance movements were divided politically between nationalists, liberal democrats, socialists and communists. In Greece the communists were finally defeated in a savage civil war and memory of the war became focused on nationalist

resistance to the Italian invasion and the German occupation. In Italy an open civil war developed between Italian communists and the remnants of the Fascist regime in 1944/45, but post-war communists were condemned for their violence, some put on trial, a few imprisoned. Memory of the resistance became a political instrument, supported by the democratic and communist left in Italy, but shunned by the right, a situation that has persisted until today, making a collective and agreed memory culture impossible to secure.

In France the memory of the resistance is more complex still: resistance around the figure of General de Gaulle and the 'Fighting French' was nationalist; communist resistance was distrusted, while in turn communists tried to distance themselves from close identification with those loyal to De Gaulle. The Vichy regime was home to a different brand of French nationalism and quasi-fascism and had to be rejected entirely in 1945. The post-war political defeat of communism allowed memory of the war to focus on a heroic and patriotic resistance movement, but even this was overshadowed by the defeat of 1940, which raised difficult questions about so-called French 'decadence', and then by the wars in Vietnam and Algeria, which have arguably played a larger part in collective memory of conflict than the Second World War. It is interesting to reflect that in French public history the liberation by the Allies has attracted greater attention. The museums in Normandy dedicated to remembering the Overlord campaign and the recent festivals of commemoration at the Normandy beachhead or for the liberation of Paris can be celebrated without the ambiguities present in remembering French participation in Vichy or the tensions between the different resistance organizations. Even then, memory of the Allied liberation has recently raised the question of Allied bombing. Over 60,000 French civilians died in the bombing but the scale and intensity of the bombing campaign has only attracted public attention over the last twenty years, and the first scholarly histories only in the last five. The questions asked by the Vichy regime during the war about whether bombing civilians and the promise of liberation were compatible have been raised again, adding a further awkward dimension to the way the war is remembered.

The French example has been particularly important in raising fundamental questions about individual wartime experience. While a small number resisted, many people collaborated actively with the Vichy regime and the German occupiers, from those who joined the Vichy militia or fought in the French 'Blue Legion' to officials and policemen who endorsed campaigns against the left and the Gaullists, and who worked willingly with the Gestapo. Other forms of collaboration were involuntary rather than active. Workers in factories supplying the Wehrmacht found themselves the victims of Allied bombing, but they had few opportunities to do anything different. French women found German soldiers as lovers and companions but did not see themselves as collaborators. Disobeying the German occupiers carried all kinds of risks, and most of the populations under German rule demonstrated a public conformity whatever their private reservations. These dividing lines are difficult to reconcile with any shared narrative of the war years because they expose moral choices that reflect human weaknesses rather than the convenient story of heroic resistance. In the French case, it has proved easier to remember the atrocious behaviour of the occupier, because this removes the spotlight from the behaviour of the occupied. The sombre memorial chapel to the French civilians who died as forced labourers in Germany, built just behind Notre Dame in Paris, is a good example. But many more workers survived the war labouring in fields and factories in France to feed the German war machine. The integration of both collaborators and resisters into a common national memory of the war cannot be done easily, because public recognition that a fraction, probably a large fraction, of the wartime population collaborated willingly or unwillingly with the enemy

is a difficult reality for any nation to admit openly without compromising the basis for remembrance.

This difficulty is nowhere more obvious than in historical memory of the Holocaust. The historian Raul Hilberg claimed twenty years ago, writing about the genocide of the Jews, that wartime populations in the Axis New Order were divided into three categories: perpetrators, victims and bystanders. He might have added resisters, since it is well known that thousands of Europeans, including Germans, hid Jews, provided them with false papers, passed food through the ghetto walls, or like the famous Oskar Schindler, kept them working in order to avoid the death camps. Most people did not resist and thousands across Europe, from conviction or self-interest, aided and abetted the German and Italian authorities in identifying Jewish families and facilitating their transport to the East. Even after the war the Holocaust did not immediately become an integral part of the collective memory of the war years, even in Germany where the genocide was initiated, or in Italy where Mussolini mimicked German racism. Though the Anglo-Saxon allies now imply that the war was, among other things, about saving the Jews, the war was fought for quite different reasons. Indeed, American and British anxiety that making too much publicity about the fate of the Jews would stir up domestic anti-Semitism inhibited a more active policy to highlight what was going on in Europe. The genocide of the Jews was added only at the last moment to the indictment served on the major war criminals at Nuremberg. It featured less in the subsequent proceedings than might have been expected. For a long time after the war, collective memory of the genocide was limited. Now Holocaust memorials and museums are to be found all across the Western world and in the former Soviet bloc; since 2001, Britain has marked 27 January as Holocaust Memorial Day; tourist trips to Auschwitz are organized by schools. What Norman Finkelstein some years ago controversially called the 'Holocaust industry' has transformed public consciousness of the genocide. From limited public awareness, the Holocaust has become for many modern Europeans the principal reference point for understanding the war years.

It is worth exploring more carefully the explanation for the wide public concern for the Holocaust as an element of collective memory. It is partly because the movement to remember the genocide is genuinely international, or more correctly transnational. It is something on which all European populations can agree and it helps to integrate not only memory of the war years but also a collective commitment to human rights and respect for ethnic difference. As such, memorializing the Holocaust, whether through public monuments or museum exhibitions or Holocaust days at school, has a wider civic purpose than simply recalling the horrors of seventy years ago. It ought, of course, to make European populations more sympathetic to the plight of contemporary refugee populations fleeing violence or persecution, but it remains to be seen if that will be the case. The current political concern that too many refugees will cause problems in the European labour market or provoke domestic hostility to the refugee communities has echoes of the reaction of many states to the pressure to take more Jewish immigrants in the 1930s. For all its high profile, the current public history based around the Holocaust has evident limits when it comes to learning lessons from the past.

The timing of the wave of Holocaust remembrance has much to do, however, with the collapse of the Soviet bloc in 1989-90 and the end of European Communism. After 1990 it was possible to access many of the records of the Jewish persecution that had been sealed in archives in the Soviet bloc. For decades the formal Soviet position was to commemorate the deaths of millions of Soviet citizens, rather than single out the Jews in particular. The disappearance of the formal party line opened the way to a fuller understanding of the genocide. The Black Book of Soviet Jewry, banned by Stalin and available only covertly in the Cold War era, was published in a complete version

in the United States in 2002, revealing a catalogue of shocking detail about the atrocities in the East. Historians flocked to exploit the new research materials and some of the best recent history on the war years has been focused on what the American historian Timothy Snyder has called the 'Bloodlands'. The 'Crimes of the Wehrmacht' exhibition, despite the controversy surrounding it, was another milestone in constructing the present-day image of the Holocaust as a central aim of Hitler's war-making. Yet the wide interest in what really happened in the East during the war, whatever it has contributed to raising Holocaust awareness in Western Europe, has also exposed new layers of complexity for the former Soviet bloc in coming to terms with their wartime past.

One of the consequences of Soviet domination of Eastern Europe was the effective stifling of public discussion about the war and wartime allegiances. The Holocaust, to the extent that it was acknowledged, was a German crime. The fact that Hungary, Slovakia, Romania and Bulgaria were Axis allies was glossed over or blamed on traditional nationalist elites, who were eliminated after 1945. The end of communism suddenly exposed the former Soviet bloc countries to historical scrutiny. Anti-Semitism in Romania, Hungary, Slovakia and Bulgaria either allowed states to pursue their own share of the genocide (as in the case of Romania) or to contribute their Jewish communities to the forced labour and murder regimes run by the SS. In Poland, historians found instances of spontaneous anti-Semitic violence – Jan Gross, for example, in his book *Neighbours* about the massacre at Jedwabne – which seemed to implicate Poles in the Holocaust despite the suffering inflicted on Poland by the partition in 1939 between the two dictatorships. There has been vigorous denial about Polish complicity and also about the Romanian deportation and murder of Romanian and Ukrainian Jews. The new Polin Museum of the history of Jewish life in Poland, which opened in Warsaw last year, has tried to avoid focusing on the contentious areas of modern memory by looking at Jewish history over the past 800 years, but one of the effects of this approach is to reinforce the idea that stigmatization and persecution of the Jews has a very long history, unintentionally placing the Holocaust into an awkward historical perspective at the end of centuries of ethnic conflict.

There are other problems for the former Soviet bloc to overcome from the wartime experience and the long Cold War division of Europe. The natural tendency in public debate is to discuss the two dictatorships, Soviet and German, as if they were varieties of the same twentieth-century totalitarian model. This elides two different systems, and masks the extent to which there was active support for the German alliance during the war from Axis allies, and active collaboration with the Holocaust. This interpretation also highlights the role of nationalist resistance against dictatorship though there is no reason to believe that nationalists in Poland, or Ukraine or the Baltic States were any more likely to be good liberals and democrats if they had come to power. The revival of enthusiasm in Ukraine for Stepan Bandera, leader of the Ukrainian National Army, raises issues about the attitude of Ukrainian nationalists during the war to Poles, Jews and many fellow Ukrainians, who were victims of UNA violence. The problems of deciding on who should be remembered honourably and who should not is not just an Eastern European problem but it has a high visibility in former Soviet bloc countries trying to come to terms with a past blighted by war and dictatorship in which defining the perpetrator and the victim is not as easy as it looks. In one of the first conferences of the Warsaw-based European Network of Remembrance and Solidarity held in 2012, the theme was the 'Unnumbered dead' and the object was to try to find ways of reconciling national histories of the war by defining the range and number of victims. It proved a difficult exercise because it soon became clear that some of those present had a hierarchy of victimhood that they wished to promote while others favoured the

controversial idea that after seventy years it was better to simply see everyone as a victim of war itself, whatever side they had been on, victim and perpetrator alike. The issue of how to treat perpetrators in national narratives of the war is a difficult one; nothing is gained by overlooking the crimes or those who committed them, but on the other hand presenting the perpetrators as an integral part of the narrative can seem offensive to the memory of those they victimized.

One of the things evident from my comments is the difficulty of imagining a 'European' culture of remembrance when there remain so many national divisions and domestic arguments about how the war should be remembered, about who should be remembered, and about who is doing the remembering. It is tempting for modern audiences to lay blame on the wartime populations for not resisting more and collaborating less, for abetting the genocide, for acts of savage perpetration, for punitive operations in the name of liberation. Remembering the victims is also not easy where the victims are civilians who were killed in the act of being liberated, like the 130,000 French, Italians, Dutch and Belgians killed by Allied bombing, or targeted because they lived in enemy cities, like the 350,000 killed by bombs in Germany. The moment has perhaps come to recognize that war itself as a European-wide phenomenon, whether the Great War or the Second World War or the Cold War, should be treated by a culture of remembrance that deplores war as a solution and highlights with as much historical honesty as possible the profound dilemmas faced by many Europeans at the time when it came to taking sides, seizing opportunities, committing crimes, or acting with discretion, compassion and courage. There are no easy answers when it comes to constructing public memory of conflict. Public arguments about the past are a healthy sign of civic engagement and should not be avoided in preference for an uncritical and distorted consensus, which is the memory culture of dictatorship. Acknowledgement of human frailty in the vortex of war and dictatorship should be an important and humbling lesson for today's Europeans when they contemplate the legacy of the war and the post-war years. At the heart of that culture of remembrance remains the awkward question: 'What would I have done?'

Pawlowski, Artur

Regarding the future of Europe from the present perspective there are some comments that I want to share.

We are living in the world of impressive technical achievements and even more impressive (but in a negative way) problems. They cannot be solved by any country, or even a group of countries alone. We need a global cooperation for sustainable development with European Union among leaders.

And talking about Sustainable Development for Next Europe let's think about basic pillars of sustainability.

Environmental pillar: Europe is a leader in fighting CO2 emissions and introducing renewables. However CO2 is not the only greenhouse gas from anthropogenic sources, fighting with other looks worse. And talking about climate change we should fight much more consequently with forests logging, especially dangerous in case of tropical forests. Forests stabilize climate. In the 20th century half of the tropical forests disappeared, this must have a terrible impact on climate! Part of this destruction was connected with products prepared for the European Market!

Social pillar: The most important issue is connected with huge wave of refugees coming to Europe. First of all it is not possible to check them all, which means that quite a lot of supporters of radical Islam entered Europe. This is dangerous for safety of all Europeans. But even if it was not a problem, we are just not able to welcome all people of Syria, Iraq and other countries in need. So first, the terrible situation in Syria must be solved as soon as possible, which needs wider international cooperation, including of course European Union.

Economic pillar: Recently two reports from the famous Club of Rome were published, both includes warning about dangers connected with present economic system. In a report Money and Sustainability it is clearly stated, that present financial system is a cause of our society's headlong rush to collapse and we will never create sustainability within the present financial system. In the second report, A Global Forecast for the Next Forty Years it was said, that we need to shift investment flows from what is most profitable to what society needs. Capitalism won't do this – it is made to allocate money to what is profitable, not to what society needs. So, Introduction of Inclusive Globalization is a must, and this is the way drawn, for example, in EU's Europe 2020 Strategy.

Pawłowski, Lucjan

It is a good idea to define the threats to the development of Europe. I believe that one of the problems consists in a strong tendency to drift away from the core of European culture, namely the Christianity. Although I sympathize with poor immigrants, it should be realized that huge numbers of them – with different value of culture and the system of values – may threaten the European traditions, especially that these immigrants are reluctant to integrate with the native inhabitants.

It should be clearly stated that the reasons of the current immigrant crisis should be put down on the American interventions, which destroyed the national states in that region.

Another problem is the dominant form of nowadays liberal capitalism, which serves the interests of international corporations. Promoting ruthless competition in all areas of life weakens and eliminates the human solidarity. It is a dangerous phenomenon for social values of Europe.

Another problem is growing inequalities – with number of super-rich people on the one hand, and growing group of dramatically poor people on the other. In some regions, the unemployment among young people is reaching the levels of a humanitarian disaster.

It is necessary to define the economy in an alternative way: its social role should be greater, e.g. the creation of workplaces should occur simultaneously with the increase in production, which could be done by decreasing the work hours and improving the service sector (the non-productive one). What we need is a social-oriented economy.

Olszewski, Stanisław

- We should not be rich, but can live in peace and good coexistence with the other peoples, especially the European ones. The common Europe is a wonderful idea and should be never spoiled, particularly by details.
- As a common Europe we should be strong enough to defend ourselves and be able to reject any invasion. To this purpose we need a good - well equipped, well trained and well directed - common army.
- We should be tolerant, but also remember that Christianity is at the basis of the European ideology and behaviour. Anybody, but especially Christians, should not be endangered in presenting here in Europe their confession.

Önnerfors, Andreas

EUROPEAN SPACE: Between the Sacred and the Secular

“Only a third element, which is at once secular and superworldly, can solve that problem” Novalis, *Christendom or Europe* (1826)

I will during the next few months write up an argumentative essay on the need for Europe to develop a third position between its secularity and ideas of the sacred as a way forward.

I believe that in creating sustainable narratives for Europe, we must raise ourselves above the swamp of national egoism and transnational bureaucracy and connect back with the founding traditions of the European mind.

Drawing on the Idea of the “Sacred” as a figure for values that are beyond the arbitrariness of human decision-making I will argue that Europe needs to acknowledge the position of ideas that were developed in religious traditions as much as in philosophical systems operating with absolute categories.

However characteristic and possibly unique for the European mind is likewise its liberation from the idea of divine determination, leading to secularization and scientification of everyday life, which has caused the development of complex systems of labour division that are too easily affected by crises or electoral choices.

Is it possible to determine a third position in which European space in the future is a space where both promises to its people are fulfilled? Leaning back on the famous conversation between Habermas and Ratzinger on the “Dialectics of Secularization” and on Novalis “*Christendom or Europe*”, formulating rather than a reactionary dream a utopia for the future of our continent.

Prachensky, Michael

Aus gegebenem Anlass und den mir zugemailten Berichten und Bilder der letzten Tage, Wochen, Monaten und Jahren aus den Flüchtlingsströmen und Lagern innerhalb Europas, bilden die Grundlage des ungeheuerlichen Hasses auf diese vielleicht "gewollte" Völkerwanderung der Willkommenskultur!

Das Buch "Rettet Venedig, Rettet das Mittelmeer" wurde vor 10 Jahren 2005 begonnen. Ich habe nur den Textteil herauskopiert, den die EU bis dato "verschlafen" hat- jetzt denkt sie vehement nach: Nur den Schaden, den unsere weltweite Politik (UNO, Mittelmeer-Union, EU und die einzelnen Nationalstaaten), sonstige Berater, Beamte, Journalisten etc. uns selbst damit angerichtet haben geht in das Unermessliche. Die gerechtfertigten Ängste, die damit geschürt wurden, geht zudem in die zig-Milliarden Euros. In dieser Notlage versuchen die Nationalstaaten wieder Zäune mit viel Geld zu Errichten. Dadurch wird das "Friedensprojekt Europas" mit inneren Stacheldrahtzäunen und Grenzkontrollen zerstört. Zusätzlich können koordinierte Auffangstellen (Flugplätze, Bus, Bahnhöfe und Schiffshäfen) in diesen Ländern, an den EU-Außengrenzen, an der Küsten zu dem Meeren und der EU-Anrainerstaaten erstellt werden. Mit einem Friedensprojekt Afrika, Naher-Osten könnte und muss den Völkern das "Bleiben in Ihrer Heimat" nahegelegt werden. (Bildung, Kultur, Landwirtschaft, Wirtschaft (Wasser), Demokratie-Menschenrecht etc). Voraussetzungen ist sicherlich das Tennen von Religion und Staat - das friedliche Zusammenlaben der verschiedensten Bekenntnisse. Dazu sollten statt Waffen diese "Milliarden an Gelder" in diese not leidenden Regionen fließen.

Ich klage die UNO, die EU-Verantwortlichen, die nationalen und internationalen Politiker, Beamten, Besserwisser, Banker, Militärs, Waffenschieber und Schlepper - Alle an !



Das Projekt "EU-Friedensbrücke" in Gibraltar zwischen Marokko und Spanien ist eine der Optionen - mit ca. 25,70 km Länge: es gibt weltweit längere, höhere und dickere Dämme - es ist eine machbare technische Lösung. Mit diesem Durchströmungsdamm kann das Binnen-Mittelmeer auf Plus-Minus 0,00 eingestellt werden, das damit ca. 50.000km Küstenlänge des Mittelmeers schützt. Mit der Durchströmung und Höhendifferenz in cm in Gibraltar kann in diesem Dammbereich enorm viel elektrische Energie gewonnen werden. (u.A.zur Brauch- und Trinkwassergewinnung mit neuer Nano-Ionen Membranfilter-Technologie).

Der geschätzte Schaden durch den Meeresspiegelanstieg im gesamten Mittelmeer geht ansonsten in die zig- hunderte Milliarden- das aufwendige MOSE Projekt mit den Klappen in Venedig funktioniert nicht und ist eine technische Fehlentscheidung - eine

hinausgeworfene Investition. Demgegenüber wird der Meeresspiegel im Atlantik ansteigen - bereits eine 10- 20cm Differenz genügt, um die Mittelmeer-Küsten zu gefährden. Er wird weltweit noch schnelleres Ansteigen als die Prognosen im Jahre 2007 noch geschätzt wurden - der heiße Sommer und warme Herbst 2015 in Europa verstärken die derzeitigen Prognosen.

PS: Ich bin gespannt was die "UN-Klimakonferenz in Paris" vom 30 November bis 11. Dezember 2015 wieder einmal verkündet - Daten sollten endlich beschlossen werden.
MP

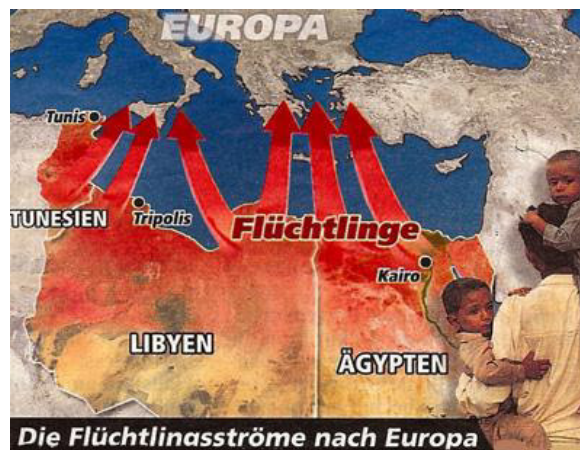
Jetzt der unten angeführte Originaltexte aus der Veröffentlichung "Nuova Atlantis" - die Flüchtlingsströme haben sich inzwischen über die Türkei drastisch verändert....ich klage alle verantwortlichen Politiker, die UNO, die EU und in den Nationalstaaten (u.A. Griechenland, Serbien, Ungarn, Österreich, Bayern, Frankreich, England, Belgien, Holland an - seit Jahren haben sie sinnvolle Lösungen verschlafen - zudem kommen durch die Meeresspiegel-Erhöhung in den nächsten Jahrzehnten, zigtausende "Hitze-flüchtlinge" von den weltweiten Meeresküsten dazu....Tag für Tag-Jahr für Jahr



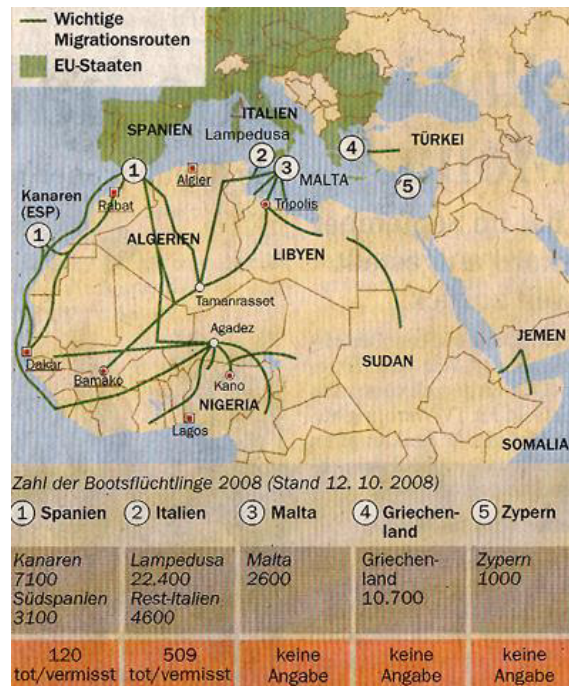
Diese Bilder sollten der Vergangenheit angehören. Nuova Atlantis, die "EU-Friedensbrücke" zwischen den Kontinenten Afrika und Europa wird in Zukunft diesen notwendigen Übergang "human" regeln. Nuova Atlantik darf nicht zur "Festung Europas" ausgebaut werden, sondern es muss vor Ort den afrikanischen Staaten Afrikas geholfen werden, um diese Völkerwanderungen zu unterbinden. Es ist unglaublich wie sich einzelne Europäische Anrainerstaaten die Flüchtlingsboote ersaufen lässt. Jahrzehntelang haben sie zugeschaut, wie die Diktatoren und Königshäuser der arabischen Staaten sich auf Kosten ihrer Völker bereichert haben. (Baschar al Assad, Muammar Gaddafi, Hosni Mubarak, Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali, etc). Die Perspektiven für das Leben in ihrer Heimat, der Traum vom neuen Kontinent, die Zuerkennung sozialer Rechte, Wohn- und Essensmöglichkeiten, der Zugang zur Bildung und Arbeit, sowie die Möglichkeit sozialer Betreuung sind die Zielvorstellungen, die als Signal von der Friedensbrücke "Nuova Atlantis" ausgehen sollten. Aus diesen Gründen wird die Energiegewinnung des "Solarraumes" Sahara und die des Öko Hightech Damms für die Brauchwasser-Gewinnung aus den Entsalzungsanlagen verwendet um die nahen Sandwüsten und Küstenstreifen wieder zu rekultivieren und "gesunde und sozial, abgesicherte" Arbeitsplätze zu gewinnen.



Dieser humane Symbolanstoß soll sich über den gesamten Kontinent Afrika ausbreiten.



Durch die kriegerischen, internen Auseinandersetzungen in den Nahostländern verstärken sich die Flüchtlingsströme in das unermessliche. Die Festung Europa sollte Umdenken und Entwicklungshilfe für diese Länder erwirken, um die Bevölkerung in Ihren Ländern zu behalten. Strom, Brauch und Trinkwasser (Meerwasserentsalzungsanlagen) am Gibraltardamm könnte diese Ländern enorm helfen. Die Ausbildungsstätten - Schulen, Hochschulen und Universitäten, Kliniken sind ebenfalls erforderlich.



Die dargestellten Migrantenrouten nach Europa kommen mit dem Boot nach Europa. Die Schlüsselstellen der Überfahrt sind u.A. die Kanaren, Gibraltar, Lampedusa, Malta, Athen und Istanbul. Viele davon kommen ganz offiziell mit einem Touristen- bzw. Studentenvisa nach Europa und bleiben anschließend hier. Eigentlich sollte Europa in deren Heimat in Afrika und im Nahen Osten investieren - man verlässt seine Heimat nicht sie nicht, wenn dafür gesorgt wird. "Wir sind es ihnen schuldig".

Der Durchströmungsdamm in der Meerenge von Gibraltar - Nuova Atlantis) :
http://www.prachensky.com/michael/projekte/Oekologisches_Bauen_Landschaftsplanung_Alternative_Energien/rettet-venedig.php

Weitere Ergänzung: der Durchströmungsdamm in der Meerenge von Bab al-Bandab am Rotem Meer :

http://www.prachensky.com/michael/projekte/Oekologisches_Bauen_Landschaftsplanung_Alternative_Energien/rotes-meer-damm.php

Was haben die Amerikaner und Europäer in Afrika, im Nahen Osten mit Ihren ehemaligen Eroberungen, Kreuzzüge, Religionskriege, Missionierungen, Kolonien, Ölkriege so alles Angestellt ? Eine Wiedergutmachung wäre wohl endlich angebracht.

Und so schürt man derzeit berechnete Ängste mit den Flüchtlingsströmen, die zu uns kommen bzw. den nationalen Stacheldrahtzäune, die derzeit im Inneren des Festland-Europas aufgestellt werden. Auch die Themen "Asyl auf Zeit" sind keine Lösungen- Asylrecht ist Menschenrecht. Europa hätte bereits vor 10 Jahren seine EU-Außergrenzen dicht machen müssen - mit der Option einer Friedenspolitik in Ihrer Heimat.

Die kommende Meeresspiegel-Erhöhung mit der damit verbundenen Völkerwanderung aus den weltweiten Küstenbereichen sind die nächsten Katastrophen:

Vom 30 November bis 11 Dezember 2015 findet die "UNO-Klimakonferenz" in Paris statt. Die Welt ist gespannt was diesmal dabei herauskommt- wie reagiert die Politik darauf: Eines der wenigen Binnenmeere, wie das Mittelmeer, könnte damit geholfen werden. Das Buch "Rettet, Venedig, rettet das Mittelmeer" wurde Herrn Generalsekretär der Vereinten Nationen (UNO): Ban Ki-moon bereits im Jahre 2009 in Alpbach (Böglerhof) persönlich übergeben: 2011 begann der Bürgerkrieg in Syrien. Auslöser war der Arabische Frühling - die gut gemeinte Mittelmeer-Union zerfiel unter dem französischen Präsidenten Sarkozy

Erst wenn das Wasser bis zum Hals reicht, wird die Politik tätig: bereits eine Meeresspiegelerhöhung ab 10 cm löst die ersten Katastrophen aus (Venedig, Nildelta)

Dazu ein realistischer Zeitplan zeigt auf, dass bereits ab jetzt gehandelt werden muss - Der 160km lange Suezkanal hat es unter Ferdinand de Lesseps bereits 1869 zur Eröffnung vorgezeigt (Der österreichische Erfinder dieser Idee Arthur Negrelli) wurde eingeladen und auch nicht namentlich erwähnt). Das Suezkanalprojekt dauerte von der Idee (Vermessung Negrelli 1854) bis zum Baubeginn 1859 - bis zur Eröffnung 1869 - 15 Jahre - eine enorme technische und organisatorische Leistung, die von ca 1,5 m Mio. Arbeiter händisch bewerkstelligt wurde

Die Zeit drängt zum Bau der Friedensbrücke Nuova Atlantis, in der Meerenge von Gibraltar: Termine und Umsetzung:

- UNO Friedensprojekt - Friedensbrücke Gibraltar - Frieden in Afrika und Naher Osten mit allen Beteiligten (sofort)
- Wiederaktivierung der "Mittelmeer-Union"- sämtliche Anrainerstaaten am Mittelmeer (1 Jahr)
- Rechtliche Vereinbarungen - Marokko - Spanien - internationale Gewässer - Durchfahrtsrechte (Schiff, Bahn, Straße, Fußgänger, Leitungen etc)
- Errichtung einer Holding AG mit differenzierten Untergesellschaften für die Errichtung und Umsetzung (1 Jahr)
- Beginn der Finanzierungskonzepte - Weltbank, EU-Bank, National-Banken, Fonds, Immobilien, Investoren (1 Jahr)
- Ausgabe der ersten Aktienpakete
- EU-Technologietransfer
- Finanzierung Machbarkeitsstudie des Durchströmungsdammes in Gibraltar (5 Jahre) - UVP Untersuchungen hat es damals nicht gegeben,
 - Geologische Untersuchungen
 - Ökologische Untersuchungen
 - Meeresbiologische Untersuchungen UVP- Untersuchungen (Flora, Fauna, Meeresboden, Meerwasser- Strömungsverlauf)
 - Aufnahme der Unterlagen des historischen Projektes "Atlantropa" (dichter Speicherdamm) von Herman Sörgel 1928
 - Die Schüttmenge des High-Tech Durchströmungsdammes beträgt ca. 5 Mrd m³.
- Beginn der Grundsatzplanungen - Genehmigungen (2 Jahre)
- Bauplanung und Ausschreibung, Vergabe (5 Jahre)

- Errichtung des Friedensdammes (die Schüttung beträgt ca. 40 Cheopspyramiden) (5 Jahre)
- Laufende Errichtung der Friedensstadt "Nuova-Atlantis) Infrastrukturen mit neuen Technologien: Wohnen, Arbeiten, Forschen, Studieren, Verkehr, Medien etc)

Das heißt, eine offiziell Eröffnung vom Start für die Errichtung des Durchströmungs-Damms dauert 20 Jahre!

Ein EU Infrastruktur- Projekt zum Vergleich

Die Eisenbahn-Alpenquerung über den Brennerpass: Die ersten Planungen hat bereits Arthur Negrelli im Jahre XXX mit dem Projekt des Brennerscheiteltunnel (BST) projektiert. Der Bau wurde leider über den Brennerpass durchgeführt - Die Machbarkeitsstudie des 65 km langen BBT geht auf das Jahr 1989 zurück - 2004 wurde die Errichter-Gesellschaft gegründet - 2006 der erste symbolische Spatenstich - offizielle Spatenstich 2015 - Ausbruchmenge 11,1 Mio m³ - die Fertigstellung nach heutigem Stand 2015 - das entspricht einer Bauzeit von ca. 19 Jahren. Entgegengehalten wird: Ohne den Vorlaufstrecken nach Verona und München nützt der Brennerbasistunnel nichts - zudem ist Mischverkehr auf Bahntrassen das größte Hindernis - der langsame Güterzug muss den schnelleren Personenzug in den Bahnstationen daher immer ausweichen....

Erweiterte Aufgabe - Errichtung der "Friedensstadt" auf dem Damm mit dementsprechender Infrastruktur, Weiter Baumaßnahmen - Weitere Sofortmaßnahmen an den Küsten des Mittel- und Rotem Meer - primär müssen Meerwasser-Entsalzungsanlagen geschaffen werden - (Trink. und Brauchwasser).
"Damit können tausende Menschen der Mittelmeerunion, aus dem nahem Osten und aus Afrika beschäftigt werden - zudem gibt es dann Wohnungen, Arbeits (High-Tech Fabriken) - und Bildungsstätten (Schulen Hochschulen, Universitäten...)

Reinalter, Helmut

„Next Europe“ ist eine sehr wichtige Initiative der Europäischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste, geht es doch dabei darum, wie die Zukunft Europas entwickelt werden kann. Im Zusammenhang mit der Flüchtlingskrise ist der europäische Integrationsprozess in Schwierigkeiten geraten. Zudem ist eine Endsolidarisierung unter den Staaten der EU eingetreten. Wichtig wäre in diesem Zusammenhang für die Zukunft Europas ein europäisches Toleranzmodell. Die Forderung nach mehr Demokratie und Menschenrechten wird allein nicht genügen, um die Kommunikation zwischen den Kulturen zu fördern und positiv weiterzuentwickeln. Dem europäischen Kontinent kommt zweifelsohne in seiner kulturellen Vielfalt und wegen seiner Integrationsleistungen der politischen Kultur eine wichtige Rolle bei der Vermittlung der Kulturen zu. Die Geschichte Europas verdeutlicht, dass unser Kontinent ein großes Erfahrungspotenzial in konfliktarmer und konfliktbeladener Nachbarschaft verschiedener Kulturen aufweist und daher auch Bewältigungsstrategien von Spannungen entwickeln konnte. Gefragt ist ein europäisches Toleranzmodell, in dem die kulturelle Identität bewahrt, aber die Kulturen der Andersdenkenden respektiert werden. Nur auf dieser Basis kann eine interkulturelle Verständigung ermöglicht werden. Toleranz heißt in diesem Zusammenhang, nicht nur die Meinung des Andersdenkenden zu respektieren, sondern sich mit seinem Anderssein und seinem spezifischen kulturellen Hintergrund zu beschäftigen.

Jede Identität, auch die europäische, kann offen oder geschlossen sein. Geschlossene Identität zieht eine Außengrenze und legt fest, wer und was nicht dazugehören darf. Sie gewinnt ihr Selbstbewusstsein aus ihrer Souveränität über den Ausschluss. Diese Form von Identität ist hierarchisch und in gewisser Weise diskriminierend, und indem sie die Zugehörigkeit als Privileg ansieht, schafft sie Verhältnisse der Rangordnung. Identität wird so zu einem Mittel von Suprematie und Herrschaft. Im Extremfall kann sie sogar zu einer fundamentalistischen Identitätspolitik werden. Zu einer modernen europäischen Identität zählt aber nicht die Zugehörigkeit zu einer bestimmten Ethnie, Religion oder Kultur, sondern eine ganz bestimmte Art des Umgangs mit Religion, Spiritualität und Kultur im öffentlichen Leben. Kulturelle Identität entsteht im Bewusstsein in Gemeinsamkeit von Werten, Überlieferungen, Deutungen, Formen des Wissens und Praktiken, die offen sein sollten.

Rüpke, Jörg

I am very grateful for the initiative, and in particular its focus on narratives. Europe can be a lived Europe only if it is also a narrated Europe. In almost all fields European narratives that are more than piled up national narratives are lacking.

- The Academia Europaea could stimulate new narratives, new histories of arts, law, economy, religion, cooking, migration, forest or cities that feel obliged to the encompassing European framework, including Ireland and the Southeast, Malta and Greenland, Orthodoxy and Islam ... The Academy could fund a prize for such narratives – by pupils, doctoral students, professional historians or composers.
- The Academia could offer their member to help to broadcast invitations to summer schools, conferences etc. to a truly European audience and instigate them to organize their activities with a view to such a European space of sciences and arts.

Sachsenmaier, Dominic

Welches Europa würde ich mir wünschen? Eines, das gelernt hat, wie stark Zurückhaltung sein kann und welche Durchsetzungsfähigkeit Behutsamkeit entwickelt. Ein Europa der Nachhaltigkeit, der Gemeinschaftlichkeit, der Offenheit, der historischen Altstädte und auch der Naturnähe. Solch ein Europa kann einen wahren Kontrast setzen in einer Welt, in der Megastädte und zugleich auch Vereinzelung: Fanatismus und zugleich auch Zynismus; das Leben vieler Menschen prägen.

Wovor ich Angst habe? Dass derartige Ideale schon morgen wie Träume von gestern aussehen und dass eine kalte Sachlichkeit, getragen von völkisch-nationalem Denken, wieder Europa von innen zerteilt. Auch sehe ich mit großer Sorge, wie Kritik an bürokratischen Strukturen immer stärker mit Kritik an der Europäischen Einheit in Verbindung gebracht wird - als ob Nationalstaaten nicht auch in erster Linie Verwaltungsstaaten wären.

Jedoch bietet die gegenwärtige Krise vielleicht auch die Möglichkeit, neue Visionen zu Europa zu entwickeln. Manche Visionen könnten speziell aus einem globalen Kontext heraus entwickelt werden. Die Frage, was wertvoll und wichtig am Europa der Zukunft sein könnte, stellt sich auf diese Weise anders --- und vielleicht auch in mancher Hinsicht konkreter – als wenn man sie alleine von innen heraus zu beantworten sucht. Ein Dialog zu den spezifischen Möglichkeiten und Aufgaben Europas, aufgebaut als offener und historisch kritischer Austausch mit Denkern aus anderen Weltregionen, könnte hier sicherlich wichtige Impulse geben.

Die Europäische Union und der Nationalismus der politischen Mitte

[1] Wird die EU am Nationalismus scheitern? Die Frage stellt sich dringlicher denn je.

[2] Der Weg in die europäische Integration nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg wurde auf der Grundlage der Zusammenarbeit zwischen Nationalstaaten und der supranationalen Institutionalisierung dieser Zusammenarbeit unternommen. Es gab nach 1945 auch ganz andere Vorschläge, nämlich auf die Restauration des Nationalstaats zu verzichten und einen europäischen Staat zu begründen, dessen Rechtsnatur dem eines Bundesstaates hätte entsprechen können. Bei kühler Betrachtung mag dies visionär, aber nicht realistisch gewesen sein. Alle während des Krieges erfolgten Weichenstellungen für die Nachkriegsordnung gingen von einem durch Nationalstaaten restrukturierten Europa aus.

[3] Bisher ist es nicht gelungen, eine neue Weiche in Richtung europäischen Bundesstaat oder Vereinigte Staaten von Europa einzubauen, obwohl die Wende von 1989 für entsprechende Schritte genutzt wurde. Aus der Europäischen Gemeinschaft wurde durch den Vertrag von Maastricht die Europäische Union, die Währungsunion wurde auf den Weg gebracht. Der Versuch, aus der Völkerrechtsvertragskonstruktion eine Verfassung zu machen, scheiterte 2005. Trotzdem konnten Fortschritte erzielt werden: Das Europäische Parlament wurde gestärkt, ein permanenter Ratspräsident und eine permanente Außenbeauftragte repräsentieren bundesstaatliche Konstruktionselemente. Dies alles täuscht nicht darüber hinweg, dass das innere Bauprinzip die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Nationalstaaten auf der Grundlage supranationaler Institutionen geblieben ist und nicht grundlegend verändert wurde bzw. verändert werden konnte.

[4] Dieses Bauprinzip könnte sogar deutlich besser funktionieren – wenn die Akteure ‚einfach‘ Staaten wären und nicht Nationalstaaten. Um zu funktionieren, muss ein Staat keineswegs ein Nationalstaat sein. Es wird immer eingewandt, dass Menschen Identifikationsmöglichkeiten benötigen, dass die Nation diesem Bedürfnis entspreche, und Europa zu groß und zu abstrakt sei, um als Identifikationsraum fungieren zu können. Dabei wird übersehen, dass Identifikation auf mehreren räumlichen Ebenen stattfindet (von lokal bis global) und dass unter allen Möglichkeiten der Identitätsbildung die „Nation“ die künstlichste und die am stärksten propagandistisch konstruierte Möglichkeit darstellt. Der Konstruktionscharakter – zu Recht wird von der „erfundenen Nation“ gesprochen – von Nation wird durch Geschichtsklitterung zugedeckt. Im 21. Jahrhundert nimmt diese Geschichtsklitterung meistens nicht mehr die Form eines ausgesprochenen Nationsmythos an, auch wenn die Entwicklung in Ungarn derzeit genau in diese Richtung zu gehen scheint. Zumeist beruft man sich auf nationale Traditionen wie Premierminister Cameron im Vereinigten Königreich, die als nicht hintergebar dargestellt werden.

[5] Der Nationalismus im EU-Europa des 21. Jahrhunderts ist facettenreicher denn je. Er ist rechts, links, er ist in der Mitte. Mitglieder des politischen Establishments

vertreten ihn, Rechtskonservative, Rechtsradikale spitzen ihn zu hasserfüllten Abgrenzungen zu, Vertreter der äußersten Linken können ihn zum Teil ihres Programms machen, das europäische und globale Verflechtungen sowie Abhängigkeiten ausblendet und im Zweifelsfall aus dem nationalen Projektionsraum einen europäischen oder globalen macht. Die Debatte über den Nationalismus im Europa des 21. Jahrhunderts befasst sich fälschlicherweise meist nur mit dessen Radikalisierungen, nicht aber mit dem Umstand, dass der Nationalismus ein Geflecht ist, das ebenso gut in der sogenannten politischen Mitte wächst.

[6] In den supranationalen Institutionen der EU ist vorwiegend der Nationalismus der politischen Mitte zuhause. Die radikaleren Ränder finden sich im EU-Parlament, aber sie bleiben vorerst eine marginale Erscheinung. Insoweit lautet das Arbeitsprinzip, jederzeit Kompromisse zu finden, die den Nationalismus der politischen Mitte nicht infrage stellen. Dem äußeren Anschein nach funktioniert dies, aber die Fehlfunktionen häufen sich, irgendwann wird es offensichtlich sein, dass der Weg eine Sackgasse ist.

[7] Fehlfunktionen sind darin zu sehen, dass negative nationale Entwicklungen durchaus auf der Ebene der gemeinsamen Institutionen – und nicht nur auf der Ebene der Zivilgesellschaft – als solche erkannt werden, aber überwiegend folgenlos bleiben, weil um den Erhalt der Fähigkeit zu immer neuen EU-Kompromissen gefürchtet wird. Es ist nicht ein Mangel an zivilgesellschaftlicher Kritik, denn diese funktioniert, sondern der Mangel an politischen Konsequenzen auf der Ebene der Institutionen gegenüber Entwicklungen, die von Regierungen in Gang gesetzt werden, die von ihrem Selbstverständnis her oder aufgrund entsprechender, bei Wahlen erzielter Mehrheiten ‚in der Mitte‘ angesiedelt sind: Ungarn hat eine rechtsstaatlich bedenkliche Entwicklung eingeschlagen; das Vereinigte Königreich kultiviert einen kontraproduktiven Eigensinn – und so weiter. Besonders gravierend ist die Kultivierung des nationalen Eigensinns in der Flüchtlingsfrage, weil diese zu einem Alibi-Aktionismus führt, der einen erschauern lässt ob dessen, worum es eigentlich gehen müsste, nämlich Europa zum Kontinent der Menschenrechte zu entwickeln [vgl. <http://wolfgangschmale.eu/europa-und-die-menschenrechte-im-jahr-2015/>]. Niemand im globalen Weltsystem tut das, Europa könnte es. Auch im Nationalismus der politischen Mitte, nicht nur an dessen radikalen Rändern, wird ausgeblendet, dass Menschenrechte und Menschlichkeit/Humanitarismus keineswegs eine Frage karitativer Einstellungen sind oder wieviel „Fremdes“ dem eigenen Wahlvolk ‚zuzumuten‘ ist, sondern immer in sich die Bedingung künftiger Menschlichkeit tragen. Und die werden alle brauchen...

[8] Die Privatisierungen öffentlicher Aufgaben, der Rückbau des Staates, die neoliberale Betonung der „Selbsteilungskräfte des Marktes“, die Duldung von Heuschreckenmentalitäten nicht nur im internationalen Finanz- und Bankwesen, sondern auch in Unternehmen usw., haben zu einer Aushöhlung der Wirklichkeit, des Begriffs und des normativen Gerüsts von Staat geführt. In diese Leerstellen tritt der Nationalismus der politischen Mitte, der aber in sich hohl ist. Es gibt so gut wie kein Problem, das sich im nationalen Rahmen lösen ließe. Europa hätte den Vorteil, mit der EU einen Rahmen für eine Neuorientierung von Staat zu besitzen. Dabei geht es nicht um eine politische Dekretierung, sondern um eine öffentliche Debatte in der europäischen Öffentlichkeit. Diese wird aber immer im Keim erstickt, mit dem Argument, dass man über Ungarn nur in Ungarn diskutieren könne, alles andere sei Einmischung – und sinngemäß in unzähligen weiteren Fällen (Ungarn ist hier nur pars

pro toto). Solche Reaktionen sind sinnlos, weil die kritische Debatte trotzdem geführt wird, nur ohne ‚den‘, um den es geht, sie sind armselig, weil sie eher „Trotzköpfchen“ zu Gesicht stehen, sie sind verlogen, weil die zu debattierende Politik offenbar doppelbödig ist und die kritische Vernunft fürchten muss.

[9] All dies im Jahr 2015, siebzig Jahre nach Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs, so feststellen zu müssen, macht keine Freude.

Seybold, Wolfgang

Das „nächste“ Europa sind die „Vereinigten Staaten von Europa“. Eine Staatengemeinschaft, die sich am Vorbild der Vereinigten Staaten orientiert.

Bekanntlich wurde Rom nicht an einem Tag gebaut. Auch die Gründung der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika zog sich über Jahrhunderte hin, genauer gesagt, von 1492 an, als die USA von Columbus entdeckt wurden bis zum 04. Juli 1776, jenem Tag, an dem die 13 vormals von Großbritannien regierten Kolonien nach gewonnenem Krieg gegen ihre kolonialen Unterdrücker die Unabhängigkeitserklärung der Vereinigten Staaten unterzeichneten. Dies war die Geburt der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, das damals aus nur 13 Kolonien bestanden. Die Erweiterung bis auf den Pazifik zog sich über das ganze 19. Jahrhundert hin.

Die europäische Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft (EWG, heute EU) wurde am 01. Januar 1958 gegründet. Gründungsmitglieder waren nur 6 Staaten, nämlich Belgien, Frankreich, Italien, Luxemburg, die Niederlande und die Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Auch die EWG wurde systematisch erweitert und hatte bei Abschluss des Vertrages von Maastricht 1992 immerhin schon 12 Mitgliedsstaaten. Seit dem 01. Juli 2013 besteht die Europäische Union aus 28 Mitgliedern.

Wenn sich also die Gründung der „Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika“ über Jahrhunderte, ja fast ein halbes Jahrtausend hinzog, weshalb sollen die „Vereinigten Staaten von Europa“ in wenigen Jahrzehnten vollendet werden? Der 50. Bundesstaat der USA, Hawaii wurde erst 1959, also nach dem 2. Weltkrieg, Mitglied der Vereinigten Staaten, Alaska auch erst 1959. Ergo zog sich die Vereinigung der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika über 183 Jahre hin, fast 2 Jahrhunderte, nämlich von 1776 bis 1959.

Da hat Europa noch viel Zeit. Es steckt mit seinen 57 Jahren quasi noch in den „Kinderschuhen“.

Viel ist erreicht worden in den letzten 57 Jahren. Die EU ist kräftig gewachsen, von ursprünglich 7 Staaten auf mittlerweile 28. Kurioserweise wurde ausgerechnet Walter Hallstein, ein Deutscher, zum 1. Präsidenten der EWG-Kommission gewählt.

Mittlerweile wurden die römischen EWG-Verträge durch die Maastricht-Verträge (1992) und den Vertrag von Lissabon (2009) aufgelöst und ersetzt.

Wir haben Freizügigkeit innerhalb der EU. Jeder EU-Bürger darf sich in einem anderen EU-Staat niederlassen und arbeiten. Wir können innerhalb des Schengen-Raums der EU ungehindert reisen, ohne unseren Pass vorzeigen zu müssen. Dies vermittelt uns ein Lebensgefühl, als existieren die Vereinigten Staaten von Europa bereits.

Wir haben den Euro in 19 Mitgliedsstaaten, also eine europäische Binnenwährung. Brauchen an der Grenze also kein Geld mehr umzutauschen.

Wir haben ein europäisches Parlament, eine EU-Kommission, einen Europäischen Gerichtshof. Im Vertrag von Lissabon wurde eine gemeinsame Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik vereinbart, die Zusammenarbeit der Justiz und der Polizei. Unzählige Gesetze wurden „europäisiert“, nationale Gesetze in europäische transformiert. Der Schritt von der reinen Wirtschafts- zur politischen Union ist vollzogen.

Natürlich sind dies alles nur Etappen. Vieles fehlt noch. Wenn Präsident Obama Europa anrufen möchte, gibt es für ihn keine Telefonnummer, die er wählen kann. Aber auch die wird es eines Tages geben, wenn liebgewonnene nationale Eitelkeiten überwunden sind.

Und ein Krieg auf dem Schlachtfeld zweier Weltkriege, von den Napoleonischen Feldzügen ganz zu schweigen, ist undenkbar geworden. Ist dies nicht großartig?

Wer weiß, vielleicht wäre es im 2. Weltkrieg auch zu einer Völkerwanderung gekommen, diesmal in die entgegengesetzte Richtung nach Süden, hätte dies das brutale Nazi-Terror-Regime nicht unmöglich gemacht. Nun kommen die, die unter Krieg und Verfolgung leiden müssen, ausgerechnet zu uns, dem vormals kriegerischsten Volk Europas. Ist dies nicht eine Ironie der Geschichte? Schulden wir aus unserer Historie heraus etwa jenen Zuflucht, die unter Krieg leiden? Ist das Teil der Wiedergutmachung, die wir zu leisten haben?

Die USA werden gemeinhin als „Melting Pot“ (Schmelztiegel) bezeichnet, da seit ihrer Besiedelung Menschen aus aller Welt mit verschiedenen Religionen und Traditionen eingewandert sind. Neben den Europäern aus allen europäischen Nationen kamen auch Afrikaner als Sklaven nach Amerika und brachten ebenfalls ihre Traditionen und Religionen mit. Aus dem Süden kamen hispanophone-Gruppen in die USA, aus Mexiko, Kuba, Puerto Rico, die sich insbesondere in Kalifornien, Texas und Arizona niederließen. Aus Asien, primär China, holten sich die großen Eisenbahnunternehmen, die die Ostküste mit der Westküste verbanden, viele Arbeiter. Zusammen mit den Iren, die vor Hunger aus ihrem Land flohen, bildeten insbesondere Italiener, Deutsche, Franzosen, Briten, Spanier, Polen und Portugiesen jene breite Masse die prägenden Einfluss auf die religiöse und soziale Struktur der USA nahmen.

Die USA haben diesen „Schmelztiegel“ gut verarbeitet. Allein zwischen 1820 und 1979 ließen sie über 49 Mio. Einwanderer ins Land. Die USA lassen, gegenüber anderen Ländern weltweit, die meisten Einwanderer zu. 12,6 % der Gesamtbevölkerung in den USA sind im Ausland geborene Amerikaner. Pro Jahr haben die USA eine Zuwanderung von knapp 700.000 Menschen. Geht man davon aus, dass die USA viermal so groß sind wie Deutschland, so müsste Deutschland eine Höchstgrenze Zuwanderung auf etwa 160.000 Menschen pro Jahr begrenzen.

Zwischen 1850 und 1930 immigrierten 5 Mio. Deutsche in die USA. Zusätzlich siedelten in diesem Zeitraum 3 Mio. Personen aus Österreich Ungarn in die USA über.

Sayn Wittgenstein, Fürst zu, Alexander

Nach der Katastrophe des 2. Weltkriegs waren es Staatsmänner wie Robert Schumann, Alcide De Gasperi und Konrad Adenauer, die erkannt hatten, dass die geschundenen Völker Europas endlich bereit und willens sind, einem fatalen Nationalismus ein Ende zu setzen. In der Zivilgesellschaft hatte sich bereits vor dem Krieg die Paneuropa Union unter Richard Graf Coudenhove-Kalergi gebildet, die sehr viel später unter Otto von Habsburg bei dem Öffnen des Eisernen Vorhangs in Ungarn einen wichtigen Beitrag leistete. Ein geeintes Europa in Frieden und Wohlstand war die Vision dieser ersten "Europäer". Ein gutes Stück des Weges dorthin konnte inzwischen zurückgelegt werden. 19 Mitgliedsstaaten freuen sich heute über eine gemeinsame Währung und eine noch größere Anzahl an „Schengen-Staaten“ über gefallene Schlagbäume.

Aber wo bleibt in diesen Tagen die große Freude darüber, der Enthusiasmus für ein geeintes Europa? Die hohe Staatsverschuldung und Arbeitslosigkeit in Südeuropa ließ zuletzt antieuropäische und populistische Kräfte erstarken und die Betroffenen an der Vision Europa zweifeln. Und ganz aktuell weckt die Massenmigration aus aller Herren Länder reflexartige Abwehrkräfte, veranlasst Länder sich abzuschotten, Zäune zu ziehen und längst geöffnete Schlagbäume wieder zu schließen.

Zum Glück führt uns eine Reihe charismatischer Politiker mit Weitsicht, Feingefühl, Durchsetzungsvermögen und viel Geduld auf dem steinigen Weg nach Europa, und zum Glück haben wir in vielen Ländern einflussreiche Parteien, die die Flagge Europas unbeirrt vor sich hertragen.

Wir sollten uns aber nicht alleine auf den Staat verlassen. Auch die Zivilgesellschaft muss die Vereinigung Europas auf ihre Fahnen schreiben. Europa Nostra, die Stimme Europas für das Kulturerbe, geht hier beispielgebend voran. Diese Föderation nicht-staatlicher Organisationen und Initiativen des Denkmal- und Landschaftsschutz aus über 40 Ländern Europas hat längst erkannt, dass Kunst, Kultur und das Kulturerbe eine Identität stiftende, einende Kraft in Europa besitzen. Wer kann sich unsere Musik ohne Pjotr Ilyich Tschaikowsky, unsere Maler ohne Edvard Munch, unsere Literatur ohne William Shakespeare oder unsere Architektur ohne die Leistungen der römischen Baumeister vorstellen? Bei aller Diversität zeigt unser europäisches kulturelles Erbe ein klares, unseren Kontinent prägendes Profil, und damit ein Bindemittel für unseren europäischen Gedanken.

Daraus kann ein neues Narrative for Europe entstehen. Bereits 2018 soll, angestoßen von dem Deutschen Nationalkomitee Denkmalschutz, ein Europäisches Jahr des Kulturerbes ausgerufen werden. Hier sehen wir eine Chance, das Schöne, Große und Einende für Europa in den Blickpunkt zu stellen und damit ein Wir-Gefühl für die Bürger unseres Kontinents zu schaffen.

Ich war noch aufgewachsen mit dem Begriff "Christliches Abendland" für das in Europa geltende Wertesystem. Der erste Deutsche Bundespräsident Theodor Heuss definierte das Abendland noch umfassender, als christlich, humanistisch und demokratisch, und sah den Ausgang Europas von drei Hügeln, von Golgotha, der

Akropolis und dem Kapitol. Diese Betrachtungsweise wirkt heute „political incorrect“. Sie unterschlägt den Einfluss unserer islamischen Mitbürger. Man sollte also als weiteren Berg den ummauerten, historischen Stadthügel in Istanbul hinzufügen, auf dem neben der Hagia Sophia auch der Topkapi Palast großartige Zeugnisse für das Byzantinische Reich und eben auch die Herrschaft der Osmanen abgeben. Die oströmische Hagia Sophia steht für die machtvolle Ausstrahlung des orthodoxen Glaubens, der mit seinen Kirchen und Kunstsammlungen bis heute das Leben im Osten Europas, von Griechenland im Süden bis weit in den Norden Russlands, prägt. Genauso verweist der Topkapi auf die Ausdehnung des Islam nach Europa hinein, auf Granada und Cordoba als Zeugnisse der maurischen Herrschaft in Spanien, und auf Jahrhunderte alte Moscheen auf dem Balkan. Und heute werden wir unseren Kontinent nicht mehr definieren können, ohne die islamische Durchdringung ganzer Stadtviertel im Westen zur Kenntnis zu nehmen.

Sehr viel stärker noch ist seit Jahrhunderten der Einfluss des Judentums auf unsere Kunst und Kultur, auf die Geisteswissenschaften und die Naturlehre, auf den Handel und das Finanzwesen. Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Franz Kafka, Marc Chagall, Albert Einstein und Tausende unserer jüdischen Mitbürger mehr zählen dazu, prägen das Bild Europas und unseres kulturellen Erbes. Man könnte daher als weiteren Berg den Sinai hinzu fügen, den Ort, an dem Moses von Gott die Tafeln der Zehn Gebote erhielt, die Grundlage unseres europäischen Rechtswesens und unserer sozialen Ordnung.

Seit der Vertreibung der Israeliten aus dem Heiligen Land ist dieses Volk auf der Flucht, Asyl suchend, geschunden und gedemütigt. Aber welchen kulturellen Reichtum hat uns das Judentum hinterlassen! Lasst uns daraus lernen. Lasst uns heute deren historische Nachbarvölker, die Syrier, Iraker und Kurden in ihrer großen Not willkommen heißen und in deren Exodus das Potential einer weiteren großen Bereicherung unserer Gesellschaft, unserer Kultur und unseres wirtschaftlichen Wohlergehens sehen.

Gerade die Vielfalt der Zuwanderer hat Europa über Jahrtausende geprägt und das wunderbare Mosaik eines Kontinents geschaffen, dessen Einmaligkeit in seiner multikulturellen Ausgestaltung besteht. Der Wandel schreitet kontinuierlich fort und schafft allmählich ein neues, womöglich noch sehr viel attraktiveres Bild Europas. Das von Oswald Spengler 1918 in seinem Werk „Der Untergang des Abendlandes“ diskutierte Ende einer tausendjährigen Kulturepoche wird nicht eintreten, solange Europa jung und wandelfähig bleibt.

Mich hat die "Vision Europa" bereits überzeugt und mich erfüllt die Hoffnung, dass wir mit dem Zusammenwachsen dieses so vielseitig geprägten Kulturraums einen nicht nur ungesund, sondern wegen unserer Durchmischung auch ganz unsinnigen Nationalismus überwinden werden. Ich freue mich auf ein „Next Europe“, in dem unsere Vielfalt an Ethnien, Religionen, Sprachen, Gebräuchen und kulturellem Erbe nicht mehr als trennendes Element, sondern vielmehr als ein überaus wertvoller Schatz empfunden wird, als eine Kultur des Gemeinsamen, die es zu pflegen und zu bewahren gilt. Dann werden wir eines Tages alle mit Freude und gesundem Stolz sagen können "Das ist unser Europa – Europa Nostra"!

Schmidinger, Heinrich

**Europa muss sich erzählen lassen
Auch die Wissenschaften tragen Verantwortung dafür**

Europa ist aus Erzählungen hervorgegangen – aus den Mythen und Epen der Antike, aus den Geschichten und Theologien der Bibel, aus den narrativen Schöpfungen der Literatur und der Kunst, aus dem ästhetischen Gehalt und Dekor der Wissenschaften. In ihnen fand Europa seine geistige Identität, aus ihnen schuf es seine Kulturen, durch sie gewann es Einheit und Vielheit, dank ihrer wurde von Generationen zu Generationen menschliches Leben gestaltet und bestanden. Umgekehrt: Die große Leistungen der europäischen Kulturen liegen darin, dass sie im Laufe ihrer Jahrhunderte zu erzählen verstanden, mit ihren Erzählungen überzeugten und auf diese Weise einen ganzen Kosmos an Möglichkeiten für die Bewältigung der Wirklichkeit durch den Menschen schufen.

Was für die Vergangenheit galt, ist genauso gültig für heute und morgen: Europa gibt bzw. wird es in Zukunft nur geben, wenn es sich erzählen lässt und selbst zu erzählen versteht – nicht allein in der Kunst, in der Literatur, in den Wissenschaften, in den Religionen oder in den Ideologien, sondern in den Köpfen und aus den Herzen der Europäerinnen und Europäer. Nur unter dieser Voraussetzung wird ein Glaube an Europa, ein verbreitetes Überzeugt-Sein von Europa entstehen. Dass dergleichen durch einen gemeinsamen Markt vielleicht befördert, sicherlich nicht geschaffen wird, ist inzwischen Erfahrung der jüngeren Geschichte des gesamten Kontinents.

Zwei Möglichkeiten bieten sich an: Die überkommenen Geschichten werden weiter erzählt, indem sie neu interpretiert, in die Gegenwart übertragen und dadurch für die Zukunft belebt werden. Oder es entstehen – was für die geistige Kraft Europas spräche – neue Erzählungen, die eine ähnlich kulturbildende Potenz entfalten wie die bisherigen. In der Realität wird es wohl das Eine ohne das Andere nicht geben können. Jedenfalls sind uns beide Möglichkeiten anvertraut, ja geboten, weil von ihren Verwirklichungen nichts Geringeres als unser Menschsein abhängt.

Mit „uns“ sind auch die Wissenschaften, allen voran die Geistes-, Kultur- und Gesellschaftswissenschaften, nicht weniger die Theologie und die Philosophie gemeint. Ihnen obliegt eine spezifische Kompetenz, aber ebenso eine Verantwortung für die Erzählungen, aus denen Europa gewachsen ist. Sie sorgen für die Sicherstellung der Texte, sie bieten deren Interpretationen, sie reflektieren die Traditionen ihrer Auslegungen, sie verfolgen im Sinne kritischer Theorien die Aktualisierungen und Transformationen der Erzählinhalte, sie legen sie vor für Gegenwart und Zukunft. Tatsächlich geschieht dies in reichem Ausmaß. Was jedoch mehr werden müsste, ist das Bewusstsein um die Verantwortung, die durch das Betrautsein mit den Erzählungen einhergeht.

Davon, dass der wissenschaftliche Umgang mit den Erzählungen motiviert ist durch das Festhalten sowohl am Menschenbild als auch an den Werten, die in den Erzählungen zum Ausdruck kommen, ist das Gelingen oder Nicht-Gelingen Europas in geistiger Hinsicht mitabhängig. So gibt es eine Verantwortung der Wissenschaften und ihrer Einrichtungen für Europa – zugleich für die Werte, die mit Europa intendiert sind: Würde, Freiheit, Frieden, Rechtsstaatlichkeit, Demokratie, Toleranz. Diese Verantwortung muss ausdrücklicher und entschlossener übernommen werden. Nicht

zuletzt die Universitäten würden dadurch an kultureller und realpolitischer Bedeutung gewinnen. Dabei bräuchten sie sich nicht neu zu erfinden, sie müssten sich nur der gesellschaftlichen Rolle besinnen, die ihnen seit ihrer Gründung mitgedacht ist.

Schott, Heinz

Europe has to be fundamentally reorganised – spiritually, culturally, economically, and politically. Without such a turn Europe will fail and its effective structure will collapse.

Considering the future of Europe there are five essentials absolutely necessary to overcome the actual troubles:

- (1) Democracy: Citizens' participation in political decision making.
- (2) Welfare: Social security and humanitarian standards for everybody; the fight against poverty as a general social task.
- (3) Education: An efficient education system as the main pre-condition for Democracy and Welfare and vice versa.
- (4) Regionalism: The European regions should become the main layer of European policies constituting a profound federalism respecting the rights of minorities.
- (5) Subsidiarity: The principle of subsidiarity should become the main guideline for European policies.

All dogmatic ideologies or illusions about Europe, such as

- the idea of a centralised “United States of Europe”
- a currency union with quite unequal social systems
- borders without controlling (Schengen) in a situation, when organised criminality blossoms; etc.

should be abandoned.

Europe will flourish, when its complex *history* and the cultural *diversity* of its regions are respected and brought together in a creative, cooperative, and peaceful way.

“Next Europe” should become a “Europe of Regions”.
I plead for a “EUROPA DER REGIONEN”.

Shengelia, Ramaz

It was a great pleasure for me to read a conceptual letter of Professor Felix Unger, inspired by the thoughts about the future of Europe. The letter is, indeed, very timely and poignant.

The Caucasus – a crossroad of the East and the West – has always been considered a geopolitically attractive region, and the key to it was believed to be hidden in Georgia. That's why the history of this small country is so complex and dramatic.

Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840) was looking for anthropological roots of Europeans in the Caucasus. Georg Wilhelm Hegel (1770 –1831) viewed entire European civilization in close association with the Caucasus. Kurt Joachim Sprengel (1766 –1833) starts his depiction of the history of world medicine with the mention of mythical Medea – princess of the ancient kingdom of Kolkheti (present-day western Georgia). Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925) regards Kolkheti as a homeland of mysteries... In 11th century, powerful and influential state of Georgia was looking for the allies among European knights, and the sole successful campaign of the latter for liberation of the grave of Jesus Christ was led by the Georgian troops.

After recounting and reflecting on all of the above-mentioned, it does not seem surprising any more that Georgia, which has regained its political independence once again, is so eager to return to the European family – the family to which it has served as an Eastern outpost and powerful citadel during several millennia. The only thing surprising is that the door to Europe opens so slowly and painfully.

Europe has achieved its current state of well-being and scientific and cultural progress with clever mind and hard work. It is the cradle of modern civilization, which takes origin from the renaissance epoch; its roots lie not just in western, but in eastern Christian culture, too. Europe has given birth to the modern western civilization and has to protect it.

I have heard many times that European values stand above all and their unconditional recognition is the only way to become a rightful member of this union. This is probably true. We should not forget, however, that these values stem from the Ten Commandments written on the stone, brought by Moses from the mountain of Sinai, adopted by the Christianity without a change. For more than three millennia, the world attempts to grow and progress according to these Ten Commandments, but I personally have not met a single person who would impeccably follow even one commandment, much less all ten. True Christianity never tried to punish anyone for that, it only called upon its children to live according to the values, at least resembling these Ten Commandments.

Today, I witness the trend of converting the values into the laws, which I dare to consider a serious mistake, as I believe the value ends where the law begins. The law is a relative, variable entity and always contains an element of oppression. It is not a right thing to do – to raise a restriction, set by one person to another, to the rank of absolute, unquestionable authority.

Next Europe should be the natural reserve of the Christian moral and true personal liberty of every human being. And true personal liberty implies (although it may seem paradoxical to someone) complete and deliberate self-restriction, in a sense of being fully aware of the things that should never be done, and feeling happy and unrestrained by this awareness.

The human being locked up in a prison of own desires and whimsies, dictated by the carnal body, can never be truly free. This is a truth that all humans should be aware of and its full comprehension will help them to make steady steps towards the real happiness.

What kind of Europe would I like to see? More determined and more potent. Today, we talk a lot about Ukrainian crisis and yes, we should talk even more about it, we should even scream aloud! But, at the same time, it seems like we forgot the war that took place in Georgia seven years ago. Unfortunately, as time passes by, the troubles of this small, but brave Caucasian country deserve less and less attention. I firmly believe, if those events were addressed somewhat more objectively and I would say, more fearlessly, today we would have a peace in Ukraine. The lack of punishment leads to the new evil deeds.

I would like my Europe to reaffirm its loyalty to the main ethical values in a louder and bolder voice; to create a basis for a personal liberty of human beings, following the above-mentioned values; to avoid unintentional support of violence and injustice by excessive carefulness and humbleness.

This will be the real Europe; this will be the Europe I envision and love.

God bless Europe and the Europeans.

Hortus Philosophorum. The ideas related to the “Philosophical Garden” (Hortus Philosophorum) are very close to my heart. The talks held in the grove of Academos have paved a way to the modern Europe. The culture born there was characterized by two main aspects. The first: truth may only be born in verbal, live interaction and will die the moment it is written down. This esoteric concept fortunately was abandoned in the same garden, when Plato’s disciples began to write down his ideas and thus gave a gift of great Greek philosophy to the world. This notion can easily be revised and reconsidered. The second: truth can only be found by means of direct interaction with the nature and its total embracement.

Around 12th century B.C., princess Medea, famous for her wisdom, resided in an ancient kingdom of Kolkheti and spent most of her time in the gardens grown by her aunt Hecate. Apparently, in this garden, full of healing and useful plants, Medea has acquired and mastered her medical knowledge and the art of pharmacy, as well as the secret knowledge written on the Golden Fleece, which made “Golden” Kolkheti so influential and attractive. She found a wisdom that helped her to receive the poisons from the healing plants, by concentrating active substances and later, make drugs by diluting these poisons. This is, in fact, the ABC of modern pharmacy and medicine. This great knowledge was discovered once again 28 centuries later by the genius Paracelsus and created a foundation for the medicine of renaissance, along with other contributors.

Kurt Sprengel has even invented a term to describe “Medean” knowledge of medicine – Cura Mediana.

We are keen to believe that the term “Medicine” is related with the name of Medea, as in case of other mythical characters (Hygiene, Panacea etc).

Museum of History of Georgian Medicine, which is due to be opened in mid-May in Tbilisi, is often called by the short name “Medea-Museum”. We, Georgian physicians have been contemplating the idea of creating “Medea Garden” for quite a long time and apparently, this dream will come true in the nearest future. We envision it as one of the future landmarks of our city, meeting place of intellectuals, where discussions around medicine and philosophy, literature and art, culture in general will be carried out, and healthy food and drinks prepared according to the ancient Georgian recipes will be enjoyed.

With your approval, we would like to name it Hortus Medeae and consider it an inherent part of Hortus Philosophorum.

We hope that this idea will unite us around these eternal values once again, with even greater strength and eagerness.

Die enthemmte Zentralbank

Es fing alles damit an, dass die Bundesregierung der EZB im Frühjahr 2010 das Securities Markets Programme durchgehen ließ, nach dem in den Folgejahren für 223 Milliarden Euro Staatspapiere der sechs Krisenländer gekauft wurden, also Papiere der Länder Griechenland, Italien, Portugal, Spaniens, Irlands und Zypern. Sowohl Bundesbankpräsident Weber als auch EZB-Chefvolkswirt Stark hatten protestiert, weil die Käufe das Verbot der Monetisierung der Staatsschuld gemäß Artikel 123 AEUV verletzen, und sie traten zurück, als sie merkten, dass man nicht auf sie hören wollte. Aber der Protest war vergebens. Die deutsche Regierung beugte sich dem französischen Druck, der ihr von Staatspräsident Nicolas Sarkozy, IWF-Chef Dominique Strauss-Kahn und dem ECB-Chef Claude Trichet entgegengesetzt wurde, und beruhigte ihr Gewissen in der Hoffnung, dass der Vertragsbruch, den die französische Finanzministerin Lagarde seinerzeit freimütig eingestanden hatte, nur eine vorübergehende Abweichung vom Pfad der Tugend sein würde.

Weit gefehlt. In Wahrheit waren die Entscheidungen erst der Startschuss für eine ganze Armada von ausufernden geldpolitischen Beschlüssen des EZB-Rates, die der Rettung der überschuldeten Banken und Staaten Südeuropas und Irlands sowie ihrer Gläubiger diente. Nachdem Deutschland gezeigt hatte, dass es bereit war, wegzusehen, gab es kein Halten mehr. Mit einem Sammelsurium von Einzelentscheidungen wurden die Bonitätsanforderungen für die Pfänder, die die Banken bei ihren Notenbanken einreichend mussten, unter das Schrottniveau (BBB-) gesenkt, um den Banken und Staaten der Krisenländer immer mehr lokalen Geldschöpfungskredit zukommen zu lassen. Außerdem tolerierte der Rat, dass die Krisenländer sich für hunderte von Milliarden Euro Notkredite aus den eigenen Druckerpressen gewährten und zusätzliches Geld druckten, um in Rahmen des Anfa-Geheimabkommens auf eigene Rechnung allerlei Papiere zusammenzukaufen. Allein die italienische Notenbank erwarb im Rahmen der Anfa-Fazilitäten für über 100 Milliarden Staatspapiere mit selbst gemachtem Geld.

Alles führte zu riesigen Target-Salden, also Nettoüberweisungen in andere Länder, die die dortigen Notenbanken zwangen, Zahlungen für die Bewohner der Krisenländer zu kreditieren, die dem Vermögenserwerb, dem Güterkauf und der Schuldentilgung dienten. In den Jahren 2012 und 2013 gab es in Deutschland überhaupt kein Geld mehr, das die Bundesbank auf dem Wege der Kreditvergabe an hiesige Banken oder durch Wertpapierkäufe in Umlauf gebracht hatte. Es gab nur noch Überweisungsgeld aus Griechenland & Co., für dessen Ausgabe die Bundesbank eine Target-Forderung gegen das EZB-System erhielt. Kurzum, die anderen Länder bedienten sich und ließen hemmungslos anschreiben, weil sie wussten, dass die Bundesbank ihre Forderungen niemals würde fällig stellen können.

Es ging dann weiter mit dem OMT-Programm, mit dem sich derzeit das deutsche Verfassungsgericht beschäftigt, der unbegrenzten Deckungszusage, die die EZB den Käufern der Staatspapiere der gefährdeten Länder gab. Diese Zusage versetzte die Krisenstaaten in die Lage, sich zu festen Niedrigzinsen grenzenlos zu

verschulden, so weit jedenfalls, wie sie es schafften, die verschiedenen Schuldenpakete der EU zu umgehen.

Dann kam das neue QE-Programm, im Rahmen dessen monatlich für 60 Milliarden Euro und insgesamt für über 1,2 Billionen Euro Wertpapiere gekauft werden sollen. Der Löwenanteil wird im Widerspruch zum Artikel 123 AEUV der Monetisierung der Staatsschulden dienen. Man kauft normale Staatspapiere wie auch die Papiere der europäischen Schattenhaushalte. Dazu gehört der Juncker-Fonds und vor allem auch der Rettungsfonds ESM. Ferner sollen, so vorhanden, auch private Wertpapiere gekauft werden.

Das allerneueste Maßnahmenbündel sieht vor, die Zinsen für Refinanzierungskredite auf Null zu setzen, die monatlichen Käufe von Wertpapieren um 20 Milliarden zu erhöhen und den Zins für Einlagen der Banken bei der Notenbank auf -0,4% zu senken. Und als ob das nicht genug wäre, werden nun vier sogenannte TLTROs, also gezielte Langzeitkredittranchen von der EZB aufgelegt, bei denen die EZB als Gläubiger den Schuldnerbanken Zinsen dafür zahlt, dass sie das Geld nehmen. Der Zins für die EZB-Kredite geht bis zu -0,4%, wenn die Banken den Kredit weiterreichen.

So wird es immer weiter gehen, wenn keiner die EZB stoppt. Nützlich ist das Ganze vor allem für die Schuldenländer, denn zum einen brauchen sie für ihre Schulden nun keine Zinsen mehr zu bezahlen und zum anderen könnte es ja sein, dass die von der EZB angestrebte Inflation im Euroraum tatsächlich zustande kommt, was die Schuldner zusätzlich entlastet. Wären die Gläubiger irgendwelche Investoren aus aller Welt, könnte man dem vielleicht gelassen gegenüberstehen. Tatsächlich aber sind die Deutschen als die großen Gläubiger, die durch ihre Exportüberschüsse bei weitem das größte Nettoauslandsvermögen aufgebaut haben, die hauptsächlich Verlierer dieser Politik.

Es ist an der Zeit, dass die deutsche Bundesregierung ihren Kurs ändert und dem Treiben ein Ende bereitet. Sie verfügt über die rechtlichen und faktischen Mittel dafür.

Sinn, Hans-Werner

Die politische Union und die ISIS-Attacken

Der Streit um die Flüchtlinge und der zögerliche Beistand, den manche Länder Frankreich beim Kampf gegen Isis gewähren, zeigen, dass Europa Lichtjahre von einer politischen Union entfernt ist. Der Fiskalunion ist man durch die fiskalischen Rettungsschirme und die Bail-out-Maschinerie der EZB schon nahe gekommen. Doch gibt es keinen gemeinsamen Außenminister, keine gemeinsame Außenpolitik, keine einheitliche Immigrationspolitik, kein gemeinsames Asylrecht, keine gemeinsame Polizei und insbesondere keine gemeinsame Armee. 28 Armeen mit 28 separaten Kommandozentralen werden nur locker durch die NATO koordiniert.

Francois Hollande und Jean Claude Juncker meinen gleichwohl, Europa müsse sich nun zunächst noch weiter einer Fiskalunion annähern. Sie fordern eine gemeinsame Einlagensicherung, ein gemeinsames Budget, gemeinsame Schuldverschreibungen, und eine gemeinsame Arbeitslosenversicherung. Aber sie irren, denn diese Maßnahmen zementieren nur die falsche Struktur der relativen Preise, die die Euro-Kreditblase hervorbrachte, und erhalten damit die Arbeitslosigkeit in Frankreich und Südeuropa. Europa geriete noch tiefer in den Schuldensumpf, weil der Kapitalmarkt seiner Kontrollfunktion beraubt würde. Europa würde die Fehler wiederholen, die die USA nach ihrer Gründung machten, indem sie in mehreren Runden die Schulden der Einzelstaaten in Bundesschulden umwandelten und eine gefährliche Kreditblase hervorriefen, die in den Jahren 1835 bis 1842 neun von 29 amerikanischen Staaten und Territorien in den Konkurs trieb und den Boden für den amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg bereitete.

Tatsächlich behindert der weitere Ausbau der Fiskalunion Europas Weg in die politische Union, weil sich Frankreich der Notwendigkeit enthoben sieht, seine Force de Frappe als Tauschobjekt einzusetzen. Frankreich hat bislang alle Versuche, die Armeen zusammenzulegen, abgelehnt. So hat die französische Nationalversammlung im Jahr 1954 den Vertrag über die Westeuropäische Verteidigungsunion abgelehnt, und später lehnte das französische Volk die europäische Verfassung ab, die einer stärkeren politischen Union den Weg geebnet hätte. Ein französischer Präsident nach dem anderen hat das Fernziel eines Vereinten Europa verworfen.

Frankreich will aber die Fiskalunion, weil seine Banken sind der große Profiteur einer europäischen Fiskalunion sind. So hatten die französischen Banken zur Zeit der Lehman-Krise mit 58 Mrd. Euro der griechischen Volkswirtschaft doppelt so viel Geld geliehen wie Deutschland. Frankreich will die Fiskalunion auch, um mit den Gemeinschaftstransfers seine Absatzmärkte in Südeuropa zu stärken. Wenn Deutschland darauf eingeht, werden sich die Chancen für eine politische Integration des Kontinents weiter verringern.

Vielleicht bringen die hässlichen Attacken der ISIS-Kämpfer Frankreich nun zu einem Einsehen, weil sie dem Elysee-Palast zeigen, dass selbst eine solch große militärische Macht wie Frankreich eine politischen Union braucht. Europa muss heute beim Kampf gegen die Terroristen und bei der Bewältigung der Flüchtlingskrise zusammenstehen. Die EU muss ihre Grenzen kontrollieren, und sie braucht eine gemeinsame Polizei, ein gemeinsames Asylrecht, eine gemeinsame Außenpolitik und

vor allem eine gemeinsame Armee, bevor sie den Weg in eine Fiskalunion fortsetzen kann.

Dabei sollte die EU dem Beispiel erfolgreicher Bundesstaaten wie der Schweiz oder der USA folgen. Diese Bundesstaaten begannen als militärische Verteidigungsbündnisse und entwickelten sich erst viel später zu Fiskalunionen. Es dauerte Jahrzehnte, ja Jahrhunderte, bis umfangreiche gemeinsamen Budgets zustande gekommen waren und man damit begann, Einkommensrisiken zu vergemeinschaften. Bis zum heutigen Tage gilt die Nicht-Beistandsregel, nach der der Bund oder die Zentralbank bedrohten Einzelstaaten oder Kantonen nicht hilft, wenn eine Pleite droht. Es ist nun an der Zeit, Europa vom Kopf auf die Füße zu stellen, indem man endlich von der weitere Vergemeinschaftung der Geldbörsen Abstand nimmt und sich statt dessen den wahren Sicherheitsproblemen zuwendet, zu deren Lösung Solidarität und Gemeinschaftsaktionen dringend erforderlich sind.

Zwei Modelle für Europa

Der französische Ministerpräsident Valls und sein italienischer Kollege Renzi haben erklärt, dass sie den 2012 neu vereinbarten Fiskalpakt nicht einhalten und wieder mehr Schulden machen wollen. Daran ändern auch neue Vorschläge nichts. Ihre Erklärung sollte daher Anlass sein, über die Konstruktion der Europäischen Währungsunion nachzudenken.

Damit eine Währungsunion stabil ist und es nicht zu Schuldenexzessen kommt, sind zwei Modelle denkbar, ein Sozialisierungsmodell und ein Haftungsmodell.

Nach dem Sozialisierungsmodell werden die Schulden der Einzelstaaten kollektiv durch die gemeinsame Zentralbank oder fiskalische Rettungssysteme abgeschirmt, so dass für die Anleger Investitionssicherheit besteht und die Zinsspreads zwischen den Ländern weitgehend verschwinden. Damit dies nicht zu mehr Verschuldung führt, werden politische Schuldenschranken vereinbart.

Nach dem Haftungsmodell ist jeder Staat für seine eigenen Schulden zuständig, und bei Konkurs haben die Gläubiger das Nachsehen. Angesichts der Gefahr für ihr Geld verlangen die Gläubiger frühzeitig hohe Zinsen oder geben keine weiteren Kredite, was eine Disziplinierung der Schuldner impliziert.

Europa hat die Sozialisierung probiert. Einerseits wurde den Krisenländern großzügiger Beistand in Form des Rettungsschirms ESM, der Target-Kredite (1000 Mrd. Euro aus den lokalen Druckerpressen) und eines kostenlosen Schutzversprechens der EZB (OMT) gewährt. Andererseits wurde 2012 der Fiskalpakt geschaffen, der verlangt, die Schuldenquote jährlich um ein Zwanzigstel des Abstandes zu 60% des BIP zu kürzen.

Die USA verfolgen demgegenüber das Haftungsmodell. Wenn ein Teilstaat wie derzeit Kalifornien, Illinois oder Minnesota am Rande der Pleite steht, kommt niemand zur Hilfe, auch nicht die Zentralbank. Anders als die EZB kauft die Fed keine Papiere der Teilstaaten des US-Systems. Im Konkursfall müssen die Investoren Verzicht leisten. New York hat 1975 seine zukünftigen Steuereinnahmen verpfändet, um zahlungsfähig zu bleiben.

Die USA waren nicht immer so strikt. Nach ihrer Gründung hatte der erste Finanzminister Alexander Hamilton 1791 die Schulden der Einzelstaaten zu Bundesschulden gemacht, und 1813, beim zweiten Krieg gegen Britannien, wurden die Schulden abermals sozialisiert. Hamilton bezeichnete die Schuldensozialisierung als "Zement" für den neuen amerikanischen Staat. Doch war das Resultat eine Kreditblase, die 1837 platzte und neun von 29 amerikanischen Staaten und Territorien in den Konkurs trieb. Die ungelöste Schuldenproblematik verschärfte die Spannungen wegen der Sklavenfrage, die 1861 den Sezessionskrieg auslösten. Insofern war die Vergemeinschaftung eher Sprengstoff als Zement für den neuen amerikanischen Staat, wie der amerikanische Historiker Harold James vermerkt.

Erst nach dem Sezessionskrieg verabredeten die US-Staaten, ihre Föderation fortan nach dem Haftungsmodell zu betreiben. Dieses Modell hat ihnen bis heute Stabilität gebracht und die Verschuldung der Einzelstaaten wirksam begrenzt.

Das Verhalten der europäischen Krisenländer und Frankreichs zeigt in aller Deutlichkeit, dass das Sozialisierungsmodell auch in Europa nicht funktioniert. Statt zu fallen, wie vertraglich vereinbart, steigen die Schuldenquoten überall und liegen mittlerweile überall in der Gegend von 100% und mehr.

Deshalb sollte die EZB der Fed folgen und auf Bail-out-Aktionen und Deckungszusagen verzichten, zumal diese Zusagen ohnehin nicht im Einklang mit den EU-Verträgen stehen. Ferner sollte eine Goldtilgung der Target-Schulden eingeführt werden, wie sie in den USA bis 1975 für die Tilgung der Salden zwischen den Distrikten des Federal-Reserve-Systems üblich war. Vielleicht sollte man auch den Rettungsschirm zur Disposition stellen. Diese Maßnahmen werden den Investoren glaubhaft klarmachen, dass sie bei einem drohenden Konkurs nicht auf eine Rettung mit der Druckerpresse hoffen können, und sie veranlassen, höhere Zinsen zu verlangen oder Kredite gar nicht erst zu vergeben. Das wird die Disziplin der Schuldenländer stärken und Europa vielleicht gerade noch rechtzeitig vor einer Schuldenlawine bewahren, die das europäische Integrationsprojekt zerstören würde.

Introduction

We are living in interesting times. Our medicine is so advanced that practically no man is completely healthy. By analogy, the Actual Europe is so advanced that a growing number of countries, companies and individuals, live in a state of constant trouble. The 2008 recession has evolved into a chronic disease. Greece has faced bankruptcy; Spanish banks have been saved, with €100 billion in monetary injections from the EU, and Italy, Portugal, even France are teetering. Swiss bankers are still afraid to travel abroad, and a British parliament member attracted media attention by stating that it is better to admit child abuse than say one works for a financial institution. Niall Ferguson, a historian from Harvard, says: "There will be bloodshed, political and economic unrest will destabilize countries, governments will fall, and civil wars will break out."

Six years ago, Nobel-prize winner Joseph Stiglitz had lambasted the "Geithner plan" to save the American banking system, saying it "will rob American taxpayers." A team of UN experts, headed by Stiglitz, anticipates a global tide of 30 to 50 million people losing their jobs each year. Columbia University professor Jeffrey Sachs, who predicted the global demise of socialism, thinks that the present recession could last a whole generation and not just five years, as posited by most politicians. According to Nassim Nicholas Taleb, author of *The Black Swan*, "humanity has never faced such deep social and economic problems, and, at the same time, was equipped with such a low level of understanding of the scope and reach of these problems." Sustainable growth is not likely until a change of values takes place.

Almost a hundred years ago John Kenneth Galbraith jokingly said that "the only function of economic forecasting is to raise the reputation of astrology." He is still right, despite all the sophisticated econometric models. This crisis has finally revealed that economists, just like sociologists, philosophers and meteorologists, cannot forecast the future. All they can do is describe and interpret what they see, and, hopefully, give more or less reliable short-term predictions.

The world we live in is full of paradoxes. Every hour a million plastic glasses are used on local and international flights; every minute 10 million plastic bottles are thrown in garbage cans; every hour fifty million plastic bags are spent in supermarkets, and every two minutes, 100,000 gallons of fuel are burned. Pessimists say that if we survive the recession, we are going to die in revolutions caused by a growing gap between the rich and the poor, or by the greenhouse effect and its consequences on the climate change, or by the ozone hole, or by the terrorists using weapons of mass destruction, or, we are simply going to drown in oceans of plastic waste and garbage. Is it just another cyclical recession, after which we should expect economic growth again? Or is it a fatal disease of the present model of capitalism, so that we are faced with quick agony before a certain death? Twenty five years ago, the collapse of the socialist economic system was proclaimed; is it capitalism's turn now? If so, when, and what's next? And who is to be blamed, the politicians, governments, democratic institutions?

Prisoners of “Culture”

Suppose there are five monkeys in a cage. You hang a bunch of bananas at the cage top and place a ladder nearby. Soon, a monkey climbs the ladder, trying to get some bananas. The moment he touches the ladder, you sprinkle all the animals with ice-cold water and they quickly back off. Soon, another monkey goes for the ladder, just to find out that the ice-cold-water situation is still there. From that moment on, you don't need the sprinkler any more. If a monkey even tries to get close to the ladder, other monkeys are sure to knock him flat.

Now, you remove one monkey from the cage and replace him with a newcomer. Seeing the bananas, he tries to reach for the ladder, only to find his ass kicked by all others. You replace another monkey with a new one. If he tries to reach for the ladder, he is severely beaten by all, including the former newcomer. Repeat the procedure until the initial five are removed from the cage. Regardless of the fact that none of the remaining monkeys has ever been sprinkled with ice-cold water, none of them ever tries to get the bananas because, if he did, he would immediately be stopped by all the others. Why? They have learned the way things are done here. And who are they to question the common practice?

Yes, this is how any organizational culture works. It's equally true for your company, your family or the entire European Union. You may be offended by the comparison, but the monkey cage perfectly describes the behavior of nations, groups, employees, politicians or citizens, who blindly accept the prevailing norms and values. Remember the tale of the Emperor who had no clothes? We know what happens when people accept the existing paradigm and don't question its inherent contradictions, limitations and shortcomings.

Just take a look at the present world from the common people's point of view. Aren't we all, to a certain extent, trapped in the monkey cage of an old economic, social and political paradigm? Strange, crazy, even outrageous things are constantly taking place around us, but we treat them as normal. That's why we don't try hard enough! If something is not perceived as a problem, nobody seeks solutions. If we don't question the illogical, irrational and problematic behavior and situations we encounter, they can go on from now to eternity.

So, is our world really heading towards a catastrophe? Most politicians try to persuade us it's not. But what if the EU and the world are doomed and we don't notice, or have learned to live with it. Like the monkeys in that cage. Or like a joke about a guy, falling from an eighty storey building. As he passes by the fiftieth floor, his mobile phone rings, and a friend asks him: How are you doing today? So far, so good, replies the guy.

Most people say OK, we do have problems, but are they really that big? The word catastrophe is too strong. Is human history anything but a series of catastrophes? We managed to survive and even develop and grow. On the other hand, if the wars, terrorist attacks, bankruptcies and riots are all just the tip of an iceberg, the growing tensions cannot be resolved using the existing paradigm.

We all read that there is a growing gulf between the rich and the poor, and wars break out all over the world. Tensions between the developed and the underdeveloped, the

successful and the less successful, create a divide that is unprecedented in any period of human history. There are a growing number of political discrepancies, from interest-driven wars to corrupt government officials, from inefficient bureaucracies to inadequate protection of human rights. All that makes the average person lose faith in democratic institutions. There are growing ecological issues, from the greenhouse effect to water pollution, which make the future look bleak. There are burning moral and ethical dilemmas associated with changing roles of family, religion and nation, cutting deeply into the bedrock of the meaning of existence, freedom, wealth, justice, fairness and legacy.

Lack of Vision

While most people actually wish for essentially similar things, humanity is confronted with a lack of common vision, distorted value systems, unsuccessful models of government, a poorly educated and misguided population and, above all, bad leadership. Faced with challenges and threats of reason, meaning, ethics, conflict and survival, we seem to be losing the battle for the future. What should we do to reverse the trends? We clearly see the effects, but what are the causes?

Let's take a look at Dani Rodrik's research on the impact of individual and group interest on global changes. According to the well-known Harvard professor, the current crisis is definitely caused by politicians and interest groups. They have created an environment in which the rich and powerful get what they want, and everybody else suffers the consequences. Financial legislation is tailored to the interests of the banks; health policy is tailored to the interests of insurance companies; taxation favors the rich; labor laws favor employers. Governments are just transmissions; everything is decided elsewhere. American politicians have long believed that what is good for the Wall Street must be good for the economy, politics and the society. The leaders of what we like to think of as the Free World have blindly followed the idea all along. And now it's coming back like a boomerang and hitting us all in the head.

Who should be blamed for the actual crisis, then? Bad and deceitful politicians, selfish interest driven power structures, corporations? For most analysts, the primary suspect is the financial infrastructure, and a lack of public control and regulation thereof. Instead of servicing the economy, it has become its master, a tail waving the dog. Instead of an artless and austere infrastructure, providing money to business, it has been turned into an elaborate gambling machine, a sick combination of London Stock Exchange and a Casino in Monaco. As if, when you want to withdraw 100 euros from an ATM, the payoff is delayed by an offer: Double or nothing! The system, originally intended to provide individuals, industry and the economy with a flow of necessary money and credits, evolved into a sophisticated playground for gamblers, speculators and profiteers. Continuously inventing options, funds, derivatives and other "innovations" to play irresponsibly with risk, financial institutions have created a morbid world of instant, often undeserved, gain and loss. As an outcome, speculation (not prudence) was proclaimed a virtue and greed (instead of living within one's means) have become the norms of life.

This all happened with full government support and was fueled by unconstrained consumerism, so called Domino effect of materialism: "The more things I possess, the

more things I want, until I become their prisoner.” The spirit of consumerism turned the rich into filthy rich and exposed the rest to potential borrowers’ slavery. The concept of the “free market” has become a tool to carry out a coup against individuals and society as a whole. For decades, politicians and bankers have managed to gamble away the government budget. At whose expense? Who won, and who lost?

The state of our economy and society is based on the prevailing values; we always try to do what is considered right, good, useful, correct, and acceptable. People behave according to their beliefs. That’s why a multinational company, faced with a decline in profits, may decide to downsize and lay off workers, moving its production lines to countries with cheap labor; or it may adopt a strategy to invest in work force training in order to increase their loyalty and competence, which, in turn means more innovation, lower costs and higher quality. It all depends on the beliefs shared by the owner and the top management. Likewise, political leaders could decide to increase their impact by honoring a selected bunch of obedient followers, or by promoting reforms and democratic changes. Again, it all depends on what the politicians believe in.

In order to solve its economic problems, a country can try to build up its export capabilities (like China), or develop a despotic system relying on repression and strong army (like the Middle East). Again, it entirely depends on the ruling ideology, norms, perceptions and beliefs. For example, we could jokingly say that socialism never took root in North America because the poor saw themselves not as an exploited proletariat but as temporarily embarrassed millionaires. Simply stated, if we want to change the behavior, we must first change the perceptions, norms, beliefs and values.

The “Solutions”

As usual, the depth and length of the existing crisis bring around a growing number of prophets who know exactly what needs to be done. The only problem is that they are in mutual disagreement. Should we increase savings or stimulate consumption? Should the monetary surplus be directed to public investment or used to lend wings to private sector and entrepreneurship? Should we refine, or abandon, the concept of liberal capitalism? Is the expected economic turning point going to be a result of stronger or weaker government regulation? Is a more rigid monetary policy needed, or we should advocate controlled inflation? Some think that monetary policy is the key; others rely on the fiscal policy magic. While some stress the importance of subsidies for entrepreneurs, others are against any subsidy because it interferes with free initiative.

There are economists who believe in market forces like in a fairytale. The only problem is the pressure of powerful interest groups, trying to impose their goals (e.g., oil and military industry, banks, insurance companies, the multinationals). If we somehow manage to get rid of the villains, we are going to live happily ever after. Less naïve economists predict and wish for the end of the free market, and still others think that only globalization can enable it to operate to its full potential. No wonder the public is totally confused!

The main originator of all the global economic and political problems is the present “culture” characterized by lack of morality, abundance of consumerism and greed,

obsession with profit and growth, resulting in a huge gap between the rich and the poor.

Or maybe not? Haven't we always been victims of double morality; we are accustomed to believe in dreams and live in harsh reality; we keep preaching heaven and go on practicing hell. It has always seemed strange that the things we admire in men, kindness and generosity, openness, honesty, understanding and feeling, are the concomitants of failure in our system. And those traits we detest, sharpness, greed, acquisitiveness, meanness, egotism and self-interest, are the traits of success. And while men admire the quality of the first, they love the produce of the second.

The time has come for the Next Europe to end these double standards and start building a new "culture," based on positive values.

There is a growing public concern about an erosion of ethical behavior, a lack of mutual confidence, trust and search for truth in both political and business environments. For example, just one in five (18%) Britons trust politicians to tell the truth, compared to 21% trusting journalists and bankers. Free market ideology has reduced all relationships to transactions based on selfish interest. All values have been broken down to customer's choice and the resulting price. Oscar Wilde used to say that cynical people know the price of everything but the value of nothing. Have we all become cynical? We own more things than ever, but somehow, we managed to lower the value of all our belongings, and the same happened to the meaning of life.

In times of amoral behavior, the free market of goods, labor, and ideas might become a source of total lack of freedom. Everything gets measured by the law of supply and demand; hence, everything is for sale and can be bought. If you have enough money, you can buy position, power, job, love, justice, health, youth, sport result or verdict. Money can get you out of any trouble. Everything has become an object of trade, and the resulting corruption shows what happens when people start losing dignity, when her majesty Money, the lord of consumption, becomes the absolute ruler. In such an environment, it is quite normal that the best entertainer, athlete, or movie star makes a thousand times more money than the best teacher, educator, doctor or scientist, simply because such ratio is an outcome of the free market, in other words, it reflects the supply-demand relationship.

How did it all happen? Free market and democracy assume morality of all people involved, and the system is, in principle, incapable of controlling the bad guys. At the same time, the politicians who should be taking care about the bad guys, more often than not get connected and networked with them, openly or covertly promoting their interests. As we all know, without financial support from the bad guys, it is virtually impossible to get elected to any important political position. That's why, as already pointed out, the majority of the world's population tends to distrust politicians and authorities. But people need leaders and role models. In search of the lost values they either become cynical, or start to incline to the spiritual leadership of strong individuals like the Pope, Sai Baba or Dalai Lama. Again, it reflects the distorted value system.

One can wonder what happened to the good old fair-play, solidarity, concern for the weak, honesty, humility, modesty, honor and integrity. As pointed out by William

Shakespeare, “if I lose my honor, I have lost myself.” Have we managed to lose ourselves without even noticing?

Need for “Refolution”

We must remember that the value systems come with the official ideology and mindset; they are simply the concepts and truths accepted by the majority of people in a given space and time. The paradigm we have implicitly accepted says that we are living in capitalism and democracy, the best of all possible worlds. Is it really still the best?

Even though the free world is fully dedicated to the concept of democracy, there is a growing discontent with bureaucratized and corrupt political elites and parties. We seem to witness a crisis of democratic institutions as well. More and more people start questioning the mantra that our democracy is perfect — the only problem is its occasionally imperfect functioning. Ask yourself; is any system really good if it does not function properly? As far as the critics are concerned, our democracy looks more and more like a travesty, spoiled by populism, group interest, political lies, and manipulation with and by the media. A lot of empty words used to create strong emotions! Whenever there are no solutions to burning problems, the politicians initiate a witch hunt. The left-wing radicals blame capital owners, managers and employers. The right-wing radicals accuse immigrants and vulnerable ethnic groups. Even the moderate political parties try to find their place in the sun by initiating a dispute between the unions and the employers, or by creating tensions between the public and the private sector. Some blame the government for inefficiency and corruption, or public enterprises for monopolist position and lack of effectiveness. The others think that the sources of all problems are irresponsible corporations.

The intellectual elites are united only in the idea that the greatest responsibility lies on the shoulders of politically illiterate voters. They are to be blamed for the politicians they elected. As ironically stressed by George Bernard Shaw, democracy guarantees only one thing; we are never ruled better than we deserve. Or, more drastically, democracy is when many incompetent vote for a few corrupt. Do we want to continue living in such an environment, or should we opt for better leaders and more balanced values?

Democracy assumes that the majority is always right. However, we know that all progressive changes in human history have been initiated by minorities. The existing paradigm first gets questioned by the better educated, informed and skilled minorities. They come up with new ideas and innovation, and they are the first to advocate necessary changes. For a while, the conservative majority resists, trying to keep the status quo. Eventually, they get persuaded by arguments, or simply lose the ability to oppose. Only then, the change takes place and we start living a new, better and more progressive paradigm. Are we witnessing one of those historic moments of growing awareness that the new bottles can no longer hold the old wine? How can we recognize the final years of an existing paradigm?

Day by day we get little signs and hints, telling us that change is unstoppable. At first, we notice a growing number of angry individuals followed by unrest, strikes, street

fighters. Eventually, it all grows and takes a shape of coups, big protests, frequent regime changes, falling governments, global revolutions... Ugh, we all hope it doesn't happen that way. Revolutions? No! God forbid!

Do we have ideas to guide us? The old fashioned concepts like socialism, communism, and even traditional capitalism have become meaningless; the ideologies have failed and betrayed us. We need a system able to focus on individual well-being and pursuit of happiness. A struggle to preserve capitalism must become an opportunity to search and find better, more adequate economic and political models. However, we lack proper visions. The actual political, cultural and business elites don't have a clear picture of what the future should look like. There are neither goals nor directions.

What do we really need? What should the Next Europe look like? We need a society dedicated to production, and not speculative activities; we need responsible financial sector, supervised by politics and the whole society, able to support entrepreneurs and startups. We need a new global governance, focusing on clean energy and ecology. We need reforms to restrain consumerism, and question the paradigm in which free consumers' choice dictates all business policies and structures. The economy is too serious and too important to rely solely on a distorted logic of the consumers' society.

New Paradigms

As far as economics is concerned, we need a new interdisciplinary paradigm relying not just on numbers and models, but on history, psychology, sociology and political theory. Instead of quantitative economics, some authors offer a concept of participatory economics ("Parecon"), a democratic and harmonious search for a balance of interests between government, employers and workers. The first key word is participation of all stakeholders in setting goals, as well as in making sure they are attained. The second key word is harmony. We need an economy and society able to overcome the conflict based and anarchic nature of capitalism, and shift its focus from competition, growth and profit towards well-being and happiness for all.

Risking an oversimplification, I offer you a cute example from the colonial past. An African tribe was just taught to play football by a group of British soldiers. The first game they ever played last until dark. The Brits told them they should finish and go home. We cannot, answer the Africans; it is not a tie game yet. No one deserves to leave the football field unhappy. Can you imagine the world being run by such happiness-for-all value system? Should the old Europe lead the way?

Changes are, obviously, necessary and should start as soon as possible. But are individuals, corporations, countries, political parties and power elites ready to accept changes and replace the existing economic and political model with a new one? The more we delay the reforms and changes, the higher will be the human and social cost. Some philosophers suggest there is an analogy between the actual state of the developed world and the demise of monarchism. One after another the kingdoms disappeared and, from the mainstream idea, the monarchy gradually became a marginal concept. Something similar could happen to modern capitalism and the way it runs the economy and society. The best case scenario is a well-planned reformation, a set of reforms with a revolutionary goal to build "new capitalism," a system which is

not a master of economy, politics and individual freedom but a slave, ready to serve them. The worst case scenarios involve varying degrees of massive violence.

Each year the Global Competitiveness Report is published, presenting a list of countries ranked by competitiveness, defined as the ability of a given country to create economic growth. The 2015 report deals with 144 countries, placed in three groups. There are (1) Factor-driven Economies) (2) Efficiency-driven Economies and (3) Innovation-driven Economies.

In the future we might need the fourth group: Sustainable growth and personal happiness driven economies. While the three differ from one another based on the key source of economic growth and profit making, I offer the fourth to emphasize the most important goal of any successful economic system: sustainability and pursuit of happiness. Should this be the goal of the Next Europe?

You may be a little suspicious. Why do we need new goals and new methods to measure success? Traditionally, all countries are ranked by GDP (Gross domestic product) per capita or by PPP (Purchasing power parity) per capita. The latter is a technique used to take into account the relative value of currencies. There is a growing concern that GDP and PPP may not be the best tools to measure success of a given economy or society. Basically, they measure just the amount of possible spending (or consumption) per person. It stems from a belief that money is the most valuable resource, and that there is a monetary equivalent to anything that has value.

Driven by such logic, the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) uses a concept of better life index. It was proposed by a group of Nobel Prize winners asked to search solutions “beyond GDP.” The Beyond GDP initiative is about developing indicators that are as clear and appealing as GDP, but more inclusive of environmental and social aspects of progress. For example, instead of measuring how much people produce and consume, we may decide to measure the overall quality of life, namely how happy and satisfied they are.

Traditional tools measure success as growth of GDP, which is nothing but purchasing power increase. Many argue that the better target would be the increase in happiness and elimination of poverty. Sociological studies show that, when a country reaches 15.000 US\$ per capita, individual happiness no longer depends on personal income and earnings. For example, despite constant growth of GDP per capita in most Western countries during the last five decades, the happiness index has not increased. On the contrary! For example, in 1935 only 2% of the USA population under the age of 35 suffered from depression; today it is almost 14%. During the last fifty years the most developed countries experience a steady growth in suicide rates, alcohol and drug abuse, mass murders and terrorist activities. Alcohol and drug addiction, as well as violence, are nothing but the blow-off valves, reflecting the growing dissatisfaction and depression. So is consumerism. You are feeling bad and depressed? Go to a shopping mall! There, you will spend money for things you don't need, just to show off in front of people you don't care about!

Why are we not happy, even though we are richer and have more things? The reason lies in the dominant values. Success and status are overstated and, at the same time, there is a decrease in mutual respect, trust and esteem. For example, in 1960 over

60% of grownups in The United Kingdom had “trust in other people.” Last year, there were only 30% of people trusting others. The free market practice has imposed a market-based attitude upon the whole society. Everything is looked at from supply and demand, profit, wealth and growth perspective.

In principle, a society based on competition, permanent conflict and the Darwinian survival of the fittest is not harmonious and healthy. It pushes the less successful into depression. It forces companies to do whatever it takes to make profit and growth, be it cheap child labor, wars to protect economic interests, or ecologically disruptive resource utilization. It makes the whole society insensitive to a growing gap between the rich and the poor, and leads to an overall lack of humanity and solidarity.

How long can we tolerate the fact that one in six citizens in most developed countries suffers from depression or mental disease, while at the same time, one in six kids in the poorest countries dies from malnutrition?

In most countries the growing social separation has melted down the so called middle class. It is not only an important economic, but also a serious political issue. The middle class is a stabilizer of negative trends within a society. Also, it is the key source of public pressure, demanding economic and political reforms. The ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle used to call the middle class the fundament of any stable state, and this has become one of the principles of Scandinavian socialism. Countries without a strong middle class tend to suffer from deviations of democracy like widespread corruption, oppressed minorities, various forms of tyranny, even the emergence of dictatorships.

The middle class is a proud and organized group of educated people with social status, ready to resist bad leaders, corrupt governments and inefficient bureaucracies. They are not easily manipulated and they strongly advocate democratic rights, fairness and justice. The middle class is like a conscience of the society. It is the basis for recruiting politically organized citizens. In order for people to engage in politics, or in non-government organizations, and be ready to fight for ideas and ideals in the political arena, they must be economically independent. A fear for survival and everyday struggle for existence are the best fuel to power up the engines of dictatorship and despotism. That is the main reason why, despite the growing resentment for political elites and the unequal distribution of wealth, most common folks are still not ready to protest and publicly question the regime. Demonstrations, strikes and protests are not rare, but they are not populated because, in our selfish society, they are organized to protect interest of particular groups, for example in cases of massive layoffs, and occupational or trade rights violation. One after another, the interest-driven groups roam the streets in protest, the unemployed, the retired, students, veterans or workers in businesses that went bankrupt. Perceived as a fight for particular interests, such protests or strikes have no tendency to attract “masses.” And without strong pressure from below, we cannot expect any “revolutionary” movement to take place.

Common people are afraid and disoriented. The middle class seems to be weaker than ever. The intellectual elites are not willing to fight and have no clear agenda! Who will start the revolution? Can it be the individuals with vision and leadership skills, coming

from political parties, or from global social networking? Are there such people? A loud minority to ignite the silent majority?

Next Europe in Search of Harmony

I have recently published a book on that topic, titled “In Search of Harmony in a Disharmonious World” (Algora Publishing, New York, 2014.)¹. The book is dedicated to the leaders of change. Without vision and action, initiated by such leaders, sooner or later we can expect the street unrest, and in such case nobody can predict the type and direction of changes. To avoid that, we need leaders who are really dedicated to genuine public and national interests, and not just chiefs of political or business tribes fighting over power. Their main task must be to start a peaceful and continuous reformation, a reform from within. But it seems there are no such leaders and no new visions in sight. How come?

We know there are politicians and there are statesmen. The main concern of every politician is to win the next elections; the key goal of a statesman is to find solutions for the burning issues and to lead the country toward its long-term success. The contemporary political arena is filled with politicians, and the statesmen are scarce. Why? In modern democracies the political life is organized in such a way to force the party leaders think and behave as politicians, not as statesmen. Their primary concern is to remain in power, if they have won elections, or to gain power if they have lost it. How can they succeed? By obeying the rules called populism, seduction of the masses, expensive public relation strategies, political dealership, quid pro quo tactics, and false promises. What they should not do? They must never hurt any key power structure and interest group, they should never rock the boat, even when it is filled with water and obviously sinks. They often promise change, but they rarely deliver. The less they do, the higher are their chances to remain in power. The devils we know are always better than the angels we don't know. No wonder most politicians are faceless bureaucrats, working hard to preserve the state of affairs. That may be a good strategy in times of harmony, stability, success and progress. But the actual environment is characterized by the opposites: it is instable, disharmonious, locked in place and lacking success. The political and economic arena is in search of people who are able and ready to walk the talk of change.

Yes, the existing system should not be managed but changed. Maybe, for the first time in human history, we have a chance to make the change globally. Why is that? The Next Europe can become a model for the Next World.

We are surrounded by global communication systems, global ecological problems, global economic issues and global political challenges. Managing such an integrated environment calls for a holistic approach, a global vision, and a unified strategy. Exposed to a growing risk of global catastrophe, we need a clear definition of common goals and establishment of efficient mechanisms to reach them. So far, the process of globalization has ignored the need for political and social responsibility, the excuse

¹ <http://www.algora.com/449/book/details.html>

being that no global goals are unattainable, because there is no Global Government, since no country wants to give up its sovereignty.

What are the answers to that dilemma? One is a growing cosmopolitan attitude, built on the idea that we all travel the spaceship Earth. In principle, cosmopolitanism means gradual withering away of national states and governments. Globalization of democracy and markets is already taking place. It's time for a democratization of markets and globalization. That process should rely on a new moral vision of society and community in which any symbiosis between Capital and Politics would seem unnatural, and completely undesirable. That symbiotic relationship has proven to be a key to all the evils and should be destroyed. At the same time, politics must find a proper distance from the strategic goals of powerful corporations and interest groups; it must cease to service the multinationals, and to promote their economic interests at the expense of individuals and society.

The crisis and prolonged recession are a springboard for both, individuals and societies, to jump high, to adopt innovative ideas and to try out original approaches. We need new politics, tailored to the needs and welfare of all citizens. We need new economics, aligned with ethics, aimed at redistributing the wealth in such a way to reduce poverty and provide all people with decent and dignified life conditions. We need a new government, dedicated to sustainable growth, preserved environment, renewable energy, lower pollution, and recycling. We need new leaders, able and ready to fight for a new, better and more harmonious world.

Redefine the Concept of Learning

Where does the battle for the new paradigm start? Most likely, it's the educational system. Today, all countries have developed an elaborated infrastructure aimed at teaching, indoctrinating, training and educating individuals, starting from an early age until retirement. Is this system working properly? Do we get necessary knowledge, skills and attitude to become change agents?

Let us start with a simple question: How much of what we learn is ever useful in real life? Seven years ago, my University performed a research involving a portion of nearly 50.000 alumni of the School of Economics and Business. The reply to the above question was: between 8 and 12%. Simply stated, on the average only 10% of what our students learn during their college education was ever useful in real life. And my school, one of the oldest and most influential in the whole region, is not an exception; similar results have been obtained from studies in different countries. This fact is really disturbing. The schools as we know them, are lacking real output quality. Any system that produces only 10% of useful output should be considered a total failure!

What should be done? Albert Einstein use to say that we cannot solve a problem with the same thinking that created it. Thus, the first step is to redefine the concept of learning.

What does the starting point for the necessary education revolution look like? The issues we are trying to address here are not new. Mark Twain used to say that he had never let his school interfere with his education. Albert Einstein expressed his opinion on the matter like this: It is a miracle that curiosity survives formal education. An

inventor is simply a fellow who doesn't take his education too seriously, is the sentence attributed to Charles Kettering. Margaret Mead's comment on education could be summarized in the idea that people must be taught how to think, not what to think.

Not so long ago, education was a boutique, and now it has become a cheap chain store. Every boutique tries to be unique, while cheap stores look alike. Hence, education has lost its innovative uniqueness and gained bureaucratic impersonality. It happened gradually because the goal of most educational and training activities is to teach administrative procedures, rules and well-structured approach that can be repeated and replicated. The very nature of such education is to "produce" administrators (pedantic followers, obedient executors) and not change masters (leaders or innovators).

Redefine Corporations

Some ten years ago Peter Drucker wrote that "the corporation as we know it, which is now 120 years old, is not likely to survive the next 25 years. It should survive legally and financially, but not structurally and economically." The management guru perceived corporations, government bureaucracies and most other institutions (including schools and universities) as old-fashioned organizations based on fear. They have developed strange concepts like cubicles, and standard operating procedures. The rigid hierarchies have bosses and teams appointed by senior management, and the goal attainment is based on command and control. Working within such environment causes alienation and depression.

In a society and economy dominated by knowledge, we need new "corporations." Instead of organizations based on fear, we should build organizations based on love. The traditional corporations have been developed in times of hard physical work. Today, most employees are knowledge workers. Their source of motivation is not control and fear, but love for what they do, a feeling of accomplishment and self-fulfillment. Brain-based organizations need a new value system, aligned with passion, enthusiasm, taste for life, engagement, commitment, great causes, and determination to make a difference. The students and workers of the future must be trained for shared adventures, bizarre failures, and appetite for change. Otherwise, why bother?

Truth be told, most corporations are nothing but inhuman hierarchies, resembling concentration camps. Based on rigid plans, often absurd rules, fear of bosses, constant control, obedience and punishment, they are everything but desirable places to work, enjoy and be passionate about. We need new, Internet-like environments designed to support new values, creativity, innovation, and change. In traditional hierarchies, for one thing, the boss is there to catch employees in what they do wrong. We need organizations with bosses who catch the subordinates in what they do right!

Organization of the future should be built on love, friendship, candor and integrity. Imagine a world in which all students, teachers, employers, employees, politicians, bosses and workers are educated and trained to tell the truth, keep a promise, take responsibility, admit mistakes, abide by the rules, win the right way, enjoy life with humor, joy and humility. If you think that's impossible, remember that every crazy idea is considered totally insane until it wins.

Since the beginning of human history there are people who see the world as it is and ask why. We need people who see the world as it could be and ask why not! At present, there are no visions of real change, and there are no concepts and principles on which such a change should stand. Hence, the real problem lies in the fact that politicians and governments (not to mention educational institutions) don't search for new paradigms; instead, they engage in cosmetic changes of the existing one.

Reinvent Leadership Values

They say everything is allowed in love and war. Many believe that the same applies to politicians and business executives. They are powerful and mighty, their decisions can change our life and destiny. The way our political and business world is structured puts a lot of responsibility in their hands. Do they deserve it? Can they cope with it? Are they, as should be expected, made of the best human material?

Some leaders are oppressive and aggressive, capable of destroying themselves and their teams while trying to achieve their goals. Others are prepared to serve the people they lead, ready to search for long-term solutions based on mutual harmony.

There are two opposing leadership styles; there are traditional bosses, and there are true leaders. In order to make as clear distinction as possible, I offer a set of metaphors. Traditional bosses resemble old-fashioned parents. Instead of trusting their children, they act like supervisors. Convinced that nobody would do anything right without close monitoring, they build their authority on rigid control. Strict orders, total obedience and use of force are very much to their modus operandi. They are also accurately described as officers, judges, animal tamers, or bookkeepers. Like police officers, they seek unconditional obedience just because they represent the law and order. Like army officers, their authority may never be questioned. Their role is to give orders and ask for subordination, no matter what. Like judges, they pronounce a verdict that must be respected; the authority of justice is not to be questioned.

Traditional managers are like slavers, or wild animal tamers; in dealing with people, they gladly use a moral whip and easily hurt the feelings of their subjects. Resembling bookkeepers, they are focused on figures and dislike faulty human nature. They always prefer a nice balance sheet over employee satisfaction; and they would never trade short-term goals and the bottom line for long-term harmony and good interpersonal relationships.

Traditional leaders believe in formal authority and obedience. They dislike opinionated workers; they don't respect people and tend to achieve results through strict control, punishment for negligence and the use of formal power and authority whenever necessary.

New, harmony-based leadership calls for different metaphors. A modern boss should, above all, be a good coach. He must put the interpersonal harmony on the top of his list, even at the expense of short-term results. The boss is trusted because everybody feels his love and appreciation. The leader-coach cares for us, and does his best to turn us, metaphorically speaking, into world class athletes. Motivation is on the top of his agenda; he praises, encourages, supports and develops. He may even hurt or

punish us, if such behavior would make us change for the better. In any case, he would treat his team like a parent who adores his children and wishes all the best for them.

A good leader is like a symphony conductor who knows how to inspire his business “orchestra.” Classical managers say: I expect you to play that (do it) as stated in the score (business plan) and that is all. I expect good work because you are professionals. On the other hand, a leader-conductor must be able to inspire his orchestra and enable all individuals to give as much as possible, and more. A leader-conductor is not only going to get the job done. He intends to inspire us to play his vision. And, if he does, we do our very best and try very hard to please him. To a traditional boss, we give only as much as required, while a true leader usually gets from us more than we believe we are capable of giving.

A harmony-based leader is a catalyst, able to speed up the process of change (e.g., to enter new markets, to implement new organization, to introduce new information technology). He is like a midwife, helping us “give birth” to change as painlessly as possible. Like a strategic-harmony-seeking visionary, he is able to see farther and better than the rest of us, hence we gladly follow. As a person, he dwells on friendship and positive emotions, and we are happy to be in his company.

Many traditional leaders resemble sharks. They are perilous, aggressive and unscrupulous individuals, ready to tear down all the obstacles in the way. They are powerful and dangerous, their goals justify the means. All methods are allowed, even if it means breaking moral and social norms, hurting innocent people or ruining lives and careers.

Not all traditional leaders are like sharks. There is a passive, old-fashioned boss who resembles a catfish. Instead of reacting to changes in the environment, he buries his head in the river bed and waits. Instead of hunting the prey, he prefers to stake out and wait for smaller fish to swim into his mouth. The catfish-boss will occasionally stir up the water, hoping to be better than other fish in coping with the muddy environment. This skill is especially well developed with political catfish.

To this list we could add a swine-fox, a common species among political and business leaders. It's not found in nature, and could be described as corrupt and sly. He attains his goals through fraud. In boxing terms, he is ready to hit below the belt. His tools are political maneuvering and bribery, media hiking, blackmailing, searching for legal loopholes, exploiting system deficiencies and profiting from human weaknesses.

It is difficult to push the analogy to the other side, but let's give it a try. Harmony-based leaders resemble dolphins. A dolphin is an intelligent and spiritualized creature. He exhibits a high level of decency and integrity, and is always ready to play. A leader-dolphin enjoys winning, but does not humiliate nor torment his opponents. He is a team player, ready to help and inspire. He is sociable and elegant. He does not adhere to dishonorable deeds or dirty tricks. He is known to avoid unclean and foggy situations; he lives for today, and thinks about tomorrow; he is ready to work, play and win through joint effort. Metaphorically speaking, we may describe harmonious leadership as a process of transforming sharks into dolphins.

New Moral Architects

Today, just by watching the evening news, we learn on a daily basis about political and business leaders who break or circumvent the law, ignore ethics and twist around all moral norms. For them, it's quite normal to lie, cheat, "beg, borrow or steal." The real problem begins when the public gets used to it and starts accepting it is normal.

It is difficult to achieve harmony without adhering to strong standards of morality and ethics. Not only because it is the right thing to do, or because it feels good, or because ethical behavior improves the society as a whole, but because true leaders are aware that, in the long run, morality produces results, makes a profit and creates value. Besides, every leader is a role model. Therefore, it is important to set a good example.

The moral dilemmas faced by business leaders and politicians are often more complicated and deep-set than perceived by the media and the general public. It is never easy to make seven-and-more digit decisions that have considerable impact on people's destinies, personal wealth, business, and political, scientific and professional careers. Whenever we are unsure what to do, we should go through the list of questions: Is it legal? Will it break any moral law? Will it hurt interests of some groups?

The first question is quite simple: We must never do anything illegal, regardless of how appropriate we think the specific laws concerned (or any political standards) are. Legislation is often bad and insufficient, but as long as the rules are there, we must obey.

The second set of questions is more complicated. Nothing is as natural as the pursuit of justice and fairness. We spontaneously want to achieve satisfaction for all. Nevertheless, someone will have to be hurt as a result of the decisions we make. It is impossible to please everyone, all the time. If everyone is rewarded in accordance with merit, some will be hurt. If everyone is treated equally, only the best and most capable feel abused. By trying not to get anyone mad, and by treating everyone equally, regardless of their contributions, we hurt the most creative and productive people in the organization.

The Female Leadership Era

It is well known that women's impact on consumer spending decisions amounts to 83%. The female influence is highest when buying furniture (94%), choosing a vacation destination (92%), or buying a new home (91%), and lowest when buying new car (60%) or purchasing consumer electronics (51%). However, we still live in a male-dominated world, and being a woman leader is a difficult task — mostly because it consists in dealing with men.

Female emancipation is a recent phenomenon. There are many reasons for the scarcity of women in management positions. They have not been trained as leaders and managers. Also, they are victims of cultural norms, legal restrictions, the power balance and their own indifference or lack of ambition. In most cultures there is a strong division between male and female roles. A woman is too often in a position to be either a housewife (the politically-correct term is home-maker) or a career woman. One of the reasons for the modest representation of women in power structures is their own lack of interest in leadership or managerial career. Interesting enough, male resistance

to female executives is stronger in Europe than in North America. Polls in Italy and the UK show that almost half of men reject the idea of having a female manager.

In principle, female bosses are more focused on organizational relationships and not on action, like most men. Female managers prefer to share power and information, and they encourage participation. Other female leadership qualities include a tendency to develop organizational structures resembling family networking. Women are more understanding of people's emotions and problems, they are able to avoid conflicts and encourage cooperation; they are known for intuitive and emotional

problem solving approaches, and especially for readiness to admit mistakes. All these female leadership traits contribute to more harmonious relationships with less conflict and more personal satisfaction. In addition, women are emotionally stronger and more resistant to frustration at work; they exhibit greater self-control, patience and stability in attitudes. Being more intuitive, women are less prone to fall for superficial effects and it makes them harder to cheat. In principle, men are more naive, and easily become objects of manipulation.

The female bosses are more and more appreciated, both in business and in political life, which makes women the key pool for selecting future leaders. The Next Europe must be fully dedicated to female leadership.

No to Criticism

The European culture is not suitable for harmonious change and genuine resolution. It is dominated by the view: It has to be changed because it's bad. Such a view is responsible for a vicious circle of blame and antagonism towards the predecessors. We explain the need for change by attacking the forefathers and blaming them for the mistakes from the past. It always ends up in fruitless battles, negative energy and perception of change as a problem, rather than as a solution.

We should adopt a different approach: It's good, but should be better". By saying "it's good," we have indirectly praised all who are responsible for it. Therefore, we are not burdened with the past, nor do we let it hold us a hostage. By adding "everything can be better," we have cleared a path for action, calling for an initiative to change the existing system in a natural, hopefully conflict-free way.

The mindset of most newly appointed leaders reads often like this: Some idiots have ruined the system (company, country, project, organization), and now, it's my duty to put everything in order. This is a bad start. It causes unnecessary conflicts with predecessors who feel attacked and insulted. Their most natural reaction is resentment for the new leader, his supporters, his proposals, ideas and actions. A newly appointed leader may have strong reasons to hold former management responsible for having done a poor job. Nevertheless, should he openly express this view, he would instantly be faced with strong resistance from the "former power structures." A wise leader avoids unnecessary battles. Don't do anything disharmonious, if you can avoid it. Whatever you do to others comes back to you.

Life is simply a reflection of your actions. If you want more love in the world, create more love in your heart and your voice. If you want more success in your team, improve their knowledge and skills. This is true for all you do; life will return everything you've

invested in it. Whatever happens to you is not a series of coincidences, but rather a reflection of your actions.

The True Globalism

Today, the most successful leaders are harmonized globalists. Their mindset is based on a proper balance of global and local interests; they support the affirmation of small economies and isolated cultures, but opt for open and fair cooperation. In today's business and political arena, cooperation goes hand in hand with competition. You can use a name for that child of globalization: "Comperation" or "Coopetition", depending on your taste.

Strangely enough, there are at least two great world problems that could force us to act globally for real. One is pollution control. Focusing on harmony with nature should make us appreciate true globalism, because we can never stop polluted air, or water, at the border, asking for customs forms. The same is true for terrorism. If we are not united, it becomes an issue which no nation, army, intelligence agency or police can isolate, fight and prevent. Living in the world of ozone holes, greenhouse effects, suicidal bombers and data pollution, one could wonder whether globalization still has a chance.

Without understanding global trends it becomes increasingly difficult to cope with change on any level, political, economic, business, social or ecological. If the world is really facing catastrophe, as we have repeatedly tried to point out, harmony-based leadership is desperately needed. Only a critical mass of new leaders, as role models for harmonization of global business and political processes, can help us survive. We need a global paradigm shift. However, we see nothing but slow adjustments.

We are in hot water, and it's getting hotter all the time. Meanwhile, in discussions of the problems, we are told that everything is fine, and getting better all the time. At least, we aren't cooked yet. True! Contemporary business and political life are exposed to a gradual value change with respect to leadership style, people's expectations, decision making processes and management practices. The importance of hierarchy is diminishing, and so is the influence of autocratic leadership. There is a growing tendency towards workers' participation and collectivity of all sorts. But are we pleased with such small changes? Do we not deserve to be a little impatient?

There are a number of reasons why leaders should be fully aware of the globalization issues. Today, over 43% of the world's GDP comes from international business activities, organized by multinational corporations. No industry is immune to the influence of international markets. The past decades have been characterized by the tremendous impact of multinationals.

The world is becoming a smaller place. We work in sophisticated international environments in which local success is achieved through global thinking. Prosperity in any line of work could be measurable only through global benchmarking, supported by a global exchange of experiences. To know and understand other cultures, business customs and value systems, helps all countries to avoid isolation and underdevelopment. Pursuing integration allows for better international business and political co-operation. A comparison in global terms provides each leader with the

possibility of evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of his system; it enables him to avoid the threats and benefit from the opportunities on the world market.

Every country is specific; successful management strategies in one part of the globe could be a total failure in another. Success in any business and political environment depends heavily on a good understanding of the local culture and values. Harmonious leaders should cherish and maintain a proper balance between the local and the global. More often than not, it's a vital source of sustainable success.

Leadership and management are deeply culture-based activities. It is virtually impossible to transplant any management or leadership knowledge, practices, methods and principles from one culture to another without having to tailor them to local conditions. Cultural environments differ in everything from measurement of success to definitions of quality and notions of efficiency. A good leader should master globalization trends in parallel with the specifics of a given cultural environment, taking into account global criteria as well as local peculiarities.

Think Positive

The Next Europe needs a lot of positive outlook and optimism. The future is potentially brilliant and victorious for all of us, while the past might make us quarrel endlessly. In a good marriage, the couple enjoys talking about the common future, while in a bad marriage the couple constantly argues about the unfinished past. In planning the future, we must be able to throw away the rear view mirror keep our hands free for the binoculars. Like a cheerleader, the harmonious boss is supposed to encourage his teammates and make them see the future in an optimistic way. If he doesn't look forward to the days to come, what can he expect from the members of his team?

There is an old Croatian saying: If you want to do something, you will find a way; if you don't, you will find an excuse! " Shifting the blame is always easier than rolling up one's sleeves and getting the work done. Instead of facing a challenge, most people build piles of excuses, i.e., the judicial system is bad, and the market is too small, government is unreasonable and international support is just empty words...

Lack of belief in oneself, lack of ambition and low expectations are strong enemies of success in any business/political situation. The winners must be convinced they are the best; they should never cease to believe that. If we are the best, and we fail, it must be an exception. Next time we are going to win, as usual. What if it's the other way around? Losers face every situation with an inferiority complex, expecting things to go wrong. Aiming low, they are pleased with substandard performance. If we get something right, it must be an exception. The next time we are going to lose, as usual.

No one has yet calculated the economic value of optimism, self-confidence, ambition and winning spirit, as opposed to pessimism, inferiority complex, feelings of despair and a loser mentality. No doubt these emotions, as a result of self-perception, strongly influence the bottom line produced by business or political leaders and their organizations.

In order to win out there, you have to win in your mind first! If you feel like a winner and think like a winner, you become a winner! On the other hand, if you surrender before

the game has started, your chances to succeed in business or politics are worth next to nothing.

Less Bureaucracy

We are surrounded by huge and powerful bureaucracies that make our business and private lives efficient and miserable at the same time. Why is that? The human systems are not machines; the behavior of an individual resembles everything but a predictable wheel, always turning as expected and planned. Most of all because we are not run by orders and rules so as much as we are driven by values.

In every organization there is a value system designed to help people understand how they should (not) behave. Typically, the values are closely associated with mission and vision statements. But that is just a “philosophy.” Its implementation is best seen through a set of rules, norms, standards, regulations and other elements of formal organization. It is the “paper” side of any system, a description of the life as it should be. On the other hand, there is the informal, “as is” side of the system, real life, including empirical rules, habits and practice in running the system on a daily basis.

Transitional countries have recently undergone drastic changes in political, business, judicial and value systems. To a certain extent the same is true for the recently united Europe. Unlike the American business and political environment, which is in principle characterized by deregulation, the united Europe has adopted a system of elaborate and strict regulation. The cynics call it hyper regulation. Why? Take a look at the following numbers: Pythagoras’ theorem — 24 words; Lord’s Prayer — 66 words; 10 Commandments — 179 words; US Declaration of Independence — 1,300 words; US Constitution with all 27 Amendments — 7,818 words; EU regulations on the sale of cabbage — 26,911 words.

In Roman law there is an old saying: *Plurimae leges, minima iustitia* (The more laws, the less justice). A huge quantity and high complexity of legal norms create a regulatory forest in which particular trees become hard to notice. The tendency to regulate every aspect of life and work results in lack of freedom and initiative. Most people react like this: There are so many norms, too many to cope with; moreover, some are contradictory, others are stupid and ridiculous; this all gives me a moral right to disobey. This attitude approaches the swine-fox morality described earlier. You stick to the rules you like, and you break the rules you don't like.

A wise leader knows that too many rules cause disorder and disharmony. However, in most cultures it is hard to implement extensive deregulation. As mentioned before, the European Union bureaucracy has spread its elaborated legal web covering all countries in the region. At the same time, the legal systems of the USA and most Asian countries have also reduced their tendency towards deregulation.

Hyper-regulation is based on mistrust; a huge legislative net is knitted to control all of economic, public and private life. Due to its complexity, it becomes inconsistent, lacks logic, and becomes hard to implement. In principle, it stems from the idea that everything is banned, if not specifically permitted. On the other hand, innovation and change require a formal organization with as few rules as possible, leaving enough

room for initiative and freedom. The best formal organization is based on a small number of rules, which are willingly obeyed because they seem logical and acceptable.

Of course, there should be a balance between rules and free initiative. Deregulation leaves room for individual and collective initiative but strongly depends on shared values and norms. In principle, everything should be allowed, if there is no good reason to strictly forbid it. However, many political and business leaders, covertly or overtly, claim that people should not be given rights which could be misused.

We must fight excessive paperwork whenever possible. We should prefer to lean on people who are moral, efficient and capable. Instead of building rigid bureaucracy, we should support and encourage self-organization. Instead of establishing numerous committees and task forces, we must try to let the problems be resolved by open communication, free initiative and a common search for win-win solutions. We should advocate a system which is based on a reasonable number of rules and norms that most people gladly follow and obey. Putting the bureaucratic approach aside, we must send a clear message that we trust the people, not the rules. Instead of bureaucratic procedures, we should rely on interpersonal relationships and communication. Instead of the artificial harmony of a hierarchic corporation, we should engage in building genuinely harmonious human systems based on mutual trust.

Entrepreneurial Europe

Bureaucrats are reactive and attempt to survive, unlike the entrepreneurs who are proactive and development-oriented. Bureaucratic environments, build respect for rules and procedures, while entrepreneurs change the rules in order to achieve results. For breaking a rule you are punished by a bureaucrat but may be rewarded for innovation by an entrepreneur.

Bureaucracies are led by a strong authority aligned with a rigid organizational structure. Leaders-entrepreneurs are tolerant, democratic and flexible, ready to embrace changes whenever necessary. Bureaucratic decision making is based on outvoting, work is done by experience, and the formal hierarchy is fully respected. Entrepreneurial leaders search for consensus, appreciate innovation, reward initiative and support participation in decision-making.

In bureaucratic systems, you are good if the boss likes you; in entrepreneurial surroundings, if the customer likes you. In selecting and hiring employees, bureaucrats respect formal requirements while entrepreneurs prefer talent, ability and demonstrated skills. Trapped within a bureaucracy, capable individuals often have a feeling of lagging behind, while the entrepreneurial environment makes them bloom and grow.

Bureaucratic leaders seek dependent, obedient employees who think the same, act the same, and dress the same. Entrepreneurial leaders prefer independent, imaginative employees. In such systems young people advance quickly while most bureaucratic bosses try to make sure no one gets promoted before his time.

An entrepreneurial principle is to reward results and motivate people to work harder. Bureaucratic systems often reward working time, irrespective of results. Clients and

customers are a nuisance for a bureaucratic system. Customer satisfaction is the paramount goal of true entrepreneurship.

We are supposed to create an atmosphere in which the best, smartest and most capable individuals can give everything they have. They must be recognized and promoted as quickly as possible. The task of a leader is to build an environment open for initiative and entrepreneurship. In order to do it, he must follow a simple rule: Attract the best people, keep the best people, and never lose the best people!

Abundance Mentality

Have you ever watched a buffet table during a reception dinner? Suppose there is enough food for everybody and no dish ever runs out. How do people behave? Very politely! No one would push in line and the table would be surrounded by courtesy and generosity. The abundance mentality prevails, making us all look and behave at our best. Suppose, on the other hand, there is not enough food and all the people around the table are very hungry. A fearful race begins, with elbowing and unscrupulous snatching of a last piece of meat or a cookie. Whoever gets there first puts as much as he can on his plate. The scarcity mentality has taken over, bringing our worst to the surface. But, in principle, it is all in our heads. Our perception runs our behavior. When we think there is a shortage, we become aggressive; we attempt to grab as much as possible, even more than we are able to consume.

A similar behavior is typical for both, business and government. For example, when annual budgets are prepared and an overall cut is expected, everyone inflates the demands beyond any real need. On the other hand, if budget growth is expected, the general feeling of scarcity diminishes and most demands become realistic, even modest.

We should know that any balanced and long-term success depends on our ability to live in harmony with the logic of abundance. To have is not bad, to be able to share is better; to be able to give is the best! Great victories are based on a joint desire to succeed, produce results, and share all gains among members of the team. Business and political victories are long term only if they rely on generous partnership. Instead of fighting over a piece of the existing pie, we must organize to jointly make a larger pie.

The scarcity mentality to certain extent relates to a general level of prosperity. The affluent are less affected than the poor. A quick look at our political and economic situation could shed light on the issue. Unscrupulous struggles for positions, influence and resources are less blatant in successful and rich countries and companies than in the poor and unfortunate ones. Most power shifts in developed countries or companies take place normally, according to a procedure, without fuss, fight or stress. On the contrary, people fight most severely over power, influence and resources in the least developed and backward environments where all these are worth little or nothing.

The political and business culture of most transitional countries is especially sensitive to this dilemma. The scarcity mentality makes people hate those who are rich, because they feel as though somebody took it from them. Those who have less keep talking

about unequal distribution of power, about global exploitation, and world injustice. Most often it means: I want more power, wealth, and influence. In order to have it, I must take it from somebody else. Instead of getting organized to produce new wealth, let's fight to redistribute the existing wealth.

What happens in such a business or political environment? When someone gains control, the first thing he does is to take from those who have (influence, power, responsibility, in some instances even property) and give it to his followers. Instead of mobilizing all human and material resources to create more value, the leader engages in re-distribution and sets the stage for long-term conflicts.

The abundance mentality suggests that no one should be bothered by other people's property, under the assumption that it is acquired in a fair, legal manner. If the most deserving have more, it is better for all of us; they pay higher taxes, create new jobs, buy goods and services from us, and improve the conditions in which we all live and work.

The scarcity mentality builds up conflicts. It makes us envious, stingy and aggressive, creating a poor environment for cooperation of any kind. On the other hand, the abundance mentality is harmonious and balanced. It leaves room for alliances and partnerships, increases motivation for common goals and provides the competitive environment with a touch of co-operation and friendship.

Good deeds are the best investment for the future. A generous leader is always liked, loved, even adored by his followers. As a harmony-based person, he can teach his teammates that success heavily depends on the unconditional and unanimous support of fellow-workers, based on the abundance mentality as well as on mental and physical generosity.

Throughout our business and private life we are surrounded with people and things. In principle, people are made to be loved, and things are made to be used. Maybe the world is heading towards a catastrophe because, more and more, we have a tendency to love things and use people.

Start anew

Starting anew, going back to the beginning, reinventing the job, and changing the approach are typical phrases associated with innovation, reengineering, new business models and process redesign. For example, the twenty-year-old term reengineering describes an activity to design a radically new process or develop a drastically new business model. It indicates big leaps and qualitative changes. Instead of mincing around with small, cosmetic and incremental shifts, people engaged in reengineering try to see a problem differently, in search of new approaches. They are not interested in how something can be done a little better or more quickly or how a process could be slightly improved and the costs reduced a bit. The engineers dig deeper and ask fundamental questions, for example, why is something done in the first place, could it be skipped, ignored, or performed in a completely different way. Just like in the legend of the Gordian knot: instead of trying to disentangle the "impossible" knot, Alexander the Great simply cut it apart with his sword.

In the English language, there are 24 synonyms for the term start anew. It is interesting to analyze their particular meaning because they range from revive, pick up, overcome, return and rejuvenate to kick back, get better, get in shape, return to form and make a comeback. Returning to the beginning and changing the system, instead of improving it, would seem to be an ideal cornerstone of visionary leadership in times of pending crisis, or catastrophe. We need to search for a New Harmony in The old Europe that has lost its balance and its values.

If we want to succeed, we must change. Contemporary business and public affairs, more than ever before, call for leaders who are agents of change and promoters of new ideas. Instead of efficient bureaucrats, masters of survival, tsars of routine and monotony, we need courageous innovators and visionaries ready to demolish the existing and build the new. Doing that, they must be able to change the rules rather than engage in their efficient implementation. More often than not, the established roads and trails are inefficient and lead nowhere. The search for new paths and visions calls for new leaders and new leadership models. Therefore, in business and politics alike, it is no longer wise to dance as your father did, because, as stressed by one Croatian poet, change is the only constant thing in the world.

Search for Consensus

Our business and political cultures are based on the 51:49 principle. If I am a majority shareholder I can run the company as I wish; I couldn't care less what the remaining 49% think. They must dance to the tune I play, because I have the majority to back me up. The same applies to politics. If my party holds a majority of the seats in Parliament, I have the power to crush the opposition and the right to ignore all their ideas, suggestions and proposals.

It seems so natural to make decisions by counting the votes. Hence, the 51:49 principle has become the accepted mental framework, allowing any majority to legally terrorize and oppress any minority. After getting approval by the half-plus-one, most business people and politicians choose to act as though the minority doesn't exist. Poor guys, they are below 50%. A bunch of losers! People in control of 51% of stock behave as though they own 100% of the shares. Parliamentary majorities often act as if 100% of the population voted for them.

However, to win by counting the votes, does not mean you can make “the losers” change their mind. They still think the same, only now they are both outvoted and upset, because the majority decision has made their opinion unworthy. The effects of the majority voting are easily explained by elementary physics. We know that force has both magnitude and direction, making it a vector quantity. Suppose that 51% members of a group want to go left, and the remaining 49% prefer to go right. The situation is similar to two forces with almost the same magnitude, but with the opposing direction. The resultant vector equals their sum or $51 + (-49) = 2$. Therefore, the force available to push the whole group to the left equals to only 2%. The remaining “energy” is spent standing still, as in a tug of war game. We could say that 49% (out of 51%) of those who want to go left must pull the 49% who are “against,” and want to go right. The outcome is an enormous waste of energy.

To let any majority mechanically outvote the minority is always bad and should be avoided. Instead, a dialogue should be initiated, in an attempt to reach the common ground, harmony and full agreement. Consensus decision-making simply means that the group decision is based on a consent of all participants. In a nutshell, consensus is harmony, outvoting is conflict. Majority rule is quick and inefficient; consent is slow but highly effective. The Next Europe needs consensus!

Win-win

In order to succeed together, we must shift our attention away from the things that make us disagree and towards our common interest. Just by carefully listening to the other side and taking into consideration their arguments, we may get closer to a harmonious solution, one that could make us all win. If there is no such a solution, we can at least try to settle on one that is close enough. The aim of this process is to provide common benefit and ensure mutual victory.

The common optimum is often possible, but most of the time we don't search for it. Instead, we insist on our proposal and want our solution to be accepted no matter what. Such an attitude is deeply rooted in the common belief that "in order for one to win, the other must lose." The strong always beat the weak and manage to impose their will. The powerful crush the powerless; the rich exploit the poor. It's the natural state of affairs. It's a principle against which we cannot do anything. Or maybe we can?

We believe that it's quite normal that the big, the strong, the powerful, and the rich are supposed to win, and the small, the weak, the powerless and the poor are destined to lose. This very attitude prevents us from solving most of the political and economic problems in the present Europe. Whenever the powerful decide not to listen to the powerless, whenever the rich decide not to cooperate with the poor, whenever the polluters don't choose to speak a common language with those who care about the environment, whenever individual members of any group decide to win instead of searching for the common good, the global catastrophe is getting one step closer.

The Win-Win behavior is harmonious and ethical, but that's not the main reason why we should stick to it. In the long run a search for harmony reduces conflicts, increases a sense of unity, stops unreasonable competition, enables joint victories, eventually pays off and proves to be more efficient for all. Of course, it is easier said than done. Also, it is much simpler to do it within a finite team than on the global level.

Even though, in everyday business practice, there are situations in which it is difficult, at times impossible, to find common optimum, it is always useful to give it a try. The essence of the Win-Win approach is a voluntary search for solutions that make everybody happy.

The use of Win-Win logic in resolving conflict situations seems to be growing. The approach is successfully implemented in companies to resolve strategic discrepancies, or problems between departments. It is also applied in government-employers-trade union negotiations. It may be a basis for modern customer relationship systems, successful business partnerships and relations with the general public.

However, there are some among the rich, the powerful, and the strong who seem to have no interest in giving up. It will most likely remain so in the short run. But what

happens when everyone's luck changes? Will the poor, the powerless and the weak be generous, once they get control over things?

Learn from the Critics

The world of contemporary European political and business leadership is full of inflated egos, and they demand unconditional loyalty, flattery, courting, and obedience. Such leaders, of course, end up surrounded by people who are pleasers and flatterers, lacking identity, integrity and opinions of their own. They believe that their task is to praise the great boss, cherish his person and celebrate his every act and deed. Yes, we all know that human vanity is in constant search of people who nod their heads in approval, who shower the leader with unconditional support as well as with unquestionable acceptance. Such adoration makes a boss feel greater, better and more successful. But it leads to disharmony in the long run.

In a harmonious culture of the Native Americans, the idea of erecting a statue of a leader, or carving the likeness of his face into the rock, or even naming the mountain after him would have been unthinkable. All these actions honor the ego of the leader, and true leaders should act in the spirit of humility. It is not their name that is important but the impact of their actions on the seventh generation.

A true leader must rise above the need to be admired, flattered and fully supported. True fellowship means that there are two independent individuals. Everything else is "followship." Quite true, being surrounded by think-alikes suits your ego and creates a climate of eternal partnership. However, such followship is fragile and unstable. Followers may be loyal to any leader and they might leave you as soon as you are no longer the boss.

That's why we must not let our ego get tied to our position. When the position is lost, the ego goes with it. We must not encourage a lack of criticism, sucking up and other bureaucratic inventions where position means everything and human integrity counts for nothing. Instead, we must encourage an honest debate, exchange of views and open criticism. We must create a climate in which all ideas are analyzed by good judgment and common sense, regardless of who presented them.

Many leaders pay consultants high fees in order to find out what is wrong with them, with their teams and their organizations, and what should be improved. Isn't it foolish then, to turn down free consulting and free consultants, regardless of their initial intentions? After all, it is completely up to you to decide whether criticism should make you angry and nervous or help you develop your full potential and enable you to grow into a great leader.

Praise the Good

One of the important values of the Next Europe is to make sure that all the talent is used to its full potential. Doing what they do best all the time makes people happy and efficient. But only if the boss keeps noticing, praising and rewarding their efforts and their results. Consequently, leaders should learn how to catch people in what they do best. It allows the Motivator to achieve all the positive goals listed in this book with less effort. The trouble is that very few organizational systems are designed to implement such an approach. Instead of the positive, they focus on the negative!

Whatever you do at work, the feedback from your teammates, and especially from your boss, can turn it into a wonderful experience or into a real nightmare. A positive reaction is a prerequisite of better performance and growing enthusiasm! A negative response will cut your wings in half!

There are different ways to provide feedback in different corporate organizational cultures. The boss and his teammates may be accustomed (or trained) to recognize and reward whatever someone does well, so that he can develop and improve. Or they may have a habit of bringing everybody down and systematically ignoring all the efforts and positive results. One of the key features of good leadership is the leader's ability to continuously encourage teammates to "laugh at good jokes" in order to make them even better next time.

Love for Ideas and Creativity

We live in the world of a million ideas. It rests on two things: huge amounts of money, and nice examples of creativity. As Nordstrom and Ridderstralle point out, the Next Europe should be dancing with the brainware.

Mistake-avoiding mentality forces us to play safe and keep us out of trouble and uncertainty. On the other hand, creativity means risk-taking. It is based on trial and error; in most cases it takes many attempts and failures to succeed. No wonder innovative behavior is easily blocked by fear of punishment.

Innovation is always a kind of adventure. Therefore, in an innovative environment, a mistake is the key method of learning and creation. The right to make a creative failure is a catalyst for innovation. If a corporate culture defines errors and requests for help as weaknesses and faults, the employees engage in covering up their weaknesses and the team soon stops learning. A mistake made in an attempt to improve and advance should be rewarded, and any scapegoating should be replaced by analysis of the lessons learned.

Victor Hugo used to say that nothing is stronger than the idea whose time has come. Hopefully it applies to some concepts from this book. Its secret agenda is to serve as a tool to build a critical mass of harmonious leaders. Living in a world burdened with so many problems and issues, we need quite different men and women to change the status quo and lead us into a better future. Otherwise, we are not going to avoid the global catastrophe. Wouldn't it be such a shame to live in the most knowledgeable and the best-informed society ever, and still, collectively, die of ignorance?

Suermann, Harald

I wish a more democratic legitimation of a Government in Brussels and a stronger limitation of the power of national governments. We need a central government and not a club of governments. Only in unity liberty can be guaranteed. The central government must have more power to enforce laws. A weak central government is the ground where egoistic nationalism can grow.

The cultures in different regions must be developed as an enrichment for all people of the Union. Free movement is absolutely necessary, including free choice of places of studies and work.

We need a secular Europe, not secularism. Religions must be free while respecting the rules for the living together. No suppression of religions by secularist movements and laws in order to avoid the increasing of political religions. The European Union must recognize its religious heritage and be open to religious enrichment. The litmus-test of liberty is religious liberty. However religion must not be misused for financial or political aims.

We need subsidiarity, but not a subsidiarity which limits solidarity. The claim of subsidiarity of local powers must not support local egoism but must enrich the cultures of Europe. This is also true for the call for solidarity. Solidarity requires also among states first of all self-help, and then others' help. It is not only on the level of the union, but also on the level of the states and the social systems, that those who ask for solidarity mean often a bigger profit for themselves without giving their own necessary contribution to the social system. This must be finished. Solidarity only for those who practise solidarity.

Schöning, von, Wichard

Die Flüchtlingsfrage sehe ich als herausragende Aufgabe Europas. Schon jetzt zeigt sich, dass die Menschen in Europa Schwung aufnehmen und sich hervorragend engagieren. Die Menschlichkeit steht ganz oben, das Geben überragt das Nehmen. So soll es sein. Die Ängstlichkeit vor den Aufgaben schwindet. Dies auch im Hinblick auf das Restdeutschland 1945/1946. 60.000.000 Bürger nehmen 11.000.000 Flüchtlinge und Vertriebene auf. Später noch 3.000.000 DDR Flüchtlinge. Alle diese Menschen wollten etwas erreichen und haben es erreicht. Wenn man die Gesichter der jetzigen Flüchtlinge sieht, kann man deren Willen von weitem schon erkennen. Sie werden Europa bereichern, von unten anfangen und den Gesättigten den Marsch blasen. Gut so! Selbst als Flüchtlingskind im Frühjahr 1945 geboren, weiß ich von was ich rede. Meine Brüder und ich haben jeden Strohalm ergriffen und jede Chance gewahrt. So haben wir der Gemeinschaft in Deutschland und Europa später viel zurückgeben können.

Fassen wir alle Mut - wir werden es schaffen.

Tötösy de Zepetnek, Steven

Culture Policy, the Integration of (Im)migrants, and the European Union
Preliminary Position Paper re EASA's "Next Europe" project

Tötösy de Zepetnek, Steven

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The rhetoric about the new Europe includes such notions as the "old continent reunited" and the "return of the once European states to the community of European nations." While such and similar perspectives of conviviality serve necessary and given political agendas, the policy makers and scholarship ought to inquire into the state of affairs of the processes and realities of culture in the new Europe. It is this perspective the project is conceptualized from: To investigate the problematics of culture and culture policies comparatively. In the wider context of globalization, culture, culture policy, and the European Union, it is evident that there is a lack of dialogue for a better understanding of a "new" Europe. In particular, political dialogue within the European Union between West and Central and East Europe is lacking and if it occurs, it often takes place in a context of peripherality and exclusion (although the rhetoric is not such).

At the same time, there is of course much activity in many areas and at various levels between East and West Europe, between governments, institutions, in the public sphere, and among individuals acting parallel to political discourse. In addition, while there are many publications including web sites available as compendia of laws and regulations in culture policy issued by governments, there is little to no research available about the actual workings or not-workings of culture policies in the European Union and there is, to my knowledge, nothing available on the actual situation of culture policies in the countries of Central and East Europe. Dissimilar to Central and East European cultures, in West Europe -- according to the norms and standards of respective civil societies -- public intellectuals have great impact on the discourse about culture and this impact often extends to the implementation of specific aspects proposed in culture policy. This, however, prevents in my opinion the process to reach a level of abstraction for expressing such important aspects as the nature of the relations between society and culture. This is evident when the question about precise terminology and taxonomy about culture in the normative vocabulary of civil societies is raised, for example. In turn, it is likely for this reason that the European Union on all levels disregarded the local discourse about culture in the countries of Central and East Europe during the period of consultations for accession.

While it would be an exaggeration to view Central and East European cultures as overwhelmingly nationalist, more often than acceptable decision making is based upon and includes a radically different taxonomy when dealing with the European Union and when dealing with the local electorate and public. One example is when Viktor Orbán (prime minister of Hungary) suggests that it would be not globalization, but Christian values that bind the European Union together: Here we are confronted by not only a provocative statement employing an ideology-specific vocabulary in a speech for the Hungarian public, but at the same time by a parochial agenda reflecting conservative right-of-center values accompanied by an agenda of exclusion of values not considered "Hungarian," thus excluding effectively all minority and ethnic cultures within Hungarian culture. While during the negotiations with the European Union, Central and East European governments proclaim(ed) acceptance of and adherence to European values, concepts, and rules, this acceptance occurs without thorough and

normative discussions with and within the public of their countries. On the other hand, the European Union and many governments of its original member states demonstrate undue paternalistic attitudes towards the cultures of Central and East Europe and thus reinforce continuously the region's in-between peripheral situation. I propose to research a number of issues such as did the negotiations for eastward enlargement lead to a Central and East European exportation of discrepancies with regard to principles of democracy; to what extent did or did not the European Union contribute to or diminish the traditional "in-between peripheral" status of Central and East Europe; what consequences of the discrepancies evident in vocabularies and discourses about culture and aspects of culture policy between the European Union and the new member states can be predicted, etc. Current scholarship in the above areas of inquiry suggest that the integration of Central and East European countries in the European Union is bound to cause cultural shocks for the former and could result in unacceptable levels of intolerant and nationalist sentiments followed by or parallel to government ideologies implemented and this is, among others, the case in the current crisis of migration to Europe.

While it is evident that it is a necessity to improve by public as well as scholarly discourse the understanding and implementation of culture policy in both Western (incl. the south and north in this case) and Central and East European cultures, it is equally important to develop an understanding of the Central and East European landscape(s) of culture and its/their accompanying aspects including culture policy for the European Union in general, for its governing bodies and for its member states in compliance with its governing principles. Hence a research project on aspects of culture policy including education, institutions of education, the role of policy makers, and the integration of (im)migrants would assist us towards developing perspectives of "Next Europe." The results of the research project would also become useful in the context of Civic Education, a particularly important aspect for the EU. It is important to note that my research objectives and work is located within the context of cultural studies, more precisely within comparative cultural studies, a framework and methodology I developed. In other words, I believe to provide for innovation with my approach and the results of the research project to the landscape of scholarship that is located when it comes to culture and culture policy mostly in sociology, political science, cultural anthropology, etc., but which are without focus more often than not on culture and its processes.

Valčo, Michal

Dear colleagues, here are a few of my recent thoughts on the topic of “narrative identity” and the need for a “meta-narrative” if we want to put the shattered pieces of meaning and values together into a livable reality. I hope they provide some stimuli for further discussion. I am eager to be part of this exciting project and to learn from all those involved.

Our personal lives are unique and make sense because each life is a distinct story. Each individual’s personal story is simultaneously intertwined with those of others – primarily family members, friends, colleagues, but also all others who comprise human society locally and globally. Thus, in complex and often unfathomable and unexpected ways, our individual identities are shaping others and being shaped by others in the complex story of our civilization and ultimately our world.

Christians are convinced that our world—the visible and invisible realities of what we call our Universe—is a deliberate unfolding of a grand narrative that starts before the emergence of space and time and continues beyond its physical limits. This grand narrative is the story of creation, redemption, and renewal – a story of salvation conceived of in Trinitarian terms. Christians contend that the created world—all the created realities with their rich expressions of life and beauty including (but not limited to) human beings—derive their dignity and value from the fact that the stories of their lives are parts of a great creation symphony, willed by a loving, just, and powerful Creator.

Such a meta-narrative approach to reality, however, generates its own challenges and is far from being universally accepted today. Following the Enlightenment-era disillusion over medieval Christendom—a politicized form of Christian meta-narrative implemented in medieval Europe from 1000-1600—, Western civilization bet on the power of enlightened reason to build a more harmonious and happier human society. Divinely revealed truth was traded for humanly discerned truth by observation and/or logical deduction. The world as created reality still had a unifying story, only the church, revealed religion, and ultimately God were no longer the primary actors in it. The newly emancipated, rationally thinking human being became their substitute.

Two grand, comprehensive, and yet utterly fatal ideological narratives – Fascism and Communism – ruled the Slovak society (and much of the Central and Eastern Europe) with a ruthless claim on total compliance of the people in 1939-1960 (the Stalinist period in Slovakia). They both relied on ideological education which we should rather call indoctrination by means of propaganda manipulation. They both perceived Christian religion as an unwelcome competition, thus an enemy of the state, and yet, they learned from religion and adopted from it its rituals, projecting their own ‘belief systems’ based on carefully fabricated and constantly reinforced myths (such as, the alleged invincibility of the Red Army). Both ideologies were surviving in a constant state of war against real and imaginary enemies, blaming their own failures on these enemies and/or justifying their austere measures (e.g. the curtailing of individual freedoms) against often mere imaginary counterrevolutionaries. And both of these modern ‘(meta)narratives’ brought about countless dead victims and unfathomable destruction.

To many intellectuals today, Marxism continues to be a desirable secular version of the Bible-proclaimed Kingdom of God, in which the politically emancipated and the new ideology-liberated humanity assumes God's place, and in which salvation consists exclusively of the immanent dimension. In fact, we can observe acute resemblances between Marxism and Christianity, thus perceiving Marxism as a 'Christian heresy'. The fall into sin is replaced by the alienation effected by the division of labor; ruthless critique of religions and philosophies replaces the Christian prophetic struggle against sin; the hope of the coming messianic figure is replaced by the anticipation of the liberating proletariat; etc. "In general ... Marxism follows Christianity step by step in the meta-narrative of creation, fall, redemption and final salvation ... yet without God or the Kingdom of God" (Hinlicky 2010, 326-327).

In the emerging culture of Europe's post-communist countries, the established Christian churches have entered a time of dramatic change. Church representatives are with growing urgency becoming aware of the challenges of secularism (in its diverse forms), as well as those of cultural and religious pluralism, in the recently established environment of freedom and democracy. Instead of political-ideological totalitarianism, our society now has to deal with the tacit but pervasive ideology (or, 'soft totalitarianism') of consumerism and the ever growing manipulation by advertisement companies in the service of businesses and politicians, as well as the inescapable influence of the new 'normative' patterns of behavior, attitudes, and values, represented by the celebrity culture. Once considered an enemy of the state, the Biblical (meta)narrative, i.e. the Judeo-Christian vision of reality, is now widely regarded as obsolete and irrelevant.

On the crossroad of the 20th century, European societies "seem to have lost their former vitality and sense of meaning and have instead delved into a consumerist frenzy and bureaucratic boredom. A technocratic dullness appears to be the preferred solution of the fearful, wretched majority, who choose rather to be submerged into the foul waters of sordidness and indifference" (Valčová 2014, 285). What we are experiencing in the West is a crisis of meaning with an ensuing danger that "the great words with which we have pressed our history onward – freedom, emancipation, justice, happiness – have in the end nothing but an exhausted, desiccated meaning" (Metz 1998, 41).

But how do we develop sound ethical foundations for multicultural societies in Europe today? Can we dilute it down to a common 'respect for life'? Where is the call for forgiveness? Without it the possibility of true reconciliation is lost; where is the promise of hope – the hope that those who died as innocent victims of historical struggles will ultimately be vindicated (Metz 2006, 252-257; 1998, 41-41)? The hope that evil, suffering, and meaninglessness will not have the upper hand in the end? Without such hope people are losing their resolve to carry on, to sacrifice... As Robert Jenson pointed out, "a world that has no story...cannot entertain promises" (Jenson 1993).

As society, we do not seem to be serious about investing time and energy into discovering what moves us as humans, believing we already know the answer: human loves of temporal realities like a romantic relationship, social status, fame and recognition, adrenaline experience, wealth, and power. Yes, our love of these realities and our hate of everything that stands in the way of our desires—which we view as utterly legitimate—are, undoubtedly, incredibly strong motivational forces behind our actions and attitudes. But are they the strongest? Will the satisfaction of these desires truly bring about peaceful happiness and tolerance? Is it truly as self-evident as we

believe it to be that our, that is, a 'Western' socio-political and cultural layout, marked by individual freedoms and a common commitment to respect cultural and religious differences, is the unshakable safeguard for happy and content individuals, and thus for a peaceful society? What if it isn't enough? What if people are, whether they are fully aware of it or not, driven by a higher desire and remain unfulfilled by the temporal securities that the western secular dream is able to offer?

Our world needs a story. Not an unfounded myth but rather a believable story. It needs a viable, realistic narrative, anchored in history and directed to eschaton. Or, more precisely, to an eschatological hope founded on a trustworthy promise. In fact, "the way in which the modern West has talked about human life supposes that an omniscient historian could write a universal history, and that this is so because the universe with inclusion of our lives is in fact a story written by a sort of omnipotent novelist." Meta-narratives have a constitutive function for moral deliberation and action. If moral philosophy abandons its teleological structure provided by a constitutive narrative, it becomes nothing but a forum of inexplicably subjective rules and principles.

The following words of Giovanni Reale could serve as a great source for further reflection on this issue:

"The dominant force in creating a common culture between peoples each of which has its distinct culture, is religion. [...] It is against a background of Christianity that all our thought has significance. An individual European may not believe that the Christian Faith is true, and yet what he says, and makes, and does, will all spring out of his heritage of Christian culture and depend upon that culture for its meaning. [...] I do not believe that the culture of Europe could survive the complete disappearance of the Christian Faith. [...] If Christianity goes, the whole of our culture goes. [...] The Western World has its unity in this heritage, in Christianity and in the ancient civilisations of Greece, Rome, and Israel, from which, owing to two thousand years of Christianity, we trace our descent. What I wish to say is, that this unity in the common elements of culture, throughout many centuries, is the true bond between us. No political and economic organization, however much goodwill it commands, can supply what this cultural unity gives. If we dissipate or throw away our common patrimony of culture, then all the organization and planning of the most ingenious minds will not help us, or bring us closer together."

Christians must develop an authentic public theology may lead us to 'inclusive monotheism' – embracing "a creative and charitable relation to plurality," while affirming the importance of the individual, singular human subject as a unique image-bearer of God. An authentic religious narrative touches upon the innermost aspirations of human beings. Through an existential relationship with God the human subject's integrity and autonomy is authenticated in an attitude (disposition) of trust. Such trust, in turn, becomes foundational for a robust self-awareness of the human person opening them to hope – for oneself and the 'other' – and finally to concrete acts of love (charity).

The task before us, therefore, is intentional cultivation of empathy and charity through education, public debates, and, above all, real projects of service. Concrete projects of service provide an especially fertile ground for the cultivation of empathy and charity because of their highly experiential (I experience myself and the "other" in real-life scenarios as human beings; this opportunity to experience human mutuality is both

humbling and uplifting), non-threatening nature (service projects are not about confronting or persuading the “others”), and tangible outcomes (i.e., real benefits that are desirable by the recipient).

For this to take place, an objective, political condition must be met: Christians globally encourage governments to legislate, cultivate, and sustain true freedom of religion. In addition to this objective condition, two further subjective conditions need to be developed: a true intentionality in engaging in dialogues that start with careful and active listening to the other and an honest resolve to reflect critically (also self-critically) while debating divisive issues.

Humans are social beings who derive their identity from a narrative in which they grow up and perpetuate in their own beliefs, attitudes, and practices. Religious, cultural, and political ideologies will continue to offer their own, competing narratives about the meaning and purpose of the reality in which we live. If human individuals and societies wish to be able to defend themselves against every kind of ideological manipulation, they should have a solid appreciation of the power and the role of narratives in people’s lives individually and collectively.

How do we live or, better yet, how do we thrive in a pluralistic world of multiple ‘traditions’ which sometime appear to be rather incompatible? We need a dialogue of competing narratives. We desperately need a decent, serious, intentional, and honest dialogue of narratives that compete for our attention and allegiance.

Also necessary is a robust understanding of one’s own narrative – of one’s own tradition – that helps us appreciate our socially embodied existence, the roots of our moral starting point, and the reasons why one should not succumb to despair in a post-Holocaust world, overshadowed by nihilism. Christian faith communities, provided they remain true to their Gospel-narrative identity, have the potential to not only ‘show the way’ of the Gospel but also ‘be the way’ by embodying the story of life and forgiveness. We need a narrative that is not a mere fable, or collection of myths, or a collection of idealistic ideas, detached from historical reality. Severed from history, such notions/ideas either become irrelevant or oppressive (Metz 1998, 39). Thus, our understanding of the biblical narrative should not follow the hermeneutic adventures that turn the biblical texts “into an abstract philosophical system, an ideal typological structure, or a mere occasion for existential decision” (Comstock 1986, 117). Rather it should be a “dramatically coherent narrative” (Jenson 1993).

Honoring the Trinitarian structure of the Christian narrative, the doctrine of creation offers a sobering corrective to enthusiastic, irrational, and/or fundamentalist renderings of faith, returning humans back to God’s creation as forgiven and freed agents, caretakers of the visible, created realm, including its socio-political dimension (cf. Metz 1998, 39). Christians should bring this kind of narrative to an authentic, intentional, public dialogue of narratives in which active listening and deep, self-critical deliberation may take place.

The Church has a distinct ‘Story’ and a ‘Promise’ to live by and to share. If we truly find ourselves in a situation where the necessary conceptual framework connected with the presupposition that we live in a ‘narratable’ world is missing, then Christian visible communities must be that world. Or as Jenson puts it: “...if the church does not find her hearers antecedently inhabiting a narratable world, then the church must herself be that world... within which life could be lived with dramatic coherence” (Jenson 1993).

Neither human political ideologies, nor fanatical strands of religious fundamentalism will offer a better alternative.

Vaughan, David

Amongst the greatest challenges facing humankind in the 21st century are those concerned with supplies of essential mineral resources and with the environmental impact of the exploitation and utilisation of those resources^{2,3}. The study of minerals from a fundamental (molecular) scale, extending to field and, in some cases, global scales is at the heart of any attempts to deal with those challenges⁴. A proper response requires international action on a scale exemplified by the involvement of all the member states of the EU. The Next Europe initiative should explore ways in which members of the European Academy and their colleagues and collaborators can play a key role in addressing these challenges, whether that be through meetings, publications, or the encouragement of joint research programmes. To neglect this area would be to put at risk the health and security of citizens throughout Europe.

Many past wars have been largely about mineral resources, whereas environmental damage associated with our exploitation of the Earth looks to be a dominant theme leading to conflict over the coming decades.

² Earth Resources and the Environment. J.Craig, D. Vaughan & B.Skinner (2011) Prentice Hall.

³ One hundred mineralogical questions impacting the future of the Earth, planetary and environmental sciences. R. Harrison, M. Hochella, K. Murphy & D. Vaughan. *Elements*, 9, 168-170 (2013).

⁴ *Minerals: A Very Short Introduction*. D. Vaughan (2014) Oxford University Press.

Wilderer, Peter

In the next Europe the subsidiarity principle needs to be rigorously executed, in Brussels as well as in the member States. Subsidiarity not only means rights, it also translates into obligations. It is a dynamic principle resulting from constant correction and enhancement. Subsequently, it is the precondition of resilience, i.e. the capability of Europe as a whole and of the member States to continuously adapt to changing ambient conditions. It is the precondition of the avoidance of collapse and thus sustainability.

Yehekel, Ori

Thinking out of the box

Europe is currently flooded with millions of poor immigrants, most of whom are probably good people who are just looking for a better life for their children. Europe can neither provide for all their needs nor prevent future violent behavior due to frustrated expectations. However, Europe can assist their home countries to develop new sources of employment, primarily manual labor, which could encourage many to remain or return home. If proper employment and a decent way of life were available, most of the immigrants, or potential immigrants would not leave their homelands. Growing dandelions in the Middle East (Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Jordan and even Turkey) rather than in Europe, with assurance that the crops for a decade or so, would be purchased by your corporation, could possibly make a marked change in the current refugee situation. Building the associated factories in the Middle East is also an option, although I realize that financial assistance from the EU might be required.

If you find this suggestion of potential interest, not only to your corporation, but to the European community as a whole, I call upon you to discuss this idea with the Continental Corporation board of directors in an effort to see what practical steps can be taken to alleviate what is currently an unmanageable situation.

Peter Fischer-Appelt

Drittletzter Sonntag im Kirchenjahr

Predigt über Lukas
10, 25-37

Was hat uns „Der barmherzige Samariter“ in der
Flüchtlingsfrage zu sagen?

8. November 2015, 10 Uhr

Martin-Luther-Kirchengemeinde
Quickborn-Heide

an den

Präsidenten der Academia Europaea

Herrn Prof. Dr. h.c. Felix Unger

mit dem

allerhöchsten Gruß

von

Peter Fischer-Appelt

2. 2. 16

2043 - 662 - 841343

Universitätspräsident a.D.
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Der Text: Lukas 10, 25-27

25 Und siehe, da stand ein Schriftgelehrter auf, versuchte ihn und sprach: Meister, was muss ich tun, dass ich das ewige Leben ererbe? 26 Er aber sprach zu ihm: Was steht im Gesetz geschrieben? Wie liestest du? 27 Er antwortete und sprach; „Du sollst Gott, deinen Herrn, lieben von ganzem Herzen, von ganzer Seele, von allen Kräften und von ganzem Gemüte und deinen Nächsten wie dich selbst“ (5. Mose 6, 5; 3. Mose 19,18). 28 Er aber sprach zu ihm: Du hast recht geantwortet; tue das, so wirst du leben.

29 Er aber wollte sich selbst rechtfertigen und sprach zu Jesus: Wer ist denn mein Nächster? 30 Da antwortete Jesus und sprach: Es war ein Mensch, der ging von Jerusalem hinab nach Jericho und fiel unter die Räuber; die zogen ihn aus und schlugen ihn und gingen davon und ließen ihn halbtot liegen. 31 Es begab sich aber von ungefähr, dass ein Priester dieselbe Straße hinabzog; und da er ihn sah, ging er vorüber. 32 Desgleichen auch ein Levit; da er kam zu der Stätte und sah ihn, ging er vorüber. 33 Ein Samariter aber reiste und kam dahin; und da er ihn sah, jammerte ihn sein, 34 ging zu ihm, goss Öl und Wein auf seine Wunde und verband sie ihm und hob ihn auf sein Tier und führte ihn in eine Herberge und pflegte sein. 35 Des anderen Tages zog er heraus zwei Silber Groschen und gab sie dem Wirte und sprach zu ihm: Pflege sein und so du was mehr wirst dartun, will ich dir's bezahlen, wenn ich wiederkomme. 36 Welcher dünkt dich, der unter diesen dreien der Nächste sei gewesen dem, der unter die Räuber gefallen war? 37 Er sprach: Der die Barmherzigkeit an ihm tat. Da sprach Jesus zu ihm: So gehe hin und tue desgleichen!

1

Den Rahmen der Erzählung vom barmherzigen Samariter bildet ein Gespräch zwischen dem Schriftgelehrten und Jesus über das Ziel der Gesetzeserfüllung. (Lukas 10, 25-29; 36-37). Jede gute Geschichte steht nach talmudisch-rabbinischer Tradition in Rahmen eines Dialogs. Hier indes ist diese Geschichte nicht nur und nicht primär eine Beispielerzählung für das richtige Tun des Gesetzes. Ich werde den fünffachen Sinn dieser Erzählung im Zusammenhang des Gesprächs erläutern.

Nach der Stilisierung der Rahmenhandlung handelt es sich zunächst, wie man leicht erkennen kann, um eine Prüfung, in die der rabbinische Schriftgelehrte Jesus als den Prediger der herannahenden Gottesherrschaft verwickelt. Diese Prüfung enthält einen Fallstrick, denn wer vermag auf die Frage „Wer ist denn mein Nächster?“ eine bündige Antwort jenseits von Allgemeinplätzen zu geben? Die eingeschobene Erzählung vom barmherzigen Samariter, übrigens ein Sondergut des Evangelisten Lukas, scheint also vordergründig darauf zu zielen, die höherrangige Schriftauslegungskompetenz Jesu hervorzuheben.

Bei genauerer Betrachtung zeichnet sich sodann ein Wechsel in der Fragestellung ab, der auf einen Rollenwechsel in der Person des Schriftgelehrten hinausläuft: Er wird vom Lehrer zum Schüler, vom Prüfer zum Geprüften. Anfangs fragt der Gelehrte Jesus: Wer ist mein Nächster? (10, 29) Am Ende aber stellt Jesus dem Schriftgelehrten die Frage: Wer hat sich dem Halbtoten als

sein Nächster erwiesen? Und der Gelehrte muss selbst antworten: „Der die Barmherzigkeit an im tat“ (10, 37).

Doch dieser Rollenwechsel bedeutet, drittens, bei weitem mehr. Er bedeutet von Grund auf eine *Lageveränderung* des Schriftgelehrten und eines jeden Menschen, der vom sicheren Port aus um seiner Gerechtigkeit willen nach dem Objekt seiner Liebestätigkeit fragt. Er bedeutet, dass der Frager sich selbst als den unter die Räuber Gefallenen verstehen soll. Bevor er handeln kann, muss er erkennen, dass ihm selbst Rettung zuteil wurde.

Dieser Vorgang eines Subjektwechsels ist, viertens, umso einschneidender, als Glaubensgenossen wie der Priester und der Levit den Überfallenen sehen und tatenlos vorüberziehen, während ein aus der Glaubensgemeinde der Samaritaner stammender Kaufmann sich des Geschundenen annimmt. Zur Zeit der römischen Besetzung herrschte offene Feindschaft zwischen Samaritanern und Juden. Die Samaritaner, auf dem mittelpalästinensischen Gebirge lebend, konzentrierten ihre Glaubensgrundlage verengend auf die fünf Bücher Mose (die Tora). Im Kern spricht die Erzählung vom barmherzigen Samariter von Feindesliebe und von der Überwindung jeglicher Feindbilder. Es ist dein Feind, der dir hilft. Es ist sein Feind, dem er Hilfe erweist.

Damit spricht die Geschichte aber letztlich von dem und für den, der sie erzählt, von einer *christologischen Transparenz*, die das Rettungs- und Versöhnungswerk Jesu Christi am Kreuz von Golgotha durchscheinen lässt, er der Samariter, sein Leiden am Kreuz abgerungen einer Welt von Feinden, welche die Menschheit unter die sinnlosen Konflikte und Pattsituationen ihres Machtstrebens im politischen, militärischen und religiösen Format fallen ließ. Eine einzigartige Erzählung, die das Wesen des Kreuzestodes Jesu Christi unter dem Signum der Barmherzigkeit kulturbildend bis in den letzten Winkel nicht nur christlich bestimmter Gesellschaften verdeutlichte. Zu ihr gehört auch die Zivilcourage und die akkurate Sorgfalt, mit der dieser Samariter jeden einzelnen Schritt seiner Hilfeleistung bedachte und ordnete, „bis dass ich wiederkomme“.

Was heißt es, der Botschaft vom barmherzigen Samariter als dem Evangelium Jesu Christi heute zu entsprechen?

Die Frage zielt, wie sich von selbst versteht, auf die *Flüchtlingsnot*, das *Flüchtlingsproblem*, die *Flüchtlingspolitik* dieser Monate und Jahre. Das sind drei verschiedene Aspekte des Handelns: eine kurzfristige, eine mittelfristige und eine langfristige Perspektive, damit umzugehen. Das kann man auch der Besorgung des Samariters ablesen: Erst die Wunden des Geschlagenen mit Öl und Wein reinigen und sie verbinden, dann ihn auf seinen Esel heben, in eine

Herberge bringen und dort pflegen, schließlich für seine Unterbringung und weitere Pflege eine Vorauszahlung leisten und eine Zahlungsverpflichtung bis zur Rückkehr eingehen. Das dreifach gleiche Muster dieses Vorgehens ist *unverzügliches, sorgfältiges, nachhaltiges Handeln der Vernunft*. Kein Warten auf die Polizei, sondern Zivilcourage, kein Warten auf den Krankenwagen, sondern Eigentransport, insoweit keine Festlegung einer Schuldenbremse, sondern Hilfe bis zur Gesundung.

Die *Flüchtlingsströme* von Ost nach West und von Süd nach Nord stellen um Dimensionen größere und doch nicht ganz andere Ansprüche. Sie fordern vor allem, wie es der Samariter tut, alle drei Perspektiven gleichzeitig in Angriff zu nehmen. Dass dies nicht spätestens im Sommer dieses Jahres, ja noch früher geschah, ist in seiner Sprengkraft nun eine schwere Belastung Europas. Gewiss, die Rettung Griechenlands aus der erdrückenden Schuldenlast kostete viel Zeit und Kraft. Aber es war schon lange erkennbar, dass mehrere Millionen Syrer nicht ewig in den gesicherten, aber trostlosen Lagern auf jordanischem, libanesischem und türkischem Boden ohne jegliche Perspektive verbleiben würden, ganz abgesehen von den immer neu vom Bürgerkrieg vertriebenen Menschen. Aus dieser Kritik kann nur folgen, dass alle Bürger zu Europa und der Wiederherstellung seiner Handlungsfähigkeit stehen sollten.

Die *Flüchtlingsnot*, das ist der erste Aspekt, hat eine Welle der Hilfsbereitschaft veranlasst, die mustergültig ist. Niemand sollte sie als alten „deutschen Sonderweg“ oder die erwünschte „Willkommenskultur“ als romantische Allüre diffamieren. Diese Hilfsbereitschaft ist keine Einladung. Sie enthält erst recht keine „unterschwellige deutsche Genugtuung“ gegenüber anderen Ländern, sie entspricht der Lage, wie sie ist. Sie hat das Format der Menschlichkeit. Sie ist das Beste, was in letzter Zeit hier zu Lande vom Grenzbauern bis zu den Spitzen der Republik hervorgebracht wurde. Möge sie anhalten und Aufnahme in die vielen halbleer stehenden Häuser und Wohnungen ermöglichen. Diese Hilfe haben bisher nur wenige geleistet.

Was wir aber das *Flüchtlingsproblem* nennen, den zweiten Aspekt, stellt uns vor eine andere Herausforderung. Sie heißt: Wehret der Gleichgültigkeit, der Abkapselung, der Furcht, mit denen der Priester und der Levit an der vor ihren Füßen liegenden Not vorübergingen. Es ist eine Gefährdung des Zusammenhalts der Europäischen Union in der Flüchtlingsfrage, dass die sogenannten Visegrád-Staaten Ungarn, Polen, Tschechien und die Slowakei mit der weit mehrheitlichen Unterstützung von 60 Millionen Menschen sich einer Aufnahme von Flüchtlingen so gut wie gänzlich verweigern, und das, obwohl einst Millionen von ihnen im Westen Asyl fanden. Verständlich die bitteren Erfahrungen Polens und Osteuropas, aber was haben sie mit der heutigen Flüchtlingslage zu tun? Nein, es ist die diffuse Vorstellung von einem Mitteleuropa, das als abendländisches Bollwerk nicht nur gegen östlichen

Imperialismus, sondern gegen Islam und einst sogar gegen orthodoxes Christentum stehen sollte. Ein Feindbild, mit dem in anderer Weise die nationalkonservative Bewegung Pegida im Dresdner Umland von faschistischen Kräften gegen Flüchtlinge in Stellung gebracht wird. Doch überall bei uns stehen Menschen auf, um dem Klima der Einschüchterung den Boden zu entziehen und die Praxis der Nächstenliebe gegen die unverfrorene Parole „Wer hat euch eingeladen?“ zu setzen. Nächstenliebe im Großformat rüttelt an den Grundfesten der Gesellschaft, aber sie ist die Bewährungsprobe einer gereiften Demokratie, die einst selbst aus dem an Millionen Flüchtlinge verliehenen Bürgerrecht hervorging.

Welche Gründe gibt es, drittens, für eine *Flüchtlingspolitik der geregelten Öffnung der Grenzen*? Erstens ein universales *Grundrecht*: „Politisch verfolgte genießen Asylrecht“ (Art. 16a Abs. 1 GG). Im Hintergrund steht das Unrecht der Verfolgung von Millionen Menschen im Nationalsozialismus. Soll dieses Asylrecht für Bürgerkriegsflüchtlinge nicht gelten? Zweitens *demographische Gründe*. Die deutsche Bevölkerung schrumpft. Schon jetzt können 600.000 Arbeitsplätze in der Wirtschaft nicht besetzt werden. Drittens *Qualifizierungsmaßnahmen* in großem Umfang. Sie haben eine eigenständige Bedeutung. Sie sind erforderlich, um jene Arbeitsplätze fachgerecht zu besetzen, aber auch um die Rückkehr in ein zerstörtes Heimatland zu ermöglichen, sobald dort Frieden eingekehrt ist und der Wiederaufbau begonnen wird. Ein viertes und ganz anderes Argument ist die *Abwendung eines Krieges* auf dem Balkan, der Europa ein drittes Mal zerstören würde. Dieses Argument ist jüngst von der Bundeskanzlerin genannt worden für den Fall, dass die Grenzen auf der Balkanroute Zug um Zug und Land für Land geschlossen würden. Diesem Argument hat jetzt der polnische EU-Ratspräsident widersprochen mit der Meinung, Deutschland müsse seine europäische „Führungsverantwortung“ wahrnehmen, um „die Außengrenzen Europas notfalls in einer paneuropäischen Einheit zu kontrollieren“ (Wamß 8.11.15). Wo, bitte? An den Grenzen zu den Staaten des Westbalkans, an der bulgarisch-rumänischen Schwarzmeerküste, auf dem griechischen Inselarchipel, auf beiden Seiten der Adria: Katz und Maus! Und wie, bitte? Mit militärischen, mit polizeilichen Mitteln, sofort in die Türkei zurück, oder lieber Erdogan als Schleusenwärter am Bosphorus (FAZ, 4.11.2015)?

Flüchtlingsströme, die einer Völkerwanderung gleichen, lassen sich mit solchen Maßnahmen selbst bei unerlaubter Anwendung von Gewalt nicht aufhalten. Sie lassen sich nur an der *Quelle der Konflikte*, nämlich zwischen Sunniten und Schiiten und den Mächten hinter ihnen, durch gewaltbeendende, friedensfördernde Maßnahmen reduzieren, nicht wirklich stoppen. Wir werden also mit einer langanhaltenden Zuwanderung rechnen müssen, wie die USA aus Mexiko. Diese Zuwanderer werden wie die türkischen Mitbürger eher konservativ als radikal eingestellt sein, vorausgesetzt, ihre Integration in den

Wohnungs- und Arbeitsmarkt sowie in die lokalen, sozialen und religiösen Umfelder gelingt. Darauf müssen sich nun alle Seiten unverzüglich, sorgfältig, nachhaltig vorbereiten.

Dass der Zustrom von Flüchtlingen, wie es aussieht, auch durch abschreckende Beschlüsse wie „Aufenthalt nur für ein Jahr, kein Familiennachzug“ nicht abwendbar wäre, sondern nur weitere Menschenleben kosten und Radikalisierung bei alleinstehenden jungen Männern bewirken könnte, liegt auf der Hand. Erbarmen kennt vernünftigerweise keine halben Maßnahmen, wie uns die Tat des Samariters zeigt. Dass der *Zustrom geordnet und verteilt* werden muss, in ganz Europa und nach Regionen, das lässt sich, wenn nicht aus den Grundsätzen europäischer Solidarität, ebenfalls dem sorgfältigen Handeln des Samariters ablesen. Gleichermäßen dies, dass wir große *Fehler vermeiden* müssen, die unser Land belasten würden, wie etwa Schlafburgen in sozialen Problemvierteln; die Qualität des Wohnungsbaus entscheidet über die Zukunft des Landes: Architekten erwacht! Ferner, dass *viele Leute* sich an der Sprach- und Berufsausbildung, viele Firmen an der Eingliederung in den Arbeitsprozess, viele Bildungseinrichtungen und Kindergärten an der Aufnahme der Jugendlichen, Vereine an der Freizeitgestaltung beteiligen, damit die soziale Integration gelingt. *Und vor allem*: Nicht mit Leichtgläubigkeit auf die Parole „Das Boot ist voll“ hereinfliegen, *gegen* Agitation für Humanität und Solidarität eintreten, *fest* jeder defaitistischen Unterminierung unserer demokratischen Ordnung widerstehen, Europa nicht kleinreden, sondern als Friedenssicherung festhalten, kritische Bürger sein, Zivilcourage zeigen, Gelassenheit.

Die Geschichte vom barmherzigen Samariter enthält in ihrem Realismus und Pragmatismus eine einzigartige Anleitung unseres Urteilsvermögens auch für ganz andere Situationen der Not, in die wir plötzlich hineingestellt sind. Als Christen, die ebensowenig wie andere Menschen in jedem Urteil übereinstimmen müssen, hören wir daraus indes alle die eine Grundbotschaft: „Wahrlich, ich sage euch: Was ihr getan habt einem unter diesen meinen geringsten Brüdern, das habt ihr mir getan“ (Matthäus 25,40).