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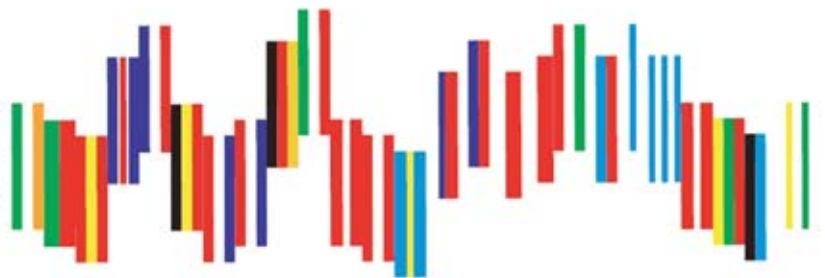


The Sound of Europe

Salzburg, 27 and 28 January 2006

Volume I: Verbatim Record of Proceedings

The Sound
of Europe



EESC Special Reviews

“The Sound of Europe” Conference

27 and 28 January 2006

Salzburg

Volume I: Verbatim Record of Proceedings

The conference was co-organised by the Federal Chancellery of Austria, the European Commission and the European Economic and Social Committee.

Introduction

"The Sound of Europe"
Salzburg, 27-28 January 2006

On 27-28 January 2006 a major conference on the future of Europe was held in Salzburg, the city where Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart had been born exactly 250 years before. Entitled "The Sound of Europe", the conference was organised by the Austrian Presidency of the European Union, in cooperation with the European Commission and the European Economic and Social Committee.

The conference participants discussed fundamental questions about the future of Europe, European values, identity and culture. "The Sound of Europe" followed on from a series of events held in 2004 under the Dutch EU Presidency. At the same time, the conference gave the starting signal for as wide-ranging a debate as possible on the future development of Europe, in keeping with the reflection and discussion phase decided by the European Council in June 2005.

More than 300 personalities from the world of politics, science, arts and the media deliberated on prospects and proposals for making progress on the European project in view of global challenges. The unease and scepticism people express about Europe was also addressed, and the underlying causes analysed.

This volume brings together a verbatim report of the proceedings. A second volume, to be published shortly, will provide a summary and pictorial record of the event.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Friday 27 January 2006

➤ Opening statement by Federal Chancellor Wolfgang Schäuble, President of the European Council	11
➤ Opening statement by Vice-President of the European Commission Margot Wallström	13
<u>PART I: The European Crisis: a Sad Sound?</u>	15
➤ Keynote speech by the French Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin	15
<u>Panel Discussion</u>	23
Rob Riemen (Moderator)	23
David Cesarani	24
Paul Michael Lützeler	25
Benita Ferrero-Waldner	27
Josep Borrell	27
Jan-Peter Balkenende	28
Josep Borrell	28
Andrew Moravcsik	29
Paul Michael Lützeler	29
Benita Ferrero-Waldner	30
Jan-Peter Balkenende	30
Jan-Peter Balkenende	31
Josep Borrell	31
David Cesarani	31
Jan-Peter Balkenende	32
<u>Discussion with the audience</u>	33
Slavenka Drakulić	33
Yves Mény	33
Andrew Moravcsik	34
Benita Ferrero-Waldner	34
Bassam Tibi	34
Sonia Puntischer-Riekmann	35
David Cesarani	35
Andrew Moravcsik	36
Jan-Peter Balkenende	36
<u>PART II: What next? A new Sound?</u>	37
Wolfgang Danspeckgruber (Moderator)	37
Speech by Javier Solana, EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy	37

<u>Panel Discussion</u>	41
Wolfgang Danspeckgruber	41
Dora Bakoyannis	41
Bronisław Geremek	42
Gilles Kepel	44
Mark Leonard	45
Dominique Moïsi	47
Ursula Plassnik	48
Anne-Marie Sigmund	50
Margot Wallström	50
Dora Bakoyannis	52
Dominique Moïsi	52
Javier Solana	52
<u>Panel / Participants debate</u>	53
Riccardo Illy	53
Elmar Brok	54
Loukas Tsoukalis	55
Erhard Busek	55
Margot Wallström	56
Anne-Marie Sigmund	57
Ursula Plassnik	57
Dominique Moïsi	58
Mark Leonard	58
Gilles Kepel	58
Bronisław Geremek	58
Dora Bakoyannis	59
Javier Solana	59

<u>Saturday 28 January 2006</u>
--

	61
➤ Opening address by Federal President Heinz Fischer	
➤ Opening statement by the President of the European Commission José Manuel Barroso	65

<u>PART III: Muses and Sirens</u>	69
--	----

Erhard Busek (Moderator)	69
Keynote speech by Franz Welser-Möst	70

<u>Panel Discussion</u>	73
Erhard Busek	73
Oliviero Toscani	73

Martin Kušej	74
Petros Makaris	75
Ján Figel	76
Sonja Puntischer-Rieckmann	77
Pat Cox	78
András Bozóki	79
Paavo Lipponen	80
Franz Weiser-Möst	82

PART IV: Conducting Europe – Final Debate 83

Roger de Weck (Moderator)	83
---------------------------	----

Panel Discussion 83

Matti Vanhanen	85
Roger de Weck	85
Nikolaus Harnancourt	85
Jan Peter Balkenende	86
Vaira Vike-Freiberga	87
Jürgen Flimm	87
Wolfgang Schüssel	88
Jan-Peter Balkenende	89
Matti Vanhanen	89
José Manuel Barroso	90
Vaira Vike-Freiberga	90
Nikolaus Harnancourt	91
Wolfgang Schüssel	91
Vaira Vike-Freiberga	92
Jürgen Flimm	93
Jan-Peter Balkenende	93
José Manuel Barroso	94
Wolfgang Schüssel	94
<u>Panel / Participants debate</u>	95
Franz Fischler	95
Margarita Mathiopoulos	96
Bassam Tibi	96
Vaira Vike-Freiberga	97
Matti Vanhanen	97
Nikolaus Harmoncourt	98
Jürgen Flimm	98
Jan Peter Balkenende	98
Wolfgang Schüssel	99

Friday 27 January 2006

**Opening statement by Federal Chancellor Wolfgang Schäussel,
President of the European Council**

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Welcome here in Salzburg on 27 January 2006. Exactly 250 years ago today, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, a true European genius, was born. With this conference on "The Sound of Europe", I wanted at the same time to give the starting signal for a European debate on the future of Europe.

I should like to extend a very warm welcome to all of you, and - as it would take too long to mention every one of you personally - specifically to our Federal President Heinz Fischer, the Prime Ministers Dominique de Villepin of France, Jan Peter Balkenende from the Netherlands, Matti Vanhanen from Finland, the President of the European Parliament, Josep Borrell, the President of the Finnish Parliament, my old friend and colleague Paavo Lipponen, and, of course, the co-sponsors and co-organisers, the European Commission and the European Economic and Social Committee. Commission President Barroso unfortunately is not here with us, but I am pleased to extend a hearty welcome to the Commission Vice-President Margot Waldström, who is going to open the conference with me, and to her fellow Commissioners Benita Ferrero-Waldner and Jan Figel'. I am also happy to welcome EESC President Anne-Marie Sigmund. I am very pleased that you have all joined us here in Salzburg.

I also wish to thank the team who has prepared this conference. On the way in to the conference room, you will undoubtedly have noticed a whole series of video installations. These are the work of the Ars Electronica group, who have endeavoured to translate the theme of Europe into a language of pictures and light and to convey the ideas many people have put to paper about Europe in a form that can be seen and heard.

What is the background to this conference? Let me mention my friend Jan Peter Balkenende at this point. During the Dutch Presidency, he embarked with the support of the Nexus Institute on a treasure hunt in Europe in the form of a discussion series entitled "Europe - A beautiful idea". The issues discussed at the time have become all the more explosive in 2005, since the European Union has stumbled into crisis following two failed referendums on the Constitutional Treaty and a very difficult, because unsuccessful, summit meeting on the financial perspective in June 2005. At this June summit just over six months ago, the Heads of Government decided to launch a reflection phase that was to be used to seek out and articulate the reasons for the unease many of Europe's citizens feel, perhaps not only - or not specifically - about the text of the Constitutional Treaty and to seek solutions, answers to the questions. In this spirit, we want to develop the Dutch Presidency's idea in a situation that has obviously evolved since then, but not become any easier, in a quest for solutions and answers.

The first panel will explore this unease, the criticism, the feelings of crisis in Europe, and attempt to analyse the underlying causes. The members of a second panel will discuss possible practical solutions, while the third panel tomorrow will above all look at the role of the arts and culture in Europe and the European identity. Finally, the political conclusions that can be drawn from the panel contributions will be the subject of the closing debate.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Today is not only the anniversary of the birth of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart; it is also Holocaust Memorial Day, the international day of remembrance of one of the greatest horrors of European history. Exactly 61 years ago, the concentration camp Auschwitz was liberated by the Red Army. Auschwitz, too, as a synonym of crime is part of Europe's history, and must be included in our reflection. To quote Josef Krips, a great Austrian conductor who is unfortunately no longer with us: "While the one – Mozart — is from Heaven, the other – Auschwitz – has now become the synonym of Hell" Both sides of the coin — paradisiacal expectations, dream, vision and also the reality of failure, crime, evil, Hell – are part of Man's identity and probably also of Europe's identity.

Mozart can provide some answers or help us find answers. He was born and lived at a time marked by dramatic changes: maybe this is something worth remembering for Europe's citizens today. If many people today fear change, the "wind of change": the change then was unlike anything that had gone before.

The American Revolution, for example. The Bill of Rights was written in the year of Mozart's death. The French Revolution. Adam Smith described the foundations of modern society in his work "Wealth of Nations". As Mozart was composing "The Abduction from the Seraglio" in Vienna, Hegel was writing the Phenomenology of Spirit". The Industrial Revolution began with the invention of the steam engine, the discovery of electricity. Industrial and computer-controlled looms were invented. The modern print media – I take this opportunity to welcome the mass media, journalists, radio and TV reporters – can trace back their origins to that time. There are two newspapers in existence today which already existed then. The "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" was established in 1780, the "Times" in 1788. Mozart himself travelled through Europe like a whirlwind during this period of change and made his mark on European history. If we consider that he spent one third of his short life on his travels and visited and experienced 200 European cities, and perhaps also helped compose their sound, it can truly be said he was a part of this change. He had a premonition of some of the things to come. He sensed - and I owe this thought to Martin Kušej – that events can end in a catastrophic bloodbath. Take the opera "La Clemenza di Tito" for example, which ends in a bloodbath and an attack on the Capitol during a groundless attempt to assassinate Emperor Tito. Mozart already sensed the coming of the French Revolution and at the same time gave the answer as to how to put things back in order: Not with weapons, but with music. In the Magic Flute, the military and pursuers are halted, made to dance, by a magic flute.

A great deal of this agony of change, the labour pains, growing pains, pains of maturity, we are naturally also experiencing today in Europe. This Europe must not become a purely economic idea; I say that quite openly here. Europe must be more, it must find a cultural identity, reflect on what holds us together, where its borders lie, what are its objectives, its possibilities. It must develop a sense of realism and of what is feasible. It needs a spirit, not only a common currency, but a common goal and common projects.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Before I hand over to Margot Wallström and invite her to open the conference with me, I want to quote an author who also knew a great deal about music. Hermann Hesse said: "For one who loves music, the world has one more continent." Perhaps Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and his relationship with Europe can have a motto, such as "Music of the future for an old continent". It would be nice if this succeeded, if Europe was no longer part of the problem, but part of the solution. I wish the conference every success.

Opening statement by Vice-President of the European Commission Margot Wallström

Mr Fischer, Mr Schüssel, Prime Ministers, President of the European Parliament
Ladies and gentlemen

What is the sound of Europe today - is it the sweet music of players in perfect harmony or is it the discordant noise of uncoordinated instruments? Would Mozart like it if he were here? He surely would like its high-speed frontier-free travel. Mozart was a great traveller. In fact he spent nearly one third of his life on tour. It is the best way to meet and learn from other creative people and get inspired. So he would surely applaud the Erasmus programme through which the European Union has enabled more than two million young Europeans to study abroad. Therefore I appeal directly to the President of the European Council: let us not take funding away from citizens' programmes which let young Europeans study, learn and live the European spirit.

Mozart also travelled in search of secure employment. It was hard to find even in his time. He would sympathize with the many young Europeans in the same position today. They have the right to seek work anywhere in the European Union and to get their qualifications recognised. But there are two obstacles: a brighter future for the Europeans depends on whether we are able to break the vicious circle of reforms that are well designed but never delivered. Higher quality universities, research institutes, life-long learning instruments; there is no better way to orchestrate a sustainable future for the Union in economic and social terms. The ability and determination to reform, to use best practice, learn from others must become an intrinsic part of what the modern European Union is.

Now we have a European Union strategy for growth and jobs. It provides a common tool to adapt European economies to the challenges of globalisation. And at the same time it ensures social cohesion and solidarity. But what does it mean to be European? What kind of Europe do its people want? Here is what some of them said to our street camera recently in five different countries:

They said Europe should be more self-confident, keep its cultural diversity and develop a stronger sense of identity, fight hunger and discrimination, say no to fundamentalism, yes to tolerance, tackle unemployment and terrorism, help others in other countries, go beyond economics and ensure peace and look after the environment. So, in short, European values are: prosperity, security, solidarity, freedom, democracy and respect for human rights.

Chancellor Schüssel, on your recent visit to the European Parliament in Strasbourg you urged us to promote the European way of life based on those values. Thank you for that timely message. I would like to add one thing. Our values are not exclusively European, they are inclusive and universal. Yet today the trust in democracy in Europe between the people and their elected politicians seems to be fading. Political party membership is shrinking, fewer people are voting in elections and many feel that their voice is not heard.

This applies to the European as well as to the national and even regional level. And the rejection of the European constitution by the people of France and the Netherlands was a wake-up call for us politicians. To get back to constitutional issues will only be possible if we now engage in the debate on concrete issues, how to get more jobs, how to modernise the social Europe, how to shape the borders of the European Union.

The European Union is a political project that has developed very rapidly. But the citizens must be free to decide its future. This is not a lip-service. This is a sine qua non condition if we want to create a bond among nations and people which is stronger than that of the current European Union. And let us learn one important lesson from the referenda. To gain and keep confidence and understanding, the Union, its leaders and politicians must be truly honest and fair about European issues. Trust is not won over night and the Europe-bashing for short-term political scores leaves damaging traces in the public perception of the European Union. I am not saying you should not criticise Brussels and justify everything, as each story has two sides and people are capable to understand them and hear what is false.

Ladies and gentlemen

Having created the internal market, the Euro, borderless travel, we now must fill the European idea with more democracy, genuine debate and active citizenry. This is the idea of a European public sphere. Citizens need a forum in which they can meet, physical meeting places such as schools and town halls of course, virtual meeting places such as internet web sides and interactive television programmes, and we need to create space for European debates in the media as well as places in our school curricula. The European Union is next week publishing a White Paper on this important subject, inviting European institutions, national governments, civil society and the media to explore the issue together and come up with a plan of action. The Commission also welcomes the citizens' summits and citizens' panels organized by civil society organisations. Ladies and gentlemen

Our values need to be defended. Europe has not always been free, democratic and tolerant. Just 61 years ago today, allied troops liberated the Nazi concentration and extermination camp Auschwitz Birkenau. Today Holocaust Memorial Day is a solemn reminder that horrendous racism and victimisation has happened and can happen in Europe. We must never forget that and we must keep working to ensure that such atrocities never happen again. Such was the birthplace of the democracies in the European Union. Particularly against this background let me conclude: democracy is not a spectator sport. It requires leadership and active participation. And the truth is, the symphony of European integration will be a success only if the people are involved in writing the script.

PART I – The European Crisis: a Sad Sound?

Moderator: **Rob Riemen**, Nexus Institute Tilburg, The Netherlands

Keynote speech by the French Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin

The President of the Republic of Austria,
The Federal Chancellor, Dear Wolfgang,
Madam President (Latvia),
The Prime Ministers of the Netherlands, Croatia and the Czech Republic,
The President of the European Commission,
The President of the European Parliament,
Honourable Ministers,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great honour for me to be here with you today for this debate that marks the start of the Austrian presidency of the Union. It is with great emotion that I take the floor in this city of Salzburg, which for every European is synonymous with Mozart. Everywhere in Europe, in Prague, in Vienna, there are houses where Mozart lived, but Salzburg, alone, is where Mozart is: this is where he lived and breathed; this is the simple, natural framework of his childhood, his genius and his vitality.

So let us not deny ourselves the pleasure of being in this city, let us not deny ourselves the pleasure of talking about Europe, since, despite difficulties and doubts, we have reasons for hope:

The fact that Europe continues to celebrate and love its great artists, which it listens to them and draws inspiration from them is a sign that our creative potential is intact.

That Austria is taking over the presidency of our Union is also good news. Austria is part of our overall history — It is a country that is very close, very similar to France. You are the heirs of those many nations that came together to increase their strength, that were able to blend their languages, cultures and traditions in a spirit of tolerance, that challenged even those certainties most deeply rooted in our minds, that experienced empires and the dismantling of empires, power and equilibrium, and that know how to look at their past with a lucid mind.

So, Mr Chancellor, I would like to express my confidence and my hope: I know that over the next six months Europe will be in good hands for the task of recovering its self-confidence.

1. Yes, Europe is going through a period of crisis
The rejection by two founding members of the Union of the treaty to establish a constitution has struck a blow at the project of European integration. But I would like to be very clear about this. France did not say no to Europe - rather, it expressed its fears, anxieties and aspirations.

For a long time, Europe was a utopia, one of those dreams in which we believe even more because we have forgotten their fragility and their meaning. Today, It is an arena for questioning. Let us be realistic: we are confronted with a deep-seated crisis:

A crisis in European decision-making, first of all:

Our fellow citizens are asking whether Europe is still capable of making operational decisions, rapidly, to meet their expectations. The complexity of our institutions, the ponderousness of our regulatory mechanisms and the length of time it takes to achieve consensus are today seen as obstacles to European political action. For instance, for several weeks now we have been discussing extension of the 5.5% rate of VAT for the building sector. Many people have difficulty understanding why we are not making faster progress on a question that concerns tens of thousands of jobs in 9 countries of the European Union.

This risk of paralysis is even more worrying in that the world is changing very fast and we are facing increasingly stiff international economic competition. At a time when new economic powerhouses such as India or China provide further proof of their vitality every day, Europe cannot remain immobile. It must take advantage of globalisation, win new market share, innovate and create leading-edge products to stimulate its own growth and create new jobs.

This crisis of European decision-making goes well beyond a simple problem of operation - it is also an appeal for more democracy in Europe. Who makes the decisions today in Europe? In whose name? How are the choices that will durably affect the future of our societies made? How do we assess the results? Who accepts responsibility when a given measure proves to be ineffective? When do we decide to go back on a decision? Democratic transparency is a national imperative that governs the legitimacy of every one of our decisions. It is also an imperative for Europe, since political legitimacy today is less the product of debate and declaration than of decision and results.

But Europe is also experiencing an identity crisis. Many citizens are questioning the purpose of European Integration.

First, they are unclear about its geographical contours: no political entity can be built on a movement of rapid and continuous expansion whose limits are uncertain. No political project can live without a border. A border does not define solely a space and sovereignty but also marks an attachment to values, defence of a culture, reference to a memory. Europe has recently experienced an unprecedented enlargement: by integrating ten new countries, it has passed a major milestone in its development. My conviction is that we may not have sufficiently anticipated the consequences of these major political choices. We embarked on the path of enlargement without fully measuring the need to go deeper, to consolidate our rules and bolster our demands.

Obviously, we do not question the legitimacy of this Integration of new member countries. We need only look back to our history and the separation inflicted on Europe by the Cold War to know that these countries have their rightful place amongst us. They are not an extension of the European identity - they are the European identity. This reunion with the "kidnapped continent of which Milan Kundera so often spoke, is the very expression of the values of freedom and democracy which Europe has always defended against totalitarianism. And here I would like to pay tribute to the very special role played by Austria in the dialogue with the new member states: during the Cold War period, you succeeded, thanks to both Bruno Kreisky and Alois Möck, in maintaining dialogue and close links with the countries under the influence of the Soviet block. A few years later, the membership negotiations with the ten new member states started under the Austrian presidency.

But we must recognise today that we did not adequately prepare the ground for this enlargement, neither on the economic nor the political plane. At a time when our own companies and employees are facing serious difficulties, the arrival of new members has often been perceived as too great a financial

burden. This gap between the goal of Europe und the Union's real capacities has created feelings of unease and even genuine distress among our own peoples.

The identity crisis we are experiencing also arises from the ambiguity of the European political model: What do we want to become? A federal Union along the lines of the United States? A confederation of nation--states? Or do we wish to become simply an economic space defined by the absence of borders and customs barriers? These questions are in all our minds, but we have never spoken plainly about them together. It is time to resume the debate and to set a course.

Europe has been built in reverse: it is defined more by movement than limits, by progression rather than goals. The political origins of Europe can be found in the declaration made by Robert Schuman in the Salon de l'Horloge at the Quai d'Orsay, when he announced the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community between France and Germany. Take the Treaty of Rome which, in 1957, founded the 6-member European Community: the very foreword to the treaty recognized the embryonic nature of this union, since it declared that the signatories were "determined to establish the foundations for ever closer union between the peoples of Europe." The project to draft a constitution for Europe under the aegis of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing aimed at remedying this lack of a solid foundation. We are obliged to admit today that this important step was not understood by everyone.

Finally, and this is perhaps the key to this identity crisis, Europe seems to have difficulty defending its values.

In a world that is tending increasingly towards uniformity, European citizens have the impression that Europe is gradually losing ground and that it risks losing its specific identity in the movement of globalisation.

And yet, over and above the differences arising out of the history of each nation, we Europeans share the same desire for solidarity, social cohesion and equilibrium between justice and economic dynamism. In Austria, France, the United Kingdom and Denmark, we share the same conviction that the state has a special responsibility: to protect employees, to guarantee a certain number of services such as health or education, to ensure equal opportunity and to come to the assistance of the most disadvantaged.

Today, Europeans feel that we are not adequately defending these aspirations and that Europe may become simply a mechanism for advancing globalisation. Let us be clear: if Europe becomes merely an economic project, if the member states see membership solely as a way of obtaining certain economic benefits, then our Europe has no future. Our values are what give us our identity and our strength, what makes our voice both singular and powerful. And that is why I would like to salute the initiative of Chancellor Schüssel, who has decided to place die Austrian presidency of the Union under the aegis of our common values.

2. Faced with this situation. I would like to express my conviction: Europe has always been able to make every crisis the springboard for a new leap forward.

Yes, there truly is European adventure.

This adventure is that of a specific human being, with his/her aspirations and doubts, successes and trials: the European. For, leaving aside the diversity of our peoples, I am convinced that there are a number of characteristics that define this universal human being and which we all share:

A European is first and foremost a person who is open to others.

This is the distinctive imprint of our geography and our history: no other continent has succeeded as well as Europe in welcoming cultures, adopting new techniques, accepting discoveries made elsewhere and integrating them into our own tradition.

Openness is also the capacity to step outside one's self and reach out to others: Europeans have never abandoned their thirst for discovery nor their curiosity about the world outside their continent. From the crusades to the Conquistadors and the empires, for many centuries this search bore the hallmarks of conquest and the will to dominate. Today, it is inspired by ideals of respect and exchange.

For being European means recognizing that we come from elsewhere, that our heritage is many stranded and that we need others in order to understand ourselves. The outside world has helped us grow and we are strengthened by our discoveries and our aspirations.

The European is also someone who has understood the limits of power and the spirit of conquest. We have a profound sense of history, marked by the wounds that our rivalries and conflicts have inflicted on us. The territory of Europe bears the marks of the borders over which we have fought, the trenches we have dug and the walls we have erected. How many times has Europe promised itself "never again"? How many, times has it proclaimed peace only to be caught up in the dreadful spiral of war and barbarity?

Adorno asked whether it was possible to write poetry after Auschwitz. He could just as well have asked whether the spirit of Europe still had any meaning after Auschwitz, Sobibor und Treblinka. We Europeans have been experienced the most dreadful ordeals, we have lived years that deserve to be erased, we have committed irreparable crimes, things that our imagination refuses even to conceive today.

And yet, after doubting their own humanity, Europeans were able to liberate themselves from the fatality of history. By building their future on the French-German relationship, they chose the path of reconciliation. They built their future on a dual identity: the nation and the political ideal still to be defined - Europe. As Musil said: "Each of us has a second country where everything we do is innocent". For each of use, Europe is indeed this second country.

Austria is perhaps the best example of this European spirit.

What your country underwent at the turn of the last century foreshadows the major issues with which Europe is now confronted:

The issue of nation und motherland, to begin with, in a country that bears the memory, of the Austro-Hungarian empire: this polyglot empire that prefigured Mitteleuropa looked for the first time at the problem of identity. Where was the empire's centre? Was it, as Hermann Broch said, the empty box set aside for the emperor in every theatre in every town of the empire? Was it the Cacanie of The Man without Qualities, the impossible reconciliation of the quest for unity, and the loss of meaning? These are the same questions we are asking ourselves today about our common future.

The end of the Austro-Hungarian empire also brings us back to questions about power: its legitimacy and its real capacity to change the world. This questioning has continued to inspire your great writers, from Thomas Bernhard to Elfriede Jelinek.

Austria has also played an important role in European culture:

When Klimt resigned from the association of Viennese artists in 1897, he set the course of European modern art for many years: a course of secession, transgression and constant challenging of our certainties.

Whether in architecture, painting or music, we owe to Vienna the concept of the avant-garde, which belonged only to Europe throughout the 20th century and was summed up by Elias Canetti: "It is a trait inherent to the insatiable hunger but also the vehemence of youth, that one phenomenon or adventure inevitably supersedes another".

In this way, Austria reminds us that the European is defined by his capacity to renounce his certainties, to experiment, to explore new paths. Is it a coincidence that in this Vienna of the turn of the last century, one man, Freud, dared to go further than all the others in exploring the unconscious and dreams?

Finally, Austria offers us a certain image of European sociability.

Since Erasmus, the European has built his character on the books he reads, his travels and his encounters. And since we will now be celebrating the memory of Mozart, how could we forget his many journeys throughout Europe? As a child, he played the harpsichord for Mme de Pompadour; later he composed music for the greatest German princes and saw Don Giovanni staged for the first time in Prague.

The European feels at home everywhere in Europe, or, to repeat a remark made by Georges Steiner, he or she feels at home everywhere there are cafés, like the Schwarzenberg, the Central or the Hawelka in Vienna. Why cafés? Because they are cosmopolitan places where you can read newspapers from all over the world; because they are places for meeting and exchanging views that ignore the divide between social classes or generations. But most of all because cafés are places of culture where, from Stefan Zweig to Karl Kraus, people take the time to think and meditate.

Europe's strength is its capacity to overcome crises.

Because European thought has always been forged in doubt and questioning. Europe's strength is that it is never satisfied with what is, that it is always ready to challenge a fundamental truth to find another, even more solid.

Jorge Semprun has often told me of the importance he attaches to a lecture by Husserl entitled "Philosophy, or the Crisis of European Humanity". Husserl gave this lecture in Vienna, in 1935, when he had already been disbarred by the German universities and Europe was suffering the assaults of totalitarian movements. In his lecture he said that "the crisis of European existence can end in only one of two ways: in the ruin of a Europe alienated from its rational sense of life, fallen into a barbarian hatred of spirit, or in the rebirth of Europe from the spirit of philosophy, through a heroism of reason." Europe's wisdom is that it has made every crisis an invitation to a new beginning.

The history of our continent is strewn with difficulties, trials and rivalries, all of which were obstacles on the path of European peace.

This is true, in particular, of the relations between our two countries, both pretenders to European hegemony. We have always known how to emerge from the cycle of conflict and war, whether through the overthrow of alliances orchestrated by the Duc de Choiseul and the Count of Kaunitz, or the continental equilibrium organized in Vienna in 1815, whose dominant architects were Metternich and Talleyrand.

It is also true since the start of the European project: we recovered from the failure of the planned European defence community by signing the Treaty of Rome; we made the entry of the United Kingdom a trump card for European defence; we succeeded in expanding membership to the Southern European countries and offering them genuine economic opportunities.

The originality of the European project of integration also explains its difficulty: we do not have a known model to guide us. We invent as we go along. We have taken the risk of inventing a new political entity, one that no other country has ever tried. We have chosen to reconcile our memories while preserving the specific identity, of each of our nations. We have accepted to be always poised between the known and the unknown, between desire and discovery. Our strength is that we have always been able to advance on two feet: pragmatism and the spirit of responsibility. Today, it is these two virtues that must guide us to overcome the present crisis:

Pragmatism, first of all: we are dealing with a movement that affects the whole planet: the new affirmation of nations. They are the authority to which citizens apply to be better protected, better heard, better defended. It is through nations that peoples express their identity and their aspirations. Europe must therefore take note of this movement and preserve the place of nations, while avoiding the pitfalls of nationalism and isolation. This is the challenge: to make the nation a place of identity and openness, a benchmark but also a point of departure for understanding others and the world. Europe's progress cannot be based on the erosion of nations, but on acknowledgement of their virtues and pooling of their strengths.

Secondly, the spirit of responsibility: Europe has a unique message to deliver, one that is awaited throughout the world. It has never ceased to take strong positions on preservation of the environment with the aim of furthering the main objectives of the international community. The Kyoto protocol is the best example of this. In the fight for international justice and the defence of fundamental freedoms, Europe is an essential player. In the cultural field, we have succeeded in encouraging UNESCO to adopt the charter on cultural diversity. We have a responsibility to other regions of the world.

3. Today, once again, Europe must find in itself the means to overcome the crisis and pursue its destiny.

My conviction is that we have to write a new chapter in the history of Europe: that of its peoples. Europe has recently sustained two major setbacks:

First of all, the Iraqi crisis, in which our countries were unable to overcome their divisions, even though the peoples of Europe were unanimous in their demand that international law be respected. Islamic terrorism, which struck at the heart of Madrid and London, revealing the vulnerability of our societies to new threats.

These trials must today encourage us to open up a new path for our peoples, a new period in European history. Let us not forget that when our governments and states debate such questions as reduced-rate VAT or the services directive, what lies behind these questions is the whole challenge of a common consciousness that is emerging and that is essential to the vitality of the European project. Let us learn how to respond to the aspirations of our fellow citizens, let us learn how to anticipate their questions and calm their anxieties. This is essential if we wish to prevent national egotisms sweeping away the European dream.

And it is why the big challenge for Europe today, the project that demands both humility and perseverance, is that of projects; this is what demonstrates that Europe is moving ahead, that it has meaning, that it is the future for everyone of us. This Europe of projects is not a Europe on the cheap: It is a Europe that bears witness, a Europe that exists and lives in concrete terms, day after day. In every field, we must show that it is capable of defending the interests of our fellow citizens and satisfying their aspirations:

In the field of security, we must be capable of proving to our fellow citizens that Europe can protect them against the great scourges of trafficking, organised crime and terrorism. To do this, we can rely on the progress that has already been achieved with various partners, whether in terms of border controls, exchanging lists of terrorists or the efforts we are making to control unauthorized immigration. These initiatives could be taken further if we start working, as of today, on setting up a European border police force. They might also be expanded to include other member states.

In the field of research and universities, the European countries must at all costs combine their efforts in order to compete at the highest international level. We must also find new resources for innovation, for instance, by setting up as quickly as possible the research facility of the European Investment Bank as decided in December. Let us unite around major projects such as the European digital library. We must also increase the number of exchanges between our students and facilitate their mobility, so that Europe becomes a genuine space of knowledge and excellence.

In the cultural field, we could also unite our strengths to enhance the value of Europe's heritage. Here, in Salzburg, how can we not understand that preservation of our sites and monuments is an essential priority for our countries? Why should we not set up, on the UNESCO model, a top-level scientific committee that would be responsible for awarding a European heritage label? This would constitute a strong recognition of the place that culture occupies in the European project. It would also be a way of enhancing the attractiveness of our countries and stimulating tourism.

In the field of health, we must combine our capacities to face up to new risks, such as avian flu. If we want quicker response and better coordination of our systems of prevention, warning and crisis, we must set up a genuine specialised rapid response force. France and Germany are keen to create a first reserve of experts, and we welcome any other country that would like to join with us.

In the field of energy, we must pick up the challenge of the post-oil era. Energy independence for Europe is particularly vital in that we are confronted with regional tensions, whether disagreements between Russia and Ukraine or the Iranian situation. In accordance with the commitment made by President Jacques Chirac at Hampton Court, France presented a memorandum on energy to the Ecofin Council on 24 January. We would like to use this memorandum as a basis to move forward, with our partners, towards a genuine European energy policy.

Finally, Europe must make concrete progress in the economic field. We have a common currency, which is a formidable advantage for our companies, and yet European growth is not sufficient. We must work together better to defend Europe's economic interests. We must also work together to define strategic projects that will allow us to boost growth and create jobs.

We also need more democratic institutions, to reconcile our citizens with the European project. I know that the Austrian presidency is carefully preparing the European Council meeting scheduled for June, which will be looking at the future of Europe and, in particular, its institutions. The criterion of efficacy is, of course, paramount, in a Europe that is now moving forward with 25 members. But we must also think about proposals to reinforce the legitimacy of these institutions. I have taken a certain number of measures to more closely involve the French parliament with decisions made by the Union. The national parliaments are the representatives of our different peoples and their role must go beyond simple transposition of European texts.

To regain the trust of its peoples, Europe will have to speak truthfully, and answer the questions which European citizens are asking today:

The first question is that of borders:

We must be clear about membership criteria, which must be based not only on the European history, and identity, of candidate countries and their respect of the Union's values and rules, but also the Union's capacity of absorption.

We must be clear too about forthcoming milestones: in the case of Bulgaria and Romania, they must become members as soon as possible on the basis of the next recommendations of the Commission. As for the Balkan countries, a region that is particularly close to you both in terms of geography and history, we hope that they, too will join the Union on condition that they scrupulously respect the membership conditions. In the case of Turkey, the decision to open membership negotiations was made some weeks ago. This is a major political decision, the result of commitments made by Europe several decades ago, but also of the considerable efforts accomplished by Turkey. The process that has now started must be carefully monitored at every stage and must be conditional on compliance with the criteria set by the Union. It is, finally, a process whose outcome must remain open until the end of the negotiations. In France, we decided that the last word must be given to the French people by way of referendum.

But we must also, as of now, define a global strategy for enlargement of the Union and its relations with the surrounding countries: membership must not be the only solution proposed to neighbouring countries. We must also be able to offer them ambitious partnerships, likely to help them on the path towards democracy and economic growth.

The second question to which we must reply is the question of Europe's ambitions. Do we want solely to become the richest continent in the world? Or do we also want to defend our values outside our borders?

My conviction is that Europe means nothing if it is unable to convey its message beyond its own borders. We must demonstrate the legitimacy and universality of our principles by defending them in the international arena.

We are the leading provider of development aid in the world. This is because we know that poverty and injustice are not only unacceptable from the moral point of view, but that, exploited by fanatics, they can create fertile ground for violence and terrorism.

Europe has proved that it is capable of military intervention in countries where freedom is endangered. We are present in Afghanistan, for instance, to support democracy and help with the rebuilding of the State.

We should also be active in respect of the major geopolitical issues, in a world that is constantly confronted with fresh crises. In Iran, we demonstrated that we are able to play a top-level role when we speak with a single voice. In the Middle East, we are the leading supplier of aid to the Palestinians: we therefore have a significant responsibility to seek a political settlement. This is particularly true today, with the recent accession to power of Hamas. This is a major challenge for us all: no progress can be made without clear and definitive renunciation of violence, without explicit recognition of the State of Israel and without strong support for the peace process initiated, in particular, by the Oslo agreements. It is essential for us to speak clearly and promote justice in every part of the world and in every arena.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Incompletion is one of Europe's main characteristics. To come back to Salzburg and music, we all know that Schubert did not finish his 8th symphony, that Mozart died without writing the last notes of his requiem and that Bach closed his eyes to the last notes of an endless fugue. Incompletion is not a failure: it is an appeal to the next generations to continue with the work accomplished and to take it further. We are the new generations of Europe. It is our responsibility to find the means for its political accomplishment, while remaining faithful to the ambitions and values of all those who went before us. The big rendezvous is not tomorrow, it is today, stimulated by our own conscience and the peoples of Europe

Thank you.

Panel Discussion

- Jan Peter Balkenende, Prime Minister, The Netherlands
- Josep Borrell, President of the European Parliament (Spain)
- David Cesarani, University of London (United Kingdom)
- Benita Ferrero-Waldner, European Commissioner (Austria)
- Paul Michael Lützeler, Washington University in St. Louis (Germany)
- Andrew Moravcsik, Princeton University (USA)
- Dominique de Villepin, Prime Minister (France)

Rob Riemen

First of all, I too would like to express my gratitude to Bundeskanzler Schüssel for having this conference organised. As he himself already mentioned, the conference in Salzburg follows a series of conferences originally originated by the Dutch Prime Minister, Jan Peter Balkenende. He was the first one to recognise the fact that within EU politics we have to have this political philosophical debate. Now when we did it in 2004, it was a series of five conferences with about 160 intellectuals from all over the world.

But it was very very difficult to get the decision-makers involved. Schüssel was one of them; Barroso was one of them. We had Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, the president of France, but it was difficult. Now I am amazed and most pleasantly surprised by the fact that one year later now what we started one year ago is now accepted. And that we have the huge commitment of the political world to take part in this debate. Most of you might have seen the financial times this morning, with a series of articles about the Sound of Europe. And in the opening articles, the last one is: the sound of Europe conference promises to be an intellectual stimulating and cultural agreeable event along the way. It may even be useful too. Well let's face it. When a political elite has to take decisions and there is no intellectual compass, how useful can those decisions be? Not very much I think. And decision-makers, they'll be or cosmetic, or ineffective, or counter-productive and that's what I would like to call a waste of money. So, probably this conference is even more important than all the - - - talks old friends have had the last half year.

This is about the sound of Europe. Let's take the metaphor of an opera. An opera starts with a problem. If there's not a problem, you cannot have a happy ending. So we will discuss this morning a problem. And the problem is called the identity of Europe. I would like to make two rounds or that we will focus on two big issues. The first issue is what is the nature of our crisis. Is it economical, is it political, or is it something much more at stake? Do we have to differentiate between the crisis of the EU as De Villepin mentioned at the beginning of his lecture or are we dealing, as many intellectuals argued, are we dealing with a crisis of our culture? And that affects how we see the European identity. And in my second round I would like to discuss the question if the political culture is in a crisis as well; and then I leave it to the whole panel discussions to find a way out and that's on Saturday morning conducting Europe will be in major.

Let me start with some very simple facts. Rotterdam in 2004 was chosen, for the Dutch EU conference because it was the city of Erasmus, and now we are in Salzburg because it is the city of Mozart. And it is a fact that nobody will deny, that Erasmus and Mozart are Europeans. They are the true embodiment of the European spirit. It is also a fact that both were Europeans when there was no Euro, no European Parliament, no Brussels, no European Commission – so conclusion number one: these things are apparently not a condition to be European.

Other fact: When in 2004 the first translation appeared of the letters of Erasmus in Dutch translation, out of our eleven thousands libraries, less than ten ordered a copy, which means that the work of Erasmus, which is the embodiment of the European spirit, will be out of reach for future generations. It is also a fact that out of all the CDs sold in western world, only 6% are classical music. The people who like classical music, who like Mozart are a tiny, tiny, tiny minority in the western world. So it is only a tiny minority who appreciates this European language. The whole effect is that, out of the twenty five member states, and the 450 million people living here, if you ask them ‘do you consider yourself a European?’ They will tell you ‘what are you talking about?’, ‘what is a European?’. And it is also a fact that it’s the holocaust memorial day and that we are 61 years after the liberation of Auschwitz, which brings me first to David Cesarani. David is a professor of Jewish history and minorities. He wrote biographies of Arthur Köstler and most recently Eichman and this year he was awarded by the British government with the order of the British Empire in recognition of his work for holocaust education.

Let us start the one thousand euro question: which is that some of the best European minds, like Adorno mentioned by De Villepin, but also Steiner, Imre Kertesz make a profound connection between Auschwitz and Europe’s identity crisis. That is to say that they argue that with Auschwitz, with the Holocaust, something irreversible has been lost, which we call the idea of Europe. And with this definition of Europe, by definition Europe must have an identity crisis. What’s your comment about this? What’s your idea about this?

David Cesarani

Well I was very grateful to Dominique De Villepin for his wonderful keynote lecture.

Some ways I was wondering what is left for us to say. He quoted Adorno, he quoted Steiner. In particular, his use of Adorno was interesting because yes, Adorno asked the question ‘is it possible to write poetry after Auschwitz?’. Is it possible to rehabilitate European culture after the descent into Auschwitz? And Dominique de Villepin argued very passionately and in some ways very convincingly that Europe has indeed overcome the wound inflicted on it by what is now called the Holocaust, the Shoa, that it has recovered in some sense its confidence.

I would question that. I think that the wound inflicted by Auschwitz is still raw. What died in Auschwitz, what Steiner is trying to tell us; well there were two competing ideas, which in a sense came together in Auschwitz. One was a cosmopolitan idea, inclusive, an idea of Europe rooted in the Enlightenment in secular humanism, and idea of Europe that celebrated the best of European culture and society and in some way this was epitomized by the Jews. One should not stereotype, one should romanticize; but certainly the many people the Jews were the embodiment of a cosmopolitan idea of Europe, which was murdered in Auschwitz. It was murdered by another idea of Europe that competing idea that is narrow, exclusive, that is rooted in a reaction against enlightenment that draws on nationalism, religious intolerance, and racism to shape Europe in its own image: national socialism.

Because we have to remember, national socialism had a certain idea of Europe, which found adherence and supporters from Brittany to the Baltic and from Tromsø to Taormina. Well why does this matter today? It matters because as I have said, I don’t think that Europe has yet completely

recovered from this trauma. And it doesn't help to go through ritualistic processes of commemoration and memorialisation, to have a light and sound shows and then congratulate ourselves that we have been good Europeans, good humanitarians and now we can move on to the future. It is not so simple.

Because the assault on European values between 1933 and 1945 for many Europeans sullied those values forever. Why? Because there is an argument that we have heard increasingly frequently amongst European intellectuals, that National Socialism was in some sense the fulfilment of the ideals of the enlightenment. It was the embodiment of one form of European modernity. This creates an enormous dilemma and I think we are going to speak about some aspects of this dilemma later on today when we discuss education. Adorno, Michel Foucault, Sigmund Bauman; some of the most prominent names in European thought today whose work is taught in European universities, these thinkers argue that national socialism, Auschwitz, Mauthausen are in some sense a fulfilment of the ideas of the Enlightenment. Perverted, yes, but nevertheless the culmination of a determination to achieve order, uniformity, efficiency, utilitarianism; and I think that this has, for many young people, shaken the belief in Enlightenment values. One of the challenges that we face now, when we begin the debate or resume the debate 'what is Europe?', when we talk about going back to the Enlightenment, when we talk about the world in which Mozart lived, we have to challenge the notion that it is indeed from that world, from that moment that begins the dynamics, that begins the road that leads to Auschwitz. And I'm afraid European intellectuals dug themselves into a whole. Because the very foundations on which I think Europe can be based, the values of the Enlightenment, for many young people are tainted and poisoned by the experience of national socialism.

Rob Riemen

Let me interrupt you here. If I understand you correctly, something happened, with Auschwitz, related to our set of ideas and in your perspective an idea of Europe must be grounded on a cosmopolitan idea of Europe, and which is essentially an idea of the enlightenment. Here next to me is Paul Michael Lützeler, who is a German living already for a long time in the United States and, most of you already know, is the greatest Austrian intellectual who has thought of European identity crisis, especially in his book, *The Sleepwalkers*, where he makes an announcement of the decline of these values. Again, we will hear a lot of talk about European values, European values, European values... but question A: what are those values? And question B: what are we doing with those values? Are we still cultivating those values? Can you comment very briefly about how Broch makes this connection between this European identity crisis and the decline of values?

Paul Michael Lützeler

Thank you all for offering me to say something on Broch's analysis of the crisis, the cultural crisis of Europe. First of all, I would like to say how happy I am to be able to talk about Hermann Broch in his own country, Austria, Broch and Robert Musil were the two giants in the field of the modern Austrian novel. They were the great contributors to the European modern novel for the first half of the 20th century. Let me also say that I am also happy to say something about Broch in Salzburg because Salzburg was one of his favourite cities and the place he met Stefan Zweig frequently and where they discussed together the European question. Broch was an admirer of Mozart as well. In his last novel *the Helpless*¹ in 1950, you will find that it is filled with inter-textual references to Mozart's Don Giovanni.

But aside from that, Hermann Broch and the European cultural crisis, there are many European intellectuals who have testified to the fact that it is Broch who comes up with a deeper and more comprehensive and more far sighted analysis of the European crisis than many of his contemporaries.

¹ The actual translation of *Die Schuldlosen*, in 1950, may actually be *The Guiltless*.

Amongst those contemporaries were leading intellectuals Maurice Blanchot, Milan Kundera and George Steiner. *The Sleepwalkers* appeared in 1930, 1932 and I believe that Broch says something long before Auschwitz that we only understand fully after Auschwitz. That is a major point I want to make. Broch integrated into the essay the disintegration of values. What does it mean? It is a kind of system theory "avant la lettre". What he describes, Broch says in very drastic terms, is that Europe is a culture without a centre. Europe is a culture that has lost its center.

The disintegration of values has happened in the time of modernity, and it means that over a couple of hundred years, a centre existed for example in medieval times, is the Christian church and Christian belief and Christian ethics that also disintegrated. Today, we are talking about 1930, Broch says that church is only one of the many value systems. Instead of having a central value system that gives a comprehensive meaning to the whole culture that holds the whole culture together no longer exists. Instead of that we have an ever growing number of value systems.

And he mentions for example the political realm, the military sphere, the commercial realm, the scientific, etc. Now each of these partial value systems has its own agenda, has its own value system very different, has its own ideology, and they are fighting for domination. One could say this is typical for pluralistic society, you have many partial value system and Broch says the danger is that one of these partial value systems is trying to take over, to fill the void after the central system disappeared, but it cannot give the total answers, it cannot deliver a comprehensive cultural unity. In allusion to fascism, to communism, Broch predicts 'if these political movements who claimed to be able to offer a comprehensive meaning, if they succeed, we will have an apocalyptic situation. We will have a break of the European culture. (and he said that in 1932.)

Aside from that essay he portrays the reaction to the situation where you no longer have a value system?

There are three typical reactions. The first reaction he says in the first narrative part of his novel is the romantic reaction, the second reaction is the anarchic reaction, and the third reaction is the realist reaction.

The romantic reaction is a reaction where people close their eyes to reality, as if we still had a central value system, with the belief that it's all comprehensive, that's it's all encompassing. The second reaction is the anarchic reactions. These are people who realise the central value system has gone, but they are still looking for their comprehensive, totalising meaning that they need, and they look into the partial value system, switching from one to another always being disappointed.

The third reaction is the realist reaction, the prevalent reaction. The realist is the opportunist, the cynical person who lives happily ever after the disintegration of values within the partial value system, but he is opportunistic and cynical. He does not take seriously the ethical ideas or the ideology of the partial value system. He is only wanting to make use of the partial value of the system, he follows them no matter what the ideology is, as long as these partial value systems contribute to the expansion of wealth and power for the individual, for the so-called realistic. This is in a nutshell what *The Sleepwalkers* is about, pessimistic in its outlook. On the other hand I must say it delivers truth and is in an amusing way, filled of satire and comical situations. The question is: Is that history? Is that something of interest in 1930, but what about 75 years later? Or is there something in that analysis that we have to listen to and that might be applicable? Maybe there is something to it because Broch alludes to the fact that there might be a point with the commercial value system that can take over. These days we have intellectuals like Adolf Muschball, Peter Sloterdijk who indicated that yes that is a problem these days we have a partial value system like the commercial fear taking over, that acts as the comprehensive value system. Sloterdijk defines Europe today as the consumer in panic. The European of today is the consumer in panic. And this is something that goes into that direction. Let me stop here.

Rob Riemen

Margot Wallström stressed your point why the vox populi, the new European values are prosperity, security, welfare.

Benita Ferrero Waldner, you are from Austria, from the country of Hermann Broch, do you consider yourself a European?

Benita Ferrero-Waldner

Absolutely! Thank you very much for giving me this chance to say so. I consider myself a Salzburger, an Austrian, and a European! And let me also say why. I think I have my roots here, that's clear and I love to come back because this is familiar, this is infancy, this is youth, local things but then of course, I love my country, my national values, there's a lot of national identity that we have to grasp again. I know also as a European official and previously as a Foreign Affairs Minister that in this globalised world we have to work together to order make a difference.

Rob Riemen

Yes, but why do you consider yourself a European?

Benita Ferrero-Waldner

Because I think that I could be at the same time an Austrian and some citizen of Europe; because I feel that those values that have been proclaimed: human rights, liberty, democracy, rule of law, and also history (cf de Villepin). I think all those things have formed me and I could be in another country and feel exactly fine and see this as an enrichment to my national Austrian identity.

Rob Riemen

Joseph Borrell, do you consider yourself a European?

Josep Borrell

I am a Catalan, Spanish, and e European, all of them all the time, not one third of each. I have a complex identity. Let me tell one thing: I was born in 1947 under the Spanish dictatorship, and in 1985 we came in EU. You know what the big shout of the Spanish people was? Enfin nous sommes européens!!! So to be European must be something. The most famous film at that time was, in the 1980s, was "We are Europeans". When the Spanish were saying this, why were they saying this? It was the best combination of freedom, liberty, progress and social cohesion. There are places where you have a political freedom but not social cohesion, and political freedoms and economic progress too. That's what the Spanish were thinking about. When I was small I could not speak Catalan.

Rob Riemen

With all respect, the things you mention are so obvious. What makes it specific European? And why do so many people have a problem to identify with Europe?

Josep Borrell

We respect others, and freedom does not grow on trees. Without Erasmus, it has been a long historical march. We don't gain the tolerance etc. without a long march. We are European as we share this historical march. Not so long ago there was Auschwitz and before that the Inquisition. We have integrated religion into civil society. We are able to put Mosques next to cathedrals. You don't do that just by waving a magical wand. We manage to get market economics with a sense of human rights.

Rob Rieman

Jan-Peter Balkenende

We have a crisis. Of course I am Dutch and I feel European and a bit Austrian here. I feel European because I know that our future is in Europe. My visit to Auschwitz had an important impact. IO am also convinced that things have changed in Europe after WWII; because what we've seen since then is that we now need each other to combat injustice, terrorism. We have to work together for freedom, democracy, fundamental human rights. Europe is the area of solidarity. We have seen enormous progress. I don't have this idea that Europe is in crises. Just because of the No votes and difficulties on the budget perspectives? Now we have found a solution.

We have had the Europe of the 6, of the 12, of the 15 and now of the 25 and now we can move free, we have one currency. If I look at countries like Spain and Portugal they really benefited from being in Europe. And we talk about the era of terrorism; we know we need each other. Economic progress, human rights, democracy, and solidarity: we have reached success: DV said ok it's unfinished! We have to work on it.

We have many things to do but talking in terms of crisis is not the right way, even ore the young people. I was in the Gulf and in India last week; what you feel there is an area of dynamism, of future orientation. And Europe is the continent of science, of literature, of music. And the last thing we need at the moment is talking about crisis. If there's a difficulty, you have to talk about it, but we have reached success here in the last decades; I am convinced about it.

Rob Riemen

I guess I am not supposed to be neutral as a moderator. So let me make a few remarks. First Mike Lützelner made perfectly clear, in the analysis of Broch, that when you talk about values, the values are essentially economic values.

Josep Borrell

You haven't understood anything. Democracy is not an economic value! I was talking about democracy and human rights and freedom!

Rob Riemen

Why is it that so many youngsters cannot identify themselves as Europeans. At a conference in Amsterdam, we had short movies, 6 young white girl now at Dutch universities, the first question was: did not know any name of other Prime Ministers? They did not. Then the second question was: Do you consider yourself European? France is boring, Italy is horrible because the food is horrible; their country is the United States of America! That is what they feel the most at home with. They feel that they can identify. This is the case in this movie. Now, Andy you are outsider here more or less. Can you imagine why these girls can better identify with the US?

Andrew Moravcsick

I don't know how much of an outsider I am! My father was born in Budapest. I remember asking my Hungarian grandmother where the centre of the world was, and she answered in German, her preferred language: "Staatssoper, 10. Row Sie spielen Mozart" ! Perhaps I am not the person to ask. I think that the reasons why these girls feel like that is because they are kids! What's important to them is music, what's going on day to day,. What we're talking about here is political ideals. what is universal but is also distinctly European, and what is of great importance even to America is I think that Europe is the example of two great political revolutions in the last hundred years: first is the social democratic revolution, it happened a hundred years ago. Europe stands for social solidarity, and it can be reformed. This may seem uncontroversial, but many Americans don't believe in social democracy, and not even in the principle.

The second great political idea is the idea of integration. EU is the more successful form of voluntary international cooperation in world history, only successful new form of political order to be introduced in a 100 years. Fascism and communism were introduced but they didn't succeed. And there is an idea underlying Europe; and I believe that idea is not of ever closer union until we get to a super state; it is the idea of unity in diversity. It shows that deep cooperation, cooperation that goes beyond economics and the cosmopolitan values that make that cooperation possible can coexist with the deep enduring particularities of nation states, their language, their culture, their political culture, and their own national systems of social solidarity and democracies. Most Americans cannot believe that this kind of multilateral cooperation is possible. In principle, they think that multilateral cooperation is in contradiction with these traditional national virtues. The Europeans are showing that there is no contradiction. these 2 great ideals: social democracy and integration are something that the entire world can take heart from but are in substantiation European.

Paul Michael Lützeler

I would like to answer to several of your contributions. I think that what Mr Balkenende said about the change after WWII and the focus on human rights is very important. Hermann Broch had not only this negative view of the European cultural crisis, but also tried to overcome the crisis; he published a good series of essays on the question of human rights, and said we can overcome the crisis if we in the political realm we concentrate on human rights, individual freedom and dignity. After Aufschwitz, he said we need an earthly absolute, forbid the enslavement of other people. If we do that then we can come out of it. There are historical reasons. If you look at the building blocks, Greek philosophy, Roman law, Moses, teaching of Christianity, philosophy of humanism and enlightenment, you always find this ideal of human rights, you have the deep roots of human dignity, deeper than anything could ever be offered by communism or fascism. He says then 'let's concentrate on this ideal of human rights'.

Rob Riemen

Borrell, yes I understood perfectly that it is not all about economics. We all know (cf. Plato) that democracy has the potentiality to commit suicide. It has happened. Can only survive when it's cultivated, again and again: the cultivation of certain values. Critics say that the EU we have right now is very much the Europe of Davos meetings, business man's Europe, neo-liberalism, market ideology. This does not have quintessential European values! Need to make sure that our democracy and liberty will sustain.

Benita Ferrero-Waldner

Thank you very much. If you are travelling outside Europe, it gives you a chance to say 'I'm European'; people abroad are looking to Europe with great admiration, as a lighthouse. They see us on the question of reconciliation, the question of tolerance, of freedom, they say that these European have come very far. I agree with [Andrew Moravczik]. We Europeans today, we don't have big goals any more. Because of some sort of individualism, we do not think collectively. We do not see the necessity to really be sure of ourselves. We are the most prosperous; we have democracy, human rights, etc. We have to install this again. We need new imagination and new impetus to that. I agree that the diversity of our culture has to be shown as a great richness, we have to be a society, in spite of diversities, have a unity of ideas but also happy about what we feel ourselves.

Rob Riemen

Jan-Peter Balkenende, you would like to ...

Jan-Peter Balkenende

Unity and diversity is important, reflects AM. Is it about money, benefits, Common Agricultural Policy, is it about cash from Brussels, or is it something much more? When I was in India last week, we talked innovation, economics, but the third issue is unity and diversity. What does unity mean today? Is Europe, and European values, in the hearts and minds of people? We take lots of values for granted: democracy, human rights for examples. This has practical consequences. Role of entrepreneurs, for example. Take the Millenium Development Goals: how can companies contribute to these development goals? If you talk about Corporate Social Responsibility, these issues are very important, and they are related to values! But we don't define values; we don't talk about the definition of unity. Thanks to Schüssel for taking upon these issues. Indeed diversity is a characteristic of our European societies. What is this unity about? Therefore it's important to look at the issue of social democracy. It is not only a matter of European values. Are we aware of these value-oriented issues? It's also about Christianity, Humanism, Islam – what does integration mean? It is important to elaborate on these issues. Not only economy.

Rob Riemen

You did not address my question... What is unity about?

Jan-Peter Balkenende

For me unity and Europe is to be aware of the fact that we share common values such as freedom justice, solidarity, subsidiarity, feel responsible for other parts of Europe, realise that we can be diverse but that we share more than a European Union of market and money. It is material as an aspect of that identity, but is more.

Josep Borrell

First of all, as regards Europe and young people, well between 15-24 year olds 55% feel that their country and European. For 55 years old: 40% only. Reasons are different. For oldies it was for peace, for the youth peace has been achieved, it's granted. Young have always lived with democracy. They feel more European than the older people.

Second, I don't agree with JPB, we have a triple crisis: a crisis of legitimacy, a political, a democratic crisis, then there is a crisis because we are so different, hard to act together and to be united. Hard to make people understand what the European project is all about. The countries don't understand us. If you change VAT on restaurants, and corporation tax down – it's all complex, need to try to understand them. We need more democracy. This EU was something built by governments. Need to consult people! No-one asked us for our opinion about enlargement. Idem about Turkey. Not the President of the EP who speaks for them. Democracy has to be at every layer in Europe. Countries want to say that they won, and others complain of having lost. We can't have people winning all the time. Building Europe on this zero-sum game is impossible.

David Cesarani

I feel there's an air of unreality about some aspects of the discussion. If it's so good, how is it so bad? Why is there such a high level of apathy or antipathy of the people of the constituent countries? The referenda were only the most visible tip of the iceberg. Many of the deliverables that have been discussed here – these things can be secured at the national level, and most people feel they have a greater degree of engagement, they can assert control over the people delivering things at the national level. Feel people cannot ensure responsible answers beyond the national level, done better regionally or nationally. Need to prove the added value that comes from Europe.

Now it is very interesting that Andrew [Moravczik] got applause when he said that it is easy to see what Europe is from the outside. I think that it's pathetic to have to be outside in order to understand Europe! Why do you have to go outside? This is surely the nature of the crisis. It seems to me that the question that Rob [Rieman] has been asking, why this conference is happening – is what values Europe has, can transmit to its people to give them this sense of unity, things they want.

There was social democracy before in the EU, it is not purely European. It existed before the European Union. There have to be deeper cultural and spiritual values that cannot be assessed according to delivery, efficiency, utility, material estimations. If you measure progress in Europe in these terms, I'm afraid that people will see that these goods can be obtained at local and national level more easily, with a better satisfaction and a greater sense of control. What we bring to them has to be something higher, rooted in a shared culture or spiritual values. I have heard little from the others on this!

Rob Riemen

David, it's important. The European identity is born of Greek philosophy, of careful human soul. What David Cesarani said: you cannot have European identity without cultural, spiritual values. Look at the Lisbon agenda, based on knowledge economy, look at what we are discussing and what the countries discuss! It's all about how much money we give or we can get. That's basically how outsiders view the way the discussions in the EU go, and this has nothing to do with the quintessential thing: how to cultivate a European spirit?

Jens-Peter Balkenende

That's why we organised the meetings, during the Dutch presidency, about values and European society; we know we need something else. Just economics and Lisbon is not enough.

That's why I said Europe must be in the hearts and minds of people. And then we need something else. If I look at how people see Europe, they see some abstract decision making processes in Brussels and Strasbourg. And sometimes things are going too fast; that's one part of the problem we had in my country and also I think in other countries.

The second is: What does Europe mean for people? Talk of terrorism, clear we need each other. If you talk about pollution, environmental issues, we need each others. These are value oriented. Human rights, the position of women – improved thanks to the EU. The question now is: How can we get that debate on values? Need to go deeper. We can stimulate that with the curricula for instance: exchanges amongst and debates at universities, schools and education, politicians and academics, need this type of reflection. If the only debate is “what benefit can we get out of the EU?”, that's not very inspiring. That's why some young people go to university in the United States, because it is so challenging! Now the question is: how can we work on a challenging European society? What is Europe really about? Emotions on 1st may 2004, people felt something was really changing in Europe. We have the obligation to debate these things and get them into the minds of people.

Rob Riemen

That's more important than a constitution? Need to be fair about the nightmare of our education, if we look the way we take care of our culture, it's never important. You might take into consideration if the European leadership gave the example themselves. Leaders need to give an example.

Jan-Peter Balkenende

If you talk about the financial contributions, there were also discussions in my country. The fact that we are a net contributor is not a point of discussion. If you have an excess of possession, then you say also that there are limits to solidarity. Those discussions are now over in my country and I am happy that we could solve the problem; and I said to many colleagues, it has gone too far. If you look at the more general elements, if you talk about the Lisbon Strategy, it's also about dynamics. And its not only about economic relevancy, it has to do with the spirit, the spirit of entrepreneurship. Europe was the continent of the industrial revolution! And you see now that spirit in India, China, the Gulf states, and the US.

That's also linked to the way people are considering Europe. If you look to the solidarity in Europe, the fact that we have 10 new Member States; things are changing. And this notion of solidarity is value-oriented. And if you look at the question of integration, and this is also a problem in my country, how do groups relate to each other? What does dignity mean? What does solidarity mean? How can you bring groups together? What is the issue of unity in diversity also if you look to cultures and religion? That are many things we must discuss besides economics. I am convinced about that.

Discussion with the audience

Slavenka Drakulić

I am a writer from Croatia and Sweden. I would like to comment on the crisis. I have heard a few keywords here: crisis, anxiety, uneasiness and fear. So the crisis of identity of Europe is maybe the crisis of forming the new identity.

I think you can detect it on several levels: 3 levels.

One is individual. On the individual level, it is the fear of the new, for simple reasons: collapse of communism, enlargement, and big social changes and security happening in the last ten to fifteen years. And let's not forget the Balkan wars. On the national level, there is the issue of giving up on sovereignty. And on the third level, the European level, the question is of course: what is Europe representing?

Long ago I attended a lecture by Bronislaw Geremek and his lecture boiled down to: what you should have as European identity is solidarity. Could we not say then that solidarity, which then means social security, pensions, social privileges, human rights, that is oriented politics, economy and culture, oriented to human being and not to profit? Could it be that the lowest common denominator is something people can identify with in Europe, not only within Europe but also outside Europe? So Solidarity as European identity: do you think this is possible?

Yves Mény

Yves Mény, President of the European University Institute, Florence.

When somebody asks what is your identity, it's very difficult to reply, or you give the standard answer, I'm German, I'm French, I'm Spanish; it doesn't tell you anything. But it is better to described the negative.

If I'm European, it means that I'm not only national; and if Europe has suffered in its history it's because of nationalisms. What is Europe offering us? It is offering us the possibility to go beyond our national, local sort of enclosure national is small compared to international. It gives us greater pluralism. Europe offers us the possibility of looking across the borders.

What does it mean democracy? This is what Europe means, not being enclosed. Let's get out of our villages. Europe does not offer young people the challenges. It's exciting to be in America because America is full of challenges. And we cannot offer this to young Europeans. That is why I fell that we should take source of inspiration, not on the American model, but in the best Europe offers: the excitement to look to the future, to reform, to change.

Andrew Moravcsik

We need to distinguish two things. the first kind of argument according to which Europe has common values and the only way to realise these values, be it environmental protection, human rights, economic prosperity is through the EU, it is justified because it permits Austria, Holland... to achieve its goals. That is one kind of argument.

Another kind of argument is: there are European ideals, distinct to the European Union, ideals like those people believed in the 1950s about European federalism that need to be achieved , and European must believe in this common European identity in that sense in order to move Europe forward.

I think that what the Constitutional process has shown is that that second form of identity, the notion that there is a common political process, or deliberation, or democratic ethos, doesn't work. And this is not good news; I think that most of us like the content of the Constitution; but the form was wrong.

Europeans were not able, and I believe will not be able, to have that kind of abstract constitutional debate as a continent. The things in politics that they really care about remain national. Those are social welfare, taxing and spending, education systems, culture, health care, things like that. As long as we have this disjuncture between the intense democratic feelings at the national level and the activities at the European level, the only way to legitimate Europe is to turn away from common deliberation, constitutions, abstract ideas, and justify Europe by results for individual nation states.

Benita Ferrero-Waldner

We need to give back to the local and national levels what can be solved there. We need subsidiarity. We then have to give the added value. There we have a lot to offer if we have big important issues: like avian flue, energy issues. And my second remark is: I think the unease today comes from the fears towards globalisation. People feel they are not having the same dynamics as before; there are huge countries coming up which are more dynamic, they fear that they lose their jobs if a business goes out; they fear that they do not have the same security nor the same safety as they had after WWII. I think this is another important issue that is being mixed up with the debate on Europe. But in reality we have to explain more and more that being together in Europe is the answer to globalisation. And maybe we have not yet succeeded to do so.

Rob Riemen

Also De Villepin this morning spoke about Europe becoming a continent in fear. One of the fears of course is Islam and terrorism. Fortunately we have a great expert here: Bassam Tibi. Barson, can you phrase your question in one minute?

Bassam Tibi

My name is B Tibi; I am a Syrian born of Muslim faith and I studied with Adorno and I spent 6 years with Adorno. This is a comment to Mr Cesarani. I found most disturbing to hear him refer to Adorno and to say that enlightenment is the embodiment of Auschwitz. I never heard him saying that. He never put it in writing. I wrote a book on Europe "Europa und Identität" and my book is dedicated to

Adorno and Horkheimer and their tradition. As a Syrian of Muslim faith, I learned to love Europe and to identify with Europe. I suggest a more careful reading of Adorno and Horkheimer. They never said what you have stated.

Sonia Puntscher-Riekman

I am Sonia Puntscher-Riekman, University of Salzburg.

I first tented to endorse David Cesarani especially when he said: if all is ok why are we sitting here? What I would not agree with you is when you said that all and even economic issues have to be dealt with at the national and local level: if that would be the case we would not need Europe at all! We know that even in economic terms, Europe is important. Let me give you an example: negotiating at the WTO is to be done by Europe and not by single Member States. My second point is: there has been a lot of talking about unity in diversity. What is at stake in Europe is not so much diversity. It's diverse enough! What is at stake is the unity and how to construct it.

In my last point, I'd like to contradict Andy Moravcsik. Perhaps you're right about the Constitutional Treaty and its debates being too abstract to be discussed in a large audience. Yes, all constitutional debates have taken place in elite groups (also the American debate in the 18th century). But allow me to cool down a bit your criticism, it is about the rules we play the political game. As far as that is concerned, the new Constitutional Treaty is an evolution. It's nothing dramatic, it's enhancing power of the European Parliament; bringing into the game the national parliaments, endorsing the principle of subsidiary, ...and it is last but not least defining who will speak in the world in the name of Europe, and about the newly conceived president of the EU...

David Cesarani

Yes perhaps I have simplified, vulgarised the dialectics of enlightenment; but believe me, the way this book is taught at universities throughout Europe is as one instalment in a process of critiquing the enlightenment, of turning the enlightenment on its head, making enlightenment responsible for exclusivity and intolerance, the intolerance of the other, as making the enlightenment a European project to create order and tidiness. This finds its most acute formulation in the writings of Baumann, a very famous, a very well known sociologist and thinker now living in Britain. You find it running through the works of Michel Foucault. And this has resulted in a fundamental undermining of confidence in reason, in rationality.

I understand the critique of my remark, but you should never dismiss the importance of Europe as an economic project that brings enormous benefits to its citizens through its ability to operate in a global economic environment. This is the vision of quite many eurosceptics, and in my country, Britain, they are quite happy with this customs union, free trade area, an economic entity that plays with the big boys: The WTO, China... that's fine and that's all it should ever be, that it should not have any greater aspiration than that. I do think that we can do better. We have to find a more inspiring idea of Europe than simply an instrument to regulate, as a way to deal with Global issues such as climate change, this is fine but not sufficient to install in the heart of European citizens. It's not something they're going to pass on to their children with a great sense of pride and enthusiasm.

Andrew Moravcsik

I don't think there is a crisis of Europe, but a crisis of perception. The EU has done a lot in the last 10 years! (Cf Iran: It's an extraordinary record of achievement).

Nonetheless Europeans debate about it as a failure because they have a debate about illusions, which came out with the Constitutional process. And this plays into the hands of eurosceptics. If you talk about great abstract goals, that we are moving towards an ever closer Union, Eurosceptics will argue before the public opinion that there is a problem.

I think most Europeans are entirely supportive of the relatively modest yet important substantive innovations in the Constitution. These are necessary. The problem is not the substance, the problem is the form: the form of democratisation or grand deliberation; if we learn anything – that type of procedure was a mistake. It did not generate the legitimating effect that it was supposed to. And I think Europe needs to go back to justify what is, in concrete terms, a remarkably successful international organisation.

Rob Riemen

How to construct unity?

Jan-Peter Balkenende

Maybe its good to add to the last remark on the result-oriented policy. It is true that there is a fear of the new and one of the problems is the lack of dynamism for young people. And if the fear of the new and the lack of dynamism and the lack of spirit are linked to euroscepticism, then we have a real problem. Concrete results: enormous progress. But the debate is about crisis, that's strange...

If we talk how to construct unity, get European ideals and values back in the heart of the people, otherwise we won't have success at an abstract discussion. It is indeed important to show concrete results. Cf Schüssel's statements– aim to combat youth unemployment, employment, SMEs, EU needs to show concrete results. Have European politicians thought of the people? Hampton Court: what does Europe mean for the people? It's too abstract. How is it possible to get people to really believe in Europe for their future? These are the essential questions.

The problem of the Constitution is not only in France or in the Netherlands – it would be the same in the UK or in Poland too. What can we do for the people that want results? After WWII, we had iron and steel as cornerstones of war economy and we used it for integration. But now we take freedom and peace for granted. What we need now is get Europe back in the minds of people. I remember in the 1990s, we talked of Europe 1992 and we were saying 'you have to invest in Europe because this is the place to be'. And now we are talking of the difficulties. I think we need something else. If you're talking about constructing unity: just show results. It has to do with results and spirit.

Rob Riemen

What we need, something else, will be discussed in the next 3 rounds. Now it is time for a lunch, I want to thank the panellists. Back here at 1.45.

PART II: What next? A new Sound?

Moderator: **Wolfgang Danspeckgruber**, Liechtenstein Institute at Princeton University,
USA (Austria)

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber

Good afternoon ladies and gentlemen, delighted to have you all here. My name is WD, I am the Director of the Liechtenstein institute of self determination at Princeton University, and I'm grateful and honoured and challenged to have the task to guide us through this afternoon. I am now introducing the keynote speaker to the afternoon panel that will deal with The New Sound, with a hopeful and visionary and ideal and a powerful new projection of the European Union.

To bring the Union to the people, to change perhaps the perception, to introduce motions like multiple identity, to make Europeans believe and see what the European Union perhaps has already achieved. It is a particular pleasure for me today to be able to introduce Mr Javier Solana whom I have personally known for many years, and admired as a voice of Europe.

And as a personal note I would like to say that anybody of us who has lived abroad for more than 20 years knows how important it is that the European perspective is presented positively as it can because the Europeans are admired abroad and European achievements one is tempted to try to copy abroad. And it is for us a delight to have Mr Solana offer the keynote speech for this afternoon. He is currently the Secretary General of the Council and most importantly he is High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy. Monsieur, the floor is yours.

Speech by Javier Solana, EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy

I am delighted to give this afternoon's keynote speech. I am especially pleased with my topic: "What next? A new sound?". I understand this session is supposed to be positive and forward-looking. That fits me well. Let me also commend the Austrian Presidency for taking this initiative. This gathering of politicians, academics, artists is a bit like an 18th century salon of Mozart's days.

It is good that we sometimes take a break from our arid discussions on draft directives and Council conclusions. If Europe is to thrive - as I believe it will and must - it needs the creative energy that I hope this conference can provide. From time to time, we should debate where we come from; what binds us; what have we achieved and where we are going. My central argument is that much of today's pessimism is overdone.

I believe we should continue our European journey. But equally change is needed. We must re-state our case. And demonstrate through clear action how Europe is serving all our citizens - not just select groups like big business, farmers or cosmopolitan elites. We all know that there are different sources of legitimacy. I am attracted to the notion of legitimacy through action. There is no need to dwell on the reasons for the sense of crisis or drift in Europe. These have been dealt with this morning. But I can say that this was a strange time to give in to self-doubt. For we have rarely been more successful. If you concentrate only on the daily headlines, you would think that the European Union is all about divisions and missed deadlines. About fudged compromises and political setbacks.

But if you take a step back and look at the underlying trends, you will see a much more positive picture. This project has survived numerous crises – currency crises, the wars in former Yugoslavia

and Iraq. Each time, we came back and emerged stronger. Over the years, we have delivered a remarkable run of successes: the single market, the euro, European defence policy.

To these we should add other, less 'visible' successes: cheap airlines, reduced phone bills, passport free travel in the Schengen-zone. At the same time, the group has more than quadrupled in size: from 6, to 9, 12, 15 and now 25. If we are experiencing pains then these are the growing pains of a promising and still youthful Union.

I also have the sense that politically we have turned the corner. Last year was difficult. But the agreement on the budget in December was a tipping point. It showed that also at 25 we can take difficult decisions. Yes, negotiations were tough. They always are over money. But No, the EU of 25 is not condemned to gridlock. There is a new mood in Europe: more forward-looking, more pragmatic. Economic growth is picking up too, which is good per se and for our self-confidence. But this new momentum needs to be sustained. It is up to political leaders and pro-Europeans gathered here, to seize the initiative - and do something positive with it. I believe we must do two things in particular: First, re-state the case for Europe. Not in Brussels-speak but in clear, simple terms that make sense to citizens.

Second, develop and implement a concrete agenda which is both ambitious and result-oriented. Clearly, the case for Europe is more contested. The memories of the Second World War no longer suffice to give legitimacy and impetus. But I will not shy away from stressing that the EU started as a peace project. And in essence it still is today. An outsider perspective may be helpful. It is striking that what we used to call the Great War, and then the First World War, was in China long referred to as 'the European civil war'. The Second World War which followed was genuinely a global war. But it started in Europe. And the greatest numbers of victims were Europeans. With this conference we mark the 250th birthday of that great European Wolfgang Mozart. But we also commemorate that 61 years ago today, on 27 January 1945, Auschwitz was liberated. This is a call for solemn reflection - and a call to duty. After 1945, an exhausted continent was ready to try a radical new idea. Not just ad-hoc international co-operation. That had been tried before and found wanting. But institutionalised integration. The success came from a combination of the big idea and the practical application. What worked was not a single blue print with a defined end-state. But perseverance, flexibility and strong institutions.

So the European project started as a way to build banish war and build a new order of peace and law. Let's people forget: the wars in ex-Yugoslavia ended only 10 years ago. This is not ancient history. No one should take peace on the European continent for granted. More positively, peace and freedom are the pre-conditions for prosperity. And it is worth saying that never before have so many Europeans been so secure, so prosperous and so free. That, in part, is a consequence of the European Union. This brings me to my second rationale. The success of the integration project enabled us to enlarge the zone of peace and security. First to southern Europe. Then to Sweden, Finland and your own country Austria. And in 2004 with 8 central European countries plus Cyprus and Malta. It is a cliché to say that enlargement is our greatest success story. But throughout history, in the entire field of international relations, I do not think there is another strategy more values-driven, more original in its methodology and more successful in terms of results. I will keep on saying that because it is my conviction. Even if the political mood is now less favorable.

Of course, while I support enlargement, I also see that many people have reservations. We need to balance these two considerations. One way may be by stressing that enlargement cannot be our only project. And certainly we cannot keep on enlarging without political and institutional reform. People want more than a market plus regional stabilisation project. I am convinced that more integration is needed in some areas - and perhaps less in others. The topics for more EU-level action are: research, energy, migration and asylum. I left out one more area. This is where our case is perhaps strongest of all: for Europe to become a global player.

I see Europe as a new form of power. A force for good around the world. A promoter of effective multilateralism, international law and justice. The reasons are not so hard to explain. Our world is changing fast. It is becoming more uncertain and harder to manage. New technologies are changing industrial sectors overnight.

In political and security terms, complex new threats are emerging, along with new centres of power. We are moving to a system of continents. And we all know that in a borderless world, events in faraway places affect our own security. It therefore is in our interest to be engaged in conflict prevention and crisis management. In this new security environment, we must be alert and creative. Above all, we need to be united. On our own we are political midgets. Policy takers. Condemned to drown in the maelstrom of events.

But together we can help to shape the global agenda. Not resist globalisation but perhaps negotiate its terms. Not impose our views but get a hearing for them: in Washington today and Beijing tomorrow. I am convinced that our citizens want this. The polls show it consistently. And it is logical too. Europeans want their values - human rights, solidarity, justice and peace - promoted around the world. There is also another side. It is not self-indulgent to say that from the Middle East to Africa, from the Balkans to South East Asia and elsewhere, the call goes out: can Europe help? In short, when I travel around Europe, I hear a demand for Europe to play a greater international role. The same is true when I travel around the world. It may be fitting to paraphrase Nike's slogan: let's just do it. The good news is that even in the sensitive area of foreign and security policy, we have come a long way in a short period of time. Like a baby, in foreign policy too, we began talking before we started writing. And we started writing before we started acting. But now we do all three. I will not do a tour d'horizon and set out what EU is doing in every region or issue. I will not pretend either that we have an equally developed policy on every issue under the sun.

But we have acquired a critical mass. After fits and starts, we now have a united, comprehensive strategy for the Western Balkans. The same is true for the wider Middle East, for Africa and for eastern Europe. In each of these regions, there is a substantive set of policies, agreed at 25 and backed up by a broad range of instruments. For decades we had been confronted by various forms of crises on our doorstep - but without the means to address them. Now we have a set of capabilities, plus decision-making procedures and a sense of doctrine on how to address these challenges.

We have no fewer than 14 operations on-going. This is no small thing if you consider that only four years ago we had none. Our comprehensive approach – part civilian, part military - corresponds to the needs of today's complex security crises. Moreover, our presence on the ground in crisis zones has increased our political leverage. For years we had been giving large sums of money without getting much political influence. That was our Achilles heel. This is now changing - for the better. In 2006, we have a lot of work to do: Iran, Kosovo, Israel-Palestine, Belarus, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nagorno Karabach to name a few. Each case will require a different response. But standing by and doing nothing is not an option.

Thematically we will have to focus on energy security, terrorism, human rights, failed states, and non-proliferation - and many other issues besides. The point is not to dwell on the breadth of the international agenda. Rather it is to stress that results in all these areas are achievable. But on one condition. That we tackle them together, as Europeans. That we don't just say that we must pool our resource and put out united message – but actually do it.

That we overcome institutional jealousies and genuinely work for a single purpose. That we become perhaps a little less risk-averse. If we do, we can get great results. That, more than anything else, will impress our citizens – and the rest of world. Of course, we need many other elements for a new sound in Europe. Ideas on how to fix the economy; on how to handle demographic challenges and on what to do with the Constitution. On the Constitution, I will not go into details. I will only mention the risk of a "Catch 22" situation. Some people say that Europe needs to focus on delivering tangible results

before turning to institutional issues. I agree with the sentiment behind that statement. But surely it would be much easier to get a Europe that delivers with the Constitution than without. To put it positively: if you want a Europe that delivers you should want the Constitution. And if you want the Constitution, you should work on a Europe that delivers. I remain convinced that Europe badly needs the ideas contained in the Constitution for a more streamlined and effective EU. Let me conclude.

If we want a new élan and momentum in Europe, we need to keep it simple. We must make the case for Europe in plain language. Then, we should ensure that what the EU does fits well with both logic and people's expectations. If it does not, pro-Europeans should not be afraid of saying so. And accept the consequences: politically, institutionally and financially.

My summary arguments are the following: Where did we start? As a peace project among adversaries. What is our greatest accomplishment? The spread of stability and democracy across the continent. And what is our task for the future? To make Europe a global power; a force for good in the world. There is more to it, for sure. But from my perspective, this is the essence. This year, 2006, we should put Europe to work again. Some may say I am absurdly optimistic. To them I reply with Einstein's words: If at first, an idea is not absurd, then there is no hope for it.

Dear friends, there is a new mood in the air. It is our shared responsibility and our common interest to make the most of it.

Panel Discussion:

- Dora Bakoyannis, Mayor of Athens (Greece)
- Bronislaw Geremek, Member of the European Parliament (Poland)
- Gilles Kepel, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris (France)
- Mark Leonard, Centre for European Reform London, (United Kingdom)
- Dominique Moïsi, French Institute of International Relations (France)
- Ursula Plassnik, Foreign Minister (Austria)
- Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Foreign Minister (Germany)
- Margot Wallström, Vice –President of the European Commission (Sweden)

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber

Ladies and gentlemen I am delighted to follow with our panel the encouraging and positive phrases and suggestions and proposals that Solana has offered us. This panel, which has a rich dimension of experience, from all over Europe, and which is delighted to be blessed with people who have lived the European Experience and to use an American phrase the European Experience from the bottom up as well as top down. The objective is to be as specific as possible, as possible in this positive environment to develop new ideas, concepts and perspectives, even projects and hence to demonstrate the success and achievement, while being mindful of the challenges and the problems which we all face and hence to try to change the perception. To add perhaps emotions, belief, to provide and project inspiration in our values and achievements. And to do so what I would call to be proud of a certain Europeanism. Because if you are like I am many times in Afghanistan or Kashmir, Afghanistan, or Iraq, you are aware of what European achievements are. And hence to make this, and to bring these achievements to the individual man, woman and child, for whose future we all work.

In order to achieve these objectives, I would like to structure the panel as follows. We will begin on my right with Madame Mayor of Athens, and then go systematically through our speakers and I have asked them to be as specific as possible. Then we will offer the individual speakers, and Mr Solana, any option of reaction if they have any one. And I would then like to bind in to the maximum the wider panel and those who would like to contribute.

Let me hence begin with introducing Madame Dora Bakoyannis, the mayor of Athens, and I would like to say the first lady mayor of the city of Athens and who also hosted the 2004 very successful Olympic Games. Madam, the floor is yours.

Dora Bakoyannis

Ladies and gentlemen, good afternoon. Let me start by thanking the Austrian Presidency for the opportunity for all of us to be here and to talk more about politics. I think it is essential. As you

probably all know Europe was a young Greek girl with very big eyes, and she was called like this because she had a wide horizon. What we need today, and this was probably also very clear from this morning, there is a lot in Europe, we are all proud of Europe, there are a lot of values in Europe. But we have a problem. Our societies must also think the same way. Today our societies have very different reactions to this Europe, some of them not always the best possible ones. We need to do is change, some things need change in Europe. We all talk about it, but we have to really implement this change, and implement it as quickly as possible.

For me a very simple example is we are talking for 15 years about our democratic deficit. Well, we must do something about it. And maybe one idea, one concrete idea would have a common electorate way of electing our representatives in Europe so each European Parliament election is not a referendum for our national governments, so that we talk about Europe much more. We have to promote the European values much more than we are doing until now. I heard the Prime Minister Balkenende talking on how we need Europe on the questions of terrorism, yes we need it and each other to help fight terrorism but the message that came through to the European people were more or less that we decided we would put somebody listening to their cell phones, or having data about their cell phones. This was the negative side of the message. We need much more of the promotion of the values. We are talking much more about the economy than we are about values in Europe. Or this is the message that the European People get. We need to change that I think. I think we can change it.

The last thing. I am a mayor. Cities and regions can play a very important role. They are mostly forgotten in Europe. We have the Committee of the Regions but it is a Committee which comes together in a very European way, votes the regulations. Mayors are the intermediary power, between parliaments, governments and people. They can transmit the message much better sometimes than national governments can do. I strongly believe there is a European pride, and you can find that when you speak with the younger generations on the environmental policy, they are proud of it, they are proud of being European, of the position we took in Kyoto, they liked it, they feel it addresses them, we can find these unifying factors and promote them much more, and they are many. Everyday regulation, everyday Brussels jargon, everyday talk about the GDP does not move people's hearts. Don't know any revolution which started by saying to the people that we have to increase the GDP! But many started with a new quest for a new value system. This younger generation – I am a Greek – we came inside to Europe after a dictatorship. We knew the difference between freedom and dictatorship like the Spaniards did. This generation today takes it for granted. They take freedom for granted, democracy for granted. So the rest of the values we can promote them so we can make them feel much more pride in being Europeans.

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber

Now with great pleasure I offer the floor to Bronislaw Geremek, former Foreign Minister of Poland and today one of the leading Polish intellectuals. So, the floor is yours.

Bronislaw Geremek

Ladies and Gentlemen. I would like to start with a confession: I believe in Europe. I am convinced that the European Union is a huge success, and it is on the right track. But sometimes we should realize that there are dramatic moments. And we must not hide that dramatic nature of the current situation. Europe is in crisis, it is in crisis first of all because of the crisis of legitimacy. The fact that the citizens do not give to the Community the right to speak in their names. And secondly, this is a crisis of solidarity. Europe was built on the rejection of selfishness, but there is now a return of national egoism, on the part of the rich countries, and the large countries. And also the poor countries, and the small ones. We think in terms of national interest and not in terms of European interest.

Sometimes we should speak the truth: Mozart is the music what we want, but Wagner is the music that we have. That's to say we have to see the dramatic nature of this crisis. The European Union needs to progress. If we do not progress, we go back. Today we face a very considerable problem. We may feel that in the public opinion there is a Eurosceptic tendency. We have to turn that around. We have to give place to a vision of Euro-enthusiasm, that is actually Euro-realism. That is to say that we can feel confident because of our historical experience, and we are investing in the Europe that we have.

Secondly, enlargement. It's not the enlargement of 2004 that is at the root of this European crisis. On the contrary, this was a very successful operation, and was a historic event. The re-unification of 2004 it was an act of courage. But we see today that there are fears about enlargement within European public opinion. And within the new Member States – we cannot hide it – there is a certain rise of Euroscepticism. The paradox in the new countries is that the elites are in fact sceptical, and not the societies who support the idea of Europe.

My third comment is about this pause of reflection, agreed upon by the European Council. I don't like this decision, as it gave the impression that now we are not going to do anything. Whereas I think that the programme presented by Margot Wallström – with the Council, Commission and the large participation of the Parliament – shows what we have now. For the first time there is at least a structured debate, a public debate that concerns all Europeans. That is at least the direction that Mrs. Bakoyannis has mentioned. And the debate must be at the heart of dealing with the perceived fears within public opinion.

And I come now to my fourth comment. The time has come to provide an opportunity and for European institutions to put down markers. A signal has to be given. We need to show the family debates in Europe have a solution. We need concrete issues. And it is these decisions that should signal what the point of the European Union is. I would like to illustrate only one of these directions. The one that concerns employment is very evident, but the one that I would raise is somewhat different.

I'm speaking as a historian. It is sometimes being said that this second millennium of history is a European millennium. Europe was not sure how to use it, but a certain miracle took place. Searching for all of God's secrets, taking the secrets of nature. Inventing new technologies, harnessing the force of nature, the wind, water, steam. What has happened to the Europe that now seems to have a certain innovation-fatigue? This innovation fatigue is dangerous for the future of Europe. The Lisbon Strategy undoubtedly remains the way to respond to that. But we have not said enough about the problems and weaknesses of our education systems in Europe. I think it is a systemic problem. European universities – Europe invented universities – are not among the best in the world. They have lost their place. Research is not at the centre of the tasks for the European Union. I think that now it has to be said that education and research cannot be left to people in charge of the Lisbon strategy at national level. On the contrary these should be a European concern. Europe has to re-find its spirit, its dynamism. It has to sweep away with the current apathy. Only this way can we find a way back to music in the style of Mozart.

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber

Brilliant, many thanks Bronisław Geremek. Now it's a real great pleasure and honour to introduce to you Professor Gilles Kepel from Sciences-Po Paris.

Gilles Kepel

Thank you very much Mr Chairman. When we sort of tried to decide which language we should use in the panel my friend Dominique Moisi suggested I deliver my speech in Arabic! To underline the importance and the challenge of the victory of Hamas in the first really democratic elections in the middle east. As Arabic is not yet a language of Europe, I shall use another language that still tries to be a language of Europe, French.

2005 was marked by two important European challenges which were seemingly on the same register, but it was not quite the case. The attacks in 2005 in London, perpetrated by the children of multicultural Britain, and then riots in Paris suburbs, and other French towns, in November, that were perpetrated by children badly integrated into French society. What do these challenges mean to us, Europeans? On one hand, they concern the internal dimension and our close environment. The Muslim world is present to the east and south of Europe. Europe, today, with its rapidly plummeting demography is relying more and more on immigration from the east and south. Javier Solana says we need more integration. I will that that formulation, but I will use the words in another way. Integration of all the countries: I am with you on that point. But integration has another meaning – social integration, meaning integration of people from outside Europe who are starting to make their home in the European Union, and this presents a social and economic challenge. If we do not treat this as a social and economic challenge, we will instead confront this as a political and cultural challenge, posing problems far more complex to resolve.

Let me return to the 2 events I mentioned at the start – the suicide attacks in London in July and the riots in France in November. Now the London attacks took place in a society who thought they had managed their problems of their immigrant populations and it was thought that there was a way of dealing with things, multiculturalism, a logic that boosts the populations' own identity and this would be represented in the European or national area by having society leaders – with a large role for religious leaders – to ensure the essentials of social or public control. However, I think this attacks showed the limits of this policy. That is to say that a policy that relied on leaders in society was very costly in terms of social integration, and is a policy that finds itself in peril as a result of these kinds of events.

On the other hand, in France where our dominant political doctrine is totally different, no room for communities that are politically or culturally structured, where everything was geared to favouring an integration of citizens based on legality regardless of origin. The November riots showed that it existed within French society – although these two extremes are paradigms – the policies that were pursued for the sake of integration left on the roadside, as young populations, with their origins from the south of the Mediterranean, who committed a sort of cultural suicide, burning cars and schools and so on. I pass on the comments of the press from the other side of the Atlantic who claimed Falluja on the Seine, or Intifada in France. Islamic movements had nothing to do with it. It might be in the future, but this time it was not. This was a phenomenon as the people felt marginalised and excluded. I think in the 2 cases this was a very important event. I deplore – in the same way as Bronislaw Geremek does – that this challenge has not been taken up by the EU. Both countries just have to get on with it. These problems are for all of us together. Apart from the problems for the police and public order, it leads us to have to reflect about what will happen to the future of the Union. This reflection is not just something internal – domestic as you say in English. But there are also external aspects.

In effect – and I will conclude with this point – in the last couple of years we have seen Europe silent and powerless, or happy just to pay. As the Americans say: in the Middle East US does the cooking, and the Europeans do the dishes. We are seeing what is happening with the war on terror and the promotion of democracy. The USA has promoted democracy, but has paradoxically led to the victory of Hamas in the Palestinian elections. It seems to me that the Europeans have an important role to play. Because of the thousands of Muslims close by, we have to boost integration of those populations that

to gives an example their cousins, brothers, parents etc. that have stayed in the country. See this with the case of Turkey, an Islamic government, an active player, is bringing about change on Turkish legislation to make it compatible with the EU. What a pole of attraction – politically and legally - Europe is on its neighbours! Is something that we have not used to its true value. I think it's a major issue for the Europe of tomorrow. It's something we have to take in hand at Union level, that we don't do presently. And I will finish by using Solana's words – we need first of all more integration, but a social and cultural integration, at the same time internally as externally as an idea of Europe beamed out to neighbours.

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber

Thank you. It was very good. Now, and it's not a question of language, I am delighted to introduced Dr. ML, who is the director of foreign policy at the Centre for European Reform in London but who is well known to us for his prolific writings.

Mark Leonard

Thank you very much. When I wrote a book last year called Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century, I expected to be putting myself slightly outside the mainstream opinion in my own country, in Britain, by writing such a pro-European tome, but I did not realise that I would be joining an endangered species, the European optimist. Luckily we are reasonably well represented on this stage so I do feel safety in numbers here today. In my remarks I am going to try to do 2 things – first of all to talk about what Europe's next project could be, to capture some of the success of the last few years and I am going to align myself very firmly with Javier Solana in doing that, and secondly, I am going to talk about a new way of doing business. How can we go about making this next phase of integration legitimate and how we can give it deeper roots in European society?

So first the new project. It is a global one. I call it transformative power, because that is the kind of power that Europe has developed over the last fifty years. It is a different sort of power from the ones we have experienced in the past. It cannot be measured in terms of military budgets, or smart missile technology. But it is captured in treaties, and laws, and it is able change the world. And the way that it works is quite surprising. Europe does not project itself by threatening to invade other countries. In fact the worst thing it can do to another country is nothing at all, it's to close off markets, to cut off contact, to close the door of membership. That's what I call passive aggression.

The prize of European Union membership has already transformed countries like Spain, Greece, Poland, the Czech Republic, and is starting to have a similar effect on Turkey. And beyond the 450 million citizens who are already in today's European Union, there are a further 1.5 billion people in 80 countries who are umbilically linked to the European Union because we are their biggest trade partner, we are their biggest source of credit, their biggest source of investment, and their biggest source of aid. And many of these countries even have their currencies linked to the Euro, or even use the Euro as a formal or informal currency. That's almost a third of the world's population who live in what I call the Euroshere. And as Gilles said, at the moment our influence on those countries has almost been in spite of ourselves, rather than because we've gone about crafting policies which could have the same transformative effect on these countries as we had on the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the 1990s.

And that really is the big challenge – it's making a neighbourhood policy work. So that it actually changes the calculus for leaders like Mubarak in Egypt. So that it can reinforce people like Yushenko or Sakashvili as they move forward after the moving revolutions of the last two years and encounter the problems that they are today. They can become part of the European mainstream and live the

European dream that their citizens wanted. But it's also about linking our market and our technology to the rule of law, when we are dealing with China, India, with the United States, and with Russia. Actually having the courage of our convictions. Rather than European countries competing with each other for market share and undermining their political objectives.

And that brings me to the second point. How do we go about doing this? How do we get citizens behind a new global project? The real tragedy of the situation today is that we have had 50 years of the most successful political project in history, in the world.

Most European citizens see Europe as a problem, not a solution. The way that our political classes are dealing with it seems to be designed to re-enforce that sense of failure and that sense of depression. Andrew Moravcsik said earlier that the crisis that we are facing at the moment is one that we manufactured ourselves. Most people in Europe could sign up to what was in the European Constitution. What they didn't like was the form that it took, because it felt as if was something that was being advanced for an ideology of integration rather than because we were addressing real problems that European citizens felt. And that is the first challenge that we need to deal with. This challenge of delivery, showing European citizens that the European Union can actually really make a difference to them in their everyday lives.

We also need to deal with deficit of consent, the fact that treaties are very hard to get through in many countries. One of the consequences of the whole constitutional debacle is the fact that in many European countries there will have to be a referendum the next time you need treaty change. That political atmosphere we are in is not a homogeneous one – it is one of great diversity with different countries with different histories. So that produces a fundamental challenge to the way we have dealt with European integration before. It means I think that neither the solution that pretending that the French and Dutch votes never happened and try to keep the treaty alive and continue to ratify it in other countries, that's a dead end and it insults the 8 out of 10 European citizens who think we should stop trying to ratify the treaty. I also think it's impossible simply to strip out Chapter III of the treaty and to get parliaments to pass it, maybe when Croatia joins the European Union because in many countries the public who saw a popular no to the treaty in the beginning will want to have a say again. So what can we do about this?

I think we need to do 3 things very briefly, the first response has to be a moratorium on any new treaties. We should declare a 5 year moratorium, not because we are against what was in the treaty. But because it will actually force us to try to make the project work if we *can't* argue about resurrecting this treaty. And we should focus on the things that really matter to people which have an integrationist dynamic of their own and where we need a political Europe.

Foreign policy, migration and security, completing the Single Market, enlarging the European Union, so we can have peace in the Balkans. The second thing we need to do is to look at how do we do change the European Union in the future. And I think the solution to that has to be narrow Europe-wide referendums, because on some things we will need to change the *acquis*. But we have learnt from the recent debacle that a catch all treaty is almost an invitation to the No campaign to write whatever question they want, and then get the public to say no to it. Nobody really knew what they were voting yes or no for with this Constitution, in the same way that the Irish voters did not really know what they were voting for on Nice. So if we are going to have a vote we have to do two things differently, first of all have a narrow simple single purpose question which they are asking for. Do you want a foreign minister? Do you want to enlarge the European Union? And secondly, not everyone will want to have referendums in their countries but those that do should do it on the same day, so they feel it's a question about the future of Europe, rather than whether you like Jacques Chirac or not. And this is the final point I think, is that we also have to mentally adjust our idea of how the European Union will work in the future.

Over the last 50 years Europe has been in a construction phase, our peace, our prosperity and our democracy have been build on a house of 80000 pages of legislation and that's how progress was

measured, in terms of the treaties that we could pass. And our goal was everyone to advance to the same destination, maybe not at the same speed. But in the future I think we will see a Europe of many communities. The 80000 pages have to remain intact, that is the foundation on which the union has to be built. I think we will see further integration driven more by pioneer groups than by treaties, we will see clubs working together for practical reasons, Schengen emerging into a security community, closer integration of the Eurozone, maybe a pioneer group on services if the Services Directive can't get passed in a satisfactory format for everyone.

And the same could happen for defence where you could see countries that take it seriously, that have global ambitions, working together, to have more of an impact on the world stage. Equally when we enlarge the European Union we need to think in more subtle terms about what do we offer to countries that aren't yet ready for membership and I think there could be a variable geometry as countries get ready for membership in the future. To federalists here my ideas may be uninspiring. To incrementalists who think we should pass things through parliaments they might seem dangerous. But

I think these two notions of transformative power and what – for want of a better term I'm going to call Democratic Functionalism are about taking what worked best from the European Union in the past and applying it to an age of democracy. And I think that above all it is about seizing the power of crises, recognising that the European Union's success in the past has always been driven as a response to failure, and learning from the very wise words of Samuel Beckett who said that if at first you don't succeed, fail again, fail better. The genius of the European Union is that it keeps on trying. Thank you.

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber

Excellent, thanks very much it's given a lot of food for thought. So now mon ami Dominique Moïsi from the French Institute of International Relations and who is also the editor in chief of *Politique Etrangère* and one of the most prolific and influential international writers on issues about Europe and transatlantic relations.

Dominique Moïsi

Thank you very much. I have to say that I am doubly happy to be here today and I feel doubly European. As a passionate admirer of the music of Mozart, and as the son of a survivor of Auschwitz. So, being here today is particularly significant. I have to say while coming to this conference in Salzburg, I received a little news release about the new Iranian regime that were thinking about banning classical music from the Iranian airwaves. I put myself in the place of that government and I thought that they really do have some sense. Because through the music of Bach one can celebrate spirituality and transcendence. Thanks to Beethoven's music you celebrate the grandeur and energy of the individual human being. And through the music of the man we are commemorating today, we celebrate the triumph of love. And for a regime like the Iranian one, these three composers are particularly dangerous.

So, from the basis of this triple heritage, that of the music of Europe, we cannot today strike any false notes towards our citizens. And particularly – it seems to me – we must not get the score sheet wrong. There is a risk that Europe's music, Europe's melody, may be the sound of a door being slammed in the face of others, to all of those that are not members of our club. There is this temptation to consider the message of the electorate on 29th May in France and 1st June in Netherlands is saying: enough. We don't know who we are any more. To be European today is to define oneself by those that are not yet Europeans. And this negative definition can imply a lot of things. We can find refuge behind church bells. Yet churches are often empty except for big masses or celebrations, appearing as a negative definition of European identity.

There I comply with what my friend Gilles Kepel said with much wisdom and lucidity. There is a danger of defining the partition of Europe by forgetting or ignoring the importance of memory and the negation of the geopolitical realities of today. It is as if Europe's music could be defined as being a rejection of the United States.

Today the challenge is to be found in Asia, the menace is that of fundamentalism. There is no European response that is also an Atlantic response, a western response. Concerning values, we may play the same score differently, but they are the same notes that we are playing.

It's for that reason that I would say in conclusion that the ideal music of Europe that would, by a sort of contemporary miracle, would harmonize the immense power of the sound of Imams praying, the sound of the trumpets that the Jews use for their major celebrations and the sound of church bells, of course. Musical references have always been very important in the history of Europe. But today I think the moment has come to pass from the concert of the nations to the harmony of the people, to the celebration of the diversity of the people. For at the end of the day, the message of Europe, the sound of Europe, can be nothing other than the celebration of tolerance and the triumph of democratic ideals.

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber

Thank you, for all of the musicians present it was a pleasure. Excellent, extra. And now, with great pleasure, I am introducing the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Austria, Dr. Ursula Plassnik who also serves right now as the Chair of the Council.

Ursula Plassnik

Thank you. I would like to link on to Mark Leonard's final remark on Samuel Beckett whose 100th anniversary we are celebrating this year. And his encouragement for Sisyphus, for the European Sisyphus, as well as an archetype of our endeavours. And that is really ever tried ever failed, try again, fail again, and as you said, fail better. This is what we are trying to do, and this is as you said, the genius of the European experience. *Il y a du pain sur la planche* (LIT: there's bread on the board).

There is a lot to do, and I think the panoply of work to be done, work in progress, more or less, that has been led out by our colleagues this morning and by the impressive contributions from the panel shows that we are really in the middle of an extraordinary experience. Javier Solana is the man to guide, to lead, to *gestalten*, to really form our participation as a partner in the world. There are enormous expectations directed at the European Union from all sides and the interesting thing is while the expectations from the outside world are constantly increasing and we are responding to these expectations very rapidly with a lot of imagination, with a lot of not only a lot of financial means but also political means introduced, we have a problem of decreasing, or at least seemingly decreasing, demand for Europe inside our European Union. That paradoxical situation is one that really troubles us, it troubles me, and I agree with those who say that we should try to increase confidence. Do our best to overcome what I would not call a crisis of confidence outright, but turbulences in our confidence in our relationship with the European project. This is also important as it concerns our self confidence. What is this all about, and how do we present ourselves to the world?

Not so much in terms of power, Mr Leonard, not so much the transformative power of Europe, but the transformative offer of Europe because we can only make offers inside the European Union and to the outside world. I think there is a world of difference in the specific notions here. And what can we offer? What do we offer to our own people? Europe has never, and Europeans have never been able to live in a more secure, more peaceful, in a freer, more prosperous, and more democratic environment. So why do they feel so uneasy?

And maybe I could invite all of you, invite also the so called elites, to participate in reframing the questions about Europe. Talk a bit less about the various models, about the various lists of things we are lacking, and shortcomings, and tendencies to not do this or that. Reframe the question by asking the simple question each and every European citizen out of 450 million at this time is legitimately asking how we want to live in Europe tomorrow. This is the basic question. And the interesting thing is that the answers come on two layers.

One layer is the layer of values and the layer of objectives. And it is fascinating to look into the Constitutional Treaty text, Articles 1.2 and 1.3 where these values are laid out together with the charter on rights and where the objectives are also formulated and these objectives define the European way of life, the European model that we have created through centuries, and that we are aware of, and that we are offering to ourselves and offering to the world. So maybe by defining this explicitly by speaking about it we might create a notion that we have in common, that we share. And the second layer is how do we go about the concrete realisation of this model? And this is the everyday work we are doing. The everyday work we are undertaking in the complex institutional setup, rather than bashing each other or scapegoating each other, and the other institutions, we should really present a bit of a more united approach to our citizens, because this is what we are there for, rather than getting stuck in institutional rivalries.

Partnership with the world. Again, Mr Kepel and others have referred to the huge expectations that are upon us. We have to respond to this, we have to differentiate. There will not be one single option, one single method, to respond to the expectations we are faced with. The sooner we understand this, the better it will be. There is not a crisis of solidarity, and here I disagree with Mr Geremek. Let us look at the last financial perspectives. This is a massive show of solidarity, also apart from other elements, but we are showing solidarity with those regions, with those groups of the population inside Europe that are not as well off as the others, so we are in the middle of a major transformative effort. Enlargement is part of it. Enlargement continues.

Maybe in conclusion it is worth recalling to ourselves that the European peace project is far from complete, the reconstruction of Europe, the reconciliation, the reunification of Europe is not completed. It is certainly not completed without the Balkans, and without our acknowledgment of the Balkans being part of that European integration exercise. This is what the European peace project is about in our generation, and we are going to address also some of the questions which have to be addressed and you mentioned them: our relationship with the Islamic world, not only on the global level but also inside our societies. There is a need there, a very practical everyday need of people for orientation for finding out of how best to do this. I see Professor Schachfe here in the audience. He will be organising in April in Vienna a conference of European Imams to discuss and if possible to clarify some of the everyday, day-to-day concerns that are arising in that respect. So there are new subjects we have to deal with, that we have to take up. There is a lot of work to do. We are in the middle of it. But the best part of it has become in a way too self evident to many of us. And that is the possibility to participate to manage diversity which is a complex exercise, but to do this on the basis of freedom, on the basis of a common system of values, on the basis of community, of law, the rule of law. And the transformation of the European dream into texts is a complex issue. We will have to work on that in everyday life without losing sight of what we have achieved. Thank you.

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber

Thank you very much. Brilliant, thank you very much. So we are already in this search on one hand to confirm and bring to the people this European model, and to make more effective the interaction between the various Europeans. This brings me into the position to be able to introduce Mrs Anne Marie Sigmund, an Austrian and the President of the European Economic and Social Committee, which is co-sponsoring this Conference.

Anne-Marie Sigmund

Thank you. I would like to thank Javier Solana particularly for the call to *allegro vivace!* We are very coy to use the word power. But I think we should not shy away from using the term where it applies. If we return to the title of this conference, each sound requires some resonance. European civil society can and should act as a sounding box. We must include civil society and organised civil society more in our reflections. Until fairly recently modern organised civil society was only partly recognised. The Nice Treaty, with its changes to the definition of the extent of organised civil society, has provided a broader platform from which the EESC can work. The European Economic and Social Committee is active across the board, drawing on the authenticity of its members and the organisations and associations that they represent. The Committee has been particularly active in facing up to the common communications challenge that we are discussing here in this conference and, indeed, we have been working particularly closely with Margot Wallström and her colleagues in the European Commission in a search to optimise the Committee's role as a bridge between Europe and organised civil society. Behind these activities lies the realisation that we cannot just talk about involving civil society and organised civil society. We must establish structures and processes that can bring in the citizen, and draw her or him into a two-way process, a genuine dialogue.

Now, what binds the citizens to Europe? It's not regulations. No one can love a market, as Jacques Delors so famously remarked. No, what binds people to Europe is what they commonly identify with. I would argue that what binds us all together is culture. What the founding fathers wanted was a system of values that applied to us all. A common forum of thinking and reflecting, a common way of creating. It is there already, though we may not always notice it and, indeed, much more can be done in this direction. Beyond art and culture, there is science and education. Culture has a social dimension. It's another part of our reality, and we can and should use this.

We talk about a European identity - something that draws a line, that says what we are and what we are not. But any discussion of identity must deal with an essential paradox. We think of identity as remaining the same but, of course, it is changing constantly, and nowhere is that more the case than in Europe and the European Union! Europe is a process, it moves, it is dynamic, it is constantly evolving, it is something to which we have to adjust constantly, therefore, and we must take that into account when we draw up our strategies and our plans.

I concur with those speakers who have said we need a language that is acceptable and accessible. We need to find examples in which the citizen can find her or himself. We have spoken about the Lisbon agenda. This strategy, if we could only learn how to explain and communicate it properly, is one that people could understand and relate to. For the Lisbon Strategy, with its three fundamental pillars, is a vision of a European social and economic model, it is what President Schüssel calls a model for life! When we are asked what Europe does for its citizens we ought to be able to cite the Lisbon Strategy.

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber

Thank you very much. Now, to round off the panel, Mrs Margot Wallström, Vice President of the European Commission.

Margot Wallström

Thank you very much. Perhaps the European Union has become like an old marriage, it's with mutual respect and understanding and liking for each other. Maybe it has lost the passion of those early years, and the urgent sense of wanting to be more and more together. But the marriage is stable and good, and new family members still join. It can still be seen as if the couple is dancing tango – because I think the decision making in the European Union has been very much like dancing tango you know you take 2 steps forward and 1 back, and then sometime 3 surprisingly quick steps forward. If it's backwards I am not entirely sure. And this is what citizens allow the European Union to do. Democracies like ours, they decide how this tango goes.

I think my first message would be that we have to bring some passion back into this old marriage. That would be my first message. Because I actually also think there is a lot to be passionate about, and we lose sight of it. It becomes clear to us sometimes when we have visitors, and we had some African friends coming and they of course said: What are you complaining about in Europe? You are whining about this and that. But do you know what we see? We see that you can drink tap water “frisches Leitungswasser”. Well, it would be the first thing they recognise, of course because still so many people lack access to drinking water. They would see a wealth of educated and caring people. They would see a lively and sparkling democracy. They would see a sound social system in Europe. They would see a beautiful landscape and a protected environment. They would see a bustling entrepreneurial business society and a strong and committed civil society. This is what they point at from us. So of course we need to be sure, to be clear about what we should cherish and remind ourselves about.

But then I think we also need the visions of course and what is it that we should do now? I think at least for all of us that have children the thing is clear. We want a future for our children. We want them to be able to have hopes for Europe, to live and bring up families in Europe in the future to find a meaningful job, to find education, living in a good environment.

And have some influence, to have a say in lively democracies. And I hope we can now move as I said from words to deeds. We have a very practical agenda that we have set ourselves. Maybe we just have to reformulate it in a way that can mobilise in a much broader way. And I would say: why not say we are in search of the European value added. And we are in search of the modern story of the European Union. The one to tell the 20 year olds: peace remains the most important thing but they also want to be involved in a project like the one to say we will make our European capitals the best places to live on this whole planet. The safest, the most environmentally friendly, the best from all points of view.

Or we will now connect Europe with the most high-tech, environmentally friendly ways we know to transport people and goods etc. And that means that we mobilise the whole society to feed into such projects. Or to say we will be the world leaders for energy. Renewable energy, the energy systems for the future. Since Hampton Court this is possible. And I think that we need to make it concrete and something that can mobilise the whole society. Because that will be, as Chancellor Schüssel has said, the European way of life. Is this to realise what we mean with sustainable development, to show that this is possible. Combine economic growth with high social protection and high environmental standards. And then we need the examples and something for the people to buy into and contribute to. That is what I hope and I think it can be made as concrete as you like. Thank you.

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber

We have an entire laundry list of achievements on the one hand; we have a couple of key words like this European way of life which we are maybe all so accustomed to. Perhaps what the Vice President just mentioned, this may be comparable to a longer lasting marriage. So it may need new passion! But I would like to first of all invite the panellists here and ask whether they have any reactions to the various proposals.

Dora Bakovannis

I would just like to add one thought, I think we should not underestimate the fear which exists in Europe today. The fear of globalisation and the fear of change. This is something which you can see all around Europe. We will have to face it. We will have to openly find ways to explain our vision of Europe in this global society, what Europe can do, how Europe can proceed in the future.

Fear of change is a fear which I believe is a very great handicap today. The fear of change of economy, the fear of losing our social model, the fear which always brings negative reactions. I don't believe we should underestimate it. I have a feeling we are only seeing the good sides of Europe. They exist. But if this fear continues as it exists in the last years, this will be the greatest handicap for national governments wanting to agree changes to real changes on the European level in the future. So we must find some very clear communication policy. We must communicate Europe's message much more strongly than we are doing until now. And there national governments are looking – it is natural – at their own national level policies. They are democratic governments, it is normal that national policy has a priority. And the European model and the European vision is always coming second. So I believe we need some much more bigger energy in facing this kind of problem.

Dominique Moïsi

I want to follow on from what the Mayor of Athens has just said. I think there are really two Europes in front of us today. There is the Europe of fear. You can see in Europe something like an archaeological layer of fear, the fear of being invaded by the poorest, coming from the South. The fear of being blown up by the most fanatics that are within us sometimes, the fear of being left behind by the most dynamic, mainly coming from Asia. In front of that Europe you have a Europe of hope, a Europe of energy.

And I think in that new Europe, so to speak, I would recognise that there are 4 factors: the women, the firms, the new entrants – not at the political level, they are even worse sometimes, than good old Europe, but at the economic level, and the immigrants – and what those 4 forces have in common is a belief in the future, a proof of their success, and a sense of energy, linked to the fact that they realise that their present is better than the past, and that their future might be better than their present.

Javier Solana

I would like to follow what both the last speakers have said. It's a Europe of fear and hope. This is nothing new. DM knows very well what I am going to say. The Treaty of Maastricht was approved in France by one point. One point. 51 percent. If you do the analysis of the results of that referendum you know very well there was a Europe of fear. They voted no for fear, and a vote for France of the future, that voted yes, almost 50-50. This is a tendency that has been increasing probably in the last period of time, but it existed at the time of the Treaty of Maastricht.

Now, maybe our responsibility is in fact to change that 2 Europes of fear and hope, and the fact that a lot of new fears have now come around that were not at the time of Maastricht. Those were agriculture and industrial reforms, metallurgy companies et cetera you had in your country. But having said that, I would like to say that out of these debates a certain sentiment of moderate optimism, rational optimism has been emerging. This has not been a debate of pessimism, the debate of people that do not believe that we have a future. On the contrary! And I think this is very very important, and this moderate optimism, this rational optimism is coming back. Because otherwise the pessimism is going

to overcome it, it will prevent us from having a debate which is on the grounds of moderate optimism, rational optimism.

I would like to say that – all of the ideas have been very interesting - one of the ideas I would like to keep in our minds is the idea of innovation, the fatigue of innovation. If Europe is something, and it should be something, it should be related to creativity and to innovation. All the interventions have to a certain extent this message included inside. Professor Geremek has said it very explicitly, but the rest have said it without mentioning the word innovation and creativity. That's what we need. We cannot lose the time, and not lose the time is to be creative, to move forward.

Number 2. We need what we may call a European way of life. What we need really is a public opinion, a European public opinion. But we don't have! And that is a very fundamental thing. We cannot really have a democracy and all those things that we have been talking about unless we have, in a certain sense, a sentiment of public opinion. How do we do that? It's something that we have to think about. It may be done through mechanisms that are linked to media, to the new political parties, maybe due to the civil society, maybe through the linkage of mayors; nobody prevents them from doing it. Don't blame the European Union for not having more activity in the cities. This is free. You can do it, among the cities. You can do whatever you want! In Brussels it is probably much more important to do among cities themselves than what you do in Brussels. No doubt about that, that theme I think.

I think then with the innovation element, the public opinion element, and what has been said before, the fear which is something that Ursula Plassnik has said very clearly, also that exists: how do we overcome this sense of fear that has been with us for a long time? The other side of the coin is the side that wins. And finally I will say that global action, the action in the world, is absolutely fundamental. In the world that we are living today, with new countries emerging, India, China, Brazil etc., we just cannot be standing still. Let me go back to the astro-quotations. I quote Einstein again. Motion is a relative phenomenon. You move in relation to something. You don't move faster than that something. You *recule*, you go back. Now our life today, our politics today, we don't move as the European Union faster than the political landscape of the world, or what is going on in the world. We will not move forward. Go backwards, is the last thing we can afford, go backwards. Therefore let's get on the move, and with a certain sense of rational optimism which is possible to move on.

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber

Thank you. If there is no other immediate reaction let me move now to the wider panel and invite our friends from the panel here who would like to comment. Yes, please sir.

Panel / Participants debate

Riccardo Illy

My name is Riccardo Illy, I am President of a small Italian region, Friuli-Venezia-Giulia, only 1.2 million people, but with 3 linguistic minorities. And I am also President of the Assembly of European Regions, an association of about 250 regions in the territory of the Council of Europe.

So I wanted to stress what the Mayor of Athens has said: the role of regions and local entities in integrating Europe but also in accomplishing the Lisbon agenda, and mainly in accomplishing innovation, from public administration, from companies, and also by the citizens.

And secondly I wanted to stress the fact that I think that the actual crisis of identity in Europe is actually due to the fact that we do not have an important, an exciting objective to show to the European citizens. Think in the past we had the Single Market, we had the free circulation of people with the Schengen agreement, we had the Euro, we had the so called Big Bang of the enlargement to 10 new members – which is the next exciting objective written in the European Constitution? It's difficult to find it.

And I think that the only important next objective that could be understood by the citizens should be the political union, that means a confederation of states that finally should give the European Union not only an internal role but also an external one. In the global policy, that means to have really a foreign policy, foreign affairs minister, to have a European army, in order for example to solve problems we have within the European territory – I am referring to the problem of Kosovo.

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber

Thank you. Could I invite the panellists to refrain from answering, and I bundle one or two other questions in addition.

Elmar Brok

(spoke German, but this translation has been corrected)

Thank you. I completely agree with Solana, the EU is a success story. The single market has produced a lot of jobs and competitiveness, with Euro, and with the development of the CFSP. But this is kept secret! And this is for sure a question for the national governments. In my country the 7 billion Euro net contribution to the EU budget is discussed, but current the account status of 120 billion is a state secret. In some countries where one is a net-winner, 2 billion received net is not used, but the 50 million not achieved in the bargain is sold as a national tragedy. When it's like this we cannot win the hearts of the people, because we cannot get the truth out, often for national political reasons. I think it's a crucial imperative that we need to produce a kind of cost benefit analysis for every European country and we need to make a list of the economic, the social, and the political and peace benefits of the European Union, and explain these clearly to our citizens. We need this in the period of reflection, to show why we need Europe.

And secondly I want to say, what about the Constitution? If we don't get the Constitution we keep the Part III that no-one wants as that is the Treaty of Nice. No one wants that. What we do not want, we keep! And what we want we do not get. For in Part I there is the catalogue of competences, the role of the national governments, the rights of the citizens, and that the European Parliament election is linked to the vote for the Commission President. There's a strengthening of the law for citizens, and subsidiarity, and the Charter of Fundamental Rights, where rights are binding. That is what will not come. And I think that must also be clearly explained.

But on the other hand there is the Lisbon Strategy. I consider it to be a very dangerous path. For there will hopes be aroused, that cannot be delivered, for it is in an areas where the EU has no powers. In most of the areas of the Lisbon Strategy the EU has no powers to deal with the issues, because these are in the hands of the national governments. And when it goes wrong, Europe will be blamed for something that it cannot be responsible for. Hence I see this as a very complex and hard way to connect Europe together as Europe will be seen to be the loser. Thank you.

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber

Last intervention in this series, Mr Tsoukalis please.

Loukas Tsoukalis

Thank you Mr Chairman. Loukas Tsoukalis, I am the head of the main Greek think-tank on European Foreign Policy. To the extent we do have a crisis in Europe, this crisis I believe traces its origins back to the national level. In a world of rapid change, new challenges and growing competition, many of our countries have been caught in a vicious circle of poor economic performance, growing social angst, and weak political leadership that finds it difficult to articulate a convincing language of reform, and reform is precisely what we need in most of our countries.

So Dora Bakoyannis and others have referred to the growing fear and pessimism about the future that permeates Europe. People who fear change also turn against Europe as they see Europe as a vehicle or precisely that dreaded change they want to avoid. But at the same time many of our national politicians have for years resorted to the dangerous habit of blaming Brussels for difficult and unpopular measures at home while appropriating everything nice and popular for themselves, and this is a very dangerous game that cannot go on for very long. So I believe that as long as those problems are not tackled properly and mostly at the national level Europe will have a problem because Europe cannot be strong as long as its Member States are weak.

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber

Now, please. Could I now invite the panellists to respond to these questions? Who would like to answer the question from the regions? So maybe you would like to contemplate an answer for the final round. Dr Erhard Busek, you would like to intervene?

Erhard Busek

Erhard Busek, special coordinator for the Stability Pact for South East Europe. One remark to Riccardo Illy. I think he is totally right, for the moment it is looking like we have no challenging project. But what sometimes impresses me is the real challenge of the European integration process is that we have peace in Europe, and obviously we are so trained to have peace that nobody is impressed any more. I think that is obviously a big mistake. We are close to wars in the neighbourhood of Europe. And we have to say it quite clearly. It's a real advantage and it is a continuous story in changing the Eastern part from 1989 on, but obviously that is also forgotten.

I want to underline what MW said. I am extremely grateful that she did so. I think we also have to talk about more patience with Europe. Because this story of the European integration was a story of ongoing crisis. There was always a crisis. There was the crisis of the empty chair, there was every crisis possible concerning the agricultural budget, and so on. The big advantage of the crisis is that after every crisis there is an improvement. I think this perspective is for sure necessary. I think that might be a request that it is necessary to have more story tellers! I think I am asking my friend Bronislaw Geremek to be an ongoing story teller about the improvement that happened in the centre of Europe before 1989 and after 1989. Because it is a big advantage that we are able to have such

problems and this is thanks to the role of what we call the dissidents and what they did. It's by the way a silly expression, for that what they did, I think they were Europeans and not dissidents working here.

And I think we need stories like Dominique Moisi, I think like giving sounds, you said it, not as a romantic story, I think a very realistic story which for sure has to be connected. I think Europe is not only history, it is a follow up of stories which had to be told. I think it is quite necessary. Sometimes we are only depending on EU institutions. I hate that they are always blamed. We have to ask the other parts of Europe what is done in this direction – they are giving more knowledge about Europe. The real problem is we don't have knowledge about Europe, I think not concerning institutions and the Parliament and so on, I think there is a lack of knowledge of how interesting, different, common Europe is. I think if you go around and ask what is the historical background of this city, what is the cultural background, you can see. And I am quite a lot running around under these auspices. I think the knowledge of the Europeans of how Europe really is, is very much limited.

And that brings me to one point. This is education. I may say it was understandable in the beginning of the European integration process that education has remained a national responsibility, understandable in this time. I'm in favour that it is a national responsibility, but there should be more European responsibility. If you are looking to the budget, and you are looking to my poor friend Jan Figel, what is he really able to do? I think that is a must. That is a request that we are creating alongside the national responsibility, a responsibility on European education, not only in the sense of information which is given. I think to bring up concerning European ideas and European knowledge. We need knowledge about other countries and so on and so on which is not really existing. I'm always raising one question, and as a boy Viennese I can blame the Viennese. Still since 1990: where is Prague situated seen from Vienna? In 1990, 70% were convinced Prague is a city eastwards from Vienna! If you are looking to the map it is North West. Still 30% are convinced it is a city eastwards. Here you can see they are educated by the public. That's my last point. We are missing a European public. That's not a question of money. I think it is a question of conviction which is done. It's looking to the medias in connection I think with education. I don't want to blame the criticisers. It's not enough to criticise. I think you have to explain what Europe really is not only by romantic stories, and I think very much in practice is a day by day life.

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber

Thank you.

Margot Wallström

Immediately after the introductory session here I went to meet with some Austrian students. They were of course very clever and very wise in their youth. An 18 year old boy said to me very seriously why can't the European leaders not agree that youth unemployment is the worst of diseases in this continent? Why can't they agree to make that their one priority? To eradicate youth unemployment, and invest in getting rid of that problem all over Europe. I think that the so-called Lisbon strategy has to be our strategy for growth and jobs, it really has to be about creating jobs and getting rid of youth unemployment. I have to disagree with honourable member Elmar Brok. I think it cannot be clearer today what is the division of responsibility, of labour, between Member States and what has to be done at the European level and the decision we took in the Commission clarifies that we have to work in partnership but there is a very specific agenda identified for each and every Member State and now it is up to us to deliver, and this is also for the Commission to make sure we present the proposals necessary to make sure that we can have growth and jobs in Europe. So I think we have that action plan. And we have deliver the results, we have to make the change.

And we have to combine it also with telling the stories. I very much agree. Also knowing our own recent history. And that is why it is important that people like Bronislaw Geremek and others tell us what it was like not that long ago to live in Europe. Where it was impossible to cross a border, or the bureaucracy would make your life hell. But to the 20 year old, they want the story about the future, they want to see Europe will make a difference for them! They understand of course that peace is the basis but they also want to know that we can tackle the problems they see. Fortunately they do not have that much of fear. They have hopes, they think this will be OK. The young people – of course they do not want to be unemployed – they want education but they have hopes for the future, and it is or responsibility to answer to that and take our political responsibilities at all levels. Thank you.

Anne-Marie Sigmund

I will just very briefly say that we all concur: we must explain what we stand for, and what we believe in, using a very clear and simple vocabulary, in order to bring that closer to the citizens. I would hence make this appeal. Here there are surely representatives of all 25 countries. Please promote us, use us! The European Economic and Social Committee currently comprises 317 members from all 25 Member States. We cover the main economic and social players and various other interests. We are there to work with the Member States, to take this back home, to 'go local'. Perhaps we can together make networks here, so we may all take things forward.

Ursula Plassnik

Europe is also about managing expectations, both from the inside and the outside. And maybe sometimes we should be more honest. Clearer, and more responsible in managing the expectations. What we can do, what we cannot do. If we do not want a supermarket, if we do not want a superstate, we cannot promise what a supermarket or a superstate can offer.

Second remark: Europe is a learning organisation. Chris Patten I think at the end of his mandate once said that the biggest surprise for him was waking up in a morning and seeing that the whole thing still functioned. Because the European Union, organising 25 Member States, 450 million citizens, is a highly complex issue. In the end if you look at it from management terms it's highly unlikely that this kind of exercise could be successful, and it is successful. We feel and see it every day. We need Euro-realism. We will not be able to deliver what is on the wish list, so I am very much in favour of those who say there is a difference between the Europe of illusions and Europe of concrete objectives that we are defining *inter alia* in the Constitutional Treaty.

A word on the youth... I think it was very important that MW mentioned the youth. I think the most horrible thing to young people is to not give them access, access to our societies, access to jobs, access to possibilities. Whatever we can do, in particular for those who are in difficulties, for those who have a different background and therefore find it more difficult to have this access should be done and we should focus on that. We might wish to redefine altogether what we understand by people being disadvantaged in the 21st Century. We have might discover that we have to develop a new notion, and the old notions dating back to the 20th century are not applicable any more. Last word on what Erhard Busek said. I join him in his appeal for the European story teller, for the European image producers, Mr Toscani, looking at your images of Europe, looking at your images of the youth in the world does enormous good to our societies, and increases our confidence and our capacity to manage tomorrow.

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber

Dominique Moïsi, you have one minute.

Dominique Moïsi

I will answer you in English. I think Mr Busek is right; one should not give an over-romanticised vision of Europe. But nothing alienated more European citizens from the cause of Europe than the show of pettiness and selfishness which can be demonstrated in Brussels on issues like value added tax for example. This is what alienates the European citizens from the cause of Europe. To come back to what you said, I think there must be a debate on the boundaries of Europe. It is essential. We owe it to our citizens. We must always show very clearly to our citizens that the card of the Union is integration, if we no longer have that card, peace will no longer be helped by us, around us, and within us.

Mark Leonard

I think we would all have liked to have had the Constitution, but the French and Dutch voters have spoken. We owe it to the whole of Europe to stop talking of the Constitution, and start looking at how we can make Europe work with our existing resources. And let's start with foreign policy. Let's tell the European Commission to work with the European Council more effectively and to give Javier Solana the resources he needs to speak for Europe on the world stage. Let's see national governments second more staff to him. Let's have a budget of €500 million a year for our European foreign policy. And let's develop more political control over the neighbourhood strategy, particularly for people who do not want to see every single country round Europe join the European Union. If we are not to enlarge forever, we need to develop something that works, with real political conditionality, with real carrots to influence the behaviour of those around us.

Gilles Kepel

I think that one of the challenges in front of Europe today is the challenge of an integrated education system. I think that Bronislaw Geremek, who said earlier on that our universities do not have the prestige that they once had. And this is a major problem for us. And if we do not pay more attention to a European liberal education, we will not reach that integration we are seeking, both in the sense that Javier Solana meant earlier on, i.e. the integration of all countries into Europe, and in the sense that I stressed myself: the social integration of different layers of society, of people coming from different backgrounds. This is also I believe, these are politics in my view that Brussels has not addressed significantly. And if we do not tackle this issue seriously in the future we are definitely in danger.

Bronislaw Geremek

Two comments. First, I think that Europe of my dreams can be destroyed by selfish reactions on the part of member states. There I am not completely in agreement with Madame Plassnik. I can recall the Council discussion about reduction in the European budget, from 1,24% a 1%. The things the rich countries demanded. Problems of the stability pact. All I want to say is that the pettiness and

selfishness, dear Dominique, are not in Brussels – don't charge Brussels of that – but they are in the capitals of the European Union. My second remark concerns the people.

As a historian, I am not afraid of fear. Because fear created Europe. Fear of Communism, Turkey – and now it wants to join, fear of Tartars. How could we turn all of this into something positive? How can we change globalisation, the danger of globalisation. That's to say how can we convince citizens that Europe today is best able to respond to the dangers of globalisation? The Europeans, fearing this change, find in Europe the support that is important.

Dora Bakoyannis

I would like to say just one phrase. I do not totally agree with Mark Leonard, that if Samuel Beckett said fail again, I do not want to see the Constitution dead and buried. I would like to see the changes. We can change it, we can adapt it, but we have to bring it back. It was the only real political text that Europe produced. We can make a better Constitution, we can make the changes, but we must not give up.

Javier Solana

I have spoken too much. Therefore I would like to get an operative conclusion from this wonderful evening which will suit everybody. Intellectuals, professionals etc., which is to get the commitment today to multiply the Erasmus programme by a factor of whatever and get the amount of money necessary for that. Erasmus will be the best thing we can do for our future generations and the future of Europe!

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber

Thank you very much. I would like to join you now to applaud the wonderful panel which has had many, many stimulating ideas and my team and myself will make sure that you have the principal issues tomorrow morning on your desk in paper form. I would like to ask you to remain seated please because I have the delightful task to introduce – as you see in your programme – to introduce Tina Brauer and Elias Mari who will produce for us some Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.'s music.

END OF THE FIRST DAY OF THE SOUND OF EUROPE CONFERENCE

Saturday 28 January 2006

Opening address by Federal President Heinz Fischer

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Let me begin by expressing my admiration and appreciation for the marvelous music performance yesterday. I congratulate everyone involved in planning, organising and carrying it out. Please accept my sincere thanks.

I should like to start straight away by telling you about an experience that made a lasting impression on me.

I experienced my strongest emotional bond with Europe, the strongest feeling of my European identity, almost 32 years ago in autumn 1974, when I was travelling in the Far East with my wife. We arrived via Moscow, Irkutsk and Pjöngjang in China, just as it was emerging from Mao Tse Tung's Cultural Revolution. There was hardly any tourism there at the time. It was a completely different China to the China of today. Whenever my wife and I met somebody from, say, the UK or Sweden – which didn't happen very often – we met each other as Europeans and had in common this fact of being European. Nationality was a subordinate issue. What actually constituted this specific European identity?

The fact of geographically belonging to the west of the Eurasian continent?

Religious or cultural influences?

A shared history?

Or something else?

At the time, of course, I did not formulate those questions so clearly, nor could I have answered them. Now I reflect a great deal on these questions, because comprehending the common "Sound of Europe" is of enormous importance to the future prospects of the European project, and I realise that the threads of a European identity reach far back into the past and are irrevocably intertwined.

The mythology of Europa, which - as we know - was originally neither a geographical nor a political concept, begins with the tale of a young princess with whom Zeus, the father of the gods, fell in love when he caught sight of her on the seashore with her friends. He transformed himself into a bull and abducted her over the sea to Crete.

But this girl Europa was not a European in the modern sense; she was the daughter of a Phoenician king from Asia Minor. And Zeus was not the divinity of a monotheistic religion of the type that is predominant in Europe today, but the father of the gods of a polytheistic pantheon.

But Christianity, too, which is the main religion in Europe today, has its roots close to the homeland of the Phoenician princess and first began to develop in the regions around the Mediterranean Sea, which are absolutely not identical to the Europe of today. Europe was much smaller then and at the same time much larger.

The picture is the same when we take a look at the cultural roots:

Europe owes its numerical system to the Arabs. The beautiful epic of “The Iliad”, which had such a strong influence on European culture, concerns the battle for a city in Asia Minor, and Prometheus who, according to the myth, brought divine fire and knowledge to mortals although it was forbidden, was shackled to a rocky crag in what is now Georgia.

The Museion of Alexandria, the most prestigious seat of learning of the time, a kind of Harvard of the ancient world, was in Egypt.

In other words, many sources of inspiration of the blossoming European culture and science are not located in Europe in the modern sense of the term, or at least not in countries of the European Union. It was the sum of all these sources, these seeds of cultural diversity, the schools of thought of Asia Minor, Judaism and Christianity, the migration and mixing of the peoples, Indo-Germanic and Slavic influences, humanism and enlightenment, which gave rise to that European culture, that European model of thought and way of life, that catalogue of human rights, i.e. that modern concept of Europe to which we are now trying to give political shape.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

More than 150 years ago, in 1849, Victor Hugo said in a famous speech in Paris: "A day will come when you France, you Russia, you Italy, you England, you Germany, you all, nations of the continent, without losing your distinct qualities and your glorious individuality, will be merged closely within a superior unit".

This was still a very long way off, however.

It was not until after the unprecedented dictatorship of the Nazis and the devastation of World War II that this seemingly unattainable vision became an imperative necessity.

The time was ripe for the great rivals of European history to join forces, and lay the foundations for the common European house by signing the Rome Treaties in 1957.

I do not need to talk to you about progress since then on the “building site of Europe”, but the most recent enlargement with ten new member states in 2004 made it possible to speak not only of enlargement, but of the reunification of a continent that had been divided for decades: ‘That which belongs together, grows together’.

Over the last few years, however, we have been witnessing an example of a perspicacious observation by Berthold Brecht, which runs:

"When the difficulty
Of the mountains is once behind
That's when you'll see
The difficulty of the plains will start."

This is precisely where we are today. In the struggle of the European plains, which seems to be causing us much greater difficulty than the initial slope and final ascent to a common Europe.

I admit: the construction of the common European house is not proceeding according to the architect's blueprint. As we have seen in the course of the last five decades, the common Europe is work in progress.

But the will to build this common house is not only a whim of political contemporaries.

It is an idea with a long history, it is a rational idea and it is a necessary idea.

From where, then, comes this strong headwind we are feeling, if the European project has so many good arguments in its favour?

I believe it is not the European project as such which generates such opposition, it is not the basic concept of European cooperation which draws criticism, rather it is certain specific experiences; it is the real situation on the ground in the European Union of 25 that is viewed with scepticism and meets with criticism from many quarters.

Let me give some examples:

- Again and again national interests are instrumentalised against Union interests.
- Many citizens of Europe feel they are not being taken seriously with their concerns and that they are light years away from the decision-makers in Brussels and elsewhere.
- There is a strong temptation to nationalise success stories and europeanise the unpalatable.
- There is a feeling – and it is more than just a feeling – that the democratic model is not working, or not working satisfactorily, at the European level.
- And to cap it all, there is the division between those already living in the European house who would dearly like to lock the door from the inside, and those on the outside who see the Union as the Promised Land, and who are knocking loudly on the door asking for admittance.

It is also true that the answers given to the approximately 20 million jobless in Europe today are not satisfactory.

The fate of these millions of people without work is a bitter reality.

That is why we must also take announcements and targets concerning cuts in the unemployment rates very seriously. I am convinced that confidence in Europe depends to a very large extent on confidence in the social stability of Europe.

What is more, in the final analysis, problems relating to migration, asylum or internal security also have a strong social dimension.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

The motto "Sound of Europe" is not only a reminder that the Mozart year has begun, but it is above all a reminder that, in addition to the economic foundation I have just been talking about, we must devote our fullest attention to the superstructure of Europe's commonality.

It is my firm conviction that a common cultural consciousness – with due regard for national attributes and differences - forms a decisive part of a common European consciousness.

This European consciousness must have a strong, forward-looking dimension. It must take seriously its own goals in the area of science and research. It must be open for curiosity and for the new sounds of this world.

And since this year is not only a Mozart year but also a Sigmund Freud year, may I say I concur with what Sigmund Freud said in September 1932 in a letter to Albert Einstein: "Whatever makes for cultural development is working also against war".

Europe, the culture project, is also a project against war, and vice versa. We must never forget that.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

The inhabitants of the European house, which we want to be a peaceful and safe house, also need a firm foundation of common European values so that a good household based on solidarity can develop. These values above all include human rights, and consequently also our common rejection of the death penalty, which is a product of the European debate. They also - and in particular - include a common understanding of the theory and practice of democracy.

The concept of democracy has existed in Europe since the time of Cleisthenes, i.e. for more than 2500 years; in the middle of the 1990s, Greece with right invited to a great celebration in Athens under the motto "2500 years of democracy in Europe". Yes, Cleisthenes and his contemporaries developed the model of democracy 2500 years ago. But this model was then suppressed and forgotten for more than 2000 years. In practice, there has been democracy in many countries for considerably less than 100 years. While the European Union is an association of democratic states, the idea of a pan-European democracy is still in its infancy.

I strongly believe that the European Constitutional Treaty, for example, would bring progress in the development of a European democracy.

On the subject of the Constitutional Treaty, procedural questions are not paramount for me at this stage. Far more important is the question: What do we want? Is it better for the future of the European Union to have such a Constitutional Treaty, or would it be better if it did not come about?

For me, the answer is clear.

Europe and Europeans as a whole would be much better off with such a treaty than without it; it was and is a compromise document drawn up by a pan-European convention at the request of all 25 governments and also accepted by the European Parliament, and represents very concrete progress. We should certainly take heed of what the European Parliament has to say on this subject.

The possibility of a pan-European referendum - which I personally consider to be a good idea although the related constitutional problems are extremely complex - would be a positive contribution to the concept of democracy in Europe.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Discussing all these issues is an important, common task. New ideas are welcome.

And if we risk losing heart and becoming weary, we should not forget the trials Europe has overcome in the course of its history.

Above all, we should bear in mind the Chinese saying: In the struggle between the stone and the water, in time, the water wins.

In this spirit, not only have we learned that democracy, however vulnerable and imperfect, ultimately has a more promising future than the seemingly most rock-solid dictatorship, but we shall also prove that our humanist European values have more creative energy than can be destroyed by any national egoism. The European model is a model for the future. It deserves our confidence.

Opening statement by the President of the European Commission José Manuel Barroso

Chancellor Schüssel, Mr President, Excellencies, dear friends!

It is my pleasure to be here at the invitation of the Austrian presidency on the second day of this resounding conference. The cultural diversity and wealth of our continent has been and is now being the driving force of this conference. I believe it can also be the inspiration to overcome the problems with which Europe is presently confronted.

Yes, Europe does have problems. We have economic problems, social problems, demographic problems. First of all I think there is a confidence problem.

In the broader sense it is a cultural problem - the way we look at ourselves and the world, while we face the challenges at the beginning of the 21st century.

But when I say we have problems, I say with the same assurance that those problems can be solved. In Europe, we have the critical resources to overcome the problems. To find the right solutions.

It has been said, we will only succeed if we take the concerns and the anxieties of the people, of ordinary citizens seriously. Let us be concrete. The most important concern is about employment, it is about jobs. It is the fear of the people of losing their jobs. Those who do not have a job fear that they will never find one. Parents have anxieties about their children future job. Young people, even if they get a good training ask themselves: Can I get a job, when I leave university or when I leave school? This is a real problem.

Now some of the issues we have to deal with at the European level, like the internal market, the enlargement of the EU, are seen by many in Europe as a source for the problem. But all empirical evidence shows that there is success. That there are drivers for growth and creation of employment in Europe, take the last enlargement. All the empirical evidence we have shows that, and this is also true of globalisation.

So this is the true difficulty of Europe. We have a paradox now, that many people in our continent see what can be solutions for our problems, a global economy, as a cause of our problems. And so we have come to a crucial point which I will address later in our panel about leadership. What is a European leadership? What do responsible political leaders do in the face of this paradox? When the very solution for an enlarged Europe now is to be dynamic, to be able to embrace change, but when this is seen by many of our citizens precisely not as a solution but as a problem and - let's be frank - as the cause of their concerns? Because today people are concerned in Europe about the way the internal market works, the way in which this last enlargement was achieved, and those problems exist.

So we have to think: is globalisation going to go away or will it be there for the next years? I believe it will be here for the future. It is not a political decision, no country - not even the most powerful countries - controls this process. To a large extent it is ruled by technological changes. So we have two possibilities. And before being an economic decision, before being an ideological decision, this is a cultural decision. What is our position faced with globalisation? Are we going to hide? Are we going to pretend it does not exist, are we going to resist it or are we going to try to manage it with our values, the European values, the European way of live, our principles? I believe the answer is the second one. We have to try to shape this globalisation with our values to adapt it. The message that we send to our people should be a message of openness and not a message of retreat. It is a message of overcoming stupid, narrow nationalism that was the source of so many tragedies in our continent for hundred of years. We have to be able to understand that only the paradigm of openness (and here culture is very important) can really overcome the current difficulties.

It is not because of the internal market that we have problems in Europe. It is not because of the last enlargement that we have some problems in Europe. On the contrary.

It is precisely because we were not prepared from an economic point of view to face the challenges of this globalized world that we are witnessing some problems of adaptation.

And then we come to the institutional problems. And let me be very, very clear about it. I believe the "No" votes in France and the Netherlands do not mean a "No" to Europe. I believe we have to take the concerns expressed in those votes seriously. As democrats we have the duty to do so.

I think we are now in a moment of the European integration process that is different from the past. In the past it was possible that the institutional dynamic was creating the political consensus.

I think nowadays it is the other way round. It is the political consensus that will create the institutional dynamics. So I think that the solution of our problems is not first of all an institutional solution.

Institutions are very important in a Community based on law. But let's not pretend that the problems we have in Europe are because of the lack of the new Constitutional Treaty, because this is not true.

It is creating now the political dynamics so that we will solve afterwards the institutional problems. That will generate the institutional consensus.

And so my word to the European leaders is a word of prudence, asking them not to open new cleavages now on institutional terms of Europe, to try to get a broader political consensus to generate a momentum to solve the institutional problem. And I and the European Commission are completely committed to the principles and values that are in the Constitutional Treaty. There should be no doubts about it.

But we have to find the right conditions to address the problems and to solve them. And I believe we can do it, step by step, if we build a Europe of results.

That is why we are coming up with concrete proposals - moving up a gear with our Lisbon strategy for growth and jobs. We are now discussing concrete proposals in March under the Austrian presidency, especially increasing the funds for research. Finland is an example for removing some obstacles to small and medium-sized enterprises. Having a common energy policy, or at least a common strategy for energy. So let's address the economic problems. There are some problems of democracy and transparency or accountability. Let's look at it. We have the subsidiary principle, we have the better regulation programme. We can solve the problems. We have some problems about enlargement. Let's discuss them. We should not be afraid, not denying problems that exist.

Let's discuss them whilst keeping our commitment and see what the right pace for this enlargement is in the future. There is a concern in the public opinion.

But at the same time responsible leaders have to think, whether they want to be led by public opinion or whether they have the courage to lead the public opinion in terms of what is the best way for Europe. I believe a consensus is emerging about priorities. Everybody agrees that the status quo is not an option. Everybody expects that we have to reform Europe. We have to reform Europe if we want to keep, preserve and reinforce our values. We have to modernise our policies and progressively we have to build a common agenda to achieve results. And it is a Europe of results. A Europe that shows its citizens that it is delivering on jobs, on growth and on a common purpose. This requires a lot of efforts in terms of responsible leadership that can create the best conditions to solve the institutional problem, because we have in fact an institutional matter to discuss and to solve.

For all of this we need confidence. Now there is a lot of self-criticism in Europe.

In fact I say very often, the one thing that could be exported is our excessive self-criticism. It would be good for us, it would be good for our trade balance and it would be good for others who don't have that same kind of self criticism which we do have. But we should avoid the idea of turning the period of reflection into a period of depression. We should now address what are the ways of getting out of this situation. Once again I believe inspiration can come from culture. Not because culture is at the service of economy. I don't believe that, on the contrary. I think it is the other way round. In my view culture comes before politics. We are now commemorating the 250 years of Mozart. How many politicians do we remember from 250 years ago? And how many current politicians of today will we commemorate 250 years from now?

Of course economy is indispensable. Without the basic economic conditions we cannot live. But what makes life worth living in a public space is culture. And so what I get from the cultural message, what I get when I read the great thinkers of our time like George Steiner or Peter Sloterdijk, what they say about Europe is inspirational because it is the paradigm of hope. Mozart - a son of Salzburg and Vienna, a son of Austria - was travelling all over Europe from Milan to Paris to London to Brussels. He was not asking for a subsidy from the European Commission. But he was a true European who came back to his country and built on a variety of traditions in Europe from Italy to France and other traditions. This paradigm of hope, that I believe is what Europe needs.

Because European citizens are not asking for less Europe. It depends. In some areas, yes. They want to feel the protection of the member states. They want to feel their community, their identity, and it is within this framework that they seek protection like social security. But they are asking us for more involvement foreign affairs, a common front in fighting criminality and terrorism. They are asking us for a common strategy for energy. Two years ago it would have been impossible to discuss that. It would have been considered an overregulation. But now people understand that even the biggest members states alone do not have the leverage to discuss these matters with our main partners in the world. Do we need a common approach? We have to show to our citizens the value of the European dimension. And so I believe globalisation will be a driving force for our Europe.

Let me conclude. I am told that Mozart composed one little piece of music when he visited Brussels. It is an allegro in C major. That could be a good sound for Europe, the sound of Europe should not be slow nor minor. And there we need the commitment of leaders. There we need a common script. Then we need to recognise: yes, we have problems, but in Europe we have the culture, the intelligence and the critical capacities to solve those problems.

PART III: Muses and Sirens

Moderator: **Erhard Busek**, Special Coordinator of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe (Austria)

Erhard Busek

Ladies and gentlemen, it is an honour for me to say thank you to the president Dr. Heinz Fischer for pointing the way for Europe and to have talked about European values. It is also an honour for me to thank Jose Emmanuel Barroso for what he said here.

I think that sometimes we need some basics that we are given by the European Commission. It was an advertisement I was asked by the organisation to do for the European Commission. It is quite an honour for me to do so. But also many thanks for what you did outlining the importance of where we are standing in general. Like Mozart in his time, mobility was easier in his time; now we need mobility programmes!

And we have to create universities, which are a European creation! I am sure it was easier in previous times for students and teachers to move from one university to the other! (JM Barroso smiling) That is depending on the nation state and I think we should overcome some of the aspects of the nation state. Many thanks for your engagement. I had the possibility to listen to you at the conference “Give Europe a Soul” in Berlin; I think it was an impressive speech you did. And I think that this sentence “to give Europe a soul” is quite important. I think it makes it easier to breach the speeches of two outstanding politicians to the panel we have to do now. It is difficult, after having been in the realm of policy, to turn to the muse. You will probably ask yourself if the two previous speeches were muses or sirens. I think it is not easy to answer that but some of what was said politically seemed like a siren song, but also influenced by the muses. It is very difficult to draw distinction between the two. But obviously that has to be expressed as the muses but it must have been appealing like the sirens song.

And of course it has a rather dangerous dimension because of course every dictator uses art. And this is something that dictators must grab. May I tell you about two anecdotes which play a great role in my life... In my family it says that when the Unfinished Symphony from Franz Schubert is played on the radio then Austria is in danger. And this was a standard programme and had a certain effect; this is something which I have never forgotten. When I hear these rather uncertain deep and rather demonic sounds, then in 1960, in the German opera “*unten den linden*” at the time of the GDR, I was invited for Lohengrin, I must say I have a rather difficult relationship with Wager; and this was natural after the Second World War and National Socialism. But in Lohengrin, there are certain things in the lyrics which can be used. You know the scene where the emperor asks everybody to gather and the keiser sings (and I won't sing), you know there is danger from the East. And in 1960 there was applause for that particular lyric. And of course yesterday evening we heard the muses and the sirens of the Vienna Philharmonic – with Ricardo Muti I actually missed Mozart appearing virtually. There is this confrontation between values and art, and you have the serious opera that comes from Italy and the enlightenment and the Marriage of Figaro. This opera is normally petting and canoodling on stage and this is most unfortunate. We need to have some more of this sort of artistic expression, and I think Franz Weiser-Möst is the mosty important.

Keynote speech by Franz Welser-Möst

Mr President,
Chancellor,
Your Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

My language is really music, and so I ask for your understanding if my speech is perhaps not as polished as some we have already heard.

The invitation I received to this conference tells of a society in Vienna in 1913 that was looking for a grand idea for the 20th century; the script I had prepared earlier took for its theme Mozart as a metaphor. I would like to try to connect these two topics. Recent mention of Mozart repeatedly emphasises his persona as a European, but usually this is only a reference to his extensive travels. If we take Europe to refer to Western culture, we must ask ourselves what Mozart's status in Western culture is, and furthermore what constitutes Western culture. Among the arts that arose from Western culture, music is the most independent and highly developed. Poetry and painting exist at the highest level in other cultures as well. But the phenomena we commonly call "classical music", music with this complexity and depth of expression, arose in this form only in the culture of the West. But this culture rests on two pillars - Hellenism and Christianity. The creative tension between the two modes of thought has still not been resolved today. At certain points, the two coincide, as in the concept of a common humanity, but they diverge when it comes to the question of the range of human action. The fundamental point of view of liberal, Western ideology that everything is possible is rooted in Hellenistic thinking, just as the modern belief in science.

In opposition to this stands Christianity with its fundamental view that not everything can be possible. This basic tension has left its mark on Western culture. And no one has reconciled the inherent contradictions better and resolved the contrasts more convincingly than Mozart. This makes him a towering figure in the highest art of Western culture. And for this reason, I see him as the European. The two models of Hellenism and Christianity meet in Mozart. There is - as far as I can see - no other, equally strong connecting link. Goethe, for instance, was closer to the Hellenistic model. And it is most significant that he set himself the task of writing the second part of *The Magic Flute*, which remained unfinished. *The Magic Flute* provides a precise demonstration of how Mozart manages, even with the text of a third-class writer, to write a work of such deep humanity that it is not only acceptable but exemplary for the Hellenistic and Christian schools of thought. What is true for *The Magic Flute* can equally be said about *Le Nozze di Figaro*, *Don Giovanni*, *Così fan Tutte*, the late religious work, and even about his chamber music, symphonies and concertos. Even where there is no text involved, it is obvious to me how Mozart builds a bridge that spans these pillars of Western culture.

I return to the title "Mozart as Metaphor" to ask what constitutes Mozart's greatness. Recently, I have been annoyed with many statements about Mozart's genius. For instance, a number of articles in the British press have claimed that he wrote only a few hits and that was all. On the other hand, there are serious studies of his music that seek to emphasise the Apollonian, the dramatic, or other expressive elements. I believe that the true greatness in Mozart's music - and we should be careful not to project the Romantic picture onto Mozart that the person is the work - is to be sought and found exclusively in his music, and we can learn from that. There is no other composer who brings the different elements of music - form, harmony, melody, rhythm and tone colour - into such perfect balance. Therefore, the same chord in Mozart sounds like the work of a genius and in another composer, simply ordinary. Mozart is the reconciliation, equalizing and balancing major elements. For a society, too, identity depends on the ability to balance. Within Western culture there ought to be an equilibrium among the different disciplines: a balance among natural sciences, humanities, religion, art and politics. In the 20th century, this equilibrium was more or less lacking. Politics has made its way into many other

fields. for example, church matters are reported in the political pages of newspapers, and where we should be making artistic judgments, political slogans are bandied about. The 18th century is called the Century of the Enlightenment and the 19th the Industrial Age, we can confidently call the 20th the Century of Politics.

I believe that the emphasis on politics, with the keyword “Two World Wars”, has violently disrupted the balance among the above disciplines, which is of major significance for Western culture and thus for Europe. Again and again I encounter examples of the current lack of balance: moral and ethical questions are almost exclusively considered on the basis of science and politics and, to a frightening degree, the media have been raised up as judges of moral, ethical, or specialist technical matters. One has only to look at talk shows or the articles on Mozart I mentioned. I believe that in my own field - namely that of the creative artist - there is a great need to depoliticise. Incidentally, after 20 years in the business, I can no longer stand the sight of combat uniforms in most productions. To avoid any misunderstanding: of course an artist can and should have a political opinion and express it. But in the creative arts, it has been a very long time since there was any aesthetic debate.

There is a need, in light of what has been said, to clarify our categories. We must once again know what is what. Over and over one hears about the “Europe of Values” but we stand helpless in the face of “Americanisation.” I have been living with one foot in the United States for the past three-and-a-half years, and I find much there to enjoy. But I have learned that the average American means something completely different when he speaks about values than we Europeans do, namely house, car, dog.

At the beginning of the 20th century, radical changes and transformations were brought about by dramatic political clashes. If we are looking for a grand idea for the 21st century, we can perhaps learn from the luminous figure of Mozart that the characteristic proper to Europe, the thing that is expressed in both the Hellenistic and the Christian stream, is the equilibrium of the disciplines I spoke of above. What is to be done? Other than clarifying categories, we need innovation in our creativity and our individuality. Innovation is the equilibrium between science and the humanities, religion, politics, and art. It is possible only with give and take, just as in music which, at the highest level, is also only give and take. Equilibrium has nothing to do with comfort. On the contrary, it requires intensive, possibly even uncomfortable dialogue and discussion among the disciplines. For my domain, I would like to say that we must not relinquish to politics the duty to educate - to educate and not to train. Rather, in the spirit of depoliticising, we must also do our share in order to hand on what Stefan Zweig called “the holiest superfluity of life.”

My wish is for a Europe of quality and not quantity. This is the only way we can take advantage of our unbelievably strong tradition. We do not have a chance against the quantities that America, India, or China can offer. As the Americans say: “Don’t try to get even, be ahead.” Identity has something to do with intimacy and only when we know who we are will we be able to act with self-confidence.

Thank you

Panel Discussion:

- András Bozóki, Minister for National Cultural Heritage (Hungary)
- Ján Figel, European Commissioner (Slovak Republic)
- Meglena Kuneva, Minister for European Affairs and Chief Negotiator with the EU (Bulgaria)
- Martin Kušej, Director (Austria)
- Sonia Puntischer-Riekmann, University of Salzburg (Austria)
- Oliviero Toscani, Photographer (Italy)

Erhard Busek

It's up to these voices, some shocks, maybe some temptations.

A second block of ideas... genius logic. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was already mentioned at length ... but also some others; Stefan Zweig was living for a longer time, and it was already mentioned by Franz Welser-Möst. He wrote a very impressive book; it's not a Nobel, it is referring to his century: *Die Welt von Gestern* (The World of Yesterday) where he talked about this lost Europe. What was in common in Europe and what was lost with totalitarianism and all the developments of nationalism and so and so on.

I think it's quite mirroring that Europe was existing even if broken by WWI and also after WWII. Also Robert Musil wrote about helpless Europe: *Hilflose Europa*: an impressive article, worth reading nowadays as it is mirroring our situation. And I think also Salzburg Festival is not a touristic event; I think it was invented to keep Europe after it was broken after WWI. The idea was that common language in diversity. Because for sure, Hugo von Hoffmann was giving the message about the last things in the world and what we are confronted, everyone of us. And on the contrary, Richard Strauss was very much devoted to Nietzsche and to his world. But it was possible to get a common language and it was shaped by Max Reinhard in a very baroque manner to give the feeling that it is impressive, challenging and beautiful to be in this world. And I think it is said what we have to do now; and it is up to muses and sirens sitting there to confront us with this.

[please be short]

Oliviero Toscani

Good morning. I ask myself why I am here with a group with my aged colleague, very few under 30, I am 64; I was born in a fascist and monarchist country. My mother did not want a third child, but luckily the Allied bombed, so my mother did not go to the hospital. I did not study in the same country, I am Italian, from the country of Machiavelli, I also discovered Bauhaus, Goethe, dreamt of Mozart in Austria, or of course Shakespeare, Russell, the Beatles, and I could go on like that for hours. I thought Europe is not bad. I am not particularly proud to be Italian - I like to be proud of what I choose. And I think Europe is a choice. At least it's a choice. I did marry three times with three girls from three

different countries, and I have eight grand children, and I don't think it is just Italian. We speak seven or eight languages and we all understand and we love each other. Do Europeans really love each other?

When I say to someone do you like Italians, even yesterday they twist their noses. So, do we really love each other? Is it possible to make a project not based on love? We are over critical to each other, because we don't really know each other. Americans could not love Russians, and then they found themselves on a beach in Rimini, You American boy, Russian girl, we can love each other. There is an atavist mixture that produces a negative DNA in everything European, we are negative and pessimistic. Europe is abstract. If Europe is in crisis, we are personally in crisis. Because we are not creative, to love you have to be creative. We are not able to love any more, we have lost the infantile energy and Americans are losing that and it's maybe our fault. We should not retrograde crisis – we need an avant-garde crisis. You can't be creative and be secure. Europe is a new frontier, a new dimension to conquer. We can't conquer it in the old way. Probably the language that politics is still speaking is not enough to explain the world, that Europe is coming to us with the speed of a meteorite. I am a photographer, and images do not need translation, and no politician ever asked for images of Europe.

And we know how much young people are interested in images. Art has always been at the service of a certain power – even Mozart wrote for someone. Today power does not need art anymore. They go to television. And television is not particularly creative. Art and creativity do not have any political colour – it is the essence of politics. Creativity is low in the palazzo in Brussels. The design is mediocre. A typical result of a political compromise. Obsessive search for compromise creates mediocrity. It is deceivment. A great product needing courage and art. So could be art. When you visit Rome, Salzburg, Florence, you go because of Mozart, Michelangelo and so on. Europe could be a new renaissance. Europe like creativity that lays between our hearts and our brains, but we need courage to make that come true.

Busek

It is quite interesting to listen to you about love. Diversity is the real unity.

We need more creativity and that's a challenge. Now we'll turn to Martin Kusej; he is working for the Salzburg Festival but not only. He is a Slovene out of Carinthia. Martin, the floor is yours.

Martin Kusej

First I would like to apologise as I would like to hold my statement in German because what I want to say needs passion and emphasis. This is better possible in my first language. And this describes by the way one part of the problem in our European crisis discussion: communication and emotion, and also let me say emotion. Well I am here as an EU citizen not only as an artist. Mr Toscani made important points I wanted to make because everything was a bit colourless until he spoke.

As an artist I have always been behind the idea of Europe.

Most mentioned the average American for whom values mean house, car and dog. I think that in the EU it is not so different, it's something we have to tackle and discuss. I am a theatre director. When we want to use theatre as education, it is for example like a football team, it would be showing them how to shoot goals and so on, but we want to go further than that; we want to make that a bit more emotional, exciting, and in order to get that across to our spectators, what I would like as an EU citizen who heard very empty thoughts which were expressed about the EU, I'd like to hear answers to my European questions: yes there's somebody who is passionate about the EU and brings it closer to me. Mr Solana spoke of the absurd idea of Europe. And that was interesting to me because as artists we are

experts of the absurd. What Mr Toscani mentioned I would conquer 100%; that is to say that this is a non harmonious, something difficult to understand the sound; we heard that H- - Broch had 3 reactions to the European crisis: the romantic, the realistic and the artistic; the realistic crisis is here. I have to represent a certain vision. I'd like to talk about the 2 other things.

Apart from economic and social issues, its vision is to be a sort of solution in the political sense of the word. Of course art has to be political but not in a rather curious sort of updating.

A European author wrote in 1927 after WWI; and he was very much aware of what was to come; the play is down in a dilapidated hotel in a small village somewhere in Europe and there's a picture of Europe falls from the wall at some point. His vision is not a good one. You know that I am talking about a war in the 90s and... But we're always going to have a crisis. Art is a platform for a crisis of identity and about where you can find it too. This is a sacred place where people can come without bothering or worrying about economic values, . There is an area in art that is beyond materialism. And as regards a vision for Europe, there is room for that and that is why I am here.

Erhard Busek

Thank you indeed for your view. Petros Makaris, I think you are coming from Greece, the Greeks invented Europe, and we are very interested to listen to your word. Petros, the floor is yours.

Petros Makaris

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have a very strange biography. My father was Armenian, my mother was Greek, I was born in Istanbul. I am – if you ask me – what is your Heimat. Where am I at home? As far as concerns language: in Greece. Culturally, in German and Austrian culture. I am a mixed up person than to Greece, Turkey, Armenia and in that sense I am closer to Europe than to Greece, Turkey ,Armenia. When I was young and I was walking in main street in Istanbul, I could hear Turkish, Greek, Armenian, Jewish, Italian and French. It was a cosmopolitan milieu and a diversity of cultures at the same time in the same place.

Today I hear only Turkish. Every other culture was destroyed by nationalism. And this is not a question of Turkey being too nationalistic. It is that each culture was so nationalistic in itself that it refused to integrate. All these cultures were living next to each other and not with each other, so that was an easy way for nationalism to destroy them; they were lost. If you want to build in Europe a cultural basis, we have to do two things: we have to diversify, that is to keep each national culture, and to integrate all cultures together. If we don't do that, there is no way to build a common culture. I heard a lot of things about Europe yesterday; but mainly the position was that of central Europe. But there is a border. There is around Europe a border of states, which are different; and this is expanding now. There is Romania, Bulgaria; we are expanding. We have to find a way to keep this diversity and integrate. There is one way to fight nationalism on a daily basis it is culture. If you want to fight, you have to fight with culture. I have listened to President Barroso and he said that in 250 years from now, we will only remember artists. Maybe he's right. We are not living 250 years later, we are living now. There are a few things to ask: the Stability Pact, criteria... I'd like to ask: how many of these criteria refer / how much of the stability pact affect culture?

The second main point is that culture is the main dish that is served to politicians as a desert. Well we have two problems with this. First culinary, it is an aberration to serve a main dish as a desert. The second problem is that usually you don't eat desert. What did we eat so much? Economics, subsidies, constitution... When it comes to desert you say, no please, no desert, "seulement un petit café". Thank you.

Erhard Busek

Culture is not an alibi. It's not an alibi, it's the essence of Europe and many thanks that you underline it. Only one comment, I am the coordinator of the Stability Pact for South East Europe, and that is one that is working. Now on to Jan Figel who is responsible for education, culture, sport, youth, and I think this is a long list of responsibilities. The budget is limited, and you have not a very nice service to build a bridge between the artists here and here on the panel, and also with civil society and politics. Jan the floor is yours.

Jan Figel

I will say an important message about money for portfolio areas which are substantial for European mentality, I thank you for it. I would like to bridge different points. We are at a crossroad, at a time of many global questions; many people tend to say this is a community full of problems, or a community of opportunities. There are tendencies to stress interests and values, optimism versus pessimism. At the crossroad, I think we should look back to the history a bit, where we are coming from, look into our minds and hearts in the community and also to look ahead and to go ahead. If we look back, I think Europe is a success.

To remember where we have been 15 or 16 years ago, *annus mirabilis*, now people take these realities for granted. We must remember that peace, freedom are not granted. There are places which would love to change for our "problems / troubles" of today. European is more European today because it is much more defined by culture than geography; and after Enlargement, I think the European Union is more complete, and that was the original vision.

When we look around it's the time of globalisation. And globalisation is an additional reason for more intensive European cooperation. Why?... energy, trade, environment, security...; we are seen from the outside as more and more important partner; for the first time in History last year US President visited the EU institutions: Commission and Council; it never happened before. We recently had a meeting with the Commission and the Russian government, and before with African representatives: these are strategic partners, that would like to work with Europe on a regular strategic basis; and this would not happen without a credible Union. Sometimes we are seen more attractive from the outside. I don't need to send a message from candidate countries or the western Balkans, Europe is the right place to be in. Very important is the reflection of the community, the minds and hearts of our community, after the realities of environment friendly, investment friendly Europe, etc., we should focus on citizenship, to build a citizen friendly continent, a space that is more useable by our people, not as tourists but as citizens, with their rights and with their qualifications. I believe that a free democratic integrated Europe is based on free democratic integrated societies. This role of citizens is decisive for the future for the continent.

Here once again, areas like education, youth, are very productive, has he is better prepared to live in this community. So we should support those areas of cooperation. There is a very strong negative and dangerous simplification that Europe is Brussels, and Brussels this is of course Commission. We need to change this simplification. Decisive factors for our future are rather mental and political. It is It is a togetherness of citizens and secondly consciousness of responsibility. This is a direct link to the situation; Europe is more of a process than a status. We need to have maturity in every generation and not just the one after WWII, for freedom, for democracy, for a common Europe. Here I think that not only looking ahead with hope, but with determination means to go ahead. Mr Möst said something about being in front, not just commenting or lamenting others that are moving. Despite our weaknesses we are moving. Our agenda started with coal and steel, then market, agriculture, the Euro

currency; now we are speaking about identity, citizenship, borders, values, diversity, Union means also a more demanding and not so simple. A proof of maturity is last year the signature of UNESCO convention agreement, a convention on cultural diversity protection and promotion. 25 countries have been able to unite in an area which is not so easy and sensitive. I can remind you that we started cultural cooperation only after Maastricht, so it's still teenager agenda. Europe is much more defined by culture. I believe that diversity in unity is our narrative.

We have been able to promote this successfully within the Union and we have been able to spread it or extrapolate this principle to the world community. It is our narrative for the next time. Culture here we understand in broader sense. Culture is available to provide space for dialogue, tolerance, mutual respect, dialogue of respect; it is about ethics of responsibilities, ethics of duties together with rights. In areas like language learning, life long learning, mobility of arts, protection of cultural heritage, European media production, the Bologna process for the universities, I think that we are europeanise Europe! That's important after a century of nationalisation. But time to quote somebody whom I think should not be respected for 50 years but for a longer period, not only here in Austria but also in Europe, Leopold Figl, he said 50 years ago: "we hope that future generations can say Europe is free". I think that Founding Fathers deserve applause and remembrance.

Busek

Thank you for this message. Hopefully we will have a common cultural policy and not just a Common Foreign and Security Policy and a Common Agricultural Policy. We are now switching to civil society. No better bridge than SPR: Sonja P was a politician, she is the vice rector of Salzburg University, and she is in charge of the Austrian Academy of Science on Europe. Sonia, the floor is yours.

Sonja Puntischer-Rieckmann

I will also take the freedom to speak German, but not before thanking the translators up there who do a great job at these conferences and quoting Umberto Eco who said: "The common language of Europe is translation".

Allow me to pick up these two concepts: muses and sirens: on the one hand we have the guardians of creative art and on the other hand we have seducers who bluish. But of course art does exercise its power through temptation and Don Giovanni was a great temptor and therefore ended up in hell. All Mozart's great operas end with the knowledge of the fact that harmony is only temporary, ephemeral; it breaks down. I would like to refer to what Cesarani said on the first day; I refer to the whole dialectic of the enlightenment. Think of context of Mozart in 18th century, when great hopes were raised by the E and 150 years later these hopes were dashed so dramatically and betrayed. We have these two elements: the muses and the sirens. This history is representing in geographic terms in Odysse.

And there's the proto entrepreneur, the adventurer, he tries to conquer the sirens, he stuff his sailors' ears and he himself puts on a mask. This is the exact opposite of the enlightenment. On the one side you ignore what is happening and at the same time you have to be allowed to be seduced.

And that is the great book, finishes without an answer to the difficulties which arose after 1945. Hannah Arendt, after 45 began writing the book about totalitarianism. And this year, this is the 100th anniversary of her birth. She emphasized the needs to hold on to the ideals of Enlightenment because in modern republican democracies, freedom is incompatible with ignorance. And there's a 2d concept she emphasised in her work: culture, not just art. That is action: never again. She should never again

let ourselves be seduced by empty phrases. We need to act, and this is a political concept. We need a new start. Indeed, after the great cultural apocalypse of Auschwitz, Europeans began to act anew. Amazingly Jean Monet has not been mentioned over the past two days: Jean Monet, Schuman, De Gaspari, these made a new start. In this way, they enabled Europeans to re-discover politics. The first of the 20th century was not the century of politics, this was the century of anti-politics, this was an attempt to impose totalitarian power. What I have in mind is politics, which is rooted in the Greek past. And here I think our Greek colleague is right. Different elements have to come together to make politics what it is. But you have to recognise the other contributions and this was the basic idea of the founding Member States. Let's not consider the OECD a model for Europe. Instead there was a need for supranational element and not just an intra community element in order to prevent this entity from falling apart. We need renaissance. I hope the institutional development last 50 years will be a spring ball to the new phase of integration. Consequently, the discussions about the Constitutional Treaty are so important; I fully agree with Mario Monti who said yesterday over lunch that we should abandon self-flagellation.

We need to think about the next steps. What should we now do? The French and the Dutch said No to the CT, we should change not the text but the context. What does that mean? How is the context to be changed without changing the text? If nothing prevents nation states from enacting above unemployment policy, policy that makes us competitive to the rest of the world, nothing prevents them from doing that. The obstacle to the ambitious Lisbon strategy is as follows: the EU and supranational institutions have too little power to blend these dissonant sounds. I refer to some Schüssel's statements and some other statements on the subject. I refer to the idea of common taxation, partial tax sovereignty of the European Union. All that cannot be achieved without changing the text, without more democracy, without a greater role of the parliaments, no taxation without representation. Let me conclude with the following sentence: All constitutional processes are always and everywhere difficult. Let's not imagine that the Americans wrote that text and then everything was fine. (There was a civil war afterwards). We should end conflict; we should not end disputes simply because we're frightened by the no-s of two founding Member States. Conflict is the basis of politics.

Pat Cox

Thank you very much to the invitation and to allow me to participate today. I'm looking at the theme you invited us to reflect on: sirens and muses, at the complexity of who I am, who we are, and how much we are in ourselves and how much of our society is in us. Let me share with you a few thoughts in that context. "In Rome I am Milanese, in Paris I am Italian, in New York I am European" – so said Umberto Eco. Not a competition but a complementarity. I am Umberto Eco. In early medieval Europe, Irish monks re-Christianised much of continental Europe. One of them, Saint Columbanus, settled in the early 7th century. he wrote in his scriptorium before he died, in 680 that he was one of the *ultimi habitatores mundi*. He came from the edge of Europe but he journeyed through the heart of Europe. I am Columbanus.

We talk about our roots, among them Greek. Many of the political leaders sat in the front row will recall a very interesting afternoon during the Greek presidency in April 2003 when we signed the Accession Treaty with the ten new States, a time of some emotion and a wonderful context. The Agora in the shadow of the Parthenon, with all the symbols of Greece and democracy and Europe around us. The thing I carried from it, A friend from Lithuania, who was then an MP was in a state of some emotion. he had been speaking on his mobile telephone to his 95 year old mother in Kaunas; they were reflecting on the fact that after the Soviet invasion, she a young married woman and her husband were sent to a gulag island in the Arctic where my friend was born.

And they were emotional that day marked some kind of completion of their family's journey from the gulag to freedom. I am Mrs - because she was imagining a certain sense of Europe; and we need that: Schuman, Monnet, de Gaspari gave us to our generation, firstly, the gift of their imagination of

something that could be different. The rest is detail. The gift of imagination can make us European. I see the sweeping vitality in Athens of the architecture for the Olympics of Kalitrava, and I go to Valencia, his home town, and I am breathless as what he can do with glass and steel; and this is some sense of Europe. I am Kalitrava because society is in us. . President Fischer quoted Bertold Brecht – he said you cannot change the people. We've had some interesting debates these last twelve months.

We need to change the context, perhaps the question, probably both. But you cannot change the people. I am Bertold Brecht. In my own country, Seamus Heaney, our most recent noble literature prize winner, gave to us a wonderful phrase – as we made a difficult journey, particularly in Northern Ireland, towards peace. President Barroso today said to us that Europe needs to be a message of hope, needs to create a message of hope. Heaney for Ireland told us we were living in a time when hope and history rhymed. I am Seamus Heaney. I loved the tour de force of last night's concert, as I have loved in Prague in the Estate Theatre to listen to Don Giovanni and think in my imagination I could be there at its première at the place where it was first staged. I am Mozart, I am complex, we are complex. I am Irish, I am European, And I am grateful to be here.

Erhard Busek

Thank Pat, may I say for this confession. One remark, I think is it easier to be a European in New York because you have a lot of immigrants, including the Jewish coming from here. It's more difficult in Texas from the moment. Now I am asking the Minister for Cultural Heritage from Hungary; and cultural heritage is one of the strong arguments we're always using in Europe. What are we doing with the heritage? Are we preserving it? Are we developing it? Is it a contribution for Europe? (Bosoki Andras [ur teshek])

Andras Bosoki

When I asked to summarise what Europe means for me in one word, I had to figure out something, I first thought maybe solidarity but then I realised the history of the twentieth century does not really support this idea. It was not the best: two wars and deadly ideas coming out of Europe. So finally, just also because I lived in Florence, Piazza Santa Cruce, just a few meters away from Santa Cruce and the cume of Machiavelli, being a political scientist myself, I chose Renaissance as a symbol or metaphor for Europe, which means the ability for renewal, the continuous spirit and always given chance to renew itself from scratch even after the Second World War for instance. It is also true for the former communist countries. We were always part of Europe but somehow we were behind the Iron Curtain.

Here culture played a different role, it substituted democracy, it substituted something that did not exit. It served nationalistic reasons to prove superiority in the 20 and 30S and then sort of legitimising the communist regime and the lack of democracy. And culture was understood as high culture only and heritage of the past. After the regime change, now I am proud and lucky to be a minister of culture in a new situation in the context of democracy where things are opening up. We have to find a place for culture and cultural policy. It is obvious and it must be clear that culture is broader concept than just the institution; it is broader than heritage, that tradition as such, which is not to say that heritage is not important. Indeed tradition is a living tradition. And heritage should be understood as a living heritage, which should be re-defined and re-valued and re-thought all the time. The classics of today were the contemporaries of the past. I think that somebody who is in charge of culture should pay attention to those who are out of the main stream heritage, who are outside of the institutions. Culture after all is a social practice. Therefore I support a broader concept of culture, a more open and broader concept: that is what I am struggling for to disseminate that idea in Hungary, in a country where people always felt as part of Europe but they were deprived from that. It is an interesting footnote to what you said.

Indeed I lived in several different places in the world, from Florence to Berlin, from the Netherlands to Los Angeles or New York. I went to Los Angeles in 1989 for a few months and my landlady was proud she had someone from Europe and then I realised for the 1st time in my life (she was an Argentinean in Los Angeles) that I must be proud to be European on the one hand, and secondly this was the place in the United States where I felt European because in my previous travels to western Europe I was always treated as *EASTERN* European. So I had to go to California to discover that I am European. It was very easy to receive fellowships from the US in the early 1990s, they were really eager to give us opportunities to study in different universities to develop themselves. Now I feel after a decade, that Western Europe was opening up, these countries became the members of the European Union. It is not like a Tom and Jerry race that these European countries are running, trying to catch up.

But now, we tend to think that it is not only enlargement but reunification. And I support as I said a broader concept of culture and diversity showing alternatives, which all make us richer and more tolerant, more adaptive to each other. I agree that the language of Europe is translation; and I fully support the idea of intercultural dialogue. Multiculturalism in itself is not enough. We need intercultural dialogue, and I think the European Commission is working on that to make 2008 the year of intercultural dialogue. As for Hungary and maybe these new EU countries, it is important to make our cultural policy and democracy more compatible, make the rules more transparent, the procedures more fair. This is what we could learn from the United States, the procedural justice. And my second point is that culture has a say in economics and in social cohesion as well. Competitiveness must be based on culture.

There is no contradiction between culture and competitiveness. Culture should not lag behind but should be the basis for a competitive economy and social cohesion, better social integration in Europe. Thank you for your attention.

Busek

The last person on our panel is Paavo Lipponen. Maybe you could outline what the challenges of the next presidency of the European Union will be; because you know, it is usual that a presidency moves the problems to the next one. So far we are moving the problem to you. What will happen from July 1st on? Paavo, the floor is yours.

Paavo Lipponen

I am happy to participate at this great conference, this is a real success, and particularly being part of the dessert today. As far as the Finnish presidency is concerned, of course we are counting on the Austrians to clear the table of all the problems, I trust Bundeskanzler Schüssel!

I am asking myself what distinguishes the Finns and how we would like to see ourselves distinguished. Apart from Nokia and the PISA study, Sibelius, he studied in Vienna – architecture, an architect who went to Italy, and was very influenced by Florence. Maybe most remarkably it's democracy. First of all, a hundred years ago the first modern parliament of history was created in Finland. In the election of 1907 both men and women could vote, stand for elections, and the only requirement was that you had to be 24 years old at least.

We were pioneers in democracy. For me it has been quite an adventure to discover my European roots. Well, we are, we share the same roots with mr bazoki. If you listen to us at a distance, you could not distinguish because the music of the language is so similar. I have got roots, I'm a Finn, Finnish speaking. But we also speak Swedish. I have roots in Sweden, in Germany, via Riga, the capital of Latvia. I have got one of my ancestors from the direct line coming from Wallonia in the 17th Century,

and a genealogist has discovered roots everywhere in Europe, including Charlemagne. My wife does not believe this, but it is probably a fact.

One of my great discoveries has been Austria, Austrian culture. I would recommend everyone to read a book by Wangermann, the Austrian Achievement. That is the time of Mozart, of Enlightenment...a great, great Austrian achievement. I have been studying architecture. But then I also discovered central Europe. I have for decades been studying. I went Central Europe during communist times, I went to Cesky Krumlov for example, this is Europe, and this is the heart of Europe. It's time that it's part of the European Union, as Commissioner Figel said. It's time to make the European Union hope.

Well, now I would like to return to the question of values, that our introductory speaker Möst was talking about. The C18 was the century of enlightenment; the C19 was the century of imperialism and nationalism. The Finnish nation was born during that period. It's a paradox, but still, the C20 was the century of war, dictatorship, but of course also of democratic socialism. The welfare state was born, the values of which we more or less all share. But I think we should not when we name our values, we should not forget democracy and freedom. Democracy saved Finland because the Finnish people, all the great political movement, because the social democrats, Centre, the conservatives united so that our country could face of imperialist, totalitarian aggression in the war. And let's not forget the Americans, I think.

There are these values that we share with them. Let's not forget the sacrifice. How many Americans died in [Hürkenwald]² alone? It's a wider community. We have our differences, this is fundamental; and we think about Europe, this is more or less on this basis: democracy, the role of law, freedom. But finally I would like to come to something that has been discussed by my colleagues on this panel. WE are proud of our roots in classical Greece. They invented democracy and the theatre, but did not invent science and philosophy. I think today we should be more aware of our common roots around the Mediterranean and the near east. In this debate about civilisations, we too much underline differences. Probably all of you have read the Da Vinci Code, it is a popular version of something that should be part of our education. There is a very good book by Dietrich Schwanitz – Bildung – what should you know to be enlightened.

But He begins with the Greeks myhtology, but he totally admits that the roots in the wider region. Roots of Christianity are very much shared by other religions. So in this Nachdenkpause, it is also important (naturally having the question of Turkish membership), to get acquainted with these cultures. Finally, I think that membership of the European Union has really meant a lot to Finnish culture. More Finnish literature is being translated now into other languages than ever before. Of course in Europe we need diversity; and in European policies this is a matter of subsidiarity, of cultural policy. Everything is really flourishing now and that should be the principle. Of course also openness to the rest of the world so that we are not protectionist in our culture, three's also that danger that we must be aware of. Thank you very much.

Busek

Thank you very much Paavo. May I say that Europe has been a continent of migration? The problem is to deal with this and that every immigrant who comes thinks he should be the last and that nobody else should come; that is the problem we have now in Europe! Mr Möst, I am asking him to do a contra punt to what we did, as a critics after a performance. How was our performance Franz?

² Was "Brikenwald" meant instead?

Franz Weiser-Möst

Well first of all, I'd like to say that you have totally misunderstood me. I spoke of balance and not of harmony. As a metaphor to show where our European society is today. I have listened to what has been said; I heard criticism or politics. Words or empty phrases have been used. I don't think we have not done very much more either; I'd like to provoke you a bit here.

We, artists: 1968 was an important cultural revolution but we have to think anew, to look to what is new, and think about something that's new. A lot of people talked about the identity crisis. I don't think we can be really surprised if on our political daily life (and I am only a sort of spectator) and where I look at the news on television and read the newspapers, if very many things are almost exclusively reportages on economic problems and that is the only thing people are discussing; then we should not expect too much of politics. In the balance of the various disciplines, natural sciences, sciences, humanities, religion, art, etc. I miss representation of religion. I miss an interdisciplinary discussion; we have not had this discussion on aesthetics.

The thought on education is Europe's opportunity but it's only in our tradition... it needs balance between the various disciplines.

Erhard Busek

Thank you, Franz, for your critical words.

It's a challenge for politicians and artists too to contribute to this.

He mentioned also the eschatological dimension...

PART IV: Conducting Europe – Final Debate

Moderator: **Roger de Weck**, Journalist (Switzerland)

Panel Discussion:

- Jan Peter Balkenende, Prime Minister (The Netherlands)
- José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission (Portugal)
- Jürgen Flimm , Theatre Director (Germany)
- Nikolaus Harnoncourt, Conductor (Austria)
- Wolfgang Schüssel, President of the European Council, Federal Chancellor (Austria)
- Vaira Vike-Freiberga, Federal President (Latvia)
- Matti Vanhanen, Prime Minister (Finland)

Roger de Weck

Welcome Ladies and Gentlemen. We've had an exciting European debate today and yesterday on Friday. This is now the final round and of course conclusions have to be drawn. Please realise, or put into practice, the suggestions which have been made. We have a septet here, which brings together culture and politics with heads of state and two distinguished and remarkable artists. Before we have a discussion, I am very curious of your introductory statement President Barosso.

Jose Emanuel Barosso

We already spoke today about the problems we have now in Europe. It's true that we have problems but we should put these problems in perspective, in a historical perspective. Sixty years ago in Europe we had holocaust, some of the worst moments of the European and world history were here, very close in Europe.

Thirty years ago, some European countries in Europe, including my own, were not democratic. More or less fifteen years ago, Central and Eastern European countries were not free. Ten years ago we had massacres in the Balkans. Now it's true we have some problems. But is there a reason for depression? When we see nevertheless the great progress of Europe, I think we have to think strategically and to give a message of confidence to our citizens, not denying the concrete problems we have, social problems, unemployment problem, that is the most serious I think challenge to the citizens of our continent, but at the same time giving them hope and confidence. And that is where the cultural factor is very important as well, because it is the paradigm of openness that can help us building this confidence for the future. And that's where leadership comes, responsible leadership. Responsible

leadership is I believe resistance to the populist tendencies, those who want to make difficult and complex situations artificially simple, those who are always putting the blame on others, the difficulties they have are because of Brussels as if Brussels was something above us, or about the world in general. The ethics of responsibility, that Marx Weber spoke so many times about before – mainly thinking in national terms, we have to have this responsibility at European level. Let's be frank.

If we cannot do more at European level, is it only because of Institutions or isn't there before a problem of political will? Can't we, with the current Institutions, do more, if there's a true European spirit, if the leaders commit themselves to a more proactive Europe? European citizens, in some areas, want less Europe. That's why we are fighting bureaucracy with a better regulation programme. That's why we should respect different levels: what is close to the citizens, we should treat at the citizens' level, in democratic terms. But in other areas, citizens are asking the European Union to act! Look at the challenge of energy, look at the global programme for terrorism, the global threats to our environment and sustainable development! So there are some issues: foreign relations, security, fights against terrorism, the challenges to our environment, or energy that require more Europe, not less Europe.

And so the responsibility of the political leaders is to explain this, to have the courage to explain the need for a common vision to show that to tackle the challenges of globalisation, it is important that we do it together. And we are not too big, not at all! And this enlargement has so far been a success. It's a great potential for growth and dynamism. Let me give you my personal experience after one and a half years leading the Commission with members of all Member States where decisions are taken, I don't see the difference between the ones from the "old" Member States, or from the "new" Member States. We take decisions based on a common identity of a common purpose for Europe. So I insist very much on this: Institutions are important, yes they are. But it's with creating a political consensus that we are going to create a political dynamics to solve the institutional problem, not the other way around! Let's ask our leaders at all levels to commit themselves also to this cooperative idea of Europe, a lot more can be done if we have really this sense of European responsibility.

Roger de Weck

Thank you very much.

You, Matti Vanhanen, you are Prime Minister of Finland. After the Austrian presidency, you will be president of the EU. How do you see things in the future? And what do you think of what President Barosso has just said?

Matti Vanhanen

Thank you very much. I have to say that the more I listen to President Barroso, the more I agree with him. And I support him; I can see that we are looking in a similar way. Can we say that we have a crisis? We have problems with unemployment, we have problems with economics, we have problems with the decision-making in the European Union. But it is not maybe a crisis.

These problems can be solved. We are discussing a lot about the Constitution and the future of Europe. We don't yet have any idea what will be the final solution. During the Finnish presidency we are ready to continue the discussion that Austria has already started. I think that maybe the main question is the question of legitimacy. I see it at two levels.

First of all, I agree with Barroso that we need political will to make decisions in those areas where Union has its competence and where also people are waiting for the common decision-making. I will

mention three of these. First we need contribution to economic growth; this is an essential question: how can we make the EU more competitive.

Roger de Weck

I suppose the Lisbon Strategy to revive Europe's economy?

Matti Vanhanen

In the Lisbon Strategy, the main focus is of course: how much we can invest in R&D, how much we can invest in education. And it is not the question of European level; it is the responsibility of Member States; we have to remember that.

But another important sector is enhancing EU position in the world. There is a question of foreign security policy and our external relations.

And then third important question is increasing our internal security. People are waiting security for their life. This is an important question.

And then the other level of the question of legitimacy is also the question where people don't want the European Union. There it is the question of subsidiarity and there's a lot of criticism about the EU saying that it has fingers... And also I am supporting the Commission very strongly in its work towards for example better regulations, and also its initiative to delete some of the directives (!) I believe also that we need this kind of discussions so that people can feel more confident in the European Union.

Roger de Weck

Nikolaus Harnoncourt, are you confident of what politicians are doing in Brussels?

Nikolaus Harnancourt

I am struck by the fact that you're asking me about this! I'm an artist, so I do of course have confidence in what politicians do in their field. My impression is that they are dealing primarily with economics. What about the natural sciences? They suggest one part of human life, and dangerous if knowledge

3 R: architecture to some extent, and if all this knowledge is this main ... work and its never been like that in Europe. Let's go back to older generations. What is utilitarian, what can be implemented straightaway... it's dangerous, that's disturbing.

Let us begin with education. We are talking about human beings. Where are human beings fundamentally educated? It is extremely important. Training for practical life becomes dominant at the expense of broader education. Art has always been the second pillar. As the rational part and there's imagination and reason alone has no purpose without imagination and there's no morality either. What it leads to is boundless materialism. Selfishness, avarice are more and more at the forefront and we simply want to possess more.

But prosperity implies welfare, leading a good life. But we need the second pillar: Art. A philosopher said you can't be a human being without art. There's inspiration, spirit, the kiss of the muses. Here I am addressing politicians. Look at our official educational systems. Look at our schools. Politicians feed the school. If young people are not acquainted with art at the age of two, they will not be later. We talk of high culture and only certain strata of society are interested by that kind of culture? But surely, this is a fundamental human right to get acquainted to that culture from the earliest age. It is not just an interest of artists. There is a huge danger!

Roger De Weck

Some are expecting very concrete measures on the one hand and others on the other say that the EU needs to be kissed by the muses.

What is the Netherlands, which said "no" to the Constitutional Treaty, what is the Netherlands expecting of you?

Jan Peter Balkenende

No, it is important as Nikolaus Harnancourt said, we are talking about a pragmatic solution. When we speak about Europe, it is much more than that. What are the pillars? Why are we Europeans? We have to talk to us by what unites us. "Everything is politics, but politics is not everything"??? We cannot ignore the cultural dimension at the moment of the reflective phase. In June we are going to talk, jobs for young people, what Europe permits. What does European culture mean?

Roger de Weck

Your answer is interesting but not answers my question.

Jan Peter Balkenende

No we have to be careful. We only see a problem about the "no" in France and Holland. No! We're talking about the distance between Brussels, Strasbourg and the people: that is what is important. How can we talk about European values, ideals, and cultural aspects; and let us be practical. It has to do with education? What do young people know about culture?

When we try to find solutions, it not must be money. No it has to do with cultural aspects? At the moment people talk about crisis in Europe. I said I don't want to talk about a crisis: we need impetus. The European model is a model for the future, we need a spirit, a dynamism and Mozart was in Brussels, and in the Hague he composed an aria when he was 9: conservati fideli: keep your faith. What Mozart wrote, this is what we need now in Europe.

Roger de Weck

Madam Vike-Freiberga, you have a fresh view; what do you want to change so that things are better for the 450 million citizens in Europe?

Vaira Vike-Freiberga

I think that what is missing in Europe are feelings for Europe, feelings like the Latvians had on 1 May 2004 when they had tears in their eyes when the European flag was raised next to the Latvian flag. They were waiting for this for a long time; it was banned by another power. I think in my country and also in other countries, we felt what Europe means. It's not only practical, prosaic; it's not only bureaucracy and red tape and rules.

For us, it was a feeling that we were back home. On this continent, we were separated from by this other power. And during that separation from Europe, we yearned for Europe. Now we are members of a future where everybody has its place, where everybody can participate. And even though we are a small country, and a lot of people don't know our country, our country was behind the Iron Curtain, but we're at heart Europeans.

We've always been European; we are the same people who have travelled through Europe for hundreds of years. Since Roman times, Latvia's Baltic amber was used in Rome. And also mention is made in the Odyssey. So you see there have been links for thousands of years. And it is only since the Iron Curtain that we've been separated. Europe are the countries who have been working together since WWII and well, you have to tell me what we're supposed to be. But I can tell you that we are all part of the same family, the same home; we want to build our own house and we want to do this not with the left side of our brain, which is rational, practical, logical; but we also want to build with the right side of our brain, which is feelings, art and culture, because we have a brain where the two sides work together. This is how we want to see the two sides of Europe. So that we can work together. We would like to see Europe work together, right, left, central, east, south and north.

Roger de Weck

Mr Jürgen Flimm, with the right hand side of my brain, can I ask you what you wish to change in this Europe? What would make you feel happier in this Europe?

Jürgen Flimm

I am very happy within Europe. I don't really understand those kinds of doubts. When visiting European countries, we can see how close they are. What a huge common heritage we have. There's such a wealth of cultural heritage. I think that it sounds chauvinistic, there's nowhere else in the world where there's such a cultural heritage, where you can come across wherever you travel: Andalusia, in Sicily, there is this amazing blend of different cultures; there are all those different traditions. Take for example Andalusia: take medieval of Andalusia. There is an example of co existence between Islam, Christianity and Judaism.

There was no racism nor chauvinism or nationalisms in those times. That seems an ideal. Of course we need to do something for education and culture. If we do this, this continent, this union, should really build on its cultural heritage and preserve it and pass it on to future generations. If we fail to do that, then we've failed. Of course we have a free trade area, all that is important; net and gross contributions and VAT, all that is on feet of clay if we don't have this European bases.

And we have those bases. I find it wonderful go to Italy and see cultural diversity; but Mr Barroso, we need to make this clear to workers in Bulgaria and farmers in Romania. They need to understand what this cultural heritage is, what makes Europe what it is. We should never create an entity and sit around in Brussels and adopt regulations without basis for those regulations. There has to be a consciousness

of this cultural heritage. This needs to be passed on; this means education programs. We need to reach out into the countries, into universities, schools, and convey all this. And secondly, we need to have creativity training. We cannot develop a society, a wonderful community if we fail to train our children to be creative. We need to have people with plenty of imagination. We need to have people with two legs; we need to make that sure that people think with their hearts and feel with their brains.

Otherwise we will fail and this onward march to globalisation will be so strong there won't be hope for Europe anymore. We know how much money and strength there are behind globalisation: a much larger force than enlargement and our identity. So, dear politicians focus on what makes Europe what it is: cultural heritage.

Roger de Weck

Thank you very much Mr Flimm as a Swish observer. Mr Chancellor, your country has much benefited from enlargement. And from Switzerland, we admire your dynamism. Yet Austrians are the most eurosceptic; why?

Wolfgang Schüssel

We have not caught up with England yet!

Austrians are a people which have experienced a lot of things and not always pleasant. So there's a basic sort of cautious scepticism. People have been through Austria with the Romans, the ... and the French, etc. Some have conquered us and stayed, left a little bit of their culture, this is what we have.

However, regarding large areas or countries we are a little cautious because we are afraid of loosing our own identity. And this is what we have to work on. On the one hand, agree that Europe is an amazing success story, for example the unification of Europe, the economic progress, the Iron Curtain swept away, and there is a certain balance, economic prosperity, social cohesion and democracy and human rights where it is more or less ensured. But on the other hand, you have to see that things which are going wrong and we have to solve them. The people are cautious, the people are careful. We cannot criticise them because in a democracy they have to say what they feel. It is not always nice to hear.

Roger De Weck

What could bring Europe closer to the people?

Wolfgang Schüssel

Well, first of all, I will come back to that. We have to listen to what is being said here. At the moment Europe is working but we're handicapped, only thinking with one part of our brain, we are only thinking about the economy, and an author once said: "Europe, it's not a question of paying with the same currency: Europe is Europe when we act with the same spirit.

When we look back home we are celebrating the 250th anniversary of Mozart, what did politicians live at the time, who do we remember from that time? Mostly we think about dictators. And we have to be

inspired by culture. We must take some of the energy from the songs we heard by Cecilia Bartoli. If we could bring that into the European discourse, then we could win the European discussion; but we're stuck in a rot of national interests, of power conflicts, we expect too much from politics.

Democracy is more than just politicians! Unfortunately those who tell stories (e.g. the mass media) do not speak enough. Politicians speak too much.

Roger de Weck

Conducting today and yesterday was a quest for more democracy? What could be done to ensure that European citizens have a bigger say, Mr Balkenende?

Jan Peter Balkenende

Euro-scepticism will not get us anywhere. We need a positive discussion about what Europeans think. Democracy starts with young people. We've talked about universities. I want to be able to speak to young people. We need to make sure that Europe is something in people's hearts. What can we do?

What do we do in the Netherlands? Why did they say no? We have a debate in the Parliament. We also have to say what the EU should do and what Member States should do. Who should do what? The subject of subsidiarity is extremely important. We have that problem in my country. The "no" to the referendum was not a "no" to Europe. People think it is moving too fast. People are worried about a superstate.

It is important to explain why we need Europe. I keep saying our future lies in Europe. At the same time we need to say we need national identities and there's no risk here. Democracy will be strengthened by a good debate.

Roger de Weck

Above all, we have to believe in Europe again. Can I ask politicians and intellectuals here what measures could be taken?

Matti Vanhanen

One example: We have to realise people are feared by the globalisation. People are critical towards their national governments and the EU because it seems that we can not do enough to protect our own people. In national level, besides reforms, we can make other decisions strengthening the feeling of social security.

But at the European level we don't have this possibility so much. We can make legislation at the Union level, but the Union does not have competence to make such reform that will strengthen the feeling of social security. We need to have a better coordination between Union policies and national policies. SO this is not a question of institutions or rules but of political will and how we can coordinate our policies better.

Roger De Weck

Mr Barroso, what is your suggestion for more democracy on this continent of ours?

José Manuel Barroso

One of the suggestions is precisely a word that is very complicated but the idea is simple: it's called subsidiarity; it means what can be done at local level should not be done at national level and what can be done at the national level should not be done at the European level. We have to respect the citizens and to be as close to the citizens as possible? This requires a mind change at European level. Some people believe that there is Brussels, upstairs, the Member States downstairs, and the people even further down. This hierarchical view is completely wrong. We take decisions all of us, we have to take decisions at all levels, but trying to be as close as possible to citizens.

That's why at the European level we are taking a lot of responsibility now eliminating bureaucratic inefficiencies and bringing as much as possible transparency rules to our decisions. We can and we should make the European Union more accountable. But at the same time, we have to be very serious at that exercise because there is sometimes the trend to put the blame on Europe of difficulties that are at national level. And this, I have to be very frank with you, is the responsibility of national politicians. The leaders at national level have to show their citizens what value added the EU brings to them. We have those global challenges now and it is obvious that, alone, Austria alone, the Netherlands alone, Finland, Portugal, and even the biggest Member States, they cannot discuss at the same level with our American friends, or with the Chinese, or with the Indians, or with the Russians. We need more than ever a true European dimension. It is necessary that all political leaders at all level insist on that.

And culture: when we speak about culture in Europe, the idea is not integration of culture, because the great strength of Europe is its diversity. The idea is really to promote our communality of interest based on our common values. There we have to do more. It is not incompatible to have a great vision for Europe in the term and be pragmatic in short term. The problem is that sometimes we are very pragmatic when we discuss the great dreams and then we reduce money for culture and education and we are very principled when we discuss concrete issues. So my plea to European leaders is we have to invest more in culture, education and science. Make concrete suggestions and proposals. Idea of a European Institute of technology, build on the common experience and excellence we have in all our Member States to have a common European approach for science and technology. There is no reason for our best minds to go to America whereas the idea of university was founded here in Europe! We can the best universities in the world if we put our money where our mouth is. And I believe we have to invest in culture, education and science if we want Europe to succeed.

Roger de Weck

Ms Vike-Freiberga, could I continue asking about democracy? For decades you were denied democracy in your country. Surely you'd like to reinforce this idea in Europe.

Vaira Vike-Freiberga

Well, I think that Europe has more democracy than anywhere else in the world. There is no lack of democracy in Europe. Instead, there's a lack of feeling that everyone can participate.

Millions of people want to come to Europe. Think of the new Member States of Candidate Countries. There aren't refugees who live in Europe. I was refugee when I was a child; that was many many years ago. That was completely different. Why is it completely different?

Because Europe has democracy; but Europeans don't feel that. Perhaps people need to travel elsewhere and see what the difference is and appreciate what we have in Europe. Think of Latvia, we can compare with the communist system. What people feel in Europe is a kind of siren song, a certain quest for ideology. I think there's still nostalgia for totalitarianism. We're the best in the world, everything is wonderful... etc. we want to export our revolution, we've Nazism, we've communism, Inquisition, religious wars between Catholics and Protestants, we've had all that: thanks very much! What we need today is a feeling that the citizens, as Sigmund Freud would have said, there's always the Id, the subconscious, what lies deep within us, where creativity springs from. But the ego has to go along with all that; we have to have rational control of all this. Citizens should not look for orgasm from political forces! That is very dangerous thing.

Roger de Weck

Nikolaus Harnoncourt, is this a question of feeling, that democracy is not felt although it is there and present, or it goes deeper than that? Are you convinced by the answers given by politicians?

Nikolaus Harnoncourt

Of course it is a question of feeling but feelings can be interpreted in different ways. Of course I cannot talk about political things. But democracy I think has more value the more the individual can make a contribution towards it because we know what attract and seduce people.

People are ready to be seduced and it can only be reduced if the person is educated. The educated: I am not talking about the elite. But you cannot really seduce someone who's educated. And we were not good democrats for many years and we were seduced by the sirens song of dictatorship. We have to recognize when the siren song is sung. For example when a politician has too much charisma, the people are enslaved. I'd like to go back to my first point: education of the left and right legs, of both sides of the brain, of understanding of the heart of the rationale. This leads to a better democrat.

Roger de Weck

Federal Chancellor, another topic: the European way of life. Is there such a thing, and if so, how can you defend it? How can it be confirmed?

Wolfgang Schüssel

I am very convinced that there is this European way of life. And that is very different from that in other parts of the world. It brings you many things. There's great linguistic diversity in Europe. Europe is a Europe of translation. We have 300 languages and 500 dialects in Europe. This is a great source of wealth, this is not an obstacle. In each of these languages, there is wealth of history.

And I think that television programmes, books, jointly written history books could tap into all that. I think that this European way of life implies that we can obtain drinking water when we open the tap; we have to protect this way of life. People criticise agricultural spending in Europe but that is like preserving drinking water, first class food, protecting mountains... It is extremely important to protect this, to defend this European way of life. What I found moving yesterday and the day before yesterday was the fact that the Holy Father wrote his encyclical about love. In a sense encyclical is a lot about justice. And I think that this motive about freedom on the one hand and justice on the other hand, this motive is quintessentially European. And I think this permeates Art and literature.

This question of justice is a very powerful motive. The state has to nurture social justice. This is an obligation for the state. We should not just focus on the economy, on free market forces; instead justice has to be given a say. And here the EU can do an awful lot to protect citizens and be useful to citizens. Many Europeans are worried; we should not be worried about fears, we have an answer.

Roger de Weck

Well, you're talking about fear and Benedikt XVI said we have to harness capitalism. We could fear and some already do, that some new Member States of the EU don't want to harness capitalism but want to unchain, break the chains.

Vaira Vike-Freiberga

Well I think that this difference capitalism and the so-called socialism has been more detrimental to Europe than a lot of people think because it was not only the suppressing so many countries had for so many years. But the feeling was after the break down and National Socialism was swept away, we needed another ideology; and it had to be either capitalism or Marxism. And this is not a choice. And that is why we're talking about this today.

The people cannot even imagine such a choice. This time they want to have the two together as a whole, i.e. a capitalist model, an economic model which boosts that. And Europe belongs to one of the richest continents on the planet. Capitalism has not harmed Europe; it has made it wealthy and prosperous. And it's always prosperous because it has followed capitalism. But Europe has not forgotten the social side. And I'd like to say that we're not only talking about Marxism, it goes back to the Ancient Greeks and hundreds of years ago Europe has developed the rights of the people, the rights of its citizens; and century after century it developed but it was very difficult: the French Revolution promoted liberty, equality and brotherly love. Europe need people not slaves and we don't want one ideology or another. We need people who are rational, who have feeling, who have culture and who understand and look into the future where a person is an individual and who is a member of a continent. You don't have two choose one or another. I want to have two arms and not cut one or the other.

Roger De Weck

Jürgen Flimm, Wolfgang Schüssel talked about a quest for justice. Is the EU keeping an equilibrium or in the contrary is it exacerbating globalisation?

Jürgen Flimm

As I said before there is competition between Europe and globalisation. Over lunch yesterday, there was discussion of competition with India and China in this time of globalisation. This is economic competition, not philosophical competition, it's economic competition; and there's a danger for the European Union as a result. How can we counter this? We can export, we can export our way of economics to these countries and things will come back to us. And then we are amazed that these countries are successful. But we initiated this process. There's quite a danger here: there's an acceleration effect and we've set this process in motion. We're like the sorceress and the apprentice. Think of what Goethe wrote. These parallel markets are created by us and then jeopardize our future.

We can counter this by facing this acceleration process by maximising profits. No! Europe has to develop a new model of justice. We can't keep outsourcing. We get work done elsewhere and then there's youth unemployment; this was discussed yesterday. There's considerable youth unemployment; we need to stop this and know what we want to achieve. We should refer to our values. What are our values worth if we export our way of thinking and then endanger our way of life as a result. This is an absurd situation. And Beckett was also born 100 years ago. We have to be careful here. What is our identity, what is our European identity? How can we counter this breath taking acceleration taking place? People say China is the market. And then India will be the next market. The point is that people are heading somewhere without knowing where they are coming from. And they don't know what their future will be either.

Jan Peter Balkenende

Thank you Mr Flimm; I wonder if we should see globalisation as a threat or as an opportunity? I think it's a reality. We are living in an internet connected world. There are traders and entrepreneurs who work all over. I think globalisation is fantastic. But how are we acting / behaving? I must say I am not happy with the European Institutions. There's too much fear; in the 1980s we spoke of Europe 1992. Then it was said 'we will see, there will be one market in Europe' and then there were companies in the US and Japan who said 'we must invest in Europe'. That is where the new developments are. There was a certain dynamism in Europe. And now we're looking at what's happening in the US and China and India and people are afraid. I have the impression that if we use the opportunity in our own way, (I think) there are many opportunities. Let me give you an example: I have spoken to companies in India. They feel Europe is an interesting environment and they think Corporate Social

Responsibility is important. We discuss it much more here than in the US. We are the continent of social market economy. When we talk about globalisation, then I think it's much better to include European values to see what our model is for solidarity and justice. And then we don't have the Europe of fear but a Europe of hope and that's what we need, not a threat but an opportunity: we need a debate on values and what binds us together.

Roger de Weck

Mr Barroso, social economy, a lot of people say that with your Brussels policy, you're not really representing social economy. You want a neo-liberal Europe.

Jose Manuel Barroso

It's a complete caricature. We are committed to European values and I think the European model is based in social market economy. The question is how to adapt now in face of 2 challenges which are at the same time opportunities.

Globalisation is bringing increased competitiveness. And at the same time we have a demographic problem in Europe. We have in the long term a problem of sustainability of our social security systems if we don't reform our economies. So I am and my Commission is for a social market economy. And I never miss an opportunity to say that we believe that the European project is not just a market. It is a market; we need a common market otherwise we cannot be "l'Europe puissance" with 25 different mini markets for energy, 25 different markets for services, 25 markets in terms of labour.

We need to be a market but Europe is much more than a market, Europe has a social dimension, that's why we should help some regions which are poorer catch up, and this is not a zero sum game. Everybody can benefit from it, even for the old Member States. We have to have the courage to explain that. This is a great resource. Globalisation can also be, if we manage it properly, when we are selling our airbuses to China, we are creating jobs in Europe!. It's a reality, let's make it an opportunity. Let's make it a driving force for growth, with our rules, with our principles, with our values. But at the same time, having the courage to explain that we have to adapt to different circumstances. We are no longer in the 20th century, we are in the 21st century. I believe Europe can do it and that's where the cultural factor is very important. We are experts of globalisation; we made in Europe after WWII the greatest achievement ever in terms of institutional and at the international level: 25 countries now living together in peace. In the history of mankind, this was only possible with empires, with a strong dictat from the centre.

The history of Europe was to a large extent one of conflicting empires. Now for the first time, we have this free association of countries who share at some level there sovereignty. As Umberto Eco said, the language of Europe is translation. With our cultural resources, we are experts of globalization and we can help shape the new world that is emerging. The signal we send to young people is very important. Are we afraid of globalisation or can we win this battle: that's why the paradigm of openness can really be a driving force.

Roger de Weck

Mr Chancellor, do you agree with Mr Barroso? Do you agree that globalisation pressures are good things to all Member States?

Wolfgang Schüssel

Competition is actually not taking place in Europe. I have certain doubts about this kind of ranking. We're not competing with Latvia. We need to compete with the US, China, South America, etc. We need to compete on those markets. But we are on the right track. Europe is an enormous exporter, number 1. world exporter. We should be more self confident. Emmanuel Barroso is right, we are expert in globalisation. We are a small continent, a little larger than Texas. The most important raw material we have = the muscle we have between the ears! Our brains!

Which brings me back to Nikolaus Harnoncourt's call: What is really important is education. We need to nurture talent and innovation. If we manage to do that, then we can manage globalisation. We can

protect our people and Europe can be useful if we tap this imagination. Of course we need to focus on growth and employment to foster SMEs, we need to do much more in research and development in many fields ... we need to make better use of resources we have. If there are too many teachers trained in one country, they could be sent to another country. We could have exchange programmes so that curiosity can be satisfied. We need curiosity to know what's going on in the Baltic States for instance, how do people live in South East Europe, what French men dream about. We need this kind of curiosity. Only this way we'll manage what Toscani talks about. If we don't know each other, we can't love each other; we remain foreigners. And we are still foreigners to each other.

Roger de Weck

I'd like the participants to be involved now. Questions or comments, please!

Panel / Participants debate

Franz Fischler

Very briefly I'd like to make four comments, which I have from the discussions.

First of all, we heard that culture is the main course and not the dessert. That is extremely important. We have to understand that culture is something like a daily bread and it is not there to sweeten Europe.

The second comment that I would like to make is that we have heard several times that the problem is not the enlargement or globalisation per se but the way in which we are prepared ourselves and are still preparing ourselves. I think that politics, civil society and social partners need to catch up. There's an enormous amount of catching up to do and we have to invest in that.

The third point is this: I think we have to get away from the fact that we ask what the proper or the right social model is. That is important; I'm not trying to down that in any way. But I think we will only be credible if we link this to concrete projects, something tangible where people will see what is actually happening in practice in order to better combat unemployment.

The fourth point is that I think there is a democratic deficit. I don't mean that our democratic standards are insufficient. From the perspective or the view of the individual, what is lacking is a democratic platform where we can have discussions on democratic questions, where I, as a citizen, as a voter, who represents what position and who can I vote for? I think that's what we have to work on. I'm not thinking just about European political parties. The question is: how can we include citizens in a better way?

Roger de Weck

Mrs Mathiopoulos, from Germany.

Margarita Mathiopoulos

Thank you very much. Mr Chancellor, I'd like to congratulate you for your 'tour de force', combining the Austrian presidency with the 250th birthday of Mozart and inviting us here to discuss about Europe's future! I'd like to thank you to have made it possible for us to drive this musical inspiration yesterday evening thanks to Mozart. This will be a great source of inspiration for me.

I've heard two European schools of thought here. The French Prime Minister, Dominique de Villepin, was very elegant and eloquent in typically French fashion; he proposed a meeting with history, "A la Recherche du Temps Perdu" and then Mr Solana, Mr Balkenende belong to another school of thought. They want us to come to terms with reality. My question is as follows: whatever the sound of Europe may be, can the sound of the 21st century determine or be determined by Europe without a transatlantic sound?

There I have doubts. How can we overcome all these dangers without cooperation with the Americans? I fear we can hardly succeed without the Americans. I'd like to hear what you think about that. Otherwise this century may be only Asian or Islamic even...

Roger de Weck

Mr Busek.

Erhard Busek

First question whether it is possible to change the discussions over the Constitution, not if the constitution is dead or not, but the question on what Europe must be effective in order to carry out these changes. Other question: everybody agrees that education and culture is of great significance.

The European budget sings a different song. Can we have the competence and get enough money and resources to get education and culture? What can we do in order to have a European public? We need something like Euronews or Arte. When the US think of America and themselves, they put their hand on their heart. We, when we talk about Europe, we slap our forehead and say 'oh my God, another crisis!'

Roger de Weck

A third question from an expert on Islam

Bassam Tibi

There was a very famous lecture by Fukuyama last year, and he said Europe would be the battle front between Islam and European values. I am a Muslim, I was expecting this to be discussed but I did not see any Muslim on the podium although there are 20 million Muslims in the European Union. And only two politicians mentioned the subject: Mr de Villepin said the possible accession of Turkey was a decisive question.

And Mr Balkenende raised the question of Europe's identity, whether this is shared by the many Muslims who live in Europe. My question is: what is the answer of the sound of Europe to these realities?

Roger de Weck

We will discuss this very briefly and then have another round of questions. First question was related to the US. Mrs Vike-Freiberag, you've lived for a long time in North America before you went back to your country. In Western Europe, we are always worried that the new Member States joining would give a great pro atlantic impetus and that our own interest won't be considered enough. Can Europe find a balance with the United States?

Vaira Vike-Freiberga

Well, I think it is amazing how quickly we, in Europe, have forgotten that Europe got its freedom thanks to the Americans coming into the war. Otherwise God knows what would have happened. The contribution of the transatlantic link to European security is something that Europeans have long taken for granted. Since the Corridor to Berlin right after the war, right up to the great debates and conflicts in Germany about having or not intercontinental ballistic missiles, one the one hand, Europe has felt quite comfortable under the umbrella that NATO offered, which means the transatlantic link. By the way, I'd like to remind people here that when you see row after row of white crosses in the fields of Flanders or in the north of France, these are also thousands of Canadian soldiers who died for the freedom of Europe. The transatlantic link is intrinsic.

It goes back to Europe bringing its ideas and ideals to the north American continent. North America has developed in various ways a different model, the same European values that after all they inherited. The idea that we have somehow two systems I find particularly strange, especially when we had this division that was introduced by Rumsfeld when he talked of old and new Europe. What is it that old Europe is worried about with respect to new Europe? That we're too friendly with America? All that we have been asking is to be part of NATO, the security umbrella Europe has enjoyed for half a century. You lived in democracies for a longer time than we. Austria by the way came very close to being in the same situation as Latvia. Be grateful for your fate, don't complain. Believe me.

Roger de Weck

Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen, you come from a country whose educational system is renowned for its successes. Could I pass on Erhard Busek's question about what the EU could do in the area of education if it obtained the necessary powers?

Matti Vanhanen

Also our schools want to have more money. But I am sure that they don't that the money is in the European budget; they want that there is more money in their local budget. Most of the responsibility has to be at national level and local level. At European level we need more possibilities for students to study abroad; it will be the way for our young people to feel more European.

Roger de Weck

Nikolaus Harnoncourt, could I ask you about the fact that Muslims should be on that kind of panel?

Nikolaus Harnoncourt

I don't know if I am competent to reply. But I am sure that your reply will be fascinating. Not all our thoughts are appropriate for public expression. And secondly one has to be competent. One has to be prepared to talk about the sound, whether they know anything or not. I don't know enough about this.

Roger de Weck

Well I don't know if anyone would like to speak after that statement! Jürgen Flimm, very briefly.

Jürgen Flimm

Perhaps I know a little bit more. It is important that there should be here somebody who is a Muslim, no question. I think what the future mission or task should be is how Christianity can work together and get together with the Islamic culture. This has not been discussed these past two days. But it is extremely important for the future. We all know that Europe has an enormous task in the Middle East, and that we have to build bridges. In this particular area, we can do a lot so that these 2 great cultures get should get closer together. Get to the roots which are under the surface.

It could be one of the great tasks for the next presidencies. It could be to have this dialogue between these two cultures. There should be someone here but I understood that there will be a large conference of Imams from all around the world discussing this; and I hope there will be a discussion, it is extremely important for the future.

Roger De Weck

Mr Balkenende

Since the murder of Theo Van Gogh, you have been particularly impacted or affected...

Jan Peter Balkenende

Yes, security. If we want to talk about that, we have to talk about Islam. The question is: can Europe have its say in the 21st century on this? If we talk about that we have to talk about Islam, it's a fact in Europe.

When we talk about Islam on freedom, democracy, on people's prosperity and well-being, we have to do with all religions, with all cultures. It's as simple as that. We can not discuss multicultural without talking about Islam. Islam is in our societies and we have to say what we have experienced. For example there are people from inter faith discussions and they come together and that's what we need. Thank you.

Roger De Weck

Thank you very much.

Ladies and Gentlemen, time is now running out. I shall like to ask Dr Schüssel in particular and our other guests to draw a few conclusions about the Sound of Europe.

Wolfgang Schüssel

First of all, I shall thank all participants. Thank you for your time, energy and imagination and argumentativeness for this start to the debate about the future of Europe.

The Constitutional Treaty text is one aspect. As Franz Fischler and Erhard Busek quite rightly said, we need to ask ourselves how we wish to be effective, both in Europe and outside Europe. The answers in the text are the consequences of what we have to say by a way of reply. Europe is needed, more than ever before, in the world and by European citizens.

We have 14 peace machines, near us, in the Balkans, in the Middle East, and elsewhere. It's in our interest to export stability rather than importing instability and insecurity. That's a very important point. So Europe is needed and therefore we need to fashion instruments and to vote resources to that. And then we could be a force for good in the world.

And the second important point is to get away from waffle and move on to action, to practical solutions. The Russians reduced gas supplies; there Europe is needed ever more in energy policy, and to protect people from avian flue, to make efforts to foster research and youth employment. So we could learn something from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart; we need the music of the future for the future of our continent; psychology is very important here. I think we can drag ourselves out of the pessimism by our own bootstraps. And I think that many people will go along with these efforts, I hope.

Roger de Weck

Thank you Chancellor.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we've had this discussion in several languages. I think this is one of the great assets of Europe, this linguistic diversity. We've expressed doubts, questions... I think that doubt is a characteristic constituent of Europe, something we should cling to because it makes us what we are. And thirdly, we need to establish equilibrium. This is something this conference emphasised time and time again. I'd like to thank our hosts, all the participants, and I shall thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for your very lively participation. I've certainly learnt a great deal in the last two days. Thank you very much.

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