



Jak budować Europę?

Między Wyszehradem a Weimarem

How to Build Europe?

Between Visegrad and Weimar

Warszawa, 21 czerwca 2018

Warsaw, 21st June 2018

How to build Europe?

The widespread belief in the crisis of the European idea is common today. Often this statement is repeated almost unreflective, although there is no lack of premises for such an assessment of the situation. Brexit, a wave of populism as evidenced by the elections in Italy and Germany, the situation in Hungary and also in Poland - all this seems to create sufficient premises.

Crisis can also be described not only by referring to the situation in individual countries but also to many disturbing phenomena, such as changes in the labor market, social media situation conducive to irrationalism. Demography and the problem of refugees is a highly worrying factor.

It should also be said that Europe is losing its leading role in the world associated with a huge economic advantage (together with the United States). Thirty years ago, Europe's advantage over the rest of the world was enormous. Today it has decreased significantly. In addition, the alliance of Europe with the United States seems more fragile than it has ever been after the Second World War. Finally, Europe is in de facto at war with Russia, whose dictator has imperial ambitions and wants to revise the world order shaped as a result of the fall of communism. The Internet turns out to be a weapon that can be used by forces of chaos and evil, and the inventors of this means of communication are not able to defend open societies against these new tools of manipulation.

The situation of the younger generation under pressure of unusually fast civilizational changes and at the same time raised in a sense of security, which does not allow it to perceive the enormity of threats and for which the tragedy of the Second World War or the threat of the Cold War ceases to be a warning, is also wondering in Europe.

In this situation, many focus exclusively on the crisis of the European idea, talk about the possibility of its breakdown of the European Union, and not about the further development of the European Union.

It seems, however, that pessimism and doubt may be the most serious enemy of the European Union. Looking back, however, proves that the European idea has often been more serious than it is today. The entire period of the Cold War was a threat to communist Russia, the potential of which was much larger than today's Russia. Despite the effectiveness of weapons that disinformation has become, the communist ideology had much greater potential for influence.

It is worth saying that the world is experiencing very significant and even fundamental changes and the conditions in which we are to build the European Union are far different from those from decades ago. When analyzing the threats to Europe and the European idea, it is necessary to search not only for the ways out of the crisis, but also the way of its construction.

It is worth calculating, in this very brief place, these fundamental problems that we deal with and treating them not as factors of the crisis, but the issues that will be lasting for decades in Europe and what should be done



With the financial support
of the European Parliament



Jak budować Europę?

Między Wyszehradem a Weimarem

How to Build Europe?

Between Visegrad and Weimar

Warszawa, 21 czerwca 2018

Warsaw, 21st June 2018

- The problem of migration and refugees will be Europe and the European Union has accompanied permanently and with great intensity over the coming decades. The statement that the 21st century will be the age of migration must be one of the basic premises of EU policy. It is completely wrong to narrow this problem down to the issue of assimilation of newcomers, and even more so to logistical issues.

Europe will experience profound cultural changes as a result of profound changes in the composition of the population. How this process will proceed will become an essential factor in the political process. It is an unusual experiment in the history of mankind such a meeting of various and different cultures and even civilizations. So far, such "mixtures" were created only on the borderlands or large trade routes. In the near future

- The issue of new participation in political life related to social media. Their interactivity and reach create both great opportunities and the need to develop new legal regulations.

New means of social participation may pose a threat to representative democracy. They can be a source of chaos and temptation for dictatorial regimes. Therefore, creating a model of a very wide model of citizen participation in the political process is a necessity. Society can not be represented by too narrow a group of political activists, because it will always be met with criticism that today is intensifying towards traditional political elites. However, creating a new model of political participation, which at the same time has the advantages of the existing parliamentary systems and enabling the negotiation of interests between individual factions of society, seems to be a very difficult task. In the past, at the time of inadequacy of democratic forms, which are generally difficult and complicated, the answer was one form of dictatorship.

- The reflection on the issue of the identity of a civic state must be renewed. 19th century Europe created a creation that was a modern nation and a nation state. This process was related to the ideas of liberalism and was necessary to shape modern democracy. The European Union, creating a new dimension of the political community, should use the cultural and historical resources created by nation states. The political community that creates states must have some kind of identity that binds it. Living in a common territory that can set a certain community of interests is not a sufficient bond for the state.

- We confront the new concept of war, which enters the area of new technologies through cyberspace threats, but to an even greater extent of social communication. The basic problem, however, is the perception of the state of war, which is subject to new definitions. It can be perfectly hidden and hard to see today. The aggression being made, breaking all the rules of international relations, can be so well masked that the threat connected with it is not socially perceived and politicians are not able to react to it. This phenomenon is closely related to new means of social communication. The war may be the use of its mass media to disintegrate the collective political identity of the opponent and bring him into a state of chaos. Traditional military means may not even have any use in such actions. At the same time, a disintegrated community can more easily be subjected to blackmail of apocalyptic threats related to the use of nuclear or biological weapons.

- Globalization of Europe, not dominating the world as it was in the 19th century and to a certain extent in a significant part of the 20th century, is confronted with the globalization process, which creates the need to build equal relations with



With the financial support
of the European Parliament



Jak budować Europę?

Między Wyszehradem a Weimarem

How to Build Europe?

Between Visegrad and Weimar

Warszawa, 21 czerwca 2018

Warsaw, 21st June 2018

other regions of the world. The world becomes multipolar. The former division into the West and the rest of the world goes to the past. The more difficult it is to imagine an uprising, a political creation that could play the role of a strong political center coordinating the global politics, or even more as a world government. Worldwide policy will increasingly determine the relations between (macro) regional. Already today, such macroregion is China and to some extent India. Russia wants to be a macro-region, although apart from the territorial resources, there are too few premises for this. In such a macroregion, South America may be formed. The European Union should be extremely interested in shaping such a multipolar world. It is a macroregion that can lose the most in the decomposition of the world political order, because then many social movements such as great migrations may take on an uncontrollable nature. At the same time, the European Union can become a model of a macroregional community, together with the model of the civic nation state (which is also a European invention in some sense) will become more and more perpetuated as a basic part of the world order and its elementary component. This historical and cultural resource should be intensively used by the Union. This list could certainly be extended or otherwise arranged. Anyway, the connection of all these problems almost makes it impossible to establish any distinctive hierarchy between them. However, if the diagnosis contained in this list of problems is correct, then talking about the crisis of the European Union, as the focus of the debate, is extremely irrelevant. The fundamental problems of the European Union are connected with the necessity of responding to the challenges arising from the changes of the whole world and as part of traditional eurocentrism they cannot be satisfactory. That is why we need to talk about building the European Union to the challenges of the 21st century, understanding that the current crisis symptoms are the result of the necessary changes in the shape of this unprecedented institution of world politics, which is the fruit of the European idea.

The sole liability of this publication rests with the author and the European Parliament is not responsible for any use that may be made of the information contained therein



With the financial support
of the European Parliament