

EUROPE AS A COMMON
Let us start thinking about it!
THE DIALOP
SUMMER SCHOOL PROJECT

First International Summer School
of Dialogue between Christians and Marxists

September 1 - 8, 2018, Syros

University of the Aegean – Ermoupoli, Greece

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Editors: Luisa Sello, Franz Kronreif, Augsburg/Germany

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INTRODUCTION



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Walter Baier

Austrian economist. From 1994 to 2006 he has been the national chairman of the Communist Party of Austria (KPÖ) and editor of the Austrian weekly Volksstimme. Since 2007 he is the political coordinator of the net-work transform! europe which is the think tank associated with the Party of the European Left. Walter started the DIALOP project together with Franz Kronreif 2014.



Franz Kronreif

Austrian architect and theologian. He started in the late nineties a structured Marxist-Christian dialogue together with Walter Baier and other comrades in Vienna. He is part of the coordination team of DIALOP and a member of the international Focolare Movement. He lives in Augsburg/Germany.



Luisa Sello

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Introductory Words to the Participants

Walter Baier

Entering an unexplored territory

It was a sunny morning in the fall of 2014 when our small group, Alexis Tsipras, Franz Kronreif, and I, met in front of the entrance to the Vatican for a private audience with Pope Francis one and a half hours later. The meeting, which had quite a few exciting moments, was harmonious. The Holy Father resumed the themes of the just published encyclical *Laudato Si'*: the glaring social antagonisms in the world, the dangers to peace and the environment, the intolerability of a world order built on profit and greed. In view of the suffering characteristic of capitalist civilisation, Alexis Tsipras and I underscored how necessary we considered the opening of a new chapter in the relations between believers and the political left.

I am not betraying any secrets when I report that at the time of the meeting with Francis we also met other dignitaries who discussed with us how to find the appropriate institutional contexts for an intensive dialogue. We took into account that church and politics, in view of their different roles and positions in society, are not congruent partners. Thus from the start we were prepared for a process of cautious progress in largely unexplored territory. In terms of a language in which the prospects for communication seemed most hopeful we chose science and defined our discussion as a Christian-Marxist Dialogue. This led to our first meeting with archbishop Mgr. Vincenzo Zani, the Secretary of the Congregation for Catholic Education, who recommended that alongside the organisations involved so far – the Focolare Movement and transform! europe, the think tank connected to the Party of the European Left – universities should also be brought into the project.

Here we came up against a further incongruity: under the aegis of the Congregation there are a great number of universities of high and very high standards, which identify as Catholic. Consequently, on the Catholic side, the Sophia Institute in Loppiano, its Rector Piero Coda, its Vice-Rector Daniela Ropelato, and other professors could be involved in the project, in which they have enthusiastically participated ever since. But in our geographic areas there are no (longer) universities that define themselves as 'Marxist'. Marxism is a critical theory of society and has to prove itself in secular state universities in critical confrontation with other outlooks, although – and this

needs to be borne in mind – its academic possibilities for development are limited for political reasons and sometimes due to prejudices.

The search for a sufficiently enlightened and innovative site to host our project led us to Greece, where two successive Ministers for National Education and Religious Affairs, Nicos Filis and Costas Gavroglou, came to our aid. And so our small ship finally weighed anchor on the island of Syros, a symbolically ideal place for dialogue on account of the centuries-long coexistence there of Orthodox and Catholic Christians a constellation which should encourage us to invite also the Greek orthodox church to become part in our future activities.

And we got to know the former Vice-rector Alexandra Bounia and the actual Vice-rector Spyros Syropoulos, who reinforced the small team with their scientific and organisational expertise – without it ever having been mentioned whether they adhered to a religion, and if so which one, or where their political preferences lie.

Cross-border view of human existence

The themes we chose for our dialogue were taken from the world and time we live in: the commons, democracy, Europe, and dialogue itself. In their preparation, the debates that developed around these themes did not proceed according to a clear-cut front line:

Marxists sometimes agreed with Christians and disagreed with Marxists, with which Christians in turn agreed or disagreed. This is where the special quality of a contemporary dialogue probably lies: that it is not a matter of tankers encountering each other on the high seas, which carefully try not to collide, but of the inmates of a ship in danger of capsizing in rough waters.

This is to say that we had to correct our starting hypotheses. In preparing the content, we originally assumed two clearly demarcated standpoints, Christian and Marxist, which we wanted to bring together in discussion and which was reflected in the symmetrical composition of the faculty, four lecturers from the Christian ‘camp’, four speakers from the Marxist camp; but this point of departure was modified in the course of three substantive workshops, at least from my perspective. As a Christian one can make use of a Marxist method in investigating society without giving up one’s belief; and as a Marxist, one can be an atheist, an agnostic or a Christian or belong to another religious community and derive precisely from this the conviction

that the world needs to be radically restructured. Christianity is not a political outlook, and Marxism is not a religion. Consequently, we are not aiming at a syncretism but rather accept that Christianity and Marxism are two different sides of being human.

As a member of the organisation team I already know how diverse the group will be that is coming together on September 1st: students and political activists, women and men of different ages and from different social strata with different experiences from more than 20 countries and 4 continents.

We are not falling naively into an intellectual adventure but are coming together to assume – by means of our life experiences and our particular intellectual and faith backgrounds – our responsibility as citizens of the one world.

We are happy about the recognition that our encounter will be given by the presence of high representatives of the Holy See, the Greek state, the religious communities, and local and regional authorities.

This recognition reinforces our sense of mission in maintaining and expanding the dialogue and our solidarity. I wish all participants an interesting and stimulating time and the joy of a new and unusual experience of encounter.

Walter Baier

Dialogue as crossing beyond

Franz Kronreif

In the Jewish Talmud in 4th Book Moses (Num 22-23) there is a story that always impressed me. At all slapstick, it has a profound statement that can apply to our task. A local king in present-day Jordan wants to make perish the people of Israel present in his country, not by war, but with the help of magic. He calls a well-known, blind prophet named Balaam and offers him a lot of money, to curse the people of Israel in order to make it perish. Balaam, after discussing back and forth, takes in the offer and experienced a nasty surprise. On the back of his donkey on the road, an angel of Yahweh gets in his way. Balaam, who usually communicates with the gods, does not notice the angel. His donkey is more clear-sighted than the blind prophet is. Balaam thrashes the donkey, in order to make him go on - until the donkey starts to speak. Only now also Balaam noticed the angel. The story goes like this that Balaam engaged to pronounce a curse upon the people of Israel, he predicts the people a great future. A foreign prophet pronounces the first messianic prophecy.

This fact has disturbed repeatedly the Jewish people in its history. So friendly Balaam is depicted in 4th Book Moses, so negative he is described in later passages. That a foreign prophet tells us where to go is not acceptable. In theology for a prophecy from abroad, the term Foreign Prophecy was created.

I mean that Christians and Marxists have two things in common. Both have a kind messianic promise in themselves and both have to play a prophetic role in the society. These similarities have been in history less reason to work together, but rather to competition and mutual rejection. On the one hand question of power was standing in the foreground at the expense of prophecy, on the other hand a 'foreign prophecy' from the outside was not favored. That was still the blaming of the donkey.

Our summer school wants to turn the page. We «break up an unplowed ground» (Hosea 10,12). The loss of power on the Marxist as on the Christian side creates favorable conditions. Both sides recollect their prophetic potential. Both we are largely powerless. Our creative power in society can be retrieved from our thinking, our rethinking (in the Bible called 'metanoia') and from the coherence of our actions. For this summer school, I would like to invite to a kind of metanoia' which can mean thinking the mindset of the other side.

What promise - which 'Common Ground'?

In order for our dialogue succeeds, we should find out the common big picture, the 'Common Ground'. In what it is? Man, the world? What are man and the world? Do we have a common mission towards them, a common promise for them? If so, then it is important to always keep this mission and this promise in mind. It will not establish a monolithic commonality, but a multifaceted one, with different levels. Pope Francis agreed with Alexis Tsipras and Walter Baier that it is time to overcome fences between the people of good will. He used in this context the word 'transversality'.

Tomorrow morning we will do a review of our work today, by an attempt to explain the views of the other two of the three dialogue partners. I liked this idea of Walter Baier so much that I think we should already begin right now. I will outline a way for that to happen.

The differences

When searching for the Common Ground we will soon encounter many differences. Some cannot be cleared easily or even overcome. Differences must not be an obstacle, but we can see them as an opportunity. If divergences are negotiated with respect, sensitivity, with love, they do not spoil the atmosphere. If we listen, if we listen deeply the other, can happen that another one expresses "my position" better than I myself; the other asks a question that stimulates me to get out the best of me. The other thinks, so to speak, *'for me'*, he lives *'in me'*. So the thought boundaries between us begin to dissolve. I incorporate in me the other, his thought and I see at the 'difference' elsewhere. It is not separating anymore, but it offers the opportunity for a change of perspective. It lets me go differently to the questions. The issues are relativised and simultaneously intensified. They are relative if I continue the Common Ground keep an eye on. They are intensified because now they come no longer from the outside but are in myself. Suddenly, the difference is no longer between the interlocutors, but the dividing line runs through the middle of myself - and provokes a creative tension.

The communicating Nothing

Each intellectual and artist knows the experience of a 'filled emptiness'. He/she perceives vaguely an intuition, the approach to knowledge, which simply will not and not reveal to him. He/she is waiting for a brainstorm, which opens a door. He/she just keeps waiting. And when the door opens, and the *brain wave* comes, he/she puts

him/herself again before the nothingness, to find once again something new. The creative tension arises when we endure this nothingness, stop there, endure its emptiness and so pass through the zero point. Emptiness is an open space, it is nothingness, but it keeps alive, because somehow it vacuums life. Such a vital nothingness shapes an empty form that awaits and attracts its filling. This attracting nothingness does not create the fullness out of its own, but this is given to it from elsewhere, even if this 'elsewhere', lies in the person itself. Anyhow, the way it happens is always an encounter, in the sense of a Buberian I – Thou relationship: with a person, with a thing, with an occurrence. This encounter triggers self-transgression, transcendence outward or inward. So far for me as individual. Now comes the crux.

This summer school offers us the opportunity to live that emptiness, which thinking requires, not in isolation but in reciprocity. If we are able in these eight days to let give part to each other at this emptiness, something like a *'Communicating Nothingness'* will happen that will open up new horizons of thought. It happens in listening without blinkers, in exposing unselfishly the own considerations, giving ourselves out of hand while thinking (as Ernst Tugendhat formulated once). The creative tension is open to creative waiting till issues open up to me in dialogue.

For Christians among us I remember a key point in the New Testament. In Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, chapter 2, we read:

«Have this mind among yourselves, All which is yours in Christ Jesus, who, though he what in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied himself, by taking the form of a servant, being born in the likeness of men. And being found in human form, he humbled himself by becoming obedient to the point of death, even death on a cross.»

This text aims high, how far we should engage with the other, without trying to convert him to my own view of things.

Interpersonal thinking

As we know, no one thinks alone for himself, there is no thinking without pre-conditions. To be able to perceive myself as an individual, it requires the presence of the other. Martin Buber says: «*Man is by You to I*». Therefore, thinking is always an interpersonal process. But if you put the emphasis on the individuality of each one, it easy becomes competitive, segregating, possessive. I suggest that we try a 'collective approach', or to put it in theological diction a 'perichoretic' thinking, everyone being

reciprocally inside each other, how theologians use to describe the Trinity of God. I propose to make this consciously our working method. So, we are journeying to a path that the Spanish poet Antonio Machado describes as:

«Wayfarer, there is no path
Wayfarer, the only way
Is your footprints and no other.
Wayfarer, there is no way.
Make your way by going farther.
By going farther, make your way.»

With these lines I agree fully, and it could happen that we draw a trail also for others to go.

Franz Kronreif

How to read the textbook

Luisa Sello

This textbook is meant to supply the participants of the first DIALOP Summer School in Syros with some necessary information and material for the studying week. Some interesting and new elements will explain the elective nature of the structure and the consistency of the contents of the textbook.

1. The lecturers of the DIALOP Summer School are faculty members of different universities as well as ideologists, activists, philosophers and sociologists of foundations all over Europe.
2. Their key reference is their personal interest in dialogue between Marxists and Christians and – most interesting – in a self-experienced dialogue. In numerous consultations during the last two years, they dedicated money, time, and passion to this project, besides their usual jobs.
3. This textbook is the result of several preparatory sessions among the 21 involved persons. Specifically, the method was the following: two or three lecturers of different thinking matrixes worked closer together on one single issue (i.e. Dialogue, Commons, Democracy, Europe). This explains the variety of approaches, which are left just the way the lecturers chose them. Sometimes it's a completed work (i.e. on the issue Dialogue), other times it offers information and/or reflection of each of the lecturers on one subject, after having adjudged together on their statements. It is designed to give you some pre-information about the topics of the summer school.
4. Besides this material for your intellectual preparation, you will also find the information on the working groups of the afternoon and the non-formal subjects like: exercises of communication and the description of a scenario building workshop.
5. Some practical information A-Z on the common life of the Summer School week, as well as the time schedule complete the textbook.
6. You are not supposed to *study* the book in detail. However, a run-through is highly recommended.

We hope you enjoy and appreciate it as a foretaste of the days which we will spend together!

Luisa Sello

Transversal Thinking in a Changing Europe

Spyros Syropoulos

Dear participant,

welcome to Greece and to the island of Syros. We are glad to welcome you at the premises of the University of the Aegean – an insular university that because of its geo-political importance and spatial diversity, comprehends fully the need of bridging gaps, geographical and cultural.

You are about to embark on a summer trip to the investigation of the theme of “Europe as a Common”. And you might expectedly wonder, *why a common? What is a common?* By definition “the commons is the cultural and natural resources accessible to all members of a society, including natural materials such as air, water, and a habitable earth. These resources are held in common, not owned privately. Commons can also be understood as natural resources that groups of people (communities, user groups) manage for individual and collective benefit. Characteristically, this involves a variety of informal norms and values (social practice) employed for a governance mechanism”.¹ In this respect, it is imperative but also potentially constructive to start thinking of Europe as a resource, shared by all, owned by none, governed by a mechanism that should be definable and not defined.

Europe is not changing! Europe has changed already. Borders are fluid. Political and economic drives urge people to move around Europe, seeking employment and the prospect of living in a country other than their native one. The crucial factor is that people feel that they have both *the right* and *the means* to do so. Education, travelling and technology, have made societies more permeable by foreigners who opt to try be integrated in different cultural and social environments

Migration for work is the most important reason for cross-border human movements. The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (1990) (which has been ratified by Greece) defines the term “migrant worker” as the person to be employed, employed or engaged in a gainful activity in a non-native state.

Available estimates show that over 150 million people live outside their country of

¹ Basu, Soutrik; Jongerden, Joost; Ruivenkamp, Guido (17 March 2017). “Development of the drought tolerant variety Sahbhagi Dhan: exploring the concepts commons and community building”. *International Journal of the Commons*. 11 (1): 144. doi:10.18352/ijc.673. Retrieved 6 September 2017.

origin. Of these, 80-97 million are estimated to be migrant workers and their family members - 22 million of whom work in Asia. Another 12 million of them are refugees. These figures do not include the approximately 20 million internally displaced persons who are forced to move, or the millions of domestic migrants moving from villages to cities and between cities in their own country. These statistics also do not include a large number of illegal cross-border migrants and victims of trafficking in human beings.

In recent years, there has been renewed interest in the study of human migration. In the last decades of the twentieth century and the first twenty-first, most major nation-states saw immigration emerging as an important issue with a significant impact on public opinion, politics and research. Indeed, with more than 100 million international migrants around the world, and an estimated 30 million refugees, migration has become a global concern (Suarez-Orozco 1996).

Intercultural education refers to cultural heterogeneity, whether it is a transnational variety or cultural multitude within the walls, that is, the allegedly culturally homogeneous nation-state. Essinger (1990) defines intercultural education as an attempt to legitimize any assimilative tendencies of the state towards the minority, preserve and promote its social and cultural peculiarities and the means of equal participation in the social and political life of the country to which it belongs

In the same spirit, the Pope (1999) points out that intercultural education aims to establish a society with interaction and interdependence, in a spirit of reciprocity and equality in the social members and with mutual respect for each other's values, in accordance with the Charter of Human Rights.

By defining the concept of intercultural education, we are not only referring to the encounter of cultures but also to the relationship of each other's own culture with that of his neighbor, which are by definition inhomogeneous, even in the context of a homogeneous ethnic group. Intercultural education therefore means opposing everyday pedagogical practice in all kinds of discrimination, whether it be social, cultural, gender, linguistic or religious. In any kind of stereotypical hierarchy of the different.

The term "intercultural education" first appeared in the early 1960s in the formal education policy of America and Canada. In both of these cases, this was an attempt to respond to the high school failure rates of minority children. As Dragona (2003)

states, the problem of minority children had much less to do with the language code and much more with the ignorance of cultural references that make teachers treat these children as different, incompetent, incompatible to the requirements of the education system, which is also the case with the children of the weaker social classes. Instead, it appeared how unprepared the teachers were to address the cultural specificities of minority children.

In Europe, the first institutional measures were taken to tackle the education of the children of the migrant labor force. In 1977, a key date, a Community directive was published that outlined the measures already taken by minority countries on their territory, each in its own way: ensuring the teaching of the official language in special support for the teaching of minority language and culture and the creation of initial and continuing education programs for teachers involved in the education of minority children. The important aspect of this directive was that these measures took on a binding nature for Member States and Member States were required to comply with this directive within four years. While at the beginning there was a tendency to assimilate the children of minorities from the dominant culture, they later tried to integrate them into the education system, introducing the linguistic and cultural multiplicity into the curriculum.

The second phase, where an attempt is made to integrate into the educational system through this linguistic and cultural multiplicity, is based on the belief that knowledge of children's cultural background will promote performance and equal opportunities and reduce the prejudices and discrimination. The model was essentially student-centered. The target population was the weak students who did not and who have gained from a new teaching material and from an analytical, culturally sensitive program.

The criticism of this model - which was a progress from the unicultural one - is that it does not recognize discrimination and racism as a characteristic of society but instead identifies the problems that minority students face within their own group .

Considering that the cultural dimension of migration is one of the main features of the phenomenon that affects the way of life of both immigrants and citizens in the host countries, we consider it appropriate to refer to the term "acculturation" which was first introduced in the 1930s .

As Education and Public School have an important role to play in cultural

transformation and the way in which new societies are to be built and coexist, "culture" is precisely the bridge that will connect the immigrant with his new country and its educational system.

The classic definition of "acculturation" was presented by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936, p. 149): "Acculturation describes the phenomena that arise when groups of individuals with different cultures come into constant contact causing changes in the original cultural motifs of one or both groups." Although "acculturation" is an essentially neutral term (that is, change can occur in both groups), in practice changes occur in one of two (Berry, 1990a).

So, what do we do? As representatives of Higher Education Institutions, as representatives of a thinking community revolving around education, in the ancient Greek sense of *paideia* – that is, education of the mind and the spirit, not only a means of transmitting practical knowledge – what do we do? I think we do the only thing we can: invest in Education.

Education is not just an extension of wider social environment but the dominant - along with the family - social component. It is the space, within which the various "cultural identities" are manufactured, legalized, radicalized, transferred and perpetuated or vice versa they are changed, underestimated and marginalized.

It is the space in which we learn or not to live along with others. For this reason, when the dialogue on management of diversity commences, education is in the focus of scientific and research interest. Perhaps today, at the time of great controversy and precipitation of the idols, of ideas and ideologies, that school is no longer considered "omnipotent" as it once did. Possibly, part of cognitive – learning has been given away to atypical and without legalization factors like the media and the internet. However, education will never lose its crucial role as the only institution that is legally qualified for cognitive, regulatory and selective operation. It is, therefore, of particular interest to detect international pedagogical trends in the management of multiculturalism, both at the level of pedagogical ideology and at the level of teaching strategies.

On behalf of the University of the Aegean and of the organizing community, I wholeheartedly welcome you to Syros and I wish to you a fruitful and memorable experience as a participant of the summer-school.

Spyros Syropoulos

DIALOGUE



Cornelia Hildebrandt

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Dialogue: a non-violent strategy in a pluralistic world

Key points for a new Marxist-Christian dialogue in the 21st century

Cornelia Hildebrandt – Pál Tóth

Work in progress

The world has dramatically changed in the last few decades, and we are far away from the scenarios of the Marxist-Christian dialogue of the late 60s with emblematic figures as Milan Machovec² and Karl Rahner³. It was a dialogue on different world views and ideological differences in the contexts of two opposite world systems. In the globalised world of our days we have to face a fundamentally different scenario: we should find common strategies of action in order to solve fundamental problems of humanity as poverty, climate change, destruction by war and terror and organised criminality. The dialogue is nowadays not an option, it is a necessity for survival.

Please, read the following introductory thoughts we would like to offer for common reasoning on dialogue. It is an open text, full of questions, and we are keen on hearing your contribution to this topic.

I. The dialogic challenge

1. On dialogue itself

We are living in a rapidly changing world with new challenges on global level. There is an epochal metamorphosis in course: new risks (challenges, problems) require new forms of thinking and acting (new reference frames, new ways of collaboration).

According to some Stanford philosophers, among the top ten philosophical issues of the 21st Century we find

First of all the question of **Global Justice**. *What new principles of justice will help us manage distinctively 21st Century problems like preserving the environment while allowing the poorer nations of the world to improve their standards of living? The philosophy of the past has given no real models for answering such questions. It is urgent that philosopher of the 21st century do so.*

Then finding a **new basis for common sensibilities and common values**. *The world is*

² Milan Machovec was a Czech philosopher, professor of Marxism at the Charles University in Prague and mastermind of the Prague Spring.

³ Karl Rahner was an important Catholic theologian who worked on the preparation of the II. Vatican Council

more economically interconnected than it has ever been. But the unequal economic development worldwide and in Europe is reflected in social inequality and social fragmentation. Can we find a new basis for shared values that will bring us together rather than tear us apart?

And finally: **New models of collective decision making and collective rationality.**

Solving the problems of the 21st Century will require coordinated rational action on a massive scale. But it is not rationality that characterises international relations, but an increasing unpredictability, the renunciation of international treaties, so that the basis for rational action becomes narrower and, at the same time, more necessary.

The problem is, that we really have no models of collective rationality for the crossover problems in the globalised 21st century. The CSCE process (Collective Security System) was developed under the conditions of the systemic confrontation of the 20th century. Today we are not living the time of collective reflection on the relationship between peace, justice and democracy.

No idea of the institutional, social, political and economic structures that will allow us to meet these challenges. Can philosophers together with political actors help build them in time to guide us in meeting the challenges of this century?

Read the whole list here: <https://www.philosophytalk.org/blog/move-over-letter-man-philosophical-top-10-list-21st-century>

Now dialogue, rather than other competitive forms as discussion, is an excellent tool for collective rationality, problem solving and co-creation. The recent founding's of the evolutionary anthropology on the essentially collaborative nature of the human mind open new possibilities for developing more collaborative cultural patterns. Homo sapiens have adapted, at an unprecedented level, to act and think cooperatively in cultural groups and, in fact, all the most extraordinary human cognitive achievements - from complex technologies to linguistic and mathematical symbols to the most intricate social institutions - are the product not of individuals operating alone, but of individuals who interact. In this perspective

Dialogue is a collaborative and constructive form of communication, in contrast to the more competitive and noncommittal forms like discussion and debate.

This definition represents a *pure type*, in real life situations you can find a merge of collaborative and competitive dynamics. Dialogic cultures tend to realise this pure

form a communicative collaboration.

The difference between dialogue and discussion

Dialogue processes are becoming increasingly widely used. But there is no consensus on the use of the terms “discourse”, “dialogue”, “discussion”, “debate” and other similar expressions. In our understanding **discussion** is rather competitive, sometimes combative and seeks to be victorious; it wants to express itself and say it is better than you. Discussion can be described as debate trying to play nice. Much like debate, it is interested in advocating its viewpoints and challenging those of others.

In **positional or adversarial discussion** the conversation continues in the adversarial (I’m right and you are wrong) mode that conflicts typically take. In adversarial discussion disputants engage in positional bargaining (that is, they focus on firm, usually mutually-incompatible, positions) and blame each other for the problem. But discussions are not necessarily combative, competing dynamics can help clarify positions.

Dialogue, on the other hand, seeks to find a shared connection. It is not concerned with winning or losing, rather it aspires to listen more deeply, understand more fully, and build a collective point of view. When the diversity of personality and opinion present moments of conflict and tension, dialogue steps in and mediates the conversation back to a renewed sense of connection.

The first form of dialogue is **human relations dialogue**. Pope Francis emphasises the importance of the culture of encounter. Participants explore their feelings about their differences, they break down negative stereotypes, come to know members of the other side as people, and even, sometimes, as "friends." They develop a sense of trust and understanding with the people involved in the process, though they may still disagree on some fundamental issues.

A second form of dialogue is **activist dialogue**. This type provides a foundation for action. Participants from opposite sides of a conflict get together to rebuild a war-torn city, form a bi-partisan school, or deliver health care to the sick and injured. The purpose of such dialogue is not just talk and understanding, but mutual cooperation and assistance.

The third type of dialogue is strategic **problem solving dialogue**. In such workshops special attention is focused on the parties' fundamental human needs, the absence of which is seen to be a primary cause of most deep-rooted conflicts. An intense effort is

made to jointly reframe the conflict in terms of needs, and then engage in joint problem solving to develop ways to meet those needs, and hence resolve the conflict. In several cases the starting point is not a conflict, but a common challenge and the dialogue is aimed at broadening options for joint action.

The principal elements of dialogic behaviour are: suspend judgment, listening carefully, inquire and explore assumptions.

When we **suspend our judgment**, we temporarily silence our thoughts and open our capacity to engage as **listeners**. Greater **inquiry** into others' viewpoints help us better understand those we work alongside and affords us the opportunity to adopt new ways of thinking. When we **explore our assumptions**, we encounter unchallenged ideas, unchecked biases, and patterns of thought that influence, and possibly inhibit, our workplace engagement.

A collaborative culture promotes dialogue and promotes a diverse perspective as elements that lead to the wealth of thought and opportunities to act and to new innovation.

Dialogue and discussion as pure types

Discussion	Dialogue
Hierarchical and competitive culture: competition, dependence, exclusion	Horizontal and cooperative culture: collaboration, partnership and inclusion
Convince each other of the own point of view	Investigate and learn together
Justify and defend your own reasons	Understand the statements of the parties
Confute the other's reasons	Accept and understand each other's position (values, interests)
Obtain the consent of the other	Share ideas, experiences, feelings
Select the best solution	Integrate the different perspectives
One-sided and often fragmented vision	Full vision, a synergy of different thoughts
Victory / defeat	Earnings of all participants
Individual leadership	Shared leadership

Communities of co-creation

According to Ulrich Beck⁴, global challenges create new forms of communities which are oriented to manage global problems. The main identity building factor in this groups is the common awareness of the challenges and a joint intention to collaborate with each other, in order to find valid solutions.

We are united by the shared analysis of this world: Pope Francis wrote: “This economy kills”, Naomi Klein explained in her book “Shock” the autonomy of the shock strategy and the rise of disaster capitalism. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak speaks about postcolonialism and the subaltern articulation. Jean accuses: Every child who dies of hunger is murdered. Susan George, one of the famous Intellectuals, describes the secret capitalist cabal behind European austerity: “Ordinary people in the [global] south from the late 1970s until today have had to pay for the crimes and the greed and the odious debts of the dictators of their own governments, of their own upper

⁴ Ulrich Beck: The Metamorphosis of the World: How Climate Change is Transforming Our Concept of the World

classes, and they know very well what this means for the population: it means deep cuts in housing, education, culture, health".

These analyses and the shared goals and resources are fundamentals for common commitment. Nationality, religion, world views and other identity building factors are put in second order. In our view, this is the case of DIALOP too.

In this groups dialogic communication is first of all, *co-creation*, a sharing of relevant capabilities and only in second order confrontation of different views. Professional methods of co-creation like World Café, Open Space, Knowledge Gardening and others are in the focus of interest.

Dialogue as naming the world in order to change it

Among the numerous excellent authors on dialogue we have chosen excerpts from the book of **Paulo Freire**, Brazilian scholar of Marxist inspiration with a strong Christian eye: **Pedagogy of the oppressed**.

«As we attempt to analyse dialogue as a human phenomenon, we discover something which is the essence of dialogue itself: the word. But the word is more than just an instrument which makes dialogue possible; accordingly, we must seek its constitutive elements. Within the word we find two dimensions, reflection and action, in such radical interaction that if one is sacrificed — even in part — the other immediately suffers. There is no true word that is not at the same time a praxis. Thus, to speak a true word is to transform the world.

An unauthentic word, one which is unable to transform reality, results when dichotomy is imposed upon its constitutive elements. When a word is deprived of its dimension of action, reflection automatically suffers as well; and the word is changed into idle chatter, into verbalism, into an alienated and alienating “blah.” It becomes an empty word, one which cannot denounce the world, for denunciation is impossible without a commitment to transform, and there is no transformation without action.

On the other hand, if action is emphasised exclusively to the detriment of reflection, the word is converted into activism. The latter — action for action’s sake — negates the true praxis and makes dialogue impossible. Either dichotomy, by creating unauthentic forms of existence, creates also unauthentic forms of thought which reinforce the original dichotomy.

Human existence cannot be silent, nor can it be nourished by false words, but only by true words, with which men and women transform the world. To exist humanly is to name the world, to change it. Once named, the world in its turn reappears to the namers as a problem and requires of them a new naming. Human beings are not built in silence, but in word, in work, in action-reflection.

But while to say the true word — which is work, which is praxis — is to transform the world, saying that word is not the privilege of some few persons, but the right of everyone. Consequently no one can say a true word alone — nor can she say it for another, in a prescriptive act which robs others of their words.

Dialogue is the encounter between human beings, mediated by the world, in order to name the world. Hence, dialogue cannot occur between those who want to name the world and those who do not wish this naming — between those who deny others the right to speak their word and those whose right to speak has been denied them. Those who have been denied their primordial right to speak their word must first reclaim this right and prevent the continuation of this dehumanizing aggression.

If it is in speaking their word that people, by naming the world, transform it dialogue imposes itself as the way by which they achieve significance as human beings. Dialogue is thus an existential necessity. And since dialogue is the encounter in which the united reflection and action of the dialoguers are addressed to the world which is to be transformed and humanised, this dialogue cannot be reduced to the act of one person's "depositing" ideas in another; nor can it become a simple exchange of ideas to be "consumed" by the discussants. Nor yet is it a hostile, polemical argument between those who are committed neither to the naming of the world, nor to the search for truth, but rather to the imposition of their own truth. Because dialogue is an encounter among women and men who name the world, it must not be a situation where some name on behalf of others. It is an act of creation; it must not serve as a crafty instrument for the domination of one person by another. The domination implicit in dialogue is that of the world by the dialoguers; it is conquest of the world for the liberation of humankind.»

Read the whole 3. Chapter on Dialogue here: https://selforganisedseminar.files.wordpress.com/2011/08/freire_pedagogy_oppressed1.pdf

Paulo Freire's conception of dialogue goes beyond the didactic model of

communication where two or more actors exchange their views. For him dialogue is a triadic enterprise where actors correlate in the same time with each other and take reference to the external world too. The act of naming, i.e. categorising the phenomena of the external world is at the beginning of any action. From a Christian point of view, the spoken or used word is important. Marxists often argue about concepts and repeatedly go in search of new concepts for a more precise description of social processes. The words as well as the concepts shape our analysis of society and refer at the same time to individual and socially accepted values.

It depends on our mental schemes how we analyse society, how we set goals and formulate strategies. In our time commercial and political marketing is shaping public opinion, we are manipulated by „fake news” and „alternative truths”. Dialogic groups are nowadays islands of sobriety and rationality. Islands also in search of a new connecting, clear and understandable language. Anyway, new global phenomena need new categories, and one of the common fallacies is putting them in old, misleading terms. An exemplification of this could be *migrations* (How do you call them: refugees, migrants, immigrants, illegal migrants?) and *authoritarian regimes* of Eastern Europe (Are they dictators, illiberal regimes, centralised democracies?) or the term of *national sovereignty*.

2. The need for a new Marxist-Christian dialogue

The world is out of control. The global crises of 2008/2009 led to a further concentration of wealth worldwide and a gigantic redistribution at the expense of the weakest in society. Economic and social differences have now become hardly negotiable fall heights between rich and poor: the eight richest billionaires have as much as the poorer half of the world's population (Oxfam 17.1.2017).

None of the global problems have been brought closer to a solution in the last ten years: not the economic inequalities, the social polarizations between and within the countries of the North and the South, not the ecological issues, not climate change, and not the creation of the conditions for a stable peace.

At the sight of these developments, the prevailing neo-liberal consensus on globalised freedom, democracy and social protection loses its binding force. With the loss of this consensus - as Gramsci already observed in the 1920s - the ruling class is no longer a leader, but increasingly a ruler - the owner of a pure coercive force, as seen in the

worldwide increase of authoritarian systems. Fragmentation instead of cooperation, unpredictability of politics instead of predictable negotiations to secure peaceful solutions to conflicts.

With Trump, the post-war order was definitely ended. The break with civilization of German fascism - the Holocaust - is and still is a reminder. Nevertheless, authoritarian regimes are increasingly in power worldwide, including Europe. The political right is also growing in Europe and determines the political agenda even where it is not in power. It is changing the political and social climate:

Wherever there is a lack of perspective, where the social and personal decline of entire regions threatens or has long taken hold, where control of one's own life and its predictability is lost, national / nationalist authoritarian regimes regain their support in Europe. In this way, a Right which despises humanism gains political weight and acts as a creeping poison on bourgeois societies whose discourses change and are directed against the weakest in society: against refugees, against lived diversity and against minorities, against the unemployed and socially excluded.

Both internally and externally, a policy of balancing and bargaining loses weight. National isolation, unpredictability of politics and denial of reliable international cooperation characterise a present that is undergoing radical change. It is not disarmament and the search for alternatives to peace that shape international affairs, but the power politics of escalating old and new conflicts, such as in the Middle East, the enormous ignorance of misery and suffering, of continuing environmental destruction, the denial of climate change and its dramatic consequences. Tendencies of increasingly open barbarization come to light with the unbearable treatment of those who have fled to Europe. It is a time in which new elements of barbarization are emerging, but the possibilities and ways of new solidary practices.

It is a time of radical social and political upheavals in which "the old dies and the new cannot yet be born" (Gramsci) - a period of interregnum, in. the decay and reformation of society, the weakness of institutions as well as the development of opportunity structures and the reformation of actors along new lines of conflict.

It is also a time in which social debates on ideological questions increase, societal values are renegotiated and how the relationship between democracy, freedom, equality and solidarity are renegotiated. The allegedly consolidated social consensus of

Western European multicultural, open, post-conflict societies is open to debate. Not openness, but increasing isolation from other cultures and religions should become the new cornerstones of authoritarian social systems.

Thus, a new anti-Muslim racism is closely linked to a "new" national leading culture in which the national is combined with the very selectively interpreted values of the "Judeo-Christian West" in deliberate delimitation from other religions. The conflicts between national-conservative and libertarian values increase, for example, on the question of an open, pluralised immigration society, which of course includes the fundamental right to asylum. To do this we should establish social alliances. Positioning oneself is not enough; it needs resistant alliances to defend an open, pluralistic society.

3. Actors of the dialogue for fundamental social change

In the times of social upheaval, the transition or interregnum in which the old dies but the new cannot yet be born, so the Marxist Gramsci says, "the great masses break away from the traditional ideologies" and do not believe more about "what they believed in before". It is the time of the emergence of opportunity structures, of new alliances and new forms of socio-political organization, and of political entrepreneurship, which can build on people's dissatisfaction with the prevailing conditions. The belief in the neoliberal promise of freedom: freedom and deregulation of the markets combined with flexibilization of work as a necessary precondition for social advancement or social security is not fulfilled for large parts of society.

This is reflected in the discontent and anger that belong to the middle or lower social strata of society. The knowledge that the next generation will not get better, that fundamental problems of global development such as global warming will not be resolved, that wars and terrorism will be possible at any time and endanger one's own life in general and social standards and public services will be further reduced in addition to fear and insecurity, also dissatisfaction with the social conditions. This dissatisfaction characterises the protests on streets and squares, as in Spain on International Women's Day, in France against the new labour market laws, in Hamburg against the policies of the G20 countries, in Poland against the dismantling of the democratic constitution of the country. It is reflected in countless initiatives to support refugees, in tenant protests, in the fight for the defence of open pluralistic

societies. In one part of society, however, anger is increasingly openly turning against the weakest in society.

This means that the socially, politically and culturally divided societies articulate themselves in the socio-political field as those who, at the cost of the weakest in society, demand the restoration of control over their lives and that of their children primarily nationally and those who, in view of the many life-threatening developments worldwide, are looking in solidarity for social alternatives to these developments.

Strengthening those committed to defending an open, pluralistic society, a society of solidarity, the goal of a Christian-Marxist dialogue must be the search for societal alternatives and for this the promotion of ideas of freedom, equality and solidarity. It is explicitly about discussing Marxist and Christian ideas to explore the possibility of a shared commitment to peace, nonviolence, social justice, democracy and ecological transformation. Dialogue is used both as a teaching method and as a philosophical analytical tool.

4. What are the difficulties and dangers for dialogue?

One of the foundations of a transversal dialogue is the ability to cooperate with the knowledge of differences between cooperation partners. Difference here means those formative differences between the groups of actors that go beyond the inner diversity of their own "actor group" and are constitutive.

This can mean in a philosophical dialogue that not every thought of the other or the other is fully understood. The non-believer will not be able to comprehend the creed or reflections of experienced spirituality as much as the believer. Of course, this applies analogously to the diversity of cultural, philosophical paths of theory development, to the development of independent ways of organizing and to social practices.

However, the resulting differences are not only bearable but to be used as potential for enriching diversity. For there are different ways and methods of appropriation of the world and so also ideologically-philosophically different reasons for peace and freedom, democracy and justice and preservation of the livelihoods of the people.

For example, Rosa Luxemburg had already pointed out that freedom (of thought and commerce) always includes the freedom of the other - that is, the respect and the respect of those who think differently.

However, dialogue does not mean renunciation of criticism or critical reflections, but binds them to a respectful approach, to the fundamental respect and recognition of the other philosophical or religious foundations - especially in those questions in which one does not agree.

It was not too many years ago the dominant narrative of the Catholic Church was its fight against atheism, Communism, and secularization. The sub-narrative was the institutional Church's battle against liberal theologians. The II. Vatican Council brought a remarkable change in this respect. Among other important innovations, a more participatory mode of church life took hold for 15 years or so after the council, expressed by the terms of inner dialogue, collegiality and synodic working style. What has been less appreciated about Vatican II, though it is as significant as the halting steps on governance, is that it took account of the world outside the church. The church validated for the first time the principle of religious freedom and rejected all forms of civil discrimination based on religious grounds.

60 years after the Council we can find a diversified landscape of dialogue, collaboration and polarization in the Catholic Church. The overriding narrative seems to concern the Catholic Church's conflict with itself. In an increasingly divided world, the Church appears to represent something very different from a community of unity and reconciled diversities. In the Western world this phenomenon takes different shapes and has different histories. The intra-Catholic polarization in the United States, Australia, and the United Kingdom, as well as in continental Europe, is not exactly the same in every place. But there is a consensus that it started as political polarization among Catholics, especially around the hot-button "life issues" such as gender, contraception and, most of all, abortion. Pope Francis' reforms have provoked in many believers misunderstandings and resistance.

On the one hand there is an increasing communion between Ecclesial Movements and new Communities which is something new in the history of the Church. On the Vigil of Pentecost, May 30, 1998, John Paul II invited the Movements and New Ecclesial Communities to Saint Peter's Square, to give a united witness. At the initiative of Pope Francis, the world meeting of social movements was held for the third time in 2017. At the 2016 meeting they formulated the most important tasks: the need for change, a change of structures, for the sake of a decent life. We also spoke of how you, the popular movements, are sowers of change, promoters of a process involving

millions of actions, great and small, creatively intertwined like words in a poem; that is why I wanted to call you “social poets”. We also listed three tasks essential for progressing towards a humane alternative to the globalization of indifference: (1) placing the economy at the service of peoples; (2) working for peace and justice; and (3) defending Mother Earth. Pope Francis reminds the basic demands: dignified employment for those excluded from the labour market; land for *campesinos* and the native peoples; housing for homeless families; urban integration for poorer neighbourhoods; the elimination of discrimination, violence against women and other new forms of enslavement; an end to all wars, organised crime and repression; freedom of expression and democratic communication; putting science and technology at the service of peoples.⁵

5. What can this dialogue be based on: ways, experiences and tools

What are the framework conditions for us and the principles for such a dialogue?

- A face-to-face dialogue with respect,
- The ability to empathise and to think the other, to try to understand the perhaps unfamiliar “language” of the other,
- The ability to reflect critically on the inheritance of the Christian-Marxist dialogue,
- The curiosity and openness, the fun and the joy of common search for social alternatives and the development of alternative practices and projects,
- The search for forms of cooperation where, through the involvement of the differences, something can be achieved that the groups themselves cannot afford.

If one looks at the writings of the Old Testament and the New Testament as well as the writings of the classics of Marxism, and one looks for a legacy that points to a common humanistic reason, one finds astounding things:

“Overturning all relationships ... And knocking the powerful from the throne”⁶, is the title of a book by Michael Ramminger and Franz Segbers, which refer to the common heritage of Christians and Marxists. Karl Marx wrote in the introduction of the Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right: The criticism of religion ends with the teaching that man is the highest essence for man — hence, with the categorical imperative to

⁵ Pope Francis: http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2016/november/documents/papa-francesco_20161105_movimenti-popolari.html

⁶ Michael Ramminger/Franz Segbers

overthrow all relations in which man is a debased, enslaved, abandoned, despicable essence, relations which cannot be better described than by the cry of a Frenchman when it was planned to introduce a tax on dogs: Poor dogs! They want to treat you as human beings! Not the gods in heaven, but the false gods on earth are the subject of his critique of society.

This Marxist quotation and the quotation from Luke 1: 51f (Magnificat) spring from the same humanistic idea: the equality of men and the rebellion against oppression. The idea of the image of God also provides access to Marx's thesis that man is to be set for man as the highest being and not false gods like market, money, profit.

It is remarkable how Pope Francis uses almost the terminology of Marxist criticism of capitalism: „This economy kills”. It is therefore logical that, in the tradition of the Second Vatican Council, he picks up the option for the poor and sets it to the standard of social action, claiming not only the service to the weakest in society, but the change of these societies. He calls for new alliances, including a dialogue between Christians and Marxists. The societal analysis based on Marx and Engels and the development of social alternatives can be helpful in this way as well as the in-depth look at the contradictory process of the history of liberation, especially in the Old Testament. The view of the structures of society as well as the view of the individual, individual human being, who is sometimes lost on the left with reference to class or milieu affiliation, belong together.

Both are needed to work on a corporate design based on an economy of life, a social-ecological transformation. This can very well be based on different philosophical foundations, just as justice, peace and the preservation of the environment can be reasonably justified in different ways.

So, where to start?

The dialogue of different world views must take sides with the weakest in society, with those who have little or no voice, and must intervene effectively where the rule of capital questions or even annihilates the very existence of human coexistence and human life. Therefore, the leftist dialogue must challenge the neoliberal rule, the "religion of capitalism", that is, the fetishism of goods, money and capital, and the structures, to which regent-preserving religions and churches can belong.

It is about common practices, as they exist, for example on the peace building,

welcome initiatives, supporting and integrating refugees, and it's about projects that promote a socio-ecological transformation.

The open space of the summer University for Common Practices

The shared emancipatory heritage is great, as are the common challenges. Common practices are important, build trust and open spaces for even difficult issues where there are no easy matches. The participants of this summer university are plural - the organisers provide a space that is equally plural - in terms of positions, origins and organizations.

- Dialogue is work: Thinking with others, to develop our own thinking.
- Dialogue is learning: when you find your own thoughts with others in a new way.
- Dialogue is fun: when dreams, ideas become real projects
- Dialogue is a way of asking ahead with constructive breaks on the beaches of Syros.

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Cornelia Hildebrandt, Pál Tóth

COMMONS



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Austrian social ethicist who specialized in the relation between spiritual experience and sociopolitical commitment. Currently, she is the head of the institute for religious education at the KPH-Edith Stein in Feldkirch, Austria.



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Abstract

The Commons and Commoning form a shared reference point for both a Catholic and critical Marxist view on the world humans are living in and the perspective of good society embedded in nature. Both see the earth and its riches, the main conditions to secure a safe life in dignity for each and everybody as commons humans have to care for in a way which can be described as commoning. Animals and plants, the ecosystems of the earth are part of it and the universe is the horizon. In this morning we will address the following questions: What are commons? And what are the main threats to commons today? What are differences as well as common grounds between Marxist and Christian approaches to the topic of commons? And how are these approaches related to the respective notions of the human person as well as to visions for society? We will discuss the notion and reality of commons in the students' countries of origin and in small groups, the students will have the opportunity to discuss examples of threatened commons (e.g. water, climate, internet) or of a positive shift towards a culture of commons and best practice examples (e.g. free public transport and the digital commons).

Reading from the Catholic Tradition – Part 1:

Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace: Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church, Vatican 2004, No. 171 – 184.

When you read the following texts, please highlight important passages and add the following marks beside the text:

- ! for passages you agree with
- X for passages you disagree
- ? for passages you don't understand.

III. The universal destination of goods

a. Origin and meaning

171. *Among the numerous implications of the common good, immediate significance is taken on by the principle of the universal destination of goods: “God destined the earth and all it contains for all men and all peoples so that all created things would be shared fairly by all mankind under the guidance of justice tempered by charity”[360]. This principle is based on the fact that “the original source of all that is good is the*

very act of God, who created both the earth and man, and who gave the earth to man so that he might have dominion over it by his work and enjoy its fruits (*Gen 1:28-29*). God gave the earth to the whole human race for the sustenance of all its members, without excluding or favouring anyone.

This is *the foundation of the universal destination of the earth's goods*. The earth, by reason of its fruitfulness and its capacity to satisfy human needs, is God's first gift for the sustenance of human life"[361]. The human person cannot do without the material goods that correspond to his primary needs and constitute the basic conditions for his existence; these goods are absolutely indispensable if he is to feed himself, grow, communicate, associate with others, and attain the highest purposes to which he is called[362].

172. *The universal right to use the goods of the earth is based on the principle of the universal destination of goods.* Each person must have access to the level of well-being necessary for his full development. The right to the common use of goods is the "first principle of the whole ethical and social order" [363] and "the characteristic principle of Christian social doctrine"[364]. For this reason the Church feels bound in duty to specify the nature and characteristics of this principle. It is first of all a *natural* right, inscribed in human nature and not merely a positive right connected with changing historical circumstances; moreover it is an "inherent" [365] right. It is innate in individual persons, in every person, and has *priority* with regard to any human intervention concerning goods, to any legal system concerning the same, to any economic or social system or method: "All other rights, whatever they are, including property rights and the right of free trade must be subordinated to this norm [the universal destination of goods]; they must not hinder it, but must rather expedite its application. It must be considered a serious and urgent social obligation to refer these rights to their original purpose"[366].

173. *Putting the principal of the universal destination of goods into concrete practice, according to the different cultural and social contexts, means that methods, limits and objects must be precisely defined.* Universal destination and utilization of goods do not mean that everything is at the disposal of each person or of all people, or that the same object may be useful or belong to each person or all people. If it is true that everyone is born with the right to use the goods of the earth, it is likewise true that, in order to ensure that this right is exercised in an equitable and orderly fashion,

regulated interventions are necessary, interventions that are the result of national and international agreements, and a juridical order that adjudicates and specifies the exercise of this right.

174. *The principle of the universal destination of goods is an invitation to develop an economic vision inspired by moral values that permit people not to lose sight of the origin or purpose of these goods, so as to bring about a world of fairness and solidarity, in which the creation of wealth can take on a positive function. Wealth, in effect, presents this possibility in the many different forms in which it can find expression as the result of a process of production that works with the available technological and economic resources, both natural and derived. This result is guided by resourcefulness, planning and labour, and used as a means for promoting the well-being of all men and all peoples and for preventing their exclusion and exploitation.*

175. *The universal destination of goods requires a common effort to obtain for every person and for all peoples the conditions necessary for integral development, so that everyone can contribute to making a more humane world, “in which each individual can give and receive, and in which the progress of some will no longer be an obstacle to the development of others, nor a pretext for their enslavement”[367]. This principle corresponds to the call made unceasingly by the Gospel to people and societies of all times, tempted as they always are by the desire to possess, temptations which the Lord Jesus chose to undergo (cf. *Mk 1:12-13; Mt 4:1-11; Lk 4:1-13*) in order to teach us how to overcome them with his grace.*

b. The universal destination of goods and private property

176. *By means of work and making use of the gift of intelligence, people are able to exercise dominion over the earth and make it a fitting home: “In this way, he makes part of the earth his own, precisely the part which he has acquired through work; *this is the origin of individual property*”[368]. Private property and other forms of private ownership of goods “assure a person a highly necessary sphere for the exercise of his personal and family autonomy and ought to be considered as an extension of human freedom ... stimulating exercise of responsibility, it constitutes one of the conditions for civil liberty”[369]. Private property is an essential element of an authentically social and democratic economic policy, and it is the guarantee of a correct social order. *The Church’s social doctrine requires that ownership of goods be equally accessible to all*[370], so that all may become, at least in some measure, owners, and it*

excludes recourse to forms of “common and promiscuous dominion”[371].

177. *Christian tradition has never recognised the right to private property as absolute and untouchable:* “On the contrary, it has always understood this right within the broader context of the right common to all to use the goods of the whole of creation: the right to private property is subordinated to the right to common use, to the fact that goods are meant for everyone”[372]. The principle of the universal destination of goods is an affirmation both of God's full and perennial lordship over every reality and of the requirement that the goods of creation remain ever destined to the development of the whole person and of all humanity[373]. This principle is not opposed to the right to private property[374] but indicates the need to regulate it. *Private property, in fact, regardless of the concrete forms of the regulations and juridical norms relative to it, is in its essence only an instrument for respecting the principle of the universal destination of goods; in the final analysis, therefore, it is not an end but a means*[375].

178. *The Church's social teaching moreover calls for recognition of the social function of any form of private ownership* [376] that clearly refers to its necessary relation to the common good[377]. Man “should regard the external things that he legitimately possesses not only as his own but also as common in the sense that they should be able to benefit not only him but also others”[378]. *The universal destination of goods entails obligations on how goods are to be used by their legitimate owners.* Individual persons may not use their resources without considering the effects that this use will have, rather they must act in a way that benefits not only themselves and their family but also the common good. From this there arises the duty on the part of owners not to let the goods in their possession go idle and to channel them to productive activity, even entrusting them to others who are desirous and capable of putting them to use in production.

179. *The present historical period has placed at the disposal of society new goods that were completely unknown until recent times. This calls for a fresh reading of the principle of the universal destination of the goods of the earth and makes it necessary to extend this principle so that it includes the latest developments brought about by economic and technological progress.* The ownership of these new goods — the results of knowledge, technology and know-how — becomes ever more decisive, because “the wealth of the industrialised nations is based much more on this kind of

ownership than on natural resources”[379].

New technological and scientific knowledge must be placed at the service of mankind's primary needs, gradually increasing humanity's common patrimony. Putting the principle of the universal destination of goods into full effect therefore requires action at the international level and planned programmes on the part of all countries. “It is necessary to break down the barriers and monopolies which leave so many countries on the margins of development, and to provide all individuals and nations with the basic conditions which will enable them to share in development”[380].

180. *If forms of property unknown in the past take on significant importance in the process of economic and social development, nonetheless, traditional forms of property must not be forgotten. Individual property is not the only legitimate form of ownership. The ancient form of community property also has a particular importance;* though it can be found in economically advanced countries, it is particularly characteristic of the social structure of many indigenous peoples. This is a form of property that has such a profound impact on the economic, cultural and political life of those peoples that it constitutes a fundamental element of their survival and well-being. The defence and appreciation of community property must not exclude, however, an awareness of the fact that this type of property also is destined to evolve. If actions were taken only to preserve its present form, there would be the risk of tying it to the past and in this way compromising it[381].

An equitable distribution of land remains ever critical, especially in developing countries and in countries that have recently changed from systems based on collectivities or colonization[382]. In rural areas, the possibility of acquiring land through opportunities offered by labour and credit markets is a necessary condition for access to other goods and services. Besides constituting an effective means for safeguarding the environment, this possibility represents a system of social security that can be put in place also in those countries with a weak administrative structure.

181. *To the subjects, whether individuals or communities, that exercise ownership of various types of property accrue a series of objective advantages: better living conditions, security for the future, and a greater number of options from which to choose. On the other hand, property may also bring a series of deceptive promises that are a source of temptation.* Those people and societies that go so far as to absolutise the role of property end up experiencing the bitterest type of slavery. In fact,

there is no category of possession that can be considered indifferent with regard to the influence that it may have both on individuals and on institutions. Owners who heedlessly idolise their goods (cf. *Mt* 6:24, 19:21-26; *Lk* 16:13) become owned and enslaved by them[383]. Only by recognizing that these goods are dependent on God the Creator and then directing their use to the common good, is it possible to give material goods their proper function as useful tools for the growth of individuals and peoples.

c. The universal destination of goods and the preferential option for the poor

182. *The principle of the universal destination of goods requires that the poor, the marginalised and in all cases those whose living conditions interfere with their proper growth should be the focus of particular concern.* To this end, *the preferential option for the poor* should be reaffirmed in all its force[384]. “This is an option, or a *special form* of primacy in the exercise of Christian charity, to which the whole tradition of the Church bears witness. It affects the life of each Christian inasmuch as he or she seeks to imitate the life of Christ, but it applies equally to our *social responsibilities* and hence to our manner of living, and to the logical decisions to be made concerning the ownership and use of goods. Today, furthermore, given the worldwide dimension which the social question has assumed, this love of preference for the poor, and the decisions which it inspires in us, cannot but embrace the immense multitudes of the hungry, the needy, the homeless, those without health care and, above all, those without hope of a better future”[385].

183. *Human misery is a clear sign of man's natural condition of frailty and of his need for salvation*[386]. Christ the Saviour showed compassion in this regard, identifying himself with the “least” among men (cf. *Mt* 25:40,45). “It is by what they have done for the poor that Jesus Christ will recognise his chosen ones. When ‘the poor have the good news preached to them’ (*Mt* 11:5), it is a sign of Christ's presence”[387].

Jesus says: “You always have the poor with you, but you will not always have me” (*Mt* 26:11; cf. *Mk* 14:7; *Jn* 12:8). He makes this statement not to contrast the attention due to him with service of the poor. Christian realism, while appreciating on the one hand the praiseworthy efforts being made to defeat poverty, is cautious on the other hand regarding ideological positions and Messianistic beliefs that sustain the illusion that it is possible to eliminate the problem of poverty completely from this world.

This will happen only upon Christ's return, when he will be with us once more, for ever. In the meantime, *the poor remain entrusted to us and it is this responsibility upon which we shall be judged at the end of time* (cf. *Mt 25:31-46*): “Our Lord warns us that we shall be separated from him if we fail to meet the serious needs of the poor and the little ones who are his brethren”[388].

184. *The Church's love for the poor is inspired by the Gospel of the Beatitudes, by the poverty of Jesus and by his attention to the poor. This love concerns material poverty and also the numerous forms of cultural and religious poverty*[389]. The Church, “since her origin and in spite of the failing of many of her members, has not ceased to work for their relief, defence and liberation through numerous works of charity which remain indispensable always and everywhere”[390]. Prompted by the Gospel injunction, “You have received without paying, give without pay” (*Mt 10:8*), the Church teaches that one should assist one's fellow man in his various needs and fills the human community with countless *works of corporal and spiritual mercy*. “Among all these, giving alms to the poor is one of the chief witnesses to fraternal charity: it is also a work of justice pleasing to God”[391], even if the practice of charity is not limited to alms-giving but implies addressing the social and political dimensions of the problem of poverty. In her teaching the Church constantly returns to this relationship between charity and justice: “When we attend to the needs of those in want, we give them what is theirs, not ours. More than performing works of mercy, we are paying a debt of justice”[392]. The Council Fathers strongly recommended that this duty be fulfilled correctly, remembering that “what is already due in justice is not to be offered as a gift of charity”[393]. Love for the poor is certainly “incompatible with immoderate love of riches or their selfish use” [394] (cf. *Jas 5:1-6*).

[360] Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, Pastoral Constitution *Gaudium et Spes*, 69: *AAS*58 (1966), 1090.

[361] John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Centesimus Annus*, 31: *AAS* 83 (1991), 831.

[362] Cf. Pius XII, Radio Message for the fiftieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*: *AAS* 33 (1941), 199-200.

[363] John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Laborem Exercens*, 19: *AAS* 73 (1981), 525.

[364] John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, 42: *AAS* 80 (1988), 573.

[365] Pius XII, Radio Message for the fiftieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*: *AAS* 33 (1941), 199.

[366] Paul VI, Encyclical Letter *Populorum Progressio*, 22: *AAS* 59 (1967), 268.

- [367] Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, *Libertatis Conscientia*, 90: *AAS* 79 (1987), 594.
- [368] John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Centesimus Annus*, 31: *AAS* 83 (1991), 832.
- [369] Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, Pastoral Constitution *Gaudium et Spes*, 71: *AAS* 58 (1966), 1092-1093; cf. Leo XIII, Encyclical Letter *Rerum Novarum: Acta Leonis XIII*, 11 (1892), 103-104; Pius XII, Radio Message for the fiftieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*: *AAS* 33 (1941), 199; Pius XII, Radio Message of 24 December 1942: *AAS* 35 (1943), 17; Pius XII, Radio Message of 1 September 1944: *AAS* 36 (1944), 253; John XXIII, Encyclical Letter *Mater et Magistra*: *AAS* 53 (1961), 428-429.
- [370] Cf. John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Centesimus Annus*, 6: *AAS* 83 (1991), 800-801.
- [371] Leo XIII, Encyclical Letter *Rerum Novarum: Acta Leonis XIII*, 11 (1892), 102.
- [372] John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Laborem Exercens*, 14: *AAS* 73 (1981), 613.
- [373] Cf. Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, Pastoral Constitution *Gaudium et Spes*, 69: *AAS* 58 (1966), 1090-1092; *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 2402-2406.
- [374] Cf. Leo XIII, Encyclical Letter *Rerum Novarum: Acta Leonis XIII*, 11 (1892), 102.
- [375] Cf. Paul VI, Encyclical Letter *Populorum Progressio*, 22-23: *AAS* 59 (1967), 268-269.
- [376] Cf. John XXIII, Encyclical Letter *Mater et Magistra*: *AAS* 53 (1961), 430-431; John Paul II, Address to the Third General Conference of Latin American Bishops, Puebla, Mexico (28 January 1979), III/4: *AAS* 71 (1979), 199-201.
- [377] Cf. Pius XI, Encyclical Letter *Quadragesimo Anno*: *AAS* 23 (1931), 191-192, 193-194, 196-197.
- [378] Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, Pastoral Constitution *Gaudium et Spes*, 69: *AAS* 58 (1966), 1090.
- [379] John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Centesimus Annus*, 32: *AAS* 83 (1991), 832.
- [380] John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Centesimus Annus*, 35: *AAS* 83 (1991), 837.
- [381] Cf. Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, Pastoral Constitution *Gaudium et Spes*, 69: *AAS* 58 (1966), 1090-1092.
- [382] Cf. Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Towards a Better Distribution of Land. The Challenge of Agrarian Reform* (23 November 1997), 27-31: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Vatican City 1997, pp. 28-31.
- [383] Cf. John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, 27-34, 37: *AAS* 80 (1988), 547-560, 563-564; John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Centesimus Annus*, 41: *AAS* 83 (1991), 843-845.

- [384] Cf. John Paul II, Address to the Third General Conference of Latin American Bishops, Puebla, Mexico (28 January 1979), I/8: *AAS* 71 (1979), 194-195.
- [385] John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, 42: *AAS* 80 (1988), 572- 573; cf. John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Evangelium Vitae*, 32: *AAS* 87 (1995), 436-437; John Paul II, Apostolic Letter *Tertio Millennio Adveniente*, 51: *AAS* 87 (1995), 36; John Paul II, Apostolic Letter *Novo Millennio Ineunte*, 49-50: *AAS* 93 (2001), 302-303.
- [386] Cf. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 2448.
- [387] *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 2443.
- [388] *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 1033.
- [389] Cf. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 2444.
- [390] *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 2448.
- [391] *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 2447.
- [392] Saint Gregory the Great, *Regula Pastoralis*, 3, 21: PL 77, 87: “Nam cum qualibet necessaria indigentibus ministramus, sua illis reddimus, non nostra largimur; iustitiae potius debitum soluimus, quam misericordiae opera implemus”.
- [393] Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, Decree *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, 8: *AAS* 58 (1966), 845; cf. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 2446.
- [394] *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 2445.

Reading from the Catholic Tradition – Part 2:

Pope Francis: *Laudato si'*, Vatican 2015, No. 54, 202, 204.

(While for this preparatory reading list a few numbers were selected, the Encyclical as a whole is recommended for reading.)

54. It is remarkable how weak international political responses have been. The failure of global summits on the environment make it plain that our politics are subject to technology and finance. There are too many special interests, and economic interests easily end up trumping the common good and manipulating information so that their own plans will not be affected. The Aparecida Document urges that “the interests of economic groups which irrationally demolish sources of life should not prevail in dealing with natural resources”. The alliance between the economy and technology ends up sidelining anything unrelated to its immediate interests. Consequently the most one can expect is superficial rhetoric, sporadic acts of philanthropy and perfunctory expressions of concern for the environment, whereas any genuine attempt by groups within society to introduce change is viewed as a nuisance based on romantic illusions or an obstacle to be circumvented.

202. Many things have to change course, but it is we human beings above all who need to change. We lack an awareness of our common origin, of our mutual belonging, and of a future to be shared with everyone. This basic awareness would enable the development of new convictions, attitudes and forms of life. A great cultural, spiritual and educational challenge stands before us, and it will demand that we set out on the long path of renewal.

204. The current global situation engenders a feeling of instability and uncertainty, which in turn becomes “a seedbed for collective selfishness”. When people become self-centred and self-enclosed, their greed increases. The emptier a person’s heart is, the more he or she needs things to buy, own and consume. It becomes almost impossible to accept the limits imposed by reality. In this horizon, a genuine sense of the common good also disappears. As these attitudes become more widespread, social norms are respected only to the extent that they do not clash with personal needs. So our concern cannot be limited merely to the threat of extreme weather events, but must also extend to the catastrophic consequences of social unrest. Obsession with a consumerist lifestyle, above all when few people are capable of maintaining it, can only lead to violence and mutual destruction.

Reading from the Critical Marxist Tradition – Part 2:

Karl Marx: On the Jewish Question (1843)

The establishment of the political state and the dissolution of civil society into independent individuals — whose relations with one another depend on law, just as the relations of men in the system of estates and guilds depended on privilege — is accomplished by one and the same act. Man as a member of civil society, unpolitical man, inevitably appears, however, as the natural man. The *droits de l'homme* appear as *droits naturels*, because conscious activity is concentrated on the political act. Egoistic man is the passive result of the dissolved society, a result that is simply found in existence, an object of immediate certainty, therefore a natural object. The political revolution resolves civil life into its component parts, without revolutionising these components themselves or subjecting them to criticism. It regards civil society, the world of needs, labour, private interests, civil law, as the basis of its existence, as a precondition not requiring further substantiation and therefore as its natural basis. Finally, man as a member of civil society is held to be man in the proper sense, *homme* as distinct from the *citoyen*, because he is man in his sensuous, individual, immediate existence, whereas political man is only abstract, artificial man, man as an allegorical, juridical person. The real man is recognised only in the shape of the egoistic individual, the true man is recognised only in the shape of the abstract *citoyen*.

All emancipation is a reduction of the human world and relationships to man himself. Political emancipation is the reduction of man, on the one hand, to a member of civil society, to an egoistic, independent individual, and, on the other hand, to a citizen, a juridical person.

Only when the real, individual man re-absorbs in himself the abstract citizen, and as an individual human being has become a species-being in his everyday life, in his particular work, and in his particular situation, only when man has recognised and organised his “*forces propres*”†a as social forces, and consequently no longer separates social power from himself in the shape of political power, only then will human emancipation have been accomplished.

Karl Marx: Communist Manifesto (1848)

We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy. The

proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionizing the mode of production.

These measures will of course be different in different countries. Nevertheless in the most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable:

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of waste-lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to labour. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of the population over the country. †d
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production,
11. etc., etc.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all

production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organise itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

Bollier: Think Like a Commoner (2014)

It is precisely the decentralised, self-organised and practice based approach of the commons that makes it so hardy as a political strategy. It's harder to co-opt a movement when there is no single cadre of leadership. To put it more positively, a diversified movement rooted in on-the-ground, self-directed leadership can elicit much more energy and imagination than centrally directed initiatives can. Because it is usually based in practice, not theory, the commons can also skirt many of the enervating battles over ideological purity that often plague movements. [...]

The commons is at bottom a cultural practice and outlook that seeks to understand the world in different terms. It is driven by a shift in perception about how human beings can actually influence the making of a better world. It is animated by personal ethics and social engagement finding new fulcrum points to leverage change. Representative democracy and law remain important vehicles for progress, but commoners tend to be realistic. The most urgent task is not necessarily to pass new laws or elect the right candidates, especially when the old system of governance is so corrupt and ineffective. The most urgent task is to devise durable and appropriate institutions for commoning. Enclosures of commons must be fought, and new defenses to protect the commons (legal, technological, social) must be built.

This may or may not require State law. A top priority, then, should be expanding the conversation about the commons. Get the cultural meme in circulation. Ground it in

actual practice. This is the way that the commons will emerge as a credible, functioning reality. The more that people have personal, lived experiences with commoning of any sort, the greater the public understanding of the commons. To name it is to begin to (re)claim it.

In most societies around the world, the prospects for meaningful political change remain fairly dismal. The neoliberal project manifestly cannot deliver on its utopian promises of progress and prosperity for all, yet the traditional critics of neoliberalism and political progressives are not likely to pioneer the new paths we need. Most of them, I fear, are too intellectually fatigued, politically demoralised or compromised by their own yearning to appear relevant to the world of power and respectability.

The imaginary of the commons helps extricate us from this morass. It provides the opportunity to start anew, with a different conceptual foundation, a new framework of analysis and a more robust moral and political vocabulary. In its broad sweep, the commons offers a powerful way to reconceptualise governance, economics and policy at a time when the existing order is incapable of reforming itself. The commons offers a way to revitalise democratic practice at a time when conventional political institutions are dysfunctional, corrupt, resistant to reform or all three. It demonstrates that societies can actually leverage Cooperation and bottom-up energies to solve problems. It points to new modes of governance that go beyond, or can work in constructive partnership with, representative democracy.

The feasibility of the commons to develop a new vision can be seen in the growing number of transnational commoners and the innovations they are developing. Not all of them espouse the commons discourse per se, but their various social practices certainly embody its core values: participation, Cooperation, inclusiveness, fairness, bottom-up innovation, accountability. They all seek to combine production, consumption and governance into an integrated paradigm of change. These eclectic movements include the Solidarity Economy movement, the Transition Town movement, alterglobalization activists, water activists, the Landless Workers' Movement in Brazil (MST), the international movement of peasants known as La Via Campesina, the free Software and free culture movements, Wikipedians, the open-access scholarly publishing world, the Open Educational Resources (OER) movement, the dozens of international Pirate Parties and the Occupy movement, among others. The budding federation of these efforts suggests the beginnings of a new sort of global movement — a

loosely coordinated movement of movements.

Michael Brie and Dieter Klein: *The Second Great Transformation* (2010)

Dimensions of transformational politics

When at the height of the global financial crisis financial market capitalism began to reel, when for a brief historical moment even the inner circle of power-holders saw themselves on the brink of the abyss, when the market ideology was discredited and the rulers faced a crisis of acceptance, the Left reacted with plenty of individual justified demands for bringing the banks under control and saving the bulk of the population from bearing the brunt of the crisis.

But in the public search for answers to the crisis the Left was unable to indicate the contours of an alternative social project. It was unable to take advantage of the crisis of radical market thinking and seize a possible opportunity for the public discussion of a leftist counter-model and for changing the terms of the political argument in favour of itself. This failure showed a profound weakness on the part of the Left. [...]

It could turn out that the most important task in preparing for a second transformation is to strengthen the capacity for transformation of today's societies. They demand above all:

- Raising the degrees of freedom: ensuring a maximum variety of options (organizations, knowledge, modes of operation, forms of socialization) through a constant process of social innovations;
- Growing equality: expansion of a broad public infrastructure facilitating the Information, self-organization and cooperation of citizens and securing their participation in the democratic search for new ways and in decision-making through access to the conditions of a self-determined life;
- A rethinking of solidarity: commitment to the common weal must no longer be allowed to redound to the disadvantage of individuals while others just see to their own well-being. Instead, the design of institutions, bonuses and sanctions must recognise the success of individuals, especially when it is a contribution to the overall development of communities and the welfare of others;
- The expansion of decentralised fields of activity: self-regulation and renewal from below is the elixir of emancipatory transformation processes. Experiments in political change will only be successful if citizens are able “to set up not just one but

several governing authorities at various levels” instead of having to subordinate themselves to a central authority or the market mechanism (Ostrom, 2005: 242).

- Double transformation – in capitalism and beyond

Under the necessary condition of a radical leftward shift in the balance of power we may assume that an initial transformation within capitalism could be won on the basis of an eco-social reform alternative. In such a post-neoliberal form of capitalism the dominance of profit would be weakened and driven back by economic democracy and more participatory elements of political democracy; by restoring decent working conditions and the welfare state on the basis of solidarity; by making a start on socio-ecological reconstruction; and by adopting a more peaceful foreign, security and development policy. “Must not the transition be thought of – and promoted – as a series of evolutionary steps in the course of which the ‘nature’ of capitalism changes (or is changed) and the ‘nature’ of socialism gradually emerges?” asked Jörg Huffschmid in 1988. What Marx wrote about the working class in 1871 to the effect that it had “to set free elements of the new society with which old collapsing bourgeois society itself is pregnant” applies much more today.

For the Left this would mean recognizing the evolutionary potential of capitalism, strengthening its significance for transformational politics, making full use of its capacity for reforms, and helping it to develop in ways that go beyond capitalism. In the course of the transformation of capitalism elements of a second great transformation would increasingly be added, which would overcome capitalism. The Left would base its strategy on the concept of a double transformation.

If one were to draw up a general formula of solidarity-based reproduction analogous to Marx’s “general formula of capital”, it would be the one that he himself expressed in the Manifesto: “in place of the old bourgeois society with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all”. It would be characteristic of the socialist production of wealth that each and every individual (I) be enriched and developed as a human being (I’) in action contexts that contribute to the development of others on the basis of solidarity (S). The “self-augmentation” of capital in the G-W-G’ process as the dominant movement and form of development of social wealth would be replaced by I-S-I’. The crucial question is how the substance of this general formula of such a solidarity-based or socialist society might look in practice. To put it another way: In

what ownership and power structures, in what forms of socialization, in what modes of production and way of life and, finally, in what civilizational forms can the general formula of socialism be realised?

The problem is how to preserve and even enhance the capacity of modern societies for development and innovation, as they first arose in capitalist form, while liberating it from the narrow obsession with profit maximization and the desire to have more and more, *and* to usher in a radical change in the entire civilizational structure. We have to overcome financial market capitalism, in which a wage-earning and consumer society is ruled by oligarchies under the ferule of shareholder value while the earth is plundered for its ever scarcer raw materials and sources of energy and turned into a scrap heap in the process. The vision is of a society for which the physical world is a home where a social and cultural life is led on the basis of solidarity in which each and every individual has a stake (Tab. 1).

Table 1: Starting point and aim of a socio-ecological transformation

	Present	Alternatives
<i>Social character</i>	Neoliberal capitalism	solidarity-based society/ democratic socialism
<i>Dominant social aim</i>	Dominance of profit	Dominance of personal development
<i>Society's relationship to nature</i>	Dominance of profit-oriented economy over the relationship to nature: exploitation of non-renewable resources and litter pollution	Embedding of social development in nature; subordination of the economy
<i>Type of economy</i>	Profit-oriented market economy	Solidarity-based, multi-sector economy
<i>Dominant interests</i>	Interests of capital	Solidarity-based interests of the common weal
<i>Dominant political group</i>	Oligarchy	Citizens
<i>Political system</i>	Representative democracy/ authoritarian national or international organizations	Participatory democracy
<i>Path of development</i>	Profit-oriented growth	Lifeworld-centred, sustained development

DEMOCRACY AND PARTICIPATION



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A contribution to resolve the inclusion/exclusion dilemma in policy-making processes

Daniela Ropelato

The interest in understanding the dynamics of political systems, starting from the lowest – and the widest – level of the social structure, lies at the core of the research around political participation. Participation, as we often read in political science textbooks, means to influence the selection process of decision makers and the contents of public choices: but this does not only determine political-institutional change, it also tends to modify the entire social system of interests and values. Therefore, studies on participation as a measure of democracy, both in a quantitative and qualitative sense, have always accompanied political research. Just as the separation and estrangement between society and politics seem to reflect the core of the difficulties of democracy for millions of people today, for the same reason the development of a culture of participation can bring back the ideal of a society that is able to self-determine. A rich empirical research on the theme highlights the relevance of participatory phenomena and, at the same time, a certain ambivalence: participation is not in itself, always and in every case, a process of positive development, promotion and intensification of people's rights. Our challenge is not simple: how to consider the relationship between political participation and decision-making processes? Why does participation often produce intense conflicts? How to intervene in its strong selectivity feature? How to resolve the representation deficit?

Studying participation means taking into consideration a long list of facts: the history of universal suffrage, where the right to vote makes the foundation of the definition of liberal democracy; the historical events of parties and trade unions, along with their crisis and the progressive "overtaking" of social movements and interest groups, associations and other organizations at the grassroots level. This means trying to understand new networks of governance at the local, national and supranational level and the growing demand of involving the actors of civil society, but also the identity closures of the contemporary societies, with forms of exclusionary communitarianism and defensive localism.

As shown by Alessandro Pizzorno since 1966 (Introduction to the study of political participation), on the one hand citizens' participation and the legitimization of the political system are closely linked, while on the other, participation is often "a way of

fighting against the conditions of inequality of civil society”.

In my opinion, while respecting the specific formal aspects of the discipline, we have to ask ourselves if political participation, its phases and expressions, should be studied as one of the many social phenomena of the political dimension, or rather if a wider interpretation is possible, in order to be able to understand the human in itself.

Charles Wright Mills wrote in 1959 (*The Sociological Imagination*), "What they need, and what they feel they need, is a quality of mind that will help them to use information and to develop reason in order to achieve lucid summations of what is going on in the world and of what may be happening within themselves." He further explains, "The first fruit of the sociological imagination – and the first lesson of the social science that embodies it – is the idea that the individual can understand his own experience and gauge his own fate only by locating himself within his period, that he can know his own chances in life only by becoming aware of those of all individuals in his circumstances. In many ways it is a terrible lesson; in many ways a magnificent one."

Participation between inclusion and exclusion

There is an ever-increasing interaction between generational, ethnic, cultural and religious differences in our territories and we observe the emergence of a strong need to involve people in the decisions that affect everyone's life, to integrate different skills and share information. The local dimension continues to gain more and more importance. There is a growing demand for a government made and controlled by the persons and by the communities, in order to actively involve the local inhabitants and their associations in their living places.

Such unyielding, social and political pluralism has undermined the traditional political mediations formally entrusted to democratic representation. Although the functioning of the electoral mechanism, which is built around the majority principle, until now has achieved a satisfactory composition of differences, today it seems inadequate. The simple selection of prevailing opinions, on a quantitative basis, no longer satisfies the need to represent the rich multiplicity of resources of social subjects in the decision-making places.

Nevertheless, the activation of grass-root participation tools and mechanisms and the inclusive decision-making processes are not a foregone or painless process; far from

it: it brings along a bundle of problems and paradoxes. As many authors observed, the main problem is to identify the maximum feasible participation. Since the 1960s, the results of numerous surveys of individual political behavior led to the formulation of the well-known thesis of "social centrality": which are the most active social groups exercising political participation? Essentially those in the central positions of social stratification, in the innermost and stable circles, tending to maintain the status quo: predominantly male, with a higher level of education, belonging to the middle class and to the majority racial group, mostly residents of urban centers, of medium-high age. Furthermore, the availability of economic assets and cultural resources are a prerequisite for efficient participation, which is more easily competent and influential. Very often those who possess political resources and have direct access to the decision-making processes translate these resources of power to attain more directly greater assets; and vice versa: those who possess greater social and economic resources generally know shortcuts to influence collective choices. Finally, those who have already participated once will make another attempt more easily.

Hence, the image that we obtain is that of a circle, almost closed, highly selective. As a result, sometimes paradoxically participation procedures can strengthen the predominant groups of stakeholders and weaken social cohesion.

In many situations people choose on the basis of the cost of their participation. With the development of the local democratic fabric, participation tools and processes offered by an administration, a local school district, a city council, continued to increase. However, for a majority of people, often occupied with great workloads and the management of daily family life, it is very costly to find the time for political commitments in their overloaded calendar and poor social ties. For many, participation remains an expensive choice, far from their life horizon. One could say that the capacities to put into practice the right to participate, promised and proposed by modern democracy, is unequal. And the failure to include these people and these groups halts participation more and more.

For these reasons, an in-depth analysis reveals that there is an essential contrast that weakens the meaning of participation and makes it ambivalent: the tension between an inclusive aspect and an exclusionary aspect. In fact, if participation means including new resources, activating new contributions, consolidating identities and enhancing competencies, what often happens really results in the disadvantage of other

individuals and groups that face the selective and exclusionary effects of these processes. While some are strengthened, others are weakened. On the one hand, participation is called for to increase the subjectivity of civil society, to improve the quality of the bonds within the community, the sense of identity and belonging; on the other, lots of constraints and limits restrain these effects. The phenomenon of the digital divide is another obvious example that seriously weakens the democratic status of the Net.

Along this road, a certain soft vision of participation disappears. By encouraging participation, we are managing not only light regulatory instruments that open possibilities, invite innovation, recognise rights, but also the harshness and rigidity of the mechanisms of power and its distribution: underestimating these dimensions can be dangerous.

Participation and deliberative democracy

In order to overcome or integrate the problems of citizens' participation in the process of public decision, in the last twenty years a new research field has been enhanced: "deliberative democracy", called to focus again on the essential conditions of the democratic process. Experiments of deliberative democracy are, for example, the deliberative polls, the citizens' juries, the town meetings... procedures that help people in small and large groups to cooperate, in order to produce a collective act or decision, through methodologies that seem to soothe rigidity and selective effects.

Above all, it should be noted that the adjective "deliberative" does not refer to the final moment in which the deciding subject concludes his evaluation, but to the phase preceding the decision. It is the phase of debate and dialogue between the subjects of the decision. Democratic quality – it is said – will not grow by increasing the ability of the political elite to represent people, but by improving the quality of public opinion. In this sense Jürgen Habermas affirmed the need to return to the origin of democracy and to exploit the full potential of linguistic communication (government by discussion), where free and equal citizens can mutually persuade each other. In fact, in the course of a correct deliberative experience, the initial preferences, the starting convictions that are not set once and for all, can be modified and consensus can be formed progressively through dialogue. This can happen, not because the parties in question pretend to ignore the differences, but, by focusing on a series of shared

values and through deliberation, they can discover a common base and take a decision, while the objectives can continue to be different and at times even distant.

What deliberative democracy propose is an integration of the traditional democratic decision-making process. As we know, the ordinary representative mechanisms essentially use two logics: first, the majority vote, in which one proceeds by counting the votes and the winning decision is the one supported by the greatest number of preferences. Second, the negotiating logic, in which one proceeds by balancing advantages and disadvantages and both parties lose and gain. The deliberative logic, instead, proceeds by argumentation, with a conversational process that aims at consensus through mutual conviction. The solutions are found one at a time: conflicting or strongly passive positions are appeased through a learning path.

For the success of the deliberative procedures some conditions are necessary: first of all, all those who will receive the consequences of the decision must be convened, directly or through their representatives; moreover, there must be a cooperative and trustful climate in which the participants can listen to each other to reach an agreement; finally, a mediator must preside over the communication, control the timing and record the results. For these reasons, even when it is not possible to reach an effective convergence, in general, a deliberative path can more easily desempower dissent and reinforce a sense of legitimacy for the decision taken.

The horizon drawn by these experiments appears broad, but not conclusive. What we observe is a positive attempt to overcome the traditional two-track model; so far it would be up to the societal interactions to raise the issues and define the public agenda, while decision-making would remain to the political-administrative system. This separation amply demonstrated its insufficiency and constant and profitable connections must be put in place. However, even the deliberative procedures cannot resolve definitely the influence produced in the public sphere by private interest groups.

The deliberation process strengthens the vocation of democratic institutions to settle conflicts. But deliberative democracy can be an empty space in which the recognition of the parties' requests remains symbolic; the higher is the possibility of the parties involved to exert influence outside the negotiation process, stronger are the interests at stake. For the same reasons, it is difficult to implement correct deliberative procedures when conflicts are strongly polarised: it is more difficult to mitigate two radical

positions if whoever wins, wins everything and whoever loses, loses everything. But if we can “proceduralise” the conflict, it probably does not cross a certain threshold.

An important improvement produced in the deliberative arenas is the growth of the information level of the participants and the corresponding decrease in the communication asymmetries. But we have to check that everyone should be able to enjoy the same resources; if it's not so, even these procedures can become an instrument of manipulation, favoring those who are better trained to political participation and rich in persuasive skills.

A different theoretical horizon

A more profound question is emerging, concerning the definition of social relationship: can we continue to interpret it as a vacuum to be crossed, an abstract functional bond, an accessory and unstable element?

Recent analysis of the concept of political participation may provide a suggestion, highlighting two different profiles of its definition, that are equally relevant: participation, in fact, means not only taking part but also feeling part of a process. One cannot take part if one does not feel part of it. At the same time, a sense of a common belonging grows and is strengthened if we accept to act concretely for one another and in favor of the other. Thus, choosing participation does not mean just adopting an instrument or a procedure to share an objective – the production or the assignment of a resource or of a right – but above all giving space to the construction and care of the social bond. Numerous experiments confirm this hypothesis: investing in the community cohesion becomes the first fundamental public work, able to generate and regenerate that capital of trust, gratuitousness, solidarity and responsibility that is necessary for every hypothesis of coexistence and government.

In fact, when a participatory process decides to invest resources and favor a frame of healthy relationships taking care of their human qualities, it generates a social impact with a specific performance: creation and strengthening of ties between people who come from different settings, a refined attitude of discussion, sharing and development of common languages, learning and transmission of new knowledge, identification of unexpected negotiation paths, up to ensure political representation even to those who live on the margins of our democracies.

Once the insufficiency of a mere procedural political vision has been measured, a

"relational space" seems to emerge. This perspective highlights again the social meanings and practices that precede and overcome a political-institutional system in plaster, giving it its foundation, in which values, culture, art, spiritual and religious experience, civil traditions, voluntary service and paths of reconciliation are living resources at the heart of coexistence. Men and women, young and old, the healthy and the sick, citizens and foreigners, belonging to my culture and those of another, all are part of it. In this light, democracy should not be limited to refining the technical aspects of political interactions: our priority must be to recognise, enhance and promote vital social bonds.

But this could not yet be enough: in fact, the same relationship can be destructive or constructive, bring or not cohesion and development. It is not enough to qualify the relationship with a series of characteristics conditioned solely by the personal willingness of the political actors. A broader context of meaning must be sought, in which the qualities of social relationship that we favor should be deep-rooted. Therefore, our question is: if the relationship that we choose to adopt has to increase unity and cohesion in the society, the qualities of this relationship must come from a culture of unity. And what is a culture of unity in politics?

A new theoretical horizon is called to study the concept of unity, where unity respects diversity, knows how to dialogue and to share, redefines the concept of centre and periphery, opens the decisional arenas and gives voice to those who appears peripheral, so that no one is marginalised and excluded from social and political processes. A new research agenda can explore the possibility of resolving some of the questions still open posed by the exercise of political participation. The result could be a deepening of the same vision of democracy, where the limits that each one puts to the other must be considered not like a moment to avert, but like an ordinary condition that must be accepted and addressed, where pluralism become a start point and not a hindrance to avoid, a trait of society that political institutions are called to organise and harmonise. Where the umpteenth opinion does not slow down the decision-making process but enriches it, because it's an expression of a political competence that belongs to everyone as a result of living in society.

Daniela Ropelato

Capitalism vs democracy in Europe

Michael Löwy

Let us begin with a quote from an essay on bourgeois democracy in Russia, written in 1906, after the defeat of the first Russian revolution:

“It is highly ridiculous to believe that there is an elective affinity between grand capitalism today, as it is presently imported into Russia, and well established in the United States (...) and ‘democracy’ or ‘liberty’ (in all the possible meanings of the word); the real question should be: how are these things even ‘possible’, on long term, under capitalist domination?”

Who is the author of this insightful comment? Lenin, Trotsky or, perhaps, Plekhanov? In fact, it is from Max Weber, the well-known bourgeois sociologist. Although Weber never developed this insight, he is suggesting here that there is an intrinsic contradiction between capitalism and democracy.

The history of the 20th century seems to confirm this opinion: very often, when the power of the ruling classes seemed to be threatened by the people, democracy was pushed aside as a luxury that one couldn't afford, and replaced by fascism - Europe in the 20's and 30's - or military dictatorship: Latin America in the 60's and 70's.

Fortunately, enough, this is not the case of Europe today, but we have, particularly during the last decades, with the triumph of neoliberalism, a democracy of low intensity, a democracy without social content, which has become an empty shell. Sure enough, we still have elections, but there seems to be only one party, the U.M.P., United Market Party, with two variants which have only limited differences: the right-wing neo-liberal version, and the left-center social-liberal one.

The decline of democracy is particularly visible in the oligarchic functioning of the European Union, where the European Parliament has very little influence, while power is firmly in the hands of non-elected bodies, such as the European Commission, or the Central European Bank. According to Giandomenico Majone, Professor at the European Institute of Florence, and one of the semi-official theoreticians of the Union, Europe needs “non-majoritarian institutions”, i.e. “public institutions that are, on purpose, not responsible neither towards electors nor elected officials”: this is the only way to protect us against “the tyranny of the majority”. In such institutions “qualities such as expertise, professional discretion and coherence (...) are much

more important than the direct democratic responsibility". One could hardly imagine a more blatant apology of the oligarchic and antidemocratic nature of the Union. With the present economic crisis, democracy has descended to its lowest levels. In a recent editorial, the French Journal *Le Figaro* wrote that the present situation is an exceptional one, and this explains why democratic procedures cannot be always respected; when normal times return, we can re-establish democratic legitimacy. We have therefore a sort of economic/political "state of exception" in the sense of Carl Schmitt. But who is the sovereign that has the right to proclaim, according to Schmitt, the state of exception?

For some time after 1789 and before the proclamation of the French Republic in 1792 the King had the constitutional right of Veto. Whatever the resolutions of the National Assembly, whatever the desires and aspirations of the French people, the last word belonged to His Majesty.

In Europe today, the King is not a Bourbon or Habsburg, the King is Financial Capital. Most present European governments are functionaries of this absolutist, intolerant and anti-democratic Monarch. Whether right-wing, "extreme-center" or pseudo-leftist, whether conservative, demo-Christian or social-democratic, they fanatically serve Capital's right of Veto.

Pope Francis discussed this issue in his dialogue with social movements at Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia, on July 2015: when "capital becomes an idol and directs the options of human beings", we do not have democracy but a "subtle dictatorship". And in *Laudato Si'* (2015) he denounces the totalitarian power of finance which "rules the world":

"Saving banks at any cost, making the public pay the price, foregoing a firm commitment to reviewing and reforming the entire system, only reaffirms the absolute power of a financial system, a power which has no future and will only give rise to new crises after a slow, costly and only apparent recovery. The financial crisis of 2007–2008 provided an opportunity to develop a new economy, more attentive to ethical principles, and new ways of regulating speculative financial practices and virtual wealth. But the response to the crisis did not include rethinking the outdated criteria which continue to rule the world."

The absolute and total sovereign today in Europe is, therefore, the global financial

market. Financial markets dictate to each country the wages and pensions, the cuts in social expenses, the privatizations, the rate of unemployment. Some time ago, they directly nominate the heads of government (Papademos in Greece and Mario Monti in Italy), picking so-called “experts”, who are faithful servants of the financial markets.

The governments of Europe are indifferent to public protest, strikes and mass manifestations, and don't care about the opinion or the feelings of the population; they only are attentive - extremely attentive - to the opinion and the feelings of the financial markets, and their employees, the notation agencies. In the European pseudo-democracy, to consult the people by a referendum is a dangerous heresy, worst, a crime against the Holy Market. The Greek government, led by Syriza, the Coalition of the Radical Left, is the only one who had the courage to organise such a popular consultation.

The Greek referendum was not only about fundamental economic and social issues, it was also and above all about democracy. The 61,3 per cent Greek NO was an attempt to challenge the Royal Veto of finance. This could have been a first step towards the transformation of Europe, from capitalist Monarchy into a democratic Republic. But the present European oligarchic institutions have little tolerance for democracy. They immediately punished the Greek people for their insolent attempt to refuse the austerity. Catastroika is back in Greece with a vengeance, imposing a brutal program of economically recessive, socially unjust and humanly unsustainable measures. The German right-wing fabricated this monster, and forced it on the Greek people with the complicity of Greece false "friends" (Hollande, Renzi, etc).

While the crisis gets worse, and public outrage grows, there is an increasing temptation, for many governments, to distract public attention towards a scapegoat: the immigrants. Thus, undocumented foreigners, non-communitarian immigrants, Muslims and Gypsies are being presented as the main threat to the country. This of course opens great opportunities for racist, xenophobic, semi-fascist or outright fascist parties, which are growing, and are already, in several countries, part of the government - a very serious threat to democracy in Europe. A similar threat is represented by authoritarian governments, which use xenophobia and fear of immigrants to impose coercive measures which have little in common with democracy. This is already happening in Hungary and Poland, who knows what will happen to Austria...

The only hope is the growing aspiration for another Europe, beyond savage competition, brutal austerity policies, and eternal debts to be paid. Another Europe is possible, a democratic, ecological and social one. But it will not be achieved without a common struggle of the European populations, beyond ethnic borders and the narrow limits of the nation-State. In other words, our hope for the future is popular indignation, and the social movements, which have been on the rise, particularly among youth and women, in several countries. For the social movements, it is becoming increasingly obvious that the struggle for democracy is a struggle against neoliberalism, and, in last analysis, against capitalism itself, an inherently antidemocratic system, as Max Weber already pointed out, hundred years ago.

Michael Löwy

EUROPE



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Take care of European society and commit to building agents of change

Luciana Castellina

If we are to build a better European Union than the one that was born 60 years ago, the most important thing we can do is to free it from the unbearable rhetoric that has accompanied it, preventing any constructive criticism, which is immediately branded as ‘anti-European sentiment’ and therefore a nostalgic attachment to a world of little nations responsible for all wars.

The first real imbroglio that took place to the detriment of the European project was believing that the project launched in 1957 was spawned by the Ventotene Manifesto, the declaration drafted by a respected group of Italian anti-fascists on the island where they were imprisoned by Mussolini. This text had a significant influence on the drafting of the Italian Constitution of 1948, but no influence at all on the many European Treaties. Indeed, at the Community's official baptism ceremony, which took place at the Teatro Adriano in Rome on 23 March 1957, Altiero Spinelli's federalists threw leaflets from the gallery down onto the stalls where the authorities were sitting containing the message that they did not recognise the ‘monster’ that was emerging. And it was the Italian Constitution – which is fairly unique in the west in having imposed strict restrictions on the right to own property and declaring war illegal if it is not to defend against invaders – which posed an obstacle to Italy's entry into the initial embryonic Europe. One of the witnesses to the negotiations at the time, Professor Paolo Elia, a respected Christian Democrat leader, said that the German minister Erhard in particular would have liked to exclude our country, precisely because of this fundamental charter. He didn't get his way; otherwise it would have been impossible to ensure the survival of the myth that the ‘monster’ was inspired by the Ventotene Manifesto.

Recently, we unfortunately had to witness the umpteenth farce, when last August – during peak holiday season and therefore blocking thousands of tourists for two days – Hollande, Merkel and Renzi wanted to hold their solemn summit in Ventotene. This wasn't so that the location could inspire them to engage in critical reflection, but rather so that they could repeat a policy line at odds with the one desired by the anti-fascists imprisoned on the island.

A bit of history would be helpful, to give impetus to a movement that aims to change Europe. We can begin with the dissemination of the Ventotene Manifesto. It could be useful to re-read this text in order to dilute the toxic effects of pro-European rhetoric and to document how different the European Union that has materialised is from the concept it contains.

Nobody remembers that the first institutional act in favour of European unity was not issued on our continent, but by the American parliament (11 March 1947, by the Senate, 23 March by the Congress) put forward by John Foster Dulles, the powerful head of US diplomacy (and brother of Allen, head of the CIA). It is true that this vote was accompanied by the simultaneous launch of the Marshall Plan, an option which turned out in reality to be forward-looking and managed to beat those who, in America, opposed it and who would have wanted to see Europe weak out of fear of competition. Instead, Washington chose to aspire to a Europe that was strong enough to make a good trading partner and, despite the political obligations that accompanied the plan (one of the reasons why it could not be accepted by countries in the east), that was good for all. Yet it is also, or rather above all, true that this American vote was also one of the first acts in the cold war as the project helped to build a western bastion which, rather than uniting Europe, would break it in two. It also meant that the public, still smarting from the war, would have to swallow German rearmament. This was one of the main reasons that drove the left – not only Italian communists and socialists but also a large part of social democracy – to oppose the project for a long time.

In short, Altiero Spinelli was not the father of the EU and throughout his life he was committed to a different model. We need only read his critical remarks on the preparation of the first federalist movement congress in The Hague in 1948. He refused to participate in this congress if the only high level figure present was to be Churchill, the inventor of the cold war, a move that would brand this initiative with the same stamp. Spinelli's supporters reiterated an alternative of staying out of the blocs, a 'third way' for Europe.

There has been no reflection on what was being built in Europe and how it was being done, even in recent years. Not even in 2005, when the citizens of two founding Member States, France and the Netherlands, were asked to decide on the new Lisbon Treaty in a referendum and did not approve it. In this case also, the peoples of the two

countries concerned were accused of resurgent nationalism. Undoubtedly this was partly the case, but it is not at all true to say that the rejection was based only or even fundamentally on this.

And so, a committee was set up to carry out a reflection process. Unfortunately it didn't reflect. Instead, years later in the Portuguese capital a Treaty was launched, which was almost a carbon copy of the awful treaty born 16 years earlier in Maastricht. It is due to this 'illegitimate birth' – which was never endorsed by the authors of the Ventotene Manifesto – that Europe has never become popular. Indeed, in 1955 when the first blueprint was conceived, almost nobody noticed: the location of this conception was none other than Messina, not to demonstrate a sacrosanct desire to open up to the Mediterranean, but instead for a more trivial reason. There were local elections looming, which were of great interest to our Gaetano Martino, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the dreadful Scelba government. (The astonishment in the north at the peculiar location was expressed with particular irony by a Belgian correspondent: 'Why not move the Council of ministers to Alaska or Tierra del Fuego then?' As for the interest generated by the event, just consider the remark from Paul Spaak – who was tasked with preparing Europe's real 'baptism' – two years later in Rome: 'public opinion towards us was not hostile, it was indifferent').

The rest of the story is well known. From one treaty to another, right up to Lisbon, the DNA of the embryo hasn't changed. The indifference is also just the same: the Maastricht Treaty, which is by far the most significant – because it unleashed the legal horror of constitutionalizing a specific policy choice, liberal policy, thus exempting it from parliamentary decision – was ratified in Italy after a parliamentary debate lasting half a day. The only opposing votes came from the members of the Communist Refoundation Party (which didn't really make much effort to continue their battle to oppose the treaty afterwards). This was despite the fact that they were faced with adopting competitiveness as the Union's overriding principle, thus making any sort of market regulation illegal, and introducing a substantial limit on the welfare state.

The EU project thus proceeded step-by-step to deliberately destroy any obstacle to full liberalization. What's worse is that it produced a silent but complete acquiescence among a large part of the left, both those in government in their respective Member States and a good number of the opposition. They only made a noise to

denounce any criticism or counter-proposal as a disgraceful offence against the ‘holy European fathers’.

Indifference was so widespread that there was no search – in almost no country and virtually none of the political groups – for a way to drive forward proposals that, if accepted, could have made the EU less ugly. Just think of those brought to the table by Delors him-self, e.g. including long-term and youth unemployment in the convergence criteria of the Stability Pact as one of the indicators that ‘best revealed the difficulties that a country may be experiencing’; or Vredeling's proposal for a directive, in which he called for the establishment of works councils in companies with more than 1 000 employees located in two or more countries, to allow workers facing closures or relocations to benefit from information provided by management boards who were often far-away, and no longer direct counter-parties to company claims. (This would have been helpful to Fiat!). There was also the suggestion by the French economist Fitoussi: calculate the public deficit minus public investments in development.

Let's not forget how the foolish enlargement of the EU to include some 28 countries was also swallowed, a process in which any suggestion of full political union – which was obviously impossible given such a huge diversity of structures – was buried. Rather than seeking new forms of cooperation with the eastern states, they were incorporated pure and simple. This project was dictated above all by the attractiveness of these markets and by their readiness to align unconditionally with the rules of liberalism. By also, immediately, arranging their entry to the Union to coincide with the parallel enlargement of NATO (as today it would like to do with Ukraine), the Union became the cornerstone of western identity, translated into a string of missile bases. Even here the left preferred to believe and promote the belief that only selfishness could stop all peoples on earth from having their slice of the splendid European cake. Thus, they aroused hopeless appetites in countries and regions ready to abandon their original identities to be able to join the ‘exclusive club’. (The breakup of Yugoslavia began in this way, without any negotiation as provided for by the Treaty on European Security and only by expanding the people's right to self-determination – exactly what is considered illegal today with regard to Crimea).

Is it still possible to salvage the spirit of Ventotene, and is the slogan ‘another Europe is possible’ that we all continue to proclaim still meaningful? I believe so; in fact I think it's essential that we try. But rather than also engaging in discussion over the

institutional architecture in order to determine what changes should be brought to treaties and regulations – many are already doing this – I would prefer to talk here about us and our left, who although never (yet) in government, are not exempt from blame.

First of all, for not being seriously committed to building a European social and political entity, able to change – at EU level – the current balance of power, form alliances, establish hegemony and bunkers, or to become a key player in political battles, at least as far as possible at national level where democracy exists.

This ‘entity’ – and I call it ‘entity’ and not ‘people’ or demos in order to avoid the risk of cultural (or worse ‘Schmidian”) misunderstandings – doesn't exist: the story of Europe is the story of its nations, our monuments were erected to celebrate victories which across borders remind us of disasters. The idea that a shared historical culture exists is also hot air: Christianity generated endless religious wars and the enlightenment led to further splits. With regard to the famous legacy of Greek-Judeo- Christian civilization (separation of religion and politics, respect for the individual), this is now the heritage of the whole Western world, it is not a specific characteristic of our continent. In addition, we speak 26 different languages and each people is rightly protective of their own.

In particular, ‘intermediary bodies’ are lacking at European level – trade unions, parties, media and associations – which in the individual nations ensure greater levels of democracy, by acting as channels of communication between civil society and the institutions. These bodies allow the public to make their voices heard and thereby influence executive power. It was this sacrosanct reasoning that drove the German Constitutional Court to declare the admission of Federal Germany to the European Union born with the Maastricht Treaty inadmissible: this was because – as written in Judge Grimm's judgement – the basic law of the country prevents it from joining a non-democratic supranational organization. A maneuver was found to overcome this substantial objection, but the Court of Karlsruhe renewed its judgement again in relation to the Lisbon Treaty.

These are important observations: we all know that European trade unions exist almost only on paper, operating at a beautiful building in Brussels, where they promote interesting studies, but don't take any real joint trade union action. (Just look at basic income – also known as inclusion income/minimum income/other names –, which

is a rallying cry in all European countries, yet I am not aware of anything that has been done to formulate a joint proposal or to fight for this together at EU level). With regard to the political parties, I remember when Willy Brandt said that the meeting of the European socialists was the best place to go to read the newspaper. Since then not much has changed: there is hardly even any information on what European member organizations are doing in their respective countries. Not to mention the media: there is no real European TV and only a few Member States are involved in the tiny EuroNews channel. Each country has its own broadcaster abroad and there is no standard supplement to be included in like-minded newspapers. As a consequence, European public opinion does not exist. There is only public opinion in individual Member States and it's easy to play them off against one another, meaning that EU law-makers may not meet anyone's needs.

Under these conditions it is difficult for Europeans to feel that they are part of a common good, which forms the basis for democratic participation. Nor does it make any sense to call for solidarity between Member States and ask that the treaties be changed to abolish the horrible 'no bail out' clause, which lays down the rule that each country must tend to its own affairs and cannot be called upon to help another country struggling with economic problems. We will never manage to change the terrible competition rules (the opposite of solidarity) that underpin the treaties unless we first build a community (even if Schäuble does retire).

We must also correct (this has also been done very little) the concept of democracy that Brussels has tried to endorse over the years – with some theoretical help – namely: the notion that there is no people in the European Union, just citizens. Although, in the Nice Charter, the Union lays down many individual rights (even more in many cases than are provided at national level) it does not, however, include the key right in any democracy: the collective right. This means the power to take part in the deliberations on general decisions.

The complexity to create a European political subject, in light of the deep differences characterizing the nations that are part of the EU, is enhanced today by the intense immigration coming from other continents which leads to further and much deeper ethnic, cultural and religious heterogeneities. The origin of the racist wave, representing the back-drop to this phenomenon, is rooted undoubtedly in the sense of insecurity caused by the economic crisis and by the inequalities produced by the neoliberal

policies that have been adopted after the crisis. It is not surprising that the widest expressions of refusal against migrants are coming from the East-European Countries - countries that are still experiencing the trauma deriving from a radical change of system which has exposed their populations to the harshest form of capitalism.

Much has been said about the immediate measures that must be adopted in order to tackle the migratory flow and many proposals have been made by those opposing the horrific policy adopted by the EU in this field. Little consideration has been given instead to the necessary changes to be brought about when it will be definitely established that these migrations represent, for the most part, an irreversible process (there can be no freedom of movement of capital and goods without freedom of movement of persons). After all, an unexpected mobility characterises also the European populations nowadays: more and more - generally highly qualified - young people leave their country of birth to find a job in another country (In the south of Italy they overcome the number of immigrants).

In light of the above, it is necessary to rethink the concept of citizenship by conceiving a notion of 'multiple citizenship' that preserves the persons' own roots while introducing a European dimension, which is tied to the European territory where the person is rightfully living but decoupled from a single nation.

Much more needs to be done for enabling people to consider themselves as citizens, hence holders of this common good called Europe - perceived as a community of goals, based on its own specific model, and not as a mere geographic/bureaucratic space. To this regard, it is necessary, first of all, to start calling the immigrants as 'new Europeans' and no longer as 'third-country nationals', and to consolidate the idea that Europe is a community.

The term 'common' is also important, because, in this era of globalization when everyone trades with everyone else, the idea of a common market - which might have seemed like a good idea in the 1950s - is almost ridiculous today. So, either we answer a reasonable question - why Europe? - or nobody will take action. Quite the opposite, the illusion of the 'little homelands' resurfaces.

I also believe that one of the reasons why interest in the EU has further declined is the fact that Europe has lost its uniqueness and we have become just any old piece of the global market. I am referring to our post-war national constitutions and welfare,

based on the non-sanctity of private property and not demonizing the public. I also have in mind the characteristic that Karl Marx ascribed to Europe in the *Grundrisse*: the discreet distance kept by the society from the commodification of all aspects of life, guaranteed by the persistence of pre-capitalistic entities - such as the rural world, the Church and the aristocracy - and of their values, which were still active during the development of the capitalism. Those historical entities kept characterizing the new society that was evolving, still producing reactionary effects but also avoiding that everything be reduced to a mere marketplace.

In order to prove the accuracy of this Marxian observation, it would be sufficient to think about gastronomy. It is not without reason that we, as Committee for Culture and Education of the European Parliament, decided to use it as a reference for the definition of a common European identity. During the first big demonstration against globalization, held at the WTO Summit in Seattle in 1999, the notorious symbol of the protest was the Roche-fort, which was grabbed by José Bové as a flag. It was symbolizing the idea that Europe was proud of its thousands of varieties of cheese even if the market forces were pushing for a homologation: an assembly line for a single anonymous kind of dairy). If this model and its values are dismantled, Europe also loses its meaning.

That is why the action we must take to save Europe is entirely political and cultural, rather than economic. Of course motivating our own activists to fight to build a different Europe is not easy, nor is the entity that this battle may cultivate. The events of recent years in particular make it seem like we should give up the project and that everyone should look for a way to save themselves. But we should all be aware that alone, every one of our little countries would drown in the ocean unless

it convinced its inhabitants to return to a pastoral economy. Although there is still hope of recovering some form of democracy in our era, this certainly won't be done at global level, – global democratic institutions are difficult to imagine – but rather only by breaking it down into macro-regions. Despite everything, Europe is perhaps the easiest one of these to build even with all its faults, given that, as Etienne Balibar notes, it is the richest in social and individual rights, with its embedded history of struggles and revolutions. Gramsci critically noted that there was a defect common to both the social-democratic tradition and the communist worker's movement: statism. That is, an obsessive focus on the control of central power, whether through

parliamentary elections or the storming of the Winter Palace, while at the same time undervaluing society's achievement. It's still the same. This observation applies particularly to Europe, where the left has been more concerned about Brussels and has taken very little interest in European society. In my view, it is essential that we take care of European society and commit to building agents of change at this level.

Luciana Castellina

Europe's challenges and responsibilities in a globalising world⁷

Léonce Bekemans

Introduction

What is Europe's relevance today? What is its cultural heritage, its values and norms, its societal model? The answer to these fundamental questions will shape the European future and the building of our European societies. Is Europe still an inspiring idea(l) of a value-driven society, worthwhile of pursuit? Themes such as the frontiers of Europe, European citizenship, cultural diversity, and the role and purpose of Europe in a global perspective all require a vision of what Europe is and should be.

Europe is at a cross roads between its past, present and future. We are now confronted by a number of (internal and external) challenges to the European model of socio-economic cohesion and cultural and regional diversity. Nonetheless, Europe still has a mission and responsibility in the globalising world.

Europe is at a crucial intersection in its history and at a decisive moment in the process of European integration. History illustrates that Europe is a dynamic and evolving entity with many faces, multiple identities and diversified cooperation forms. The enlargement (or re-unification) of 10 new member states has reinforced this image.

Europe has an appointment with its destiny. Its model of society, based on the fundamental human rights, culture as vehicle of emancipation, on sustainable development and socio-economic cohesion, and on a multilateral vision of the world order, is put under stress and pressure. In other words, we experience a confrontation between the actual European confusing (political, economic, cultural and institutional) reality and the global responsibility of Europe in a context of an ever increasing globalisation.

The challenges are multiple and multidimensional within and outside the EU. It requires a new mobilising myth for Europe, i.e. a project for further European integration that guarantees institutional governing structures and financing mechanisms of European internal and external solidarity. Only such a vision may inspire the commitment of citizens, and certainly of young people, and strengthen the European role in the globalising world. However, recent political signals have not been very hopeful.

⁷ From Bekemans, L., *Globalisation vs Europeanisation. A Human-centric Interaction*, P.I.E. Peter Lang: Brussels, Bern, Berlin, New York, Oxford, Wien, 2013, pp. 75-86.

The discussions on the European Constitution, the debate and methods of creating the new Commission were already very telling. And today's European policy approaches and answers to the global financial and economic crisis demonstrate much tension and incomprehension between Member States.

The chapter consists of three main sections: the first section briefly describes the historical context, of Europe's future; the second section treats five main challenges to the European societal model (i.e. globalisation, Europeanisation, identity and specificity, culture and perception) and the final section presents three major European tasks for the future (i.e. quest for meaning, favouring European citizenship and responsibility at global level).

- I. Historical Context: Europe at the Cross Roads between Past, Present and Future

Hendrik Brugmans, the first rector of the College of Europe wrote many years ago: "Europe is not any longer an abstract concept, neither is it a mere geographical, difficult confining area. It is a culture circle/environment, a community. Now it is on the way to become an ordered society, with citizens who take up civil responsibility for the whole, although this is not yet clear for many. Transition times as ours are characterized by extra-chaos. The hope is focuses on a change in continuity. But a radical change."

Europe has to draw from the many lessons it has learnt from both its distant and more recent past. The whole of European history is characterised by forms and attempts of economic, political, military and cultural cooperation, which attempted equilibrium between integration and diversity within certain contours. However, Europe is first and foremost a diversified but coherent societal model shaped by vague geographical frontiers, fundamental values of freedom, solidarity and respect for the other, its common cultural heritage and shared historical experiences. In short, the historic and recent development of the current European integration process is marked by an ongoing search for equilibrium between integration and cohesion on the one hand, and maintenance of diversity and regional and cultural identity on the other hand, within certain governance structures and institutions.

This radical change in continuity is not an objective in itself, but a process which

priorities the objectives of peace and sustainable development within and outside Europe. The main lesson we can draw from the past is that Europe as reality and responsibility is a multiplicity, a plurality of diversity, with positive and negative consequences. The solution is neither a dogmatic Euro-centrism nor a cultural relativism but a critical European centrism based on what James Tully excellently describes as “practical identity; that is the aspects of citizens’ identities that matter to them, transform our societies into multiple minorities contending and collaborating with a general ethos of forbearance and critical responsiveness and make our institutions diversity-aware”.

II. Challenges to the European model of Socio-economic Cohesion and Regional Diversity

The present European debate is animated and confronted by internal and external challenges. They shape the current and future well-being of Europe, i.e. the sustainability of the European model of society as a macro regional reality with global responsibility. I distinguish five fundamental challenges:

a. Globalisation

A first important challenge refers to the process of globalisation. Thus process leads to a radical decrease of the political-economic power of states in the management of socio-economic activities, an increasing domination of democratic societies by transnational plutocracies and to a slow depersonalisation of economic relations which undermine our societies... Economic globalisation strongly influences the territorial re-organisation and the process of state formation. . The new regionalism causes a retreat of national states and a re-orientation of regional policy to a more competitive approach between regions, and consequently to more active regions within Europe... Europe is however not an exclusive economic space, but in the first place a community of shared values, which is forced to re-visit itself I, the current globalisation debate.

This globalisation trend increases the tension with culture. Next to the economic and political dimension, globalisation is also a cultural phenomenon with consequences for cultures, peoples and persons. The intensification of communication systems and the international mobility flows lead towards a global culture for which the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has warned of. Globalising cultural industries isolate men

from their historically developed local, religious, moral and societal reference frames and lead to a further individualisation and commodification of values and human relations.

The homogenisation of cultural production and consumption patterns goes hand in hand with an increase of cultural assertivity and a growing consciousness of cultural differences. A kind of paradoxical process takes place. While globalisation strengthens cultural assertivity and participation to the global culture with some, the lack of comprehension and respect for cultural differences has led with others to distrust against other cultures and has increased the possibility of a clash between cultures and civilisations (Huntington). It has certainly strengthened the clash of ignorance and increased stereotype behaviour

The impact of globalisation on cultures, societies, human relations and persons should be understood from a polycentric and pluricultural perspective. It implies that cultural differences are accepted and respected from a certain pattern of values without the domination of a-priori superiority of a certain culture. This requires a more compassionate globalisation or a cosmopolitan humanism.

The greatest challenge is to look for governance structures that both create zones of common interests and shared values, as structures for civilized confrontation. Such structures should offer economic, social and cultural well-being with a guarantee of internal and external solidarity as accessibility for all to the opportunities and advantages of globalisation. Certainly in a period when extra-national, extra-territorial, transfrontier concepts and governance structures gain in importance, this means a real challenge to the global political governance. Momentarily the international community is lacking global political institutions and common values which may replace a culture of competition, distrust and fear for a culture of cooperation, peace and mutual respect.

A second important impact of globalisation is the accelerated development towards an informed and knowledge driven society. The accelerated use of new technologies during the last years has produced enormous productivity increases as well as a progressive replacement of labour by capital. The danger is real that these changes lead to a further fragmentation and duality of the labour market if technological innovations are not complemented with social innovations. The rethinking and revalorisation of labour and education as a fundamental condition to full integration of the

citizen into society is under way. The conclusions of the Top of Lisbon in 2000 to make Europe by 2010 the most knowledge driven economy or the Bologna process which aims at realising a European university space are obvious indications.

Another important development in the globalisation context is the revival of the civil society in institutionalised and non-institutionalised forms. The civil society is a mixture of social forces with diverging agenda, means, scope and power. It is more and more perceived as the place for answers to the mere economic globalisation and is more and more involved in local, regional, national and international decision-making processes. The civil society supports the construction of social capital. The realisation of social common goods creates confidence and results in solidarity which binds people and communities. People and citizens become more active and responsible at the grass roots level and are inspired by mobilising projects within formal and informal groups and communities. Although defining and protecting the common good is the responsibility of the state, from the local to the global action field, the active civil society has become, next to the market and the state, the third pillar in the societal development at all governance levels.

b. Europeanisation

As well from the globalisation process, the Europeanisation process also shows clear internal and external tensions which endanger the specificity of the European integration process, the European unity in diversity. The important challenge today is how the EU as a sui generis integration process, based on a common cultural heritage, common historical experiences, common and shared values, can maintain its specificity and particularity.

Firstly, there is the large societal debate concerning values and vision of how the individual is related to his surroundings. The functional integration thinking and acting, based on the principle of rationality, specialisation, competition, etc. has led to economic welfare within the European Community; but its underlying value patterns are more and more pressured for the lack of person-driven answers in a complex institutional structure. Furthermore, the globalisation process undermines the European model and shakes values of solidarity, good citizenship, tolerances and respect for diversity. The lack of direction, underscored by political leadership, is leading to indifference, frustration and fundamental uncertainty of how a rich Europe has to be developed further.

Within this general societal debate the European model of unity in diversity is threatened by a number of specific challenges at the social, financial and political level: - The European social model, i.e. the cohesion between economic and social objectives, between economic growth and social justice is threatened. The danger of a reduction of the individual life world and of cultural identity is real; - The further development of the European integration process is undermined by modest financial support to conduct European policies in some specific fields; - and there is a democratic distrust of the citizen against society and the state and a clear lack of enthusiasm for the European Union. Europe is not any longer inspiring as an ideal in the globalisation context. The enthusiasm for the enlargement was genuine in the 10 new member states with quite some festivities around 1st May, but has cooled down rather quickly. According to the recent Euro barometer the confidence of the new Central and Eastern European member states has decreased to a mere 40 %. In the old member states it is a bit less than 50 %.

c. Identity and specificity

The debate concerning the concept of identity in Europe and of a European identity is crucial for the further direction of the European integration process. To what extent is Europe part of our identity? The answer to this question is linked to the definition of European, national and regional identity in relation to nation, state and citizenship.

As stated in Chapter 2 identity refers to a certain value-sharing, a community of values which are decisive for the construction of an identity. This is formed at different levels in a process that changes over time according to criteria such as birth, family, language, religion, territory, etc. Nowadays this identity-building has become more complex and contextualised as a multiple identity-building in relation to the heightened mobility of people and the trespassing of visual and virtual borders. It has also become more disturbed by the growing individualisation and vagueness of the moral norms/ethics within society.

In focussing on the European dimension of identity, we recognised the presence of a whole range of peoples, expressing a great diversity of languages, cultures and religions throughout Europe. Therefore we insist on a departure from a unilateral determination of identity on the basis of birth, language, religion or territory because such a reduced interpretation often implies intolerance and distrust against the other. We

referred to this European dimension as a community of shared values which is part of our collective memory. However, for many, even more today, this is only a vague part of their historic memory.

Still we should embrace the idea of “Europe” as an added (enriched) value to our multiple identities. Identity does not know exclusive characteristics; multiplicity is the key characteristic of the European identity: multiple identities, containing compatible partial identities. This is certainly true for the cultural identity which binds and unifies countries, regions and groups of persons. They are the shared memories and shared expectations, i.e. the common subjective interpretation of the own history and future determines the cultural identity.

The political meaning of the importance of identity is the fact that mutual respect for the uniqueness can constitute the basis for more and certainly better collaboration and solidarity within and outside the EU. Cultural and regional identity is therefore an important factor for further integration and a source of inspiration for the strengthening of the European model of society. It implies that the development of a European identity depends on the influence of common European institutions (i.e. the community structure) on daily life as well as on the commitment of the citizen to the European project. This is not only the task and responsibility of politics, but mainly of education. (See chapter 13)

d. Culture

A fourth challenge to the European societal model is presented by the role of culture. We start from an anthropological definition of culture, being culture as heritage, creativity and way of life. This point of departure is clearly applicable to European culture, which is not a mythical story or untouchable concept, but a dynamic interaction of historic, spiritual, intellectual, material, artistic characteristics and attitudes. These characteristics illustrate the multiplicity and wealth of European cultures, cultural expressions and traditions.

Culture is firstly a source of inspiration for further integration and socio-economic development. It certainly can give an impulse to greater commitment of the citizen to the European project. Culture can be integrated in the economy and polity, not as a marginal factor, but as an intrinsic added value in the societal development. Culture unfolds itself within society as a dynamic whole of spiritual, moral, intellectual

elements which are being offered in education and formation through lifelong learning. Cultural multiplicity is also a source of wealth and strength. Not any culture can be missed in the European cultural mosaic. Europe is pre-eminently a space of cultural diversity but respect for cultural diversity does not mean a mere nationalistic or regional reflex/behaviour. The respect and stimulation of cultural diversity are a guarantee for further European integration and a renewed cooperation with other cultures.

Within the European context, culture is permanently placed in a tensed relation between further market integration and the maintenance of cultural diversity (e.g. the book, film, audiovisual sector, etc.) The history of EU intervention in the cultural sector is characterised by a number of phases. From a political- rhetoric discourse in the beginning, via a formalistic discourse to finally a pragmatic discourse of cultural cooperation programmes, from negative to positive integration and to a communitarian integrism of the decisions of the Court of Justice; and from a focus on European cultural identity and unity to a focus on cultural diversity.

Within this context, intercultural dialogue is of great importance. Intercultural dialogue can be instrumental to soften and avoid the (negative) consequences of the globalisation process (i.e. the issue of minorities, migration, poverty, etc.). A dialogue between peoples and cultures can be constructive if we accept a number of common and moral values as point of departure (i.e. human dignity, respect for differences and diversity, solidarity, etc.). In the current framework of the tension between (economic) globalisation and internal and external solidarity, between different religions, such a dialogue can be a vehicle for conviviality and multiculturalism in which cultures influence each other without destroying each other or to clash with each other.

Europe as a global player has an important voice in this dialogue between cultures and peoples, primarily from the value of its socio-economic model. The EU has made the first vital institutional steps under former president Romano Prodi to favour such an intercultural dialogue in the framework of the European- Mediterranean partnership with its overall good neighbourhood policy.

e. Perception

Our final challenge is related to the perception of Europe and its reality in practice. Europe is being confronted with a general orientation crisis. There exists a

stereotypical perception of the EU as a slow, non-transparent administration, with complex decision making procedures, which shows a lack of determination and vigour at the vital moments of political decision-making. Recent statistics tell us that less than half of the population of the Member States participated to the last European elections of June 2009. That this image is rather negative also comes from ignorance. Few people realise that the European Parliament is a fully-grown legislator, with European laws and regulations in many policy fields, which determine national policies in many fields.

The faulty perception reveals a clear problem of communication. The European jargon and language in the study and discipline of European studies leads not always to a clear and simple message. For the media Europe remains an isolated subject; what is not any longer true in the daily reality. There is a growing interconnection between regional, national and European dossiers and the European issues/problems are becoming more complex for the not specialised journalist. For many politicians Europe remains a distant subject, sometimes a scapegoat for unpopular measures but mainly an important financial source for national dossiers. However, most of the times one keeps silence about the positive contribution of Europe in many domains. And often the (national) rhetoric of member states is transparent and neglects the European common good. Europe is not selling itself very well; it communicates rather insufficiently with a rather technical and hermetic language and a complex bureaucracy.

In short, only a correct perception and the delivery of a positive image can lead to respect from the population and the European partners. They are important for the legitimacy of and the involvement of the citizen to Europe.

III. Europe's Task and Responsibility in the Globalising World

This third section outlines the three major tasks for Europe in the globalising world.

a. Quest for meaning

We have to continue working to a better Europe, more democratic and social, with respect for its cultures. The European dream must be inspired by purpose which goes beyond the existing economic, political and social frontiers. The question though remains to which extent a common vision, founded on global common goods, can be developed in a context of economic globalisation and cultural relativism. The problems of social inequality and poverty as well as the non-accessibility to the advantages

of globalisation take important forms in economic and cultural perspective at global level.

In short, the present situation refers to the need for an inspiring vision and a strategy which embodies such a vision. Europe cannot be sold as a technical project, but requires purpose and mobilisation. Structures and institutions constitute no aim in itself, but are only a means to achieve a sustainable model of society, based on the rule of law and opportunities, which can serve as an example.

Europe is tasked with being an actor for change and has the responsibility to revitalise its original project, and therefore has to mobilise the citizen, and particularly young people. How? By investing in knowledge, by creating a European industrial policy, by guaranteeing social protection, by stimulating a European democratic space and mainly by favouring the involvement of citizens and young people in the European political project. That is what Europahuis Ryckvelde in Bruges (B) has been doing since 60 years. In general, it is the mobilising task of genuine education.

b. Favouring European citizenship

Karel Verleye, one of the founders of the College of Europe in Bruges, wrote: “It is excluded that a European citizenship or a European commitment will be stimulated with the population, when no ample consideration will be given to a number of forgotten or undervalued factors in the construction of the new Europe, such as the cultural, regional, ethical, historical and spiritual dimensions”.

There is a need for a large societal basis to support further European integration. Signs are not always hopeful. (European) Politics and (European) administration do not always give an inspiring example. An overt support for more extreme tendencies in Europe may lead to intolerance and undermining of the European societal model. Therefore, a drastic increase in commitment of citizens and young people to the European project is necessary if Europe wants to be truthful to its destiny.

It is essential that with a bigger EU and greater political cooperation in fields such as social policy, employment, asylum, immigration, policy and justice, foreign policy and general security and defence policy, citizens are capable to express their cultural/regional identity within this changing environment. A further integration of the European continent has to continue to attract attention for traditional social, regional and cultural identities. The fundamental wealth of its diversity is not only

geographic, but also institutional. Therefore, it is important that respect for diversity is encouraged and reflected in the institutions, the democratic processes and the policies of the EU. Furthermore the future of Europe is not an exclusive responsibility of governments, but also a responsibility of its citizens and their organisations. In order to valorise different dimensions of the cultural diversity and diverse forms of civil participation in Europe, various associations are to promote an active European citizenship.

In short, the reference terms for a European citizenship require an inspiration which exceeds the existing economic, political and social boundaries. This insertion can give sense to a vision in which Europe may evolve to a multiple citizenship. New concepts and multilevel political structures are being developed which can give form to the complex European governance structure and make it transparent for the citizen.

c. Europe's responsibility at global level

The globalisation of our increasingly unipolar world means Europe needs to claim a bigger role in global governance structures and needs to start speaking with one single voice. Europe has a responsibility to conduct a more daring and coherent common security and foreign policy and, subsequently, actually favour a culture of peace, genuine dialogue, solidarity and sustainable development. This seems not appear to be easy, given the present international developments and diverging viewpoints. Yet a modest institutional step towards this has made by the Treaty of Lisbon, which created the role of High Representative of Foreign affairs of the Union, who is also the vice-president of the European Commission.

With a courageous foreign policy Europe can develop to a strong and trustful partner in a multilateral world order. The strategy of the European Commission of a good neighbourhood policy (i.e. "a ring of friends") is seen as an impulse to such a broad international policy framework. This strategy should avoid that the enlargement of the Union creates new divisions between the Union and its neighbouring countries. The European neighbourhood policy proposes to actually and financially strengthen the links of the Union with these partner countries through a series of new cooperation structures.

Conclusion

We can now draw some conclusions. Europe is confronted with both the need and

moral responsibility to maintain its own model of integration and diversity, within a strongly changing world system. This implies that Europe should defend its values and principles of solidarity, tolerance, democracy in the limited but open dialogue between cultures and peoples both within and outside Europe. This requires a change in mentality, a broad imagination and proactive thought and acting from the outset, but also political leadership and particularly an education that focuses on learning to responsibility. However, the question has to be raised (even though the answer is unclear) whether Europe within a further unifying European economic space can guarantee an acceptable common institutional basis in which states, regions and communities can live diversely (with a guarantee of internal solidarity) and whether Europe can offer an open societal model within the process of further globalisation (a guarantee of external solidarity versus the European fortress).

The challenge facing further European integration is the search for a new equilibrium between diversity and unity in a globalising world. The European model should take into account the economic, historic, social and political changes which are taken place at the international level, but it must be faithful to its principles of internal and external solidarity. “Repenser l’Europe” implies recognition of a radical increase of the level of complexity within our societies, a further development of a multiple citizenship within multiple identities and the elaboration of multi-level governance. There is again need for an enlarging and mobilising vision which can raise a new élan and a regained enthusiasm with the citizen. Furthermore we must dare to recall the enthusiasm and faith in the European project, as it was embodied by the Founding Fathers of Europe.

In short, Europe needs bridge builders who can concretely complete the rhetoric of the European story, promote the European ideals of peace, unity in diversity, freedom and solidarity and mobilise young people towards the European model of society. The role of education is herein fundamental. In this model, new forms and places of dialogue, active citizenship and cooperation can develop outside the existing institutionalised structures of representative representation. The European civil society becomes emancipated and develops opportunities in the globalising society through which persons, peoples and cultures, within and outside Europe can meet peacefully and respectfully.

Léonce Bekemans

EXERCISES IN DIALOGUE



Thomas Stuke

Thomas Stuke (PD Dr.phil.), living in Basel (CH), studied and graduated in Germany. His postdoctoral qualification in 2015 focused on the importance of value systems in human resources management. Beside his co-work in company consulting agencies, schools and colleges, he is freelancing in these fields for over twentyfive years now (value based management, evidence based change, external evaluation).

Dialogue in concrete terms

The following schemes and graphics want to support a mutual understanding among all participants of the DIALOP – Summer School 2018 about some general terms and models in talking about “DIALOGUE”. Of course, like all terms, they are only pragmatically useful as long as they help the participants in communication to organize meta-communication and therefore *refer to a common ground of referring*.

I’m going to make some suggestions that might be helpful for understanding the intra- and interpersonal dynamics in dialogues. Not surprisingly all these models are part of ongoing controversial discussions both in communication theory as well as in consulting practice. Nevertheless, as I’m using them myself for over 25 years in my daily business as a coach and as a consultant, I’ve found them quite useful instruments. Some of the terms I have modified, others are equal to how I found them, when we met for the first time.

If you, finally, really want me to enter into a DIALOGUE among us, please ask yourself two questions first:

- Am I really willing and able to accept and care for the dignity of *YOU* as my DIALOGUE-partner?
- Am I really able and willing to listen to and accept the dignity of other arguments than the ones I already know?

Introductory remarks:

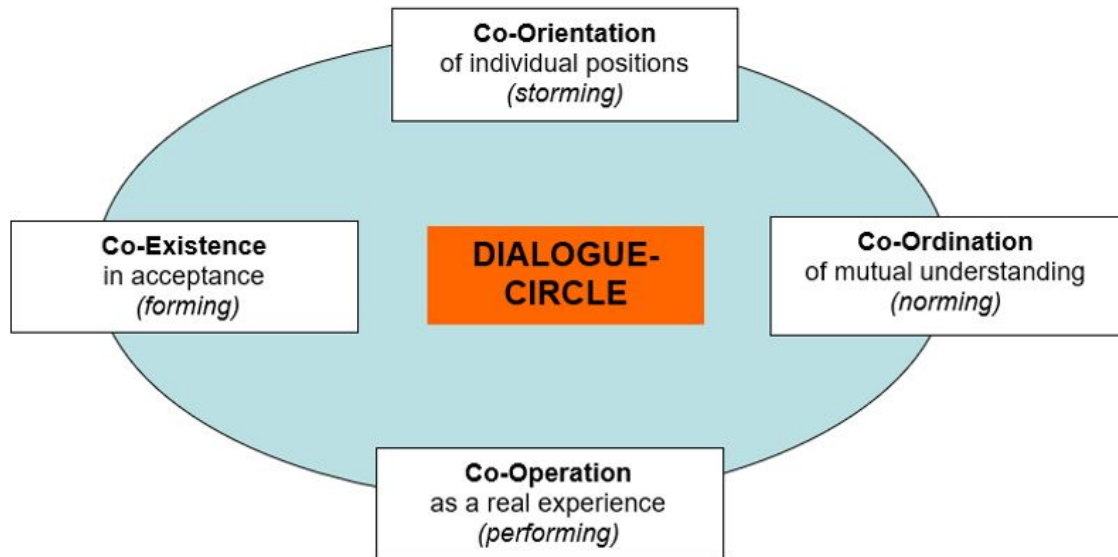
Doing so called *exercises* always requires some basic self-responsibility among the participants in their *decision* to become involved or not. Exercises might open new, unknown possibilities of self-reflection. By doing so they might - under certain personal and situational circumstances - also become a disturbing, maybe even overwhelming experience for some. Therefore it’s very important to stay aware of your right, *not* to participate or to end your participation whenever it’s indicated to you by your own feelings and thoughts.

Concept and sequence of Exercises in Dialogue:

Our days on Syros put three main thematic issues into the following sequence:

- Tuesday: 14.00-14.30 (Commons)
- Wednesday: 14.00-14.30 (Democracy)
- Thursday: 14.00-14.30 (Europe)

As we will have the opportunity to work together for half an hour every day, I've decided to work on these issues by using the well-known sequential circle of teambuilding processes (Tuckman (1965), therefore here renamed as "Dialogue-Circle":



This concretization led to the following thematic structure of our exercises:

Sunday/Monday (Dialogue): "Three times twice"

analogical coexistence exercise

- experience in interaction/ awareness of own re-active patterns
- spread of assesses in groups and teams
- possible perspective: doing it with a partner once a year/ in a new team...

Tuesday (Commons): "The whole picture"

analogical/ performative co-orientation exercise

- individual and common truths in interactive communication: prejudice and perception bias/ priming effect/ establishing functional/ personal roles
- the idea of commons/ differences/ common differences/ different commons
- possible perspective: general role of language/ semantics

Wednesday (Democracy): "Drawing attention"

performative coordination exercise

- coordination in pairs (usable for teams/small groups)
- necessary structures of better and mutual understanding to pass your ideas and get other's

- possible perspective: establishing patterns, looking for rules: necessary minimal consensus for deliberative arguing?

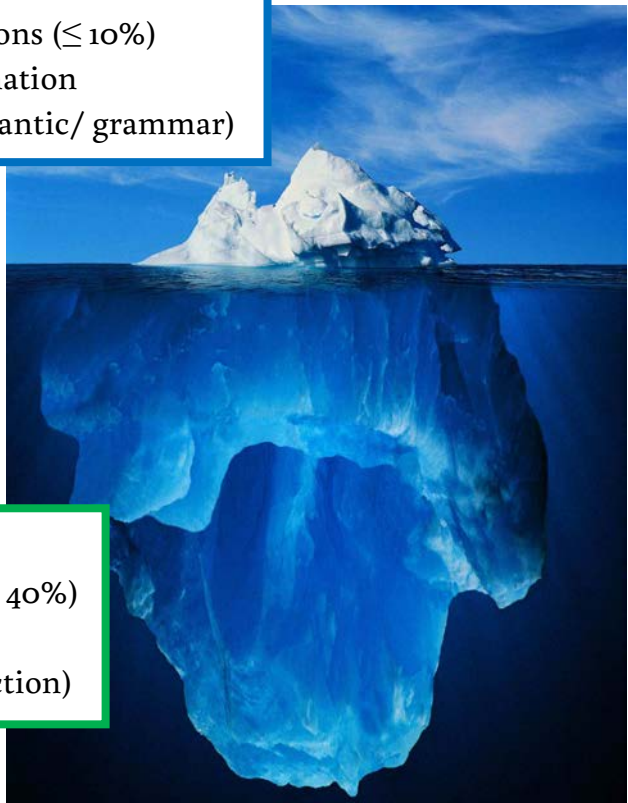
Thursday (Europe): "Listen to what I didn't say, answer to what you didn't hear"

digital cooperation exercise

- paradox provocations: using four ears – at least
- analyzing your own reaction (analogical bodytrigger/ emotional memory)
- possible perspective: How to enter/continue the dialogue nevertheless? What could/ should be your next sentence
- **Thinking about sinking ships**
- *The iceberg is always formed by at least three levels of connected communicative expressions. Trying to talk about the rational part only will not lead to more successful communication,*
- *but being aware of and integrate the pre- and unconscious parts will.*

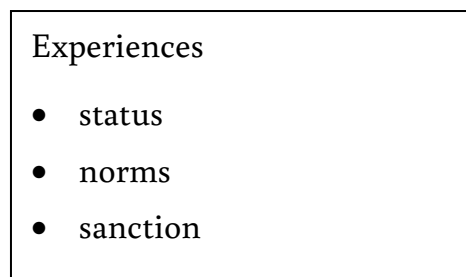
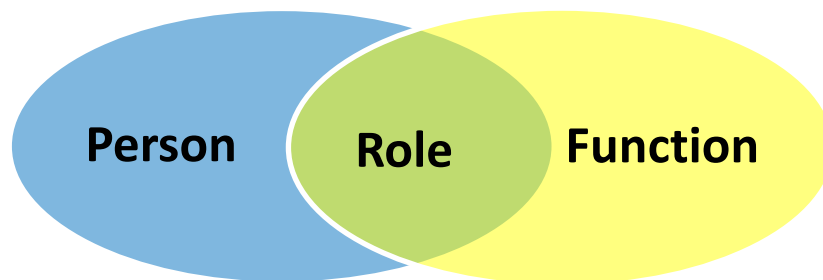
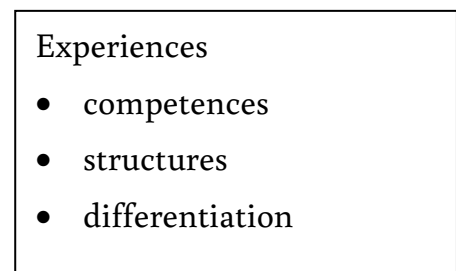
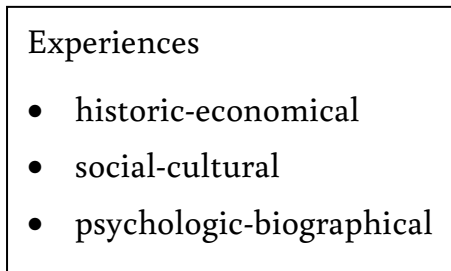
Rational – conscious
thoughts/ perceptions ($\leq 10\%$)
digital information
(verbal: vocabulary/ semantic/ grammar)

Emotional – preconscious
doubts/ fears/ aggression/ memories ($\leq 40\%$)
performative information
(paraverbal: volume/ tempo/ interpunction)



Intuitive – unconscious
socially less/un-acceptable desires ($\geq 50\%$)
analogical information
(nonverbal: mimic/ gestures/ body)

- Interacting in social roles
- *Be aware of two fundamental moves in transference (!) of former personal “back”ground experiences:*
- *bringing to the front – leaving in the background*
- *push together (covering/integrate) – pull apart (separating/disintegrate)*

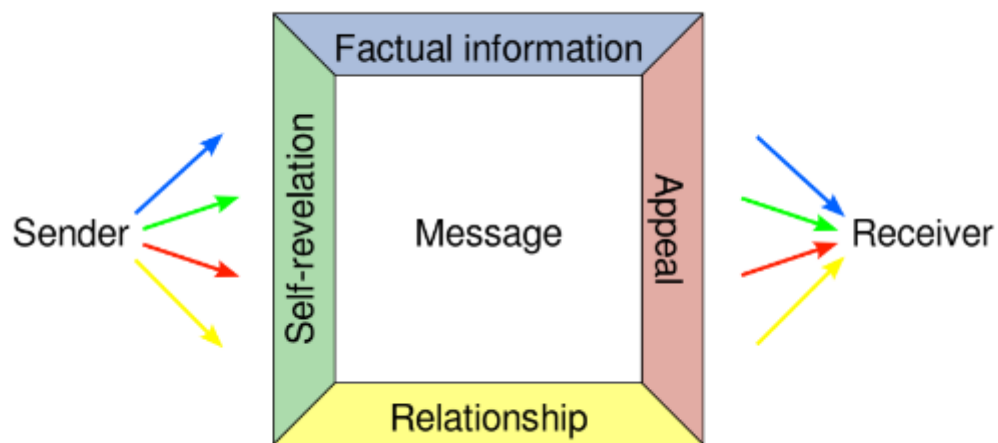


The four messages of speech (F. Schulz v. Thun): intentions and/or perceptions

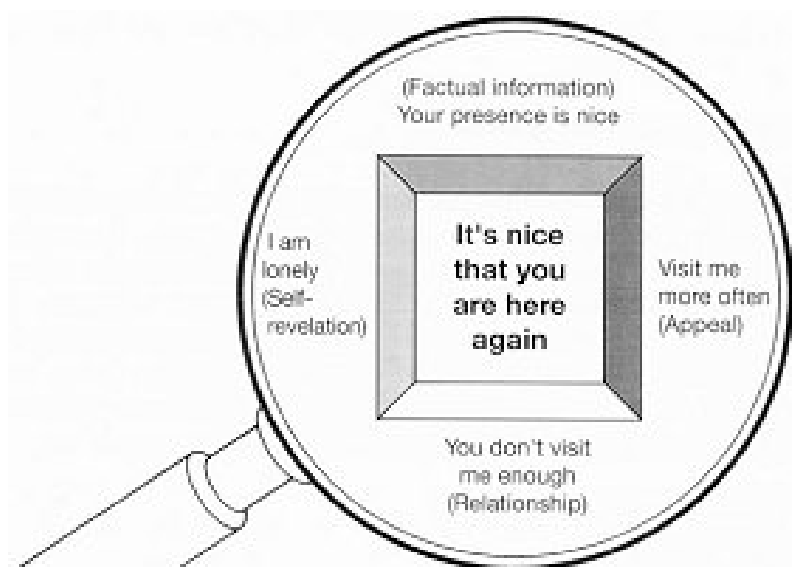
If I enter communication I always

- Share facts ... (objective data, information) and
- Say something about myself (intended or implicit motives, values, emotions)... and
- Tell the other person what I think of/ how we relate to/get along with one another...and
- Seek to have an influence on the other (desire, advice, instruction, command).

"One can't not communicate" (P.Watzlawick)

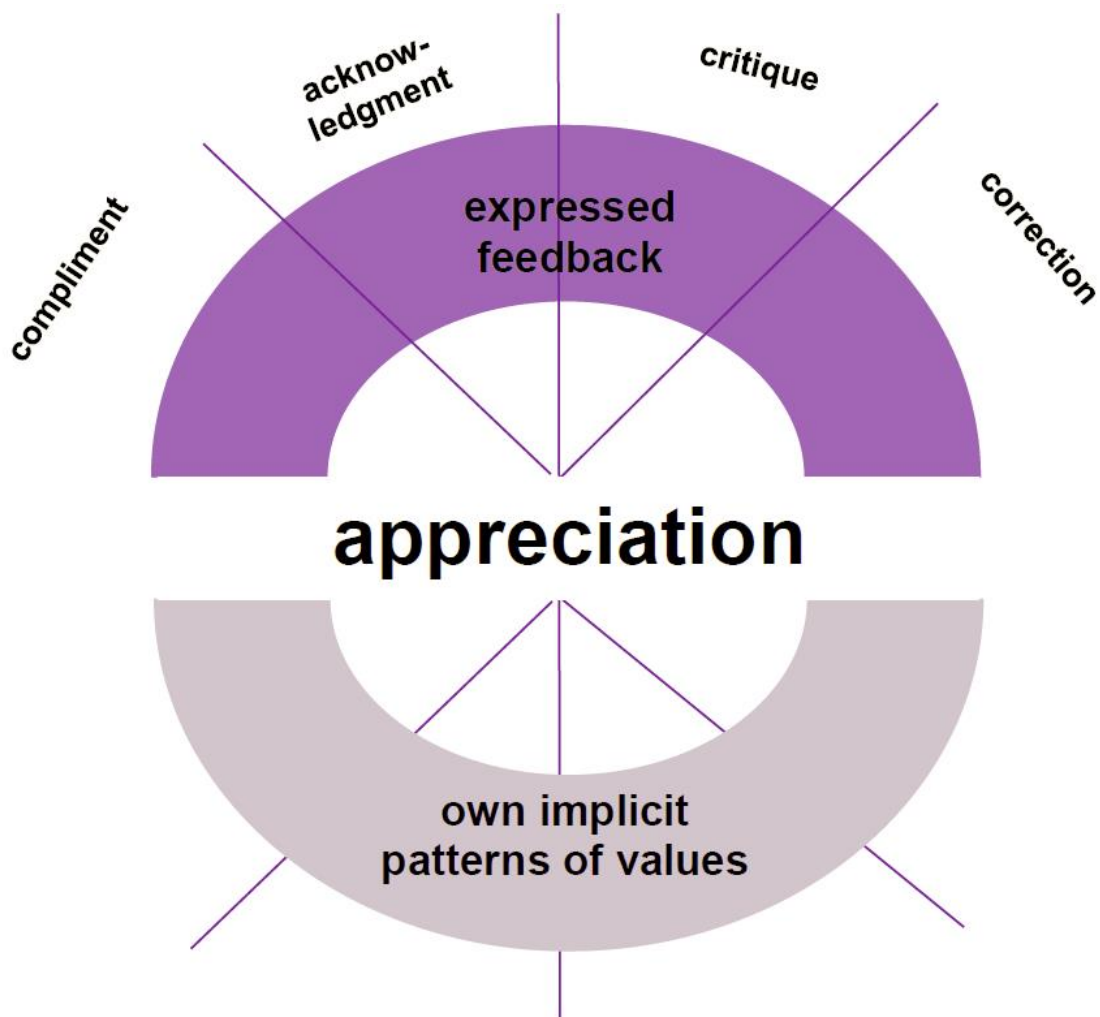


For example:



Value-based feed-back

- Your own (implicit) patterns of values form and influence your perception - at any time!
- Are you ready to listen – even to what you didn't want to say openly? Think about your feed-back (already outspoken or just internally perceived) as an even more revealing message about your personal/inner resonances than about your partner/other in communication.



Recommended literature for further personal readings:

- Schulz von Thun, Friedemann: *Ways Towards Mutual Understanding. A Conversation*. In: *The End of Tolerance?* Friedemann Schulz von Thun. Nicholas Brealey Publishing, London 2002.
- Schulz von Thun, Friedemann: *Six Tools for Clear Communication. The Hamburg Approach in English Language*. Hrg. Schulz von Thun Institut 2008
- Tuckman, B.W.: *Developmental sequence in small groups*. In: *Psychological Bulletin*. 63, 1965, p.384–399
- Tuckman, B.W. e.a.: *Stages of small-group development revisited*. In: *Group and Organization Studies*. 2, 4, Dez 1977, p.419–426
- Watzlawick, Paul: *The language of change. Elements of therapeutic communication*. W.W. Norton, New York/ London 1993
- Watzlawick, Paul: *Pragmatics of human communication: A study of interactional patterns, pathologies and paradoxes*. W.W. Norton & Company, New York/ London 2014

And even further:

- Habermas, Jürgen: *On the pragmatics of social interaction. Preliminary studies in the theory of communicative action*. Polity Press, Cambridge 2014
- Habermas, Jürgen: *Justification and application. Remarks on discourse ethics*. Polity Press, Cambridge 2005
- Habermas, Jürgen: *The theory of communicative action 1. Reason and the rationalization of society*. Polity Press, Cambridge 2015
- Luhmann, Niklas: *Introduction to Systems Theory*. Polity Press, Cambridge 2012

WORKING GROUPS



Bernhard Callebaut

PhD in Social Sciences, professor at Sophia University Institute (Loppiano, near Florence), holding the Chair of Foundations of Sociology. He published in the field of Sociology of Cultural and Religious Processes.

During the afternoons of Tuesday 4th, Wednesday 5th and Thursday 6th, six working groups are offered on the topics of the week days of the Summer School.

One further group is invited to work out a scenario-building situation.

The groups will be formed on the first meeting of the Summer School on Sunday 2nd September. You can register there for one of the groups.

Each group will be moderated by 1-2 facilitators.

The groups will be built up by max. 8 participants, they work from 2.30 to 5.30 p.m. on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday.

The results of the team-work shall be presented on Friday morning for assessment and for the grading of the work done. As a result of the successful participation 3 ECTS will be assigned, as well as certificates of participation.

Integration of Migrants in a medium-sized-town

Starting Point

The percentage of population with migrant background has grown in Europe, but the integration grade of this part of the European population is careless and inattentive.

This leads to several problems and questions.

Working hypothesis: In a European city with 50,000 inhabitants, 300 migrants are relocating each year, which are composed as follows:

Gender: 55% male, 45% female

Countries of origin: Syria 25%, Afghanistan, Iraq, Turkey, Nigeria 10% each, remaining world 25%

Age: Under 6 years 30%, 6 – 18 years 20%, 19 -30 years 25%, over 30 years 25%

The city Council considers the integration of migrants to be unavailable and does not provide any resources for this. An initiative group wants to demonstrate that integration can succeed, in an exemplary project that is to run over 2 years.

Goals of the work

There is a sponsor who will provide €100,000 if a detailed and promising project is presented to him, of which at least 2/3 of the migrant group will be covered. Most of the measures relevant for integration are to be taken into account, but measures for cultural, religious and ideological dialogue and integration into the urban society should be given special weight.

Create a project description that convinces the sponsor to make €100,000 available. The purpose is to define specific objectives and to detail the individual measures along a timeline and to allocate the associated material costs to them. 10 volunteers are ready for implementation, i.e. there are no personnel costs.

Group Public Transportation

Starting Point

Public transportation is one of the most striking examples to define a common good. Others – even more emerging through the climate changes – are water and energy. In this group we want to open the questions related to the use of common goods, their creation, their financing, their convenience and their benefit for the social community.

Goals of the work

To create a concept for a municipality board of a town of 200.000 inhabitants, 30 % of whom are elderly people, 25 % are school kids or younger and 45 % are working population. 25 % have a migrant background.

3 common goods

Group Laudato Si'

Starting Point

In his encyclical *Laudato Si'* Pope Francis calls the earth our common home and the atmosphere a common good. The whole encyclical is a scientifically grounded and passionate call for a profound change of our lifestyles. In order to personally make this change, Pope Francis also draws our attention to the spiritual foundation of such a new lifestyle.

Goals of the work

Personal study and group discussion of the respective parts of the encyclical *Laudato Si'*: Why and to what extent is – for Pope Francis and for the students of the summer school – spirituality the foundation of a commons culture? What are the basic characteristics of such a spirituality? Do participants without a religious background also draw on “spiritual resources” and how do they define them? (Here, the students could also interview – as a part of their work - the lecturers from the Left.) Is there a common ground between Christians and Leftists? How could the students – in their personal life as well as in their professional context – introduce spiritual practices that support a commons culture?

Create the Charta of a new transnational Party

Starting Point

Today, conventional Parties are apparently more occupied to pay court to their electors than to follow a consistent and founded program for the good of the Communities. In this way the far Rights are easily gaining more and more listening by disillusioned and disappointed citizens. Of course, the balancing act is a political virtue, but we are actually standing before an all invading populism.

Goals of the work

A group of students of different Universities, studying different disciplines are brought together by their will of change. They decide to create a new Party. Since they belong to different European Countries, this Party must be transnational. They get together to write the Charta of the new Party and on this process, they recognize the multiple challenges of doing such thing, like: the democratic settings of the different Countries, the different degree of democratic participation, the different sensibilities in gender issues. All these challenges allow them

- a) to formulate some common grounds
- b) to share best practices
- c) to write the party-Charta for the first Party-day
- d) to give the party-board and other boards proper instruments of self-control and external control through the electors
- e) to define the sustainability paradigms for the next 5 years.

Alternative White Book for the future of Europe

Starting Point

As a first step, the starting position will be presented on the basis of the EU integration history since 1957 and the EC White Paper 2017 on the future of Europe.

Goals of the work

The aim is to create a DIALOP white paper for the future of Europe, to be presented to the media and the European Commission on Friday morning at the summer school and at the appropriate opportunity.

Possible approaches: Following this, the elements, properties and values that make up the identity of Europe and of the Europeans (also in relation to the whole world) are peeled out in one. The EC white Paper can be a reference point and various points can be taken, rejected, modified or deepened or concretised.

future scenario DIALOP



Bernd Stegmann

responsible for Science/Knowledge Communication and Sustainable Dialogue of the Technology Assessment at the German Bundestag (TAB); studies in political science, economics and Italian philology. He is a former program coordinator of the Master's Program Futures Studies at Institut Futur, Freie Universität Berlin/Germany.

Starting Point

In times of growing social, ecological and spiritual/cultural challenges the DIALOP-FUTURES-Workshop takes up the summer schools motto 'see - judge – act' and develops on the basis of the morning lectures as well as of personal experiences and knowledge possible and desirable stories of future commitments to peace, non-violence, social justice, democracy, and ecological transformation- especially from within and related to DIALOP.

Goals of the work

The task and aim of the workshop is to think different perspectives together and to find solutions for the above mentioned challenges in a common, future-oriented dialogue.

In this Workshop we try to find answers on the key questions of the summer school by looking on them from future possibilities: How could a dialogue arise? Where have commons strengthened communities? How could an economy of give-and-take (a gift economy) enhance elements of identity and unity? Which creative ways could overcome traditional boundaries? How could the dialogue between individuals, groups and states be facilitated? What are the conditions, which strategies must be developed and which initiatives are to be taken?

Possible approaches: Aim of this scenario exercise cannot be to re-write the future of

transformation of capitalism, (European) democracy, education and (our)self in all its facades but to identify the key drivers of change and invent plausible ways and concrete steps for DIALOP and its participants (us!) to help the necessary transformation(s) on its way.

Presentation of the DIALOP FUTURE(S) – format to be invented ☺ - at Townhall Event on Friday, 7.9. at 7PM

The best way to predict the future is to invent it.

The world has two options. We can wait, hoping and trusting that we, or the next generation will find some way out when the situation becomes untenable. Or we can try to anticipate and change direction by proactively improving our coping skills. If we choose the latter, Transformative Scenario Planning provides an important perspective.” (Kees van der Hijden)

MEETING WITH DECISION MAKERS



José Manuel Pureza

is currently MP in Portugal, elected by the Left Block, and Vice President of the Portuguese parliament.

He is full professor of International Relations at the University of Coimbra and a researcher at the Center for Social Studies.

On Monday afternoon, a meeting with high-ranking representatives of the Greek government, the Vatican and other European states will take place in the conference Room of the Chamber of Commerce. After the introductory statements and a round table, the decision-makers enter into dialogue with the participants of the summer school.

The event is prepared and coordinated by José Manoel Pureza and Walter Baier.

SOME PRACTICAL INFORMATION FROM A-Z

Ermoupolis, the main town of the island of Syros, will host the Summer School of DI-ALOP. The town resembles an open-air museum, a live monument of neoclassical architecture with relics and cultural treasures worth discovering.

The Syros island is the commercial, administrative and cultural center of the Cyclades island complex. And besides that, is a unique place of historical tradition, culture and nature.

Accommodations

The students' accommodations are located in the medieval part of Ermoupolis, called Ano Syros:

- a) Jesuits House, Agiou Aloisiou Street, near Saint George Cathedral. The house has 10 double rooms.
- b) House of the Sisters of Charity, Agiou Sevastianou Street, near Saint Sebastian Church. The house has 12 rooms for 18 persons.
- c) The lecturers are accommodated at the Hotel Palladion, close to the University.

Arrival at Syros and get together

On your arrival at the harbor of Ermoupolis on September 1st you will find an information booth with a European flag. Some students of the Aegean University will be there to welcome you and lead you to the University for the check-in. At the check-in you will receive some information and material as well as a city-map. Please be ready to show your payment receipt.

At the same evening you are invited for dinner at the restaurant Petrino

<http://www.petrinosyros.gr/> from 8.00 p.m.

If you don't join us for dinner, please be there in any case at 9.00 p.m. on September 1st. We will meet all together: lecturers and students for a first get-together.

Community life

Meeting points during the week are the following:

Saturday 1st Sep. at 9.00 p.m. at the Restaurant Petrino – see above.

Other meetings will happen spontaneously in the houses or at the beach.

The check-in-point at the University works as a *hotline* for all needs during the week from 8.30 a.m. to 6.00 p.m.

All participants are kindly asked to support the *community life in the houses*, which includes also some practical services, such as

- cleaning services
- breakfast service
- personal room and wet-areas services.
- bedding will be given at the arrival at the house.

Costs

As already informed, with the remittance of € 250.- your accommodation is covered. This includes the costs of night and breakfast from 1st to 8th September and one meal a day at the restaurant Petrino. For meals at Petrino's you will receive the vouchers at the check-in at your arrival.

Data protection

A data protection sheet will be handed out at your check-in.

ECTS

From Aegean University you will receive 3 ECTS for the whole studying week.

The certificates of participation will be handed over during the closure event on Friday night at the Miaouli Square (Townhall square).

Greek words to get through

There are some Greek colleagues among us, who will be pleased to help you with the first words in Greek. Beyond that, Greek people are great in languages, and you will get through with your English!

Hotline

The office of the Aegean University will be open for any questions regarding the Summer school. Please ask there for Luisa Sello or call her directly 0049-170-5507798.

Insurances

Please take care of any necessary personal insurance you want to contract before

starting your trip! DIALOP cannot take any responsibility for you personally.

IT-infos:

Free WiFi is available at the university. At the Sisters' house, WiFi is available in the breakfast-room. At the Jesuits' house it is available in the whole house.

Computers, copy-machine, beamer etc. are available at the university for studying purposes.

Meals

One meal (mostly lunch) is included and will be taken together with all the students and the faculty at the Taverna Petrino (or according to the program). The location is: Taverna Petrino, Stefanou Kiparisou Klonos 9 – Ermoupoli. This meal is included in the fee. Supper is not included (except Sep 1st), but it is at your cost, in your free time. Breakfast will be taken at the houses and will be conjointly organized with the tutors of that house.

Studying material

The articles of this publication are meant to help you prepare for this dialogue experience. On Sunday afternoon there will be the presentation of the background, topics and goals of the Summer school along with the registration in the working groups at the University of the Aegean.

Time schedule

Please find attached the foreseen time schedule for the week.

Transportation

A city-bus in Ermoupoli travels free from the quayside to Anosyros.

Tutors

4 students of the course will also act as tutors for the students and will be the contact persons in the two houses for any questions. They will also act as teaching assistants.

University of the Aegean

The University of the Aegean is situated downtown, 2 minutes' walk from the harbor. It was the first high school of the Greek Nation in 1829. Many great personalities of

education, arts, and sciences sat at the desks of this model high school.

Who we are

For centuries Syros has been accustomed to host people from all over the Mediterranean. This time the island will welcome 38 DIALOP participants from 19 Countries (13 Countries in Europe, 3 in South America, 2 in Afrika, 1 in Asia). Most of the participants are students in different universities and various study directions. Most of them are activists either in Leftist or in Christian associations, some in both. A common denominator among the participants is the wish for change. Another one is the excitement of getting in touch with persons of different thinking and experience yet motivated by the same goal. A third one is the possibility of personal meeting with lecturers of different universities in Europe, with activists and founders of socially relevant institutions.

IMPORTANT SUPPORTERS OF DIALOP



1. Pope Francis and Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras
2. Kostas Gavroglou, Greek minister for education
3. Archbishop Vincenzo Zani, Secretary of the Vatican Congregation for Catholic Education, with Walter Baier and Luisa Sello
4. Pasquale Ferrara, Italian Ambassador in Algeria, Spyros Syropoulos, Vincenzo Zani
5. Piero Coda, Rector of the Sophia University Institute with Michael Löwy

Summerschool - 1st - 8th september 2018							Begin 9:00	Interval 10-15 MIN	
Time	Sat. 1.9.	Sun. 2.9.	Mon. 3.9.	Tue. 4.9.	Wed. 5.9.	Thu. 6.9.	Fri. 7.9.	Sat. 8.9	
9:00	Arrival-DAY		Intro Hildebrandt/Tóth	Intro Prof. Siropoulos	Intro Prof. Callebaut	Intro Dr. Castellina	A. Marangos-Mayor	Departure DAY	
9:15	Work with the tutors	Meeting at Museum							
9:30		Walk downtown	DIALOG Hildebrandt/Toth	COMMONS Brie/Steinmair Pösel	DEMOCRACY Ropelato/Löwy	EUROPE Castellina/Bekemans	Presentations		
9:45		guided tour Ermoupolis					of the works		
10:00									
10:15									
10:30			Break	Break	Break	Break	Break		
10:45									
11:00	from 11:00 check-in								
11:15	students at University								
11:30	faculty at Palladion								
11:45			understanding questions	understanding questions	understanding questions	understanding questions			
12:00		Lunch / Avant Garde	plenary with all lecturers	plenary with all lecturers	plenary with all lecturers	plenary with all lecturers			
12:15									
12:30			end of the morning session	end of the morning session	end of the morning session	end of the morning session			
12:45									
13:00			Lunch / Petrino	Lunch / Petrino	Lunch / Petrino	Lunch / Petrino	Lunch / Petrino		
13:30									
14:00		OPENING (University)							
14:30				Exercises of Dialogue			Preparation of the evening		
15:00	end work with tutors			Groups - work	Groups - work	Groups - work			
16:00	guidance to the accommodation		Chamber of Commerce 16:00- 18:00	Groups - work	Groups - work	Groups - work			
17:00			Meeting with decisionmakers	Groups - work	Groups - work	Groups - work			
18:30			End						
18:40									
19:00	guidance to Petrino	Dinner /Petrino					Event		
20:00	Dinner /Petrino								
21:00	Meeting with faculty and participants at PETRINO's						reception at the townhall		

TIME TABLE