

A NEW EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY

POSSIBLE?

by

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preface

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J. Julliard p. 278

IS ANOTHER EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY POSSIBLE?

Either Europe resigns itself to becoming the Club Med of the rest of the world and condemns itself to leave history, or it will finally decide to become what is its vocation: a commitment, a will in the service of a civilisation. (Jacques Julliard, "Allons-nous sortir de l'histoire?" p.293, 2019)

We have irremediably entered a phase of declining democracy, prefiguring a slow agony of our civilization.

(Jean Claude Kaufmann , la fin de la démocratie p.103, 2019)

Our dear old Europe is probably the last place on earth where democracy seems to have a future (J. Julliard p. 278)

Therefore we dramatically need such a thing as a New Democracy.

Eyes of Europe, which embodies *the spirit of conquest* is not the New European Democracy but it might very well be the shortest educational way towards it.

The golden years of democracy may be behind us.

Europe is going through a deep downturn: our political parties are in crisis too, even democracy is in peril. Education is facing a radical challenge.

The pressure of the street is becoming untenable, especially in France with a rampant Yellow Vests protest movement.

The legitimate elected democratic power is struggling to cope with rising social tension. *Trust* that happens to be the foundation of democracy is being dramatically shaken across Europe.

Attacked from all sides, European democracy is under pressure.

Democracy should be made more compatible with the modern world but how? Are we entering a new era with the breakthrough of nationalist populism? Is *peuplocratie* (Marc Lazar) the new paradigm?





After the fall of the Soviet Empire, Fukyama was expecting an end of history which failed to take place. Aren't we actually experiencing now the beginning of the end of democracy? (see Jean Claude Kaufmann: *La fin de la démocratie*, 2019)

For the past decade, we have attended the rise of what is now called a form of "democrature" (a mix of dictatorship and democracy) to identify the regimes that prevail in Russia, Turkey but also in Europe: Hungary, Poland, Italy... Brexit and Donald Trump also put democracy to a very severe test.

Democracy risks implosion both in the United States and Europe

Denis Jeambar (Challenges) comments: Two recent American essays are formal: liberal democracy is threatened with extinction. We must listen to their authors because they are not only talking about Trump's America. Europe is also concerned.

The violent emergence of Islamist ideology over the past 25 years shows, at the very least, that the steamroller of liberal democracy still faces serious hurdles in its endeavour to unify the planet. But, perhaps more worryingly, it is in liberal democracies, within them, that questions and fears about their future are now emerging.

Two American political scientists, Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, Harvard professors have published a book with the explosive title: *How Democracies Die.*

Another American political scientist, Patrick Deneen, is publishing an essay with the equally provocative title: Why liberalism has failed. He considers that liberal democracy has betrayed its promises and carries within it contradictions that destroy it: it affirms equality of rights but feeds material inequalities and creates a new aristocracy; it draws its legitimacy from the citizens' vote but weakens civic engagement by encouraging individualism; it glorifies the present and forgets the past and the future.

However, Eyes of Europe believes that the challenge to regenerate agonizing democracy can still be met. But it is now or never!

In liberal democracies, individuals are today destabilized by two impersonal systems: globalized capitalism and the behaviour of states too distant from them. We must give back a perspective to the citizens, **offer them a purpose**.





What if Eyes of Europe were the solution?

Strong men seem to be enjoying the favor of the people across Europe.

Many angry citizens rebel in the face of the crisis and wonder whether democracy is still capable of curbing it. Rebellion is roaring on Face Book and on social networks. In France, the Yellow Vests make their resentment and frustration very visible, which so far had remained fairly discreet. Those who participate in Yellow Vest actions see themselves as an ignored and invisible population, accustomed to being humiliated and patronized by those in power, the so called elite.

Interestingly, this movement appeared primarily on Face Book. But as we all realize, it is terribly difficult to have sensible and balanced exchanges on social networks without strict moderation. The Yellow Vests are a response to the polarization on the job market between jobs with high "added value" and less productive poorly remunerated service-sector jobs.

"Yellow Vests put social issues back at the centre of the political game" (Le Monde). The movement is clearly resulting from a crisis in representation. France's political class tends to recruit almost entirely from society's more affluent sectors.

French sociologist Pierre Rosanvallon infers that the Yellow Vests testify to the fact that, "for the first time in history of our society, public opinion has become a material reality ... Direct speech imposes itself as a democratic form" which is not without deep consequences on education as Eyes of Europe fully realizes.

Yet there is still no such thing as an European public opinion and EoE is really willing to help generate it.

Rosavallon contends, democracy must take a "narrative" turn: understanding the stories people tell about themselves has become as central to politics as representing their interests.

The protestors have brought to the surface demands and anxieties that no contemporary politician seemed capable of adequately addressing.

The Yellow Vests movement reveals a particularly perilous moment in the chronic stress democratic societies are currently undergoing across Europe and





all over the world. There are indeed also the *red scarfs* to consider, *the red Bonnets* (Britanny) the *yellow* and *the red shirts* in Bankok, the *scarlet servants* in Latin America, the *green scarfs* in Argentina and *the blue scarfs* as their counterparts. Not to forget the Islamic veils... Geographer, Christophe Guilluy author of "*No society. The end of the western middle class*" feels the "*Yellow Vests*" movement is only a symptom of a much broader populist recomposition that affects all Western democracies. *The comeback of peoples on the foreground, like in the thirties, may prove the major challenge of the coming decades, if not the next century.*

Europe must tackle diverse challenges: the fallout from the 2008 economic crisis, a huge influx of migrants, the rise of populism and authoritarianism, not to mention global warming and the Islamist breakthrough, as well as a a major crisis in education.

Yet, since its foundation in the 1950s, democracy has been the guiding principle of European dynamics.

Now extremist *anti-system* (*anti elite*) parties are emerging all over Europe, led by leaders with authoritarian profiles.

The ambitious democratic debate organized on the initiative of French President Emmanuel Macron reflects more than anything an increasing demand for more dialogue, more democracy, more transparency, more debate and interaction, in one word: more participation.

Will Macro's "*Great Debate*" prove an appropriate response to the social underground movement? Will it lead to real public policy changes? Undoubtedly it has had a profound impact on French public opinion already.

In his latest book, <u>Identity: The Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment, 2019.</u>" Francis Fukuyama writes: The reason I wrote this book on identity was that you've now seen the rise of a right-wing identity politics. If you want to know what that means, just look at the behavior of Donald Trump before the Nov. 6 midterm election. He was advised to campaign on his tax cuts and the fact that the economy was doing great. And instead, all we heard about was this horrible migrant caravan and taking away birthright citizenship and sending the military to the border to protect us from these terrorists trying to get into the country.





I mean that's really an example of what we mean by identity politics are shifting the conversation away from economic policy to these identity issues, where essentially your identity is fixed by your birth — by the ethnicity and the religion and the characteristics of your parents.

And I just think it's very hard to have a democracy under such conditions. I definitely worry that the quality of our democracy is decaying.

Are lobbyists jamming the democratic process? Is artificial intelligence threatening it? Are Russian trolls destabilizing the polls? Will Steve Bannon manage to organize an internationalization of populism, will he succeed in provoking a real cultural civil war in Europe?

In the charterer of Trisulsti, near Rome, Donald Trump's former advisor and his sidekick Benjamin Harnwell hope to transform the place into a "gladiator school for cultural warriors".

That sounds, like the exact opposite of Eyes of Europe's ambition...

HOW DO DEMOCRACIES DIE?

Jean-Claude Hazera ("How Democracies Die") analyses what happened between the two World Wars in Germany, Italy, Spain, France and the United States. Except in the latter case, democracy has given way to fascist regimes. What are the lessons to be learned in understanding how democracies die?

The future is being built now. It is therefore now that we must deal with the dangers facing democracy, even if the threat may seem distant. For democracy to flourish we need quality men and women, political professionals with strong democratic convictions.

Democracy must be constantly modernized. But how?

Eyes of Europe offers a path of reflection and a realistic response by means of an auto active learning platform.





But beware," he warns, "surveys and electoral practice show less entrenched democratic convictions especially among young people. How could we make our democracies more transparent and participatory? Again, our Eyes of Europe platform is part of the answer especially when it comes to educate the European youths.

In *Democracy in Europe* - Vivien A. SCHMIDT questions the impact of European integration on national democracies. *The European Union has deeply changed the institutions and political life of its Member States.* The author sees the failure of states to communicate to the general public on the theme of new forms of democracy as a strong explanation for widespread scepticism about Europe.

We badly need a laboratory for European democracy, a lab of ideas. **Eyes of Europe is a very serious candidate to do the job.**

The big winners of the European elections on 26 May will presumably be the abstentions! The crisis in confidence greatly results from a confiscation of power by an oligarchy of co-opted technocrats totally insensitive to the defeated of globalization.

Eurosceptics are suggesting that the European Union is governed by a legion of overpaid and duty-free technocrats who, under their Brussels bell jar, are disengaged from reality and proudly reside in their own right. Europe is the object of widespread resentment public, because it appears to be a distant, incomprehensible, bureaucratic institution alien to the citizens, irresponsible for their difficulties and, above all, undemocratic. An abstention of around 60% of voters would confirm the EU's rejection. This Union, far from making us dream, is becoming more and more hated.

So much for the diagnose, a very worrying one, indeed. But what are the possible remedies for relaunching the European democratic process?

It must be stressed **over and over again that: DEMOCRACY IS ABOVE ALL A PEDAGOGICAL METHOD OF THE RUNNING SOCIETY, << THE RES PUBLICA...>>**





The very first objective of every democratic process must therefore be to help the average citizen to understand how the public good (*res publica*) is managed, i.e. how Europe actually works. Representative democracy is in trouble in Europe because citizens and consumers who are invited to vote for MPs - that is, to elect delegates who represent them don't bother to understand their worries and concerns.

Voters turn therefore their backs on Europe because no one explains to them the usefulness, or even the need, for Europe to defend our interests in a competitive global economy. For populists there are no complicated problems but only simple, if not simplistic, solutions.

Populists deny legitimacy to intermediary bodies because they plead for direct or **immediate democracy** (Marc Lazar," peuplocratie",p. 42) and particularly worrying is the **growing disaffection of young people with democratic regimes** (p. 44)

The first priority must be to explain Europe to the Europeans and more particularly to young people wchich candidates for the European Parliament do too little and generally very badly.

And since there is no such a thing as a European public opinion yet, we must educate what does not yet exist: European citizens who together will in turn educate the European people of tomorrow.

For the sake of efficiency, the most reasonable and urgent thing will therefore be to train the young European citizens of tomorrow. It is dramatically important to explain them Europe if we want them to understand and love it.

To this end, the first question that E.o.E. needs to ask itself is how young people learn today.

Undoubtedly they learn differently from previous older generations. Young people learn via Internet but also through permanent exchange in real time on social networks. They are addicts to *wiki learning* which they practice naturally and effortlessly, as Michel Serres clearly pointed out in *Petite Poucette*.





(RE)INVENTING THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN EUROPE

Exploiting mistrust towards leaders, political parties, towards the others, is easier and more profitable than generating and promoting trust (M. Lazar p. 133)

We are, as a matter of fact, in dramatic need for such a thing as an interactive learning platform, a structure of the type of Eyes of Europe to explain, to inculcate and promote something like a new European democracy and henceforth

- to oppose the rising dynamics of populism
- to channel the progress of AI (Artificial Intelligence)
- to face democratic decline
- to awaken the critical spirit of young citizens
- to strengthen the power of the counter-power
- to strengthen declining pluralism
- to combat all forms of radicalism (from right wing exuberance to islamic intolerance)

Therefore we deadly need an *interactive democratic agora* for

- learning how to learn; learning how to understand and above all learning to understand oneself and even more than anything: learning to understand others in their apparent differences.
- more intercultural dialogue
- a virtual Erasmus Program for European teenagers
- a virtual democratic agora where teenagers can exchange and express and confront their opinions in English and in real time with all teenagers of their generation. What was possible in antique small Greek cities or in the cantons of the deep Switzerland, i. e. a form of direct democracy has been made possible everywhere thanks to the Internet
- more transparency and above all, more participation
- more interactions to grasp and understand complexity
 The big challenge for all Europeans in the face of the many issues and challenges and even the suddenly accumulating threats on the horizon is nothing less than how to educate the European citizen of tomorrow.





EX PLURIBUS UNUM ASCENDERE AD UNITATEM.

We sometimes hear that Europe needs an exciting dream: a European dream that would be more seductive than the proverbial American dream. Or even a common mobilizing narrative. Some go so far as to suggest the story of Trojan Aeneas, an emigrant Greek who landed in the Roman Latium. But there is something much more exciting than all that: the history of the European continent and the slow development of its powerful culture. This modern odyssey must be seen as a much better alternative to all possible national myths (Ulysses, Prometheus /Greece, Don Quixote/Spain, Joan of Arc/France, Ulenspiegel/ Flanders, Holland, Tell /Switzerland, Hamlet / England, or Faust/Germany).

But even more than a common narrative, Europe needs a new social contract with a drastic social and fiscal harmonization in all the States that make it up and above all a common European educational project to enlighten and stimulate a European youth in distress in the face of the nihilism crisis (Sinnlosigkeit) that is undermining it.

Durkheim had fully realized that the traditional school system was a central socialization tool, producing responsible individuals who made up the same universe of values. (M. Lazar p. 33) Schools are places where children and young adults are not content to passively receive an education. They also actively socialize there in their own way, according to their ideas, their desires of the moment, wearing branded clothes, inventing a culture of entertainment, commenting on their emotional or sexual stories, connected to their smartphones. (ibid p.50)

But national and regional educational institutions have gradually lost their unifying potential as young people claim their right to self-determination and are willing to conquer their own future. Teenagers invent their own approach to collect knowledge and also their own personality in their own way. (ibid p. 51)

To all these European teenagers, Eyes of Europe offers a *wiki style* type of teaching where each learner injects his own knowledge and experience while and by sharing that of his contemporaries.





In other words Eyes od Europe stands for a change of paradigm by stimulating *Collective Intelligence in Europe* instead of stimulating individual intelligence.

Collective intelligence (CI) is shared or group intelligence that <u>emerges</u> from the <u>collaboration</u>, collective efforts, and competition of many individuals and appears in <u>consensus decision making</u>. <u>Pierre Lévy</u>: "It is a form of universally distributed intelligence, constantly enhanced, coordinated in real time, and resulting in the effective mobilization of skills. The basis and goal of collective intelligence is mutual recognition and enrichment of individuals.

Media theorist <u>Henry Jenkins</u> sees collective intelligence as an 'alternative source of media power', related to convergence culture. He draws attention to education and the way people are learning to participate in knowledge cultures outside formal learning settings.

Both <u>Pierre Lévy</u> (2007) and <u>Henry Jenkins</u> (2008) suggest that **collective intelligence is important for <u>democratization</u>**, as it is interlinked with knowledge-based culture and sustained by collective idea sharing, and thus contributes to a better understanding of diversity in society. (Wikepedia)

What EoE offers is a new style European education based on the dynamics of collective intelligence. Eyes of Europe aims to transmit and above all to learn differently.

Transmit what? The immense European cultural heritage which contains the quintessence of the values that we Europeans consider to be universal. 'Our Heritage Was Left To Us Without A Testament (René Char)

And what exactly is this inheritance about? In the eyes of poet René Char it was essential after the second WW to revive the spirit of **Resistance** to figure and overcome all new forms of totalitarianism. Basically the idea is to bring about an **ethical breakthrough** against the temptations of irrationality and nihilism and radicalism that threaten young people across Europe

"The defense of rationality is the great intellectual adventure of our time" (Claire Chartier, L'Express) Gérald Bronner has just published Forfeiture of reasonableness, ("Déchéance de rationalité" Grasset).





How are we to find our way back to rationality? Sociologist Gérald Bronner advocates a new discourse on the method in order to counter contemporary obscurantism.

More than two centuries after the Enlightenment, obscurantism is regaining ground, to the point of shattering our democracies.

Gérald Bronner blows the alarm in favour of a counter-attack. He advocates no less than a new discourse on the method: *The deregulation of the information market has arrived. Today, the Facebook account holder can contradict a member of the Academy of Medicine.*

Thousands of people are now in disagreement with reason and they insist on producing their own data to create another reality which is challenging democracies.

This offers Eyes of Europe a golden opportunity to prove its enormous potential.

WHAT FORM CAN A RATIONAL COUNTERATTACK TAKE?

The first thing to do is to ask yourself: why do you want an information to be true? Have the right sources been checked, have intellectual vigilance been maintained? What are the contradictory arguments? In front of other people and other cultures and convictions, we must consider that the other believes what he believes not because he is stupid, but because he has reasons to do so.

41% of the Americans are in favour of strengthening the role of religion in their country, compared to only 18% who are against it, according to a survey by the independent Pew Research Center, conducted in several countries. The alibi for current crimes against humanity is most often of a religious nature. This is really worrying. Only ethics can provide an effective counter-attack.

But how can ethics be propagated among a population that is striving for immediate gratification?

The populist instrumentalization of religion wreaks havoc not only in the Islamistsphere. In the Christian world, for example, there is a hardening of the traditionalist Catholic wing, which is coming back in political affairs, not only in Poland but also in France.





Radical evangelical sects are in constant progress in Latin America and Africa. We like to be thought of as the heirs of the Enlightenment, but we are actualy turning our backs on their philosophical heritage. In the age of identities, religious belief is on the lift. Emotions dominate over dry reflexivity. (cf M. Lazar p. 143).

Internet exchanges in real time show how far away we are from a real debate of ideas (p. 174)

Democratic debate was always at the very heart of democracy. But on social networks democratic debate is now getting more and more corrupted in its essence. How can we actually moderate exchanges on social networks and media site forums?

This essential question is at the heart of Eyes of Europe's concerns at a time when the dynamics of identity are being massively reinforced by the Internet to the point of becoming, a fifth power that undermines democracy. (ibid, p.198)

More and more people believe an authoritarian republic to contain and face aggressive identity claims and verbal violence (p. 199).

This is a dangerous drift to which Eyes of Europe wants to oppose a dynamic of efficient mediation. The combination of fake news and verbal violence is at the heart of what is now described as the fifth power. (p.199)

Eyes of Europe is determined **to organize resistance** by promoting a mediation dynamic and above all by developing the critical spirit of young people.

Critical thinking (denken ohne Geländer, Hannah Arendt) is the only alternative. It is also the most powerful bulwark against this ominous fifth power that is threatening us

Internet is a parallel world that is subtly linked to the real world and that transforms the way we perceive others. The Internet is a huge machine that changes the way we live, consume, network, debate and think, for the better but also the worst. (p.205)

The objective of the parallel world is to prevent us from deciding and thinking for ourselves by proposing ready-made behaviour patterns. This is causing a civilizational turn of events. (p. 230)





Political democracy is based on the idea of a fully informed and rational citizens. (p.207)

Is the democratic moment we have just experienced for over a century a parenthesis in a historical movement that may lead us in a very different direction in the near future? (p. 283)

The seriousness of the situation must encourage us to take the risk of a rational commitment, for example in favour of Eyes of Europe.

Is the 21st century the century of triumphant nihilism,?

The first objective of Eyes of Europe is therefore undoubtedly to raise and defend the banner of ethics. Today, however, we are witnessing a violent divorce between ethics and democracy.

There can be no democracy without an ethical commitment.

THERE CAN BE NO DEMOCRACY WITHOUT ETHICS. REMAINS THE QUESTION OF HOW....

If we really want to save our planet in danger, we all need to learn doing things differently: understanding and living life differently. Change the way we eat, love, live (our home and our planet), move, consume. In short, Eyes of Europe wants to help us behave differently in order that we really really become who we are. Nietzsche: werde was du bist

To live differently to become fully oneself is undoubtedly the martingale of the future. This is the secret joker of Eyes of Europe

THANATOS?

In the "Political Preface" that opens *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud* (1955; second edition, 1966) the work, Marcuse wrote that the title *Eros and Civilization* expresses the optimistic view that the achievements of modern society would make it possible to use society's resources to shape "man's world in accordance with the Life Instincts, in the concerted struggle against the purveyors of Death." He concludes the preface with the words, "Today the fight for life, the fight for Eros, is the political fight."





It is therefore necessary to educate differently if we want to struggle for a better world. Eyes of Europe struggling for a different world in which everyone will drastically reduce their ecological footprint and improve their ethical imprint dramatically.

Eyes of Europe stresses the relevance of stimulating education and the cognitive ability (collective intelligence) to increase tolerance, rationality, political literacy and participation.

Two effects of education and cognitive ability are distinguished:

- a cognitive effect (competence to make rational choices, better information-processing)
- an ethical effect (support of democratic values, freedom, human rights etc.), which itself depends on intelligence.

In Austria, democracy seems to be regaining its legitimate existence... A satirist has indeed managed to do there what politics is no longer willing to do, or for lack of mental / moral power is able to. So if the citizen become as awake as satire has always been (think of Brechts stires), then the Brown (The Nationalists) no longer have a chance to plunge Europe into horror.

So, satire has a capacity to save democracy What if Eyes of Europe took over the job?

Originally, Athenian democracy took the form of a direct democracy

Several variants of democracy exist, but there are two basic forms, both of which concern how the whole body of all eligible citizens executes its will. One form of democracy is direct democracy, in which all eligible citizens have active participation in the political decision making, for example voting on policy initiatives directly.

Creative Democracy used to be advocated by American philosopher John Dewey. It encourages individual capacity building and the interaction in society.

For Dewey democracy is a way of life and an experience built on faith in human nature, faith in human beings, and faith in working with others.





In his view, democracy is a moral ideal more than an institutional concept existing outside of ourselves. "The task of democracy", Dewey concludes, "is forever that of creation of a freer and more humane experience in which all share and to which all contribute".

That is in fact what Eyes of Europe is basically standing for. EoE specifically aims to help training and educating a new generation of critical and well-informed young citizens capable of judgement and discernment and autonomy of judgment.

Stressing the relevance of education and of human capital, Eyes of Europe wants to reinforce cognitive ability to increasing tolerance, rationality, political literacy and participation. It therefore wants to induce a cognitive effect (competence to make rational choices, better information-processing) as well as an ethical effect (support of democratic values, freedom, human rights etc.).

The emergence of the web has helped legitimize digital technology as a political arena, a virtual place, a fifth power considered a functional equivalent of the public square and agora of Pericles' Athens, where the free citizens decided the present and the future of their city. Some people today are dreaming of such direct democracy, it would be more appropriate to talk about immediate democracy, without mediation or mediators. (Lazare p. 140)

This is where we believe the problem lies, because without mediation there can be no possible balanced democratic debate.

This creates the myth of a **digital agora** or platform where everyone can express themselves on all crucial issues. (ibid 146)

This is a purely hypothetical scenario and a more dangerous one than many imagine. It is indeed complicated - it indeed is a euphemism - to lead a discussion on the web. Especially with the presence of trolls capable of conditioning and guiding the discussion, even ruining the debate.

This is really why Eyes of Europe strongly insists that all real-time exchanges between young European teenagers in real time be duly mediated by moderators-teacher-communicators - journalists especially trained for this task by E.o.E. whose first ambition it is definitely to regenerate and rejuvinate democracy.

To be honest, it is inconceivable, even incredible, that the EU, since it has existed and a fortiori since the Internet and social networks have developed, has not been able to adopt a real communication policy. The EU's communication is totally indigent. Is it insurmountable?

Eyes of Europe thinks not.





Since neither its leaders nor its institutions seem capable of promoting "Europe", it is perhaps up to each of us to do so and to tell our children, relatives, friends and neighbours what we expect from the EU and why, despite everything, we are proud to be Europeans. (Boris Grésillon, geographer, professor at the university of Aix-Marseilles)

Targeting "lobbyist" Steve Bannon "close to the American power" and Russians who "have never been so intrusive", Emmanuel Macron is denouncing a "collusion between nationalists and foreign interests" to dismantle Europe.

"I don't have the spirit of defeat, I have the spirit of conquest.

We can only be confused. We must not be naive."

Eyes of Europe which clearly embodies "the spirit of conquest" is determined to be neither confused nor naive.

Yes, with Eyes of Europe another European democracy is clearly possible.

How long will the anti-democratic, anti-liberal cycle that now dominates the world last? J Julliard p. 31

For the first time in its history, the European Union is alone with its destiny. Europe, which has the means to become the world's leading power, is showing incredible powerlessness. It is its very existence that is threatened with collapse. Europe is now against the wall: it must dare to appear as it is and as it has always been.

For the first time in its history, the European Union is alone with its destiny. Eyes of Europe believes that defending our European Culture is an act of spiritual resistance. It is hight time time to get European intelligence back on track

Eyes if Europe isn't there to teach European teenagers but to help them teach themselves.

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More Essays by Marc Guiot

