



E U R O P E

A ZEITGEIST ANALYSIS

BY

MARC GUIOT

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Published by: 

WHAT IS NOW URGENTLY NEEDED IS THE WILLINGNESS AND
COLLECTIVE DESIRE FOR A REALISTIC UTOPIA TO COMBAT A
WEIRD ZEITGEIST.

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"CULTURE HAS AN ESSENTIAL ROLE TO PLAY IN THE REFOUNDATION OF EUROPE."

"THERE IS NO EUROPE WITHOUT CULTURE"(Emmanuel Macron)

**"IL N'Y A PAS D'EUROPE SANS CULTURE", C'EST DE L'IMAGINAIRE POSITIF EUROPÉEN DONT NOUS AVONS BESOIN" POUR COMBATTRE "LA LANGUEUR" DU CONTINENT.
(Emmanuel Macron)**

In a long article published in the NYT called ***"Germany's problem is Europe's problem"***(OCT. 4, 2017) *Ivan Krastev*, chairman of the Center for Liberal Strategies and distinguished author of *"After Europe"* is clearly suggesting that *the Germans have enjoyed a long holiday from history, but it looks like their vacation is now over.*

Austria's latest elections or Spain's Catalan issue are, to some degree, Europe's problem as well.

By *vacation* Krastev understands *a long political if not a historical pause* since the dramatic collapse of German National Socialism in 1945. Likewise Catalonia's revival is somehow a reminder of the anti Franco resistance movement in the late thirties and until the dictator's retirement in the seventies. And what to think of the dramatic come back of right-wing radicalism in Austria?

"THE FEDERAL GERMAN ELECTIONS HAS REVEALED THAT EAST-WEST DIVIDE IS NOT SIMPLY BETWEEN GERMANY AND ITS POST-COMMUNIST NEIGHBORS, BUT AT TIMES WITHIN THE WEST ITSELF."

Put bluntly, we observe a clearcut divide across the old continent between *old Europe* (Rumsfeld) and young Europe (East Europe and the former soviet republics) recently emphasized by the electoral victory of the young Austrian conservative Sebastian Kurz (31, and a close friend and ally of Hungary's Victor Orban) . Kurz sounds determined to negotiate an anti refugee coalition with Austria's right wing radicals, confirming this very odd trend that seems to characterize our present Zeitgeist.

A local politician in eastern Germany has put it poignantly: *“The government wants us to integrate the refugees, but why they don’t integrate us first?”* More than 25 years after Germany’s reunification, many former East Germans still feel they are second-class citizens whose salaries and pensions are lower than those in the western part of the country. It is a perverse irony that the far-right Alternative for Germany, rather than the post-Communist Left party, has successfully mobilized the resentment of most reunification’s losers. The German Democratic Republic always portrayed itself as the embodiment of German anti-fascism. Today, nostalgia for the G.D.R., or at least the resentment of how Germany has treated its legacy, makes it possible for a fascist-friendly party to become a force in the Bundestag.

But, paradoxically enough, the crisis of the political center brought on by the backlash against the German government’s pro-refugee policies could make it easier to come up with common policies on migration in Europe. There is now a consensus in Europe that borders should be closed or at least opened only carefully.

In the period between 1990 and 2015 the former G.D.R. lost 15 percent of its population. The mass migration from post-Communist Europe to the West not only impaired economic competitiveness and political dynamism, but also made those who decided to stay home feel like real losers. **Those with roots have grown resentful of those with legs.** It is the people in the depopulated areas in Europe who most enthusiastically voted for populists.

Rightist radicalism is in the lift in eastern Europe but it seems that **anti elite populism** is progressing dramatically across western Europe as well, which may eventually result in a threat to the democratic fabric throughout Europe.

Germany’s central role for the future of Europe is defined not only by its economic and political power but also by the fact that Germany like no other European country experiences the East-West divide not as a clash between member states but as a split in its own society.

The latest German federal election definitely proves that the German reunited Republic has failed to forge effective unity despite nearly 30 years of financial investments, political efforts and a common language. How can we then realistically expect East and West Europe to grow into unity with 27 different governments and a wide variety of languages?

Has Emmanuel Macron, the dynamic newly elected French President perhaps the solution to this enigma as he is suggesting in his two ambitious speeches on Europe (Athens and the Sorbonne) and in his Spiegel Interview? Without Merkels support, his European ambitions are clearly doomed to fail.

Fact is that rightwing radicalism and populist leaders are fed up with what they regard as **the arrogance of the establishment elites** that Macron symbolises in some way. This trend accounts for both Trump's success and that of the pro Brexit votes.

Such a mounting reactionary trend may eventually threaten democracy across Europe much faster than most of us expect. It may be later than we think. Put bluntly: civil war looms up in Catalonia. It did burst out in the former soviet Republic of Yougoslavia in the seventies in very much similar circumstances.

THE COME BACK OF THE GERMAN "VOLK"

Roger Cohen is observing in The Guardian that *with each post-1945 generation, the Germans have grown more comfortable with themselves.*

Looking at Europe today I hear Bob Dylan's words: "Something is happening here but you don't know what it is."

The something is **a violent, reactionary current**. *It is a rightist, nativist, nationalist and, yes, "völkisch" reaction against globalization, against migration, against the disappearance of borders and the blurring of genders, against the half-tones of political correctness, against Babel, against the stranger and the other, against the smug self-interested consensus of the urban, global elite. (...) the most dangerous thing would be to fail to take these rightist, xenophobic currents seriously, to assume they will go away because logically they should; after all, the world has moved on.*

Oddly enough, in former East Germany, in Austria and in Catalonia the shadow of 20th century traumas still falls on EU citizens and blights the future of Europe.

As Germany and Spain prove, history – with all its wounds – is not over. We can of course add Austria to that odd list. Natalie Nougayrède is making a definite point when she states in the Guardian *that History is back in Europe.*

HISTORY IS BACK IN EUROPE.

*The scale of the far-right vote in what was once East Germany as well as in Austria and Catalonia's apparent march towards independence may look like they happened on separate planets – to be sure, they are fuelled by different political beliefs – but **they all have to do with pent-up frustrations.***

German reunification has not led to a shared sense of community. Rather, it's compared to colonisation: "westerners" took over everything – regional administrations, courts, education and the economy. Everything about life in the Communist state – the way people dressed, what they ate, what they learned in school, how they decorated their homes, what they watched on TV – became an object of scorn and ridicule. It's not that life isn't better now: of course it is. There is freedom. And living standards have improved immensely. But many eastern Germans feel their identity has somehow been negated, as if they were being asked to forget about it.

Identity isn't just about power, rights and institutions. Former East Germans aren't asking for secession, nor for a special status. Catalonia is deeply divided on the question of independence. Nor can identity be boiled down to purely economic factors – wages, income, jobs, social class. It's true that regions covering the former East Germany have higher unemployment (7.1%) than western ones (5.1%), but the malaise reflected in the east German far-right vote went beyond material circumstances. Catalonia's economy has thrived in recent decades – and so has Austria's-but that hasn't prevented protests.

A generation has passed since German reunification, in 1990. Spain joined the European club in 1986. It's hard to overlook the benefits. Anyone who visits Leipzig, with its beautifully restored facades and the amazing modern architecture of its university, will struggle to spot traces of the bleakness and poverty that once characterised eastern Europe.

Austria's and Catalonia's transformation have been stunning as well. *Roads have improved, hotels built, and prosperity spread – a region shedding the drabness left by the Franco years. The 1992 Barcelona Olympics celebrated that success.*

*Yet these accomplishments don't necessarily translate into people's minds. **The European project is built on the idea that economic ties and social improvement bring people together and help them overcome the traumas of history.*** Fair enough, but in real life, things prove rather different.

"NATIONALISM FEEDS ON A SENSE OF WOUNDED PRIDE AND HUMILIATION"

In recent years, nationalism, populism, anti-establishment and especially anti elite sentiments have proved a trendy response, however inadequate, to globalisation and inequality across the West.

Less has been said about a more specifically European ingredient: the shadow cast by 20th-century traumas born of war and totalitarianism, and the difficulty – which still persists – of dealing with that legacy.

It is this history that sets continental Europe's populist convulsions Throughout Europe, populism and extremism, plunge their roots into 20th century political battles and references..

Last month's German election was a clear demonstration that the Wall has survived in people's minds. Germany, Austria and Spain today find themselves confronted by ghosts of the past – not just to do with problems related to social cohesion and integration, or how to preserve a constitutional order. Yes, politicians exploit polarisation.

*Isaiah Berlin once wrote that **nationalism feeds on a sense of wounded pride and humiliation.** As Europe tries to sort itself out and prepare for the future it would do well to pay close attention to those wounds left by history. We thought that they had healed – but they really haven't.*

If we really want to avoid a possible come back of nationalist fascism all over Europe a drastic change in the educational system of Europe's youths is urgently required. And, that is precisely the ambitious challenge Eyes of Europe has set itself. Eyes of Europe is both about transmitting Europe's cultural inheritance (*Notre héritage n'est précédé d'aucun testament.* René Char) and also about training and educating a young generation of future full blood European citizens. Put bluntly, EoE stands for stimulating a common European identity.

Macron appealed to Merkel on the “Frankfurter Buchmesse” in October in order that she may join him in an attempt to refound Europe by boosting what he calls. *Europe's collective positive imagination - l'imaginaire positif européen.*

He actually stressed the fact that:

CULTURE HAS AN ESSENTIAL ROLE TO PLAY IN THE REFOUNDATION OF EUROPE."

Il n'y a pas d'Europe sans culture, c'est de l'imaginaire positif européen dont nous avons besoin" pour combattre la langue du continent.

To him, it is urgent for the European national leaders to commit themselves in favour of more European unity and to elaborate a realistic common roadmap to prepare the 2019 European elections.

Juergen Boos, manager of the Frankfurter Buchmesse commented the event as follows:

Culture is the right approach to reinforce the European project. It is far easier than to start with the economy.

“The presence of Chancellor Merkel and President Macron at the opening of the Frankfurter Buchmesse symbolises the close relationship between Germany and France and their commitment to a strong, unified Europe,” J. Boos.

In his recent Spiegel interview, French President Emmanuel Macron elaborates on his plans for Europe.

I am a strong believer that modern political life must rediscover a sense for symbolism. We need to be amenable once again to creating grand narratives. We need it badly! Why is a portion of our youth so fascinated by extremes, jihadism for example? Why do modern democracies refuse to allow their citizens to dream? Why can't there be such a thing as democratic heroism? Perhaps exactly that is our task: rediscovering something like that together for the 21st century.

*The problem is that **debates over Europe** have become disputes between experts and lawyers. Yet Europe was initially supposed to be primarily a political project! The EU never would have come about had it been up to experts or diplomats. It was created by people who had learned from the drama of our collective history. I am proposing a new beginning.*

"I WANT TO RENEW THE EUROPEAN DREAM AND REAWAKEN AMBITIONS FOR IT."

*We have to be open to new things, and that includes things that have been taboo until now. **We have to leave old ways of thinking behind.***

The challenges are manifold: issues such as migration or terrorism are important to us all. But the switch to renewable sources of energy must also be planned together. And last, but not least, there is digitalization and the societal change that goes along with it. We can only have success on all those fronts if we move forward together.

*I am convinced that there is **a desire for Europe.***

AN AMBITIOUS CHALLENGE FOR EYES OF EUROPE.

How to offer the masses active access to political responsibility and help them participate in the democratic process if not by implementing a radical change in public education europewide ?

Education is not solely transmission of knowledge. It implies an ambitious communication of historical and cultural content which demands some form of political education. In the fifties already, Karl Jaspers went so far as to suggest that it was morally essential to found and educate what he called *a new European aristocracy that would neither rest on birth, privileges or money but upon the heart and the spirit, i.e. upon the spiritual depth of man.*

It was Jaspers' deep conviction that this *aristocracy* ought to take conscience of the real problems of society in order that they may become active actors of history, a history that embraces all human beings. Just like Kant and Eyes of Europe, he was dreaming of turning his new *aristocrats* (we call them mutants) into world citizens with a European heart.

It is therefore necessary to develop an entirely new approach to the concept of transmission in Europe and to invent such a thing **as a specific European education** if we really intend to educate a European public opinion towards European citizenship.

To attain such an ambitious goal, Macron believes in the generalisation of the Erasmus programs to a majority of European teenagers. He has repeatedly insisted on his determination to send half of the French younger than 25 for six months in another European country. *"C'est possible et nous le ferons."*

But how to get people to believe in Europe again in order that they may overcome what Stephan Zweig used to call *the dramatic psychological crisis, the great moral wariness and spiritual concern of Europe* . That is what the Zeitgeist was like before WW2. German totalitarian antisemite nazism forced Zweig to emigrate first to France, then to London and later to the United States before committing suicide in Brazil.

Aren't we somehow attending some kind of resurfacing of repressed black memories and bleak nightmares? The pendulum seems to be swinging back full speed. After decades of left wing progressive thinking we are witnessing the return of a brown tide of right radical populist nationalism across Europe. How are we to turn this dangerous tide?

Certainly not by teaching the national and political history of the different European peoples of Europe as we have done decade after decade. European education should be common and focus not upon what has opposed these folks in the course of history but upon what these folks share and have in common: ***the united cultures of Europe.***

Stephan Zweig who had suffered from German nationalism, nazi totalitarianism and antisemitism was fervently in favour of what he called *cultural Europe* prior to any form of political, financial or military association.

At least three intellectual sources accounted for his commitment. The first was Zweig's admiration for Erasmus. The second was the formative role of Romain Rolland, a French central figure of the European antiwar movement, whose novel *Jean-Christophe* celebrated the idea of a United States of Europe through a recognition of its shared intellectual heritage. In *“European Thought”* (1932), Zweig speaks of a *“catechism of mutual understanding, of reciprocal education in the recognition that each nation owes an intellectual debt to another.”* The third and final source of his intellectual quietism was the Stoicism of Montaigne, who, like Erasmus, believed that by removing oneself from the political chaos, it was possible to achieve an inner freedom and constancy in the face of barbarism.

“THE EUROPEAN IDEA IS “THE SLOW-RIPENED FRUIT OF A MORE ELEVATED WAY OF THINKING.”

“The European idea is not a primary emotion like patriotism or ethnicity; it is not born of primitive instinct, but rather of perception; it is not the product of spontaneous fervor, but the slow-ripened fruit of a more elevated way of thinking.” (S. Zweig)

Eyes of Europe is willing to convey to teenagers across Europe a cultural history in which they would be both actors, partners and co authors in order that they may become a cosmopolitan community willing to promote and disseminate a European spirit of **entente détente et cooperation.** (Charles De Gaulle)

Eyes of Europe wants to show that there is definitely such a thing as a European cultural coherence and it is determined to use it as a cement to revive a European construction in progress.

Eyes of Europe wants to *re enchant* our declining European culture and it expects a lot from the commitment of the young. EoE goes on the assumption that this European youth **wants to do politics differently.**

EOE wishes all young European subject to become autonomous, autodidact, creative and critical mutants, citizens craving for selfrealization and taking actively part in the public debate.

As an auto active self learning platform, Eyes of Europe wants no less than creating, stimulating and enlivening **a virtual democratic agora that would work as a collective European brain and heart.**

Eyes of Europe is basically **a didactic method** that favours collective learning through permanent interaction between the young above traditional individual competitive elitarian didactics.

Eyes of Europe's method stand for participative education and democracy by creating a **virtual debating society** capable of establishing a link between young citizens and policymakers.

In that, it is a most ambitious step towards a benevolent and human society that allows and promotes a European spirit in educational contents together with shared attitudes and values conducive to a dynamic approach to the concept of "living together" in peace and harmony.

Sophisticated modern technologies make this radical new way of learning by oral exchange possible

WE NEED AN ENTIRELY NEW NARRATIVE THAT WOULD TEACH US TO DREAM TOGETHER OF A UNITED HUMANITY OF SEVEN BILLIONS HUMANS.

Europe is facing a crisis in terms of a lack of common narrative (the great political ideologies-communism; totalitarianism, fascism- have faded away). Nationalist fictional tales that used to bind people and peoples together have gradually dwindled but they threaten to arise again.

Therefore we need an entirely new story to teach our youngsters to go against the Zeitgeist and dream a European dream together and beyond that to yearn for of a united cosmopolitan humanity of seven billions humans.(*Europa weltfähig machen*)

Our youngsters need to be taught to think, live and behave differently and on a European scale. To this end, we need a completely new economic-, social- and educational narrative based on radical humanistic reforms.

When he is looking upon our planet Edgar Morin says he is observing *an amazing flurry of all kinds of original and creative local initiatives totally ignored by political parties and policymakers.*

Why not ask our European youngsters to identify them, to reveal them and to report and comment on that flourishing diversity of local initiatives, thereby bringing them together, making them interact in active virtual dialogues and globalise them in a new bundle of original common narratives? Observe locally before reflecting and acting globally.

All such isolated local initiatives must be made visible in their complex interactions in order to show us that the feared globalisation is not the worst thing but can also become the best of things. How? By helping the young to make *you tubes films*, by inducing them to produce wiki documents and send them to the EoE Platform in order that it may transmit them to all EoE participants.

Progress as another narrative process has accelerated dramatically since the nineteenth century. Some speak of an **acceleration of acceleration** or of **the progress of progress**.

How to survive progress and how to protect nature and life, might indeed be a good narrative while the ecological crisis is threatening humankind.

We have no alternative but to reconcile ourselves with mother nature and the planet earth. But therefore we must first find peace and reconciliation with ourselves which demands a form of shared ethical awakening and a willingness to reflect differently and more benevolently upon the future.

Young people are capable of making that effort. Only a relative small proportion of our European youngsters are apt to understand this with innovative, subversive, solidary eyes. But thanks to our EOE platform, these mutants will have a possibility to convey their views to many fellow Europeans.

Europe's youths need to dream a project that brings them back to the basics: protecting life and nature in the whole anthroposphere.

As a matter of fact, we need to be prepared for the worst but we must urge the young to act in such a way that the worst actually becomes the best.

"EUROPE IS IS A PROGRESSIVE CIVILISATION PROCESS. (NORBERT ELIAS)

It is indeed high time we made up our minds to save mankind and the planet earth. But there is no reform of this agonising world without some form of **selfreform** in the first place. Eyes of Europe stands for this collective reform of that kind on a European scale. It iEoE's conviction that our most daring youths are craving for such a programme.

WHICH KIND OF CITIZENS NEED WE ?

SHAPE, TRAIN AND EDUCATE?

Young European citizens that are and behave as **mutants**

- freed and emancipated from consumerism as a burden.
- less alienated by the tyranny of hyper technology.
- determined to rebel against contemporary ethical decay
- willing to take part in the (re)construction of a European democracy.
- enterprising, assertive, brotherly, positive human beings and citizens who dare express positive criticism and are not afraid of transgressing if need be.
- Who dare to create undertake, reactivate and tackle the art of *living together*, (le vivre ensemble) and are prepared to indulge in the ambition of *doing* things together.
- who have a dream : creating, with Edgar Morin, *a new civilisation* , the *metamorphosis* he is seeking.
- who strive for a refoundation of Europe rethought, rebuilt and made *worldcompatible* (*Europa weltfähig machen*): a genuine, solidarious and generous human community.
- who are definitely determined to think, create, decide, eat,love, live **differently**, i.e. independently and more soberly.

- who are thinking of revolutionizing things within as well as outside, both by a great deal of work first upon themselves, then through permanent interactions with the other.
- Who are excellent in ***self criticism*** and ***contained impertinence***.
- In short: who wish to live together, act together, do things together, make Europe together.

That is why it is for the young to get on with such a project and tackle these challenges. EoE aims to inspire young people to build the tools they need to live in healthy and sustainable European communities.

This demands a radically new approach to European education:

- that refuses to separate and fragment educational content in a diversity of subject matters.
- that is keen to unite, bind and contextualise information and *know how* in order to globalise knowledge.
- that makes teenagers understand that they are not born free but that they have to conquer liberty (*La liberté se conquiert*, *André Malraux*) which is the task of their young lives through virtual EoE stimulant exchanges and interactions.

WHAT KIND OF FUTURE DO WE WANT FOR EUROPE?

EoE really wants to open a new perspective regarding the future of Europe. To that end, it wants to help European youngsters to structure a collective narrative very different from that materialistic and consumeristic American dream that has been imposed on us over the years, inadvertently and against our will?

It is not for the European or national, or regional elites to outline a collective European horizon for tomorrow. It is indeed for the young Europeans to shape their future horizon collectively.

The choice in favour of a European identity must be theirs provided we manage to make them fully aware of its specifics. It is for them to tell us what they wish to do together, and where exactly they want to go together.

How are they to conceive collectively a project of shared solidarity where everyone feels responsible for the whole of humanity? By sketching and writing together a shared narrative based upon common values and tending towards shared ethics. This is only possible through a radical new form of collective and *connective* education which is basically what Eyes of Europe is offering.

It has become vitally important for all Europeans, young and old, to become aware of their original individuality within a society where the wealth gaps have become intolerable between an educated nomad hyperclass and the uneducated welfare recipients. Around 40% of the young are workless in most European mega cities.

The educational system is both dysfunctional and unsatisfactory in most European countries. The **social lift has broken down** and society is dramatically fractured which results in considerable suffering among the young throughout Europe, especially in big cities.

HOW CAN IT BE ACHIEVED?

How to channel all that frustration in order to offer all that negative energy a meaningful direction? Possibly and ideally by inventing developing, exploiting a European space for democratic exchange, dialogue and reflection, **a virtual democratic agora in which the young are active actors**. Such debating spaces are too rare if not inexistant in Europe. Eyes of Europe wants to transform our obsolete educational system into a virtual space where youngsters dialogue openly with each other and with their teachers in English (if necessary in globish) and in real time.

Eyes of Europe is advocating a deep educational mutation and is willing to boost and stimulate and redirect it in a resolutely European direction.

Eyes of Europe is eager to produce very responsible *actor subjects*, i.e. European citizens with sharp critical wit, capable of understanding the crazy world in which we live.

TEACHERS/ COMMUNERS/ FACILITATORS/ MEDIATORS

Eyes of Europe is more about tutoring and coaching learners than about teaching them in a traditional way. Eyes of Europe likes to be thought of as a mentoring program that facilitates internalization through mutual interactions where participants learn from each other, where coaching stimulates autodidact learning, where *communers*-teachers-mediators facilitate exchange, interchange thoughts or feelings like in the best talkshows and television debates where anchormen/women **conduct and moderate lively and critical exchanges**. Such anchor-teachers or communers may, in addition, act as **commentators** providing improvised reactions, all under EoE supervision.

The role of the anchor has changed in recent years following the advent of *citizen journalism*. An anchor will function more as a catalyst than as a teacher. In that, the anchor-teacher-communers will act as a kind of arbiter of information. Their presence is necessary to build familiarity and trust between the EoE network and its viewers.

The full responsibility for interpreting the world falls on them. Therefore it is essential for them to be capable of contextualising all kinds of information.

Eyes of Europe is based not upon competition but *wikiwise* on mutual aid, support and assistance between participants that express themselves in real time in English (if need be in globish).

These exchanges need to be *mediated refereed* in real time by specially trained EoE teachers/ communers/ facilitators/ mediators who happen to be recruited for their special talents. They need to combine the qualities of the best teachers and those of the finest anchormen/women. Clearly they are as rare as black swans.

These *mediators* should be capable of questioning the participants, prioritizing and organising facts, contextualising them , combining them and putting them in an appropriate perspective in real time.

It is for them to help learners to structure knowledge and facilitate the understanding of received information as well as providing *wikiwise* access to further and linked knowledge.

Not exactly a soft job but an essential one that requires nerves, intelligence, creativity, generosity and immense empathy. It also demands a very specific training with the best anchors as well as with the finest teachers. Eyes of Europe is particularly keen to recruit and to train them for that delicate mission.

If it is to survive the twenty first century, *the tomorrowworld* will indeed have to be an environment of cooperation and mutual aid. Competition will not altogether be eliminated but EoE wishes to train selfmanagement skills in order to forge flexible, adaptable and adjustable personalities that are furthermore enterprising and original. In other words EoE wants to help the young to become efficient actors of a contemporary world in full transformation.

Therefore EoE wants to develop their capacity to think and to learn independently by practicing the art of exchanging with the other. In that EoE is in permanent exercise in participative democracy.

Eyes of Europe wants to provide an education that may help to understand our changing world and it helps tackling the challenges of *post democracy* that mankind is facing. These are now only within reach of a restraint elite of experts.

HOW TO TACKLE THE CHALLENGE OF POST DEMOCRACY (COLIN CROUCH)

Crouch describes post-democratic societies as institutions that are gradually reduced to a formal shell. "*The energy and innovative drive pass away from the democratic arena and into small circles of a politico-economic elite.*"

Crouch states that we are moving towards such a condition for the following reasons:

- **No common goals:** For people in the post-industrial society it is increasingly difficult, in particular for the underclass, to identify themselves as a group and therefore difficult to focus on political parties that represent them.
- **Globalization:** makes it almost impossible for nations to work out their own economic policy. Globalization additionally endows transnational corporations with more political leverage given their ability to avoid federal regulation and directly affect domestic economies.
- **Non-balanced debates:** In most democratic countries the positions of the political parties have become very much alike. This means that there is not much to choose from for its voters. The English conservative journalist Peter Osborne presented a documentary of the 2005 general election, arguing that it had become anti-democratic because it targeted a number of floating voters with a narrow agenda.

- **Entanglement between public and private sector:** Through lobbying companies, especially multinational corporations, are able to enforce legislation more effective than the inhabitants of a country.
- **Privatization:** Then there is the idea of new public management (neoliberalism) to privatize public services. However, privatized institutions are difficult to control by democratic means and they have no allegiance to human communities, unlike the government.

As a consequence:

- Fewer voters use their right to vote or they do vote but just don't expect much of it.
- Politicians can easily ignore an undesirable outcome of a referendum or opinion poll.
- The rise of xenophobic parties who use the prevailing discontent.
- Foreign governments can influence the internal politics of a sovereign country.
According to crouch, the way the eurozone crisis was handled is the best example of how things work in a post-democracy.
- Private interest becomes increasingly influential in public policy.

SOLUTIONS

According to crouch there ***is an important task for social media in which voters can participate more actively in public debates.***

The citizens must reclaim their place in decision making. He calls this post-post-democracy.

"NOTRE SOCIÉTÉ SOUFFRE D'UNE ABSENCE DE DÉBATS" (Alain Touraine)

There is definitely a need for creating **non violent agoras** (spaces and forums of discussion). Democracy needs to be reconstructed without fail. It should offer citizens-especially young citizen- a leading role and encourage participation. Habermas was of the opinion that collective decision making is needed to forge a European public opinion capable of achieving collective agreement.

Eyes of Europe offers young people an opportunity to take part in public debates. If they feel that their voices matter, they will automatically take part and identify in the democratic debate.

The combat against populism can only be won when the citizen- preferably the young citizen- learns how to decipher social realities; when he actually learns (or is discovering) how to make the difference between unrealistic promises and those that can actually be achieved.

That is basically the job of the media. But traditional media are more and more enslaved by a huge concentration of capital forces which results in a deep confidence crisis on behalf of the public opinion.

The crisis towards the media and information is as dramatic as the crisis towards the political elites. Before WW2 Jaspers was already of the opinion that culture was being threatened by a general trend towards levelling down and facility. He, as well as Hermann Hesse, were blaming journalism for bringing about abyssal mediocrity.

It is therefore essential to imagine and invent a new approach to information and education (two sides of the same coin) to escape the confusion between media and politics.

The lack of autonomy of the media is a threat to democracy for it encourages a homogenization of viewpoints. Our elites are seen as too homogenous in our democracies which encourages populist movements in our *post democracies*.

It is therefore essential to preserve a real diversity of viewpoints. There are far too few public spaces offering a variety of viewpoints. It has become of paramount importance to express the complexity of a heterogeneous pluralistic *post democratic* society as ours.

In this the responsibility of the media is essential. Our societies are far more complex and culturally rich than reflected in the media. The media should indeed be the guarantors of a plurality of viewpoints which is no longer the case. There can be only be little confidence in politics in post democracies.

Viewpoints express the deepest conviction and play an essential role in shaping peoples's opinions and *Weltanschauungen*.

What is needed and what EoE is offering is the emergence of a combination of a new form of education, of transmission and of wiki-journalism. It is essential to organize and guarantee such thing as a cohabitation of contradictory viewpoints. **Democracy is no less than a permanent challenge to organize a peaceful cohabitation of different viewpoints**

THE TEMPTATION OF HOMOGENIZING OF THE ELITES IS DANGEROUS . (Wolton).

Otherness as well as diversity is at the heart of democracy. It is also necessary and urgent to stimulate the emergence of a real European identity to transcend Europe's traditional nationalities: *Ascendere ad unitatem*.

Therefore it is of paramount importance that the young citizens of Europe become familiar with the quintessence of their common European inheritance.

This precious legacy results from cultural interactions with various historical civilisations over decades and centuries. **Humanistic culture is traditionally embracing not excluding.**

Eyes of Europe must therefore also become a kind of permanent virtual museum of our European culture in the sense Malraux wished to provide the young French with a "*musée imaginaire*" an imaginary or virtual museum. Malraux's ambitious project has now become technically possible.

Eyes of Europe is willing to make Europe's teenagers familiar with our rich European culture: Europe's arts, music, literature, philosophy, history economy, geography can be transmitted with EoE's original method.

That implies a major step towards forging cosmopolitan citizenship, a great step that would make Europe world compatible (*Europa weltfähig machen*), a definite step towards the unity of mankind.

In this Eyes of Europe wants to bring about a humanistic revolution : *instituer l'humanité en l'homme*. (E Morin)

POLITICS AS CARNIVAL (David Foster Wallace)

We have landed in a post modern society where social coldness and national selfishness and overall egotism dominate human consciences. Since the fall of the soviet empire and the end of communist rule in eastern Europe, the postwar ballance and worldorder have gradually gone to the dogs.

*How do I adjust when Donald Trump claims a brutal withdrawal from **the UNESCO** one of the last symbols for a common humanity (einer gemeinsamen Humanität).*

How do I cope when with an increasing gap between the very rich (an included financial, excluded economic and political elite) and the very poor and excluded majority?

How do I adapt to overall mounting xenophobia and racism?

How do I face the disturbing reality of a changing climate and a massive deterioration of the athmoposphere?

How do I deal with the possibility of an atomic war in Asia?

And last but not least: where do I stand towards mounting nationalism, islamic as well as radical populism and selfishness throughout Europe? (Georg Diez, SPIEGEL)

Every European citizen, young or old is concerned and deeply troubled but such issues. It is high time we learn to fight for a common vision that combats the mounting forces of *radical evil*. (Kant) We therefore do need to unite forces with all those that struggle for justice, democracy, the common good and the peace of heart.

To this end, EoE wants to train a generation of *young European mutants*: activists that are prepared to fight against the disillusionment, the nihilistic despair and the grim cynicism conveyed by the enemies of democracy.

In other words EoE wants prepare them to rebel against Zeitgeist: the mounting rightwing forces throughout Europe and not only in the former soviet Republics in the east. It now just looks as if all dynamic initiatives in Europe and the West were coming from far right.

The general worldorder, the common and shared ethics, traditional and fundamental European humanism are being swept away by such *ferocious clowns as Trump, Farage, Le Pen, Erdogan, Orban or Putin*, (Quotation : Pomerantsev) .

The left seems to be agonizing in an overwhelming neo liberal political Zeitgeist and a general outbreak of violence.

For all these reasons it is essential to oppose those right-win-radicals dominant energies with a vision and a strong determination. Democracy isn't just *business as usual* but a daily struggle against arbitrary power from left and right. Democracy demands reflection, exchange and action.

The general leitmotif should no longer be for making more money, for indulging in more hedonist consumption but for investing more euros to make us all smarter through education so that we all learn collectively how to tackle the climate apocalypse and all those issues that endanger the survival of mankind. Therefore we need a new paradigm, a brandnew model concept that is no longer based on the dogma of economic growth , of austerity with small salaries for short-time badly paid jobs but one that rests upon shared knowledge, know how, ethics and self management skills.

What is basically missing today is a general awareness of a mounting disaster. Physicist Stephen Hawking has put it really bluntly: *Humanity only has 100 years left on earth before doomsday*.

What is now urgently needed is the willingness and collective desire for a realistic utopia to combat a weird Zeitgeist. And this is exactly what Eyes of Europe is willing to develop with the aim of putting humanity on the path of humanism.

METTRE L'HUMANITÉ SUR LA VOIE DE L'HUMANISME.

What our European youth is badly and dramatically missing is a ***common core of guiding principles*** and a method to convey it to all young Europeans. That is precisely what Eyes of Europe, the last of all utopias, is standing for.

[MARC GUIOT](#)

Brussels. October 2017.