**Giancarlo Vilella** 

# **Being European**

Foreword by Klaus Welle, Secretary General of the European Parliament



Giancarlo Vilella

# **Being European**

Foreword by Klaus Welle, Secretary General of the European Parliament



**Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek** lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at http://dnb.d-nb.de

ISBN 978-3-8487-4258-5 (Print) 978-3-8452-8503-0 (ePDF)

#### **British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data**

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-3-8487-4258-5 (Print) 978-3-8452-8503-0 (ePDF)

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Vilella, Giancarlo Being European Foreword by Klaus Welle, Secretary General of the European Parliament Giancarlo Vilella 105 p. Original title: Essere Europei, Edizioni Pendragon, Bologna, 2016

ISBN 978-3-8487-4258-5 (Print) 978-3-8452-8503-0 (ePDF)

#### 1. Edition 2017

© Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden, Germany 2017. Printed and bound in Germany.

This work is subject to copyright. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publishers. Under § 54 of the German Copyright Law where copies are made for other than private use a fee is payable to "Verwertungsgesellschaft Wort", Munich.

No responsibility for loss caused to any individual or organization acting on or refraining from action as a result of the material in this publication can be accepted by Nomos or the author.

## Acknowledgements

The opinions put forward in this work are of a personal nature and not of the institution I represent. Translated by Sam Morgan and revised by me, the original text has been updated with references to the most relevant recent events but only to a limited extent.

I would like to express my profound thanks to Klaus Welle, secretary general of the European Parliament and a true European, for his important Foreword regarding the idea of a European "identity", a contribution that perfectly reflects and completes my own analysis in this book.

Giancarlo Vilella

### On identity: Foreword by Klaus Welle

#### Secretary General of the European Parliament

Literature about identity seems to converge around the view that identity is about what we are not or no longer: we are not like our neighbours and we are not what we used to be. That rejected alternative is called "the other".

Germany wants to put maximum distance to the Third Reich and Spain to the Franco regime. The European Union is not like Putins Russia, Erdogan's Turkey, our southern Muslim neighbourhood across the Mediterranean, Trump's United States or Brexit Britain. But is it satisfying to have to refer to an identity that only knows what it is not? And doesn't that approach immediately devalue our neighbours?

Attempts to define what we are have historically run into trouble. 19th century Nationalism established as a reaction to the Napoleonic wars singled out minorities that then suddenly became foreigners in their own country only to be discriminated, expelled or massacred in a process of ethnic cleansing. Race and class as identity patterns were used to create violent movements and justify the appalling mass murders of the 20th century.

If that is what identity does we should better do without. Should we limit ourselves therefore to individual identity rather than collective identities?

The fact is that collective identities do exist. From your football club to your town to your family, your religion or you being an atheist we form identities that go beyond ourselves. The several identities we adhere to contribute to who we are. We are not somebody else. So it is not about denying who we are, it is about accepting the other as equally valid.

Identities need a pluralist frame to do no harm, to not be weaponised: I know who I am and meet the other in mutual respect.

We Europeans have committed and been the victims of all atrocities imaginable. As a consequence we built a wide variety of protective mechanisms to not fall victim of other people's identity ambitions. The rule of law meaning that also the rulers need to adhere, minority rights, human rights catalogues, accountability mechanisms and parliamentary democracy and market economy and private associations further limiting the power of the state.

And the European Union as a community of law guaranteeing the rights and the integrity of smaller European nations against the ambitions of their bigger neighbours as well as the rights of the individuals.

European history can be understood as a continuous struggle for freedom. Church and state represented two separate sources of power neither of them ever able to completely dominate the other. The division of levels of government and separate people of separate language increased the complexity on our peninsula further and served as a protective mechanism providing also alternative solutions and institutional arrangements as in a gene pool.

If Europe is looking for an identity it is exactly there. Not demos, the obligation to feel and behave as one, brought to its extreme by "Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Fuehrer" in the perspective to wage war on your neighbour, but pluralism protected by a constitutional order as enshrined in the European Union treaties. Diversity needs tolerance and pluralism, not demos.

Could it be that it is our identity to have overcome identity politics or at least to always try to?

There is a philosophical base for this approach. Kant is asking us to choose the reasons of our own actions in a way that they can always become general laws. No space for one community against another. This finishing stone of the philosophy of enlightenment is the base for a tradition of thought that allows to counter factually understand this world as one in vocation. Human rights being universal and not dependent on who you are or where you come from or the consent of your local dictator.

This idea of one world based on undeniable rights can be an authentic contribution of Europe to the global debate. The increasing capacity to destroy our globe not only through nuclear weapons now being acquired by rough states, but also the foreseeable disastrous consequences of continuing climate change and mass migration make a philosophical basis of world interior politics a necessity.

# Table of Contents

On identity: Foreword by Klaus Welle			
Pro	olegoi	nenon	13
1.	Epistemology of the European Union: Fundamental traits		
	1.1.	Introduction	17
	1.2.	Step by step	17
	1.3.	An integrated, layered system	20
	1.4.	A democratic system	21
	1.5.	Better functioning	23
	1.6.	Economic governance	25
	1.7.	The Union, its values and its citizens	27
	1.8.	Getting acquainted with the European Union	28
2.	Evolution of the European Union: The Political Framework		
	2.1.	Mala tempora	31
	2.2.	Tough financial outlook negotiations	31
	2.3.	The May 2014 European elections	34
	2.4.	A complex and difficult political framework	39
	Migrants and refugees		47
	International terrorism		51
	2.5.	Difficulties and complexities	60
3.	European economic governance		
	3.1.	From the beginning of the crisis to the Stability Mechanism (2007-2012)	62
	3.2.	The antinomy of "austerity" and growth (2012-2014)	69

#### Table of Contents

3.3. From the 2014 European elections to Brexit	74	
4. Being European	85	
4.1. Some considerations	88	
4.2. A new paradigm	95	
4.3. The fundamental and founding values of being Europe	an 101	
Conclusions		

For Margherita, Teodoro and Emiliano. And for my students.

With European unification, a dream of earlier generations has become a reality. Our history reminds us that we must protect this for the good of future generations. Berlin Declaration 25 March 2007