



**EUROPA.  
MANIFEST!**

# EUROPA. MANIFEST!

Visioner for Europas fremtid

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## **EUROPA. MANIFEST!**

Elisabeth Skou Pedersen  
Jon Auring Grimm

Europa står i en brydningstid. Både i Danmark, i Europa og på verdenspolitisk plan varsler fænomener som Brexit, valget af Trump og højreorienterede bevægelers fremgang i bl.a. Grækenland, Frankrig og Holland en stigende nationalisme. Disse tendenser sigter mod lukkede grænser og bekræftelse af national identitet snarere end mod konsolidering af tværnationale fællesskaber. Alle disse udviklinger påvirker Europa – ikke bare som et kontinent i et verdenspolitisk spil, men også som filosofisk og politisk idé.

Forestillingen om et samlet Europa er i det hele taget en ideologisk position, der er rundet af mange forskellige politiske, kulturelle og filosofiske strømninger, og ved nærmere eftersyn viser det sig, at idéen om Europa rummer mange interne modsætninger:

Europa er oplysningstiden, humanismen og menneskerettighederne. Europa er reformationen og delingen af Europa i syd og nord, katolicismen og protestantismen. Europa er euroislam, euroen og Europol. Europa er Platons Akademi, Humboldt og højskolerne. Europa er Guds død, Marx og opium for folket. Europa er jerntæppet og murens fald. Europa er ungdomsoprøret og Ungarn '56. Europa er multikulti og nationalisme. Europa er grænse-dragning, toldmure og frisind. Europa er Milan Kundera, Thomas Mann, Inger Christensen og Herta Müller. Europa er umuligheden af at digte efter Auschwitz og Srebrenica.

I lyset af den verdenspolitiske situation og den ideologiske udvikling sætter Europa.Manifest! fokus på den komplekse fortælling og de modsatrettede forestillinger, der tilsammen udgør idéen om Europa. Europa har brug for at forholde sig til sin egen fortælling, genetablere eller gentænke sine værdier og sit grundlag. Er der brug for et oprør? Revolution? En styrkelse af de etablerede strukturer? En ny fortælling? Eller en genopdagelse af den gamle fortælling, hvad end den så er?

En række europæiske og danske filosoffer blev i efteråret 2017 og foråret 2018 inviteret til Danmark for hver især at forholde sig til idéen: Europa. De skulle hver forfatte og fremlægge et manifest, og det er de tekster, der nu er samlet i denne bog.

Første bidrag i bogen er af Alenka Zupančič. Ifølge hende må vi først skabe det Europa, vi er bange for at miste. Vi skal ikke blot tolerere krisen, apokalypsen, i et forsøg på at bevare vores nuværende privilegier. Det sande valg står ”mellem at miste det hele eller at skabe, hvad vi er ved at miste”. Srečko Horvat advarer mod normaliseringen af præ-apokalypsen. Europa imploderer, hvilket kalder på et endnu ikke indfriet potentiale: radikal internationalisme. Dette betyder ikke, at vi udelukkende skal handle på globalt niveau. Kun igennem en sammenhæng mellem det mikro-lokale, det lokale, det nationale og det globale kan vi forløse det potentiale, der kan føre os ud af den permanente krise. Ifølge Malte Frøslee Ibsen lever vi i skyggen af det splittede Europas realiserede dystopi. Vi må tage afsked med begrundelsen for det virkeligt eksisterende Forenede Europa, som har vist sig skuffende og dysfunktionelt, hvis vi skal gøre os forhåbninger om at redde Europa fra sig selv. Nina Power laver et opråb for en international humanisme forankret i eksistentielle indsigter om vores tilværelse og privilegiers vilkårlighed, hvilket kalder på en radikal redistribution af de materielle goder. For Wolfram Bernhardt står valget slet og ret mellem demokrati og kapitalisme. Demokrati betyder frihed, hvorimod kapitalisme er trældom for de mange. Demokratiet står for gennemsigtighed, lighed og umistelige rettigheder, hvorimod kapitalismen står for fortrolighed, en retssikkerhed til fals for økonomiske interesser og retten til at forbruge. Rasmus Ugilt pointerer, at Europa slet ikke eksisterer, og at det bør være sådan. Dog er idéen Europa stadig virksom, hvorfor vi bør underkaste denne virksomhed forskellige former for guddommelig vold (et begreb hentet fra Walter Benjamin) i form af generalstrejke. Luise Meier kræver et opgør med den politiske og kapitalistiske status quo, og endvidere at vi orienterer os udover den europæiske horisont. Vi må ikke risikere en europæisk nationalisme, men derimod efterstræbe solidaritet mellem europæere og ikke-europæere.

Dette fordrer blandt andet, at vi ser den europæiske historie fra neden. Søren Gosvig Olesen problematiserer de identitetspolitiske strømninger i Europa. Den europæiske idé har som oftest ladet sig formulere som universelle værdier: frihed, fornuft og deslige. Når disse formuleres som identiteter, forsvinder det universelle aspekt, hvorfor vi både har brug for en ny tilgang til universalitet og identitet, og så i det hele taget at lade være at bilde os ind, at vi kan være vores identitet. Jörg Schaub er i sit manifest fortalende for selvbe-grænsningen af national magt, hvilket beror på en demokratisering af EU og en denationalisering af politikken. Dette skal understøtte en idé om Europa som et negativistisk projekt, der aldrig mere vil tillade holocaust, diktatur og rædslerne, der udspillede sig under de to verdenskrige. Denne bevægelse væk fra krigen er irreversibel ifølge Rasmus Nørlem Sørensen. Europa vender aldrig tilbage til krigen. Men det europæiske samarbejde befinder sig i et tomrum, og et nødvendigt solidarisk opgør med lobbyisme, monopoler og en ikke-tilstrækkeligt reguleret finanssektor fordrer et legitimerende kollektiv, der må være europæisk, hvis ikke det skal blive nationalt. Jon Auring Grimm slutter samlingen af med nogle refleksioner over Europa og antologiens manifest, der særligt betoner den eksistentielle armod, der i dag søges lindret igennem identitære fællesskaber og forbrug.

**TILBAGE TIL  
EUROPAS FREMTID:  
TO FORSLAG**  
Alenka Zupančič

**Del I: At drukne** I 1991 udsendte Lars von Trier filmen *Europa*. Som produktionsåret indikerer, blev filmen skabt på højdepunktet af pro- og præ-europæisk eufori, i stor forventning om Unionens formelle etablering. Og selvom filmens fortælling finder sted i en anden europæisk tid (slutningen på 2. verdenskrig), begynder dens berømte åbningssekvens helt afgørende med en nedtælling, hvor Max von Sydows hypnotiske stemme fører os til "Europa":

"Du vil nu lytte til min stemme. Min stemme vil hjælpe dig og føre dig stadigt dybere ind i Europa. Jeg vil tælle fra et til ti. Når jeg har talt til ti, vil du være i Europa. Jeg siger: et, to..."

Filmen slutter også med en nedtælling. Det tog, hvorfra åbningsens hypnotiske sekvens er filmet, slynges fra en bro ned i en flod, og filmen ender med hovedpersonens ligeså hypnotiske drukneulykke, fanget i en togkupé: "Du befinder dig i et tog i Tyskland. Nu synker toget. Du vil drukne. Når jeg har talt til ti, vil du være død." Med den langsomme nedtælling som baggrund er vi dernæst vidne til hovedpersonens desperate, pinefulde og håbløse druknedød. Da den tællende stemme når "ti", er helten død.

Set fra vores perspektiv i dag, et kvart århundrede senere, med den europæiske skæbne inderligt forbundet til billedet af at drukne, kan *Europa* ikke undgå at slå os som dybt profetisk. Det følgende er to eksemplariske avisoverskrifter (fra 2016, men tingene har ikke ændret sig særlig meget siden): "Mere end 3000 migranter er indtil videre druknet i 2016", i forsøget på at nå Europa, og: "Europa vil måske snart blive oversvømmet af en ny bølge migranter." Migranter, der ikke drukner i Middelhavet, truer med at oversvømme det europæiske fastland. Tilsammen udtrykker disse to overskrifter et virkelig forfærdeligt alternativ: "Lad dem drukne eller bliv druknet af dem."

Den sørgelige kendsgerning er dog, at Europa ikke behøver no-



## SUR-EUROPA

Jon Auring Grimm

Under 2. verdenskrig malede surrealisten Max Ernst sit mesterværk *Europa efter regnen II* (1940-42). Det forestiller et uigenkendeligt Europa efter katastrofen. Ved nærmere eftersyn spirer genkendelige fragmenterede motiver frem i det ellers øde landskab. Ruiner, ansigter, knogler og væsener. Billedet er på én gang feberdrøm og vision. Mareridt og opvågningen til en ny dags gry.

“De fleste har en idé om, hvad den amerikanske drøm går ud på. Men hvad er den europæiske drøm?” Således blev Srećko Horvat og Alenka Zupančič spurgt under det første Europa.Manifest!-arrangement. Zupančič afviste prompte præmissen: “Hvad Europa skal have, er ikke en drøm, men en idé! Og en idé adskiller sig netop fra drømme, eftersom den ikke er noget individuelt. Det er noget universelt”. Med idéen om det universelle følger muligheden for solidarisk mobilisering. Men det er også en idé om et fællesskab, der, ifølge Zupančič, endnu ikke er realiseret, og som vi, til trods for at den endnu ikke er realiseret, immervæk lever i frygten for at miste. Denne frygt for at miste et Europa, et Danmark, et Frankrig og så videre nærer tendenser til at bevare. Den nærer en nostalgisk, tilbageskuende og protektionistisk strategi, der baserer sig på fortællinger om en truet eller tabt national eller europæisk identitet. Formaningen bliver derfor, at det fællesskab, den idé, vi lever i frygt for at tabe, først må skabes. Men for så vidt det fællesskab, der først skal skabes, bygger på en forestilling om universalitet, må det nødvendigvis også være et fællesskab, der peger ud over en positiv bestemmelse af en europæisk identitet.

Er der et Europa, vi kan være i fare for at miste, er det et Europa, der endnu ikke findes, og sådan bør det også være, pointerer Rasmus Ugilt i sit manifest. En samlet positiv bestemmelse af Europa synes uden for rækkevidde. Men på trods af at Europa ikke er realiseret og endnu ikke eksisterer, arbejder det. Og dette arbejdes realitet er en ufravigelig kendsgerning, hvis du eksempelvis som flygtning sidder i en af de tyrkiske flygtningelejre og må kigge

vidualitet af den dobbelte erkendelse af sig selv som forestilling (eksempelvis den akkumulerede identitet) og som noget *Qualitas Occulta* (kvalitativt skjult), der ikke lader sig bestemme positivt, altså en intim erkendelse af sin egen tilstand, der ikke lader sig udtømme af forestillingen. Det er denne dobbelte erkendelse, der knytter det erkendende subjekt til netop os. Vi er med andre ord et sirligt forbund mellem bestemmelse og ubestemmelighed, det homogene og det heterogene, begrænsning og det ubegrænsede. Det betyder også, at individualiteten er åben, altid udleveret og deltagende. Vi er med Georges Batailles ord kommunikerede. Kommunikation betyder i denne henseende ikke udvekslingen af information, men den intime forbindelse, der knyttes i et forbund mellem mennesker, såkaldte immanensrelationer. Disse immanensrelationer finder altid sted i en overskridelse af den homogene orden, i den heterogene ikke-uniformitet. Den intime overensstemmelse lader sig derfor ikke indfange eller udtømme af identitetsmarkører. I den forstand rummer det paradoksale svar til Brians tale i Monty Pythons mesterværk *Life of Brian* en vis sandhed. Brian siger "We are all individuals. We are all different", hvilket mængden ukritisk gentager i kor. Kun én svarer "I'm not". Vi er som individer altid allerede udleveret til et fællesskab, også det vi længes efter at realisere, hvorfor et fællesskab, der ikke formår at rumme den enkelte i sin udleverethed, reducerer denne til sin identitet eller til nøgent liv.

Ønsket om at begribe den europæiske idé er derfor i en vis forstand absurd, såfremt idéen forstås som en selvberoende identitetsbestemmelse. Skal fællesskabet baseres på universalitet, rækker dette nødvendigvis også ud over en positiv identitetsbestemmelse, og som Jean-Luc Nancy konkluderer i *Identité*, falder "en identitet, der er i stand til at identificere sig selv [...] ned i vanvid". Identitet er, hvad enten der er tale om hin enkeltes eller gruppens, mere intimt end "hvilken som helst akkumulation af identitets-træk". Ønsket om et fællesskab er derfor ikke sammenfaldende med forestillingen om uniformitet. Det skal snarere forstås som en enhed, der er konstitueret af en immanent selvmodsigende mangfoldighed, som den heraklitianske bue. Forestillingen om identitet, som er

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MANIFESTO!**

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Visions for the Future of Europe

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Wolfram Bernhardt

**EUROPE.  
MANIFESTO!**  
Jon Auring Grimm  
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These are times of upheaval in Europe. In Denmark, in Europe and on a global political level, phenomena such as Brexit, the election of Trump and the rise of right-wing movements in countries such as Greece, France, and the Netherlands all signal a growing nationalism. These examples mark tendencies towards reinforcing borders and toward confirming national identities rather than consolidating transnational communities and collaborations. Together, these developments influence Europe – not just the continent as a player in global politics, but also Europe as a philosophical and political idea.

The notion of a united Europe is in many ways an ideological position, which grew out of a multitude of different political, cultural, and philosophical movements. At a closer look then, the idea of Europe consists of many internal contradictions:

Europe is the Enlightenment, humanism and the birth of Human Rights. Europe is Reformation and the division of the continent into South and North, Catholicism and Protestantism. Europe is euro-Islam, the euro and europol. Europe is Plato's academy, Humboldt and the Danish folk high schools. Europe is the death of God, Marx, and opium for the people. Europe is the Iron Curtain and the fall of the Berlin wall. Europe is the 1968 student revolt and the 1956 Hungarian uprising. Europe is multiculturalism and nationalism. Europe is Milan Kundera, Thomas Mann, Herta Müller, and Inger Christensen. Europe is the impossibility of writing poetry after Auschwitz and Srebrenica.

In light of the current situation in world politics and following the new ideological tendencies in Europe, we want to shed light on the complex narrative and the contradictory notions inherent in the idea of a united Europe. Europe must confront its own narrative, it must reestablish or rethink its values and its foundation. Is there a need

for a revolt? Revolution? A strengthening of the established structures? Writing a new narrative or rediscovering the old one, whatever that is?

In the autumn of 2017 and the spring of 2018, a range of European philosophers were invited to Denmark to each present a take on the idea of Europe. They were asked to write and present a manifesto for the future of Europe, and these texts are now printed together in this book.

The first contribution in the book is by Alenka Zupancič. According to her manifesto, we must start out by creating the Europe we are afraid to lose. We should not just tolerate the crisis, the apocalypse, in an attempt to keep our current privileges. “[T]he true choice is between losing it all and creating what we are about to lose,” as she puts it. Srećko Horvat sends out a warning against the normalisation of the pre-apocalypse. Europe is imploding, which calls for a potential that has not yet been fulfilled: radical internationalism. This does not, however, mean that we should only act on a global level. Only by connecting the micro-local, the local, the national, and the global, can we fulfill the potential that can lead us out of our permanent crisis. According to Malte Frøstee Ibsen, we are living in the shadow of the realised dystopia that is divided Europe. If we are to save Europe from itself, we must part with the notion of an actually existing United Europe, which has proved disappointing and dysfunctional.

Nina Power calls for an international humanism anchored in existential knowledge about the contingent nature of our living circumstances and our privilege. This calls for a radical redistribution of material wealth. For Wolfram Bernhardt, the choice is between democracy and capitalism. Democracy connotes freedom, whereas capitalism is slavery for the many. Democracy represents transparency, equality, and inalienable rights, whereas capitalism represents confidentiality and legal rights under the pressure of economic interests and the right to consume. Rasmus Uggilt points out that Europe does not exist at all, and that it should be that way. However, the idea of Europe is still at work, which is why we should make this work the subject of various kinds of divine violence (a con-



**BACK TO THE  
FUTURE OF EUROPE:  
TWO PROPOSITIONS**  
Alenka Zupančič

**Part One: The Drowning** In 1991 Lars von Trier made the film *Europa*. As the year of its production indicates, the film was made at the height of pro- and pre-European Union euphoria in great anticipation of its formal establishment. And although the narrative of the movie is set in another European time (the close of WW2), its famous opening sequence significantly begins with a count-down, with which the hypnotic voice of Max von Sydow brings us to “Europa”: “You will now listen to my voice. My voice will help you and guide you still deeper into Europa... I shall now count from one to ten. On the count of ten, you will be in Europa. I say: one, two...” The film also ends with a countdown. The train from which the opening hypnotic sequence is shot hurtles from a bridge into a river, and the movie ends with an equally hypnotic drowning of the main protagonist, caught in a train compartment: “You are on a train in Germany. Now the train is sinking. You will drown. On the count of ten, you will be dead.” We then witness, against the background of a slow countdown, the desperate, agonizing and hopeless drowning of the protagonist. When the voice reaches “ten”, the hero is dead.

Seen from our perspective today, a full quarter-century later, *Europa* cannot but strike us as deeply prophetic, with the European destiny profoundly linked to the image of drowning. The following are two exemplary newspaper headlines (from 2016, but things haven’t changed very much since): “More than 3000 migrants drowned so far in 2016”, trying to reach Europe; and: “Europe may soon be swept by a new wave of migrants.” Migrants who are not drowning in the Mediterranean threaten to flood the European mainland. Together, these two headlines convey a really ghastly dilemma: “Let them drown or be drowned by them.”

The sad fact is, however, that Europe doesn’t need any “wave

Indeed, in many respects this apocalyptic mood is a displaced repetition of the apocalyptic mood of the '60s. And when bad, or strange, things happen (on a personal or a broader social level), it is always smart to avoid the idea that we are the first to experience something like this. Because this is usually not the case and, even more importantly, intelligent people have most likely already dedicated some time and thought to it, which is well worth revisiting. For example, in 1964 Maurice Blanchot wrote a remarkable text, with a most ingenious title – *The Apocalypse Is Disappointing*. This title is what one would rightfully call a "perspective shifter": amidst all the talk about a possibly imminent apocalypse and doom (mostly, but not exclusively, related back then to "the Bomb" as the boiling signifier of the cold war), to suggest that apocalypse may be "disappointing" effectually opens a whole new way of thinking about it. As the title suggests clearly enough, Blanchot's intervention doesn't join in in the prevalent apocalyptic singsong, but aims

Part Two: The Apocalypse and its Problems For some time now, we are living and are told to be living in (pre-)apocalyptic times: Looming ecological disaster, economical crashes, wars, "terror", millions of refugees, and now even the reemergence of the configuration of the Bomb of the '60s.<sup>1</sup>

Why does this sound so unlikely, so difficult to imagine?

(mal)functioning.

Hence my first proposition: What Europe needs is not a dam (or a wall) to protect it from an immigrant or other wave, what it needs is rather its own wave, current, flood. What it needs – to borrow the name of the famous Haitian left wing movement and party – the Flood, is its own Flood, its own Levalas. What it needs is a serious and well organized, international movement of the left that would constitute a genuine alternative platform to its present

of immigrants" to be swept away and drowned, to disappear as a meaningful entity, as a political project based on enlightenment and emancipatory legacy, aiming at social justice and equality. For Europe is its own worst enemy (and its "immigrant politics", or better the lack thereof, is part of this self-sabotaging behavior).

Why then am I so worried about European disintegration, when I in fact agree with many of the criticisms levelled against the EU? How would I have to look at the EU to see not only its current flaws but to also bring into focus the promising political project that I must think it is? And what is the EU's political promise?

**European Integration: A Historical Perspective** I suggest a turn to the history of the idea of European unification to search for answers to these questions. If we do that, we can learn that the horrors of two world wars did not dissipate "visions" of European integration, on the contrary, the wars seemed "to have given them greater force" and urgency.<sup>3</sup> Consider, for instance, Altiero Spinielli's and Ernesto Rossi's manifesto for a "Free and United Europe", drafted while being imprisoned by the Fascist regime in Italy in 1941.<sup>4</sup> In a key passage, they argue that in order to distinguish "between progressive and reactionary parties" it is "no longer" enough to simply ask whether they are, more or less, for "democracy" or, more or less, for "socialism".<sup>5</sup> Against the backdrop of their experiences with dictatorships and wars in Europe, they state that all political forces from now on have to be considered "reactionary" that strive exclusively for the control of "national political power".<sup>6</sup> By the same token, for a political force to lay claim to progressivism, it now has to struggle for both democracy and "international unification".<sup>7</sup> What Spinielli and Rossi demand is thus nothing less than the breaking of the "old moulds" of nation state politics, so that we can re-imagine and re-invent the state and avoid the "old absurdities" and horrors arising once again on the European continent.<sup>8</sup>

Manifestos like this provide us with the resources to generate a perspective on European integration that is sensitive to the historic significance of this project.

First, European unification is a negativist project. What grounds it are the unspeakable horrors of two world wars, the holocaust, dictatorships (that, at least in some areas of the European south and east, lasted much longer than WWII), the atrocities committed against minorities and political dissidents. Europeans have encountered hell on earth, evils that are, as the dramatist Heiner Müller

put it, “too difficult for consciousness to bear”?<sup>9</sup> To say that the European project is a negativist project means that the point of European integration is to avoid these evils re-emerging in the future. The European project thus inverts a model that is popular among contemporary political philosophers: namely to first construct an ideal state, or realistic utopia, and then realize it. The European project is not guided by ideal states, it is guided by the dystopian evils of our recent past, the repetition of which it aims to avoid.

Secondly, European integration is driven by an experience of dissonance. To borrow from the title of Ian Kershaw’s history of Europe from 1914-1949, if one goes to hell, then it is simply not good enough to just come back from it.<sup>10</sup> There is a sense that one cannot simply re-build the Europe of sovereign nation states if one has become historically aware of how this system itself was implicated in Europe’s descent into hell. The experience of a dissonance between a (re-emerging) Europe of sovereign nation states, on the one hand, and a historical consciousness that has identified these as part of the problem, on the other, generates – together with the above-mentioned evils – a historical imperative to go beyond the old system of sovereign nation states.<sup>11</sup>

This brings me to the third feature of my perspective on European integration. The response to this experience of dissonance is both political and aesthetic, for it is about re-imagining and creatively transforming the “old moulds” of the nation state, to use Spinnelli’s and Rossi’s sculptural metaphor.<sup>12</sup> To summarise, the European project depends on a commitment to explore, remember and avoid the evils of the past, to identify the factors that facilitated Europe’s descent into hell, and to creatively diffuse these enabling factors, that is, to move us as far away from hell as possible.<sup>13</sup>

**The Project of State Transformation** I can now account for my sense that holding on to the process of European integration is a historical imperative and, at the same time, one of the most ambitious political projects of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: for this open-ended and unprecedented project is about nothing less than the imagina-

devoted to change through consumption, are those who do not have funds: Spare some change, man?

But as Power emphasizes, Europe is also Marxism, revolutionary egalitarianism, internationalism, radical democracy and existentialism. And it is precisely the existential aspects of the lasting crisis that are necessary to keep in mind when you want to understand the counter-movements that manifest themselves in Europe today. As early as in the 1940s, Simone Weil diagnosed the rootlessness of France and Europe. Houellebecq's work is constantly rereading attempts to overcome the loneliness of individualism and the construction of the new man, who is no longer suffering for the transient neurosis: the 'I'. Out of resignation and pragmatism, the protagonist in his novel *Submission* converts to Islam because of an unsuccessful attempt to achieve spiritual rootedness. God is dead, community is up for grabs, and the market congregation only relieves against indulgences that can be purchased. Indulgences in the form of consumer goods and consumer communities that depend on a logic that contradicts the very longing for community and worldly congregation. The new identitarian movements answer this existential loneliness and this longing for an affiliation. Thus the nationalistic, identitarian and neo-fascist uprisings are not only to be understood as symptoms of the crisis, but also as efforts to alleviate the atomization and loneliness – the social implosion – that the crisis entails. In other words, the attempt to establish a community across national borders must not only focus on structural criticism of power dynamics, but also address the existential destitution that seeks alleviation through identitarian communities and consumption.

On the whole, it's a hoax to make people believe that they can be their identity, as Søren Gosvig Olesen notes: According to him, we have not wanted to acknowledge our European identity because it has largely not been formulated as such, but as something universal. And it is precisely this universal aspect that disappears when it is formulated as identity. Insofar as identity is an accumulation of character traits, it is never a fixed entity, but somewhat fluid. It's not something you *are*.

According to Arthur Schopenhauer, individuality is constituted by the dual recognition of oneself as a representation (for instance the accumulation of character traits) and as something *Qualitas Occulta* (qualitatively hidden), which can not be decided in positive terms, that is an intimate knowledge of one's own state, which cannot be exhausted by the representation. It is this dual knowledge that ties the subject to us. In other words, we are a composition between determination and indeterminability, the homogeneous and the heterogeneous, the limited and the unlimited. This also means that our individuality is open-ended, always exposed and participating. We are communicating, in Georges Bataille's sense of the word. Communication, in this regard, does not mean the exchange of information, but the intimate connection that between cohesive beings, that is so-called relationships of immanence. These relationships of immanence always occur in excess of the homogeneous order, in the heterogeneous non-uniformity. The intimate attunement therefore does not allow itself to be captured or exhausted by identity markers. In that sense, the paradoxical response to Brian's speech in Monty Python's masterpiece, *Life of Brian*, contains a certain element of truth. Brian says: "We are all individuals. We are all different", which is echoed in unison by an uncritical crowd. Only one responds: "I'm not". As individuals, we are always already extruded to a community. This is also the case for the community we long to realise, and therefore a community that cannot embrace the exposed individual is actively reducing it to its identity or to bare life.

The desire to understand the European idea is therefore absurd in a sense, insofar as the idea is understood as a self-reliant determination of identity. Should a community be based on universality, this would necessarily also exceed a positive determination identity, and as Jean-Luc Nancy remarks in *Identité*: "An identity that is able to identify itself [falls] into madness". Identity is, whether it is the individual or the group's, more intimate than "any accumulation of identity features". The desire for a community therefore does not coincide with the concept of uniformity. It should rather be understood as a unity that is constituted by an immanent contra-

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