

Europe is More Than the EU

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Lecture

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Dear Mr. President and Rector, dear students and guests!

I am very thankful to you that I may be able to speak here today about a topic that is for me, and for many other contemporaries, very near to my heart. I would like to speak with you about Europe.

It is important for me to establish from the beginning that the future of our common Europe is unequivocally in the hands of the youth; so, also in your hands, dear students. My speech may give you advice as to which aspects and facts should be paid attention to in dealing with the theme of 'Europe;' and it should contribute to a discussion, which must take place with mutual understanding regardless of national borders. My lecture is meant as an introduction.

In Berlin an initiative was founded, a *Collegium* known as "Europe is more than the EU." The Russian newspaper *Izvestia* covered this activity in Berlin a few months ago: www.izvestia.ru/comment/article3127450.

For nearly 30 years, Berlin and its wall had been a synonym for the division of the world, and above all for the division of Europe. Today, 20 years after the fall of the Wall, Berlin is an impressive example of the lived integration of East and West, almost centrally located between Brussels and Moscow. In Berlin, our Europe of the future has already begun.

The *Collegium* "Europe is more than the EU" will set-up a multi-lingual homepage to invite cooperation in the future of Europe. I hope that you, too, will contribute your thoughts and proposals.

My speech is divided into the following sections:

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- Theses
- What is Europe?
- Misconceptions
- The Demand
- The Identity of Europe
- De Gaulle and the Following
- The myths of Europe

- Values
- Proposals
- An Appeal to the Young

Introduction

The word 'Europe' quite probably has Greek origins and means "the creature with the wide vision." May we citizens of Europe live up to our name. Above all, may our youth come to be proud and thankful that they are the children of Europe.

They should, however, also know that the greatness and strength of all of our Europe is still yet to be achieved, and it will be a rocky path, indeed. Europe suffers a lack of trust amongst itself. It is the result of more than 200 years of national and ideological egotism. The people of Europe long for a free, secure, and more comfortable future and they are entitled to it. Above all, winning back Europe's lost trust is the indispensable condition, necessary for the achievement of this demand.

Future generations must "struggle" for this trust, which includes you, dear students. You must do this with all the energy at the disposal of youth. The young are entitled to it and the older generations must help, even at the risk of young people having to force the assistance of their elders. Dear students, tackle this issue before it is too late!

Theses

The future of the world is increasingly defined by the competition between four economic and cultural areas: the People's Republic of China, the Republic of India, North America and Europe – connected in each case with their neighboring countries.

As an economic and cultural space, Europe extends from Gibraltar and Iceland, west of the Eurasian continent, all the way to the Russian Chukotka Peninsula in the East – thus, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The 'Europe' that I am speaking of here is more than just geographical Europe.

Only a region with expert knowledge and future technologies, raw materials and energy sources, integrated logistics and efficient management at its disposal will be competitive. Moreover, an important precondition for strength is that justice and solidarity are recognized and observed as moral values, there is a stable legal system, and state and economic actions are transparent. The balance between freedom and responsibility must be safeguarded.

Together, the countries of Europe possess these virtues, as well as high intellectual potential. They therefore stand a chance to succeed within the global competition of these

regions. However, the precondition here is that these countries must identify and establish themselves as a European cultural and economic area, with the common values of cohabitation that are accepted by the people of Europe. This self-identification is conditioned on trust between the countries. Europe needs confidence-building measures.

An especially important requirement for the development of a European cultural and economic region is the partnership of the raw material and energy rich Russian Federation and the technologically savvy European Union. The EU needs Russia and Russia needs the EU. The teaming up of these two powerful centers is the key to a strong Europe.

Germany has the historical obligation to bring about this cooperation between the EU and Russia with all its energy – because of its history as well as its strength. Since Peter the Great, some 300 years ago, Germans and Russians have been intensively connected. And Germany participated considerably with the establishment of the European Union, in close cooperation with France.

With regard to Europe's competitors, some remarks are permitted here.

The **People's Republic of China** can produce anything in the world with their unparalleled workforce, from sales goods to high-tech products. In that way, it is a novelty in global economic history. China is becoming the factory of the world.

The fundamental basis for the success of the Chinese, aside from their inexhaustible work force, is their uninhibited urge to analyze the unknown and the ability to adapt the best of it, the courage to improvise with risks, and the industriousness and strength to endure; founded on an ethic grown over 2500 years, which clearly differs from that of Europe. Incidentally, China, together with Hong Kong and Taiwan, has enormous capital reserves of several billion US Dollars at its disposal, waiting to be used for the global purchase of resources and technologies to be introduced. China is about to conquer the world with capital and through migration.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), with its seat in Beijing, also serves this purpose. In addition to China and the Russian Federation, important countries from central Asia, South Asia and the Far East are part of the SCO: as members, observers and dialogue partners. The working languages of the SCO are Chinese and Russian. At present, the SCO represents approximately a quarter of the global population, with trends increasing in that direction; it is the largest regional organization world-wide. The most important objectives of the SCO are the "cooperation and collaboration of political, scientific/technological, cultural, tourist, and ecological spheres, with respect to trade, energy, and transport."

The peaceful Chinese conquest through migration and capital will be felt most by countries that are rich in the raw materials and energy resources, which China lacks; but also,

countries with high-technology industries have already taken notice. It will not be easy to compete with China.

In 1991, the **Republic of India** began economic reforms under the leadership of Manmohan Sing, an economist trained at the English Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. He deregulated the highly regulated Indian economy.

An outsourcing industry with call-centers operating worldwide, on an unprecedented scale is being developed: law offices, medical practices, banks, insurance companies, business analysts, etc., in any desired language. On a small and large scale, knowledge about the entire world is being accumulated in India.

Furthermore, an enormous software industry is emerging. Programs for logistics and planning are developed in India. Companies from all over the world outsource their software-capacities to India. In this way, knowledge, particularly about technology, commerce and management will be transferred to India.

At the same time, it should not be overlooked that India is becoming a significant industrial location. Automobile, machine, and pharmaceutical industries are developing there with a global reach. India is also on the hunt for raw materials and energy sources.

Finally, it must be noted: Indians hardly adapt. Rather, they develop new, practically usable know-how from everything they learn. In doing so, they possess a high degree of managerial talent, which is promoted at elite Indian universities with extremely rigid selection processes. It is a product of an ethic grown over more than 2500 years, which, like the Chinese ethic, is a far cry from that of Europe.

Regarding **North America** as a competitor, it should only be said that Europe hopes the US says goodbye to the conception of steering the world through unilateral action, and that multilateralism succeeds also in the United States under President Barack Obama. Europe wishes that its integration will not be disturbed, not even from across the Atlantic. The influence exerted by the USA on Poland, the Czech Republic and Ukraine in recent years was very disruptive, particularly because it was welcomed there by the die-hards of yesteryear. It produced mistrust in Europe, and thus was not a respectable instrument of competition.

Mistrust weakens Europe. Europe longs for the dismantling of mistrust, not the opposite. Instead of breeding mistrust in Europe, the United States should use the opportunity of mediation by Russia – and thus Europe – in upcoming global conflicts, especially in the Near East, in Iran and Afghanistan.

What is Europe?

Europe consists of 20 countries and country groups, as demonstrated by the following table.

Country	Population (Millions)	Area T km ²	GDP (nominal) Billion \$ 2008	GDP Per Head \$
European Union EU 27 Member Countries	500.0	4,325	18,394.12	36,788
Russian Federation 83 Federation Subjects	141.9	17,075	1,676.59	11,815
Ukraine	45.9	606	179.73	3,915
Republic of Belarus	9.8	207	60.29	6,152
Swiss Confederation	7.7	41	492.59	63,973
Republic of Serbia	7.5	77	50.06	6,675
Kingdom of Norway	4.8	385	456.23	95,048
Republic of Croatia	4.5	56	69.33	15,407
Bosnia and Herzegovina	4.5	51	18.47	4,104
Republic of Moldova	3.3	34	6.12	1,855
Republic of Albania	3.2	29	12.96	4,050
Republic of Macedonia	2.2	25	9.57	4,350
Republic of Kosovo	2.1	11	2.71	1,290
Montenegro	0.7	14	4.82	6,886
Republic of Iceland	0.3	103	17.55	58,500
Others	0.2	0.7	6.50	32,500
Total	738.5	23,040	21,457.64	29,056

Others: Principality of Andorra, Principality of Liechtenstein, Principality of Monaco, Republic of San Marino, Vatican City.
Despite having regions that are geographically part of Europe, Turkey and Kazakhstan are not mentioned as they do not belong within the European cultural realm.

The European Union consists of 27 countries. This includes my country, Germany. These 27 countries surrendered substantial parts of their sovereign rights to the European Union in order to secure for their citizens increasing freedom, peace, security and prosperity. Freedom of choice with regards to jobs, the Schengen agreements, the Euro, the single market, and the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) are important components.

Altogether, Europe has about 740 million inhabitants. Of those, the European Union has around 500 million residents and the three sibling-countries, Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, have a combined total of nearly 195 million – Russia alone has 140 million. The remaining 16 countries have about 45 million inhabitants.

For the purpose of comparison it should be noted that the populations of the three most important national economies in competition with Europe are as follows: The Peoples Republic of China, 1,330 million; the Republic of India, 1,166 million – both of whose populations are on the rise; and the United States of America, 305 million.

In 'Europe,' the land area of Russia, west of the Urals combined with its sibling-countries, Ukraine and Belarus, amounts to about 4,765 km², which is somewhat larger than that of the European Union. The section of Russia west of the Urals alone has an area of 3,952 km², only 9% less than the European Union.

The following numbers are also important: in 2008 the gross national product of the 20 countries and country-groups in Europe in total amounted to 35% of the global gross national product (60,689.81 billion US\$, nominally); in comparison to the 30% by the EU, 24% from the USA, 7.3% by China, 2.8 % from Russia, and India's 2%.

A country's gross national product per inhabitant shows the level of prosperity a society is capable of achieving. Here, the United States impresses with 46,767 US\$ (per head), but also the European Union with 36,788. China, India and many others will emulate these realms. The desire for prosperity and work is the primary driving force behind competition; only seldom, as in previous times, through military power.

The citizens of the European Union are often referred to as "the" Europeans. This is wrong and signals the exclusion of citizens whose countries lie outside the European Union. Yet, they are also Europeans.

In the first place, Russians are a part of this verbal exclusion, citizens of a country that for centuries has had a large impact on the development of Europe – as it still does today.

Furthermore, the inhabitants of the former Yugoslav countries must not be excluded. No less than 17 Roman emperors were born in the Balkans, including Emperor Constantine whose Edict of Milan allowed Christians, and all people, the freedom of worship. And Markus

Aurelius, the stoic on the Roman throne, who was very important for the development of the history of ideas of Europe, governed from the Balkans.

If the inhabitants of the EU call themselves “the” Europeans, it is arrogant. If the other Europeans call the inhabitants of the EU “the” Europeans, that is a betrayal of themselves. Both attitudes are incorrect with respect to Europe.

We should therefore proceed with a good example and, from now on, differentiate between Europe on the one hand and the European Union on the other – as well as between Europeans and citizens of the EU. Europe is more than the EU.

Misconceptions

Misconceptions make the path to ‘Europe’ rocky. They strain the culture of discussion, deepen divisions, they can become poisonous prejudices, and destroy trust.

One such case of parading misconception, and indeed prejudice, is the argument put forward by Samuel Phillips Huntington, the American politician and journalist, in his treatise *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order*. He claims that there is no European civilization, and thus no European identity.

According to Huntington, there is only a West European civilization and an East European civilization, each composed of specific groups of states. Additionally, he alleges that in the future, these two groups will develop isolated from one another.

By consulting a map, the chapter “Bounding the West” shows the geographical course of this boundary between two presumed civilizations runs from the Norwegian-Russian border on the Barents Sea in the North all the way down to the Croatian-Montenegrin border at the Adriatic in the South; which in the process, divides some countries of central Europe.

Huntington establishes a new Iron Curtain right through Europe, directly through, among others, the Republic of Belarus and Ukraine – the two sibling countries of the Russian Federation. What should this wedge in Europe produce?

Huntington drives another wedge between the countries of Europe, when he says that the alleged West European civilization is incompatible with the Islamic one; which, in the same breath, he does not shy away from referring to in relation to the supposed East European civilization.

The book by Mr. Huntington was released in 1996. I mention it here again because its theses continue to be recited by the opponents of Europe in the East and West, and because the American administration, above all under President Bush, really shaped its arguments.

Opinion makers like Huntington overlook the integrative element in Europe. They ignore the ethic of the Ten Commandments for all countries; the cross-border, common cultural departure of the 19th century; the effect of Karl Marx; the European life in St. Petersburg and Paris at the beginning of the 20th century; the suffering in the two world wars, as during the war of ideologies; the fall of the Berlin Wall; and last but not least, the myths of Europe. All together these are the important foundations for the identity of Europe.

They further neglect the readiness that exists within Europe to accept non-Christian fellow citizens. This acceptance is based on the ideals of religious freedom and tolerance – an important achievement in the European history of ideas.

We should all take exception to the conclusions drawn by Huntington and his followers. They deepen rifts in Europe and further complicate the path to a united, successful European future. They weaken Europe in global competition. Is this wanted?

The Demand

In order to cultivate trust within Europe, as well as to stand a chance against the aforementioned competitors, Europeans must reflect upon the identity of Europe. A collective European self-perception is absolutely necessary.

The European elites are challenged to work out the identity and values of Europe, maintaining both with humility, for the well-being of the European people. European myths are to be revived to support this common identity. The development of a European identity and mythology is a centrally important task, also for the young.

It is essential to put national and regional egocentricity into perspective. Peace in Europe has been achieved. Military and ideological threats in Europe are consigned to the past. Trade in Europe is alive and well. It is now possible to travel nearly problem-free. Reciprocal investments take place. Communication across borders is a common part of life.

European elites must work towards a culture of open, transnational discussion; above all, preserving common interests and perspectives, or, where they have been lost, regaining them. They must also work towards overcoming existing misconceptions, to prevent prejudices from developing, and to circumvent new ones. Here, too, when necessary, the young must take the lead.

The elites must do all they can to ensure that the discussion about Europe takes place as close to the citizens as possible. The citizens of Europe should be able to identify themselves through their intensive interaction with 'Europe,' with its strengths and weaknesses.

The Identity of Europe

Identity describes the sense of belonging of an individual or a social group to a certain collective. Common experiences, as well as suffering felt on a community-level, foster this sense. Identity formation is based on the realization that there is a cultural difference between individuals or groups regarding moral concepts, language, conventions, customs, and other aspects of the lived experience.

The criteria that shape a cultural identity are heterogeneous and can contradict each other. They also may carry varying levels of importance amongst different groups within society; regionally as well as socially (elites, intellectuals, and others).

Collective identity grows out of common experiences in the past, present, and future. This means that Europeans must take into account their history, appreciate the events of the present, and work together on common enterprises in the future. Then, the identity of Europe will be discovered.

Allow me to mention some important emerging identities of Europe, whereby it will become clear that events of the past continue to have an effect today. Certainly, this list is not exhaustive, and may cause some criticism. However, you will see, that these are meant as examples that might prompt you, the youth of Europe, to think about the European identity.

Mediterranean

An important note in the collective memory of Europe is that its cradle rests in the Mediterranean.

Some 3000 years ago, the Greek civilization emerged on the eastern side of the Mediterranean Sea – the core of Europe. The ancient Greek city-state, the *Polis*, gave Europe democracy, especially the rule of law and equality before the law.

The legend of Europa is part of Greek mythology. In the form of a bull, Zeus, the father of the Greek pantheon, abducted the Phoenician Princess, Europa from the Orient and brought her to Crete. Zeus called the continent to which Crete belonged, Europa, in order to please his beloved. She bore him three sons, half-gods, each with an important task for living amongst people, similar to the responsibility that would later be given to Maria of Nazareth.

In 1910, the painter, Valentin Alexandrovich Serov from St. Petersburg (1865-1911) depicted the kidnapping by Zeus in his picture “the Robbery of Europe.” <http://vserov.ru/kartina6/123.php>. In 1917, this picture was used as a model for an

impressive sculpture by the 'Royal Porcelain Manufactory' in St. Petersburg, which is now the 'Lomonosov Porcelain Manufactory.'

On the western side of the Mediterranean Sea, the *Imperium Romanum* was founded around 2500 years ago. It gave Europe the knowledge of how politics and administration function efficiently in a territorial state; and it introduced Roman law.

The Greek and Roman civilizations came together through trade and migration. Greek culture fertilized the Roman civilization.

The Eastern part of old-Europe speaks Greek and the West speaks Latin. In the East, Greek intellectualism would be cultivated; while in the West, Roman state pragmatism reigned.

Likewise, Christianity developed in the Mediterranean and soon spread out over Western Rome and eastern Byzantium.

European civilization in the Mediterranean is the synthesis of the Greek, Roman, and Christian spirit. Within this fusion, the Greek spirit contributed the idea of freedom, truth, and beauty; the Roman spirit gave the idea of the state and law; and the Christian gave faith and love. The Roman Emperor Constantine relocated the Roman center of power from Rome in the west to Byzantium in the east.

The ancient history of the Mediterranean region is not a prequel to Europe. It is, instead, its own, European history. Europe in the Mediterranean was a historical reality long before the nation-states north of the Alps and north of the Black Sea took to the stage of world history.

The Greek-Roman-Christian synthesis still exists today, though in the meantime it has developed with different emphases in Eastern and Western Europe. The West produced a Latin Europe, a cultural succession of the western Mediterranean life; and in the East, Slavic Europe developed a culture based on life in the eastern Mediterranean.

The Mediterranean is a part of the identity of Europe.

Christianization

The Roman Empire lost its meaning. After some intermediary steps under the Ottomans, the Holy Roman Empire developed in Western Europe. At around the same time it developed in the East under the Rurikides of Kievan Rus.

In the West, the Teutonic leader, Clovis I had already accepted Christianity in its Latin form by the year 500. The East followed in around the year 1000, when Rurikide Vladimir I accepted Christianity in its Greek incarnation.

The absorption of Germanic, Celtic, and Slavic cultural property into the rites of both Churches is the process of Christianization. In both cases, monotheism is the legitimization of central power, and the simultaneous adaption of church administration by the state.

Christianization is a part of the identity of Europe.

Division of the Churches

Around 1000 CE, the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches split primarily because of internal political factors, but also based on dogmatic and liturgical differences. The different languages – Latin in the West and Greek in the East – furthered this division. This conflict between the Churches does not contribute to the building of confidence within Europe, in fact quite the opposite. Up through today, the two Churches have consistently attempted to find their way back to each other, but without success. Even now, the Russian Orthodox Church has severed ties with the German Protestant Church, the “Protestant offshoot” of the Roman Catholic Church, because it elected for its presidency, a woman – and a divorced woman, at that.

The Churches are highly counterproductive in the finding of a common European self-understanding, as they have always been.

The division of the Churches is a part of the identity of Europe.

Dynastic Connections

The Kievan Rus represented the combination of the eastern Slavic and northern European dominions into a single, multi-ethnic realm. It extended from Old-Lagoda in the north to Tmurtorokan in the south, so from the Finnish Sea Gulf to the Black Sea; and from Galicia in the west, along the same longitude as Brest-Litovsk to Murom in the East, 290 km east of modern-day Moscow. The Kievan Rus was comprised of some 2 million square kilometers: containing the area of central Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. It was the largest empire of the Middle Ages, existing for nearly 400 years. The monarchs were Vikings, who were very quickly Russified. They ruled as Grand Dukes from Kiev.

Close, kinsman-like bonds existed with the ruling houses of Western Europe. This holds true for the Grand Dukes of Kiev, who married Western European princesses from Poland, Sweden, Germany, and England. In particular Izyaslav II should be mentioned here, who married the daughter of Hohenstaufen King Conrad II. Another example is the marriage of Anna of Kiev to Heinrich I, King of France and Duke of Burgundy. The Muscovite Tsar Ivan IV, an anglophile, corresponded with the English Queen Elizabeth I over trade, and asked to take as his wife a niece of the British monarch. By forming a dynastic alliance, a firmer basis was

formed for common trade with the Orient. Furthermore, with the Romanovs ruling from the Russian throne, yet another close dynastic connection existed between Western Europe and Russia.

Dynastic connections have always been conducive to viewing Europe as a whole. It is all the more reprehensible that the cousins George V, King of Great Britain; Nicholas II, Tsar of Russia; and Wilhelm II, German Emperor, allowed the First World War to happen, driven on by national egotism and personal vanities.

Dynastic connections are a part of the identity of Europe.

“Russian Earth”

In the 13th century, Europe was attacked by the Turko-Mongols. The large Kievan Rus was broken up into smaller Rus.

The western portion came under Lithuanian, and later Polish-Lithuanian influence, which is now in the region of modern day Ukraine and Belarus. The Southeast went to the Turko-Tartars, and is now Ukrainian. The Northeastern part, including Moscow, became a tributary area under Turko-Mongol influence. Thus, the “Russian earth” was partitioned.

This division of the “Russian earth” is still deeply rooted in the collective consciousness of the majority of Russian, Belarusian and Ukrainian people. “Rodina mat” – motherland – is how the Russians refer to the “Russian earth.” 100 years after the collapse of Kievan Rus, Grand Duke Ivan I of Moscow moved the Orthodox Metropolitans from Kiev to Moscow, and promoted the “collection of the Russian earth,” a process that all of his successors would feel bound to. In point of fact, the Russian Grand Dukes, and later the Tsars, were successful in reuniting the lands of the Kievan Rus. It took them nearly 450 years. Grand Duke Ivan II, Tsar Alexei, and Tsarina Catherine II are largely responsible for that success. In 1918 this realm collapses, experiencing a rebirth a little while later in the Soviet Union, only to disintegrate again in 1991. The western border of the Russian Federation rests today in the same location where Tsar Alexei, the father of Peter the Great, would have found it some 350 years ago. It runs through the middle of the “Russian earth,” which is full of irrational mysticism. Around 160 years ago, Nikolai Vasilyevich Gogol, a Ukrainian living in St. Petersburg, described this East Slavic spirituality as sensitive and impressive, for which the division of the “Russian Earth” is most painful. This is a difficult concept for most Western Europeans to understand, except perhaps the Germans.

If nothing else, the sensibilities that exist today between the Russian Federation, the Republic of Belarus, and Ukraine are based on the unfulfilled desire to be rejoined.

The discussion about the accession of Ukraine into NATO is not very helpful in this regard, especially considering that even some countries within the European Union are not members of NATO: Ireland, Sweden, Finland, Austria, Malta, and Cyprus. West Europeans should respect the trauma of the breakup of the “Russian earth” amongst the sibling-countries of Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine. They should wholeheartedly wish for, and also help to find a path by which lived friendship can remove that pain.

Fortunately, these sibling countries are increasingly economically interconnected. Beyond that, however, enterprises and activities must be initiated, which build trust so that Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine will be able once again to live their common inheritance; no doubt, under the conditions of the 21st century, in partnership and mutual respect.

With regard to this trauma, the Polish-Swedish initiative of the “Eastern Partnership” (EaP) of the European Union is also more than misleading. The Eastern Partnership is a political program that offers Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia negotiations for Association Agreements with the European Union, and holds out the prospects of full candidacy for EU accession in accordance with Article 49 of the EU-Treaty. The “Union for the Mediterranean” for the European Union partners in North Africa does not provide for the latter.

Regarding Belarus and Ukraine, this process deepens the division of the “Russian earth.”

And, why would the non-European Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia be given the option to join the European Union? The South Caucasus does not belong to Europe. The aforementioned are border countries of Russia.

Russia feels besieged by the Eastern Partnership of the European Union – at the very least, affronted.

This initiative certainly is not a trust-building measure. Some attribute it to the influence of the United States, and also NATO, to isolate Russia. The Eastern partnership runs the risk of making the road to ‘Europe’ more difficult, similar to the theses of Samuel Phillips Huntington.

Perhaps Russia can come up with a constructive answer to the Eastern Partnership of the European Union by initiating its own Western Partnership.

The content of both of these partnerships should be that the sibling countries the Russian Federation, the Republic of Belarus and Ukraine be able to form a relationship to the European Union, which is not full membership, but rather something that approximates a partnership agreement. Russia, as a world and nuclear power, will not be able to enter the European Union, not even to overcome the division of the “Russian Earth.” However, for the

sake of the future of Europe, a way must be found that the “Russian Earth” can be brought back together.

The “Russian earth” is a part of the identity of Europe.

St. Petersburg

The late-Middle Ages left their mark on Europe. Latin Europe lived in close connection to the ancient sources of the Greek *Polis* and Rome. East-Slavic Europe was shielded by the Orthodox Church and by the Cyrillic script. In Latin Europe, cities, merchant and artisan trades were developed. Gothic Cathedrals in cities are striking symbols of this development. East-Slavic Europe lived in the vastness of the countryside participating in trade and was administered by the Church. Impressive symbols of eastern development are represented by the rural monasteries, which were strongholds as well as trading posts. This growth of Europe in different directions, this Iron-Curtain of the Middle Ages, was overcome by the Russian Tsar Peter the Great.

The great Peter, who adopted the title “Emperor of the Russian Empire,” brought Europe back together – East and West. He built St. Petersburg as a European city, which would exist under his successors for more than 200 years as an important platform for politics and economics in Europe; and for the second half of that time period, would also become a considerable hub of the arts in Europe.

For example: The Russian polymath, Mikhail Vasilyevich Lomonosov studied at the University of Marburg, where he married his German wife, he then worked at the laboratory for mining and metallurgy in Freiburg. He later conducted research in St. Petersburg and is considered the founder of Russian science.

Leonhard Euler from Basel, one of the most eminent mathematicians, was a professor in Saint Petersburg for 20 years. Almost half of his life’s work was conducted in the imperial Russian capital.

The European poet laureates Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin read each other’s works and were great admirers of one another. Both dealt with the European myth Faust.

With regards to music, Michail Ivanovich Glinka must be mentioned, who introduced western European opera to Russia and was later buried in Berlin; as well as Peter Ilyich Tchaikovsky, who was a preeminent critic of European music.

Karl Pavlovitch Bryullov must be mentioned here as an exemplar of European painting, who worked in every major European city.

Sergei Pavlovich Diaghilev should also be named, as he forged an entirely new understanding of European Ballet with his *Ballet Russe*, especially in Paris.

And of course we must not forget that the Hermitage in Saint Petersburg houses one of the most important collections of classical European art, including two paintings by the universal genius Leonardo da Vinci.

Another interesting fact: In 1855, Carl Siemens, the brother of Werner Siemens, established a branch of Siemens & Halske in St. Petersburg. It was the beginning of a trust-filled collaboration that has lasted more than 150 years, and is an extraordinary example of lived 'Europe.'

In the 19th century St. Petersburg and Vienna were equally European cities, just as Paris at the start of the 20th century, or Berlin is today.

St. Petersburg is a part of the identity of Europe.

Colonization

In the middle of the last millennium, Europeans felt their Europe becoming spatially and intellectually cramped. The conquistadors broke the world open. Western Europeans conquered the world across the sea, and Russians took a considerable part of the Asian continent. Europeans colonized the world, followed by missionary work. Large colonial empires rose up, which disintegrated again in the last century. None could develop a sustainable self-identity.

Colonization is a part of the identity of Europe.

Enlightenment

Above all, the Enlightenment arose from England, France, the Netherlands, and later also from Germany. It demanded freedom rather than absolutism and equality in lieu of social hierarchy. Scientific knowledge replaced old preconceptions. Tolerance took the place of the old dogmatism. The Enlightenment was based on the understanding that people are essentially good, and it stood for the secularization and rationalization of the state, economy, and society. The maxim "truth gives freedom" gave way to the insight that "freedom gives truth."

In Russia, Peter the Great began implementing the ideas of the Enlightenment, and founded the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. More than a few times, the Emperor of the

Russian Empire met with the important Enlightenment thinker, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz to work on West European technology in Eastern Europe. Tsarina Catherine the Great set the work of Peter the Great into motion. She was in constant contact with the Enlightenment thinkers of Western Europe and sought a compromise between Western European Enlightenment and the Slavic-Orthodox World.

The Enlightenment impacted Europe at least as much as Christianity; and some contemporaries would argue that it had an even greater influence.

The Enlightenment is a part of the identity of Europe.

Suffering

During the last 100 years, Europe was shaped by heavy military and ideological conflicts. Europeans are connected by their shared suffering. In both world wars, the people of Europe paid an immense price in blood.

The First World War claimed around 17 million lives, leading to the radical change of conditions in Russia and Germany, and shifted the borders of Eastern Europe at the expense of the "Russian earth." At the end of World War I, Germany was burdened with the Peace Treaty of Versailles, from which the young Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (RSFSR) was notably absent. The results of the war had exceptional consequences, which must be explicitly examined here. The Versailles Treaty was a fundamental reason for the seizure of power by the National Socialists within the German Reich, and thus the cause of the Second World War, which the Russians refer to as the Great Patriotic War. This second great war of the 20th century stole 55 million lives in Europe and East Asia; 38 million people fell, were murdered, killed or went missing in Europe; 21 million Soviets fell victim to the war – the majority of them sons and daughters of the "Russian Earth;" 5.9 million Poles, 5.8 million Germans and Austrians, and some 1.8 million Yugoslavs died.

An incomprehensible crime is the murder of six million people, predominantly Jews from Central and Eastern European countries by, and in the name of Germans. For this, German Chancellor Willy Brandt prostrated himself, giving an apology on December 7, 1970 at the monument to the Jewish Ghetto in Warsaw. This reverential action gave us Germans our dignity back and helped us re-enter the family of peoples, especially the European family. We Germans thank Willy Brandt.

This devastating world war gave birth to the war between the ideologies "Equality and Central Planning" versus "Freedom and Competition," both of which are interpretations of the ideals of the French Revolution. NATO and the Warsaw Pact stood opposite one another, building up nuclear weapons. In East Europe it came to uprisings for freedom: 1953 in Berlin, 1956 in Budapest and Posen, 1968 in Prague, 1981 in Danzig – each of which were

suppressed. On August 13, 1961, the foundations of the Wall were laid in Berlin along with a shooting order, should anyone attempt to cross from the East. Coping with these historical processes is important for Europe to unshackle itself from the pain in its memory, and to further promote the development of trust between the European countries. On the occasion of his visit to Berlin on June 5, 2008, Russian President Dmitri Anatolyevich Medvedev generously announced a scientific review.

The great suffering of the 1990s in the Balkans cannot go unmentioned. Four wars were carried out in a region that possesses the European tradition, in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Kosovo. Horrible atrocities occurred. After 1989, the confidence that was developing in Europe, particularly between the EU and Russia, again suffered setbacks.

At the end of the 1980s, Moscow lost its leadership of the Warsaw Pact and Comecon states. In the end, even the Soviet Union disintegrated – a process involving the fates of many people, and often connected to suffering. The collapse of this multi-cultural, multi-ethnic state is a great loss, as the Soviet Union was an important bridge between Europe and the secular Islamic world, with many perspectives for the future.

The last century was one characterized by experiments and suffering. De facto, it began with the First World War on July 28, 1914 and ended with the fall of the Berlin wall on November 9, 1989. The Suffering of this century is an important emotional part of the collective memory of Europe.

Suffering in the 20th Century is a part of the identity of Europe.

Overcoming the Division

After the fall of the Wall in Berlin, the two German states that were created following the Second World War – the Federal Republic of German and the GDR – were successfully reunified; for which the Germans thank history.

The remaining areas that Germany had to cede as a result of World War II go especially to the Poles, who were tested with great suffering for over 200 years. These formerly German areas are today a part of the European Union, and thus, for us Germans, a part of the European homeland, our shared homeland.

Have the Poles initiated the Eastern Partnership with Ukraine in order to overcome the partitioning of Galicia through the European Union – with Krakow in Poland and Lviv in Ukraine?

Overcoming the division is a part of the identity of Europe.

Social Market Economy

One particular outcome of the war of ideologies is the acceptance of the social market economy by both sides. In the social market economy, the state provides the framework for trade, especially in the economy. An important maxim for this framework is solidarity with the socially disadvantaged: the healthy help the sick, rich the poor, young the old; organized and administered by the state, including justifiable contributions on the part of individuals. Otto von Bismarck and Ludwig Erhardt are the fathers of this conception.

Trade unions play a considerable role in the social market economy as representatives of the wage-earners, salaried employees, and laborers. Worker participation within enterprises and on supervisory boards is ensured by law.

The national trade unions of all countries in the world are organized into a global alliance, which has four regional committees. One of these is PERC, the Pan-European Regional Committee, representing not only European Union members, but all the countries of Europe, including Turkey and the former Soviet states. The president of PERC is Mikhail Shmakov, the President of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia (FITUF) and the Dean of your University, who has invited me as a guest here today. PERC is one of the very few common-European institutions, indeed the most important one next to the Council of Europe, the European Broadcasting Union, UEFA and EAA. PERC represents the components of the social market economy in Europe, at present under the presidency of a Russian.

The social market economy is part of the identity of Europe.

De Gaulle and the Following

We need identity-forming politics for Europe.

Allow me to refer to certain events after the catastrophe of the Great Patriotic War, which contributed to the identity-formation of Europe.

In 1964, French President Charles de Gaulle expressed the hope that a day would come when “Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals” would be able to resolve its own problems – an early vision of a united Europe. At the time, General de Gaulle felt the United States to be paternalistic, a characteristic he believed his position must counter.

At that time, the French assertion that Europe reached “from the Atlantic to the Urals” was a political sensation, in an age when ideological blocs in the East and West still existed and the world found itself in the middle of a war of ideologies. Charles de Gaulle is a forefather of détente between the two blocs.

The Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) was very important for Europe as a whole. It was a series of general conferences of European states during the time of the East-West conflict. The first conference took place in Helsinki, beginning July 3, 1973, on the initiative of the Warsaw Pact countries. Next to the USSR, USA, and Canada, 35 states participated, including all the European countries (with the exception of Albania). The Helsinki Final Act was signed on August 1, 1975. Agreements were struck pertaining to human rights; cooperation on economy, science, technology and the environment; and security matters such as questions of collaboration on humanitarian affairs. Naturally, this conference must be seen set against the backdrop of the East-West conflict. Yet, it is indisputable that it brought Europe closer together; in difficult times, no less.

As a successor to the CSCE, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) was formed as a permanent state conference securing peace. All European countries, the US, Canada, and the post-Soviet states in central Asia and the Caucasus are members, as well as partner-states in North Africa and East Asia. The OSCE sees itself as a stabilizing factor in Europe. The European Union only has an observer role within the OSCE, an unfortunate deficit of reality with regard to the future.

Still, there is a platform missing in which the 20 countries and land-groups outlined in the table above can work exclusively together.

Myths of Europe

Europe needs Myths. They stir emotions and rouse a sense of belonging. Myths make themselves a firm part of an individual's character, representing common values as well as signifying important occasions and the current flow of ideas. Myths also commemorate important cultural events and developments. National myths are no longer helpful, rather they are more of a hindrance.

Allow me to point out a few important myths of Europe that are emerging. Again, this is certainly not a complete compilation and will perhaps be another point to critique. As ever, these are offered here so that you, the European youth, may see examples and be encouraged to think about the myths of Europe.

Mythic individuals of Europe are:

Faust

Faust embodies the dichotomy between the power of belief and the security of scientific knowledge leading to a pact with the Devil (examined by von Marlowe, Goethe, Pushkin, Heine, Gounod, Busoni, Bulgakov, Bryusov, Valery);

Don Juan

Don Juan embodies virility leading to an alliance with the Devil (examined by von Molière, Mozart, Pushkin, Nietzsche, Hoffmann, Dumas, Apollinaire, Tolstoy);

Peter the Great

Peter the Great fascinates because of his titanic drive. He embodies the combination of Western Europe and Russia, whereby he overcame many reservations, especially from the Church. He brought the wealth of the eastern countryside together with the opulence of the western shore. He founded St. Petersburg, the first real metropolis of Europe, and initiated scientific cooperation in Europe.

Peter the Great was the father of the Europe, of which I speak of here, temporarily overshadowed until the fall of the Wall in Berlin. The meaning of Peter the Great for Europe is not yet fully appreciated for its ultimate importance.

Napoleon

Napoleon fascinates because of his ascent from revolutionary to the Emperor of the French, which he crowned himself at only 35 years old.

Napoleon secured the accomplishments of the 1789 French Revolution and gave society a modern administrative, legal and cultural basis. He organized Europe anew and is the father of the emancipation of minorities, especially Jews. His countless wars introduced these values to nearly every country of Europe.

Karl Marx

In 1999, when BBC asked in its millennium survey about the “most important philosophers of the millennium,” Karl Marx came in at first place with an overwhelming majority.

People feel seriously taken by his idea that social conditions have an impact on an individual’s development; and through his vision that love of man as a species by an individual person is the only route towards becoming fully developed human beings. Furthermore, his dialectic, materialistic, radically secular philosophy fascinates because of its employment by the workers’ movement.

Karl Marx stood on the shoulders of European philosophers and mobilized both social reform and social revolutionary forces. The Soviet Union “exported” Marxism to the World.

Peter Ustinov

Peter Ustinov fascinates because of his multiple talents in the fields of film, theater, literature, and art.

He chastised that prejudice is one of the greatest evils of humanity and in 2003, founded the "Institute to Research and Combat Prejudice" in Vienna. If one follows the roots of his ancestors, then it can be said that Peter Ustinov is a Russian, French, Swiss, Jewish, and Italian descendant. He was born in Great Britain; baptized in Germany; lived most of his life in the United Kingdom, where he was ennobled; died and was buried in Switzerland. Peter Ustinov embodied a globalization that rests in the culture of Europe.

Mythic events of Europe are:

The Battle of Nations at Leipzig

The Battle of Nations at Leipzig is one of the largest battles in world history.

All of the important powers of Europe participated in the battle: Napoleon, with his soldiers from almost every European country, combating the rest of Europe. Essentially, the troops opposing Napoleon stood under Russian command. The Battle of Leipzig formed the experience of Europe gathering together. It is unfortunate that soon after this combined European experience, national egotisms adjusted the view and in the end, Europe sank into the wars of the 20th century.

The Soviet Flag on the Reichstag in Berlin

This event in May 1945 stands for victory over one of the most dreadful scourges of mankind: National Socialism. Never in Europe have the laws of coexistence been as offended as they were by Hitler. For him, the Ten Commandments, the codex of morality, were not significant.

The Soviet Union gave more than 20 million human lives for the victory over National Socialism. These victims are commemorated with monuments in every Russian city and are solemnly remembered on May 9th of every year.

The fall of the Berlin Wall

Europe once again lives in its entirety.

Values

Above all, the values of Europe are civic freedom, freedom of the press, freedom of trade, freedom of association, the freedom to choose an occupation, and representative

democracy. They are the democratic ideals of the 1848/49 West European revolution; the period that marshaled in the triumphal success of civil democracy.

A society needs great fortitude in order to internalize and translate these ideals. Nevertheless, Germany needed 100 years, until 1949, before a constitution existed that bore these ideals. Further values are equal justice between all people and solidarity with the less fortunate. And last but not least, legal certainty and transparency are important characteristics of Europe.

After the struggle of ideologies ended in 1989, East European countries also felt committed to these ideals.

The state must always ensure that these values are respected. However, there are different conceptions as to how intensively a state may contribute to, or impact that endeavor. Germany and England prize horizontal democracy, with little state interference. France and Russia tend more towards vertical democracy with more state influence.

You, the youth of Europe, must ensure that these values are taken to heart and even further developed in a democratic community of peoples into a value catalog that engages all of Europe. Each and every one of you is a guardian of European democracy, which was founded some 3000 years ago in the Greek *Polis*.

Proposals

China, India and North America are not waiting. The competition is already in full swing. Europe must find itself and get into position.

The most important task is the immediate reduction of existing prejudices and the deficit of trust within Europe.

In addition, the following projects are conceivable:

1. A "Europe" conference covering necessities and future perspectives, with the above mentioned countries and land groups as the participants; i.e., Europeans by themselves in a location outside the European Union, the Russian Federation, and NATO – in Switzerland, for instance, where direct democracy is pragmatically practiced; or perhaps San Marino, which is the oldest existing Republic in the world, with a history going back to the year 301 AD and the nick name: *La Serenissima*;
2. The scientific interpretation of European characteristics towards the finding of a canon of values, necessary for the future of Europe; i.e. giving priority to synthesizing the values of the European Union and the Russian Federation, researching all essential differences at a university in the EU and one in Russia;
3. Roundtables on the identity and myths of Europe, alternating between St. Petersburg

- and Berlin;
4. Projects for technological innovation – also in appreciation of Nikolai Dmitriyevich Kondratyev’s theory of economic waves, observed through the research and development facilities of the European Union and the sibling countries the Russian Federation, Republic of Belarus and Ukraine in the areas of energy security, urban and cross-regional transport logistics, environmentally compatible material cycles, medical technology, nanotechnology, and communication technology;
 5. Projects to develop Europe into a center for training, research and development, employing the intellectual potential of Europe. For example, the establishment of a cross-border technology platform at the Bauman State Technical University of Moscow;
 6. The exchange of pupils, trainees, students, and young professionals to acquire the important languages in Europe, advance vocational training, and to establish alumni networks; and
 7. The incorporation of ‘Europe’ as a subject into all school curricula in Europe.

An Appeal to the Young

It is imperative to overcome mutual reservations, especially mistrust in Europe. This is the most important prerequisite for Europe to be able to stand in competition with China, India, and North America.

The youth must be aware of this.

I appeal to all the youth of Europe, in order to influence your own future: develop a stake in the future of Europe. Thus, you should not be afraid to press your Elders into helping – with strength if necessary.

Perhaps the academic youth in Europe will concentrate its unspent energies and set up a cross-border and interdisciplinary virtual parliament of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Here, the young can engage themselves with the future values of Europe, with the support of their predecessors.

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Translated from German by Stefan Ducich, Atlantic Community Editorial Staff