

LIMITS OF PAX EUROPA: MUSLIMOPHOBIA

Dr. Burak Erdenir
Secretariat General for European Union Affairs
Turkish Prime Ministry, Ankara

The integration of Muslim immigrant communities into host societies has failed in major European countries. Despite the fact that both Muslim immigrants and host societies have mutual responsibilities, this paper focuses on the shortcomings in Europe with regard to its relation with Muslim immigrants. In addition to the improvement of socio-economic conditions of the immigrants, there is an urgent need for understanding each other and tolerance for differences. In an age where different cultures live side-by-side in pluralistic contemporary societies, the only way to attain peace in Europe would be through respecting the sensitivities and differences of the “other” within. Interculturalism requires smooth interaction and exchange between cultures. If Europe fails to reach cultural pluralism, social conflicts appear to be a very real risk.

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Introduction

At the end of January 2006, Salzburg- the city in which Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was born exactly 250 years ago, hosted a conference on the future of Europe. Together with the European Commission, the Austrian Presidency of the European Union held the conference entitled “The Sound of Europe”, where prominent politicians and intellectuals of the continent intensely discussed the values, limits and future of European identity. In the midst of the crisis sparked by the cartoons of Prophet Muhammad published in a Danish paper, the situation of Muslim immigrants was unfortunately overlooked. In his keynote speech, French Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin mentioned cafés as one of the shared qualities of European societies; but he missed out Muslims. The negligence of the “Muslim reality” at the intellectual level seems to have a connection with the rising Islamophobia in European societies.

Euro-Muslims

Today about 23 million¹ Muslims accounting for 4.5 percent of the total, live in the whole of Europe (not including Turkey) compared with only 800,000 in 1950. Each year around 1 million immigrants mostly from the Muslim countries are flowing into Europe. Birth rates of European Muslims are more than three times of those of non-Muslim Europeans.² It is estimated that Muslims will comprise at least 20 percent of Europe’s population in 2050. This would be the outcome of not only the increase in Muslim population but also the decline in general European population.

Even though historically the identity of Europe was constructed mainly through the “otherization” of Islam, Muslims remained relatively unknown until the second half of the 20th century. With the migration of large number of immigrant communities of Islamic background, Europeans started to discover Muslims. Hence, the image of Muslims began to go hand in hand

¹ US Department of State, *Annual Report on International Religious Freedom*, 2003.

² Omer Taspinar, “Europe’s Muslim Street”, *Foreign Policy*, March 2003, p.77.

with the concept of immigration. Muslim immigrants tended to settle down in the poorer neighborhoods of industrialized, urban areas such as the suburbs of major French cities, the Ruhr industrial area in Germany or the greater London area in the UK. As a consequence, they have been in contact with the urban population of the Western societies and been a major subject of discussion in mainstream politics and media.

After the collapse of communist regimes, unemployment in Europe dramatically increased putting immigrants in the spotlight. Especially after September 11, the principal threat shifted from the economic burden to the danger brought about by their culture. Such reservations have triggered the questioning of integration of Muslims into European societies, as they have been perceived as a challenge to the very identity of Europe. A new xenophobia emerged based on cultural differences, claiming the incompatibility of Muslims with the European culture. Following September 11, suspicion against Muslims turned into hostility creating an Islamophobia all over Europe.

Islamophobia or Muslimophobia

A British think-tank provided the first official definition of the term as “unfounded hostility towards Islam” containing prejudice, discrimination, exclusion and violence towards Muslims.³ According to the Council of Europe’s definition, Islamophobia is “the fear of or prejudiced viewpoint towards Islam, Muslims and matters pertaining to them”.⁴

European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia reports that after September 2001, Muslims have become targets of increased hostility and have faced increased physical and verbal abuse.⁵ Mosques and Islamic centers and people with visual identifiers such as turbans or headscarves have become targets. Fear towards Muslims has arisen from intolerance against differences. Muslims’ different traditions, life styles and even outfits have been under attack. In fact, not only Muslims: for instance, Indian Sikhs are being abused just because of their Muslim-like physical appearance, as they cover their heads with turbans although they have nothing to do with Islam. According to a July 2005 poll by *The Guardian*, thousands of Muslims have been

³ Runnymede Trust, (1997), *Islamophobia: A Challenge for us all*.

⁴ Ingrid Ramberg, (2005), *Islamophobia and its consequences on Young People*, Council of Europe Publishing.

⁵ Christopher Allen and Jorgen Nielsen, (2002), *Summary Report on Islamophobia in the EU after 11 September 2001*, European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia, p.47.

suffering from increased Islamophobia in the UK. More than half a million Muslims considered leaving Britain after the London terrorist attacks in July 2005, with “one in five saying they or a family member have faced abuse or hostility since the attacks”.⁶

In mainstream politics and media, Islamophobic sentiments are presented as natural. Islam is believed to have a connection with terror and violence. Spanish ex-Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar’s allegation that “The problem with al-Qaeda came as long ago as 1,300 years” indicates how Islam is perceived and linked with extremists.⁷ The cartoons depicting Prophet Muhammad as a terrorist has been an apparent example of how extremists are associated with ordinary Muslims.

To begin with, we should try and figure out the reasons underlying this reaction. Islamophobia is not a reaction against Muslims solely on religious basis. In Western Europe religion is losing its historical importance in binding communities. According to Gallup International Polls, for most of the Western Europeans (51 percent) “God does not matter that much”.⁸ The percentage of Europeans regularly attending to religious services is only 20 percent, while this figure drops to 10 percent in countries such as the Netherlands, UK, Germany, Sweden and Denmark. On a weekly basis, there are more mosque goers in England than churchgoers. For Europeans who are, in fact, characterized as post-religious or post-Christian societies, religion does not appear to be the primary motive in social and political relations. In fact, the cartoon crisis had nothing to do with the clash of religions. The reason behind the Danish editor publishing the cartoons was not because he was a strong adherent of the Evangelical Lutheran Church or Roman Catholic Church or he rejected Islam as the final revelation.

What is in the spotlight is the compatibility of Muslims with the European societies. In other words, Islam as a religion is not questioned as much as Muslims are questioned socially and culturally. It is more *Muslimophobia* than Islamophobia. Muslims may be marked by their faith but cultural, economic, social and political reasons lie at the heart of this reaction. It is the reaction to those Muslims who could not be integrated into host societies. In fact, all over Europe,

⁶ *Guardian/ICM Poll*, July 2005.

⁷ *The Economist*, July 28, 2005.

⁸ *Gallup International Millennium Survey*, (1999).

integration related concerns have increased the popularity of political parties such as Le Pen's French National Front, British National Party, Austrian Freedom Party, Belgian Flemish Bloc, Italian Northern League and Dutch List Party.

Failed Integration

Integration is a two-way street. Immigrants have their share in the failure of integration but the policies pursued by the major host countries take their part, as well. Germany's experience with guest workers (*Gastarbeiter*) that were expected to return home ended up in exclusion. German governments merely introduced guest-worker programs that aimed at employing guest workers temporarily, not taking into account the possibility of the immigrants' permanent settlement. The state provided the immigrants with limited rights, allowing them to create a society within the society. In fact, in Germany, only recently has a new immigration law been passed with measures aimed at easing integration, thereby accepting for the first time, that Germany is an immigration country.

In France immigrants have not been recognized as different communities. They have been expected to give up their cultural and linguistic features and eventually be absorbed by the host society. French *Jacobin* state tradition does not recognize cultural differences in the public sphere. Assimilation has been the ultimate objective. Since Muslims are not covered by the classical national minority definition of the European states based on ethnicity and race, they are deprived of minority rights, as well. Immigrants, in fact, acquire a legal status with the condition that they assimilate into the dominant culture.

The failure of integration policies is reflected in the socio-economic conditions of Muslim immigrants. Employment, education and housing conditions of Muslim immigrants are far worse than other groups in the host societies. Unemployment rate among Muslims are almost twice as much as that of non-Muslims. Educational and vocational success is inadequate, participation of Muslim women in the workforce and social life is limited. Among all other religious groups, Muslims are the poorest. For instance, "just 48 percent of British Muslims reported that they were economically active in 2001, compared with 65 percent of Christians, 67 percent of Hindus and

75 percent of those who professed no religion”.⁹ As a result, for Muslim immigrants, expressing their identities or striving to integrate has always been of secondary importance next to economic concerns. In fact, Muslims themselves choose not to be politically active. “In France, where 92 percent of adult citizens have registered to vote, the corresponding figure among Muslim citizens is only 37 percent”.¹⁰ So what is left is a culturally alienated, socially marginalized and economically unemployed Muslim population.

Cases of Islamophobia in Public Domain: Tests & Cartoons

Whatever the reason may be, Islamophobia is emerging in different forms: such as hate speech, verbal abuse, prejudice in media and discrimination in the provision of services by governments.

Since January 2006, the state of Baden-Wuerttemberg requires Muslim applicants - not all foreign nationals, only citizens from the 57 nations which are part of the Organization of Islamic Conference- who apply for German passport, to pass through an immigration test before they can become naturalized citizens. Questions go into sensitive topics such as homosexuality, anti-Semitism and domestic violence. To give a few examples: “Imagine that your adult son comes to you and says he is homosexual and plans to live with another man. How do you react?”, “Some people accuse the Jews of being responsible for all that’s bad in the world and even go so far as to blame them for the September 11, 2001 attacks in New York. What do you think of such accusations?” and “What would you do if your daughter wanted to marry a man of a different religion or wanted to enter a career you didn't approve of?”¹¹

In case a doubt arises on the answers given by the Muslim immigrant, the application is turned down. Searching correct (!) answers for such subjective questions, the test violates the private sphere of the Muslim applicants. The fact that only Muslims have to take this test brings about the question whether the test is constitutional in terms of equality and non-discrimination. This instance of Islamophobia from Germany is a clear discrimination by the state. It is striking in the

⁹ *The Economist*, 14 July 2005.

¹⁰ Timothy Savage, “Europe and Islam: Crescent Waxing, Cultures Clashing”, *The Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2004, p.36.

¹¹ SpiegelOnline <http://www1.spiegel.de>

sense that there has been a serious violation of the rights of Muslims with respect to their relations with the government.

The Danish cartoons crisis has been another remarkable instance of Islamophobia. This time the theme was hate speech and prejudice in media. The cartoons gathered quite an attention all over the world not only because of the reaction of fanatics but also because those concepts that were believed to be the nuts and bolts of the European democracies were put under discussion. The editor of the Danish paper, which first published the cartoons said, their intention was to test the limits of freedom of expression in Denmark with respect to Muslims (reminding an Orientalist perspective where Muslims are being tested as a passive object). Being the subject of intense debate for centuries, the limits on the right of freedom of expression is a deep philosophical issue that cannot be comprehensively addressed here. However, there are significant points to be emphasized with respect to Islamophobia.

First of all, freedom of expression is absolute; but it is absolute only until it is shaped by its context. Every Western democracy has laws on defamation and blasphemy that limit the framework for exercising this right. Most of them have strict penalties against child pornography. It is a crime to deny the holocaust in a number of European countries, as well. Each nation has its own sensitivities based on its culture, traditions and historical experiences. Just to give a recent example; in the FIFA 2006 World Cup, the city of Nuremberg hosted the English football team for a game last week. English fans were warned beforehand that the city of Nuremberg, where Nazi parades and rallies took place and where the trials were held following the Second World War, was particularly sensitive to its past and thus, Nazi salutes and the wearing of Nazi insignia were against the law and would end up with prosecution.

Nevertheless, the cartoons did not violate Denmark's penal code against blasphemous and racist speech, nor was it against the Danish law to publish the cartoons of Prophet Muhammad. But, wouldn't it be wiser to exercise the right for freedom of expression more responsibly by respecting the diversities brought in by "others"?

For centuries, Europeans have experienced conflicts, challenges, compromises; fought hard for freedoms. Through these challenges, irreversible rights have been acquired. That's why freedom of expression is inviolable and inalienable. Europe, today, has reached a new era in political history. Over the past fifty years, the level of integration established between the states and the peoples of Europe is *sui generis*. This ongoing integration process is a genuine success story in world history. The outcome has been a union hosting around half a billion people from nations with different historical traditions and different cultures. The continued political and cultural existence of such a union definitely depends on the success of embracing these differences. In fact, from its very basis, European Union is designed as a political peace project. It is not a culturally prescribed conservative union, nor is it a "Christian Club" as is commonly pronounced. Europe is a continent with many different traditions and languages. That's why multiculturalism and interculturalism aiming at the accommodation of differences have become popular topics in Europe in the last quarter of the 20th century. "Cultural **pluralism**", "tolerance" and "respect for differences", values on which the draft constitution is based on; the official motto of the EU, "unity in diversity"- are all a part of the official discourse, aiming at embracing cultural and religious differences. However, unfortunately, all remain as good-will statements.

Real life experiences of the immigrants with different backgrounds and their affiliation with European governments and societies indicate whether Europe is truly based on such values. Be it through cartoons or tests, the discrimination, prejudice, and abuse the Muslim immigrants have been facing contradict with all of these values, which the very identity of Europe is supposed to represent.

A multi-cultural Europe should seek interaction and exchange between cultures, and not compartmentalize and confine cultures as separate entities in separate worlds. In order to attain cultural pluralism in Europe, the cultural differences brought in by the immigrants should be recognized without being offended and discriminated against. Interculturalism requires smooth interaction and exchange between cultures. In an age where different cultures live side-by-side in pluralistic contemporary societies, the only way to attain pax Europa would be through respecting

the sensitivities of the “other” within. A healthy and prospective identity will only emerge if such values become visible at societal and political level.¹²

In short, the issue was not of imposing limits on the freedom of expression, it was about exercising that right with a civic responsibility in a multicultural society. Indeed, Muslims with common sense all over the world asked for more respect or an apology for the cartoons not for censorship.

Urgent Integration

Unfortunately, European politicians could not handle the cartoons crisis successfully. Unless immigrants are fully integrated, there is the risk for further incidents of Islamophobia. Improvement of the socio-economic conditions of immigrants is a requirement for the immigrant communities and host societies to peacefully co-exist and recognize different forms of life. Otherwise, the price to be paid may be social conflict and hatred amongst fellow citizens.

One other integration-related issue is security. According to counter-terrorism officials' estimations, 1-2 percent of the European Muslims could be involved in some type of extremist activity. In absolute values, the figure is an amazing 250,000-500,000 individuals.¹³ Those who support radicals are around 10 percent, which is around 2 million Euro-Muslims.

Europe has been the preferred location for training and recruiting terrorists. All of the terrorists involved in September 11 had some connection with European countries. Since 9/11, European countries have arrested 20 times more terrorism suspects than the United States.¹⁴ Many of the organizers of recent terrorist incidents -including Mohammed Atta, the September 11 leader; the Madrid bombers and London bombers - were radicalized not in the Middle East, but in Western

¹² It is important to note that the paper has the objective of analyzing the shortcomings of Europe with respect to its relations with Muslim immigrants. Not the other way around. Yet, the author believes that both sides have serious responsibilities. Besides, even though a multicultural Europe is supposed to be an inclusive one, as with every society, it too has its boundaries. Even if Europe is based on tolerance and liberal values, it must set certain limits to protect itself. Tolerance does not mean wide-open borders without any criteria for membership. What Europeans and Muslims share need not be common cultural attributes and traditions but the members of the society are required to be loyal towards common political values and practices including the values mentioned in the paper.

¹³ Savage, (2004), p.31.

¹⁴ Frederick Kempe, “Europe’s Middle East Side Story”, *Wall Street Journal*, July 29, 2003.

Europe. Most of them were second-generation citizens with a good command of the host country's language.

Economically deprived or socially excluded Muslims have been the target groups of the extremists. Once host societies exclude those immigrants who are experiencing a cultural shock, radical Islamist groups do not miss the opportunity in recruiting them. These recruits are the "born-again" Islamists prepared to carry out anything that is asked of them. It is worthy of note that "according to German and French experts, only a minority of European Islamist terrorists had been passionate fanatics in their Muslim home countries prior to coming to Europe".¹⁵ It is apparent that priority should be to stop these young Muslims from becoming terrorists in the first place. The only way around would be sound integration policies. In fact, Europeans should have initiated a debate on the ways to integrate their Muslim immigrants a generation ago, before the rise of radical Islamism.

Besides, even though today Muslims are not very much politically active, in the coming decades they will play a greater role in domestic politics. The issue of integration of Muslim immigrants into the European societies resembles that of the Afro-Americans into the United States in the 1950s. The percentage of Muslims in France- roughly about nine percent, is close to the ten percent of black population of the 1950s' United States. "Blacks in America" had been the top political and social agenda item of the country up to the 21st century. "Muslims in Europe" will definitely occupy the agenda of Europe for the coming decades. In the Europe of 2050, where Muslims comprise about 20 percent of the total population, it would become impossible for politicians to ignore the "Muslim immigrants" reality.

One other factor that would force Europeans to consider the integration issue more caringly would be their respective foreign policies. Unlike US, Europe is geographically close to the Muslim world and thus, has to define its security policies according to the adjacent Islamic world and the views of its Muslim population. As Savage puts forward, "in cost-benefit terms it is generally easier to respond to Muslims' concerns about foreign policy than to those about

¹⁵ Savage, (2004), p.33.

domestic matters, given both the generally limited political and financial resources required and the views of their non-Muslim constituencies”.¹⁶

Finally, the immigration issue also has a close link with the aging problem of the European societies. As a result of declining fertility rates and increasing median age, Western European countries have been facing a serious aging problem. UN projections indicate that in order to keep the level of working population at its present level, Europe needs about 1.4 million migrants per year until 2050, this meaning a total of 70 million.¹⁷ In fact, the UN report presents immigration as one of the solutions to the aging problem of the European societies. Of course, expecting to resolve the overall ageing issue solely via immigration would be an underestimation of the underlying problem. But this does not change the fact that the European states need to revise their integration policies.

Good Practices

Immigrant- host society interaction does not always appear to be a failure in European societies. There are some good practices for future models. Integration has been possible for a number of Euro-Muslims who simultaneously practice their religion and abide by the rules and principles of the political culture under which they are living. Muslims may well integrate into European societies and “be at the same time fully Muslim and fully Western”.¹⁸ For them, Europe is no longer considered as *dar-al-harb*, the land of war, since it is the land for millions of Muslims. In fact, Tariq Ramadan suggests a new category of *dar-al-shahada*, the land of witness, for European societies in which Muslims can give witness to their faith, but fully participate in the political and social life of the host societies. Hence, the main concern of Muslims in Europe is to be able to practice their religious faith in societies based on Judeo-Christian or secular values and at the same time integrate into the host society and have a say on the political and social life.

¹⁶ Savage, (2004), p.40.

¹⁷ United Nations Secretariat, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, (2000), *Replacement Migration: Is it A Solution to Declining and Ageing Populations*, ESA/P/WP.160.

¹⁸ Tariq Ramadan, (1998), *To be a European Muslim*, The Islamic Foundation.

A Case of Integration: Euro-Turks

The case of Euro-Turks living in European countries may serve as a model for the integration of Euro-Muslims. Of 4 million Euro-Turks, the majority live (2.6 million) in Germany, while there are substantial groups in France, the Netherlands, Austria and Belgium. Immigration from Turkey dates back to the 1960s in response to the request of European governments driven by a shortage of labor. Even though Turks were invited by the European governments, the host governments did not pay proper attention to the integration of these people. Most first-wave Turkish immigrants were unskilled workers from rural areas of Anatolia. They had to overcome the double shock of moving from their homeland to a foreign environment, and more importantly moving from the rural countryside to the industrial city-life. This, in fact, explains the social and cultural difficulties many of the first generation immigrants encountered in integrating into the host societies.

Fortunately, there has been significant improvement in the integration process. Unlike other immigrant communities, majority of second and third generation Turks have successfully incorporated themselves into the political, economic and social system of the host-societies. Especially in Germany where the majority of Turkish immigrants reside, a middle class of Euro-Turks who are genuine members of the host-societies has emerged over the years. Euro-Turks are no longer only workers employed in low-skilled jobs, lacking any representation in social and political life. Turkish community has its politicians, artists, artisans, businessmen, poets, novelists, bureaucrats, journalists, singers and teachers representing them in one way or another. Hard-worker Turks in Germany run 65,000 businesses, employing some 323,000 people and generating a revenue of € 26 billion. The Turks' entrepreneurial culture has obviously eased the integration process. They have been engaged in sectors like services, tourism, catering, telecommunications and construction. A number of them have acquired or applied for citizenship. Turks are also moving up the political ladder at local, national and European level. The second and especially, third generation immigrants' success in integration is confirmed through indicators such as the improved mastery of the local language, better performance at school, improved position on the socio-economic status, increased mixed marriages, lower birth rates etc.

An extensive research carried out on Euro-Turks by the Istanbul Bilgi University reveals that contrary to the strong clichés and stereotypes presented in media, the majority of Euro-Turks have become politically, socially, economically and culturally integrated into their host countries.¹⁹ Even though, there is still a 40 percent who are not integrated and have extreme political views, the majority are happy with their multiple identities. As a result of the intensive interaction between the host country and homeland via trade, communication and transportation facilities, multilingual Euro-Turks live on “both banks of the river”. Those who affiliate themselves both with the host society and homeland are remarkably high. 60 percent of German-Turks and 70 percent of French-Turks define themselves with their double identities.²⁰ It is noteworthy that political identity comes before religious and ethnic identities.

86 percent of German-Turks and 90 percent of French-Turks support intercultural dialogue, diversity, tolerance and multiculturalism.²¹ They accept the political culture of the host societies and are ready to interact with every group to find out similarities. They actively participate in the host society without challenging it but in return do not want to be challenged by the European societies for the differences they bring in. In fact the reason why Germany did not suffer from any serious “immigrant” riots similar to the recent events in France was that its main minority is relatively well-integrated Turkish immigrants.

The experiences of Euro-Turks indicate that Islam does not necessarily contradict with universal values, tolerance, human rights and democracy. By and large, western European states have the tendency to see Islam as a threat to their national security. For the third and fourth generation Euro-Turks, however, the orientation towards Islam appears as a quest for justice and fairness. The philosophy and practices of Islam by Turks does not contradict with the Western life style. As a matter of fact, Euro-Turks have always distanced themselves from radical Islam. Anatolian Islam as practiced by Euro-Turks should be distinguished from the fundamentalist Wahabi version of Islam. It has the capacity to interact with external influences and peacefully co-exist with not only Judeo-Christian but also liberal lifestyles. In fact, with its secular state and modern society, Turkey demonstrates a good example for this co-existence. It seems that the prospective

¹⁹ Kaya, A. & Kentel, F., (2005), *Euro-Turks: A Bridge or a Breach between Turkey and the European Union*, Center for European Policy Studies.

²⁰ Kaya & Kentel, (2005), p.4.

²¹ Kaya & Kentel, (2005), p.66.

European Union accession of Turkey with a Muslim population of around 70 million will be a great opportunity for Europe to question its limits of identity and diversity.

Euro-Turks contribute to the debate on the limits of European identity. Those who have been successfully integrated into the European societies demonstrate the fact that Europeanness is not a culturally defined holistic identity, but a dynamic process of being and becoming. The success in integration of those Turkish immigrants may be a forerunner for those marginalized Muslims in different European countries.

Conclusion

Integration is a two-way street. Muslims and Europeans both have a mutual responsibility in this respect and both have to go through a mental change, eventually resulting in the redefinition of their identities. Muslims should adopt the rules and practices of the social life in Europe without creating a parallel society, while Europeans should recognize the “Muslim reality” and accept the diversity brought in with them. Improvement of the socio-economic conditions of the immigrants is a prerequisite. But, in order to become a genuinely multicultural society, Europe has to recognize different forms of life and take care of issues brought about by immigration. If Europe fails to reach cultural pluralism, social conflicts appear to be a very real risk.

Unfortunately, the conference in Salzburg revealed that instead of searching ways to accommodate different cultures in a contemporary Europe, European intellectuals have been seeking a conservative definition of European identity. In fact, with such a retrospective approach for a holistic European culture, some European politicians have failed to effectively manage the cartoons crisis. As the Prime Minister of the country which has the highest share of Muslim population among EU members, Mr. de Villepin in Salzburg did not even mention Muslims in his *Europe of cafés*; but he explained the situation by making a confession at the European level: “Incompleteness is one of Europe’s main characteristics. To come back to Salzburg and music, we all know that Schubert did not finish his 8th symphony, that Mozart died before writing the last notes of his requiem and that Bach closed his eyes to the last notes of an endless fugue.

Incompleteness is not a failure: it is an appeal to the next generations to continue with the work accomplished and to take it further.”²²

The only thing we can do today is to hope that the coming generations will resolve the identity crisis of Europe through an inclusive approach, appreciating the fact that a prospective pax-Europa is a fluid, complex and unfinished process of becoming.

²² Keynote speech by the French Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin, Conference “The Sound of Europe”, 26-28 January 2006.