

Call for papers

The Atlantic Community. The Titanic of the XXI century?

Reopus volume 6 in preparation.

The creative cooperation of a very eminent group of Authors is the foundation of the Recifer Eurofutures Publication Series, sponsored by the WSB-NLU in Nowy Sącz. We can formulate a question, if the five volumes published in the years 2004-2008 are a real contribution in the grand debate *The future of Europe in the perspective of global change*. The answer can be formulated via the examination of the rich and differentiated content of the five following volumes:

1. Europe – the global challenges
2. Europe – the strategic choices
3. Europe – Reflection on Social Capital
4. Futurology – the challenges of the XXI century
5. Towards a New and Innovative Europe.

We propose to analyze the content of the five volumes *in toto* to see the emerging framework of creative reflexion related to the Future of Europe. **In this context we would like to formulate a call for papers, which will jointly create volume 6 of Reopus. You are most cordially invited to join the team of Authors of volume 6.**

The Atlantic Community. The Titanic of The XXI century?

Reopus volume 6

The beginning of the XXI century is a very dramatic or even tragic time in human history. We are overwhelmed by the perspective of the intellectual climate of neospenglerism. We are inclined to believe, that *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*¹ the decline of Western Civilization is a fatalistic verdict of history. In this spirit we are inclined to believe that the leading role of Western Civilization is a closed chapter in human history of the years 1500-2000².

¹ O. Spengler, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, München, Beck 1979, in English – *The Decline of the West*, in polish Zmierzch Zachodu

The XXI century will be an age of Asia and especially an age of Chindia – China and India. The Gordian Knots paralyzing the Atlantic Community at the beginning of the XXI century are destroying our hope and will to power, to be a very important actor of the global scene of the XXI century. We need wisdom, imagination and courage to analyze the experience of the Atlantic Community at the beginning of the XXI century using the conceptual framework of Gordian Knots and Alexandrian Solutions³.

The dramatic Gordian Knot of the Atlantic Community at the beginning of the XXI century is the destruction of the unity of Western Civilization, the unity of the European Union and the USA as an integrated actor of the global scene.

We need a megahistorical Alexandrian Solution to establish the unity of the Atlantic Community as an integrated and powerful actor of the global scene of the XXI century.

Nobody can challenge the integrated power of the Atlantic Community of the XXI century. This optimistic message is emerging from the brilliant book of Timothy Garton Ash⁴ *Free World – America, Europe and the surprising future of the West*.

The Atlantic Community is a very grand and powerful Community – A Community of Western Civilization, a Community of Liberal Democracies, a Community of Innovative Culture, a Community of Academic Freedom, a Community of dynamic capitalistic enterprises.

This power and grandeur is paralyzed by the political and ideological disintegration – a dramatic or even tragic Gordian Knot. **If the Atlantic Community will not find an Alexandrian Solution for this Gordian Knot then the Atlantic Community will really transform itself into the Titanic of the XXI century.**

Volume 6 of the Reopus series will be created in a dramatic climate of the Great Crisis 2008-2010: the crisis of the global order, the crisis in the processes of globalization, the crisis of neoliberalism and the crisis of the global elites.

² Compare A. Kukliński, *The transformation of the global scene* [in:] A. Kukliński, B. Skuza (eds) *Turning points in the transformation of the global scene*. The Polish Association for the Club of Rome, Warsaw 2006

³ Compare K. Rybiński, P. Opala, M. Hołda, *Gordian Knots of the 21st century*, Ministry of Regional Development, Warsaw 2008, compare also the papers of R.Galar and A.Kukliński in the volume. *The Future of Regions in the Perspective of global change*. Part one and two The Ministry of Regional Development, Warsaw 2008

⁴ T.G. Ash, *Free World*, Random House, New York 2004, the polish edition Znak, Kraków 2005

We have to practice the difficult art *contra spem sperare* and prepare a volume about the Grand Future of the Atlantic Community as a new Confederation of the European Union and the United States of America. This new Confederation will have the power and imagination to be a leading force in the creation of a new global order of the XXI century.

The question mark in the title of the volume is a challenge for our wisdom and imagination to see the optimistic future of the Confederation of The Atlantic Community or the pessimistic future of The Atlantic Community as a global Titanic of the XXI century.

The leading paper of volume 6 prepared by Louis Emmerij is enclosed. Following your request we will sent you the paper of P. Drewe „Innovation – a way out of the economic crisis for cities and regions?”. I am proposing to include this paper as a contribution to volume 6.

Antoni Kukliński
Nowy Sącz – Warszawa

The great Turning Point.

I.

We are waiting for your comprehensive contribution to volume 6 of the REUPUS Series. The Atlantic Community The Titanic of the XXI century? (please see the enclosed call for papers). I am convinced that the volume will be an integrated set of innovative papers. In this context we would like to ask you to contribute to the volume not only the expected paper, but also a comment to my note „The great turning point in human history”. Following the earlier editorial experience I would like to incorporate into the volume a set of controversial opinions concerning the sunset of the XX century and the sunrise of the XXI century. Your friendly cooperation would be very highly appreciated.

II.

The global drama of the years 2008-2010 should be not interpreted only in the narrow perspective of a financial and economic crisis. This crisis is an element of the great turning point in human history⁵ which is the real end of the long XX century.

In the conventional wisdom we have assumed that the XIX century was a long century and the XX century was a short century. According to this point of view the XIX century was started by the Congress of Vienna (1814) and closed by the outbreak World War I (1914). The XX century is an era opened in 1914 and closed in 1989-90 by the collapse of the Soviet Empire. **To my mind this is a wrong judgment. The XX century is also a long century of the years 1914-2010.**

The subject of controversy is related to the allocation of the two decades 1990-2010 to the XX or to the XXI century. To my mind the experiences of these two decades should be seen as an sunset of the XX century and not as an sunrise of the XXI century. **The multidimensional historical sunset is a great turning point in human history.**

The first dimension of this sunset is the end of the domination of the Western Civilization as the leading global civilization of the grand era 1500-2010. This is not the end of the Western Civilization, it is only an end of the quasi monopolistic position of Western Civilization in the creation and destruction of the global order.

⁵ For the methodology of Turning Points compare A. Kukliński, B.Skuza (eds.) *Turning Points in the transformation of the global scene*, The Polish Association for the Club of Rome, Warsaw 2006

The second dimension an of this sunset is the end of PAX Americana as an ideology and power responsible for the global order in the years 1945-2010. This is not the end of USA as a global superpower it is only and end of the Roman grandeur of the American power⁶.

The third dimension of this sunset is the end of neoliberalism as an ideology and management doctrine organizing during 3 decades 1980-2010 the performance of the global economy and indirectly also the performance of global society and culture. This is however not the end of liberalism one of the greatest achievement of the human mind – an ideology which will find a strong place in the landscape of the XXI century⁷.

The fourth dimension of the sunset is the bankruptcy of the global elite. The victorious coalition of World War II has created a grand global elite which was able to design a new global order organizing the world of the years 1945-1990. **The global elite of the years 1990-2010 was not able to design the new global order for the XXI century. This elite is now not able to answer the challenge of the global crisis of the years 2008-2010 and in broader terms the challenge of the great turning point in human history.** The intellectual, moral, political and charismatic weakness of this elite is a dramatic *signum temporis* of our times. Will the XXI century find an Alexandrian Solution for this Gordian Knot⁸?

III.

The hypothesis of the multidimensional sunset of the XX century is opening a trajectory of two interpretations. **A pessimistic interpretation – an approaching era of global catastrophe – the doomsday vision and an optimistic interpretation the sunrise of the XXI century – the vision of hope.** It would be quite possible to outline a doomsday vision of the XXI century, but in this paper we will follow the attitude *contra spem sperare*. We will try to outline some elements of the sunrise vision of the XXI century.

IV.

The great challenge of the XXI century is to design and implement the idea of a new global order⁹. Let us indicate four potential features of this order:

⁶ Compare F. Zakaria, *The post American World*, Allen Lane, London 2008

⁷ Compare the paper of R. Galar and K. Pawłowski [in:] A. Kukliński, B. Skuza (eds.), *Europe in the perspective of global change*, Warsaw 2003, The Polish Association for the Club of Rome

⁸ Compare the paper of P. Opala, K. Rybiński [in:] A. Kukliński, K. Pawłowski (eds.) *Futurology the challenges of the XXI century*, REUPUS volume 4, Nowy Sącz 2008

⁹ Compare the papers of A. Kukliński [in:] A. Gašior-Niemiec, A. Kukliński, W. Lamentowicz (eds.) *Faces of the XXI century*. Global Futures Forum, Rewasz Pruszków 2008

- 1) It will be an order functioning in the climate of global risk and universal uncertainty
- 2) It will be a pluralistic global order incorporating the coexistence, cooperation and competition of a dynamic network of global powers and global civilizations¹⁰. The challenge of multipolarity of economic, political, cultural and military power is the greatest institutional challenge of the XXI century. This multipolarity is not only the multipolarity of political superpowers, but also the multipolarity of grand transnational corporations and the multipolarity of grand international organizations
- 3) It will be a dynamic global order accepting and promoting the next generation¹¹ oriented attitude towards the present and the future times
- 4) It will be a global order able to face successfully the dilemma global renaissance versus global catastrophe¹²

In the interpretation of the global order of the XXI century I would like to mention three volumes which may be quoted in this context (see footnotes one, two and three)

V.

G5 and the new global order of the XXI century. The global order of the XX century was de facto created by the Anglo-Saxon elites and by the dominating Atlantic Civilization. The construction of the global order of the XXI century will be a much more difficult and complicated process involving actors representing quite different systems of power, systems of civilizations and fundamental values. In this context the title of the grand opus of S. Huntington „The clash of civilizations and the remaking of global order” has a prophetic relevance. The immense scale of this challenges is created by the deeply differentiated system of the real and potential superpowers of the XXI century. The USA, The European Union, China, India, Brazil and Russia. In this framework there is no chance that the Anglo-Saxon elites will have a dominating role in the creation of the global order of the XXI century. Now we see how painful for the Western Civilization is the lost opportunity to create a new global order during the decades 1990-2010¹³.

¹⁰ compare S. Huntington, *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of the global order*, Simon and Schuster, N.Y. 1996

¹¹ R. Galar [in:] P. Jakubowska, A. Kukliński, P. Żuber (eds.) *The future of Regions in the perspective of global change*, Part one and two, The Ministry of Regional Development, Warsaw 2008

¹² Compare the paper of A. Kukliński [in:] A. Kukliński, B. Skuza, *Turning Points*, op.cit.

¹³ Compare the paper of A. Kukliński [in:] A. Kukliński, B. Skuza, *Turning Points*, op.cit. p. 312

VI.

G2 and the new global order of the XXI century. The potential dynamics of the global scene Anno Domini 2009 is a great temptation for the ruling establishment of USA to return to the well tested bipolar World of the XX century with the important modification that the main global „partner” of the USA is not Soviet Union but China. The bipolarity has many advantages as an effective model of global management. The idea and practice of this new bipolarity is already an expanding field in the American mind and policy. It is not too difficult to understand that the Washington Establishment is losing the patience and tolerance to deal with hamletic European Union not able to establish the telephone number „Europe one” representing the real European decision making center. The leaders of Europe¹⁴ are not able to understand that the individual European countries are too weak and too small to be partners of G5 or G2. Only The European Union in toto can be a grand and effective actor of the global scene.

VII.

G5, G2 and The European Union. Two times in the recent history Europe has tried to commit a continental suicide. This was 1914 and 1939 the beginning of World War One and Two. In each case the USA was able to avert this suicide. **Now the European Union is trying again to commit a historical suicide.** But the third trial may be successful. The Americans will not save the hamletic European Union. The Americans will establish a bipolar world of the XXI century and not disturb the successful march of the European Union into a new global periphery. It is very late, but not too late for the historical wake up call of the European Union. **The renaissance and the deep structural reconstruction of the European Union is not an utopian dream, but a feasible reality¹⁵. The European elites and the European societies in toto, should immediately answer the grand megahistorical question „is it possible to create a really strong European Union as an respected actor of the global scene of the XXI century?”** Strong European Union will be an coarchitect of two global trajectories:

¹⁴ Compare two notes in the Economist, July 25-31 2009, pages 27 and 28 Poles, Czechs and the Lisbon Treaty an awkward squad.
Charlemagne. Battle of the big beats. Mutual suspicion and national interests undermine European rows over financial regulation.

¹⁵ Compare A. Kukliński, K.Pawłowski, *Futurology op.cit.*

- **the trajectory of G5** introducing into the G5 the spirit of the multidimensional civilization and political wisdom to manage deeply differentiated structures. Only strong European Union will be a responsible partner of G5, the voice of weak European Union will be totally lost in the G5 context
- **the trajectory of the revival of the Atlantic Community.** Strong European Union can be an inspiration for the USA to restore the power and glory of the Atlantic Community as an *sui generis* confederation of the USA and The European Union. **The joint power of the USA and the European Union will create a new status of the Western Civilization in the G5 framework¹⁶.**

Even in the G2 framework the revival of the Atlantic Community is important for USA. It is very sad that in the G2 framework the USA is potentially the weaker partner and China the stronger partner. This situation will be drastically changed if China will not encounter the individual power of USA, but the joint power of the Atlantic Community. This perception of the big powers equilibrium of the XXI century should enter into the mind of the Washingtonian establishment. But there is a *conditio sine qua non* in this dynamic equilibrium – the existence of a strong and dynamic European Union. **The megahistorical and mega geographic decision strong versus weak European Union is not only a decision determining the future of Europe, but a decision having great consequences for the transformation of the global order of the XXI century.**

VIII.

There is a weakness in this note. This weakness of *grandi loquentia* and exaggeration. I think however that the main thesis of this note „The sunset of the XX century¹⁷ and the sunrise of the XXI can be seen as a great turning point human history”, has some validity as an inspiration for reflexions and discussions¹⁸. **I am waiting for your comprehensive comments which will be published in as a special chapter of volume 6 of REUPUS.** May be we could imagine the title „The great turning point” as a title of volume 7 of REUPUS. Please express your judgment if the title „The great turning point” has a promising intellectual potential for the next stages of our Publication Programme”.

¹⁶ T.G. Ash, *Free World*, Random House, N.Y. 2004 p. 22

¹⁷ May that the sunset of the XX century could be interpreted as a new *fin du siècle* not only in the domain of material realities, but also in the spiritual domain leading to philosophical and artistic interpretation.

¹⁸ This megahistorical and mega geographical turning point is well grasped by the World Bank, World Development Report Reshaping Economic Geography, Washington D.C. 2009