



THE EUROPEAN BALCONY PROJECT

PRESS PORTFOLIO

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THE EUROPEAN BALCONY PROJECT

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THE PROCLAMATION OF THE EUROPEAN REPUBLIC ON 10th OF NOVEMBER

Participants and Supporters



Austrian Cultural Forum Warsaw
Bozar Brussels
Bucharest International Theater
Burgtheater Vienna
Forte Company Budapest
NTGent
Staddshouwboung Amsterdam
Thalia Theater Hamburg
Teatro Praga Lisboa
[And many more...](#)

Elfriede Jelinek & Kathrin Röggla (Austria)
Dubravka Ugrešić & Srécko Horvat (Croatia)
Étienne Balibar (France)
Joan Nederlof (the Netherlands)
Lorenzo Marsili & Maxi Obexer (Italy)
Milo Rau (Switzerland)
Navid Kermani & Caroline Emcke (Germany)
[And many more to come...](#)

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The fundamental idea of Europe, to quote Jean Monnet, was '*not to integrate states, but to unify people*'. In the historic year of 2018, 100 years after the end of WWI and the proclamation of various republics throughout Europe, the European Balcony Project looks into a common European future and calls for a new Europe without nations - a citizen-centred, decentralized Europe. The idea of the common good - the *res publica* - underpinning any future European order, shall also be the foundation of a European Republic. This is the building block of this artistico-political project.

The main component of this project is the proclamation of a European Republic on 10 November at 4 p.m. Countless theatres, private citizens and NGOs take part and stage the reading of a manifesto (as attached). Local organisers are free to adapt their event and the text of the manifesto to the respective local contexts. Rather than actually gaining approval for every paragraph of the manifesto, the project wishes to contribute to a broad, pan-European debate on the future of European democracy. The manifesto is translated into more than 20 languages amongst Esperanto, Latin or Catalan.

For this purpose, local organisers provide a framework for the proclamation. This includes discussion events, theatre plays and other formats which accompany the proclamation. The European Democracy Lab provides background and outreach material, coordinates the participating institutions and is in charge of the production of the documentation of the project.

The European Balcony Project differs from other dialogue-centred projects such as citizens consultations by laying out a clear vision for the future course of European integration. Albeit radical to some, it is believed that laying out such a concise idea will produce a fruitful discussion on Europe's future.

Verena Humer (Project Manager)

"The European Democracy Lab was amazed and surprised how quickly we received support and encouragement from a wide range of citizens for the European Balcony Project. From Lampedusa to Stockholm, from Porto to Bucharest, both national theatres and private individuals came forward to talk about the future of Europe and the need for democracy. The project started at the beginning of May 2018 with a crowdfunding campaign, as we did not receive any public funding. The artist [Wolfgang Tillmans](#) also supported us a lot. The manifesto was then translated into more than 20 languages (including Basque, Esperanto and Romani) by volunteers from all over Europe. Without the commitment of so many committed citizens, the project would not have been so effective and successful. But exactly this shows how strongly we need a new narrative for Europe and how great the desire for a pan-European safeguard of the common good is. From community buildings to national theatres, we all (unbureaucratically) agree on that."

More information available at:
www.europeanbalconyproject.eu
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Projektbeschreibung

Die Grundidee Europas, um Jean Monnet zu zitieren, bestand darin, "nicht Staaten zu integrieren, sondern Menschen zu vereinen". Im historischen Jahr 2018, 100 Jahre nach dem Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs und der Ausrufung verschiedener Republiken in ganz Europa, beschäftigt sich das European Balcony Project mit einer gemeinsamen europäischen Zukunft und fordert ein neues Europa ohne Nationen - ein bürgerzentriertes, dezentrales Europa. Die Idee des Gemeinwohls - die res publica -, die jeder zukünftigen europäischen Ordnung zugrunde liegt, soll auch die Grundlage für eine Europäische Republik sein. Dies ist der Baustein dieses künstlerisch-politischen Projekts.

Hauptbestandteil dieses Projekts ist die Ausrufung einer Europäischen Republik am 10. November um 16.00 Uhr. Unzählige Theater, Privatpersonen und NGOs beteiligen sich an der Lesung eines Manifests (siehe Anlage). Den lokalen Organisatoren steht es frei, ihre Veranstaltung und den Text des Manifests an den jeweiligen lokalen Kontext anzupassen. Im Zentrum des Projekts steht nicht, dass jeder mit dem Inhalt des Manifests zu 100% übereinstimmt, vielmehr soll das Manifest zu einer breiten, gesamteuropäischen Debatte über die Zukunft der europäischen Demokratie beitragen. Das Manifest wird in mehr als 20 Sprachen darunter Esperanto, Latein oder Katalanisch übersetzt. Neben der Ausrufung der Europäischen Republik gibt es Diskussionsveranstaltungen, Theaterstücke und andere Formate, die die Verkündung begleiten. Das European Democracy Lab stellt Hintergrund- und Vermittlungsmaterial zur Verfügung, koordiniert die beteiligten Institutionen und ist für die Erstellung der Dokumentation des Projekts verantwortlich.

Das European Balcony Project unterscheidet sich von anderen dialogorientierten Projekten, wie z.B. Bürgerbefragungen, dadurch, dass es eine klare Vision für den zukünftigen Kurs der europäischen Integration darstellt. Obwohl für einige radikal, wird angenommen, dass die Formulierung einer so prägnanten Idee zu einer fruchtbaren Diskussion über die Zukunft Europas führen wird.

Verena Humer (Projekt Leiterin)

„Das European Democracy Lab war erstaunt und überrascht wie schnell wir den Zuspruch und die Unterstützung unterschiedlichster BürgerInnen für das Balcony Project bekamen. Von Lampedusa bis Stockholm, von Porto bis Bukarest meldeten sich sowohl Nationaltheater als auch Privatpersonen, die über die Zukunft Europas und über die Notwendigkeit der Demokratie sprechen wollen. Das Projekt startete anfang Mai 2018 mit einer Crowdfunding-Aktion, da wir keine öffentlichen Fördergelder bekamen. Der Künstler [Wolfgang Tillmans](#) hat uns hier auch sehr unterstützt. Das Manifest wurde anschließend von ehrenamtlichen BürgerInnen aus ganz Europa in mehr als 20 Sprachen übersetzt (darunter Baskisch, Esperanto, Romani). Ohne den Einsatz so vieler engagierter BürgerInnen wäre das Projekt nicht so breitenwirksam und erfolgreich. Aber genau das zeigt doch, wie sehr wir Menschen ein neues Narrativ für Europa brauchen und wie groß der Wunsch nach einer gesamteuropäischen Gemeinwohlsicherung ist. Vom Gemeindebau bis zum Nationaltheater sind sich hier alle einig, und das ganz unbürokratisch.“

Mehr Informationen hier:

www.europeanbalconyproject.eu

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Initiators and team + idea and concept



Ulrike Guérot was appointed University Professor for European Policy and Democracy Research at Danube University Krems in April 2016 and heads the Department of European Politics and Democracy Research. She is also the founder of the European Democracy Lab (Berlin). Her book *Why Europe must become a Republic. A Political Utopia* was published by Dietz in 2016.



Robert Menasse is a novelist and political-journalistic essayist. He deals with European institutions and continues the idea of a Europe of Regions in his book *Der Europäische Landbote*, and others. He has recently received the German Book Prize for his novel *The Capital* (Suhrkamp, 2017).

Institution and team



The European Democracy Lab (EuDemLab) is a think tank generating innovative ideas for Europe – connecting research, advocacy and cultural initiatives. Its mission is to develop a transnational paradigm, strengthening the role of cities and regions in European integration and exploring alternative conceptions of the European polity. The Lab acts as a platform at the intersection of different disciplines to bring about changes in the European discourse and develop innovative proposals to strengthen European democracy.

We promote the principle of political equality for all European citizens and of a European commonwealth beyond the nation state; and we promote the completion of the single European market and the single currency through a single European democracy.



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Press Release/ Pressemitteilung

- English Version

The European Balcony Project - Proclamation of the European Republic

2018. On 10th of November 2018 at 4 p.m., the European Republic will be proclaimed from (theatre) balconies and in public places as part of a Europe-wide art performance. A manifesto, inspired by the tone and style of various proclamations of republics in 1918, will be read out loud and subsequently discussed. More than 100 European cultural institutions are participating, among others the National Theater Gent (NTGent), the Royal Conservatoire Scotland, the Burgtheater Vienna and the Stadsschouwburg Amsterdam. Several public figures support the project, such as Milo Rau, Elfriede Jelinek, Étienne Balibar and Dubravka Ugrešić.

The European Balcony Project was initiated by the European Democracy Lab e.V. and made possible thanks to citizen's donations collected through a crowdfunding campaign. The project includes events, podium discussions and peaceful artistic interventions on European democracy taking place in several European cities from 10 - 11 November 2018. Through the project, a broad debate on the future of Europe shall be initiated ahead of elections to the European Parliament in May 2019.

The project not only aims to commemorate the republics founded in Europe 100 years ago, the end of World War I, the events of November 9, 1938 (November pogroms) and German reunification in November 1989, but also to turn all three historically linked dates into a new European "Lieu de Memoire" (Place of Remembrance) with a common future perspective for a social and democratic Europe.

With this, the initiators also want to set a counterpoint to the European and global resurgence of nationalism. History has shown us where nationalism can lead. The project opens up future perspectives for a social and democratic Europe at the same time. The goal of the project is to raise public awareness for the benefits of a pan-European democracy and statehood that safeguards the European common good. One market – one currency – one democracy: The project reminds of the urgency to complete the project of an "ever closer union", envisaged by the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992.

Controversial discussion, interpretation and additions to the ideas forwarded in the manifesto are considered integral to the project as the future of Europe in the 21st century has to be shaped by the many. Through the Europe-wide participation of theatres, artists and citizens, the slogan of the European Union "Unity in Diversity" will be realized by civil society. At the same time, the European Balcony Project hopes to contribute to an emancipatory movement uniting for a European democracy on the basis of political equality of all citizens.

Because Europe means integrating people, not states.

(Citation from the Manifesto for the proclamation of the European Republic)

For further questions and interviews, please contact press@eudemlab.org

More information at: www.europeanbalconyproject.eu / [Media Download](#)

- Deutsche Version

The European Balcony Project - Ausrufung der Europäischen Republik

Am 10. November 2018, um 16 Uhr wird europaweit von (Theater-)Balkonen und an öffentlichen Plätzen in mehr als 20 verschiedenen Sprachen die Europäische Republik in einer Kunst-Performance („Re-Enactment“) ausgerufen. Dazu wird ein Manifest verlesen, das in Ton & Stil an die Republikausrufungen von 1918 erinnert, und zur Diskussion gestellt. An der Aktion nehmen über 250 europäische Kulturinstitutionen teil, darunter das Nationaltheater Gent (NTGent), das Thalia Theater Hamburg, das Burgtheater Wien sowie das Royal Conservatoire of Scotland und die Stadsschouwburg Amsterdam. Zahlreiche Personen des öffentlichen Lebens unterstützen das Projekt, u.a. Milo Rau, Elfriede Jelinek und Étienne Balibar oder Dubravka Ugrešić.

Das European Balcony Project ist ein Projekt des European Democracy Lab e.V. und wurde durch Spenden von BürgerInnen im Rahmen einer Crowdfunding-Aktion ermöglicht. Das Projekt umfasst Veranstaltungen, Podiumsdiskussionen und friedliche, künstlerische Interventionen zur Zukunft der Europäischen Demokratie, die von 9.-11. November 2018 in zahlreichen europäischen Städten stattfinden. Dadurch soll eine niedrighschwellige, breitenwirksame Debatte über die Zukunft Europas vor den anstehenden Wahlen zum Europäischen Parlament im Mai 2019 ausgelöst werden. Mit dem Projekt soll nicht nur an die vor 100 Jahren gegründeten Republiken in Europa, dem Ende des I. Weltkrieges, den Ereignissen vom 9. November 1938 (Novemberprogrome) sowie der deutschen Wiedervereinigung vom November 1989 gedacht werden; sondern alle drei Daten, die historisch miteinander verknüpft sind, sollen als neuer europäischer „Lieu de Memoire“ (Erinnerungsort) in eine gemeinsame Zukunftsperspektive für ein soziales und demokratisches Europa gewendet werden.

Damit wollen die Initiatoren auch einen Kontrapunkt zum europaweiten Wiedererstarben von Nationalismen setzen. Wohin Nationalismus führen kann, hat uns die Geschichte gezeigt, heute sehen wir das in vielen europäischen (und außer-europäischen) Ländern wieder.

Ziel des Projekts ist es, die Öffentlichkeit für die Idee einer gesamteuropäischen Demokratie & Staatlichkeit zu sensibilisieren, die für eine europäische Gemeinwohlsicherung sorgt, entsprechend des Motto: Ein Markt – eine Währung – eine Demokratie! Mit dieser Aktion soll die Dringlichkeit hervorgehoben werden, das europäische Einigungsprojekt zu vollenden, das 1992 mit dem Vertrag über eine „Ever Closer Union“ auf den Weg gebracht wurde. Dabei ist die kritische Diskussion, Interpretation und Ergänzung des Manifestes integraler Teil des Projekts, denn die Zukunft Europas im 21. Jahrhundert muss von Vielen gedacht werden. Das europäische Motto der "Einheit in Vielfalt" soll sich durch die europaweite Teilnahme zahlreicher Theater, KünstlerInnen und BürgerInnen im zivilen Raum verwirklichen. Zugleich soll das European Balcony Project eine große, europaweite emanzipatorische Bewegung in Gang bringen, die eine europäische Demokratie auf dem allgemeinen politischen Gleichheitsgrundsatz für alle europäischen Bürgerinnen & Bürger fordert.

„Denn Europa heißt, Menschen einen und nicht Staaten zu integrieren“

(Jean Monnet & Zitat aus dem Manifest zur Ausrufung der Europäischen Republik)

Für Rückfragen und Interviews wenden Sie sich bitte an press@eudemlab.org

Mehr Informationen unter: www.europeanbalconyproject.eu / [Medien download](#)

Manifesto ([click here](#) for the German version)

Today, at 4pm on the 10th of November 2018, 100 years after the end of World War I, which laid waste European civilization for decades, we are not only recalling history: we are taking our future into our own hands!

It is time to turn the promise inherent in Europe into a reality and to remind ourselves of the founding ideas behind the project of European integration.

We declare that everyone present at this moment in Europe is a citizen of the European Republic. We acknowledge and accept our responsibility for the common heritage of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and we pledge finally to make it a reality.

We recognize that Europe's wealth is based on the exploitation of other continents and the suppression of other cultures over centuries. For that reason, we are happy to share our territory with those whom we have driven from theirs. Anyone who wishes to can be a European. The European Republic is the first step on the path to a global democracy.

The Europe of nation states has failed.

The vision of European integration has been betrayed.

Without political underpinning, the Single Market and the euro fell easy prey to a neoliberal agenda which runs counter to the goal of social justice.

The powers of the European institutions must therefore be seized so that a common market and a common currency can be created within a common European democracy.

Because Europe means unifying people, not integrating states.

The sovereignty of states is hereby replaced by the sovereignty of citizens. The European Republic is founded upon the principle of universal political equality irrespective of nationality and social or ethnic background. The constituent elements of the European Republic are the European cities and regions. The time has come for Europe's cultural diversity to express itself within a framework of political unity.

The European Council is hereby decommissioned.

The European Parliament now has the power to make law.

It will appoint a government committed to the common welfare of all European citizens. Long live the European Republic!

Translated by
RayCunningham

Notes on the Manifesto¹ ([click here](#) for german version)

The text, its format, and its purpose

This text, conceived as a memento to the historic events that took place 100 years ago, is the script for the theatrical staging of the proclamation of the Republic. It has therefore deliberately been kept short and abstract. The reading aloud of the text should take no more than two minutes. The original recordings of several republican proclamations (for example, the proclamation of the Bavarian Republic in 1918 by Kurt Eisner) served as models for our text, as did the European manifestos of several European intellectuals (e.g. the 'Manifesto to the Europeans'²) from the years preceding the War and the interwar period. These texts always, even at that time, emphasised the universality of human rights and the necessity for social justice.

The text harks back to the almost simultaneous proclamation of a number of republics in November 1918, which in several cases led to the abdication of a ruling monarch and the establishment of a democracy based on universal political equality. By appropriating and/or drawing inspiration from the linguistic radicalism of the period, the text seeks to remind people of the fact that history today, as always, is contingent and open, and that the capacity of the citizens of Europe to bring about a new and different European constitutional settlement is an ever-present historical potentiality.

The date chosen for the theatrical staging of the proclamation is 10 November, because this date bridges and links 9 November (the anniversary of the Republican proclamations of 1918, of Kristallnacht in Nazi Germany, and of the Fall of the Berlin Wall)³ and 11 November (the end of the First World War, Armistice Day). The choice is intended to link these historic dates, to call the associated events to mind, and to use them to guide our thinking towards our common European future – towards a Europa reformata.⁴

Paragraph 1

The aim of the first sentence is to make clear that it is the citizens of Europe who are truly sovereign and therefore the agents of the project of European integration. They have complete freedom of action, regardless of what their respective governments do. We don't want to repeat the mistakes of the past. We want no more armed social or international conflicts fought out by the civilian populations on behalf of the strategic national or economic interests of particular governments. The first sentence is also intended to draw attention to the fact that the governments of the EU member states have been guilty of reckless inaction over the past ten years of crisis with regard to the institutional reforms needed in the EU and the eurozone. The political will required for the completion of the European integration project has been squandered. Many European citizens are sick and tired of the lack of ambition displayed by their governments over Europe.

¹ More texts, information and documentation on these issues, together with a comprehensive bibliography and links can be found on this website under the heading '[Material](#)'. By this means we want to enable you to undertake further independent research on the subject of European democracy. In order to encourage a many-sided discussion and pluralistic opinions, there is a wealth of texts from a great variety of sources, including speeches on Europe by so-called populist politicians (e.g. Heinz-Christian Strache, Marine le Pen etc.) and by economists critical of Europe (e.g. Hans-Werner Sinn).

² https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Manifesto_to_the_Europeans.

³ Additionally, 9 November 1938 & 9 November 1989 are historic dates for Europe.

⁴ 10 November is also Martin Luther's birthday.

Paragraph 2

The fundamental idea behind Europe, to quote Jean Monnet, was ‘not to integrate states, but to unify people’. All of the founding texts on European integration – for example, the Ventotene Manifesto of 1944 – emphasised that Europe would mean leaving behind the nation states so that the smaller states would no longer be dominated by the bigger ones (as however remains the case today). The fundamental idea behind Europe was also that of the legal equality of all European citizens and no discrimination on account of nationality, ethnicity, religion or sex. Today’s EU remains a long way from this vision. We call on the EU to put these original European goals firmly back on the political agenda. We also want to point out that the Maastricht Treaty (‘ever closer union’) is now part of EU constitutional law. We firmly believe that monetary and strategic policy, domestic, foreign and security policy, climate and refugee policy, social and fiscal policy, agricultural, trade and economic policy are all inextricably linked. We reject the current focus in the European debate on identitarian aspects and elements of national culture and wish instead to remind people that Europe is primarily a project for the creation of a shared civic and legal community which now requires the formation of a common legal framework for all European citizens. We likewise reject the ongoing rewriting of the European peace story into one of a ‘security union’ which focuses only on defence and betrays the principle of open European borders.

Paragraph 3

We want to remind people that today’s Europe is a legacy and intellectual product of the Enlightenment, and that it was rescued in the second half of the 20th century from the rubble of the two World Wars and the Holocaust and anchored in the European institutions. The first sentence of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights reads: ‘All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. Hannah Arendt observed in response that this is of course not true: in reality, many human beings are neither free nor equal in rights.’⁵ However, it must be a precept of European politics that it should always be based on the principles of freedom and equality and their universal application. The European values of freedom, equality and solidarity are indivisible and not negotiable at the national level. It is the political responsibility of Europe to uphold this precept, above all in its handling of the refugee issue.⁶ In this way we also demonstrate our rejection of the increasing hatred, violence and racism seen in Europe today.

Paragraph 4

In this paragraph, we acknowledge the far-reaching findings of postcolonial studies and Europe’s share of responsibility for the root causes of mass migration, for example through the way it trades and farms, or through its climate change emissions or its direct political interventions in other parts of the world. We all have a common duty to abide by the agreements made at the Paris Climate Change Conference of December 2015 and to work to develop them further.⁷ We call on Europe to abandon its structural domination of trade and international exchange in favour of a fairer system. This manifesto can therefore be read as a gesture of atonement for 500 years of white supremacy. Here, the Manifesto draws explicitly on Bruno

⁵ Hannah Arendt, The Freedom to be free. See <http://hac.bard.edu/news/post/?item=18987>.

⁶ Hannah Arendt, We, Refugees....Borka Parcovitsch: „The refugees come to ask us who we are, and we need to answer them“.

⁷ <https://sdgactioncampaign.org/de/>.

Latour's 'Terrestrial Manifesto',⁸ which extends the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to include the rights of animals and plants and declares the protection of the global commons – and within that of the global climate above all – to be the paramount precept of European politics.

Paragraph 5

The state and the market were uncoupled, and the Single Market and the euro were not embedded in a European democracy. There was no Social or Fiscal Union. The Citizens' Union promised in the Maastricht Treaty never materialised. The citizens are not sovereign in the European system. The legitimacy basis of the EU is problematic. We call for a democratic and social Europe.

The institutional and bureaucratic deficits of the EU and of euro-governance and their lack of political legitimation have fed the growth of populist parties across Europe and led to the collapse of entire party systems. The eurozone crisis, in the absence of mechanisms for political arbitrage, has put creditors and debtors in direct and chauvinistic conflict. The EU is incapable of providing pan-European political arbitrage. The vicious cycle of bank and public debt has not yet been broken. The European market and the European currency have yet to be embedded in a form of European statehood, even though a currency is in itself a social contract. Instead, during the eurozone crisis the citizens of Europe were played off against each other and individual nations were branded (in the media too) as scapegoats.

We are therefore calling for the completion of the European political project through the creation of a common democracy in which all European citizens are endowed with the same rights and duties with respect to elections, taxes and access to social rights. Equality before the law is a necessary condition for democracy.

Legal equality for goods and capital was introduced in each case by means of a treaty and a qualifying date rule.⁹ What is needed today is complementarity between these European treaty pillars: a common market – a common currency – a common democracy! So, the final step required is the introduction of legal equality for European citizens, and specifically in those areas which affect them the most, namely taxes and social rights.¹⁰

In concrete terms, a membership number for a universal European social security and taxation system could be introduced by means of a 'Maastricht II' treaty and given to all new-born European children from a set date (for example, 01.01.2035), alongside protections for the existing acquired rights of older citizens.

This would open the way for a gradual transition into a European commonwealth in which all European citizens would be bound together under a common European legal jurisdiction and would form a European civic community. In a parallel treaty process, the 19 current euro-countries would thus establish a common democracy, while the countries not yet part of the euro would first enter into the currency union and then introduce the European tax and social security number system, in a second step, as a visible expression of civic equality.

⁸ Bruno Latour, „Das Terrestrische Manifest“ (English translation due to be published September 2018 as 'Down to Earth, Politics in the New Climatic Regime').

⁹ Single Market: Single European Act, 1986, with qualifying date 1992; Euro: Maastricht Treaty, 1992, with qualifying date 2002.

¹⁰ E.g. GMEU: Genuine Economic and Monetary Union, 5-President Report, 2012.

Paragraph 6

The key demand in the Manifesto is for the comprehensive parliamentarisation of the EU on the basis of 'one person, one vote'. This recalls the demand of the revolutionaries of 1918 for universal, equal, secret and direct elections. Because votes in the EP are weighted, European elections today are not yet equal for all European citizens.

This is not about centralisation, nor the transfer of competences to Europe, but about the separation of powers. It is about creating a European legislature with full power to make laws and the capacity to hold a future European executive branch to account.¹¹ The European Council, an untransparent and only partially legitimated decision-making body, will be abolished, just as the republican proclamations of 1918 abolished the monarchies. This will curtail the capacity of

(some) EU member states to dominate European decision-making or to force through decisions which may be in their own national interest but do not reflect the wishes of a majority of all European citizens. The establishment of a European unemployment insurance system, for example, has been repeatedly blocked in the European Council, despite the fact that such a system would command a parliamentary majority among European citizens. Solidarity among the citizens of Europe is systematically underestimated.¹²

Current proposals for the establishment of a eurozone parliament or a euro-budget or a European finance minister are crucially dependent on a legitimacy basis, i.e. that the European parliament should have full authority to hold such a European finance minister to account, despite their different legitimacy bases, because control over the budget is the most important power of any parliament.

The European regions and cities could make up a second European parliamentary chamber based on practicable administrative units of 8-15 million inhabitants, thereby becoming constituent elements of the European Republic. This would preserve Europe's cultural diversity. Europe would be what it was always meant to be: a single but culturally diverse normative political entity. Nobody would lose their identity or their homeland. Europe would become a common democracy, without turning into a single, homogenous cultural stew. Equality before the law doesn't mean centralisation!

Paragraph 7

The central demand of the Manifesto – similar to 1918 – is that European citizens are given equality of rights and duties – in elections, taxation and social rights. This represents an opportunity for a great, continent-wide reconciliation following the crisis which shook the continent to its foundations, stirred up mutual suspicions and resentments again, and drove the citizens of Europe into the arms of sleazy populists who exploited the sufferings in their native countries for their nationalistic aims.

¹¹ Here we draw on similar demands, e.g. TDEM, "Traité pour la Démocratisation de l'Europe" (2017), by Antoine Vauchez, Guillaume Sacriste, Stéphanie Hennette-Vauchez and Thomas Piketty.

¹²https://www.deutschlandfunkkultur.de/studie-zur-solidaritaet-in-europa-deutlich-solidarischer.1008.de.html?dram:article_id=425139.

Statehood means the congruity of territory, currency and power. Europe must set out on the path to common statehood in order finally to acquire the capacity to act in all these policy areas and to set in train a major programme in innovation, education, digitalisation and ecological infrastructure financed out of a common budget. For that to happen, Europe needs a realistic prospect of tax sovereignty.

We urgently need a debate about the establishment of a common European government, elected from a representative parliament and fully in accordance with the principle of the separation of powers. And European statehood is needed to enable us to take a strategic lead in international progress towards the recognition of the global commons.

This is why we now proclaim the European Republic, so as to avoid repeating the mistakes of the last century and to enable us to manage together, as a common enterprise, the leap of modernisation and digitalisation now required of us, rather than allowing it to set us against each other.

This is why we call on the citizens of Europe to reach out their hands, across the national boundaries, and to make the bold attempt to establish a European Republic based on the principle of universal political equality instead of allowing themselves once again to be exploited by national elites for populist chimeras!

TOOLKIT/ FAQs ([click here](#) for German version)

How and where can I participate in the reading of the manifesto?

What do I need to consider?

- The proclamation of a European Republic takes place at 4 p.m. in the respective local time zone.
- You do not need an “official” theatre balcony to read the manifesto. A chair in a public square, a slide on a children’s playground or any private balcony leading out onto a street can serve as a stage for the proclamation.
- Print out the manifesto and distribute it, e.g. as a flyer to passers-by. You can also download and print posters [here](#).
- Your creativity is wanted! For example, the Hamburg-based Thalia Theater has placed a photo booth where citizens can portray themselves with statements of support for the European Balcony Project. More of that!
- Promote the European Balcony Project at your location, in your city, with your friends and family, invite local radio broadcasters and newspapers to your event!
- Take a megaphone and read the manifesto yourself! Alternatively, look for an actor or artist who performs, dances or sings the manifesto. Reading the manifesto takes about 2 minutes. Smaller text adaptations are possible and desired. Choose one of the many languages in which the manifesto is available or mix the languages.
- Visit our Facebook /Instagram/Twitter page – find the event near you, join the groups from your country, region or city and invite your friends to participate. If you contact us, you will be marked on the interactive map on our website.
- If possible, organize musicians or a musical recording of your choice to underline the proclamation.
- Please find a photographer and send us at least one photo of your event to balconies@eudemlab.org – we will publish a catalogue in which all pictures of the local events will be collected, if possible even before the European elections!

What can I do if I want to participate but do not entirely agree with the content of the manifesto?

Everyone is invited to comment, critically question and supplement the manifesto. The manifesto serves only as a catalyst for a broad debate on the subject of European democracy and what it means to be a European citizen. Sentences which you do not share in this way can be changed or deleted – but we ask you to make that visible in program booklets or other material you use for your local event. The manifesto was deliberately written as a text for a theatrical proclamation and a dramaturgical staging and not as a political program! In its language and form, it should remind of the various proclamation of republic 100 years ago, after the end of World War I. We call for Europe, and particularly the concept of European citizens, with content, common right and duties.

Coverage



Deutschsprachige Berichterstattungen

"The European Balcony Projekt" plant Bürger-Manifest. SN online (8. Mai 2018)

<https://www.sn.at/kultur/allgemein/the-european-balcony-projekt-plant-buerger-manifest-27687955>

Kulturmontag: Wohin steuert Europa?. ORF (18. Juni 2018) mit Robert Menasse:

<https://news2.orf.at/stories/2443361/>

«Schafft die Nationalstaaten ab!». Demnächst soll die Republik Europa ausgerufen werden, Martin Beglinger für Neue Zürcher Zeitung (07. Juli 2018) über Ulrike Guérot:

<https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/schafft-die-nationalstaaten-ab-ld.1400648>

Für ein besseres Europa! Jürgen Klute für Belgieninfo (Juli 2018):

<https://www.belgieninfo.net/fuer-ein-besseres-europa/>

Keiner weiß, was Europa heißt. Anna Goldenberg im Interview mit Ulrike Guérot (9. September 2018) Falter 36/18:

https://www.falter.at/archiv/FALTER_201809052CB56162E7/keiner-weiss-was-europa-heisst

Nie Wieder Realismus, Paul Ingendaay für Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (17. September 2018):

<http://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/debatten/eu-plaedoyer-von-robert-menasse-nie-wieder-realismus-15749135.html>

Zu viel Schwein. Cornelia Fiedler, Süddeutsche Zeitung (8. Oktober 2018):

<https://www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/theater-zu-viel-schwein-1.4161051>

Die Ausrufung der Europäischen Republik. AGORA24 (10. Oktober 2018):

<https://agora42.de/the-european-balcony-project/?fbclid=IwAR1TwqbOPTVpOnd39pJHH9MvZ2vR0e4Hncn0PMaNvIjMyZDQ4uAI09AWmTo>

So kann Europa wieder funktionieren. RP-Online (12. Oktober 2018):

https://rp-online.de/nrw/staedte/grevenbroich/ulrike-guerot-spricht-im-pascal-gymnasium-grevenbroich-ueber-europa_aid-33636221

The European Balcony Project. Ruhrbarone (12. Oktober 2018):

<https://www.ruhrbarone.de/the-european-balcony-project/159145>

Künstler rufen die Republik Europa aus. Interview von Thomas Trenkler mit Robert Menasse, Kurier (14. Oktober 2018):

<https://kurier.at/kultur/kuenstler-rufen-die-republik-europa-aus/400144748>

Wiens verdrängter Hitler-Balkon - zentral am Rathausturm. Thomas Trenkler, Kurier (17. Oktober 2018)

<https://kurier.at/kultur/wiens-verdraengter-hitler-balkon/400148193>

Robert Menasse und Elfriede Jelinek fordern Gründung einer Europäischen Republik. Wolfgang Böhm (20. Oktober 2018):

<https://diepresse.com/home/ausland/eu/5516179/Initiative-Robert-Menasse-und-Elfriede-Jelinek-fordern-Gruendung>

Europa-Dämmerung. Was verbindet und was trennt uns? Julia Fellerer und Barbara Pichler-Hausegger (2018) ORF:

<https://tv.orf.at/groups/kultur/pool/europatrenn>

International

NT Gent director Milo Rau on 'redefining the European theatre landscape', Nick Awde for The Stage (20. Juni 2018) Interview with Milo Rau:

<https://www.thestage.co.uk/features/2018/nt-gent-milo-rau-redefining-european-theatre-landscape/>

The European Balcony Project, an interview with Ulrike Guérot (15. Oktober 2018):

<https://www.culturalfoundation.eu/library/the-european-balcony-project-an-interview-with-ulrike-gurot>

Monday Talks on "European Republic". Vocal Europe (14. Mai 2018) Interview:

<http://www.vocaleurope.eu/monday-talks-on-european-republic/>

Events – a few examples of proclamations (please click on the city to follow the link)

MUNICH – with Kathrin Röggla and Robert Menasse

HAMBURG – with Marie Rosenkranz, Armin Nassehi, Andreas Arnaud

HAMBURG – with Bernadette la Hengst

VIENNA with Alexander Somek

In Vienna there will be 2 proclamations in community buildings as well. Many inhabitants are going to read the manifesto in their own languages. In these community buildings there are over 100 balconies, every one of them facing the yard of the community building.

In Wien nehmen auch 2 Gemeindebauten (Liebknechthof 1120 und Holzhausergasse 1020) teil - dort wird das Manifest von unterschiedlichsten BewohnerInnen in deren Sprachen verlesen - hier gibt es bis zu 100 Balkone, die alle in den Hof schauen!)

DÜSSELDORF – Citizens-Dinner with Tatort-actor Joe Bausch

BERLIN ROTES RATHAUS

BERLINER ENSEMBLE – with CORINNA KIRCHHOFF, who will read the manifesto onto the Spreebrücke/Spree-bridge dressed in a EU-flag while the chef dramaturge is going to talk to people who are passing by about the idea of a European Republic.

WEIMAR – with Ulrike Guérot and Robert Menasse. More Info [here](#).

NTGENT – with Milo Rau (5 citizens from 5 different continents will read the manifesto in their own language – there will be a whole weekend on European Democracy called Organizing Hope).

THESSALONIKI Vice-Deputy Elli Chrisidou will organize the proclamation.

SALZBURG – with Thomas Köck and Maxi Obexer. There will be a whole weekend on Europe.

DENMARK AND UK are doing a cooperation-performance in Elsinore and Bristol at the same time.