Giving Europe a Home

A simulation game on European cultural policy



Published by ifa (Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen)
in cooperation with EUNIC (European Union National Institutes for Culture)





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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	P. 7
INTRODUCTION	P. 8
GAME MATERIALS	
SCENARIO	P. 18
GROUP AND ROLE PROFILES	
EUROPEAN COMMISSION	P. 24
COUNCIL	P. 35
	P. 56
MEDIA	P. 91
OVERVIEW OF EU MEMBER STATES	
FACTS & FIGURES	P. 92
Imprint	P. 98



PREFACE

The organisation of the European Union and its institutions is complex and not always easy to understand. Therefore, it is essential to explain to the citizens and in particular to the next generations how the European Commission, the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers work together and make decisions.

The tension between European integration and national sovereignty, the difficult conveyance of the great achievements and successes of this European Union, the need for its further development, and the awareness of the privileges of its citizens are to be made perceptible, and the respective procedures are to be made comprehensible.

In May 2016, the European External Action Service submitted a draft concept for the role of culture in the external relations of the EU. In this thematic context, we have developed a simulation game and chosen the concept of a *House of European Cultures* as topic. The purpose of the simulation game is to understand the interplay between the European institutions, and the importance and work of countries and bodies in these institutions. Another goal is to reflect and see how cultural policy is implemented, and what kind of potential lies in the cultural diversity of the Union. We want to arouse interest in all cultures of Europe.

A House of European Cultures refers to the national, regional, and also the so-called immigrant cultures. They all together constitute the richness of a Europe of cultures.

The simulation game illustrates how important it is to become aware of your own conditions of action, to put yourself in the thinking and feeling of others, to compromise, to shape open processes of discourse, and to constructively participate in solutions. We are sure that we have to convince of the EU to a much higher degree, and this is only possible by experiencing the idea and a functioning coexistence in this EU.

We wish all those who organise the simulation game and, above all, all who participate in it, a lot of fun.

The simulation game can be used anywhere, anytime and in any language without copyright charges, because it is our goal that as many people as possible participate in the idea of Europe and get enthusiastic about it.

With warm regards

Ronald Grätz, Secretary-General of ifa (Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen)



INTRODUCTION

Why a simulation game?

Simulation games have become increasingly popular in various educational fields. In particular, young people in learning processes like to participate in the interactive and playful method of acquiring knowledge. In the context of simulation games, complex negotiation and decision-making processes are simulated close to reality. This learning method is suitable for practically all age and occupational groups.

The participants in simulation games assume the role of the persons involved and the representatives of interest groups for the entire duration of the game. A fictional but realistic starting point – the so-called scenario – is the background.

In this way, participants learn and experience the respective decision-making processes. Real processes become more transparent and thus more accessible. In contrast to traditional role-playing games, participants act primarily in groups. You must work yourself into the respective personal background of the persons involved, make motions, represent groups and joint initiatives, discuss and design collaborations.

Simulation games live by the willingness of the players to engage in open learning processes. The outcome of a simulation game is determined by the players themselves. With simulation games, the way is the goal quite literally.

Pedagogical implications

Participation in simulation games affects the players.

- Such games provide the players with a tangible access to topics that often appear dry and too complex, which allows for a learning process.
- The conversation skills and self-confidence of participants is strengthened; they learn to deal with complex issues and to adequately represent their own interests.
- A simulation game trains social and communicative skills.
- The creativity of the players is encouraged, they experience a sense of achievement.
- Both different working techniques (e.g. text work) and social techniques (e.g. cooperation skills, capacity to compromise and for teamwork) are taught.
- Simulation games promote the understanding of complex negotiations and decision-making processes.
- Players experience possibilities and limits of interest enforcement against the background of a necessary Community regulation.

The learning process within a simulation game is very intense for the players, although the criterion of playing is equally prominent. Factual connections must be taught, recognised and reflected on in the shortest possible time. Decisions are made under time pressure, and the accumulated knowledge is immediately implemented.

Notes on role texts

The 'Scenario', 'Group profiles' and 'Role profiles' texts contain outline data from publicly available sources. Statistical data come from Eurostat, the statistical office of the European Union (https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/home), the Federal Statistical Office (https://www.destatis.de/EN/Home/_node.html) and the new Fischer Weltalmanach 2019. Information related to countries, parties and the Commission partly originates from self-presentations on the respective internet pages, as well as public sources, such as the Federal Agency for Civic Education (https://www.bpb.de/ die-bpb/138852/federal-agency-for-civic-education), the Federal Government's page on EU Member States (https://www.bundesregierung.de/breg-en) and other pages on Europe and EU Member States. The views, goals, strategies and other content-related aspects of the texts expressed herein do not represent the statements of the respective persons or groups of persons involved in their entire complexity, but are formulated according to the guidelines outlined in the Beutelsbach Consensus (www. bpb.de/die-bpb/51310/ beutelsbacher-konsens) for didactic reasons.

A closeness to the actual positions and lines of conflict is nevertheless intended for the same didactic and dramaturgical reasons.

EU cultural policy

Cultural policy is an area in the European Union that has so far largely remained in the hands of the Member States. This means that the respective competences had been transferred to the European only to a small extent, if at all. It was only with the Treaty on European Union which had entered into force on 1 November 1993 that the first legal basis for politico-cultural involvement at European level was created. The corresponding text, also referred to as the 'Article on culture', can be found in Art. 167 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). It specifies three levels of action. The first concerns the preservation of the cultural diversity of Europe. In addition, it addresses the support of activities of Member States for the protection of the common cultural heritage. The third field of action is the promotion of contemporary artistic and literary creation.



It should be kept in mind, however, that the role of the European Union is restricted in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity. This restriction applies both to promoting the cooperation between the cultural players of the Member States and complementing such initiatives. The "cultural competence" rests therefore solely with the Member States.

Looking back, it becomes clear that different initiatives were taken to get actively involved in cultural politics on a transnational level, partly even before the Treaty on European Union (TEU) came into force. One of the most prominent examples is the European Capital of Culture project (1985–1999: European City of Culture), launched in 1985 on the initiative of Melina Mercouri, the former Greek Minister of Education. According to Melina Mercouri, the goal of the project was to promote the wealth, diversity and similarities of the cultural heritage in Europe and, at the same time, make a contribution to a better mutual understanding of the European public sphere(s).

The European Communities, and from 1993 the European Union have been providing promotional funds for this purpose. The decision to award the 'European City (Capital) of Culture' title was originally taken at the intergovernmental level, each Member State would designate a candidate, and each year an international panel would select one or two cities four years in advance. In 2005, pursuant to Article 151 of the TEU (which today corresponds to Article 167 of the TFEU), the selection process was transformed into a Community procedure. In the simulation game, based on the European Capital of Culture model, an initiative is taken to start a European dimension of cultural policy abroad, outside the EU. The idea is to attract attention to Europe's diversity around the world in the field of culture by involving as many Member State contributions as possible. Firstly, this external effect should be more multifaceted, and secondly, the imbalance between large and small Member States should be countered. From this understanding, "Unity in Diversity" describes the interaction of numerous and various contributions from the different regions of the European Union.

In this process, the basic challenges and the different approaches of individual Member States start to emerge. The indirect aim is not only to take the differing perspectives in their diversity into account, but to incorporate them in an optimal manner.

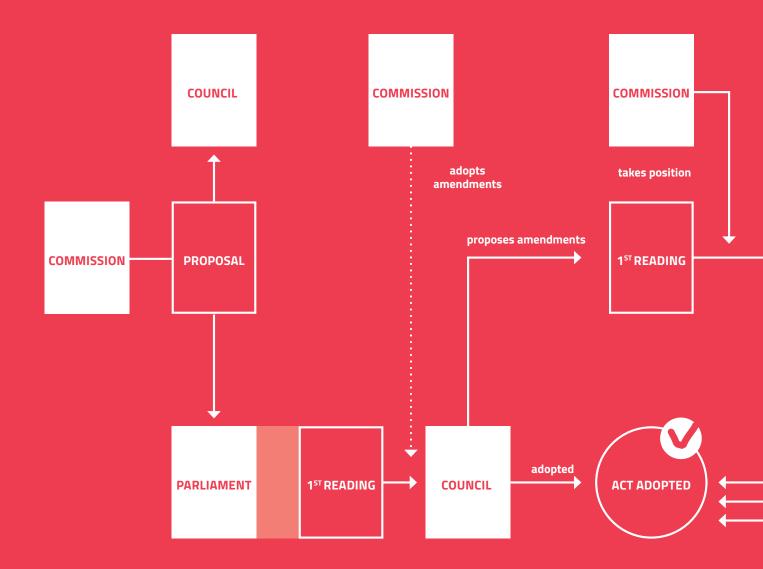
To strengthen the understanding of backgrounds and differences while finding a common denominator based on that diversity.

The European Agenda for Culture 2018 focuses especially on the evolution of the cultural sector. Cooperation of the memberstates on EU level is enhanced. The perspective is the contribution of culture to the European societies, its economy and international relations

The idea of creating a Common European House symbolically expresses the idea of GIVING EUROPE A HOME. To build a roof, to create a forum, to provide an organisational or local basis – all these things can be subsumed hereunder.

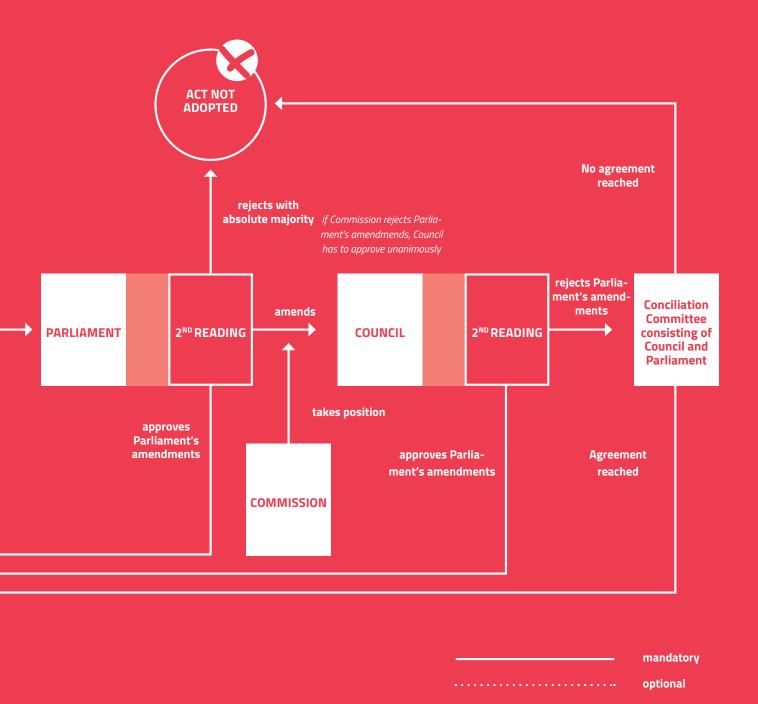
How, in what form and to what extent this can and should happen, remains in the hands and creativity of the participants of the simulation game. The divergent views and approaches from the different perspectives of the Member States that have already been mentioned above are roughly sketched out, but leave room to be individually shaped by the participants of the simulation game. True to the motto 'the way is the goal', the simulation game creates a space for reflection to express similarities through culture by means of optional development opportunities, and literally put new and innovative things into the world based on European variety.

Ordinary Legislative Procedure



How EU laws are passed

Ordinary Legislative Procedure according to Article 294 TFEU



SIMULATION GAME

INTRODUCTION

Legal foundations of the cultural policy of the European Union:

Article 167 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU):

- (1) The Union shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore.
- (2) Action by the Union shall be aimed at encouraging cooperation between Member States and, if necessary, supporting and supplementing their action in the following areas:
 - Improvement of the knowledge and dissemination of the culture and history of the European peoples,
 - Conservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage of European significance,
 - Non-commercial cultural exchanges,
 - Artistic and literary creation, including in the audiovisual sector.
- (3) The Union and the Member States shall foster cooperation with third countries and the competent international organisations in the sphere of culture, in particular the Council of Europe.
- (4) The Union shall take cultural aspects into account in its action under other provisions of the Treaties, in particular in order to respect and to promote the diversity of its cultures.
- (5) In order to contribute to the achievement of the objectives referred to in this Article:
 - the European Parliament and the Council acting in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure and after consulting the Committee of the Regions, shall adopt incentive measures, excluding any harmonisation of the laws and regulations of the Member States.
 - the Council, on a proposal from the Commission, shall adopt recommendations.¹

Course of the simulation game

The simulation game GIVING EUROPE A HOME is designed as a one-day event, the suggested schedule specifies a game time of 7.5 hours, including breaks.

Three rooms are required that are located close to each other. One room must be able to accommodate all participants.

After a topical and methodological introduction, each player will receive a scenario, a group profile and a role profile, along with the schedule and specific individual drafts.

The following groups will be created:

	20 PARTICIPANTS	36 PARTICIPANTS
Council	8	15
European	8	15
Parliament		
European	2	4
Commission		
Media	2	2



Optional add-on:

Name cards for all participants are available for download on www.ifa.de/simulation-game-eunic.

¹ Compare: https://dejure.org/gesetze/AEUV/167.html [25 May 2021]

If the media group is omitted, a reduced simulation game with 18 roles is possible. Depending on the number of participants, it is recommended to include the roles marked with X.

Ministers in the Council

	20 DADTICIDANTS	36 DADTICIDANTS
	20 PARTICIPANTS	36 PARTICIPANTS
Germany	X	Х
Estonia	-	X
Finland	X	X
France	X	X
Italy	X	X
Lithuania	-	X
Netherlands	-	X
Austria	X	X
Poland	X	X
Romania	-	Х
Sweden	X	X
Slovakia	X	X
Slovenia	-	X
Spain	-	X
Cyprus	-	Х

Members of the European Parliament (EP)

	20 PARTICIPANTS	36 PARTICIPANTS
EPP	2	3
S&D	2	3
Renew Europe	1	2
ID	1	2
Greens	1	2
ECR	1	2
GUE-NGL	-	1

Each group starts with a round of introductions, where each person introduces themselves in their new role with a new name and briefly outlines in two minutes their own goals, without giving away too many details.

The **media group** can directly participate in the rounds of introductions of the bodies already after its creation.

Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) sit together in their parliamentary groups, Members of the Council sit in an alphabetical order of the country names. Afterwards, a person is elected president in each group and chairs the following sessions. Additional persons can be selected to be responsible for contacting other groups or to act as secretary.

Using the draft, the **Commission** prepares at the same time a proposal for a new legal act, along with the opening speech. The **media group** prepares a plan for its own activities and participates in all meetings.

After the first break, the **President of the Commission** opens the joint conference with the opening speech. After a brief exchange, smaller interviews of the media group and informal familiarisation of the participants, the groups return to their rooms.

The **Commission** distributes its proposal for a new legal act, first in the Parliament, then in the Council. The text is read and the motives are presented. The Commission or individual Commissioners are usually present at the meetings of the Parliament and of the Council, and have the right to speak.

The **EP** and the **Council** discuss the draft, and the EP passes amendments, of which it informs the Council. Only then, and only based on that modified draft, the Council may itself pass amendments. The EP decides by an absolute majority of its Members. By contrast, the Council generally decides by the so-called qualified majority. In the game, a qualified majority will be achieved if 55% of the Member States representatives present represent 65% of the population of the Member States present.

The **media group** accompanies each session of the bodies. Halfway through the simulation game (before lunch) and at its end, the media group performs a talk show with guests from all bodies. At the beginning of the talk shows, the media representatives report on the sessions, afterwards guests are interviewed. The entire talk show should be about 20 minutes long.

SIMULATION GAME

INTRODUCTION

Ordinary EU legislative procedures

The European Union enacts its legal acts/laws (directives and regulations) with up to three readings in the European Parliament and in the Council on the initiative of the European Commission in accordance with the procedure described in Article 294 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU).

According to this Article, the Commission initially submits proposals for common acts, regulations (directly applicable legal acts) and directives (legal acts to be transposed by the Member States). The proposals go to the European Parliament and the Council.

In the **European Parliament**, 705 Members directly elected for a five-year term work in political **parliamentary groups**.

The **Council** is the representation of the **Member States** for the daily work of the EU. It consists of 27 departmental ministers from the national governments.

As soon as the EP passes *amendments to the proposal of the Commission*, the Council is invited to accept these amendments, to reject them, or to pass their own amendments. The first round of change notes is called *First Reading*. If both institutions do not consider any amendments necessary or the Council accepts the EP's amendments, the act can enter into force.

If an agreement is achieved with regard to the amendments during the *Second Reading*, the act is now in force.

However, if the EP and the Council cannot agree at all, the act can also fail. Therefore, both institutions often agree to convene a **Conciliation Committee** after the Second Reading in order to prepare an agreement draft for a *Third Reading*.

The **Conciliation Committee** consists of all Council Members and an equal number of EP Members. If this attempt fails or one of the bodies votes against the joint proposal in the Third Reading, the act has finally failed. If an agreement is reached, the President of the Council and the President of the EP will sign the act so that it enters into force.

The **Presidency of the EP** is elected by its Members for a period of 2.5 years. The **Presidency of the Council** changes every six months, so that each country can take over this task once.

The **Commission** keeps accompanying the proposed legislation in all readings and gives opinions on the amendment requests of the EP. This significantly influences the decision-making process in the Council. In the event of a negative assessment by the Commission, the Council may pass the desired amendment in the second reading only unanimously. If the assessment is positive, a qualified majority will be sufficient. In order to achieve it, a majority of 55% of the Member States that represent 65% of the EU population is required since November 2014. The EP usually votes by majority.

SIMULATION GAME

SCHEDULE

We recommend the following schedule for a playing time of 7.5 hours (including breaks):

30 minutes: **Introduction** to the topic, simulation game rules

45 minutes: **Getting into** the roles

10 minutes: **Opening** through the Commission speech at a joint

conference

10 minutes: Break

20 minutes: The **Commission** submits its proposal with

explanatory notes to the EP and the Council

45 minutes: Both the **EP** and the **Council** discuss the proposal

in the First Reading

5 minutes: The **EP** informs the Council of amendments

10 minutes: Break

15 minutes: The Council discusses the EP's amendments and

decides on them (the legal act is enacted if the Council

approves all items)

15 minutes: The **Commission** decides and delivers an opinion on

the Council decision

15 minutes: Taking the Commission's opinion into account, the

EP discusses the Council decision in the Second Reading (if all amendments are approved, the legal act is enacted, if they are rejected, it has failed, in the event of a new change note it will be forwarded to the Commis-

sion and the Council)

10 minutes: The **Commission** delivers a negative or positive

opinion on the EP's amendments

15 minutes: The **Council** discusses the EP's amendments in the

Second Reading.

(In the event of a negative assessment by the Commission, the Council may pass the desired amendment in the second reading only unanimously. If the assessment is positive, a qualified majority will be sufficient. If all amendments are approved, the legal act is enacted, if they are rejected, a Conciliation Committee will be

convened.)

10 minutes: The Presidency of the EP and of the Council

agree on convening the Conciliation Committee (all Council members and an equal number of MEPs, the Commission participates in an advisory capacity)

20 minutes: Talk show of the **media group**

45 minutes: Lunch break

30 minutes: Meeting of the Conciliation Committee

15 minutes: **EP and Council** each vote in the Third Reading (if

approved, the legal act is enacted, if rejected in the EP or

in the Council, it has failed)

15 minutes: Formal **signature** of the legal act 20 minutes: Talk show of the **media group**

30 minutes: Evaluation

AFTER THE SIMULATION GAME

The simulation game must be followed by an intensive evaluation. Practically, this means that the participants leave their roles at this moment. The game officially ends, no one plays a role any more. Questions that have occurred in the course of playing can be now addressed and discussed. For pedagogical reasons, the aim of the evaluation is also to compare the results of the simulation game with reality. We need to see what results have been achieved and how they fit reality. Which learning objective has been achieved?

Evaluation

For the evaluation, we have formulated several key questions. They refer to the content-related learning objectives the participants have achieved through the simulation game. They also make everyone aware why and what for the simulation game has been performed.

Red and green voting cards are a vivid and proven option to work with. Each participant receives a red and a green card. Red stands for "no/rejection", green for "yes/consent". They allow to quickly determine the common mood. They also enable rather quiet participants to express their opinion on the issues, without necessarily having to verbally express themselves. Thus, the whole group participates and is involved in the process.

For the evaluation, we suggest key questions which can be modified and/or supplemented.

On the simulation game:

- Was I happy with my role? Why / why not?
- Was I able to realise the objectives of my role? Why / why not?
- Which role or group was able to enforce their goals best? Why?

Comparison with reality:

- Was the simulation game (play) realistic?
- What was realistic and what was not?
- Have I learned something from the simulation game?
 (Concrete questions chosen by the simulation game supervisor can follow here as well. Example: Is a European House desirable? What should it look like?)

THIS IS THE REALITY

Cultural policy as such is a young policy field of the EU. In the simulation game, based on the European Capital of Culture model, an initiative is taken to start a European dimension of cultural policy abroad, outside the EU. On various occasions, individual cultural institutes of the Member States have already collaborated with each other, e.g. during projects or by sharing buildings.

The role of culture in EU external relations has been a priority for the EU since 2007. Over the past few years, there has been a shift in the EU's approach to international cultural relations, with the emphasis being placed on going beyond the notion of presenting the diversity of European cultures and focusing instead on a cultural relations approach based on people-to-people contacts.

With the establishment of the European Network of National Institutes for Culture (EUNIC) in 2006, a cooperation was initiated to promote Europe's cultural diversity both within and outside the EU and to strengthen international dialogue and cultural cooperation. However, the possible dimension of a new form of cooperation and a common European alignment of foreign cultural policy, as discussed in the simulation game, does not exist yet.

A turning point in this process was the Joint Communication "Towards an EU strategy for international cultural relations"³, published in June 2016 by the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security, Federica Mogherini, and the European Commission. This document sets the framework for the EU and its Member States' activities in international cultural relations. It calls for enhanced cooperation between EUNIC, the European External Action Service (EEAS), and the European Commission (EC). The Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy was published just a few days after the Joint Communication in June 2016 and does briefly mention cultural diplomacy as a new area for cooperation. The Joint Communication is not a strategy but an approach towards one.

- 2 https://eunic.eu/about [25 May 2021]
- 3 https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=JOIN:2016:29:FIN [25 May 2021]

The Joint Communication calls for:

- A cross-cutting, overarching approach to culture which includes inter-cultural dialogue, tourism, education, research, creative industries, heritage, new technologies, artisanship and development cooperation.
- A new definition of cultural diplomacy in terms of cultural relations, highlighting the importance "to go beyond projecting the diversity of European cultures" and towards "global solidarity".
- Establishing core principles of international cooperation and cultural relations principles such as:
 - Engaging in dialogue, mutual listening and learning;
 - People-to-people approach and partnering with local stakeholders;
 - Bottom-up approach, based on partners' needs;
 - Co-creation and joint capacity-building.
- Three work-streams for cooperation:
 - Supporting culture as an engine for sustainable social and economic development;
 - Promoting culture and intercultural dialogue for peaceful inter-community relations;
 - Reinforcing cooperation on cultural heritage.
- Enhanced cooperation with Cultural Institutes, in the form of "a new type of partnership between the EEAS, Commission services, national cultural institutes and their umbrella organisation" (EUNIC).

Thus, an important position is assigned to cultural policy within European foreign policy, in which a growing importance can be seen from today's perspective. Consequently, there are indications that a changed and thus increased relevance will be granted to foreign cultural policy of a European format.

The Joint Communication was subsequently endorsed by the European Parliament and the Education, Youth, Culture and Sport Council in May 2017. These Council Conclusions included a recommendation to develop a roadmap to identify where joint action in culture in external relations could be relevant. Subsequently, in April 2019, another set of Council Conclusions on international cultural relations was published that define this roadmap. This time, the Foreign Affairs Council, i.e. the meeting of the foreign affairs ministers of all EU member states, approved the Conclusions. These include a shared Framework for Action for EU Member States, the European Commission, and the EEAS.

They particularly call all these actors to implement "common projects and joint actions in third countries" based on a common strategic vision developed at local level by the Member States, their diplomatic and consular representations, their cultural institutes, EUNIC, EU delegations and local stakeholders".

The Council Conclusions state that common strategies and activities on cultural engagement should be developed at the local level and in partnership with local stakeholders – reflecting the paradigm shift that was first penned in the "Joint Communication" of 2016. What is remarkable here is that all possible players active in culture should work together and harmonise their activities, including EUNIC and its members, as well as other diplomatic representations and EU Delegations.

In parallel, the New European Agenda for Culture in 2018 focuses especially on the evolution of the cultural sector. This by providing a cooperation of the Member States on EU level. The perspective is the contribution of culture to the European societies, its economy and international relations. Working methods for cooperation of Member States, civic societies and international partners should be enhanced.

In July 2018, EUNIC was invited by the European Commission to submit a proposal to test and define the concept of European 'Houses' of Culture – later renamed to European Spaces of Culture. The project is testing innovative collaboration models in cultural relations between European and local partner organisations in countries outside the EU.⁵ At its heart lies a new spirit of dialogue, in which equality, mutual listening and learning represent the core values that help build trust and understanding between peoples. As a Preparatory Action, it was initiated by the European Parliament. By gathering policy recommendations, the project contributes to the EU strategy for international cultural relations and tests possible dimensions of a new form of cooperation and a common European alignment of external cultural policy.

This simulation lets possible debates which will be held in the European policy in the coming years become 'reality' already today.

⁴ https://ec.europa.eu/culture/policies/strategic-framework-eus-cultural-policy [25 May 2021]

⁵ https://eunic.eu/european-spaces-of-culture [25 May 2021]



SCENARIO

Europe's unity has seen better days. The reputation of the European Union is at a historic low – the project is increasingly perceived as a failure. Instead, since the beginning of the new millennium, the continent seems to stumble from one crisis to another. Be it the single currency, the fate of people in need, or even belonging to the European Union as such: there are plenty of controversial topics. The area of culture seems to be the only exception, where everything goes as planned or is quietly under way in an innovative and colorful manner, where we see various forms of cooperation.

Regardless of the conflict, the President of the European Commission is always heavily criticized, along with his 26 colleagues, the Commissioners. He/she is also expected to solve the challenges of the entire continent. But now, despite being an experienced politician, he/she is increasingly plagued by major concerns. More and more, he/she has the impression that each common challenge increasingly drives the Member States apart. Common solutions would be required instead. It particularly saddens him/her that the Heads of State and Government, actually the entire Commission, in their role as the "most European of all European bodies", as the "guardian of the Treaties" and the motor of integration, want to make him/her sit "at the side table" and rather make decisions on their own. Even though he/she has so many ideas how to make the European Union fit again. How its spirit could be revived, if only they would let him/ her ...! It would be nice to at last go beyond the scope of day-to-day business, away from the economic issues, towards a more appealing, catchy topic. This all requires to finally think and act outside the box! These are the secret thoughts of the President of the Commission.

Something has to be done. In a hurry, he/she seeks advice and support with his/her colleagues. Only his/her closest associates, some Commissioners and staff members belong to the circle that participates in the development of new ideas. No one should hear about it yet. After all, he/she has an ambitious plan, so that the vision of the common enterprise can take shape again.

At a meeting in the shielded premises of the Berlaymont building in Brussels, the headquarters of the Commission, the President of the Commission lets all those present in on his/her plan. He/she wants to shake up the European Union with a completely surprising proposal. The President of the European Commission is still not quite sure, however, how this proposal should look like down to the last detail. It was the civic duty of every European to reflect on what should be done. A signal was needed which was so strong that we could speak in good conscience of a real new beginning.

This was the right moment and place.

Among those present is also the Commissioner for Education and Culture – like everywhere else, these were the so-called soft topics in the European Union. The section is little known to the outside, and only through its journal, the quarterly 'La Culture/The Culture' magazine. The magazine is published in six languages, German, English, French, Italian, Polish and Spanish, but has a pan-European impact only in exceptional cases. The Commission also protects and promotes the European cultural heritage, and supports the cultural and creative industries with their valuable contribution to growth and employment.

The Commission believes that the cultural sector could be a key factor of social development to a much higher degree! At the same time, it is recognised that lately this potential has hardly been used – quite on the contrary, it has been largely ignored.

As agreed, the President of the Commission says nothing to his/her team. However, he/she instructs the office to look for new, surprising and innovative proposals! In short, proposals that no one would expect. The persons addressed are amazed and delighted at the same time. It almost appears that everybody is inspired by the newly-awakened European spirit. Some remember the beginnings of the idea of the European Capital of Culture which to this day enjoys great interest and has had some remarkable impact. Back then, the purpose was the same: to show the European ideal in art and culture. To look across borders, to open the horizon of thinking! To make Europe not only visible, but tangible, even perceptible as something great and common!

The thinking process begins. After searching for some time, a clever intern who has been let in on the secret by his/her boss, the Commissioner for Education and Culture, has an idea while reading the Treaties. Immediately, he/she rushes to him/her: he/she has come across Article 167 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU (TFEU). This Article showed a real cultural competence of the European Union, he/she insists. Why is this competence put to such little use, even though it was already surrendered to the European Union by the Member States?

The Commissioner is aware of the difficulties. Article 167 is part of the TFEU to which the Treaty of Lisbon constitutes the framework. It represents a central standard with regard to questions on cultural policy in the European Union.



Theoretically, it already played an important role in the older treaties, what was missing, however, was the practical implementation. This Article stipulates that the European Union is allowed to take action in matters of cultural policy. As in any other policy field, however, the European Commission cannot decide on its own, but must rely on the participation of the European Parliament and the EU Council. Still, it has an important function: as the only body, it can take the initiative and propose a legal act.

The Commissioner recalls a conversation she recently had with the director of a cultural institute outside the European continent. In this country, a common Europe Day with his colleagues from all over the EU was planned. A large, nationwide competition was announced. The idea was that students would interpret European operas. The best participant would get a cash prize and a trip to Europe. The representative residents of other cultural institutes did not support the idea. To some, the art form itself did not seem suitable – they rather envisaged classical dramas. Others lacked the financial resources to participate. After all, operas were too special an art form for most, with which they were insufficiently familiar. Thus, the project was canceled even before its launch. All were left with a sense of great disappointment.

Already then, the question arose what the European External Action Service (EEAS) was for. Why not also build a house of European culture? To show Europe's spiritual and cultural diversity to the world. And thus, also make Europe realise that we have much more in common than we have to separate us.

The planning begins. The President of the Commission and his/her staff members shall formulate a draft law at lightning speed.

Admittedly, there are some things to decide, e.g. target groups, languages, goals. Many issues involve potential conflicts. The enthusiasm is written on the face of the President of the Commission.

Was it not the Union's founding father Jean Monnet to whom one of the most famous phrases is attributed: 'If I were to start Europe anew, I would start from culture.'

Even though it is now known that Jean Monnet has in fact never said this sentence, it would fit the current situation perfectly. The President of the Commission heaved a sigh of relief, because this was the proposal so feverishly sought after. A phone call with the President of the European Parliament and another one with the Council of the European Union follow. A press event is fixed. The proposal 'Above all other: culture' is to be presented to the European public.

But first, the approach must be elaborated in detail. The Commission's experts have the following unresolved issues in mind:

1st area of conflict:

European Week or European House right away?

Some Member States are actually satisfied with the status quo. Large countries maintain their own cultural institutes throughout the world anyway. In this context, it even seems rather inconvenient to give Brussels a new control option. However, it is always possible to arrange for more European Weeks that are determined centrally by the EU for the entire EU and are devoted to a specific topic through a variety of actions. More joint projects instead of new institutes could be a guiding principle in this respect! If the attempts are successful, one could still think about establishing new 'European' institutes.

For others, such considerations do not go far enough. The issue should be comprehensively and thus properly addressed: Only a real European House, comparable with the institutions that some EU countries operate abroad, like the 'Goethe-Institutes' or the 'Institut français', is worth considering, and it is best to establish it in the shortest possible time all around the world. Informal and non-binding cooperation has been going on long enough. There is only one entity suitable for the task of becoming active on a pan-European level: the European Union. Only then it would be possible primarily for small countries to actually participate in the project. But even large countries could enjoy the added value and prestige for all that a European House would provide. And when we get the ball rolling, could the sceptics still hold back and restrain themselves?

2nd area of conflict:

offer and content

There are Member States who always want to put their rich cultural heritage in the balance, or are even under the impression that they have to. Is it not the close historical ties and interlinking that characterises Europe as a cultural space? When European culture is taken to the outside world, things such as opera, classical literature, but also folk dance and costumes are absolutely essential.

Others are more critical. They think that Europe is much more than just a museum of yesterday. Especially the achievements of history must be continually 'translated'. Only the transmission into the here and now makes Europe and its culture understandable.

In addition, Europe has always been interlinked not only within, but also with the outside world. This must also be reflected in the offer



SCENARIO

of a European cultural institute: after all, Europe has a lot to offer, from education to lifestyle. Why not let works of art shine against the night sky, or combine architecture under water or poetry slam with light art?

The main thing is, the offer is so innovative that it goes beyond the ideas of a purely European world view.

3rd area of conflict:

the role of language(s)

It still remains to be seen, however, in which language the European House will work and offer its projects. Or will there even be language courses on offer? For some, language is closely linked to culture, or even a central part of it. European culture cannot be grasped without European languages. After all, European languages have shaped large parts of the world and are therefore of fundamental importance for interlinking the continent with the outside world. One thing is clear: language courses certainly play an important role. Still, it would be a mistake to concentrate on merely one, two, or only the major languages. All parties should be open to explore various options, however.

For others, there is no reason to additionally offer language courses under the flag of the EU. Attention should rather be given to projects with an immediate and direct impact! In any case, the great linguistic diversity of the continent must always be portrayed. Small countries in particular fear the dominance of larger countries. After all, many consider language primarily as a technical tool. Therefore, it is not unimportant, but at any rate secondary when it comes to the process of conveying culture. According to this approach, if language is to play a role, then only in a comprehensive context, for example, with multilingual or artistic language accents, such as poetry festivals or theatre projects.

4th area of conflict:

100% Europe or 'E pluribus unum'

(in English: Out of many, one)?

Should such a European House only provide the framework, where everyone contributes (also to the costs)? Or is it primarily about own offerings? Of course, the motto Unity in Diversity means that several countries must always be involved. Some can well imagine that the new European Houses will be built in close proximity to existing national offers. And if you already do that, why not take over the staff as well?

After all, synergies that can be achieved in this way benefit everyone. In addition to the staff, efficient structures could be taken over, too. Resource keys, work schedules, rotation systems: Why reinvent the wheel when it already works well elsewhere?

Others would prefer to reconsider the structure and develop it from scratch. Some have neither personnel nor extensive financial resources. If Unity in Diversity is to be taken seriously, it must be much more than a marginal phenomenon and occasional small tenders. Apart from that, however, not everything must be planned out already today. That is just the way it is with new things: one must be able to try out and see how they work. In addition, not all Member States already have so much experience in foreign cultural policy.

5th area of conflict:

geographical focus of the institutes?

Where should Europe become active? On the one hand, some countries will be in favor of a 'one fits all'-model: a project that can be used all over the world. This is the only way to get the whole scope of cultural policy. Why should you limit yourself in the planning phase already? To be open for everything, that is what the motto must be.

Other countries, however, have bigger ideas. Some European governments have always associated cultural policy primarily with foreign policy. It has always been difficult for EU countries to find a common foreign policy, since many Member States concern themselves too much with preserving their national sovereignty in this area. This is especially true when it comes to preserving historically evolved regional interests and acting accordingly. That is exactly why the EU must not waive cultural policy as a common and unifying instrument of international policy. Therefore, cultural policy must always be oriented towards the guidelines of European foreign policy as well. The best solution would be to use the European External Action Service (EEAS) for this purpose.

It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture. We must not get lost in details. Therefore, we should rather count on the European Neighborhood Policy in the east and south of the continent. If there are resources left then, the degree of internationalism can still be increased.



6th area of conflict:

financing

Finally, the crucial question is: where should the money come from? On the one hand, the EU could pay for everything: structure, personnel and projects alike. Some who would not benefit from the new structure comparably to the rest find that unfair, however. Why not finance the structure only and let the participating Member States finance the projects?

A middle course could be to partly finance the projects from the EU budget, and partly from a new key. This would make it possible to let everybody partake according to their willingness to participate and their capacity. After all, clear rules would benefit all.

Others reject any kind of a fixed allocation key out of principle.

Most of the time, such a key is considerably overestimated right from the start. And nobody can or wants to immediately commit oneself long-term. In particular, if it is presently not clear what will concretely emerge from the new project.

Legal foundations of the cultural policy of the European Union:

Article 167 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU):

- (1) The Union shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore.
- (2) Action by the Union shall be aimed at encouraging cooperation between Member States and, if necessary, supporting and supplementing their action in the following areas:
 - Improvement of the knowledge and dissemination of the culture and history of the European peoples,
 - Conservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage of European significance,
 - Non-commercial cultural exchanges,
 - Artistic and literary creation, including in the audiovisual sector.
- (3) The Union and the Member States shall foster cooperation with third countries and the competent international organisations in the sphere of culture, in particular the Council of Europe.
- (4) The Union shall take cultural aspects into account in its action under other provisions of the Treaties, in particular in order to respect and to promote the diversity of its cultures.
- (5) In order to contribute to the achievement of the objectives referred to in this Article:
 - the European Parliament and the Council acting in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure and after consulting the Committee of the Regions, shall adopt incentive measures, excluding any harmonisation of the laws and regulations of the Member States.
 - the Council, on a proposal from the Commission, shall adopt recommendations.⁶

Compare: https://dejure.org/gesetze/AEUV/167.html [1 December 2020]

GROUPS





GROUP PROFILE EUROPEAN COMMISSION

GROUP PROFILE COUNCIL

ROLE PROFILE

President of the Commission (from Croatia)

Commissioner for Education (from Finland)

Commissioner for Culture (from Portugal)

Commissioner for Multilingualism (from Hungary)

ROLE PROFILE

Foreign Minister from Germany
Foreign Minister from Estonia
Foreign Minister from Finland
Foreign Minister from France
Foreign Minister from Italy
Foreign Minister from Lithuania
Foreign Minister from the Netherlands
Foreign Minister from Austria
Foreign Minister from Poland
Foreign Minister from Sweden
Foreign Minister from Slovakia
Foreign Minister from Slovenia
Foreign Minister from Spain
Foreign Minister from Cyprus





GROUP PROFILE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

GROUP PROFILE (ROLE PROFILE)

EP – 'European People's Party (EPP)' Group

Representative of the 'Chrëschtlech Sozial Vollekspartei (CSV)' from Luxembourg

Representative of 'Forza Italia' from Italy

Representative of 'Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (GERB)'

Representative of 'Les Républicains' from France

EP – 'Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament (S&D)' Group

Representative of 'Partit Laburista' from Malta Representative of 'Social Democratic Party of Germany (SDN)'

Representative of 'Partito Democratico' from Italy

EP group - 'Renew Europe'

Representative of the 'Venstre' from Denmark Representative of 'Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD)' from the Netherlands Representative of 'La République En Marche!' from France

EP group - 'Identity and Democracy (ID)'

Representative of the 'Alternative for Germany (AfD)' from Germany

Representative of the 'Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ)' from Austria

EP - 'The Greens / European Free Alliance / EFA' Group

Representative of 'ECOLO' from Belgium

Representative of the 'The Greens' from Austria

EP – 'European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR)' Group

Representative of 'Občanská demokratická strana (ODS)' from Czech Republic

Representative of 'Tēvzemei un Brīvībai - Latvijas Nacionālās Neatkaribas Kustība (TB/LNNK)' from Latvia

EP – 'European United Left / Nordic Green Left (GUE-NGL)' Group

Representative of 'Sinn Féin' from Ireland Representative of 'SYRIZA' from Greece



GROUP PROFILE

EUROPEAN COMMISSION



The European Commission is the executive arm of the European Union. It is committed to the good of the Union as a whole and is only accountable to the European Parliament. As a 'driving force of integration', the European Commission has decisively driven forward the integration process since the establishment of the European Union and its predecessor organisations. In the European Union, only the Commission has the right to propose a bill. Only the Commission can submit proposals to the Council and the European Parliament for the further development of European Union policies. Conversely, neither the European Parliament nor the Council can act of their own. If both deem it necessary to take action in a policy area, they must ask the Commission to exercise its right of initiative. This means that the Commission takes on a particularly important role among the European institutions.

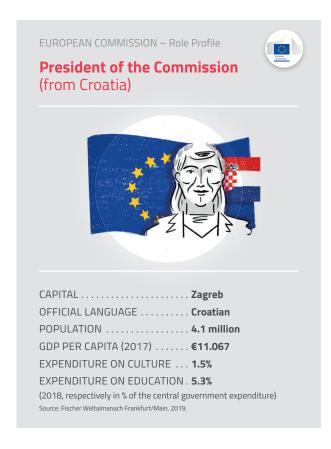
Time and again in the legislative process, the threads converge at the Commission. An important function of the Commission is the mediation between the different interests of the individual Member States in the Council or between the European Parliament and the Council. As the 'guardian of the Treaties', the Commission also responsible for monitoring compliance with EU law. If the Commission suspects that a Member State violates Community law, it can arraign the Member State before the European Court of Justice.

The European Commission is composed of the President and currently 27 other Commissioners. Each Commissioner is responsible for a special policy field. Decisions are made in the Commission by majority. Usually, however, a consensus is sought, so the Commissioners try to avoid any votes against. The term of office as Commissioner is five years and lies between two elections to the European Parliament, respectively.



ROLE PROFILE

EUROPEAN COMMISSION



You are the President of the European Commission. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Republic of Croatia, approx. 4.1 million inhabitants live on over 56.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, Croatia takes 20^{th} place among the EU Member States. When the East-West divide of the continent came to an end, Croatia broke away from the state community of Yugoslavia and became an independent country. This small country successfully managed to join the EU in 2013. With an estimated economic performance of 48.7 billion euro in 2017, Croatia takes 21^{st} place among the economic partners in the EU.

As a citizen of such a young EU Member State, you are proud that you can hold such a high and crucial EU office. You want to show everyone that you are up to the task. You think that your origin benefits you. You come from a country which still experienced war and violence in the 1990s, and know therefore very well how important it is to solve political disputes peacefully. In addition, your view of the EU is still relatively 'fresh'. Yes, it is true, you do not have

decades of experience as an EU member. You believe that this is exactly the reason why you have been elected. A majority of the EU Member States and Members of the European Parliament did not want someone who had been shaping European policy for decades. There are several such 'old hands' in the EU. Those who have been part of the system for too long, however, are not always the ones with the best ideas. Sometimes you have to be revolutionary.

Your new idea follows precisely this approach. You want something completely new for the EU. Europe needs a fresh impetus to ensure that European cooperation can continue to work well in the future. All EU countries will equally benefit from that. National selfinterest is totally out of place, here and anywhere else. You think that if the discussion is objective, all will quickly become aware of the idea's potential. Potential for further European integration, for economic prosperity, and for a stronger role of Europe in the world. Due to the small size of your home country and the fact that it achieved independence from Yugoslavia only in 1991, it has little experience with foreign cultural policy. In 2014, it was decided to establish the 'Croatia House' that does not maintain its own infrastructure of cultural institutes yet and has only sporadically funded projects abroad. The city Rijeka became the European Capital of Culture in 2020. Still, you know that cultural diversity is important to hold a plural society together. Minorities must be taken into account, also by promoting their languages. For a long time, Croatia was part of Austria-Hungary. Not least because of this, it has many things in common with its neighbors. This also applies to the countries of former Yugoslavia, with whom Croatia also has a long-shared history. Cultural diversity and openness have always been considered important values in

Needless to say, you are committed to the welfare of the Union as a whole, you have to pursue the goals of the European Union. But the knowledge about the situation in your home country also plays a role. Discuss with your colleagues in the Commission how a proposal should look like to achieve the widest consent. Of course, from your point of view, it would be best if the Commission got as much power as possible. You advocate a proposal that will cover as much common ground as possible. Of course, you also need to be

Croatia. A small, but important detail should not go unmentioned:

The article of clothing named 'tie' goes back to the name of a

proud of that fact.

Croatian people. In the 17th century, the Croatian soldiers wore a

similar garment around the neck, a necklace with fringe by which

they were fairly easy to identify. Many Croatians are of course very



ROLE PROFILE

EUROPEAN COMMISSION

careful that as many persons involved as possible will feel taken in. You have often experienced how difficult that is. Reconciling the interests of the Member States and the European Parliament often looks like riding a razor blade. One thing is quite clear to you, however: The idea must work, that is your major goal! Your strategy: to be diplomatic in tone, but never lose sight of the goal!

Here are some general hints about your tasks: You chair the meetings of the Commission. To this end, you give the floor to the person who requests to speak. You can also ask all members of your institution to make a statement. You organise the votes and record the results. You always have to be strict with time. If time is in short supply, you can close the list of registered contributions. You can also limit the speaking-time. You are responsible for contact with the media. Explain the attitude of the Commission.

You can have a press spokesperson elected for this task in your institution. You are also responsible for contacts with the other institutions. One or more persons that have been elected by your Commission may support or represent you.



You are a member of the European Commission. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Republic of Finland, approx. 5.5 million inhabitants live on nearly 340.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, Finland takes 17th place among the EU Member States. When the East-West divide of the continent came to an end after 1990, Finland joined the EU together with Austria and Sweden in 1995, maintaining its traditional neutrality. Due to its very versatile economic structure with a strong industry, Finland, despite its small size, takes 12th place among the economic partners in the EU, with an estimated economic performance of 223.5 billion euro in 2017.

You are a member of the Commission for the second time already. During the previous term of office, you were responsible for the internal market, your current responsibility is education. Both areas are right up your street. You think that the importance of the internal market for the EU cannot be underestimated. There is no other policy area as the internal market where integration has progressed so far and there are so few doubts. In the area of education, however,



the integration has not made much progress yet, which is also due to the fact that the EU has only a few competences in that field. Unlike in the past, you want to take full advantage of this competence framework, however. In addition, you find it extremely important to emphasise that cooperation in the field of education always has an economic benefit as well.

This can be very well observed in your home country. For you, the economic success is directly bound up with the fact that for years, Finland has ranked among the leaders in the PISA program for the international comparison of educational levels.

You also bring some experience from Finland in the field of foreign cultural policy. No less than 16 'Finland Institutes' present the Finnish culture to the world, and Finland is particularly active in the regional cultural cooperation with the Scandinavian countries. Again, you see direct economic benefits of cultural policy: only those who know Finland buy Finnish products. You are convinced that cultural diversity is important to hold a plural society together. Minorities must be taken into account, also by promoting their languages. The Finnish culture has always been absorbing influences, both from Western Europe and Russia. A great influence was Sweden, to which Finland had belonged for centuries, and also Germany, with which Finland had always maintained lively trade relations. Cultural diversity and openness have always been considered important values in Finland. Although most Finns maintain a very modern lifestyle, the traditional country life and closeness to nature, as well as the daily use of the sauna continue to play an important role in Finland's cultural identity.

Needless to say, you are committed to the welfare of the Union as a whole, you have to pursue the goals of the European Union. But the knowledge about the situation in your home country also plays a role, of course. Discuss with your colleagues in the Commission how a proposal should look like to achieve the widest consent. Of course, from your point of view, it would be best if as much competence as possible got transferred to the Commission. You advocate a proposal that will cover as much common ground as possible. Of course, you also need to be careful that as many persons involved as possible will feel taken in. You have often experienced how difficult that is.

Reconciling the interests of the Member States and the European Parliament often looks like riding a razor blade. One thing is quite clear to you, however: The idea must work, that is your major goal! Your strategy: to be diplomatic in tone, but never lose sight of the goal!



You are a member of the European Commission. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Republic of Portugal, approx. 10.3 million inhabitants live on nearly 93.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, Portugal takes 11th place among the EU Member States. Portugal has been a member of the European Communities already since 1986. By means of the Carnation Revolution, the people of Portugal were able to end the military dictatorship. Its European partners supported the country's path to a stable democracy. When the East-West divide of Europe came to an end, Portugal founded the European Union along with eleven others Western European countries in 1993. In addition, Portugal was one of the first countries to adopt the euro.

Portugal was heavily hit by the international financial and economic crisis. The Portuguese banking sector could only be saved thanks to the support of the euro countries. The state got into debt, reaching the stage of insolvency, and had to make serious cuts in its economic and social policies. Due to its quite versatile economic structure with



ROLE PROFILE

EUROPEAN COMMISSION

a competitive industry, Portugal takes 13th place among the economic partners in the EU, with an estimated economic performance of 193 billion euro in 2017.

You are a member of the Commission for the first time, previously you have been director of the Portuguese National Museum in Lisbon for many years. You come from the field of real high culture. At the same time, you always had to act in a politically skillful way to create the best possible conditions for your museum. You are not frightened that you have little experience in the political arena. A good standing in the cultural scene is of particular importance in your field, and you definitely have that.

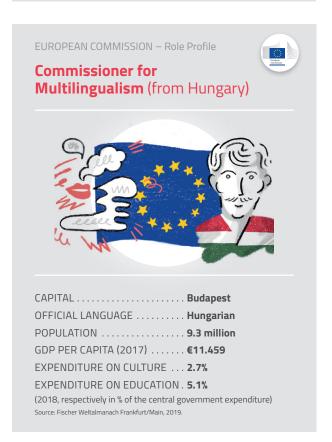
There are hardly any cultural decision-makers in Europe who you do not know!

In addition, you definitely bring some experience from Portugal with regard to international cultural work, which does not only result from managing the National Museum in Lisbon. Although Portugal has no own infrastructure of cultural institutes abroad, Lisbon (1994), Porto (2001) and Guimarães (2012) were European Cities (Capitals) of Culture. In addition, there is intense cooperation particularly with those countries where Portuguese is still an important language (e.g. Brazil and Angola).

Portugal has an ancient culture that had a defining force in the history of the world. Portugal is sometimes referred to as a 'country of the poets'. Poetry was widely used in the Portuguese literature, especially in the Middle Ages, when the Portuguese nation was formed. Today, Portuguese modern literature also has international significance, with works of José Saramago, the Nobel prizewinner for literature in 1998, being particularly well known.

Needless to say, you are committed to the welfare of the Union as a whole, you have to pursue the goals of the European Union. But the knowledge about the situation in your home country also plays a role, of course. Discuss with your colleagues in the Commission how a proposal should look like to achieve the widest consent. Of course, from your point of view, it would be best if the Commission got as much power as possible. You advocate a proposal that will cover as much common ground as possible. Of course, you also need to be careful that as many persons involved as possible will feel taken in. You have often experienced how difficult that is. Reconciling the interests of the Member States and the European Parliament often looks like riding a razor blade. One thing is quite clear to you, however: The idea must work, that is your major goal! Your strategy: to be diplomatic in tone, but never lose sight of the goal!

You are very open with regard to the content-related design of the project. Although you can understand that some persons involved rather back traditional, established culture, you also think that culture needs to be constantly renewed unless it is to solidify into a ritual. Therefore, you are quite open to new and unconventional projects and ideas.



You are a member of the European Commission. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Republic of Hungary, approx. 9.8 million inhabitants live on nearly 93.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, Hungary takes 13th place among the EU Member States. Until 1989, the old People's Republic of Hungary was an Eastern bloc country aligned with the Soviet Union, excluded from the democratic unification of Western Europe. After the first free elections in 1990, the Republic of Hungary had sought to accede to the European Union which it finally joined together with other central and eastern European countries on 1 January 2004. Hungary has not yet



adopted the euro. The economic structure of the country is still relatively weak. With a gross domestic product of approx. 123.5 billion euro in 2017, it takes 17th place among the economic partners in the EU.

As a citizen of such a young EU Member State, you are proud that you can hold such a high EU office as Commissioner. You want to show everyone that you are up to the task. You think that your origin benefits you. You come from a country whose language is not part of the Indo-European languages, which practically prevents it from being understood by people from other countries. Therefore, you know how important it is to master foreign languages if you want to work together internationally. In addition, your view of the EU is still relatively 'fresh'. You simply do not have decades of experience as an EU member. There are several 'old hands' in the EU. Those who have been part of the system for too long, however, are not always the ones with the best ideas. Sometimes you have to be revolutionary.

Your new idea follows precisely this approach, you want something completely new for the EU. Europe needs a fresh impetus to ensure that European cooperation can continue to work well in the future. All EU countries will equally benefit from that. National self-interest is totally out of place, here and anywhere else. You think that if the discussion is objective, all will quickly become aware of the idea's potential. Potential for further European integration, for economic prosperity, and for a stronger role of Europe in the world.

As a citizen of a country that so quickly has benefited so much from the integration with the European Union, you basically perceive yourself as a Europe-friendly player. Recently, however, you have become careful to some degree with regard to the further development of European integration. Is it really advisable to start in the area of culture? In this field, Hungary certainly has enough own tasks to take care of. But perhaps such a project could help with them as well? If you lead an objective discussion, it could be possible to find a result with potential for further European integration, for economic prosperity, and for a stronger role of Europe in the world. In the end, this will help Hungary as well.

With its 23 'Balassi Institutes' (Hungarian: Balassi Intézet) worldwide, Hungary has its own infrastructure of cultural institutes abroad. In addition, Pécs was European Capital of Culture as early as 2010. Thus, Hungary has experience with the international presentation of its culture and language. Although Hungary is a rather small Member State, it appears to exude confidence and does not

want to let other, larger EU Member States make decisions for it. Hungary often cooperates with the other Visegrád Group countries (Poland, Slovakia, Czech Republic). For a long time, Hungary was part of the Habsburg Monarchy, therefore it has culturally a lot in common with its neighboring countries as well. In Hungary, culture has been uphold in all its facets for centuries. A small, but important detail should not go unmentioned: After the London Underground, the Budapest Metro is the second oldest rapid transit in the world and was commissioned in Hungary on the occasion of the celebrations for the millennial land seizure in 1896. Many Hungarians are very proud of that fact even today.

Needless to say, you are committed to the welfare of the Union as a whole, you have to pursue the goals of the European Union. But the knowledge about the situation in your home country also plays a role, of course. Discuss with your colleagues in the Commission how a proposal should look like to achieve the widest consent. Of course, from your point of view, it would be best if the Commission got as much power as possible. You advocate a proposal that will cover as much common ground as possible. Of course, you also need to be careful that as many persons involved as possible will feel taken in. You have often experienced how difficult that is.

Reconciling the interests of the Member States and the European Parliament often looks like riding a razor blade. One thing is quite clear to you, however: The idea must work, that is your major goal! Your strategy: to be diplomatic in tone, but never lose sight of the goal!



COMMISSION – PROPOSALS FOR THE LEGAL ACT

The European Commission will present a proposal for a regulation on the closer cooperation in the field of cultural policy at European Union level. The European Commission discusses various possibilities to achieve that objective. These proposals have been drawn up by the team of the President of the European Commission, the so-called Cabinet, and the involved Directorates-General for Education, Culture and Multilingualism.

The European Parliament and the Council are working on this proposal and will finally jointly enact the regulation. A regulation is an act which applies directly throughout the EU.

The Commission intends to describe and achieve the basic objectives of European cultural policy in six articles of the regulation:

At first, the structure of the future involvement of the European Union must be fundamentally clarified.

In **Article 1**, a choice must be made if the idea to establish a permanent offer in the form of a European House should be followed, or if it is better to continue the current practice of isolated, time-limited offers (cp. European Cities (Capitals) of Culture) in the form of European Weeks. In both cases, the cooperation would be strengthened, although with a very different intensity.

Article 2 answers the question, which offers and content should be covered by the European Union's involvement. The offer could be very narrowly defined and refer to the history of the Member States and the process of European integration, focusing on the fundamental values of the Union, in particular the internal market. In contrast to the above, a very wide approach could also be taken into consideration, which shows European culture in all its known and surprising, traditional and innovative, controversial and contradictory forms, as it renews itself at all times in its diversity and, in turn, also (critically) questions itself. It is difficult to describe art according to objective criteria.

Article 3 discusses a question that is typically very European, but also very relevant for practice. Which languages of the Member States will find entry into the cultural project of the European Union? Should attention be paid to an absolutely equal treatment of all official languages of the European Union, or is a more individual, freer treatment possible, depending on the art form and project? In addition, the question arises whether notably language courses can be a part of the European offer.

Article 4 continues with the question about content and therefore supplements Article 2 that already contains a fundamental consideration. Can a planned European culture project (European House / European Weeks) also offer space for national exhibitions, projects, and more offers, or does the project intend to include the obligation that the type and extent of the presentation must be designed as solely multicultural or European, i.e. by many or even all Member States of the European Union?

In addition, **Article 5** clarifies the geographical scope of the envisaged project. Should the regulation describe a project that takes effect worldwide for the European Union and its Member States, or should it (initially) only apply to clearly specified regions that are located in close proximity to the European Union and, for the most part, define and consider themselves as European? This issue is closely linked to the question if European cultural policy should be understood as an important part of the European Union's foreign policy which is still in its infancy. This raises another question: who will be responsible for the implementation of the regulation?

Finally, **Article 6** wants to amicably clarify the issue of financing. Funding could be done entirely from the budget of the European Union. All Member States pay into the budget of the European Union according to a fixed key. In addition, there are also the so-called own resources of the European Union (e.g. revenues from customs duties). However, a different key to financially involve the Member States in the costs would also be conceivable. Here, it is important to note that the European Union has only a few independent means. The bulk of the budgetary funds is provided by the Member States.



For each Article, you can choose between two wordings. Select one wording for each Article. (Please cut them out, glue them on the 'Proposal for a regulation' blank form and make a copy for all participants.)

Article 1 - Alternative a

The European Union maintains a worldwide structure for the promotion and presentation of the cultural activities of its Member States. The Member States shall perform foreign cultural activities under their own responsibility. The Commission shall organisationally and financially support the Member States in the coordination of such activities, for instance during European Weeks.

Article 1 - Alternative b

The European Union shall build European Houses outside of Europe that will bundle all activities of the Member States and of the European Union. In this way, the cultures of the European continent and the cultural and political activities of the Member States will be presented in their diversity and in their common heritage. The European Commission shall be responsible for establishing and operating the European Houses.

Article 2 - Alternative a

The offer shall be focused on the presentation of the rich cultural heritage and the history of the European continent. It is the close historical ties and interlinking that makes Europe attractive and competitive as a cultural space. Shaping the Western world in peace and freedom originated from Europe, with different geographical focus. The Union's noblest task is to learn from that rich history, and to make it fruitful for future generations. Therefore, the presentation of achievements of high culture is a particular (but not an exclusive) priority of all cultural policy measures.

Article 2 - Alternative b

The cultural policy activities of the European Union are focused in particular on the promotion and presentation of innovative, modern and new forms of culture and art. Not only the world history, but also modern art forms originated from the European continent. Only a funding policy that enshrines a permanent renewal as its highest priority can serve the exchange with a culturally increasingly global world, and help to be enthusiastic for the European Union and the European continent. In particular, it is not the task of the European Union to demonstrate the contribution of individual countries to the historic development of the European continent or the rest of the world.

Article 3 - Alternative a

The global presence of the major European languages is a particularly striking feature of European identity. Therefore, it must be definitely incorporated into the presentation of European cultural achievements – after all, it also serves the international interlinking with language communities from the area of today's Europe. Language courses can be offered for example by European Houses with the participation of the involved Member States. For all activities, the languages of the involved Member States are the working language.

Article 3 - Alternative b

The diversity of European languages is a particularly striking feature of European identity. Therefore, it must be definitely incorporated into the presentation of European cultural achievements. At the same time, language is not constitutive of the cultural achievements of the continent. Rather, it is a means of expression and a work tool among many. With all activities focused on language, strict equality of treatment must be ensured. Multilingual projects shall be given priority. The European Union shall not offer language courses.



Article 4 - Alternative a

The international presentation of culture is nothing new for most Member States. Many Member States already maintain their own cultural institutes abroad. It is important that those experiences are put to use. Therefore, all European activities take place in close coordination with the Member State organisations already present in the country concerned who were able to garner experience. Where appropriate, the takeover of already existing concepts and structures should be considered in accordance with the best-practice approach.

Article 4 - Alternative b

The European activities follow the 'E pluribus unum' approach (English: Out of many, one). All activities shall be planned from scratch with all Member States. All existing approaches to foreign cultural activities shall be evaluated on an equal footing with new approaches.

Article 5 - Alternative a

It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture. The new activities of foreign cultural policy have explicitly no specific geographical focus and shall be performed worldwide.

Article 5 - Alternative b

The new activities of foreign cultural policy shall be based on the guidelines of European foreign policy. Therefore, they shall be performed by the European External Action Service (EEAS). It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture. The focus of activities shall be on countries of the European Neighborhood Policy that are located next to the EU to the east and south.

Article 6 - Alternative a

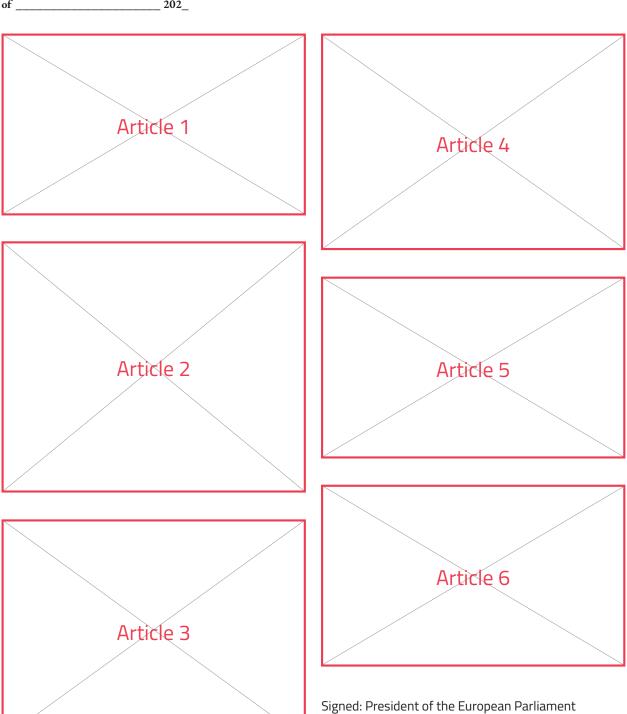
The new activities of foreign cultural policy shall be financed entirely from the budget of the European Union.

Article 6 – Alternative b

50% of the new activities of foreign cultural policy shall be financed from the budget of the European Union. The other 50% shall be financed by the Member States. To this end, a distribution key shall be used that will be based on the willingness of the individual Member States to participate and on their capacity.



Regulation (EU) No. 1234/202_ of the European Parliament and of the Council on deepening cultural co-operation, exchange and development of Member States at European Union level of ______ 202_



and President of the Council



COMMISSION – WELCOME SPEECH

Dear Ministers.

dear Members of Parliament,

dear media representatives,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to give a very warm welcome to all of you at the headquarters of the European Commission in Brussels. I am very pleased that this event is so well attended: I see Foreign Ministers from all the Member States, and Members from almost all parliamentary groups in the European Parliament. I would also like to warmly welcome the representatives of the media.

We are undergoing times of big challenges which require similarly big and far-reaching decisions. In doing so, it is sometimes, and perhaps even increasingly useful to illuminate corners which are rarely taken into account. Topics which are hardly ever discussed out loud are often the ones with the greatest effect.

This brings me to the occasion of today's meeting: culture as Europe's wealth, culture as Europe's hope, culture as Europe's chance. This is how I would like to put it into words at this point.

Allow me to mention our newest proposals. I will not conceal from you that I am very proud to be able to briefly outline them here and today!

We are increasingly concerned about the emergence of crises in many different policy areas of the European Union. Against this background, we have to ask ourselves some basic questions which lead us back to the beginnings, the first considerations that have brought us together here today. Whatever actually constitutes Europe? As European Union, what makes us what we are? Why do people all over the world see us first and foremost as Europeans, and only then as citizens of a particular Member State? Obviously, we all must have something in common that others can see, but we ourselves are often not aware of.

I think here of our culture, the European culture, what we can show and possibly also give to the world. This policy field is both simple and difficult. It is all the rage, everyone has some idea, but so far, unfortunately, we lack the determination and willingness to act together.

In our motto Unity in Diversity, we have put the emphasis on the latter word for way too long. It is much better, however, to focus on unity. And not only as an accent, but as a concept, as an idea, even as a plan.

I think we all agree that cutting budgetary corners should be avoided when it comes to culture. Nevertheless – our European Union is as manifold as it is different, and not everyone has the same resources to the same degree. This is exactly where we feel reminded of our duty, we as Europe, we as European Union, I personally as President of the European Commission.

What do we have in mind? Following up on the aforementioned image of Europe in the world, we recognise, however, that not all of our Member States want or can manifest themselves alike. Often, it is simply the size which is a hindrance, which so narrowly focuses on us as Europe that only a few are able to fill it with content.

We, however, are interested in much more: the completeness and diversity of our culture!

Within the European cooperation in the field of cultural policy, we have been content in the last decades to look inward, to develop common programs in close cooperation that have an effect within our Union.

Now, we would like to encourage you to let your eyes wander further, beyond our European horizon. Into the world! Let us think together how we could become even better, more effective and more visible as Europe, as European culture.

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not think I exaggerate when I say that cultural activities in the world are one of the greatest future opportunities for the European Union.

The European Commission will therefore shortly present a draft of a regulation that, from the Commission's viewpoint, is absolutely necessary.

Ladies and gentlemen, to sum up, I would like to get to the heart of the matter one more time:

There is no doubt that the European Union feels strongly committed to culture. I am convinced that you will face this challenge very responsibly. Therefore, I am sure that, together with the European Commission, you will find a solution which will take all interests into account.

Thank you for your attention. I wish you every success in your work!



GROUP PROFILE

COUNCIL



The Council of the European Union (the Council) is an assembly of EU Member States representatives at the minister level. In their respective disciplinary composition, its members discuss and decide on the Commission's proposals for a legal act. The same thing happens in the European Parliament (EP). In this way, the Council and the EP are part of the ordinary legislative procedure. Both partners decide together, but represent different interests. The EP represents citizens directly. In the Council, the interests of the Member States come up against each other and are jointly contrasted with the interests of the EP. The Presidency of the Council alternates between the members. In the simulation game, a person is elected President. The session begins with a short round of introduction in which the members explain their position, but without putting forward any demands yet. There is usually a friendly and cooperative atmosphere in the Council. If possible, the Commission takes part in the sessions, where it has the right to speak. In this case, the Commission member sits next to the President. In the Council, decisions to amend drafts are generally adopted by qualified majority as part of the co decision procedure. A qualified majority is reached when 55% of the Member States agree and, simultaneously, represent 65% of the EU population. This must be recalculated at each vote.

The cultural policy is a rather new and challenging policy field of the EU. The Council meets in different subject constellations. In the event of a foreign policy relevance, cultural issues are usually discussed in the Education, Culture and Youth Council and the General Affairs Council. Due to the fundamental importance, however, the General Affairs Council meets in this case, who is responsible for basic, political key decisions. Its members are generally the Foreign Ministers, sometimes also the Ministers for Europe.

The interests of the Member States can be very different. To reach a specific goal, a request for an amendment is required. For such an amendment to be included in a draft, a qualified majority must be achieved in the Council. To get a majority, arrangements must be made with other Council members. This makes it possible to find compromises with regard to individual issues, but also to connect very different questions, so that you will receive support from members with a different underlying objective. In return, you promise your own support for other issues. The EP, however, will also wish to make amendments in a similar process. To make sure that specific goals are successfully reached, it might be a good idea to also talk to individual MEPs or entire parliamentary groups from the EP.



GROUP PROFILE

COUNCIL

If you want to request an amendment to the legislative proposal, discuss it beforehand with enough members of the Council to achieve a majority. If necessary, suggest a session break for such a discussion. Request the amendment only if you are sure to achieve the majority, first by reading out the appropriate position in the draft, and then by reading out your own proposal. The President of the Council will have the vote soon afterwards.

ROLE PROFILE

COUNCIL



You are the Foreign Minister of Germany. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, approx. 82.7 million inhabitants live on nearly 360.000 square kilometres. This makes Germany the largest Member State of the EU. The old Federal Republic of Germany was a founding member of the European Communities already in the 1950s. After the reunification in 1990, Germany founded the European Union in 1993 along with eleven other Western European countries. In addition, Germany was one of the first countries to adopt the euro. Due to its size and very versatile economic structure with a strong industry, Germany is by far the biggest economic partner in the EU. In 2017, the gross domestic product amounted to 3263.4 billion euro.

A united Europe that is capable of acting is considered an elementary German interest, cooperation with France as part of the 'Franco-German engine' has first priority. You think that the Commission's initiative comes just at the right time. Europe needs a fresh impetus to ensure that European cooperation can continue to work well in



the future. All EU countries will equally benefit from that. National self-interest is totally out of place, here and anywhere else. You think that if the discussion is objective, all will quickly become aware of the idea's potential. Potential for further European integration, for economic prosperity, and for a stronger role of Europe in the world.

Therefore, you also would want the Commission's initiative to be understood as a foreign and security policy project. You have always associated cultural policy primarily with foreign policy. It has always been difficult for EU countries to find a common foreign policy, since many Member States concern themselves too much with preserving their national sovereignty in this area. This is especially true when it comes to preserving historically evolved regional interests and acting accordingly. That is exactly why the EU must not waive cultural policy as a common and unifying instrument of international policy. Therefore, cultural policy must always be oriented towards the guidelines of European foreign policy as well. The best solution would be to use the European External Action Service (EEAS) for this purpose. It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture. In addition, you think that the project should not be limited to the European neighborhood only. If you want to be globally recognised, you should also be globally present.

Germany sees itself as an old culture which has been a dominant force in the history of the European continent. With West Berlin (1988), Weimar (1999) and Essen/Ruhr (2010) as European Cities (Capitals) of Culture, Germany has already some experience in the international presentation of its culture. However, it is also important to you that the German language is perceived on a par with the other major languages of Europe. In the past, Germany has been a little cautious in that respect, which is why today mainly English and French are used as working languages, even though German is the most used native language in the EU. Here, you definitely wish to see the course altered, not with a sledgehammer of course, but rather diplomatically and quietly.

The roots of German art and culture history date back to the time of the Celts, Teutons and Romans. Germany has brought forth numerous style- and epoch-shaping personalities. Until this day, German artists are among the protagonists of Western civilization. Over the centuries, German culture has defined itself primarily through the common language, because Germany had not existed as a nation state for quite some time.

You are quite open with regard to the concrete design of the project, however. You do not want to appear too dominant, because that would rather harm the common project. However, you make it clear that Germany has a lot of experience with foreign cultural activities, which you would gladly bring to the table. With 160 'Goethe Institutes' worldwide and over 90 of their liaison offices, Germany also has its own cultural institute infrastructure and plenty of experience with cultural activities abroad. Not to mention the 'Institute for International and Cultural Relations' with its worldwide connections! To be honest, you regret the absence of the German organisational culture in many European partners.

You are not quite sure if you would go so far as to close the German cultural institutes when a European cultural institute is established. You think it is better to wait and see first. If the concept is good, you will be definitely ready to dip into your purse.

You feel especially connected with France. But you also like to bring yourself into play as a neutral mediator. The idea of the Commission must work, that is your major goal! Therefore, from your point of view, it would be best if the Commission got as much power as possible. This would scotch national egoism.



COUNCIL



You are the Foreign Minister of Estonia. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Republic of Estonia, approx. 1.3 million inhabitants live on over 45.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, Estonia takes 24th place among the EU Member States. Until 1991, Estonia was part of the Soviet Union and has quickly joined the West together with the other Baltic republics, Latvia and Lithuania. Estonia joined the EU in 2004. Estonia sees itself as very pro-European and has adopted the euro in 2011 as one of the first countries of the great enlargement. Due to its small size with a relatively versatile economic structure, Estonia takes 25th place among the economic partners in the EU, with an estimated economic performance of 23 billion euro in 2017.

So far, Estonia has pursued a more project-oriented cultural policy abroad. There are some cultural institutes, the 'Eesti Institutut', however, most activities take place in the context of bilateral agreements or action programs. In addition, Tallinn was European Capital of Culture in 2011. Until 2004, your cultural policy

activities were entirely aimed at joining the EU as soon as possible. However, you would really appreciate it, if Estonian culture was also finally promoted and its economic significance harnessed. The Estonian culture is strongly oriented towards Estonia's neighbor Finland, since both countries have a strong relationship. It is largely aligned to the West and maintains numerous cooperations, particularly with German companies, Evangelical churches, and universities.

As a young Member State, you have strongly benefited economically and in terms of security from the European Union. Therefore, you perceive the centrifugal forces in Europe with great concern as well. Thus, the Commission's proposal has come at exactly the right time for you. Europe needs a fresh impetus to ensure that European cooperation can continue to work well in the future. All EU countries will equally benefit from that. National self-interest is totally out of place, here and anywhere else. You think that if the discussion is objective, all will quickly become aware of the idea's potential. Potential for further European integration, for economic prosperity, and for a stronger role of Europe in the world. Therefore, you also would want the Commission's initiative to be understood as a foreign and security policy project. To a certain degree, cultural policy has always been synonymous with foreign policy. The best solution would be to use the European External Action Service (EEAS) for this purpose. It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture. We must not get lost in details. Therefore, we should rather count on the European Neighborhood Policy. In this context, Estonia could well imagine a mediating role between cultures of the East and the EU partners.

You are quite open with regard to the concrete design of the project. The other countries certainly have great ideas and good concepts that you will readily endorse.

However, you warn against individual countries appearing too dominant. Such behavior has always only harmed the European idea in the past. You definitely want to participate in this new project. A small country like Estonia needs the EU to accomplish any international goals. Of course, it is also clear that Estonia can participate financially only to a small degree. The larger countries must make a greater contribution. Another possibility would be to finance everything from EU funds.





You are the Foreign Minister of Finland. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

Finland is located in northern Europe and borders Sweden to the north-west, Norway to the north and Russia to the east.

With a population of around 5.5 million and a population density of around 18.2 (2018) inhabitants per square kilometre, it is one of the least densely populated countries in Europe. In terms of population size, Finland thus ranks 17th among EU Member States.

The country has also been a member of the EU since 1995 and a member of the euro area since 1999. Due to its very versatile economic structure with a strong industry, Finland, despite its medium size, takes 12th place among the economic partners in the EU, with an estimated economic performance of 223.5 billion euro in 2017.

Since 1955, Finland has gained experience in implementing common policies across its own national borders. Together with the four other northern European countries (Denmark, Iceland, Norway and Sweden), it has formed a large area within the framework of the Nordic Council, for example by jointly regulating the labor market and social security.

Neutral for a long time, Finland established corresponding ties with NATO by joining the NATO Partnership for Peace program in 1994, without joining the alliance. In 1995, however, it joined the EU, motivated primarily by the solidarity and common security that the Union has to offer. In the European Union, Finland is committed to ensuring prosperity and security in Europe as effectively as possible. Finland became the only Nordic country to join the third stage of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) in 1999 and adopted the Euro in 2002. Although the country continues to maintain its military alliance freedom, it strongly advocates strengthening the EU's common foreign and security policy and crisis management.

Foreign policy priorities are thus the promotion of international stability, peace, democracy, human rights, the rule of law and social welfare.

After being ruled by the Swedes for 600 years, then by the Russian tsar for 108 years, the country gained its state independence in 1917. Unlike the other Scandinavian countries, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, Finland is not a constitutional monarchy, but a parliamentary democracy with an elected president at head of the state. Currently it is Sauli Niinistö. Compared to other EU states, the latter has extensive competences, especially in foreign and security policy issues.

Finnish democracy is sometimes at the forefront of equality. Finland was the first country in Europe to introduce women's suffrage as early as 1906. With 63.6% (2019), the government of Finland is the second largest Minister quota in the world. Sanna Marin is Finland's youngest head of government at the age of 34. In addition, all party leaders of the governing coalition (Social Democrats, Left Alliance, Centre Party, Green League and Swedish people's party) are women.

However, the country is a leader not only in the field of women's political participation, but also in terms of their representation on the labor market. The proportion of female employees in Finland is 48%, 35% of whom are in management positions.

Finland has a very successful cultural policy. In Finnish culture, you have to think of a very close connection to nature and traditional aspects. Finland has also made a big name for itself in terms of design and contemporary art. The museums in Helsinki, for example, are world-leading and attract audiences and great interest. There have already been two European Capitals of Culture: Helsinki (2000) and Turku (2011), where Finnish culture has been successfully presented.



COUNCIL

Internationally, Finnish Cultural work is represented by the 17 'Finland Institutes' worldwide, which are dedicated to the creation and maintenance of networks on culture, science and education. In addition to mobility programs, this also includes support for cooperation between Finnish artists internationally.

Finland is one of the medium-sized countries in the EU and is therefore constantly committed to close cooperation and networking. Traditionally, there are close ties with Sweden (historically and through its own Finland-Swedish minority), but also with Estonia (culturally, linguistically and economically since the end of the Iron Curtain).

You welcome the Commission's proposal completely. Finally, a breath of fresh air that breathes new life into the European project and shows the whole world what Europe has to offer. For you, cultural policy has always been part of foreign policy. Finding a common foreign policy line has always been difficult for EU states, because many Member States are too concerned with preserving their national sovereignty in the field of foreign policy. This is especially true when it comes to maintaining historically grown regional interests and becoming active accordingly. This is precisely why the EU must not renounce cultural policy as a common and unifying Instrument of international politics. That is why cultural policy must always be guided by the guidelines of European foreign policy. It is best to settle it at the European External Action Service (EEAS).

It is essential that Europe also speaks with one voice in culture. Conversely, this also means that the EU must assume financial responsibility. This is all the truer as the Finnish contribution cannot be too lavish. In particular, try to form alliances with representatives from other large EU states. But the EU does not need a second 'Instituts français' or a second 'Goethe-Institut', you have to think from scratch and take all experiences into account. Together, European culture can be strong and the cultural diversity of Europe can be carried to the outside world. To this end, as many states as possible should cooperate, preferably all, only in this way can the contributions of the 'smaller' cultures of Europe be heard and deluded.



You are the Foreign Minister of France. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Republic of France, approx. 67.1 million inhabitants live on nearly 669.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, France takes 2nd place among the EU Member States. It was a founding member of the European Communities already in the 1950s and founded the European Union in 1993 along with eleven other West European countries. In addition, France was one of the first countries to adopt the euro. Until the early 1960s, the country had one of the largest colonial empires in history, which continues to have an effect on the population structure and the national identity.

Due to its size and its very versatile economic structure with a strong industry, France is the second largest economic partner in the EU, with an economic performance of approx. 2,288 billion euro in 2017.

France is basically pro-European. The national interest of the 'Grande Nation', however, is always paramount for French politicians.



France's significance as the most important European nation along-side Germany usually means that Paris stands shoulder to shoulder with Berlin and tends to give less weight to the interests of smaller Member States. From the viewpoint of Paris, an agreement against France is absolutely inadequate to the political and economic situation in the EU. The nationwide maintenance and preservation of France's rich material cultural heritage is regarded as a task of national importance. This understanding is effectively brought into the public domain through measures organised or sponsored by the state, which contribute to the formation of a national cultural awareness. Examples are national heritage, music or cinema days that are firmly anchored in the annual cultural calendar and are highly popular among the French.

The European integration process at the beginning of the 21st century is considered indispensable for the modernisation of France and for a joint independence at the international level. It is widely accepted that the greatness of the French nation can only be maintained in a united and independent Europe that is built according to the model of a federation of nation states and respects the diversity of its individual members.

From your point of view, the EU faces major challenges, such as the financial crisis, global warming, unemployment, migration and demographic trends, the solution of which will be neither quick nor easy. However, every crisis is also an opportunity, as the history of European unification has shown! Therefore, you welcome the Commission proposal. You think that this idea can bring Europe closer together again.

However, at the same time, everyone has to realise that France must play a very significant role, appropriate to its size and importance. France has an old culture which has been a dominant force in the history of the European continent. Therefore, it is quite obvious to you that France must be given a strong voice with regard to the content-related design of the concept. This includes of course the French language which is especially protected by law in France, and whose cultivation is generously supported by the State. You are very sensitive that the French language is on an equal footing with the other major languages of Europe. With regard to content, you are rather conservative. You are sceptical towards too many innovations. Poetry slams, light installations – in your opinion, much of this has nothing to do with the high culture that you stand for.

With 94 'Institut français' worldwide, France also has its own cultural institute infrastructure and extensive experience with cultural activities abroad. With Paris (1989), Avignon (1999), Lille (2004) and Marseille (2013) as European Cities (Capitals) of Culture, France has already some experience in the international presentation of its culture. This experience must be used of course. To close your own cultural institutes, however, is out of the question! But if the European concept is good, you will be definitely ready to dip into your purse. As Grande Nation, France should not splash out in this respect.

In addition, you think that the project should not be limited to the European neighborhood only. If you want to be globally recognised, you should also be globally present. Cultural policy has always been primarily synonymous with foreign policy. This has always been the French approach. It has always been difficult for EU countries to find a common foreign policy, since many Member States concern themselves too much with preserving their national sovereignty in this area. This is especially true when it comes to preserving historically evolved regional interests and acting accordingly. That is exactly why the EU must not waive cultural policy as a common and unifying instrument of international policy. Therefore, cultural policy must always be oriented towards the guidelines of European foreign policy as well. It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture.

You owe it to all French people that France plays a most important role in the new project. You are strongly committed to that goal. In particular, stand shoulder to shoulder with the representatives from Germany. If France and Germany agree and go ahead, it can carry the whole of Europe forward, as history has shown many times.



COUNCIL



You are the Foreign Minister of Italy. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Republic of Italy, approx. 60.5 million inhabitants live on about 300.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, Italy takes 3rd place among the EU Member States. The country was a founding member of the European Communities already in the 1950s and founded the European Union in 1993 along with eleven other West European countries. In addition, Italy was one of the first countries to adopt the euro. Due to its size and its very versatile economic structure with a small-scale industry, Italy takes 3rd place among the economic partners in the EU, with an economic performance of approx. 1,717 billion euro in 2017.

All Italian governments and the majority of the population have always been very pro-European. If there are suitable EU solutions for a problem, they usually do not fall through because of Italy. Nevertheless, given its economic weight, state problems and geographical location, Italy can surely be a tough negotiator when protecting its own interests.

Within the EU, Italy belongs together with Greece to the undisputed cradle of European culture. Innumerable testimonies to the history of humanity can be found in Rome and throughout the country. At the same time, Italy has had a significant influence on the development of the European continent up to the modern era. Italy played an important role as the centre of the Roman Empire, the seat of the papacy and the cradle of the Renaissance, and had become the breeding ground of European art, culture and research. Italy has approximately 100.000 monuments of any type (museums, castles, statues, churches, galleries, villas, fountains, historic houses and archaeological finds). It is the country with the most UNESCO World Heritage Sites worldwide – 51 in total! The Italian language is spoken all over the world, also by large communities of former emigrants.

A large fragmentation also denotes their cultural policy activities. In addition to archaeological and touristic aspects, the promotion of the Italian language is also a big concern for you. Around 90 Italian cultural institutes (Italian: Istituti Italiani di Cultura) worldwide work on this task. In addition, there exists a variety of programs of other public authorities (such as cities and regions), usually without a coordinated cooperation. A concentration of efforts on a few objectives or organisations has barely taken place and is not regarded as beneficial, either.

From your point of view, the EU faces major challenges, such as the financial crisis, global warming, unemployment, migration and demographic trends, the solution of which will be neither quick nor easy. However, every crisis is also an opportunity, as the history of European unification has shown! Therefore, you welcome the Commission proposal. You think that this idea can bring Europe closer together again.

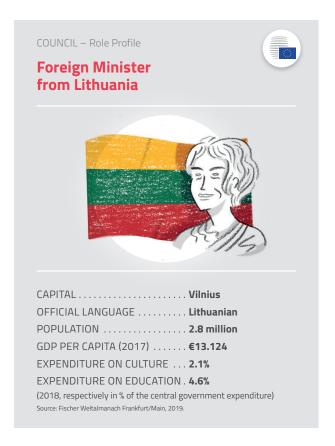
However, at the same time, everyone has to realise that Italy must play a significant role, appropriate to its size and importance. Italy has a thousand years old culture which has been a dominant force in the history of the European continent. With Genua (1986), Bologna (1999), Genua (2004) and again Matera (2019) as European Cities (Capitals) of Culture, Italy has already some experience in the international presentation of its culture. Therefore, it is quite obvious to you that Italy must be given a strong voice with regard to the content-related design of the concept. Of course, this also includes



the Italian language. You are very sensitive that the Italian language is on an equal footing with the other major languages of Europe. Otherwise, you are quite open to innovations, as long as they are not too wild. You think that being in a position to look back at such an old culture, you can also afford a relaxed "misstep" every once in a while. You miss this serenity in many of your colleagues, particularly from countries with cultures that are not as old.

The experience of Italy with cultural activities must of course be used. You are not quite sure if you would go so far as to close the Italian cultural institutes when a European cultural institute is established. You think it is better to wait and see first. If the concept is good, you will be definitely ready to dip into your purse. Of course, it would be best to dip into the purse of the EU. In addition, you think that the project should not be limited to the European neighborhood only. If you want to be globally recognised, you should also be globally present.

You owe it to your voters that Italy plays a most important role in the new project. You are strongly committed to that goal. Try to build up alliances in particular with the representatives of other major EU States.



You are the Foreign Minister of Lithuania. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Republic of Lithuania, 2.8 million inhabitants live on about 65.000 square kilometres, therefore Lithuania takes 21st place in the European Union. Until 1991, Lithuania was part of the Soviet Union and has quickly joined the West together with the other Baltic republics, Latvia and Estonia. Lithuania joined the EU in 2004. Lithuania sees itself as very pro-European and has adopted the euro on 1 January 2015. Due to its small size, Lithuania takes 23rd place among the economic partners in the EU, with an estimated economic performance of 41.9 billion euro in 2017.

Lithuania has no strong cultural policy abroad, it rather does some project work in specifically selected locations. It has no own cultural institutes. If at all, activities take place in the context of bilateral agreements or action programs. In addition, Vilnius was European Capital of Culture in 2009. Until 2004, your cultural policy activities were entirely aimed at joining the EU as soon as possible. You have nothing against Lithuanian culture finally being promoted and



COUNCIL

its economic significance harnessed, even if this concept is still new for you.

Lithuania is shaped by many different cultural influences. Firstly, there is the long independence and maintaining a non-Christian state religion, the long-shared history with Poland, relations with the Hanseatic League and the Baltic region, belonging to the Russian Tsarist Empire. That is the origin of the Orthodox churches that cannot be overlooked in big cities. In the west of the country, strong German, Danish and Swedish influences are in evidence, e.g. brick Gothic and timbered houses. In the east, however, particularly in Vilnius, Polish cultural elements are often present. Despite its small size, Lithuania hosts no less than three UNESCO World Heritage Sites: the baroque old town of Vilnius, the dunes on the Curonian Spit peninsula, and the archaeological site in Kernavė. This makes many Lithuanians very proud.

As a young Member State, you have strongly benefited economically and in terms of security from the European Union. Therefore, you perceive the centrifugal forces in Europe with great concern as well. Thus, the Commission's proposal has come at exactly the right time for you. Europe needs a fresh impetus to ensure that European cooperation can continue to work well in the future. All EU countries will equally benefit from that. National self-interest is totally out of place, here and anywhere else. You think that if the discussion is objective, all will quickly become aware of the idea's potential. Potential for further European integration, for economic prosperity, and for a stronger role of Europe in the world. Therefore, you also would want the Commission's initiative to be understood as a foreign and security policy project. To a certain degree, cultural policy has always been synonymous with foreign policy.

The best solution would be to use the European External Action Service (EEAS) for this purpose. It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture. We must not get lost in details. Therefore, we should rather count on the European Neighborhood Policy. In this context, Lithuania could well imagine a mediating role between cultures of the East and the EU partners.

You are quite open with regard to the concrete design of the project. The other countries certainly have great ideas and good concepts that you will readily endorse.

However, you warn against individual countries appearing too dominant. Such behavior has always only harmed the European idea in the past. You definitely want to participate in this new project. A small country like Lithuania needs the EU to accomplish any international goals. Of course, it is also clear that Lithuania can participate financially only to a small degree. The larger countries must make a greater contribution. Another possibility would be to finance everything from EU funds.



You are the Foreign Minister of the Netherlands. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Kingdom of the Netherlands, approx. 17.1 million inhabitants live on over 41.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, the Netherlands take $7^{\rm th}$ place among the EU Member States. The Netherlands were a founding member of the European Communities already in the 1950s. When the East-West divide of the continent came to an end, the Netherlands founded the European Union along with eleven other Western



European countries. The Netherlands are a unitary state with provinces who partly have their own culture-based laws. Due to their size and their very versatile economic structure with a strong industry, the Netherlands take 5th place among the economic partners in the EU, with an economic performance of approx. 733.2 billion euro in 2017.

As an economically successful country in the heart of Europe, you perceive yourself both economically and culturally as a cosmopolitan driving force of European integration. You too observe the development of the continent with some concern and think that it could use a fresh impetus, so that European cooperation can continue to work well in the future. All EU countries will equally benefit from that. If the discussion is objective, all should become aware of the idea's potential. Potential for further European integration, for economic prosperity, and for a stronger role of Europe in the world.

You think that it is always important to consider a deepening of the European unification. Especially in these times, when the idea of European cooperation appears to be losing popularity. Particularly the Netherlands have always benefited from European unification in the centre of Europe, especially in economic terms.

However, you do not want Brussels to get more and more power. You think that in recent years, many things have gone wrong in this respect. In many areas, you would prefer to turn back the clock, but at least it must be prevented that the Dutch can decide even less for themselves.

You think that the Netherlands have much to offer. You have always enjoyed being at the forefront of cultural innovations, such as poetry slams and light installations, and therefore have a lot of experience in that field. You cannot understand that others consider that a waste of money. It is obvious that culture needs to be constantly renewed unless it is to solidify into a ritual. This is where you draw a clear line, however: above all, it is the promising cultural projects that should be supported. You also explicitly say this in an economic sense. Culture must also be profitable, ideally even pay for itself. You would like the Commission's idea to mainly bring economic success. This is what your voters expect from politicians. Politics should provide a framework in which people can achieve as many profits as possible for the good of all. If this is ensured, the Commission's idea may by all means cost some money.

Unlike many large and medium-sized countries, you do not have your own cultural institute infrastructure. You are especially proud

of the fact that Amsterdam was European City (Capital) of Culture already in 1987, followed by Rotterdam in 2001 and the last Leeuwarden in 2018.

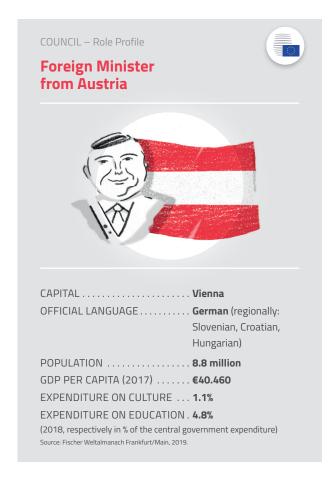
Both with regard to culture and elsewhere, the following is important for you: You do not want to let others make decisions for you only because they have more experience. What all Dutch are proud of to this day is that many world-famous painters were Dutch: Hieronymus Bosch, Rembrandt van Rijn, Johannes Vermeer, Vincent van Gogh and Piet Mondrian, to name just a few. During the so-called Golden Age in the 17th century, about 700 painters worked in the Netherlands who finished around 70.000 paintings each year. Such a massive 'painting output' has remained without precedent in the entire history of art.

You have always associated cultural policy with foreign and trade policy. The Netherlands have a long colonial history as well, e.g. Suriname would gain its independence from the Netherlands only in 1975. Since the 17th century, the small country of the Netherlands certainly has had global influence, and therefore has also wanted to be a global player. You have always associated cultural policy primarily with foreign policy. It has always been difficult for EU countries to find a common foreign policy, since many Member States concern themselves too much with preserving their national sovereignty in this area.

This is especially true when it comes to preserving historically evolved regional interests and acting accordingly. That is exactly why the EU must not waive cultural policy as a common and unifying instrument of international policy. Therefore, cultural policy must always be oriented towards the guidelines of European foreign policy as well. The best solution would be to use the European External Action Service (EEAS) for this purpose. It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture. We should not get lost in details, however. Therefore, we should rather count on the European Neighborhood Policy in the east and south of the continent. One thing is clear to you: You reject all proposals leading to a situation where more decisions are taken in Brussels and not in The Hague! In addition, the Netherlands must have co decision powers everywhere on an equal footing! The EU does not need a second 'Institut français' or 'Goethe-Institut', we need to think from scratch. Try to team up with Germany, your great neighbor, and of course with Belgium to which you feel particularly close culturally let alone due to the Flemish part of the population.



COUNCIL



You are the Foreign Minister of Austria. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Republic of Austria, approx. 8.8 million inhabitants live on nearly 84.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, Austria takes 14th place among the EU Member States. When the East-West confrontation was over in 1990, Austria joined the EU in 1995 together with two other countries. In addition, Austria was one of the first countries to adopt the euro. This federation has nine federal states that enact laws by means of their own parliaments and are involved in the legislation of the Republic through the Federal Council. Due to its very versatile economic structure with a strong industry, Austria is approx. the ninth largest economic partner in the EU, with a gross domestic product of around 369.7 billion euro in 2017.

Despite the medium size of the country, Austria's cultural policy activities abroad are varied and extensive. Due to Austria's historical

rootedness as a central creative force in rearranging the European continent from the viewpoint of world history, it has close relations with a variety of countries and cultures. The country's foreign cultural polity institutes known as 'Austrian Cultural Forums' are directly subordinate to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Unlike many other cultural institutes, they do not offer language courses in this context, since Austria has a separate institute network for that purpose. Particularly close relations exist with East-Central Europe and the Balkans. Here, the cultural presence of Austria also corresponds with a high external and economic significance for both sides.

For centuries, Austria, and especially Vienna had been a cultural hub as capitals of the Habsburg Monarchy. As a result of this bridging function, Austria has culturally a lot in common with its Central European neighboring countries. Multilingualism and the confluence of cultures of the multi-ethnic state of Austria-Hungary constitute a starting point of Austrian cultural activities and its cultural self-placement.

As a Europe-friendly partner, you observe with regard to the Commission's proposal that the continent could use a fresh impetus, so that European cooperation can continue to work well in the future. All EU countries will equally benefit from that. If the discussion is objective, all should become aware of the idea's potential. Potential for further European integration, for economic prosperity, and for a stronger role of Europe in the world.

Therefore, you also would want the Commission's initiative to be understood as a foreign and security policy project. You have always associated cultural policy primarily with foreign policy. It has always been difficult for EU countries to find a common foreign policy, since many Member States concern themselves too much with preserving their national sovereignty in this area. This is especially true when it comes to preserving historically evolved regional interests and acting accordingly.

That is exactly why the EU must not waive cultural policy as a common and unifying instrument of international policy. Therefore, cultural policy must always be oriented towards the guidelines of European foreign policy as well. The best solution would be to use the European External Action Service (EEAS) for this purpose. It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture. We must not get lost in details.



Therefore, we should rather count on the European Neighborhood Policy in the east of the continent, especially in close proximity to Austria and the former Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

In terms of content, despite your rich history, you perceive yourself mainly as innovative. Therefore, the new project must be particularly creative, focusing on Europe's future and not the past. With Graz (2003) and Linz (2009) as European Cities (Capitals) of Culture, Austria has already some experience in the international presentation of its culture.

From a strategic viewpoint, you often discuss your decisions with your big neighbor Germany, with which you maintain a very close exchange due to the common language and interwoven history, at the same time stressing your autonomy, however. On the other hand, you are a relatively small country that repeatedly warns against individual countries appearing too dominant. Such behavior has always only harmed the European idea in the past. You definitely want to participate in this new project. A small country like Austria needs the EU to accomplish any international goals.



You are the Foreign Minister of Poland. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Republic of Poland, approx. 37.9 million inhabitants live on nearly 313.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, Poland takes 5th place among the EU Member States. In the 1980s, the Polish people had slowly and consistently shaken off the socialist system in their country, making a significant contribution to the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe. When the East-West divide of the continent came to an end, Poland was consistently encouraged and supported by its western neighbors, and was able to develop a stable democracy. In 2004, it was the largest country of the round of enlargement and is considered by many Central and East-Central European Member States as spokesman. Poland has not yet adopted the euro. Due to its size and its quite versatile economic structure with a young industry in addition to old coal and steel plants, Poland takes 7th place among the economic partners in the EU, with an economic performance of approx. 465.6 billion euro in 2017.



COUNCIL

For Poland, the time after the fall of the Iron Curtain was a time of radical change, often for the better, not only economically, but also culturally. Due to your political and economic development, and the importance that you have due to your size, it is imperative that you work on a positive image of Poland in the world. Often, a debate on that issue is still dominated by a history in which the Polish national identity could only function in a limited manner, in a vice between the West and the East.

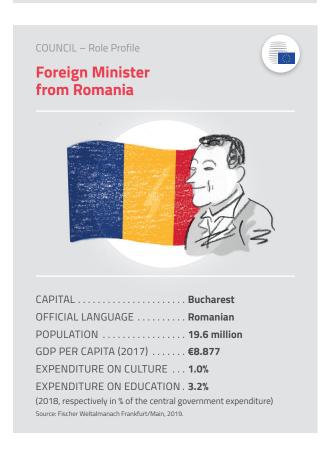
Those times are thankfully over, and now it is time to show the world what you have to offer. Meanwhile, you maintain 24 cultural institutes (Polish: 'Instytut Polski') whose purpose is to make the Polish culture and Polish artists known. You certainly consider this as part of your foreign policy. With Cracow (2000) and Wrocław (2009) as European Cities (Capitals) of Culture, Poland has already some experience in the international presentation of its culture. The Polish culture is very versatile and results from the country's turbulent history: in the Middle Ages and in modern times, Poland was a meeting place for different cultures and religions that all had and still have their influence on the Polish cultural heritage. Also today, Poland has a diversified cultural scene which, despite all globalisation tendencies, has been able to preserve its own identity that many Poles appreciate.

As a country that so quickly has benefited so much from the integration with the European Union like hardly any other country, you basically perceive yourself as a Europe-friendly player. Recently, however, you too have become careful to some degree with regard to the further development of European integration. Should we really start with culture? In this field, you certainly have enough own tasks to take care of. But perhaps such a project could help with them as well? If you lead an objective discussion, it could be possible to find a result with potential for further European integration, for economic prosperity, and for a stronger role of Europe in the world. In the end, this will help Poland as well.

At the same time, everyone has to realise that Poland must play a very significant role, appropriate to its size and importance. Poland has an old culture which has been a dominant force in the history of the European continent. Therefore, it is quite obvious to you that Poland must be given a strong voice with regard to the content-related design of the concept. Of course, this also includes the Polish language. You are very sensitive that Polish, even if it is one of the most difficult languages to learn, is on an equal footing with the other major languages of Europe.

You also would want the Commission's initiative to be understood as a foreign and security policy project. You have always associated cultural policy primarily with foreign policy. It has always been difficult for EU countries to find a common foreign policy, since many Member States concern themselves too much with preserving their national sovereignty in this area. This is especially true when it comes to preserving historically evolved regional interests and acting accordingly. That is exactly why the EU must not waive cultural policy as a common and unifying instrument of international policy. Therefore, cultural policy must always be oriented towards the guidelines of European foreign policy as well. It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture. We must not get lost in details. Especially as spokesperson of the successor countries to the Soviet Union, you think therefore that there should be a strong focus on the European Neighborhood Policy in the east of the EU.

In particular, try to team up with the other Visegrád Group countries (Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary) with which you were often able to profitably work together.





You are the Foreign Minister of Romania. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

With an area of 238.391 square kilometres, Romania is the ninth largest country of the European Union. With its 19.6 million inhabitants, the country even takes 6th place in the Union. The old people's Republic of Romania lasted until 1989 and was excluded from the democratic unification of Western Europe. After the first free elections in 1990, the Republic of Romania had sought to accede to the European Union which it finally joined together with Bulgaria on 1 January 2007. Romania has not yet adopted the euro. Despite its size, the economic structure of the country is relatively weak. With a gross domestic product of approx. 187.9 billion euro in 2017, it takes 15th place among the economic partners in the EU.

From the point of view of Romania, the EU faces major challenges, such as the financial crisis, global warming, unemployment, migration and demographic trends, the solution of which will be neither quick nor easy. However, every crisis is also an opportunity! Therefore, you welcome the Commission proposal.

Above all, Romania currently wants to work on a positive image in the world, because it is currently sold under value in its opinion. The membership in the EU represents a unique historical opportunity. You think that the Commission's idea can bring Europe closer together again. And in your opinion, Romania should play a key role in this project. Foreign policy is all good and well, but for you, cultural policy is more than that. For instance, also an economic factor!

With the 'Instutul Cultural Român', you are active in 19 cities worldwide, thus you have your own cultural institute infrastructure. In addition, Sibiu was European City (Capital) of Culture in 2007. You have experiences that you would like to contribute. You would like to focus on bringing European and Romanian artists to market. If it sells well, it can surely be a bit more modern as well. Others think that poetry slams and light installations are a waste of money, but if that is what people want - why not? Both in its various historical manifestations and in its current structure, the culture of Romania is characterised by a kind of pluralism that is unique in Europe. The special characteristic of Romanian culture is the ability to take up a variety of traditional and modern influences, and to connect them with each other by means of a creative synthesis. The country's location at the border between the Western World and the East, i.e. between the Occident and the Orient, plays a significant role.

Despite its size, as an EU country that unfortunately still has a less powerful economy, Romania can of course make financial contributions only to a lesser degree. Here, the larger Member States are called upon, or better yet the EU budget. Then no country will be able to claim too much influence for itself according to the motto 'Who pays the piper, calls the tune'.

In your view, Romania could play an active role in the realisation of the political vision for the Western Balkans and of the Eastern Partnership, with an emphasis on the Black Sea region.

The Commission's initiative fits perfectly in this context! If we make foreign policy, Romania should also benefit from it. It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture. We must not get lost in details. Therefore, we should rather count on the European Neighborhood Policy in the east and south of the continent.



COUNCIL



You are the Foreign Minister of Sweden. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Kingdom of Sweden, approx. 10.1 million inhabitants live on nearly 450.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, Sweden takes 12^{th} place among the EU Member States. When the East-West divide of the continent came to an end after 1990, Sweden joined the EU together with Finland and Austria in 1995, maintaining its traditional neutrality. Due to its very versatile economic structure with a strong industry, Sweden, despite its small size, takes 6^{th} place among the economic partners in the EU, with an estimated economic performance of 477.9 billion euro in 2017.

Sweden sees itself as one of the most Europhile nations ever. The horrors of Europe's past can only be overcome together, and the great opportunities of European unification from the ecological, social and cultural viewpoint should really be obvious to anyone. This intangible component of European integration is particularly important to you, especially if your colleagues sometimes only speak of the positive effects on economic performance.

Therefore, you wholeheartedly welcome the Commission proposal. Finally, a fresh breeze that breathes new life into the European project and shows the entire world what Europe has to offer. You have always associated cultural policy with foreign policy. It has always been difficult for EU countries to find a common foreign policy, since many Member States concern themselves too much with preserving their national sovereignty in this area.

This is especially true when it comes to preserving historically evolved regional interests and acting accordingly. That is exactly why the EU must not waive cultural policy as a common and unifying instrument of international policy. Therefore, cultural policy must always be oriented towards the guidelines of European foreign policy as well. The best solution would be to use the European External Action Service (EEAS) for this purpose. It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture. You think that the project should not be limited to the European neighborhood only. If you want to be globally recognised, you should also be globally present.

You have always stressed the importance of international exchange. Due to the small size of your country, you are always pleased with European initiatives that you can join. Your own cultural institutes (Swedish: 'Svenska institutet') outside of Sweden are only in Denmark and France. With Stockholm (1998) and Umeå (2014) as European Cities (Capitals) of Culture, Sweden has already some experience in the presentation of its culture, however. In addition, independently of the existence of cultural institutes, you are very successful in conveying a versatile and varied picture of your culture, particularly literature, your society and nature.

Sweden is considered the nation of pop music in Europe, if not worldwide. Sweden puts particular emphasis on supporting the musical abilities of children very early in their education. The music market has a special significance for Sweden also from the economic viewpoint.

If it is up to you, the ideas can also be crazy, you would also like to anchor the ecological, social and economic sustainability, principles of equal treatment of the sexes and life forms, as well as gender aspects more strongly, also with regard to art and culture. The other representatives also certainly have great ideas and good concepts, however, that you will readily endorse. It is important to you that the projects have a worldwide impact. The EU does not need to humble itself: Given the will, great things can be done.



As a culturally influential nation with a language that has a small family of speakers, you are particularly aware of the challenges that must be faced by even smaller countries. Because you show a special understanding for that, you could well imagine to play some kind of mediating role. Try to team up with the other Baltic Sea States as well. You have often been able to work together well with them on many occasions.



You are the Foreign Minister of Slovakia. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Slovak Republic, approx. 5.4 million inhabitants live on approx. 49.000 square kilometres. With its population size, Slovakia takes 18^{th} place in the EU. When the East-West divide of the continent came to an end, Slovakia joined the European Union along with many other former Eastern bloc countries in 2004. Due to its small size, Slovakia takes 18^{th} place among the European partners, with a GDP of 85 billion euro in 2017.

Together with its northwestern neighbor Czechia, Slovakia was part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy since the 11th century until 1918, therefore it has a lot in common with its neighboring countries also culturally. Similar to its neighbors, the time after the world wars was shaped by the Socialist dictatorship. Since the peaceful split of Slovakia from the Czechoslovak Federation in 1993, the specifically Slovak elements in culture and the independence of the Slovak language are particularly highlighted. For Slovakia, the membership in the European Union is above all linked to great economic hopes which so far have not all been fulfilled yet. Therefore, in recent years, an increasingly sceptical mood has spread in the population under the impression of some critical developments concerning the future direction of the EU project.

Thus, you treat the Commission's initiative with some caution. Of course, you agree with the findings: some things get out of hand at the moment. However, you question if cultural policy is the right starting point. For you, cultural issues are always linked to ethnic tensions. A large Hungarian minority lives in your country that finds its voice also politically. Thus, you face the same challenge as some of your neighbors: to create ethnic and cultural harmony from the demarcations that the 21st century has brought forth. You still afford a cultural foreign policy, however: eight cultural institutes represent your country in Europe. The only cultural institute outside the EU is located in Moscow.

This is where you see a possible starting point for a European project, however. If a majority for such a European House can be found, the focus should clearly be on foreign-policy interests, i.e. first and foremost on the dialog with the Eastern partners in the neighborhood policy. In this context, you could also well imagine a mediating role. It has always been difficult for EU countries to find a common foreign policy, since many Member States concern themselves too much with preserving their national sovereignty in this area. This is especially true when it comes to preserving historically evolved regional interests and acting accordingly. That is exactly why the EU must not waive cultural policy as a common and unifying instrument of international policy. Therefore, cultural policy must always be oriented towards the guidelines of European foreign policy as well. The best solution would be to use the European External Action Service (EEAS) for this purpose. It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture.

With regard to the concrete design of the project, you wait for the proposals of others. So far, a city in Slovakia was designated as Euro-



COUNCIL

pean City (Capital) of Culture only once, namely Košice (2013). You would say that overall you have little experience with the international presentation of your culture, therefore you also rely on the concepts of others. The main thing is that you do not have to commit yourself too much. Of course, it is also clear that Slovakia can hardly participate financially. The larger countries must make a greater contribution. Another possibility would be to finance everything from EU funds.

Above all, however, you warn against individual countries appearing too dominant. Such behavior has always only harmed the European idea in the past. After all, one thing is quite clear to you: a small country like Slovakia needs the EU to accomplish any international goals. In particular, try to team up with the other Visegrad Group countries (Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary) with which you were often able to profitably work together. You feel particularly connected to the Czech Republic also culturally as a result of your

common history.

You are the Foreign Minister of Slovenia. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Republic of Slovenia, approx. 2 million inhabitants live on over 20.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, Slovenia takes 22nd place among the EU Member States. When the East-West divide came to an end, Slovenia broke away from the state community of Yugoslavia and became an independent country. This small country successfully managed to join the EU in 2004, and already in 2007 Slovenia introduced the euro as its currency as the first of the accession countries. Despite its small size, with an estimated economic performance of 43.3 billion euro in 2017, Slovenia takes 22nd place among the economic partners in the EU. Slovenia sees itself as a very pro-European. Already in times of Yugoslavia, the interest of the Slovenian population is strongly focused on Italy, Austria and Germany.

For a long time, Slovenia had been part of Austria-Hungary, therefore it has culturally a lot in common with its neighboring countries as well. This also applies to the countries of former Yugoslavia, with whom Slovenia also has a long-shared history. As a region that is in an ongoing cultural exchange, Slovenia is also a special cultural melting pot. In their opinion, this connects the Slovenes to the EU: Setting small examples, which surely can benefit others, and is a good message that the EU can send out. However, you do not have your own experience with that. Until recently, your cultural policy activities were entirely aimed at joining the EU as soon as possible. Thus, you operate only one cultural institute worldwide - the 'Slovenian Culture and Information Centre in Austria (SKICA)' in Vienna. However, you would really appreciate it if Slovenian culture was (also) finally promoted and its economic significance harnessed.

As a Europe-friendly partner, you observe also for reasons of principle with regard to the Commission's proposal that the continent could use a fresh impetus, so that European cooperation can continue to work well in the future. All EU countries will equally benefit from that. If the discussion is objective, all should become aware of the idea's potential. Potential for further European integration, for economic prosperity, and for a stronger role of Europe in the world.

Therefore, you also would want the Commission's initiative to be understood as a foreign and security policy project. You have always associated cultural policy primarily with foreign policy. It has always





been difficult for EU countries to find a common foreign policy, since many Member States concern themselves too much with preserving their national sovereignty in this area. This is especially true when it comes to preserving historically evolved regional interests and acting accordingly.

That is exactly why the EU must not waive cultural policy as a common and unifying instrument of international policy. Therefore, cultural policy must always be oriented towards the guidelines of European foreign policy as well. The best solution would be to use the European External Action Service (EEAS) for this purpose. It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture. We must not get lost in details. Therefore, we should rather count on the European Neighborhood Policy. In this context, Slovenia could well imagine a mediating role between Slavonic cultures of the East and the EU partners.

You are quite open with regard to the concrete design of the project. Due to its small size, Slovenia has virtually no own cultural infrastructure abroad and has only sporadically funded projects abroad in the past. So far, a city in Slovenia was designated as European Capital of Culture once, namely Maribor (2012). You would say that overall you have little experience with the international presentation of your culture, therefore you also rely on the concepts of others. The other countries certainly have great ideas and good concepts that you will readily endorse.

However, you warn against individual countries appearing too dominant. Such behavior has always only harmed the European idea in the past. You definitely want to participate in this new project. Such a small country as Slovenia needs the EU to accomplish any international goals. Of course, it is also clear that Slovenia can hardly participate financially. The larger countries must make a greater contribution. Another possibility would be to finance everything from EU funds.



You are the Foreign Minister of Spain. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Kingdom of Spain, approx. 46.5 million inhabitants live on over 504.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, Spain takes 4th place among the EU Member States. The country has been a member of the European Communities already since 1986. After the death of military dictator General Franco in 1975, Spain quickly succeeded in establishing and consolidating democracy. When the East-West divide of Europe came to an end, Spain founded the European Union along with eleven other Western European countries in 1993. Due to its size and its very versatile economic structure with a strong industry, Spain takes 4th place among the economic partners in the EU, with an economic performance of approx. 1,164 billion euro in 2017. Since 2008, the country has suffered greatly under the world economic crisis, however, which resulted in a high unemployment rate, especially among young people, the collapse of the construction industry and banks in



COUNCIL

danger of insolvency. As a result of the bank bailout, the state is heavily indebted.

Spain has an old culture which has been a dominant force in the history of the European continent and the entire world order, e.g. during the discovery and settlement of America, to give but one small example. Of course, a part of this culture is also the Spanish language. You are very sensitive that the Spanish language is on an equal footing with the other major languages of Europe. It is also one of the reasons that Spain maintains close cultural relations with Spanish-speaking countries. Spain has an extensive cultural institute infrastructure and a lot of experience with cultural activities abroad. In addition to 65 language centres, the 'Cervantes Institutes', a separate institute called 'Acción Cultural Española (AC/E)' takes care of the dissemination of Spanish culture.

This experience must be used of course. You also have some experience with the presentation of your own culture. After all, Madrid (1992), Santiago de Compostela (2000), Salamanca (2002) and San Sebastián (2016) were European Cities (Capitals) of Culture. The other representatives also certainly have great ideas and good concepts that you will readily endorse. However, at the same time, everyone has to realise that Spain must play a significant role, appropriate to its size and importance.

You wholeheartedly welcome the Commission proposal. Finally, a fresh breeze that breathes new life into the European project and shows the entire world what Europe has to offer. You have always associated cultural policy with foreign policy. It has always been difficult for EU countries to find a common foreign policy, since many Member States concern themselves too much with preserving their national sovereignty in this area. This is especially true when it comes to preserving historically evolved regional interests and acting accordingly. That is exactly why the EU must not waive cultural policy as a common and unifying instrument of international policy. Therefore, cultural policy must always be oriented towards the guidelines of European foreign policy as well. The best solution would be to use the European External Action Service (EEAS) for this purpose. It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture.

Conversely, this also means, however, that the EU must take on the financial responsibility. This becomes even more important as the Spanish contribution cannot be overly generous due to the current economic difficulties. Try to build up alliances in particular with the

representatives of other major EU States. However, the EU does not need a second 'Institut français' or 'Goethe-Institut', we need to think from scratch and take all previous experience into account.



You are the Foreign Minister of Cyprus. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

The Republic of Cyprus is the international representation of the island of Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean. The northern, largely Turkish-speaking part of the island, however, is claimed by the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus, which is recognised as a sovereign state only by Turkey. The entire island under the name Republic of Cyprus has been part of the EU since 1 May 2004, EU law is only applied in the southern, largely Greek-speaking part, however. In 1960, the island gained independence from Great Britain. For years, both parts of the island that has been divided since 1974 have attempted a reunion. So far, however, all attempts have failed. On the island, approx. 800.000 inhabitants live on over 9.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, Cyprus takes



 $25^{\mbox{\tiny th}}\mbox{place}$ among the EU Member States. Besides Malta, it is the only island republic among the Member States of the European Union. Cyprus takes 26th place among the economic partners in the EU, with an economic performance of approx. 19.2 billion euro in 2017. The Republic of Cyprus sees itself as pro-European. There are still some relics from the British colonial era, and English is frequently used as business language; another one is left-hand traffic. Cyprus has adopted the euro in 2008 as one of the first countries of the great enlargement. Cyprus is a small country that looks back with pride on a rich history and culture. Geographically, Cyprus is located in Asia. However, it played a significant role in the European cultural history already in ancient times, and has since counted politically to Europe. Besides archaeological aspects, however, its cultural policy is largely shaped by a close relationship with Greece, a close ally. There, you also maintain your own cultural centre (the only one apart from those in London and Berlin) which is operated by the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs together with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Overall, your cultural policy is very closely related to foreign policy, so that your embassies are often involved in cultural policy activities. If conditions are suitable, you are ready to promote projects of Cypriot artists worldwide.

As a Europe-friendly partner, you observe with regard to the Commission's proposal that the continent could use a fresh impetus, so that European cooperation can continue to work well in the future. All EU countries will equally benefit from that. If the discussion is objective, all should become aware of the idea's potential. Potential for further European integration, for economic prosperity, and for a stronger role of Europe in the world.

Therefore, you also would want the Commission's initiative to be understood as a foreign and security policy project. To a certain degree, cultural policy has always been synonymous with foreign policy. It has always been difficult for EU countries to find a common foreign policy, since many Member States concern themselves too much with preserving their national sovereignty in this area. This is especially true when it comes to preserving historically evolved regional interests and acting accordingly. That is exactly why the EU must not waive cultural policy as a common and unifying instrument of international policy. Therefore, cultural policy must always be oriented towards the guidelines of European foreign policy as well. The best solution would be to use the European External Action Service (EEAS) for this purpose.

It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture. You also think that we must not get lost in details. Therefore, we should rather count on the European Neighborhood Policy in the south of the continent, especially in North Africa, in the immediate proximity to Cyprus.

Due to its small size, Cyprus has a very modest cultural infrastructure abroad and has only sporadically funded projects abroad in the past. Unlike many other Member States, there was only one European Capital of Culture (Paphos) from your country in 2017. The other countries certainly have much more advanced great ideas and good concepts that you will readily endorse.

You warn against individual countries appearing too dominant. Such behavior has always only harmed the European idea in the past. You feel especially connected with Greece due to a common history, the language, and its geographical proximity. You definitely want to participate in this new project.

A small country like Cyprus needs the EU to accomplish any international goals. Of course, it is also clear that Cyprus can hardly participate financially. The larger countries must make a greater contribution. Another possibility would be to finance everything from EU funds.

You feel particularly connected with Greece, also culturally. Therefore, try to team up with its representative. You can hardly imagine to act against the Greek position.



GROUP PROFILE

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



The European Parliament (EP) is an assembly of 705 Members directly elected by the 446 million citizens of the EU. Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) discuss the Commission's proposals for a legal act in the respective select committees. Sometimes the select committees also decide on the Commission's proposals, as is the case in this simulation game. To this end, however, MEPs usually meet for a plenary session. In parallel, the Council of the European Union (Council), where the governments of the Member States are represented by their respective departmental ministers, discusses and decides on the proposals. Although both partners decide together in this way, they represent different interests. The EP represents citizens directly. In the Council, the interests of the Member States come up against each other and are jointly contrasted with the interests of the EP. The Presidency of the Council alternates between the members. In the simulation game, a person is elected President. The Parliament elects its President among its Members.

The session begins with a short round of introduction in which the Members shortly present their position in their respective parliamentary groups, but without putting forward any demands yet. The parliamentary groups in the Parliament can hold their own sessions after requesting a pause in the committee meetings. There is usually a friendly and cooperative atmosphere in the parliamentary groups. The parliamentary groups, on the other hand, also openly argue between each other. However, to find a majority, it is particularly important that the major parliamentary groups find a compromise. Smaller parliamentary groups can get a majority for their proposals in the Parliament only through constant consultations with each other. If possible, the Commission takes part in the sessions, where it has the right to speak. In this case, the Commission member sits next to the President. In the Parliament, decisions to amend drafts are generally adopted by a simple majority (at least 50% plus one vote).

Cultural policy is both a rather new and challenging policy field of the EU. The interests of the Member States and their citizens can be sometimes very different. To reach a specific goal, a request to amend the Commission proposal is required. For an amendment to be included in the draft, a majority must be achieved in the EP. It is therefore useful to make arrangements with other Members of the EP to achieve such a majority.



These agreements may be compromises, where you agree on a consensus on specific issues. However, it is also possible to merge very different questions, so that an MEP supports something, even though it is not their own goal, but in return finds the necessary support from other MEPs for their own goals. It is always important to act as a parliamentary group and initially prepare agreements with others in this circle. Apart from the EP, however, the Council will also wish to make amendments in a similar process. To make sure that specific goals are successfully reached, it might be a good idea to also talk to the members of the Council.

If you want to request an amendment to the legislative proposal, discuss it beforehand with enough Members of the Parliament to achieve a majority. If necessary, suggest a session break for such a discussion. Request the amendment only if you are sure to achieve the majority, first by reading out the appropriate position in the draft, and then by reading out your own proposal. The President of the Parliament will have the vote soon afterwards.



GROUP PROFILE

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT – Group Profile



EP – 'European People's Party (EPP)' Group



The EPP Group is one of the two largest groups in the European Parliament. Its member parties come from the centre-right spectrum of European politics. This means that apart from the traditional Christian Democratic parties, your parliamentary group also consists of conservative and liberal bourgeois parties. The EPP regularly represents pro-European solutions, because usually it sees the advantages of continental policy making very clearly. However, there are also MEPs in its ranks who particularly emphasise the subsidiarity requirement. This requirement underlines the European principle that only those issues should be regulated at a higher level which cannot be regulated similarly well at the lower local or regional level. This is based on the hope that less is decided in Brussels in a mandatory manner for all, and more is decided again individually in the nation states.

The EPP sees itself as a value-oriented parliamentary group that mainly defends the value of freedom against too much state interference. Therefore, the EPP is usually very pro-business.

In the cultural policy, the position of the EPP Group is not quite uniform. The parties agree on emphasising the common European Christian tradition. Going into details, however, it becomes clear that there are different interpretations of what the European cultural similarities are that should be preserved. When it comes to the issue of the actual design of European measures, the positions are also very different, in particular with regard to the question how big the national influence should be. However, the group agrees that the concepts to be developed must not be 'too wild'. Traditional forms of cultural activities are to be clearly preferred over too modern forms. The latter tend to overwhelm people.



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



You are a representative of the 'Chrëschtlech Sozial Vollekspartei (CSV)' from Luxembourg. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, approx. 600.000 inhabitants live on about 2.500 square kilometres. Thus, based on its population size, Luxembourg is the second-smallest EU Member State. The country was a founding member of the European Communities already in the 1950s, and founded the European Union in 1993 along with eleven other West European countries when the East-West divide of the continent came to an end. In addition, Luxembourg was one of the first countries to adopt the euro. Despite its small size, Luxembourg has a very versatile economic structure with a strong industry. With an estimated economic performance of 55.4 billion euro in 2017, it takes 19th place among the economic partners in the EU.

The CSV was already founded in the winter of 1944 in Luxembourg, shortly after the liberation from German occupation. The economic policy is one of its priorities. To secure further economic development,

the objective is to maintain Luxembourg's locational advantages. To this end, the party would like to consistently invest in education, research and innovation, since the Luxembourg economy is mainly focused on export. The party program emphasises that the CSV is the European party of Luxembourg, and that the country can secure its strength and the common currency only together with all other EU Member States. This makes it possible to negotiate with the United States of America and Russia on equal footing. From the point of view of the CSV, the EU is the best response to globalisation. For the citizens, it represents a stronghold of stability that protects savings, jobs and growth opportunities. The CSV would like to continue the peacekeeping missions of the EU; this kind of policy should be further developed through a revision of the political and strategic guidelines. From the perspective of the CSV, the role of the EU is already today very strongly shaped by the security and defense policy, e.g. in the Balkans, in Africa and in the Caucasus.

You think that the Commission's initiative comes just at the right time. Europe needs a fresh impetus to ensure that European cooperation can continue to work well in the future. All EU countries will equally benefit from that. National self-interest is totally out of place, here and anywhere else. Although Luxembourg is one of the smallest countries in the EU, its voice has always been heard. In your view, this is because Luxembourg has always had good, rational arguments. You think that if the discussion is objective, all will quickly become aware of the idea's potential. Potential for further European integration, for economic prosperity, and for a stronger role of Europe in the world.

Therefore, you also would want the Commission's initiative to be understood as a foreign and security policy project. You have always associated cultural policy primarily with foreign policy. It has always been difficult for EU countries to find a common foreign policy, since many Member States concern themselves too much with preserving their national sovereignty in this area. This is especially true when it comes to preserving historically evolved regional interests and acting accordingly. That is exactly why the EU must not waive cultural policy as a common and unifying instrument of international policy. Therefore, cultural policy must always be oriented towards the guidelines of European foreign policy as well. The best solution would be to use the European External Action Service (EEAS) for this purpose. It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture. We must not get lost in details. Therefore, we should rather count on the European Neighborhood Policy in the east and south of the continent.

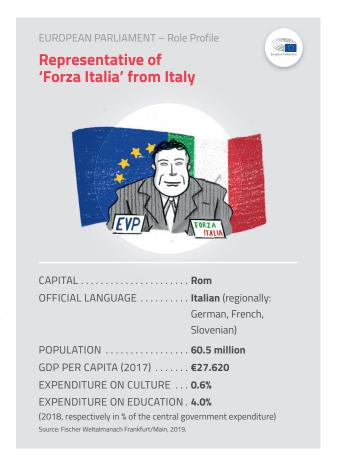


EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

You are quite open with regard to the concrete design of the project. Due to its size, Luxembourg maintains no own cultural institute infrastructure abroad and has only sporadically funded projects abroad in the past. 1995 and 2007, Luxembourg City was already European City (Capital) of Culture, but that was a long time ago. The other countries certainly have great ideas and good concepts that you will readily endorse. The ideas must not be too funky, however, you owe that to your conservative voters. And you warn against individual countries appearing too dominant. Such behavior has always only harmed the European idea in the past. You feel particularly connected with Germany and France, not least because of the language, however, it is also important to you to cultivate and use your own Luxembourgish language. Luxembourgish was designated as the national language only in 1984. Since then it is the third official language in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg in addition to French and German (written standard German).

Last but not least, the motto of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourgish is 'Mir wölle bleiwe wat mir sin' (We want to remain what we are).

You like to bring yourself into play as a neutral mediator, however. The idea of the Commission must work, that is your major goal! Therefore, from your point of view, it would be best if the Commission got as much power as possible. This would scotch national egoism. Especially the identities of the small EU countries must be preserved, however.



You are a representative of 'Forza Italia' from Italy. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Republic of Italy, approx. 60.5 million inhabitants live on about 300.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, Italy takes 3rd place among the EU Member States. The country was a founding member of the European Communities already in the 1950s and founded the European Union in 1993 along with eleven other West European countries. In addition, Italy was one of the first countries to adopt the euro. Due to its size and its very versatile economic structure with a small-scale industry, Italy takes 3rd place among the economic partners in the EU, with an economic performance of approx. 1,717 billion euro in 2017.

Forza Italia was founded as a new political movement by Silvio Berlusconi in 1994 in the context of the resolution of the 'Democrazia Cristiana' and mainly campaigned for a more liberal and less centralized Italy. The government led since 2001 by Silvio Berlusconi and Forza Italia proved to be the most stable in Italian post-war history.



Politically, however, it would repeatedly come under pressure and was not able to enforce various projects, among others due to massive protests of the trade unions, and partly because of resistance from its coalition partners. The economic situation of the country played an important role in successfully voting out Forza Italia. Contrary to its campaign promises, the party did not succeed to initiate an economic heyday. With its partly populist mission for a patriotic Italy that at the same time remains open to community and solidarity in Europe, it was immediately elected both into the Italian and the European Parliament. Due to internal power struggles, the party called itself from 2009 to 2013 'Il Popolo della Libertà' ('The people of freedom'). Meanwhile, it uses its former name again.

Italy has supported all measures aimed at deepening the Community since the beginning of the European Union. All Italian governments and the majority of the population have always been very pro-European. If there are suitable EU solutions for a problem, they usually do not fall through because of Italy. Nevertheless, given its economic weight, domestic problems and geographical location, Italy can surely be a tough negotiator when protecting its own interests.

From the viewpoint of Forza Italia, Italy faces major challenges, such as the financial crisis, global warming, unemployment, migration and demographic trends, the solution of which will be neither quick nor easy. However, every crisis is also an opportunity, as the history of European unification has shown! Therefore, you welcome the Commission proposal. You think that this idea can bring Europe closer together again.

However, at the same time, everyone has to realise that Italy must play a significant role, appropriate to its size and importance. Within the EU, Italy belongs together with Greece to the undisputed cradle of European culture. Innumerable testimonies to the history of humanity can be found in Rome and throughout the country. At the same time, Italy has had a significant influence on the development of the European continent up to the modern era. Italy played an important role as the centre of the Roman Empire, the seat of the papacy and the cradle of the Renaissance, and had become the breeding ground of European art, culture and research.

Italy has approximately 100.000 monuments of any type (museums, castles, statues, churches, galleries, villas, fountains, historic houses and archaeological finds). It is the country with the most UNESCO World Heritage Sites worldwide – 51 in total! The Italian language is spoken all over the world, also by large communities of former emigrants.

A large fragmentation also denotes their cultural policy activities. In addition to archaeological and touristic aspects, the promotion of the Italian language is also a big concern for you. Around 90 'Istituti Italiani di Cultura' worldwide work on this task. In addition, there exists a variety of programs of other public authorities (such as cities and regions), usually without a coordinated cooperation. A concentration of efforts on a few objectives or organisations has barely taken place and is not regarded as beneficial, either.

With Florence (1986), Bologna (2000), Genua (2004) and Matera (2019) as European Cities (Capitals) of Culture, Italy has already some experience in the international presentation of its culture. Therefore, it is quite obvious to you that Italy must be given a strong voice with regard to the content-related design of the concept. You are very sensitive that the Italian language is on an equal footing with the other major languages of Europe. Otherwise, you are quite open to innovations, as long as they are not too excessively modern. You think that being in a position to look back at such an old culture, you can also afford a relaxed 'misstep' from time to time. You miss this serenity in many of your colleagues, particularly from countries with cultures that are not as old. The experience of Italy must of course be used. You are not quite sure if you would go so far as to close the Italian cultural institutes when a European cultural institute is established. You think it is better to wait and see first. If the concept is good, you will be definitely ready to dip into your purse. Of course, it would be best to dip into the purse of the EU. In addition, you think that the project should not be limited to the European neighborhood only. If you want to be globally recognised, you should also be globally present.



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



You are a representative of 'Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (GERB)'. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Republic of Bulgaria, approx. 7.1 million inhabitants live on nearly 111.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, Bulgaria takes 15th place among the EU Member States. Until 1989, the old People's Republic of Bulgaria was an Eastern bloc country aligned with the Soviet Union, excluded from the democratic unification of Western Europe. After the first free elections in 1990, the Republic of Bulgaria had sought to accede to the European Union which it finally joined together with Romania on 1 January 2007. Bulgaria has not yet adopted the euro. Despite its size, the economic structure of the country is relatively weak. With a gross domestic product of approx. 50.4 billion euro in 2017, it takes 20th place among the economic partners in the EU.

In Bulgarian, the acronym GERB consists of the initial letters of Graschdani sa Ewropejsko Raswitie na Balgaria/Graždani za Ewropejsko Razwitie na Bălgarija/ Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (Bulgarian "Траждани за европейско развитие на България").

At the same time, the word 'gerb' means 'coat of arms'. GERB is a party that believes in Christian Democratic principles. The party has its roots in Christianity, in the family and the traditional values, which from the perspective of GERB are very important in today's very insecure world. Already shortly after its foundation, GERB became the leading political force in Bulgaria. Even after the 2017 parliamentary elections, GERB was able to assert itself as the party with the largest number of votes. In May 2007, it won the elections to the European Parliament. In the elections to the European Parliament in 2019, GERB was able to win six seats for its representatives, making it the most powerful conservative force in Bulgaria.

GERB is committed to a liberal democracy which is based on the principles of freedom, responsibility, progress, solidarity and justice. The Christian values form the basis of the traditions of course and are as important. GERB is happy about the fact that Bulgaria with its specific historical background and its culture has become a member country of the EU. Therefore, the party wants to work on a positive image of Bulgaria in the EU, however, the self-perception of the Bulgarians must also change in this context. Bulgaria's membership in the EU represents a unique historical opportunity.

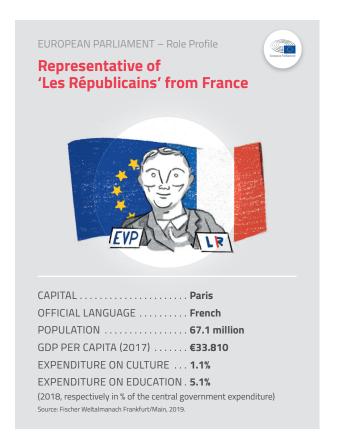
From the point of view of GERB, the EU faces major challenges, such as the financial crisis, global warming, unemployment, migration and demographic trends, the solution of which will be neither quick nor easy. However, every crisis is also an opportunity! Therefore, you welcome the Commission proposal. You think that this idea can bring Europe closer together again. And in your opinion, Bulgaria should play a key role in this project. By now, with your ten Bulgarian cultural institutes, you have your own cultural institute infrastructure, a European City (Capital) of Culture was created by Bulgaria in 2019 with the city Plovdiv. You have experiences that you would like to contribute. You want to focus on presenting the common European heritage. For you, this is quite explicitly a Christian heritage. This must be clear to everyone, despite all the tolerance of other religions! All this newfangled nonsense is not your type of 'culture', either. For you, poetry slams and light installations are just a waste of money and have nothing to do with European traditions.

Also, it is particularly important to you that specifically Bulgarian content is included in the Commission's project, for example the Cyrillic script and the Eastern Church traditions that from your viewpoint too often perish in the EU. After all, the EU's motto is Unity in Diversity. As a rather small EU country that unfortunately



still has a less powerful economy, Bulgaria can of course make financial contributions only to a lesser degree. Here, the larger Member States are called upon, or better yet the EU budget. Then no country will be able to claim too much influence for itself according to the motto 'Who pays the piper, calls the tune'.

In your view, Bulgaria should play an active role in the realisation of the political vision for the Western Balkans and of the Eastern Partnership, with an emphasis on the Black Sea region. The Commission's initiative fits perfectly in this context! You have always associated cultural policy primarily with foreign policy. It has always been difficult for EU countries to find a common foreign policy, since many Member States concern themselves too much with preserving their national sovereignty in this area. This is especially true when it comes to preserving historically evolved regional interests and acting accordingly. That is exactly why the EU must not waive cultural policy as a common and unifying instrument of international policy. Therefore, cultural policy must always be oriented towards the guidelines of European foreign policy as well. The best solution would be to use the European External Action Service (EEAS) for this purpose. It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture - we must not get lost in details. Therefore, we should rather count on the European Neighborhood Policy in the east and south of the continent.



You are a representative of 'Les Républicains' from France. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Republic of France, approx. 67.1 million inhabitants live on nearly 669.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, France takes 2nd place among the EU Member States. It was a founding member of the European Communities already in the 1950s and founded the European Union in 1993 along with eleven other West European countries. In addition, France was one of the first countries to adopt the euro. Until the early 1960s, the country had one of the largest colonial empires in history. This continues to have an effect on the population structure and the national identity. Due to its size and its very versatile economic structure with a strong industry, France is the second largest economic partner in the EU, with an economic performance of approx. 2,288 billion euro in 2017. The forerunner of Les Républicains was the 'Union pour un mouvement populaire' (UMP). It emerged as an amalgamation of different conservative, pro-European parties from the presidential election in 2002 and has since established itself in France as a party. The party has had its present name since 2015.



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

In the 2017 elections, the party took second place in the number of votes. The European integration process at the beginning of the 21st century is considered indispensable for the modernisation of France and for a joint independence at the international level. It is widely accepted that the greatness of the French nation can only be maintained in a united and independent Europe that is built according to the model of a federation of nation states and respects the diversity of its individual members.

Overall, the party has adopted a rather pro-European policy that strives for an adequate role of France in a united Europe. France's significance as the most important European nation alongside Germany usually means that Paris stands shoulder to shoulder with Berlin and tends to give less weight to the interests of smaller Member States. From the viewpoint of Paris, an agreement against France is absolutely inadequate to the political and economic situation in the EU. The nationwide maintenance and preservation of France's rich material cultural heritage is regarded as a task of national importance.

This understanding is effectively brought into the public domain through measures organised or sponsored by the state, which contribute to the formation of a national cultural awareness. Examples are national heritage, music or cinema days that are firmly anchored in the annual cultural calendar and are highly popular among the French.

From the viewpoint of Les Républicans, the EU faces major challenges, such as the financial crisis, global warming, unemployment, migration and demographic trends, the solution of which will be neither quick nor easy. However, every crisis is also an opportunity, as the history of European unification has shown! Therefore, you welcome the Commission's proposal. You think that this idea can bring Europe closer together again.

However, at the same time, everyone has to realise that France must play a very significant role, appropriate to its size and importance. France has an old culture which has been a dominant force not only in the history of the European continent. Therefore, it is quite obvious to you that France must be given a strong voice with regard to the content-related design of the concept. This includes of course the French language which is especially protected by law in France, and whose cultivation is generously supported by the State. You are always very sensitive that the French language is on an equal footing with the other major languages of Europe. With regard to content,

you are rather conservative. You are sceptical towards too many innovations. Poetry slams, light installations - in your opinion, much of this has less to do with the high culture that you stand for. With 94 'Instituts français' worldwide, France also has its own cultural institute infrastructure and a lot of experience with cultural activities abroad. With Paris (1989), Avignon (1999), Lille (2004) and Marseille (2013) as European Cities (Capitals) of Culture, France has already some experience in the international presentation of its culture. This experience must be used of course. You are not quite sure if you would go so far as to close your own cultural institutes when a European cultural institute is established. If the concept is good, you will be definitely ready to dip into your purse. As 'Grande Nation', France should not splash out in this respect. In addition, you think that the project should not be limited to the European neighborhood only. If you want to be globally recognised, you should also be globally present. You have always associated cultural policy primarily with foreign policy. It has always been difficult for EU countries to find a common foreign policy, since many Member States concern themselves too much with preserving their national sovereignty in this area. This is especially true when it comes to preserving historically evolved regional interests and acting accordingly. That is exactly why the EU must not waive cultural policy as a common and unifying instrument of international policy. Therefore, cultural policy must always be oriented towards the guidelines of European foreign policy as well. It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture.

You owe it to all French people that France plays a most important role in the new project. You are strongly committed to that goal. In particular, stand shoulder to shoulder with the representatives from Germany. If France and Germany agree and go ahead, it can carry the whole of Europe forward, as history has shown many times.



GROUP PROFILE

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT – Group Profile

EP – 'Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament (S&D)' Group

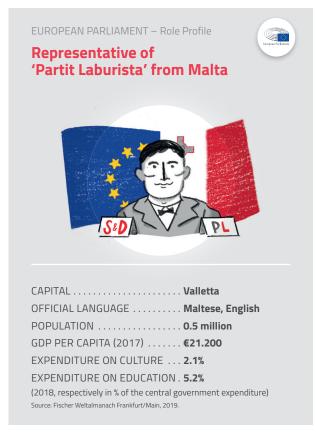


The S&D Group is one of the two largest groups in the European Parliament. Its member parties come from the centre-left spectrum of European politics. This means that apart from the traditional Social Democratic parties, your parliamentary group also consists of socialist and some regional parties. Most S&D parties belong to the Party of European Socialists, so that the connection between the members of the group is quite strong. For some years now, the S&D Group has had members from all EU countries. This makes it the only pan-European parliamentary group. The S&D regularly represents pro-European solutions, because usually it sees the advantages of common policy making very clearly. However, there are also Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) in the ranks of the S&D who particularly emphasise the subsidiarity requirement. This requirement underlines the European principle that only those issues should be regulated at a higher level which cannot be regulated similarly well at the lower local or regional level. The S&D Group sees itself as a value-oriented parliamentary group that mainly defends the value of justice against too much inequality resulting from the markets. Therefore, the S&D is generally both pro-business and pro-employee.

In the cultural policy, the position of the S&D Group is relatively uniform. The members of the group unanimously welcome the proposal as a step towards greater European unity. As the only group with members from all EU Member States, who, in addition, are all pro-European, the S&D likes to see itself as the 'spearhead' of European unification. Especially since in this very new cultural policy field you can take important steps right from the start. However, most differences result from the question what influence national concepts of cultural activities should have on a new overall concept of European cultural activities.



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



You are a representative of 'Partit Laburista' from Malta. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In Malta, approx. 500.000 inhabitants live on only 316 square kilometres. Thus, based on its population size, Malta is the smallest EU Member State. On 1 May 2004, Malta joined the EU, superseding Luxembourg as the smallest member country. On 1 January 2008, Malta adopted the euro. With an estimated economic performance of 11.1 billion euro in 2017, it takes $27^{\rm th}$ place among the economic partners in the EU.

Partit Laburista (English: Labor Party), founded in 1921, was very sceptical towards Malta joining the EU. While always advocating a strengthened political and economic cooperation with the EU, e.g. as part of the Association Agreement and in the form of a free trade area, the party had always rejected EU membership for various other reasons.

Partit Laburista was of the opinion that a political union would include obligations and costs for Malta that would be too excessive.

In addition, it also feared negative economic consequences for Malta that could have led to an increase in poverty and a strengthening of social imbalance. Since Malta's accession to the EU, however, the party has undergone a transformation and adopted a largely pro-European, although not uncritical line.

You think that the Commission's initiative comes just at the right time. Europe needs a fresh impetus to ensure that European cooperation can continue to work well in the future. All EU countries will equally benefit from that. National self-interest is totally out of place, here and anywhere else. You think that if the discussion is objective, all will quickly become aware of the idea's potential. Potential for further European integration, for economic prosperity, and for a stronger role of Europe in the world. Therefore, you also would want the Commission's initiative to be understood as a foreign and security policy project. You have always associated cultural policy with foreign policy. It has always been difficult for EU countries to find a common foreign policy, since many Member States concern themselves too much with preserving their national sovereignty in this area. This is especially true when it comes to preserving historically evolved regional interests and acting accordingly. That is exactly why the EU must not waive cultural policy as a common and unifying instrument of international policy. Therefore, cultural policy must always be oriented towards the guidelines of European foreign policy as well. The best solution would be to use the European External Action Service (EEAS) for this purpose. It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture. We must not get lost in details. Therefore, we should rather count on the European Neighborhood Policy in the south of the continent, especially in North Africa, in the immediate proximity to Malta.

You are quite open with regard to the concrete design of the project. Due to its small size, Malta has no own cultural institute infrastructure abroad and has only sporadically funded projects abroad in the past. Malta has a long tradition in the organisation of language courses for the English language. For this reason alone, many residents of Malta had and still have contact with people from abroad, and they gladly accommodate and support them in learning a language that is spoken also in Malta. In addition, however, Malta also has a very rich and unique culture which unfortunately has often remained unrecognised. There are more than 300 churches in the small Republic of Malta, including two whose domes are among the largest self-supporting domes in Europe. Despite its small size, three monuments in Malta have been added to the UNESCO World Heritage



List to date: the capital Valletta, the Ġgantija temple complex and the Hypogeum of Ħal-Saflieni. This makes many Maltese very proud.

So far, one city in Malta, the capital Valletta (2017), had the title of a European Capital of Culture. The other countries certainly have great ideas and good concepts that you will readily endorse.

You warn against individual countries appearing too dominant. Such behavior has always only harmed the European idea in the past. Due to its geographical proximity, you feel particularly connected with Italy. You definitely want to participate in this new project. A small country like Malta needs the EU to accomplish any international goals. Of course, it is also clear that Malta can hardly participate financially. The larger countries must make a greater contribution. Another possibility would be to finance everything from EU funds.



You are a representative of the 'Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD)'. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, approx. 82.7 million inhabitants live on nearly 360.000 square kilometres. This makes Germany the largest Member State of the EU. The old Federal Republic of Germany was a founding member of the European Communities already in the 1950s. After the reunification in 1990, Germany founded the European Union in 1993 along with eleven other Western European countries. In addition, Germany was one of the first countries to adopt the euro. Due to its size and very versatile economic structure with a strong industry, Germany is by far the biggest economic partner in the EU. In 2017, the gross domestic product amounted to 3,263.4 billion euro.

Thus, a united Europe that is capable of acting is considered an elementary German interest, cooperation with France as part of the 'Franco-German engine' has first priority. The Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) also wants further integration towards a political Union and is committed to ensuring that the EU can continue to meet its challenges. Therefore, it demands for instance



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

the development of a common European foreign and defense policy, where possible majority decisions would ensure the ability to act. You think that the Commission's initiative comes just at the right time. Europe needs a fresh impetus to ensure that European cooperation can continue to work well in the future. All EU countries will equally benefit from that. National self-interest is totally out of place, here and anywhere else. You think that if the discussion is objective, all will quickly become aware of the idea's potential. Potential for further European integration, for economic prosperity, and for a stronger role of Europe in the world. Therefore, you also would want the Commission's initiative to be understood as a foreign and security policy project. You have always associated cultural policy primarily with foreign policy. It has always been difficult for EU countries to find a common foreign policy, since many Member States concern themselves too much with preserving their national sovereignty in this area. This is especially true when it comes to preserving historically evolved regional interests and acting accordingly. That is exactly why the EU must not waive cultural policy as a common and unifying instrument of international policy. Therefore, cultural policy must always be oriented towards the guidelines of European foreign policy as well. The best solution would be to use the European External Action Service (EEAS) for this purpose. It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture. In addition, you think that the project should not be limited to the European neighborhood only. If you want to be globally recognised, you should also be globally present.

Germany has an old culture which has been a dominant force in the history of the European continent. With West Berlin (1988), Weimar (1999) and Essen/Ruhr (2010) as European Cities (Capitals) of Culture, Germany has already some experience in the international presentation of its culture. It is also important to you that the German language is treated on a par with the other major languages of Europe.

In the past, Germany has been a little cautious in that respect, which is why today mainly English and French are used as working languages, even though German is the most used native language in the EU. Here, you definitely wish to see the course altered, not with a sledgehammer of course, but rather diplomatically and quietly.

The roots of German art and culture history date back to the time of the Celts, Teutons and Romans. Germany has brought forth numerous style- and epoch-shaping personalities. Until this day, German artists are among the protagonists of Western civilization.

Over the centuries, German culture has defined itself primarily through the common language, because Germany had not existed as a nation state for quite some time.

You are quite open with regard to the concrete design of the project, however. You do not want to appear too dominant, because that would rather harm the common project. However, you make it clear that Germany has a lot of experience with foreign cultural activities, which you would gladly bring to the table. With 160 'Goethe-Institut' worldwide and over 90 of their liaison offices, Germany also has its own, extensive cultural institute infrastructure and plenty of experience with cultural activities abroad. Not to mention the 'Institute for International and Cultural Relations' with its worldwide connections! To be honest, you regret the absence of the German organisational culture in many European partners.

You are not quite sure if you would go so far as to close the German cultural institutes when a European cultural institute is established. You think it is better to wait and see first. If the concept is good, you will be definitely ready to dip into your purse. As a country with the most powerful economy, Germany should not splash out in this respect.

You feel especially connected with France. But you also like to bring yourself into play as a neutral mediator. The idea of the Commission must work, that is your major goal! Therefore, from your point of view, it would be best if the Commission got as much power as possible. This would scotch national egoism.





You are a representative of the 'Partito Democratico' (PD) from Italy.

Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Republic of Italy, approx. 60.5 million inhabitants live on about 300.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, Italy takes $3^{\rm rd}$ place among the EU Member States. The country was a founding member of the European Communities already in the 1950s and founded the European Union in 1993 along with eleven other West European countries. In addition, Italy was one of the first countries to adopt the euro. Due to its size and its very versatile economic structure with a small- scale industry, Italy takes $3^{\rm rd}$ place among the economic partners in the EU, with an economic performance of approx. 1,717 billion euro in 2017.

All Italian governments and the majority of the population have always been very pro-European. If there are suitable EU solutions for a problem, they usually do not fall through because of Italy. Nevertheless, given its economic weight, state problems and

geographical location, Italy can surely be a tough negotiator when protecting its own interests.

You belong to the party 'Partito Democratico (PD)'. In the last European elections, this party once again scored points with its political views in Italy. Of the 73 seats Italy can claim in the European Parliament, they were able to secure 18 seats for their party. Following the redistribution of the seats of Great Britain in the European Parliament, the S&D group now has 146 out of 705 seats. With its 18 MPs, your party has no negligible voting power in the S&D group. At the national level, your party achieved the second highest election results in the 2018 elections in Italy. Since 5 September 2019, your party has been a member of the 66th cabinet of the Italian republic and is thus involved in the Italian government, along with four other parties.

Your party is characterised by an EU-friendly attitude. Therefore, you would like to see closer cooperation at European level. This is the only way to implement a cross-country and socially compatible policy. The more cooperation between Member States, the better. This is the only way to overcome social problems that are the same everywhere. Thus, you are particularly open to collaboration and networks beyond national restrictions. You find that the Commission's initiative comes at just the right time. Europe needs a new impetus so that European cooperation can continue to function well in the future. All EU states will benefit equally from this. National egoisms are completely out of place, here as everywhere else. You find that when one discusses objectively, everyone must quickly realise the potential of the idea. Potential for further European unification, for economic prosperity and for a stronger role for Europe in the world. You would therefore like to see the Commission's initiative understood as a foreign and security policy project.

For you, cultural policy has always been part of foreign policy. Finding a common foreign policy line has always been difficult for the EU Member States, because many Member States are too keen on preserving their national sovereignty in the field of foreign policy. This is especially true when it comes to maintaining historically grown regional interests and becoming active accordingly. This is precisely why the EU must not renounce cultural policy as a common and unifying Instrument of international politics. That is why cultural policy must always be guided by the guidelines of European foreign policy. It is best to settle it at the European External Action Service (EEAS). Then it is, so to speak, in 'good European hands' – that fits exactly to your line.



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Italy is aware of the historical heritage of the Roman Empire and the cultural influence that the Roman Empire has had on European countries and beyond. It does not only play a role in the founding history of Europe. That alone is why you think that Europe should, indeed must, cooperate culturally!

Today's Italy is also known for its cultural achievements. Not least the Italian cuisine, music, cinema or theatre are often mentioned here as examples. Traditionally, Italy's cultural policy relies on high culture internationally, from operas – Verdi, Rossini, Puccini and many others, to classical literature. In addition, contemporary art is also important, from the Performing Arts to the film scene and the fashion world. Who does not know Sophia Loren or Federico Fellini! Italy actually has something great to offer! You always have this in mind when you get involved in the discussions.

In Italy, you are committed to strong state support in the cultural sector. There is an 'Italian Council' in Italy, which takes care of the artists and promotes cooperation with local partners. This should also contribute positively to international networking. That is why a European approach is very welcome for you.

One thing is always clear to you: you advocate closer cooperation at European level. The EU does not need a second 'Institut français' or a second 'Goethe-Institut', you have to think from scratch, beyond national borders, even in thinking. Therefore, the enforcement and control of these cultural institutions should also be taken over by the European institutions. The European External Action Service (EEAS) could undertake such a task. The financing of this project should be divided fairly. Find contact with other parties from your faction. The cross-party contact with MEPs, who are open to the European cultural houses under the control of the European institutions, could also help you to achieve your goals.



GROUP PROFILE

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT - Group Profile



EP group 'Renew Europe'



The group Renew Europe is the third-largest group in the European Parliament. Its member parties come from the liberal spectrum of European politics. Thus, in addition to classical liberal democratic parties, the group also includes left-wing liberals, national liberals and some regional parties.

Renew Europe is the successor to the 'Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE)'. This group had its roots in the liberal tradition of the enlightenment and sees itself as a political force of economic liberalism in the European Parliament. Renew Europe has members from almost all EU countries and is a pan–European political group. In addition, it sees itself as a values–based group, which in particular defends freedom and civil rights against too much patronage by the states.

Despite the support for pro-European solutions, due to the advantages of continental policy-making, members of the European Parliament are also members of the group, which massively demand compliance with the subsidiarity principle. This requirement underlines the European principle that only at a higher level (i.e. the EU) can be regulated, which can be less well regulated at the lower local or regional level in a member state.

In cultural policy, the position of the Renew Europe group is clearly outlined. At the beginning, culture stands in the sense of a common heritage, which historically also represents a link between the European countries. Big European names such as Hegel, Lagerlöf, Musil, Proust, Szymborska – all of this is what makes European culture. Cooperation and common cultural policy of the European States also falls in the realm of the conceivable, and is supported.

In principle, the group welcomes new ideas and concepts in the cultural field, but also stresses that the European Union should have a secondary and more discreet power.

Cooperation between Member States: yes; also very close cooperation: yes; paternalism from Brussels: No. First of all, the concept of culture and its peculiarities should be defined and recorded at the regional and local level. Only in a second step can a pan-European perspective on this be created and strengthened. All in all, Renew Europe is open to creative and contemporary cultural mediation.



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



You are a representative of the 'Venstre' from Denmark. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

The Kingdom of Denmark has about 5.7 million inhabitants who live on about 43.000 square kilometres (excluding Greenland and Faroe Islands). Thus, Denmark belongs to the rather smaller countries in the EU, taking 16th place based on its population size. It joined the EU in 1973 together with Great Britain and Ireland. Denmark has not adopted the euro. Due to its very versatile economic structure with a small-scale industry, Denmark's gross domestic product amounted to approx. 247 billion euro in 2017, thus it takes 11th place in the EU.

The Venstre (English: the Left) is a liberal Danish party that was established already in 1870. The Venstre sees itself as a value-oriented party that mainly defends civil liberties against too much paternalism from the states. Therefore, the Venstre is very pro-business. The Venstre is basically very pro-European, however, it also emphasises the subsidiarity requirement. This requirement underlines the European principle that only those issues should be regulated at a

higher level which cannot be regulated similarly well at the lower local or regional level. Since 2019, Venstre has been the topping the polls in Denmark. The Venstre has four of 13 representatives in the European Parliament (Renew Europe group).

In principle, you welcome the Commission's proposal. You think that it is always important to consider a deepening of the European unification. Especially in these times, when the idea of European cooperation appears to be losing popularity.

Particularly Denmark has always benefited from European unification as the centre of Northern Europe, especially in economic terms. However, you do not want Brussels to get more and more power. Especially as a smaller country, Denmark should make sure that as many things as possible are decided in Copenhagen. You think that in recent years, many things have gone wrong in this respect. In many areas, you would prefer to turn back the clock, but at least it must be prevented that the Danes can decide even less for themselves.

When Copenhagen was European City (Capital) of Culture in 1996 and city Aarhus had this title in 2017, you were quite pleased, however. Then the world showed interest in Denmark, but it was a long, long time ago. You think that Denmark has much to offer. Denmark has much experience especially with regard to cultural innovations, after all, the first poetry slams and light installations took place in Denmark. You cannot understand that others consider that a waste of money. It is obvious that culture needs to be constantly renewed unless it is to solidify into a ritual. In addition, with the 'Danish Cultural Institutes', you have your own small but excellent cultural institute infrastructure.

These structures must definitely be maintained, and the experience taken into account. You would like the Commission's idea to mainly bring economic success. This is what your voters expect from politicians. Politics should provide a framework in which people can achieve as many profits as possible for the good of all. If this is ensured, the Commission's idea may by all means cost some money.

You have always associated cultural policy primarily with foreign policy. It has always been difficult for EU countries to find a common foreign policy, since many Member States concern themselves too much with preserving their national sovereignty in this area. This is especially true when it comes to preserving historically evolved regional interests and acting accordingly. That is exactly why the EU must not waive cultural policy as a common and unifying instrument of international policy. Therefore, cultural policy must always be oriented towards the guidelines of European foreign policy



as well. We should not get lost in details, however. Therefore, we should rather count on the European Neighborhood Policy in the east and south of the continent.

One thing is clear to you: You reject all proposals leading to a situation where even more decisions are taken in Brussels and not in Copenhagen! The little country of Denmark must have codecision powers everywhere on an equal footing! The EU does not need a second 'Institut français' or 'Goethe-Institut', we need to think from scratch.

The Netherlands were a founding member of the European Communities already in the 1950s. When the East-West divide of the continent came to an end, the Netherlands founded the European Union along with eleven other Western European countries. The Netherlands are a unitary state with provinces who partly have their own culture-based laws. Due to their size and their very versatile economic structure with a strong industry, the Netherlands take 5th place among the economic partners in the EU, with an economic performance of approx. 733.2 billion euro in 2017.

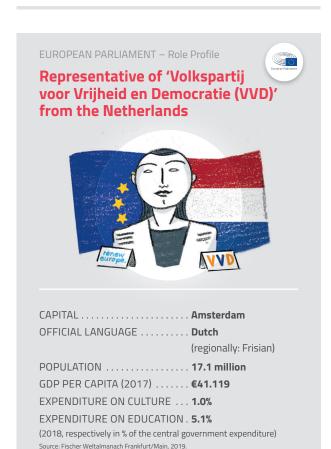
The liberal Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie VVD (English: Liberal People's Party for Freedom and Democracy) would often be part of the government especially in the eighties. In many respects, the VVD supports the above European policy of the country. In European policy, however, it calls more radically for a reform of agriculture, as well as for market orientation and competitiveness. It stands up for a Europe of the Regions and deregulation. The headquarters in Brussels should only decide about issues that cannot be solved at national or regional level, e.g. a common foreign and security policy.

In principle, you welcome the Commission's proposal. You think that it is always important to consider a deepening of the European unification. Especially in these times, when the idea of European cooperation appears to be losing popularity.

Particularly the Netherlands have always benefited from European unification in the centre of Europe, especially in economic terms.

However, you do not want Brussels to get more and more power. You think that in recent years, many things have gone wrong in this respect. In many areas, you would prefer to turn back the clock, but at least it must be prevented that the Dutch can decide even less for themselves.

You think that the Netherlands have much to offer. You have always enjoyed being at the forefront of cultural innovations, such as poetry slams and light installations, and therefore, have a lot of experience in that field. You cannot understand that others consider that a waste of money. It is obvious that culture needs to be constantly renewed unless it is to solidify into a ritual. This is where you draw a clear line, however: above all, it is the promising cultural projects that should be supported. You also explicitly say this in an economic sense. Culture must also be profitable, ideally even pay for itself. You would like the Commission's idea to mainly bring economic success.



You are a representative of the 'Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD)' from the Netherlands. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Kingdom of the Netherlands, approx. 17.1 million inhabitants live on over 41.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, the Netherlands take 7^{th} place among the EU Member States.



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

This is what your voters expect from politicians. Politics should provide a framework in which people can achieve as many profits as possible for the good of all. If this is ensured, the Commission's idea may by all means cost some money.

Unlike many large and medium-sized countries, you do not have your own cultural institute infrastructure. You are especially proud of the fact that Amsterdam was European City (Capital) of Culture already in 1987, Rotterdam in 2001 and Leeuwarden in 2017. Both with regard to culture and elsewhere, the following is important for you: you do not want to let others make decisions for you only because they have more experience. What all Dutch are proud of to this day is that many world-famous painters were Dutch: Hieronymus Bosch, Rembrandt van Rijn, Johannes Vermeer, Vincent van Gogh and Piet Mondrian, to name just a few. During the so-called Golden Age in the 17^{th} century, about 700 painters worked in the Netherlands who finished around 70.000 paintings each year. Such a massive 'painting output' has remained without precedent in the entire history of art.

You have always associated cultural policy with foreign policy. The Netherlands have a long colonial history as well, e.g. Suriname would gain its independence from the Netherlands only in 1975. Since the 17th century, the small country of the Netherlands certainly has had global influence, and therefore have also wanted to be a global player. It has always been difficult for EU countries to find a common foreign policy, since many Member States concern themselves too much with preserving their national sovereignty in this area. This is especially true when it comes to preserving historically evolved regional interests and acting accordingly. That is exactly why the EU must not waive cultural policy as a common and unifying instrument of international policy. Therefore, cultural policy must always be oriented towards the guidelines of European foreign policy as well. We should not get lost in details, however. Therefore, we should rather count on the European Neighborhood Policy in the east and south of the continent.

One thing is clear to you: You reject all proposals leading to a situation where even more decisions are taken in Brussels and not in The Hague! In addition, the Netherlands must have codecision powers everywhere on an equal footing! The EU does not need a second 'Institut français' or 'Goethe-Institut', we need to think from scratch. Try to team up with Germany, your great neighbor, and of course with Belgium to which you feel particularly close culturally let alone due to the Flemish part of the population.



You are a representative of the 'La République En Marche! (LREM)' from France. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

France was a founding member of the European Communities already in the 1950s and founded the European Union in 1993 along with eleven other West European countries. In addition, France was one of the first countries to adopt the euro. Until the early 1960s, the country had one of the largest colonial empires in history, which continues to have an effect on the population structure and the national identity. Together with Germany, France as a populous and economically strong country has a great weight in Europe.

'La République En Marche! (LREM)' is a French Liberal Party founded in 2016 in the run-up to Emmanuel Macron's successful candidacy in the 2017 presidential elections. Macron, as the founder of the party, sees his party as a movement, allowing members to be active in other Republican parties at the same time. LREM is to be classified as liberal and European-integrationist.



For example, before the 2017 presidential election, the party advocated for equality between men and women in the world of work, for far-reaching privatisations in the public sector and for tax cuts.

At the European level, the party advocates more investment in environmental change, the establishment of a single European asylum policy and the safeguarding of the Schengen area. Furthermore, the LREM is interested in a deep European integration, which should also include a European army. Macron's demand to further deepen the EU and thus successfully bring it into the future is supported, but only with few concrete results. After the 2019 European elections, the LREM is the largest group in the Renew group with 12 MEPs.

It can be said: You are proud of the French culture and language. No more and no less. You can easily point out the multitude of cultural achievements of your country, whether it is the French cuisine or the countless galleries that display famous works from France. But you don't just want to honor your own culture. You are aware that the European ideal must be given meaning so that European citizens can feel that they are part of the same community. That is why you demand in your party program: 'Tomorrow we will make culture a priority issue in the reconstruction of Europe.'

Taking European cultural policy out into the world is a matter of course for you, yes, an assignment. In your opinion, the new times correspond to seeing this as a joint project of the EU states. In your mind's eye you see 'your' Mona Lisa, the Italian painter Leonardo da Vinci, or representatives of French literature like Marcel Proust, who are clearly also a contribution to European cultural history. Cooperation between the Member States in the field of culture is very important to you, especially between Germany and France – 'the big' cultural nations. You are also pursuing a clear plan here that, for example, cultural institutes can be merged – 'Goethe-Institut' and 'Institut français' under one roof, so to speak. There should already be some examples of this worldwide, such as in Brazil and Kyrgyzstan. You even see this as an expandable pilot project.

You find that the Commission's initiative comes at an ideal time. Europe needs a new impetus so that European cooperation can continue to function well in the future. All EU states will benefit equally from this. National allegiances are outdated, here as everywhere else. From your point of view, this is because France has always had good factual arguments. You find that when one discusses objectively, everyone must quickly realise the potential of the idea.

Potential for further European unification, even closer cooperation in the field of culture and education and thus for a stronger role for Europe in the world. That's what you stand for.

Europe must become again what it was as an idea. Reforms: Yes, but in, with and for Europe. Some things have been lost sight of in recent decades, but that is precisely why the French commitment and the French participation are all the more important. France must be able to decide everywhere and above all help shape it! It seems to you that Germany has become somewhat dominant, that must change again. Your party and the whole of France are ready for this, you are convinced. The EU does not need nationally separated institutions, you have to think from scratch. You are looking for contact with Germany, your big neighbor. But do also try to find further allies, who are equally interested in an open-minded and culture-open Europe.

But you like to bring yourself into the game as a large and central player. The idea of the commission must work, that is your big goal! And France is of course ready to contribute actively and centrally, of that you are convinced.

Nevertheless, the multiplicity of identities, as well as those of the small states in the EU, must be preserved. Europe is colorful, but France has a very central 'color' here.



GROUP PROFILE

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT – Group Profile



EP group 'Identity and Democracy (ID)'



The ID Group is the fourth largest group in the European Parliament. Its member parties come from the right-wing spectrum of European politics. The group itself originates from the predecessor group, Europe of Nations and Freedom (ENF), which was founded in 2015 and was only founded after the European elections in 2019.

Despite the different national parties to which the members of the group belong, they share a common purpose: their primary goal is the dissolution of the European Union as a union with its own competences. The interests of the individual nations are paramount, so much of the political power of the European Union should go back to the Member States.

The group is open to right-wing populist and far-right parties with euro and EU opponents. In addition, it is opposed to further and enhanced cooperation between the states of the European Union and the further integration of other tasks.

The ID Group takes the following position in cultural policy: the members of the group believe that culture is crucial for political action as well as the development of political awareness. However, not in the sense of a European, but a national culture, the culture of the nation states. National peculiarities must be maintained and strengthened. Due to a European overall culture, national specifics must not be blurred, let alone lost, which is always to be feared. The parliamentarians envisage a Europe of the mother countries, in which national, regional and cultural peculiarities are respected and defended. The nation states must not be sacrificed to the interests of a European Union or even less their competences must not be transferred to the European level.



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



You are a representative of the party 'Alternative for Germany (AfD)' from Germany. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, approx. 82.7 million inhabitants live on nearly 360.000 square kilometres. This makes Germany the largest Member State of the EU. The old Federal Republic of Germany was a founding member of the European Communities already in the 1950s. After the reunification in 1990, Germany founded the European Union in 1993 along with eleven other Western European countries. In addition, Germany was one of the first countries to adopt the euro. Due to its size and very versatile economic structure with a strong industry, Germany is by far the biggest economic partner in the EU. In 2017, the gross domestic product amounted to 3,263.4 billion euro.

You belong to the party 'Alternative for Germany (AfD)'. You are one of 11 AfD members of the European Parliament's ID Group. In the 19th Bundestag (national parliament in Germany), the AfD is the third largest of a total of six parliamentary groups with 89 out of 709 seats.

Due to the strong ideological differences with other parties, it is not possible for the AfD to find a coalition partner for forming a government. Therefore, the AfD is one of the strongest opposition parties in Germany.

The party is characterised by a very sceptical attitude towards the EU and consequently puts national concerns before all European matters. The party therefore advocates a transfer of competences from the European level to the level of the Member States. A further, deeper cooperation at European level is therefore not pursued. Accordingly, you are also very critical of the plans of the EU Commission. You do not want the European Union to continue to be endowed with even more national competences. In your opinion, Germany as the most populous country in particular should make sure that the interests of the Germans are in the focus. You would like to turn back the wheel of integration in many areas, but at least you have to prevent the Germans from being able to decide even less in the future.

Germany is the land of poets and thinkers. You and your party are fully behind the idea of a leading German culture. According to your program of principles, this leading German culture is based on three main sources: the first source is the religious tradition of Christianity. The second source is the scientific-humanist tradition, whose ancient origins were renewed in the Renaissance and Enlightenment. Finally, this guiding culture is also based on Roman law, which forms the historical foundation for today's German law. The behavior of people with and towards each other, the relationship of the different genders or the relationships between parents and children, you see correctly answered in the idea of a guiding culture.

For you, it is clear that promoting multiculturalism and equating it with national culture is wrong and dangerous, as it undermines the importance of national German culture. Last but not least, in your program of principles, you demand that, in the face of multiculturalism, the German Nation and civil societies must confidently defend German cultural identity as a leading culture.

Your position is clear: Germany is known worldwide for its centuriesold culture of poets, thinkers and composers. This can also be seen in the fact that the text of the anthem of the European Union 'Ode to Joy' originated from the pen of the German writer Friedrich Schiller. The German composer Ludwig van Beethoven set this text to music in a melody from his ninth symphony. You see this very clearly and unambiguously: German culture has always been one of Europe's leading cultures. German culture and history must not be reduced to



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

the time of the Third Reich. Nor must the experience of the Third Reich overshadow the cultural achievements of Germany over the millennia.

Nowadays you see German culture in danger: the international influences are rampant everywhere, too much art, in your opinion, 'empty of content', where you can no longer recognise anything German. This trend of internationalisation has already crept in at German theatres, museums and other institutions and must be ended. There is enough good German art, European art is not necessary!

You are clearly against the influence of the EU and other states on German culture. In your opinion, the decisions in Brussels are always against Germany. This could not go on so particularly with the culture. Common culture – organised by the EU – you are clearly against this. Less clarity and dilution would be the result. Germany is the largest net contributor, i.e. Germany has to transfer the highest contributions to Brussels, but its effects can and must be disputed. In your opinion, all this goes against Germany and it really goes too far for them.

One thing is clear to you: you reject all proposals that only lead to more decisions being taken at European level and not at national level! And if it comes to this European House, which you are against anyway, the focus should be on national cultures, especially German culture. You are much more likely to consider the promotion of national cultural programs useful. Then the German character of the culture remains clear and distinct.

Find contact with your colleagues from your group and try to find allies who want to see your national cultural values strengthened.



You are a representative of the 'Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ)'. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Republic of Austria, approx. 8.8 million inhabitants live on almost 84.000 square kilometres. This puts Austria in 14th place among the EU Member States in terms of population size. After the end of the East-West confrontation in 1990, Austria joined the European Union together with two other states in 1995. It was also one of the first countries to introduce the euro. The Republic of Austria consists of nine federal states, which enact laws themselves with their own state parliaments and are involved in the legislation of the Republic via the Federal Council. Due to its very diverse economic structure with a strong industry, Austria is approximately the 9th largest economic Partner in the EU with a gross domestic product of around 369.7 billion euros in 2017.

Despite the country's medium size, Austria's cultural policy activities abroad are also diverse and extensive. As a result of Austria's historical



roots as the central creative force of the world-historical order of the European continent, close contacts exist with a large number of states and cultures. The foreign cultural policy institutions of the country, referred to as 'Austrian Cultural Forums', are directly subject to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Unlike many cultural institutes, language courses are not offered within this framework, but Austria has a separate network of institutes, the so-called Österreich Institut (Austria Institute). There are particularly close contacts to East Central Europe and the Balkans. Here, Austria's cultural presence also corresponds to a high foreign and economic policy significance for both sides.

You belong to the 'Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ)'. In the last European elections, the party once again scored points with its political views in Austria. Your party occupies three out of 76 seats within the ID faction. In the national elections of 2019, the FPÖ won 31 out of 183 seats. In addition, the FPÖ provides some representatives at the level of the federal states. The party is characterised by a strongly sceptical attitude towards the EU and puts national concerns clearly before all European affairs. For this reason, the party also advocates a shift of competences from the European level to the level of the Member States. An even deeper cooperation at European level is therefore not desired.

Accordingly, you are also critical of the EU Commission's plans. You do not want Brussels to get more and more power. You think a lot has gone wrong over the last few years. You would like to regain control and power in many areas, and you should at least prevent the Austrians from making even fewer decisions than before.

But when Linz was the European City (Capital) of Culture in 2009 and took over the presidency of the council in 2018, you were quite happy. These were good opportunities to present the achieved cultural level. Austria has a lot to offer, you find. Of course, it would be great if Austria became even better known in the world. If the initiative of the European Commission would contribute to this, you would be pleased. Because that would certainly bring more tourists to Austria, a clear economic gain. On your side, the FPÖ proclaims: 'Starting from the high level achieved, it is important to enable the free development of our own culture and to protect our (German) mother tongue as the most important cultural foundation element.' The strengthening of national cultures should therefore be at the forefront of your efforts.

Austria is known for a variety of buildings that are included in the UNESCO World Heritage List. In addition, many masterpieces of classical music were created or promoted in Austria. Of course, also the local art, traditional customs, folk festivals and traditional costumes. In your opinion, Austrian culture as such is an integral part of the German cultural circle, which is why you not only support the German language but also always consider cooperation with Germany important in order to preserve the common cultural heritage from outside influences. You find multilingualism in the European institutions and in the EU itself burdensome, disturbing and unnecessary. That's why you are suspicious of too close cooperation with the other countries is actually suspicious and you see the culture of Austria endangered by too many foreign influences.

One thing is always clear to you: you reject all proposals that only lead to even more decisions being made not in Vienna but in Brussels! You would like to turn this process around and transfer competences back to the nation states. And when it comes to this European House, Austria should be allowed to decide how Austrian culture will be represented. The cost of such a project should be borne by the EU. Find contact with your colleagues from your group.

Try to find allies who want to see your national cultural values strengthened. Above all, those who would like to act against this 'European unity', as you find.



GROUP PROFILE

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT – Group Profile



EP - 'The Greens / European Free Alliance / EFA' Group



The Group of The Greens/EFA is one of the medium-sized groups in the European Parliament. Your member parties come from the ecological and liberal bourgeois spectrum, and regionally oriented European policy. This means that apart from the traditional ecological parties, your parliamentary group also consists of liberal left and regional independence parties. For many years now, the Group of The Greens / EFA has had members from numerous EU countries. Therefore, in its self-perception, it is a pan-European parliamentary group. The Group of The Greens/ EFA Group regularly represents pro-European solutions, because usually it sees the advantages of common policy making very clearly.

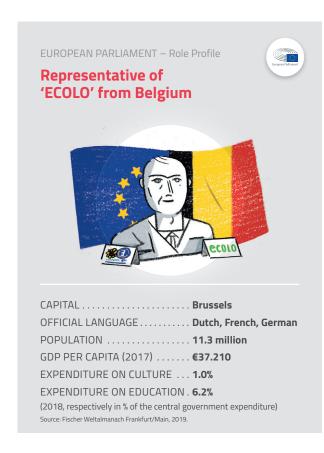
However, there are also MEPs (Members of the European Parliament) in the ranks of the Group of The Greens / EFA who particularly emphasise the subsidiarity requirement. This requirement underlines the European principle that only those issues should be regulated at a higher level which cannot be regulated similarly well at the lower local or regional level. The Group of Greens / EFA sees itself as a value-oriented parliamentary group that mainly emphasises the protection of the environment and defends civil liberties against too much paternalism from the states. It usually takes a critical stance towards business.

In the cultural policy, the position of the Group of The Greens / EFA Group is relatively uniform. The members of the group welcome every proposal that is a step towards greater European unity. However, most differences result from the question what influence national concepts of cultural activities should have on a new overall concept of European cultural activities. Especially the regionalist parties in the group also stress that it is important to retain as much decision–making power in the Member States, even more so in the regions.

On the other hand, all of them are quite open to modern and innovative concepts of cultural mediation, where ecological and social aspects also play an important role. This is an area that has often been ignored or neglected in the past.



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



You are a representative of 'ECOLO' from Belgium. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In Belgium, approx. 11.3 million inhabitants live on about 30.500 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, Belgium takes 8th place in the EU. The country was a founding member of the European Communities already in the 1950s, and founded the European Union in 1993 along with eleven other West European countries when the East-West divide of the continent came to an end. In addition, Luxembourg was one of the first countries to adopt the euro. Despite its small size, Belgium has a very versatile economic structure with a strong industry. With an estimated economic performance of nearly 437.2 billion euro in 2017, it takes 8th place among the economic partners in the EU. Just like Europe, Belgium is a community that is composed of several parts: Flanders and Wallonia, each with a different language. In addition, there is a small German-speaking community in the East of the country. Belgium is clearly for further European integration. Only then Europe can be a strong voice in the world, that is why Belgium wants a strong Europe with many competences for the European Union.

In recent years, Belgium was undergoing an intense dispute over the future shape of the European Union. Especially followers of radical groups which argue for a strengthening of the regions and question the success of the European unification process have emerged strengthened from the elections to the Belgian and the European Parliament in 2019, with more than ten percent of votes. Apart from these radical groups, all Belgian parties are supporters of European unification. ECOLO, the green party of the French-speaking part of Belgium, basically also supports the process of European unification, and is particularly committed to strengthening social and ecological principles and projects.

Europe should become a leading force in environmental protection and the enforcement of social justice. In this context, the party particularly emphasises the principle of ecological, social and economic sustainability, and calls for a long-term European policy. Equal opportunities for all population groups and the integration of minorities into society are also among the main concerns of the Greens.

You think that the Commission's initiative comes just at the right time. Europe needs a fresh impetus to ensure that European cooperation can continue to work well in the future. All EU countries will equally benefit from that. National self-interest is totally out of place, here and anywhere else. You think that all will quickly become aware of the idea's potential. Potential for further European integration, for economic prosperity, and for a stronger role of Europe in the world. Therefore, you also would want the Commission's initiative to be understood as a foreign and security policy project. You have always associated cultural policy primarily with foreign policy. It has always been difficult for EU countries to find a common foreign policy, since many Member States concern themselves too much with preserving their national sovereignty in this area. This is especially true when it comes to preserving historically evolved regional interests and acting accordingly. That is exactly why the EU must not waive cultural policy as a common and unifying instrument of international policy. Therefore, cultural policy must always be oriented towards the guidelines of European foreign policy as well. The best solution would be to use the European External Action Service (EEAS) for this purpose. It is essential that Europe speaks with one voice also in culture.

You are quite open with regard to the concrete design of the project. Belgium does not have its own cultural institute infrastructure abroad, but always funded projects abroad in the past, most of which were either Walloon or Flemish, however, with no common



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

'Belgian projects'. Still, you have some experience presenting your own culture.

Antwerp (1993), Brussels (2000), Bruges (2002) and Mons (2015) were European Cities (Capitals) of Culture. The other representatives certainly have great ideas and good concepts, however, that you will readily endorse. If it is up to you, the ideas can also be unusual, you would also like to anchor the ecological, social and economic sustainability in art and culture more strongly.

You warn against individual countries appearing too dominant. Such behavior has always only harmed the European idea in the past. From your own experience with the two parts of the country, Flanders and Wallonia, you also know that it is best if as many people as possible have the feeling that they can co-decide. You feel particularly connected with the Netherlands and France, not least because of the language. But you also like to bring yourself into play as a neutral mediator. The idea of the Commission must work, that is your major goal! Therefore, from your point of view, it would be best if the Commission got as much power as possible. This would scotch national egoisms. Especially the identities of the small EU countries must be preserved, however.



You are a representative of the 'The Greens' from Austria. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Republic of Austria, approx. 8.8 million inhabitants live on almost 84.000 square kilometres. This puts Austria in 14th place among the EU Member States in terms of population size. After the end of the East-West confrontation in 1990, Austria joined the European Union together with two other states in 1995. It was also one of the first countries to introduce the euro. The Republic of Austria consists of nine federal states, which enact laws themselves with their own state parliaments and are involved in the legislation of the Republic via the Federal Council. Due to its very diverse economic structure with a strong industry, Austria is approximately the 9th largest economic Partner in the EU with a gross domestic product of around 369.7 billion euros in 2017.

Despite the country's medium size, Austria's cultural policy activities abroad are also diverse and extensive. As a result of Austria's historical



roots as the central creative force of the world-historical order of the European continent, close contacts exist with a large number of states and cultures. The foreign cultural policy institutions of the country, referred to as 'Austrian Cultural Forums', are directly subject to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Unlike many cultural institutes, language courses are not offered within this framework, but Austria has a separate network of institutes, the 'Österreich Institute' (Austria Institute). There are particularly close contacts to East Central Europe and the Balkans. Here, Austria's cultural presence also corresponds to a high foreign and economic policy significance for both sides.

You belong to 'The Greens – The Green Alternative' of Austria. In the last European elections, the party once again scored points with its political views in Austria. Your party occupies three out of 68 seats within the Greens group. In the national elections of 2019, the Greens won 28 out of 183 seats. The party is characterised by an open-minded attitude towards the European Union. You demand greater cooperation in many areas, such as fiscal or environmental policy. You do not just want a Europe as an economic union, but a Europe as a social union with special emphasis on ecological issues and climate friendliness. You advocate close cooperation at European level in general, but especially with regard to your thematic priorities.

Accordingly, you are also positive towards the Commission's initiative. In the political program of your party it is written that: 'Today, more than ever before, it is important to make the Union a social, ecological and democratic community of states that can play a role as a positive global player.' Therefore, it is important for you not to promote 'national monocultures', but to promote cultural exchange at European level. Last but not least, because this can also improve the democratic and social situation of Europeans and thus also their voters from Austria.

But when Linz was the European City (Capital) of Culture in 2009 and took over the presidency of the council in 2018, you were quite happy. These were good opportunities to present the achieved cultural level. Austria has a lot to offer, you find. Of course, it would be great if Austria became even better known in the world. If the initiative of the European Commission would contribute to this, you would be pleased.

Austria is known for a variety of buildings that are included in the UNESCO World Heritage List. In addition, many masterpieces of

classical music were created or promoted in Austria. In addition, there is also contemporary art, the off-culture that takes place in creative processes, beyond high culture and mainstream. It is not only in Vienna that there are many initiatives here that can rather be described as grassroots movements or that were initiated by a few. Cross-border cooperation is particularly useful and required in this sector.

One thing is clear for you: more and more powers at European level you clearly support. You welcome the idea of the European House and also wish for stronger cultural and social cooperation in Europe. You reject an overly dominant role of national interests. The cost of such a project should be borne by the EU. Find allies within your group and among the MEPs who support this project taking into account cultural diversity and strengthening a European identity.

You advocate a European cultural policy not least because Austrian national cultural work often seems too traditional and conservative to you. You see high culture as no longer up to date and, moreover, it does not need any support. The small art sectors in particular have this need and a mix of European cultures in a common house speaks you're out of the soul.

You see Europe clearly before national interests. Actually, you think it shouldn't be a European House, but a House of World Culture! So, keep moving forward. You are looking for allies who are clear on these ideas. You may have to convince some of them first. Look for a lot of conversations with others – after all, people come together to talk!



GROUP PROFILE

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT – Group Profile



EP – 'European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR)' Group



The ECR Group is one of the medium-sized groups in the European Parliament. Its member parties come from a similar spectrum as the member parties of the EPP (European People's Party). The ECR is located in the right-wing, conservative, but liberal market spectrum of European politics. The ECR has parties and MEPs only from some Member States. It regularly represents euro-critical positions, because usually it is highly critical of the advantages of continental policy making. However, a dissolution of the EU is a political objective of only very few of your parliamentary group colleagues. The ECR sees itself as a group that is rational with regard to economic policy and is therefore in favor of a functioning internal market that is as little regulated as possible. In particular, the ECR defends the value of freedom against too much state interference. Therefore, the ECR is usually very pro-business.

In the cultural policy, the position of the ECR Group is fairly uniform. In particular, the group's members do not want Brussels to get too much power. Luckily, hardly anything has happened in this respect in the group's opinion, especially with regard to cultural policy. A further transfer of key powers to Brussels is not in the interest of the group.

With regard to the motto Unity in Diversity, the ECR clearly emphasises the word 'diversity' with as little 'unity' as possible. Also, the citizens do not want any further measures, the electoral successes of populist parties in many EU countries show that clearly. The ECR Group does not want to be lumped together with those parties. On the other hand, the climate of public opinion should not be ignored.



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



You are a representative of 'Občanská demokratická strana (ODS)' from the Czech Republic. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Czech Republic, approx. 10.6 million inhabitants live on nearly 79.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, the Czech Republic takes 10th place among the EU Member States. The Czech Republic was not formed until 1993, when the Slovak part of the country became an independent state and old Czechoslovakia peacefully dissolved. The citizens of the old common state had peacefully ended the communist dictatorship in 1989. Both new countries pursued membership in the European Union and became members in 2004. While Slovakia introduced the euro already in 2009, the Czech Republic exhibits in general a more eurosceptical approach and has retained its own currency, the Czech koruna. Despite its size and a developed industry in a competitive economy, the Czech Republic takes only 14th among the economic partners in the EU, with an economic performance of approx. 192 billion euro in 2017.

The markedly right-wing Občanská demokratická strana (English: Civic Democratic Party) was established in 1991. In the 2017 Czech parliamentary election, the ODS became only the second strongest party. Previously, the ODS had been in power as governing party for six years and had implemented extensive democratic and economic reforms. In the last European election in 2019, the ODS won two mandates.

The attitude of the ODS towards the EU was continuously rather sceptical or neutral at best. However, the ODS is very open to a merging of European economies. The party has drawn attention to the problematic or even negative aspects of European integration: too much bureaucracy, too much regulation, too many powers in Brussels and the impending restriction of Czech national interests. The ODS co-founded the ECR Group in 2009.

Accordingly, you are also critical of the EU Commission's plans. You do not want Brussels to get more and more power. You think that in recent years, many things have gone wrong in this respect. In many areas, you would prefer to turn back the clock, but at least it must be prevented that Czechs can decide even less for themselves. In any case, you always suspect the large Member States that they want to dominate the smaller countries like the Czech Republic. You are therefore very vigilant especially towards Germany. After all, Germany has frequently made false claims in the past, e.g. to return the property of the Sudeten Germans that had been expropriated in 1945. You fear that Germany will get even more influence as a result of the Commission's plans. The Czech Republic was controlled by other powers too often in its history! They often argue that 'who pays the piper, calls the tune'. This is just a knockout argument, however, which you will not accept. With your 22 'Czech Centres', you also have your own cultural institute infrastructure, one even in New York! You definitely want to avoid the formation of a double structure, because that would only cost a lot of money. Money that the Czech Republic does not have.

The Czech Republic, and particularly Prague are internationally very well-known and are visited each year by millions of tourists. Besides, outstanding structures and cultural monuments are also located outside the capital. By now, the Czech Republic has 12 UNESCO World Heritage Sites, including the Historic Centres of Český Krumlov, Kutná Hora and Telč. In addition, Pilsen was European City (Capital) of Culture in 2015. Of course, it would be great if the Czech Republic became even better known in the world. If the European Commission's initiative helped with that, you



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

would appreciate it. That would certainly bring even more tourists to the Czech Republic, a clear economic gain. You also think that the Czech Republic has much to offer. All this newfangled nonsense is not your type of 'culture', however. For you, poetry slams and light installations are just a waste of money.

And one thing is clear: you reject all proposals leading to a situation where even more decisions are taken in Brussels and not in Prague! And if it ever comes to this European House, the Czech Republic must also have a say on an equal footing! The EU does not need a second 'Institut français' or 'Goethe-Institut', we need to think from scratch and take all previous experience into account.

In particular, try to team up with the other Visegrád Group countries (Poland, Slovakia, Hungary) with which you were often able to profitably work together. You feel particularly connected to Slovakia also culturally as a result of your common history.



You are a representative of 'TB/LNNK' from Latvia. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Republic of Latvia, approx. 1.9 million inhabitants live on over 64.500 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, Latvia takes 23rd place among the EU Member States. Until 1991, Latvia was part of the Soviet Union and has quickly joined the West together with the other Baltic republics, Estonia and Lithuania. Latvia joined the EU in 2004. Latvia sees itself as very pro-European and has adopted the euro in 2014. With an estimated economic performance of 26.9 billion euro in 2017, it takes 24th place among the economic partners in the EU.

You belong to the party 'Tevzemei un Brīvībai – Latvijas Nacionālās Neatkaribas Kustība (TB/LNNK)', in English: 'Alliance for Fatherland and Freedom'. This party was once again able to score with its political views in the last European elections in Latvia. Two of the eight Latvian MEPs are still part of this electoral alliance. The alliance of parties is also represented in the national domestic policy, but has ceased to be a strong political force. Domestically, the alliance has



repeatedly distinguished itself with hostile initiatives, especially against the large Russian and also Polish minorities. For example, with the referendum 'For a Latvian Latvia', the party aimed to prevent granting minority rights to Russians, Ukrainians and Poles. The party also calls for the return of territories separated after World War II that became part of Russia.

The party is characterised by a strongly sceptical attitude towards the EU and puts national concerns before all European issues. Therefore, the party pleads that powers are returned from the European level to the level of the Member States. Therefore, a more in-depth cooperation at European level is not desired.

Accordingly, you are also critical of the EU Commission's plans. You do not want Brussels to get more and more power. Especially as a small country, Latvia should make sure that as many things as possible are decided in Riga. You think that in recent years, many things have gone wrong in this respect. In many areas, you would prefer to turn back the clock, but at least it must be prevented that Latvians can decide even less for themselves. In any case, you always suspect the large Member States that they want to dominate the small countries like Latvia. You are therefore very vigilant especially towards Poland. After all, Poland has frequently interfered with Latvian home affairs, for instance with regard to the rights of the so-called Polish minority. You perceive Russia as equally problematic. Approximately 11% of Latvia's population are Russians, with whom there are massive integration problems, often they do not even speak Latvian. And Russia has always heavily tried to position the Russian minority against the Latvians and thus influence Latvian policy. However, other large countries in the EU also often try to merely advance their interests against the interests of the small countries. Latvia was controlled by other powers too often in its history! They often argue that 'who pays the piper, calls the tune'. This is just a knockout argument, however, which you will not accept. It goes without saying that the large countries have to pay more, after all, they are better off economically. But everyone must participate. In your opinion, when it comes to money, the EU is called for above all, the idea comes from the Commission after all. The party who orders something has to be the one to pay for it.

When Riga was European City (Capital) of Culture in 2014 and also took over the Presidency of the Council in 2015, you were quite pleased, however. Finally, other countries noticed that a country like Latvia exists. You also think that Latvia has much to offer. All this newfangled nonsense is not your type of 'culture', however. For you, poetry slams and light installations are just a waste of money.

Money that Latvia does not have anyway. Of course, it would be great if Latvia became even better known in the world. If the European Commission's initiative helped with that, you would appreciate it. That would certainly bring even more tourists to Latvia, a clear economic gain.

In history and also in the current Latvian culture, relations with Northern Europe are most important. The old towns have the typical elements that are common in the Hanse. Latvia is especially known for its folklore and traditional music culture. In Riga, a large Song and Dance Festival takes place every four years, in which several thousand Latvian, exile Latvian and international choirs participate. Also, the small country of Latvia can be quite proud of its culture.

One thing is clear: you reject all proposals leading to a situation where even more decisions are taken in Brussels and not in Riga! And if it ever comes to this European House, the small country of Latvia must also have a say on an equal footing! The EU does not need a second 'Institut français' or 'Goethe-Institut', we need to think from scratch. Look also for contacts with your two Baltic neighbors. You have often been able to work together well with them on many occasions.



GROUP PROFILE

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT – Group Profile

EP – 'European United Left / Nordic Green Left (GUE-NGL)' Group



The Confederal Group of the European United Left / Nordic Green Left (GUE/NGL) is one of the smaller groups in the European Parliament. Your member parties come from the extreme left spectrum of European politics. In addition to traditional communist parties, your parliamentary group also consists of reform-oriented socialist parties. For many years now, the Left Group has had members from several EU countries.

In its self-perception, it is an internationalist, euro-critical group. Nevertheless, some Left Group members represent pro-European solutions, since they generally have a very critical attitude towards national policy making. In the ranks of the Left Group, voices can be heard time and again that particularly emphasise the subsidiarity requirement. This requirement underlines the European principle that only those issues should be regulated at a higher level which cannot be regulated similarly well at the lower local or regional level. Many members of the Left Group think that this principle protects the people in Europe against too much bureaucracy from Brussels. The Left Group sees itself as a value-oriented parliamentary group that mainly defends the rights of people against exploitation from commerce and industry.

Therefore, the Left Group usually takes a very critical stance towards business.

In the cultural policy, the position of the GUE-NGL Group is relatively uniform. The members of the group largely welcome the proposal as a step towards greater European unity. However, most differences result from the question what influence national concepts of cultural activities could have on a new overall concept of European cultural activities. On the other hand, all of them are quite open to modern and innovative concepts of cultural mediation. In addition, the members of the group think that one must be very much on guard when economic arguments are put forward. Under the guise that the success in the economy benefits all people, too often measures were adopted in the past from which only the rich and the corporations benefited. All members of your group agree that the course must be generally altered here.



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



You are a representative of 'Sinn Féin' from Ireland. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Republic of Ireland, approx. 4.8 million inhabitants live on over 70.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, Ireland takes 19th place among the EU Member States. It was not until 1922 that Ireland became independent of the British Empire after a bloody civil war. The northern part of the island is still under British sovereignty. Economically, until the 1990s, the Republic of Ireland had been a rather weak Member State of the European Union which it had joined together with its great eastern neighbor in 1973. Among other things, the EU-funded economic subsidies have helped to put Ireland's economy, traditionally based on agriculture and emigration (for example, the emigrants would send a lot of money to their relatives in Ireland), on a sound footing. As one of the first countries, Ireland introduced the euro in 1999. Despite its rather small size with a relatively versatile economic structure, Ireland took 10th place among the economic partners in the EU, with an estimated economic performance of 296.2 billion euro in 2017.

Sinn Féin (Irish for: We Ourselves) is an Irish Republican party; at the same time, it advocates the greatest possible equality of opportunity for all citizens and social justice. In Northern Ireland, among its Catholic population, it has been the strongest party since 2005. In the Republic of Ireland, it has been represented in parliament since 1997 and is historically anchored there, in particular in the regions bordering Northern Ireland. Historically and also partly as regards content, Sinn Féin is associated with the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) and is therefore occasionally called the 'political arm of the IRA'. In the European elections of 2019, Sinn Féin won three seats in the European Parliament. You are cautiously optimistic with regard to the Commission proposal. You are always for initiatives that bring the peoples of Europe closer together. And you think that the Commission proposal suits this purpose very well. Europe needs a fresh impetus to ensure that European cooperation can continue to work well in the future. All EU countries will equally benefit from that.

However, you suspect the large countries from the European continent that they will try to dominate the discussions and decisions. As a small country, Ireland must also be involved in all decisions. You are quite open with regard to the concrete design of the project. Ireland has no own cultural institute infrastructure abroad and has only sporadically funded projects abroad in the past. However, you already have some experience with the presentation of your own culture. After all, Dublin (1991), Cork (2005) and Galway (2020) were European Cities (Capitals) of Culture. The other representatives certainly have great ideas and good concepts, however, that you will readily endorse. If it is up to you, the ideas can also be crazy, you would also like to anchor the ecological, social and economic sustainability more strongly, also with regard to art and culture.

You warn against individual countries appearing too dominant. Such behavior has always only harmed the European idea in the past. Due to its geographical proximity, you feel particularly connected with Great Britain, although you have always feared and criticised the dominance of your neighbor from which Ireland became independent only through a long and extremely bloody resistance struggle in 1921. You make it particularly clear that the Irish culture should be understood as completely independent of British culture, e.g. you have your own Gaelic language which is also interpreted in the European Parliament. The national cultural identities must never perish. All too often, the European project has served the 'big players' to have their will, leaving the 'small players' only with a place at the side table.



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

You definitely want to participate in this new project. A small country like Ireland needs the EU to accomplish any international goals. Of course, it is also clear that Ireland can hardly participate financially. The larger countries must make a greater contribution. Another possibility would be to finance everything from EU funds.



You are a representative of 'SYRIZA' from Greece. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

In the Hellenic Republic, approx. 10.8 million inhabitants live on nearly 132.000 square kilometres. Thus, with regard to its population size, Greece takes 9^{th} place among the EU Member States. Greece joined the European Communities already in 1983, several years before Spain and Portugal, and founded the European Union along with eleven other Western European countries. In 2002, Greece introduced the euro as the first accession country to the monetary union. Due to its size and its still continuing major state and economic problems, Greece slipped to 16^{th} place among the economic partners in the EU, with an economic performance of approx. 177.7 billion euro in 2017.

Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras (SYRIZA; Greek: Συνασπισμός Ριζοσπαστικής Αριστεράς, ΣΥΡΙΖΑ, translated as 'Coalition of the Radical Left') is a left-wing Greek party with a clear socialist orientation. The motto of the party is: 'United and left, we will make the impossible possible!' In 2019, it became the second strongest political force in Greece. In the 2019 European elections, SYRIZA was able to win four seats in the European Parliament with 23.76 percent. The party is characterised by a strongly sceptical attitude towards the EU. Accordingly, you are also critical of the EU Commission's plans. You do not want Brussels to get more and more power. Especially Greece must make sure that it will not be limited even further in its freedom of choice, as is the case in the management of the budgetary and public debt crisis. In any case, you always suspect the large Member States that they want to dominate the smaller countries like Greece. They often argue that 'who pays the piper, calls the tune'. This is just a knockout argument, however, which you will not accept. It goes without saying that the large countries have to pay more, after all, they are better off economically. But everyone must participate. In your opinion, when it comes to money, the EU is called for above all, the idea comes from the Commission after all. The party who orders something has to be the one to pay for it. On the other hand, you are always for initiatives that bring the peoples of Europe closer together. And you think that the Commission's proposal suits this purpose very well. Therefore, you do not flatly reject the plans. However, at the same time, everyone has to realise that Greece must play a significant role, appropriate to its size and importance. Within the EU, Greece belongs together with Italy to the undisputed cradle of European culture. Innumerable testimonies to the history of humanity can be found throughout the country. With Athens (1985), Thessaloniki (1997) and Patras (2006) as European Cities (Capitals) of Culture, Greece has already some experience in the international presentation of its culture. In addition, with the 11 international offices of the 'Hellenic Foundations for Culture', you have your own cultural institute infrastructure, even overseas! Therefore, it is quite obvious to you that Greece must be given a strong voice with regard to the content-related design of the concept. If it is up to you, the ideas can also be crazy, you would also like to anchor the ecological, social and economic sustainability more strongly, also with regard to art and culture.

But one thing is clear: you reject all proposals leading to a situation where even more decisions are taken in Brussels and not in Athens! The EU does not need a second 'Institut français' or 'Goethe-Institut', we need to think from scratch. Try to team up with the other Mediterranean Countries as well. You have often been able to work together well with them on many occasions.



MEDIA

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT - Group Profile





You are a representative of the media. Try to understand the position and act accordingly.

You represent the media in the European Union. The work of the media in the EU is free. This means: You can report about anything, but no one can force you to report about something.

The media in the European countries are usually critical but polite.

Their main task is to present the political situation in the Member States and in the EU, the positions of the various parliamentary groups of the European Parliament, and the point of view of the European Commission. Even though the readers/viewers of your press services are themselves Members of the Parliament, the European Commission or the Member State Governments, the knowledge of the subject-matter of the dispute is distributed very unevenly.

The members in the Council know the prevailing political situation in their country and have a slight idea of the situation in the other Member States. However, they know only little about the ongoing debates in the European Parliament. The members of the various parliamentary groups in the Parliament know very well what opinion they represent in the political dispute and also learn what opinions are expressed in the other parliamentary groups.

They hardly notice, however, what is happening in the Council. In principle, the Commission is present in all readings, but it is so busy that it sometimes can easily lose the plot.

This is where the media group comes into play. Apart from collecting information, it will also immediately report if there is something new. This is done by means of wall newspapers and regular talk shows on current issues. In addition, short interviews can be thrillingly staged in the hallways in front of the Parliament and the Council.

Cultural policy and the Commission proposal are assessed very differently in the Member States. This is mainly because Member States have different ideas how a common cultural policy should look like with regard to content, and who should have how much influence. For similar reasons, this topic is evaluated very differently by European parties.

Report objectively where it makes sense, and emotionally where you feel it is appropriate. Never forget, however, that the next news should be written quickly, so that it will be read when it is still current!



FACTS & FIGURES

Member State	Population (in M.)		Area (in km²)		Economic performance (GDP in billion euro in 2017, forecast source: Eurostat)		Expenditure on culture (2017, in % central government expenditure)		Expenditure on education (2018, in % of central govern- ment expenditure)	
	Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Percent	Rank	Percent	Rank
Germany	1	82.7	4	357,021	1	3,263.4	0.9	21	4.2	20
France	2	67.1	1	668,763	2	2,288	1.1	14	5.1	11
Italy	3	60.5	7	301,320	3	1,717	0.6	24	4.0	21
Spain	4	46.5	2	504,782	4	1,164	1.1	14	4	21
Poland	5	37.9	6	312,685	7	465.6	1.9	6	5	14
Romania	6	19.6	8	238,391	15	187.9	1.0	17	3.2	26
Netherlands	7	17.1	22	41,526	5	733.2	1.0	17	5.1	11
Belgium	8	11.3	23	30,510	8	437.2	1.0	17	6.2	3
Greece	9	10.8	9	131,940	16	177.7	0.3	27	3.9	24
Czech Republic	10	10.6	15	78,866	14	192	1.6	7	4.6	16
Portugal	11	10.3	12	92,931	13	193	0.6	24	4.5	19
Sweden	12	10.1	3	449,964	6	477.9	1.0	17	6.9	1
Hungary	13	9.3	11	93,030	17	123.5	2.7	2	5.1	11
Austria	14	8.8	13	83,858	9	369.7	1.1	14	4.8	15
Bulgaria	15	7.1	10	110,994	20	50.4	1.3	11	3.5	18
Denmark	16	5.7	21	43,094	11	288.4	1.2	13	6.4	2
Finland	17	5.5	5	338,432	12	223.5	0.9	21	5.5	6
Slovakia	18	5.4	19	48,845	18	85	1.4	10	4	21
Ireland	19	4.8	15	70,280	10	296.2	0.8	23	3.2	26
Croatia	20	4.1	18	56,542	21	48.7	1.5	8	5.2	8
Lithuania	21	2.8	16	65,200	23	41.9	2.1	4	4.6	16
Slovenia	22	2.0	24	20,253	22	43.3	1.5	8	5.4	7
Latvia	23	1.9	17	64,589	24	26.9	2.8	1	5.8	5
Estonia	24	1.3	20	45,226	25	23	2.4	3	6.3	3
Cyprus	25	0.8	25	9,250	26	19.2	0.5	26	5.2	9
Luxembourg	26	0.6	26	2,586	19	55.4	1.3	11	4.6	16
Malta	27	0.5	27	316	27	11.1	2.1	4	5.2	9
Total		445.1		57,378		13,003				

IMPRINT

Giving Europe a Home – A simulation game on European cultural policy

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