



# Conference The End of Postwar

**December 2 & 3, 2015**  
Palace of the Academies, Brussels

# CONFERENCE THE END OF POSTWAR

The Thinker's Programme around Ian Buruma starts from the observation that an end has come to the political and social consensus that arose in Europe after the catastrophe of World War II. That consensus concerned the construction of welfare states, the belief in the strength of a united Europe and faith in a pax Americana.

The concluding two-day conference builds on two previous (closed) workshops debating on nationalism and populism, and how they help to undermine the post-war consensus. In his introduction, Ian Buruma re-examines the contours of this consensus and how it was built in Europe on the rubble of two world wars, with welfare, unification, and peace as its primary pillars. With the fall of the Wall and the demise of the Soviet Union after 1989, it looked for a while as if these pillars would be guaranteed for ever. When the communist threat disappeared, however, other forms of leftwing ideology, including social democracy, traditionally anti-communist, began to lose their appeal. In the ensuing vacuum, neoliberalism evolved into a *pensée unique* that, together with the revival of nationalism and populism, is eating away at the consensus and putting the role of the welfare state under increased pressure.

This diagnosis paints a pessimistic picture. What are the alternatives for the future?

# PROGRAM

December 2, 2015

10.00 INTRODUCTION TO THE THEME: THE BREAK WITH THE POSTWAR CONSENSUS  
**Ian Buruma**, Thinker-in-Residence

## ALTERNATIVES TO NEOLIBERALISM

**Tariq Ali**, writer, journalist, filmmaker

*Democracy: The Twilight years*

**Bas Heijne**, writer, columnist NRC Handelsblad  
*Reimagined Communities*

Lunch

13.30 THE RE-INVENTION OF THE WELFARE STATE

**Erik Schokkaert**, Professor of Economics - KU Leuven

*Re-inventing the Welfare State*

**Frank Vandenbroucke**, Minister of State, Professor of Social Economic Analysis – UvA  
*A European Social Union: from muddling through to a sense of common purpose*

## FIRST CLOSING LECTURE

**Philippe Van Parijs**, Professor of Economics and Social Ethics - UCL  
*Utopias for our Times*

December 3, 2015

10.00 DURABILITY OF HUMANISM

**Saskia Sassen**, Professor of Sociology - Columbia University

*Expulsions: When Complexity Produces Simple Brutalities*

**Peter Schneider**, Writer-in-Residence - Georgetown University

*The Refugee Crisis in Germany and the Rise of Populism*

Lunch

13.30 EUROPE AS A DURABLE ANSWER TO HISTORY?

**Paul Magnette**, Ministre-Président de la Wallonie, Professor of Political Sciences - ULB  
*A National Rescue of the European Union*

**John Lloyd**, journalist, columnist Financial Times

*The slow, unsteady spread of democracy and civil society*

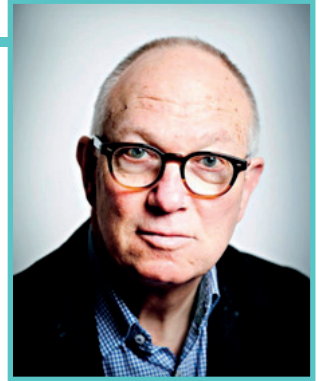
## SECOND CLOSING LECTURE

**Ian Buruma**, Thinker-in-Residence

INTRODUCTION TO THE THEME: THE BREAK WITH THE POSTWAR CONSENSUS

Ian Buruma

Ian Buruma is professor of democracy and human rights at Bard College, New York. He is the author of the novel *The China Lover*; his latest books are *Taming the Gods: Religion and Democracy on Three Continents*, *Year Zero: A History of 1945* and *Theater of Cruelty: Art, Film, and the Shadows of War*.



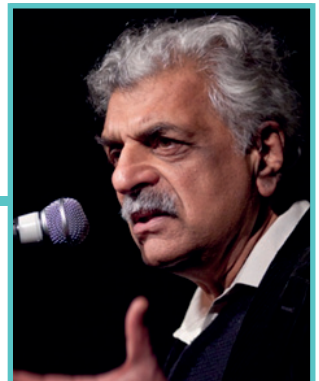
ALTERNATIVES TO NEOLIBERALISM

Tariq Ali

*Democracy: The Twilight years*

Over the last three decades we have witnessed a steady decline in democratic functioning and representation. The political parties in Europe and North America serve the same menu every 4/5 years. Alternatives are not permitted and the EU has become part of the problem. In response there is a turn to civic nationalism (Scotland, Catalunya), rapid growth of far-right (France, Holland, Austria), populism (Italy) and the re-emergence of left social-democracy (England). How will it ends?

**Tariq Ali** is a novelist, historian and essayist. He is a long-standing member of the Editorial Committee of the *New Left Review*, writes regularly for the *London Review of Books* and has written 40 books including seven novels.



## Bas Heijne

### Reimagined Communities

How to explain the current European crisis? Is it an economic crisis of a crisis of values? How did it come about that the European project, just when so many people were sure its future was assured, damned itself by a fatal blindness to the forces that undermined it? Bas Heijne argues that the crisis is deep and cannot be simply be addressed by democratic reforms - it is a crisis of post-war humanism. Through the backdoor of populist politics Counter-Enlightenment has returned and is here to stay. The language of Enlightenment, which so deeply influenced the European project, seems worn out and about to be replaced by the language of culturalism and neo-nationalism. How to answer it challenges? Are there ways to escape the empty neoliberal worldview without falling back on the too often powerless and nostalgic notions of the political Left?



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**Bas Heijne** is a Dutch writer and translator. He is a columnist at NRC Handelsblad and published in *De Tijd*, *HP*, *De Groene Amsterdammer*, and *Vrij Nederland*. Heijne studied English language and literature at the University of Amsterdam. He translated works by E.M. Forster and Evelyn Waugh. Heijne won the Henriette Roland Holst Prize for the book *Hollandse toestanden* (2005) with a collection of his columns from NRC Handelsblad.

## THE RE-INVENTION OF THE WELFARE STATE

### Erik Schokkaert

#### Re-inventing the Welfare State

The apparent crisis of the “European” welfare state model reflects the weakening of its social foundations: the erosion of the insurance principle, the increasing social fragmentation, the shifts in prevailing opinions about distributive justice. On top of that come the broad challenges that are raised by climate change and by the growing migration pressure. Reviving the welfare state must therefore be based on (a) the redefinition of its social foundations in terms of insurance, reciprocity and distributive justice; (b) a stronger focus on the non-material dimensions of life. Civil society organizations should play a crucial role in this process.

**Erik Schokkaert** is full professor of public economics and welfare economics at the Department of Economics of the KU Leuven. He chairs the interdisciplinary think tank “Metaforum” of the KU Leuven. He has been research director of CORE and visiting professor at the London School of Economics, at the Universid ICESI in Cali, at the Université catholique de Louvain and at the University of Antwerp. His research focuses on (a) the modeling of different theories of distributive justice and of individual well-being; (b) the application of these theories for the analysis of specific policy problems in the fields of health, social security and taxation. He was a member of various commissions appointed by the Belgian (and Dutch) governments to give policy advice in the domains of health and social security.





## Frank Vandenbroucke

### A European Social Union: from muddling through to a sense of common purpose

In this lecture, I argue that we need a coherent conception of a 'European Social Union'. A Social Union would support national welfare states on a systemic level in some of their key functions and guide the substantive development of national welfare states – via general social standards and objectives,

leaving ways and means of social policy to Member States – on the basis of an operational definition of 'the European social model'.

A Social Union, so conceived, is not only desirable but necessary. To make that analysis is not to say that an operational concept of ESU is already on the table. We are in uncharted territory: important issues have to be clarified. First of all, we must be clear about the rationale and motivation for a ESU; that is the subject of the first part of the lecture. I discuss arguments applying specifically to the Eurozone (focusing on the need for a 'visible hand', pursuing a symmetric coordination of wage policies), and arguments applying to the EU as a whole (focusing on the 'balancing act' that is needed between international openness, and the pan-European solidarity that this implies, and domestic social cohesion). In the second part of the lecture, I briefly sketch the notion of solidarity underpinning a Social Union, and I argue that the idea of ESU marks a return to the inspiration of the founding fathers of the European project.

The third part of the lecture links the idea of a Social Union to current debates on social policy and the future of our welfare states, notably the idea of 'social investment'. 'Social investment' is a useful unifying policy concept for ESU; if we take it seriously, public investment in education should be higher on the European agenda.

#### Further reading

Frank Vandenbroucke, *The Case of a European Social Union. From Muddling Through to a Sense of Common Purpose*, in Marin, B. (Ed.) (2015), *The Future of Welfare in a Global Europe*, Ashgate: Aldershot UK, pp. 489-520.

Frank Vandenbroucke, *A European Social Union: Unduly Idealistic or Inevitable?*, *European Debates*, 7, European Investment Bank Institute, September 2015. (<http://institute.eib.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/A-European-Social-Union-Unduly-Idealistic-or-Inevitable.pdf>)

Frank Vandenbroucke and David Rinaldi, *Social inequalities in Europe –*

The challenge of convergence and cohesion. In: Vision Europe Summit Consortium (eds.): Redesigning European welfare states – Ways forward, Gütersloh (<http://www.vision-europe-summit.eu/>)

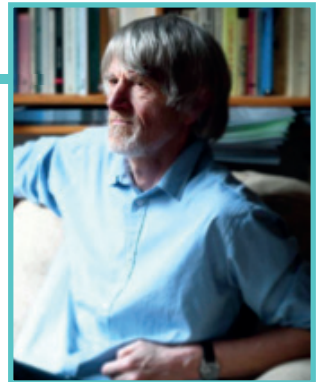
**Frank Vandebroucke** studied economics in Leuven and Cambridge, UK, and received his D.Phil. in Oxford. He was Minister for Social Security, Health Insurance, Pensions and Employment in the Belgian Federal Government (1999-2004), and Minister for Education and Employment in the Flemish Regional Government (2004-2009). He was professor at the University of Leuven (KU Leuven) from 2011 until October 2015. He is now University Professor at the University of Amsterdam (UvA). He also teaches at the University of Antwerp (UA), where he holds the chair “Herman Deleeck”. His current research focuses on the impact of the EU on the development of social and employment policy in the EU Member States. He is the chair of the Academic Council on Pension Policy, set up by the Belgian Government. For publications, see [www.econ.kuleuven.be/frankvandebroucke](http://www.econ.kuleuven.be/frankvandebroucke)

## FIRST CLOSING LECTURE

### Philippe Van Parijs

#### Utopias for our Times

Philippe Van Parijs is a professor at the University of Louvain (Hoover Chair of Economic and Social Ethics), a special guest professor at the University of Leuven and an associate member of Nuffield College, Oxford. He is one of the founders of the Basic Income Earth Network and chairs its International Board. He co-ordinates (with Paul De Grauwe) the Re-Bel initiative (“Rethinking Belgium’s institutions in the European context”) and (with Alex Housen and Anna Sole Mena) the Marnix Plan for a Multilingual Brussels. His books include *Qu’est-ce qu’une société juste ?* (Paris, 1991), *Marxism Recycled* (Cambridge, 1993), *Real Freedom for All. What (if anything) Can Justify Capitalism?* (Oxford, 1995), *Just Democracy. The Rawls-Machiavelli Programme* (Colchester, 2011) and *Linguistic Justice for Europe and for the World* (Oxford, 2011).





DURABILITY OF HUMANISM

Saskia Sassen

Expulsions: When Complexity Produces Simple Brutalities



Saskia Sassen (Columbia University [www.saskiasassen.com](http://www.saskiasassen.com)) is the author of several books, among which *The Global City*. Her new book is *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy* (Harvard University Press 2014). Her books are translated in over 20 languages. She has received diverse awards, multiple doctor honoris causa, and been chosen as one of the Top 100 Global Thinkers in multiple lists. Most recently, she was awarded the 2013 Principe de Asturias Prize for the Social Sciences, elected to the Netherlands Royal Academy of the Sciences, and made a Chevalier de l'Ordre des Arts et Lettres by the French government.



Peter Schneider

The Refugee Crisis in Germany and the Rise of Populism

Germany was the one country in Europe where populism and right wing parties had little success so far. This might have been a result of Germany's racist past and her intense dealing with this past. But at a closer look it turns out that West-Germany and the former GDR had a very different approach in dealing with Nationalsozialism. A second factor is the different experience with migrants. The former GDR was an almost foreigner-free territory. In the last 25 years the proportion of migrants has gone up from one to two percent. But Westgermany with its about 15 percent of citizens with a migration background has problems of its own: There never was a coherent integration policy which is only addressed now. All these differences play out in the handling of the current crisis and will have an impact on the multicultural society that is forming under our eyes.

**Peter Schneider** was born 1940 in Lübeck and lives in Berlin. He worked and stayed as a writer in residence in many US - Universities: Stanford, Princeton, Harvard and Georgetown among many others. Schneider writes novels, non-fiction and screenplays and many articles in papers and magazines such as New York Times, DER SPIEGEL, FAZ, DIE ZEIT, Repubblica, Corriere della Sera, Libération and Le Monde.

## EUROPE AS A DURABLE ANSWER TO HISTORY?

### Paul Magnette

#### A National Rescue of the European Union

In the perspective of “longue durée” history (Fernand Braudel) and historical sociology (Norbert Elias), the political integration of Europe is a stage in a long-term process, an answer to the continuous integration of the markets beyond the nation-state (Braudel) and to the Civilizing process (Elias). More contextually, it can also be seen as the “European rescue of the nation-state” (Alan Milward) and a defensive answer to the cold war (Eric Hobsbawm). Is this historical answer durable? The history of the post-2008 crisis gives a paradoxical answer to this existential question. On the one hand, in line with the old American phrase “Never waste a good crisis”, the EU has demonstrated its capacity to use adverse circumstances to further strengthen its normative and institutional foundations. On the other hand, it has experienced a crisis of legitimacy which seriously jeopardizes its survival. As Machiavelli argued in his Discourse on the First Decade of Titus-Livius, politicising the EU seems to be the only option to address this legitimacy issue. As such a politicization remains difficult at a remote and abstract EU level, it must take place in the framework of the member states. The time has come, in other words, for a “national rescue of the European Union”.

**Paul Magnette** est Ministre-Président de la Wallonie et Bourgmestre de Charleroi. Né en 1971, Paul Magnette vit à Charleroi. Il a étudié les sciences politiques et la construction européenne à l'ULB (1989-94), il s'est spécialisé en histoire des idées politiques à l'université de Cambridge (1994-95) grâce à une bourse de la fondation Wiener-Anspach. Parallèlement, tout au long de ses études, il milite au sein des Jeunes Socialis-



tes de Charleroi, soutenant la rénovation du Parti (auquel il adhère en 1993) et les convergences de gauche. En 2007, Paul Magnette fait le grand saut en politique et devient Ministre de la Santé, de l'Action sociale et de l'Egalité des chances au sein du Gouvernement wallon; Ministre fédéral du Climat et de l'Energie en charge de l'Environnement, du Développement durable et de la Protection des consommateurs sous Verhofstadt III ainsi que sous Leterme I et II et Van Rompuy I; Ministre des Entreprises publiques, de la Politique scientifique, de la Coopération au développement, chargé des Grandes villes (jusqu'à 2012).



**John Lloyd**

### The continuing attraction of a democratic state

I will argue that the attraction of regular and free elections continues to be high; that it appeals most of all to those who live in states which are fully or largely authoritarian. Where, as in the old democracies, the system now seems to be under strain and question, new ideas for reform and for deepening both electoral democratic systems and civil society are constantly thrown up and in many cases at least partly adopted.

Democratic states do have issues which are serious - as the decline of political parties; the increasing hobbling of ruling parties by oppositions denying them the space to govern; the corruption of both parties and bureaucracies; and much else. But the examples of relatively successful states with vibrant civil societies are all on the democratic side: while the authoritarians' recourse to suppression and propaganda stores up every larger potential for revolt and breakdown.

**John Lloyd** is a Contributing Editor for the Financial Times and Senior Research Fellow at the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism at the University of Oxford. He is Chairman of the Advisory Board of the Moscow School of Political Studies, an associate fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford and a columnist for Reuters.com and La Repubblica of Rome.

His books include *Loss without Limit: the British Miners' Strike*; *Rebirth of a Nation: an Anatomy of Russia*; *What the media are doing to our politics*; *Reporting the European Union* (with Cristina Marconi); *Journalism and Public Relations in the Digital Age* (with Laura Toogood); *Eserciti di Carta* (with Ferdinando Giugliano).

## Participants

Tariq	Ali	speaker
Samira	Ali Reza Beigi	KU Leuven
Paul	Baes	EU
Egon	Bauwelinck	UGent
Micheline	Blanchart	Glaverbel
Katja	Blanken	
Wim	Blockmans	KVAB
Steven	Blockmans	CEPS
Tommy	Blommaert	GTI-BEVEREN-WAAS
Hubert	Bocken	KVAB
Yelter	Bollen	Centrum voor EU Studies - Gent
Thomas	Bols	
Luc	Bonte	KVAB
Marc	Boone	KVAB
Carola	Bouton	Europese Commissie
Xander	Bouwman	Europees Parlement
Dieter	Braekeveld	PV
Gert	Buelens	UGent
Olivier	Bulto	K city
Ian	Buruma	Thinker in Residence
Frank	Caestecker	Ugent
Tammy	Castelein	KU Leuven
Eric	Dam	Algemeen Rijksarchief
Arnold	de Boer	
Isolde	De Buck	Zebrastraat
Stijn	De Cauwer	KU Leuven
Monica	De Coninck	Federaal Parlement
Nathan	De Geyter	UGent
Anja	De Meerleer	
Machteld	De Schrijver	Coovi, opleiding gidsen
Lars	de Wildt	KU Leuven, IMS
Linde	Declercq	KU Leuven
Gita	Deneckere	KVAB
Albert	Derolez	KVAB
Luc	Devoldere	Ons Erfdeel vzw
Frederik	Dhondt	VUB, Onderzoeksgroep CORE
YU	DIAO	VUB
Arthur	Dierckx	
Nadja	Doerflinger	KU Leuven
Freddy	Dumortier	KVAB
Hugo	Durieux	
David Lloyd	Dusenbury	KU Leuven
Ben	Egan	KU Leuven

Hendrik	Ferdinande	UGent Fysica & HOPE
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Silvia	Girardi	KU Leuven
Elvira	Grassi	
Paul	Grosjean	Retired FOPES - UCL
Sofie	Haesaerts	
Rachel	Hammonds	University of Antwerp
Bas	Heijne	speaker
Piet	Henderikx	KU Leuven / EADTU
Michiel	Hendrix	D66
Erik	Hertog	KU Leuven
Nele	Holemans	
Gisele	lecker de Almeida	UGent
Liliane	Jonckheere	
Aloys	Kabanda	Africa press
Etienne	Keller	Dep. Keller
Maarten	Kras	sp.a
Suzan	Langenberg	Campus Gelbergen
Giovanni	Lapenta	KU Leuven
Marc	Laplasse	FOD Buitenlandse Zaken
Joseanne	Leroy	
Ron	Lesthaeghe	KVAB
John	Lloyd	speaker
Jan	Loisen	VUB
Marie T.	Lubs	ARPNS
Marc	Maes	Scholengroep Brussel GO
Geerd	Magiels	
Paul	Magnette	speaker
Cedric	Malfroid	
Lavinia	Marin	KU Leuven
Teli	Maurizio	University of Trento
Carla	Meertens	
Wilfried	Meganck	O.M.P.P.
Vjosa	Musliu	UGent
Guido	Naets	KU Leuven
giselle	nath	UGent
Echeverria Vicente	Nohemi Jocabeth	VUB
Marie-Thérèse	Nolf	
Lea	Nys	ex-UCL en UIA
Mario	Parrot	
Patrick	Pasture	KU Leuven
Caroline	Pauwels	KVAB
Dick	Pels	GroenLinks

Isabelle	Pernot Du Breui	Directions Internationales Associées
Alexia	Pierre	Université de Liège
Gilles	Pittoors	KU Leuven
Bob	Pleysier	Fedasil
Walter	Prevenier	UGent
Allan	Queiroz	UGent
Manu	Riche	LUCA
Jean-Michel	Richez	SUEZ Environment
Mertens	Rony	Internationale en Europese Press Federatie , Ingolstadt
Mukherjee	Samarjit	KU Leuven
Saskia	Sassen	speaker
Mark	Schaevers	Humo
Peter	Schneider	speaker
Erik	Schokkaert	speaker
Kees	Schuyt	Universiteit Leiden, emeritus
Katia	Segers	VUB / Vlaams Parlement / Senaat
Kevin	Smets	VUB / UA
Jan	Smets	NBB / Odisee
Tine	Soens	Vlaams Parlement, sp.a
Matthias	Somers	
Francis	Strauven	KVAB
Hilde	Symoens	KVAB
Stephane	Symons	KU Leuven
Jurgen	Tack	
Chatterjee	Tanima	KU Leuven
Jo	Tollebeek	KVAB
Bui Gia	Tuan	VUB
Pulignano	Valeria	KU Leuven
Tim	Van Belleghem	Kabinet Buitenlandse Handel
Rik	Van Cauwelaert	De Tijd
Erwin	Van de Putte	sp.a
Ronald	Van de Sompel	AICA Belgium
Alois	Van de Voorde	
Ilse	van den Bogaert	Art Restoration Conservation resource center
Herman	Van der Wee	KVAB
Jos	van Dooren	Storia auteurswerkgroep
Luk	Van Langenhove	United Nations University UNU-CRIS
Marc	Van Ierberghe	
Philippe	Van Meerbeeck	VRT
Willy	Van Overschee	KVAB
Philippe	Van Parijs	speaker
Carmen	Van Praet	UGent
Paul	Van Rompuy	KVAB

Lincy	Van Twembeke	GO! onderwijs van de Vlaamse Gemeenschap
Betto	van Waarden	KU Leuven
Thierry	Vancrombrugge	FOD Justitie
Els	Vanden Meersch	UA, Mediakunde
Frank	Vandenbroucke	speaker
Alexander	Vander Stichele	FARO. Vlaams steunpunt voor cultureel erfgoed
Willy	Vanolst	European parlement
Karel	Velle	KVAB
Bert	Verbrugghe	KU Leuven
Irina	Veretennicoff	KVAB
Lien	Verpoest	KU Leuven
Herwig	Verschueren	Universiteit Antwerpen
Kristiaan	Versluys	KVAB
Indra	Versmesse	KU Leuven
Tom	Viaene	
Wessel	Wijtvliet	KU Leuven
Danny	Wildemeersch	KU Leuven
Dominique	Willems	KVAB
Thomas	Wouters	KU Leuven



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