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## DISCOURSES OF CRISES AND THE EUROPEAN UNION AS A *COMMUNITY WITHOUT QUALITIES*: A VIEW FROM THE LITERARY HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

*Proceeding from the assumption that meanings and perceptions of social reality are generated by means of public language, or in other words, from the belief that the role of public language is more that of shaping the social reality, rather than description or detection of problems, the authors assume a reserved approach to contemporary discourses on the crises of the European Union. Such approach is explained by the vagueness and deprival of meaning of the term crises, as it is typically used in current political discourse. By pointing out to a loss of the semantic core of the term, caused by its inconsistent usage and longevity of the condition termed 'crisis', they also express doubts concerning its analytical operativeness. In the authors' opinion, this 'profaned' term has become a performative representation of simulation – sort of crisis, which has, either as a justification, necessity or a pretext, created numerous effects in recent years.*

*The assumption that simulation – seen as the absence of the reality rather than its disguise (Jean Baudrillard) – represents a leading principle of our age is examined through the concept of continued effect of literature and corroborated by the authors' interpretation of Robert Musil's novel 'Man without Qualities', as a mythopoetic framework of the analysis and reflections of his art in the contemporary age. In the first part of the text, the authors point out to Musil's poetic anticipation of the direction taken by the European society, that is, the cultural climate and conditions favouring development of man without qualities. In the absence of these qualities, especially, in preference given to Musil's category 'sense of possibility' over the 'sense of reality', the authors recognise the interpretative basis for the analysis of Community without qualities, as another name for the European Union. From that point of view, which, in addition to loss of specific qualities, also involves deprival of the past, the present condition is deemed as the culmination of the rule of men without qualities with the sense of possibility,*

<sup>1</sup> A part of the argumentation from this text was presented at the conference *Crises of the European Union*, organised by the Institute for European Studies, held in Belgrade on 16 May 2013.

rather than as the crisis of the Union. The final part of the text is dedicated to empirical indicators of social changes, anticipated by the novel *Man Without Qualities*.

Keywords: *discourses of crises, era of simulation, the European Union, Man Without Qualities, Robert Musil.*

*Before the law all citizens were equal, but not everyone, of course, was a citizen. There was a parliament, which made such vigorous use of its liberty that it was usually kept shut; but there was also an emergency powers act (...) In this country one acted-sometimes indeed to the extreme limits of passion and its consequences- differently from the way one thought, and one thought differently from the way one acted (...)*

*In so far as this can at all become apparent to every eye, it had done so in Kakania, and in this Kakania was, without the world's knowing it, the most progressive State of all; it was the State that was by now only just, as it were, acquiescing in its own existence. In it one was negatively free, constantly aware of the inadequate grounds for one's own existence and lapped by the great fantasy of all that had not happened, or at least had not yet irrevocably happened, as by the foam of the ocean from which mankind arose. Yes, in spite of much that seems to point the other way, Kakania was perhaps a home for the future; and that, probably, was the ruin of it.*

Robert Musil, *Man Without Qualities*, 37-38

Written between the two World Wars, Robert Musil's novel *Man Without Qualities*<sup>2</sup> is neither merely a reflexive autobiography of the renowned author, nor only a chronicle of the decline of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In its rich narrative thread, this novel is at the same time a story of turmoil and the end of an era, an anticipation of the forthcoming age approaching Europe, the one it was not able to avoid. However, this history of the spirit of the dying era, the time before 1914, written in a literary-academic style, is predominantly an anticipation of the type of man we have become

<sup>2</sup> An Austrian officer, engineer, mathematician, logician, experimental psychologist and a theatre critic, Musil chose writing as a permanent career after ten-year long professional wanderings, spent in war, library, the ministries of foreign affairs and the army. Preoccupied with the issues concerning proper living, he abandoned the academic career, deprived himself of life in homeland, to be able to fully dedicate himself to his main work, *Man Without Qualities*, until the end of his life (1880-1942), spent in exile. Although incomplete, this Musil's work is considered the most important novel written in German language in the new literary canon and one of the most prestigious works of 20th century.

today and a projection of the time we live in.<sup>3</sup> The fact that the novel is focused on what is yet to come – a spiritual constitution of the forthcoming age – and those that are yet to come, is clear from the author's notes;<sup>4</sup> creating his novel in a persistent belief that one cannot be resentful of their age without being harmed themselves, Musil intended his book to some *future youth*, elaborately writing about an increasing *public problem* that was awaiting them.

*The birth of an age*, or its *new spirit*, is precisely the topic of this novel and the pressing issue that will gain its full force in our time: the author, with a sense of non-belonging to his age,<sup>5</sup> and with the eagerness of a curious child to discover how it 'works', unhurriedly narrates its past and future history, in which there is nothing as it truly is, but everything is *Sort of*. Through opening his novel with *A sort of an introduction, with a chapter from which, remarkably enough, nothing develops*, Musil suggests a spiritual climate – *a mysterious disease of the age* – suitable for development of man without properties.

"Had life in general reached a standstill? No, it had become more powerful! Were there more paralysing contradictions than before? Had the past not known any absurdities? Heaps! Just between ourselves: people threw their support to the weak and ignored the strong; sometimes blockheads played leading roles while brilliant men played the part of eccentrics; (...) No doubts could be adduced that would not also have been possible before, but all the relationships had shifted a little. Ideas whose currency had once been lean grew fatter, persons who would before never have been taken seriously became famous. Harshness, hollow separations fused, intrasigents made concessions to popularity, tastes already formed relapsed in uncertainties. Sharp boundaries everywhere became blurred and some new, indefinable ability to form alliances brought new people and new ideas to the top. Not that these people and ideas were bad,

<sup>3</sup> "The new spirit of the times had not yet quite found itself. But just then it happened that Ulrich read somewhere, like a premonitory breath of ripening summer, the phrase 'the race horse of genius.' It occurred him in support of a spectacular success in race and the author was probably not aware of the full magnitude of the inspiration his pen owed to the communal spirit. Ulrich, however, suddenly grasped the inevitable connection between his whole career and this genius among race-horses. For to the cavalry, of course, the horse has always been a sacred animal, and during his youthful days in the barracks Ulrich had hardly ever heard anything talked about except horses and women. He had fled from this to become a great man, only to find that when as the result of his varied exertions he perhaps could have felt within reach of his goal, the horse had beaten him to it." (Muzil, 2007: 47).

<sup>4</sup> 'Some thoughts for Preface' and 'Postponed Preface (draft)' in: Musil: 862-864

<sup>5</sup> "As if there had been a change in the blood or in the air; a mysterious disease has eaten away the previous period's seeds of genius, but everything sparkles with novelty, and finally one has no way of knowing whether the world has really grown worse, or oneself merely older. (...) Sometimes he felt almost as if he was born with a gift for which there was no purpose in that time." (Muzil, 2007: 60-1).

not at all; it was only that a little too much of the bad was mixed with the good, of error with truth, of accommodation with meaning.” (Muzil, 2007: 59)

Created *sort of* out of nothing, or from the fact that *mathematics has taken possession, like a demon, of every aspect of our lives* transforming people into *slaves of the machine and money*, the virus of that disease, later named *the perspective shift*, was diagnosed on the question of *the truth*: it was not the only one anymore, nor clad in one attire only – stupidity and lie, being exceptionally mobile, were able to disguise themselves in any of its attire. The *objects* and their *representations*<sup>6</sup> shared a similar fate, the sign and the signed changed their place. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the experts of different horizons wrote numerous pages on the perspective shift, struggling to identify a role-model of the new order (indifferent to both the truth and the whole) by a *change of paradigm* or *deconstruction*, in an attempt to prove how the world is no longer important, but only the trees, and how the details, precisely that - the details - are without any connection with the whole. When and how the ties with the previously established meaning were broken – is difficult to say, but if this change could be localised, than it was signalled in the visual arts through Marcel Duchamp's practices (1913) at the very end of the dying epoch. Beyond objects and images, in the reign of words of prospectively subversive<sup>7</sup> social sciences and humanities, directions and guides would be swapped easily in the following period. New words and theories would be swiftly substituted by other new words and theories, their temporary meanings would have a short useful life or, even better, would not have any at all. Delivered from the content, or anything binding, they would become merely signals of belonging to *new tendencies*, which would like taboos, proliferate on account of the fact that they must not be tampered with, not their existence ignored. In a reckless haste towards the age that would break off with the obsolete terms and lofty metaphysical aims imposed to mankind, bit by bit humanists would relieve the burden of the past age, always having something new and interesting to offer, in order to divert attention from the more important or the meaningful.

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<sup>6</sup> In the 1980's, the problem was thematised in philosophy by Jean Baudrillard, who, proceeding from the interpretation of a Borges's fable of an empire and a map, an object and its representation, views the Borges's allegory as a pretty second-rate simulacrum, in comparison to contemporary reality problems: 'For it is with the same imperialism that present-day simulators try to make the real, at the least, coincide with their simulation models. But it is no longer a question of either maps or territory. Something has disappeared: the sovereign difference between them that was the abstraction's charm.' (Baudrillard, 1991: 6).

<sup>7</sup> "...our teaching is so strong that it will transform the cesspool of your sins into clear, sparkling mountain streams.' But in science it happens every few years that something till then held to be in error suddenly revolutionizes the field, or that some dim and disdained idea becomes the ruler of a new realm of thought. Such events are not merely upheavals but lead us upward like a Jacob's ladder" (Muzil, 2007: 43).

Finally, by burying everything that burdened “the dark past”, concurrently with the expiration of “the short twentieth century”, humanists irreversibly marginalised their own importance as well, while simultaneously developing, with the aid of PR managers and the media, strategies of both production of meaning and abatement of public disapproval.<sup>8</sup>

Neither simple nor too complex, *tendencies of the new zeitgeist* – in which the representation gained supremacy over the object, the function over the content – named by Baudrillard in the early 1980s *the era of simulation and simulacra* – are difficult to be captured on one plane only. From whatever angle seen, they were either in the phase of deconstruction of material or preparation for assuming a new shape; *as when the orchestra plays discordantly*, says Musil, a foretold illusion *something immeasurable* is forever lost. The time had come in which the *mystic's disease* irresistibly advanced, and everything had 'advanced', *only it was not known – where*. In that haste everything went upside-down and everything changed their places, so that *one could not make difference what was up, what went forward and what behind*; the only important thing was to go, at any direction, never, hurrying, coming into grips with everything old found their embodiment in the age lacking nothing and lacking everything. Almost imperceptibly, we entered into *the era of simulation*, which, according to Baudrillard, began by removal of all referents and their artificial resurrection in the system of signs. It is neither the real nor the true, nor imitation, duplication or parody of the real; it is the process of substituting the real with its signs, in which “the real will never have a chance to produce itself” (Baudrillard, 1991: 6).

The new *spirit of the age* or the era of simulation broke off with a man as the constant and with the predictability of his behaviour; both in his novel *Man without qualities* and in the essay “Helpless Europe. A Digressive Journey” Musil delivered reasoning from the fictions of the constancy of the epoch, but also from the assumptions on permanency of a man's habits and the constancy of his values<sup>10</sup>. The epoch and a man are placed in a common, co-decisive situation. And although it is not clear whether the new age produced a man according to its needs, or the matter took the reverse course one way or another, a man befitting its age emerged more and more clearly, someone like ourselves, or at least the most promising among us – *man without qualities*. Spotted before the World War One, scanned by the imagination of the

<sup>8</sup> More detailed on social conditions of development of propaganda in the 20th century: Stuart Ewen, *Propaganda: A Social History of Spin*. Basic Books, 1996; Philippe Breton, *La Parole Manipulée*. Paris: La Découverte, 1998.

<sup>9</sup> In his essay ‘Helpless Europe. A Digressive Journey’ Musil writes in a similar way on time acceleration and the spirit of the epoch: “The world is full of the unbridled will for new, infused with the fix idea of different opportunities and progress” (Musil, 1993: 94).

<sup>10</sup> “Since 1914, a man has proved a surprisingly plastic mass to a far larger extent than it is usually assumed” (Musil 1993: 96).

author in the 1930's, that type of materialistically oriented man, alienated from the past, presently appears more vital than ever. With respect to inclination, they are the people who belong to those *forces that determine the course of time* and who, despite the constant changes, are always on *the right side*; but what this *man without qualities* is really like is not easy to say, since his 'qualities' – are the qualities adaptable to all situations. *This is not a man any longer*, says one Musil's protagonist (Muzil, 2007: 67), since *man without qualities is created from qualities without man*.<sup>11</sup> By introducing the concept of a new type of 'man' from several perspectives, Musil enriches a well-known quality – *sense of reality* – with a new category – *sense of possibility*.

And precisely in that distinction and the assumption that man without qualities finds the non-existing more important than the existing, the author, through a 'mathematical' example, underlines the key difference between those two types: *so if we would now like to draw a comfortable distinction between the people with the sense of the real and the people with the sense of the possible, we should think only of a certain amount of money* ((Muzil, 2007: 21).

For a more layered understanding of the origin of this type of man, the evolution of the novel's title is not without relevance; its present form – *Man Without Qualities* – was determined by Musil rather late. Originally, the novel was written under the title *Spy*, and later *Saviour*, before the author finally chose the present title. The knowledge on gradual search for a suitable expression, along with a semantic correlation and mutual inter-changeability of those three titles, provide a rare insight into the workings of the author's imagination. On the other hand, the knowledge of the title development process corresponds to a reader's imagination, facilitates transposition of the literary into the level of the reality and vice versa, provokes questioning of interrelations between the reality and the imagination, the present and the past. Since language is capable of making the absent present – and the suggestive Musil's language does precisely that – it seems legitimate to raise the question of possibilities and ranges of literary anticipation of the contemporary world and man, the question of literature that is always both retrospective and prospective, focused on future reception. In the context of a question that is a subject of our interest - the question of discourse on the crises

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<sup>11</sup> "His appearance gives no clue to what his profession might be, and yet he doesn't look like a man without a profession either. Consider what he's like: He always knows what to do. He knows how to gaze into a woman's eyes. He can put his mind to any question at any time. He can box. He is gifted, strong-willed, open-minded, fearless, tenacious, dashing, circumspect—why quibble, suppose we grant him all those qualities—yet he has none of them! They have made him what he is, they have set his course for him, and yet they don't belong to him. When he is angry, something in him laughs. When he is sad, he is up to something. When something moves him, he turns against it. He'll always see a good side to every bad action. What he thinks of anything will always depend on some possible context—nothing is, to him, what it is: everything is subject to change, in flux, part of a whole, of an infinite number of wholes presumably adding up to a super-whole that, however, he knows nothing about. So every answer he gives is only a partial answer, every feeling an opinion, and he never cares what something is (...)" (Muzil, 2007: 66).

of the European Union and closely related discourses on its salvation - along with the rival discourses on *spying* activities of governments and individuals in recent years, the thematisation of the literary anticipation of the type of man we have become today and the anticipation of the age that we define as the *present reality* is imposed by itself, if not as an expected analytical procedure, than at least as an encouraging manner of thinking. Such procedure was guided by the assumption of the continued effect of history, including the literary history.<sup>12</sup> It concerns the presence of literary fact in contemporary events and future; more precisely, it relies on timelessness of the literary and the event-related and on the idea that the contemporary condition is most clearly perceived from a greater chronological and genre distance.

### **A functional use of discourse on crises in the present the Union of men without qualities and the past, with the sense of possibility**

While understanding Musil's *Man Without Qualities* as a literary anticipation of the direction taken by the European society and an important chapter in a series of artistic interpretations of the European myth, one approaches discourses on the crises of the European Union with reserve and mistrust. The reasons for the mistrust lie in the approach itself and the vagueness and self-evidence of the term crises, as it is generally used.<sup>13</sup> From the perspective of realisation of Musil's anticipation of the forthcoming age, the present condition of the European society is an expected result of the process in which *people without qualities, with the sense of possibility* – meaning with a *sense of increasing their own interest* – build a *Community without qualities*.<sup>14</sup> And that is – from the aspect of mythopoetic realisation of literary projection – all. Whether

<sup>12</sup> Understanding literary history through its continued effect in future can be observed in several disciplines – hermeneutic aesthetics, historical science and literary history; ever since the Eliot's influential experiment 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' from 1919, the thesis concerning observing the present in the past was encouraging for Ernst Cassirer, Theodor Adorno and R.G. Collingwood and numerous other historians of ideas. Within the literary history, this procedure is effectively developed by Claus Uhlig. In recent years, the crisis of the European Union, in addition to being a constant topic of the news, has become a regular discussion topic for numerous web portals and an issue of first-rate importance, in the form of which, apart from economists, best-known sociologists, philosophers and politicologists are getting involved. On the web-page of 'Peščanik', whose texts, mostly taken over from the German media, will be used as an illustration of the presence of this topic in public, as well as of the basic terminology dominant concerning the crisis terminology. <http://pescanik.net/2013/06/trajna-kriza-i-moc/>, <http://pescanik.net/2013/05/kriza-kriza/>, <http://pescanik.net/2013/05/demokratija-solidarnost-i-evropska-kriza/>

<sup>14</sup> The dominance of material interest, and it alone, makes all other issues marginal, devoid of meaning. Despite efforts, raising the question of unifying qualities of the Community and indicators of cultural ties of the European Union proves needless. "People involved in my profession make enormous efforts to avoid congresses, symposia and interviews on obsessional topic of European identity", says Umberto Eco, concluding that, except for the highly-educated, this identity is invisible to others. Read more at: <http://pescanik.net/2013/11/evropski-kulturni-identitet/>

in this process the accompanying problems are termed *decision-making crisis*, *debt crisis* or *monetary crisis*, or, they are referred to as the state of affairs, a metaphor on something else, the usual *buzzword of modern politics*, as the term *crises* is viewed by Giorgio Agamben<sup>15</sup>, is a matter of orientation and approach, and above all, our sensitivity to precise, or imprecise usage of terms and their meanings.<sup>16</sup>

From the perspective of a regular, daily-political usage of the term *crisis*, and in the context of the experimental, territorially unlimited European project, the semantic edge of its public perception has become entirely blunt. When speaking about crises, one is not sure what they are talking about: as a result of a protracted condition that we call crisis, without nuances and shades, the term itself is devoid of its semantic value and transformed into a rhetorical cover and an 'empty shell'. In the meantime, it has become either a pretext or a means of implementation of unpopular (undemocratic) measures, in other words, the *instrument of power* which it serves, as Agamben writes, "in order to legitimise political and economic decisions that in fact dispossess citizens and deprive them of any possibility of decision." (Agamben: ditto).

Inherent to discourses on crises, their inseparable part, are the discourses on salvation, or the tropes on the ways of *salvation* or *overcoming the crisis*, regardless of whether it concerns salvation of Euro or a EU member country, most frequently Greece. Thus the wide spreading and general acceptance of discourse on crises led to creation of a special discipline, or at least a useful strategy for producing opinion as to the real – the *criseology*, a contagious discipline – contributed by experts of most diverse horizons and, especially, shallow political and economic experts.

The word/strategy *crisis* has become performative in a literally sense – it had its effects and it was the effect itself, separated from its meaning, it was reduced to a function. A manipulated word and word used for manipulation (Breton, 1998). In that context, over thirty years ago, Jean Baudrillard, identified the functional usage of discourse on crises as the main weapon and refuge for holders of power – their most important strategy for maintenance of order and creation of illusion of economic and political aims.

"The only weapon of power, its only strategy against this defection, is to reinject the real into the referential everywhere, to persuade us of the reality of the social, of

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<sup>15</sup> <http://pescanik.net/2013/06/trajna-kriza-i-moc/>

<sup>16</sup> "The omnipresence of the word 'crisis' "has indeed blurred the analytical core of this term, and perhaps disabled its further analysis. In medicine, a crisis is a condition which marks the culmination or breakdown point of an unfavourable development. In our case, it concerns profound aberrations of democracy, which threaten the very existence of social order. (...) The term crisis is not only disputable, but also diffuse. In sociology, political sciences and journalism it is overused, but rarely defined. Moreover, the question when the crisis of democracy begins and when it ends, is rarely raised" – these are the words of Wolfgang Merkel, a professor at the Humboldt University in Berlin: Read more at <http://pescanik.net/2013/05/kriza-kriza/>

the gravity of the economy and the finalities of production. To this end it prefers the discourse of crisis, but also, why not? that of desire. (...) When it is threatened today by simulation (the threat of vanishing in the play of signs), power risks the real, risks crisis, it gambles on remanufacturing artificial, social, economic, political stakes. This is a question of life or death for it.“ (Baudrillard, 1991: 26, author’s italics)

As a consequence of both deprivation of meaning and simulativeness and multi-functionality of the term crises, in the sense of a political pretext and lifeline for holders of power – or their “using crises as an excuse“ – we fail to notice the actions of the European Union disparate with democracy as a social order. Instead of illustrations of these actions and further examination of the collapse of the democratic system, which is dying out also as a result of the fact that citizens ceased to believe in having power to influence the social condition, we shall resort to Musil’s literary conception of the age, the course of which is determined by *people without qualities, with the sense of possibility*. From this viewpoint, as a mythopoetic framework of an inexhaustible interpretation power and a symbolic reflection of high art in our lives, the current condition of the European Union can be characterized as a typical period of simulation or, perhaps, as the culmination of the rule of *people without qualities with the sense of possibility*, rather than “crisis“.

And indeed, seen from the perspective of long-lasting processes, anticipated by the novel *Man Without Qualities*, the term *crisis* is only one in the series of popular terms and strategies of a limited useful life, but no means different from other profaned expressions, preceding this term strategy. Exposed to a long-term experience of the condition named *crisis*, it is clear that this term has acquired a strong transformative function in the European society in recent years, in the sense that it has influenced numerous decisions as a pretext, justification or necessity. By losing its semantic core, caused by the inconsistent usage as well as by deprivation of its analytical operativeness, it has become the term of *simulation*, expressed by Musil’s ‘*Sort of*’, which intrinsically marks the age of reign of *people without qualities* – people who easily substitute both qualities and words.

Similar to self-explanatory performative utterances, the word crises transformed itself into a never-ready response, a cause or pretext for various actions without being backed by a transparent content, or, from Musil’s viewpoint, it has become “*Sort of crisis*“, which will soon be replaced by another new term with a similar diffuse content. For that reason, unlike the suppressed problems of the Union, largely increasing on account of a negligent relationship to the past and frequently disguised by this very term, the period of dominance of “terminology of crisis“, like many before it, is of a transient character. That which is more long-lasting, and identified in Musil’s novel as *a virus of a mysterious disease*, concerns the change of the spirit of the age and a man himself, disunited both from the past and the community.

### The spirit of the epoch in words and holidays

For the assumption that the anticipated processes are of a more long-lasting character and that the European society follows its poetics written in the Classical myth of the abduction of Europe<sup>17</sup>, as much as in *Man Without Qualities*, the indicators, or, at least, recognitions of the dominant course, are not rare. One of the ways to understand mythopoetic realisation of literary projections is the analysis of frequency of use of certain words and terms throughout the time. Today, that has become possible thanks to a Google company's database, which consists of 5.2 million books, published in the period between 1500 and 2008. Based on this search engine, several interesting studies have already been conducted, the results of which are summarised by David Brooks in his text in The New York Times.<sup>18</sup> What is the *immensurable* that is lost, *small seed of genius of previous periods* as Musil writes, we learn indirectly from the results of a seemingly *purely linguistic* study; in addition to understanding clear tendencies in the dynamics of society, it also reveals what the author of *Man Without Qualities* anticipated through his *prematurely elapsed maturity*. As the 20<sup>th</sup> century went by, the decline in usage of words indicating man's moral qualities, such as *integrity, decency, modesty, conscience, honesty, patience, sympathy, politeness* and *attentiveness*, became apparent. "Certain virtues are particularly affected. The use of expressions such as courage and moral strength declined by 66 percent"<sup>19</sup> The usage of all other words related to collective actions, such as the terms *share, stand together, unite, general welfare* and others, also declined in number in favour of single-person terms such as *subjectivity, individualisation, self* and terms of personal emphasis in general.

Brooks makes particular reference to one of the most comprehensive studies of this type, conducted by Daniel Klein from the George Mason University. With regard to the increase of individualisation, Klein discovered that the word *preferences* had virtually not been used until 1930, and that its usage sharply increased after that time.

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The original myth, that is, the Robert Graves's story of beautiful Europe, a citizeness who walks on the seashore with friends and with whom Zeus himself – God of the gods - falls in love, is seemingly insignificant. Disguised as a white bull, Zeus seduces beautiful Europe, who climbs on his back; deceiving the girl in such a manner and, coming to the shore of Crete, Zeus rapes her. As a result of the affair between the God of the gods and mortal Europe, three sons will be born: Minos, Sarpedon and Rhadamanthys, who are, according to a tradition, judges of the dead. In addition to being one of the founding myths of the civilisation, confirmed through different interpretations, the self-fulfilling prophecy of the story of Europe as an object of seduction and an actor of conquest, is one of the most frequently illustrated mythological stories in visual arts and sculpture in the history of art of this part of the world.

<sup>18</sup> [http://www.nytimes.com/2013/05/21/opinion/brooks-what-our-words-tell-us.html?ref=David-Brooks&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/05/21/opinion/brooks-what-our-words-tell-us.html?ref=David-Brooks&_r=0)

<sup>19</sup> [http://www.nytimes.com/2013/05/21/opinion/brooks-what-our-words-tell-us.html?ref=David-Brooks&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/05/21/opinion/brooks-what-our-words-tell-us.html?ref=David-Brooks&_r=0)

Words related to *experts* and *information* are also experiencing a permanent increase, unlike the terms and words referring to demoralisation of the society, the usage of which, as the time went by, rapidly dropped. It particularly concerns the words *faith*, *wisdom*, *must*, *evil* and *caution* (Brooks: ditto). David Brooks ends his review of this study with a conclusion that “*the social and moral culture does not exist anymore.*”

The decline in usage of these words undoubtedly reflects the changes that took place in the previous century, which affected not only the society and “the culture” but above all, the man. Given the Musil’s projection of these changes, *directly dictated to him by a newly-created spirit of the community*, and the later increase of power of *man without qualities with the sense of possible*, the results of these studies are by no means a surprise, nor it is the Brook’s conclusion that “we more seldom in written mutual relations and obligations since they perform increasingly less significant role in our lives.” The observation that conscience, modesty and ethics are words unfamiliar to our age, in other words, that they are - *only words* - and that the relationship to the past and the community of today is such as the results of these studies indicate, will be even more explicitly demonstrated by other sources. In addition to the fact that ‘the moral culture disappeared’, these sources also point out to the levelling of man’s needs and values, to simulation of both, to hedonism and exhibitionism as virtues worth glorifying, and, particularly, to deprivation of the past and to a prospective, future-orientated, construct of collective memory.

The erasure of *cultural values* in the obliteration of the word, hedonisation of the society and the identification of general values with propaganda, personal needs and preferences, become most apparent if one looks into the calendar of holidays, that is, commemorations practised in the part of the world; in addition to European, they are designated world or international, although in its essence they correspond to the principle of self-forgetting, typical of societies of the Western civilisation. In addition to well-known days of fight against different diseases, the tolerance day and various human rights protection days, along with 27 January - Holocaust Remembrance Day, that list includes Nutella Day - 5 February, 25 March – Delay Day, 27 March - Cheese Day, 1 March – Future Engineering Day, 21 December – Orgasm Day, 13 January – No Troubles World Day, 8 October – European Depression Day, and so on and so forth.<sup>20</sup> Since the choice of holidays most accurately reflects a value system of the community, any comment to this calendar is superfluous. On the other hand, its content raises many questions, primarily from the sphere of social memory, or its erasure, along with questions concerning the status of *holidays* in a common sense of the word. If every or nearly every day is a holiday – out of 365 days only 64 are without festivities – the question of value and importance of specially selected days is imposed by

<sup>20</sup> <http://www.journee-mondiale.com/les-journees-mondiales.htm>

itself. Influenced by Musil's poetic projection of the future, that is, our present time, one, in this instance also, recognises the principle of *simulation* as the essence of this age. In the epoch of simulation, we have forgotten what a holiday ought to suggest: holidays has become a 'Sort of holidays', for how else to explain that the day of advertising a chocolate spread or days that celebrate our hedonistic or exhibitionist preferences are part of the same calendar along with the Holocaust Remembrance Day.

It is possible that the *Community without qualities* does not know its future form: its prospective project remains open for different scenarios. Or, the character of the *Community without qualities*, like the 'character' of *man without qualities*, is such that it is shaped time and time again, depending on circumstances and as a result of its profound conditioning by its *economic mentality* – what Musil calls *the sense of possibility*. However, something else is certain – *Community without qualities* does not want to know what it once used to be like. To this country, the past is an alien land. This is the reason why it is not succeeding in regenerating fictions of a real community, the absence of which is most apparent on cultural and imagology level. Admittedly, it is making a poor attempt at it; whether because the belief that communities can be literally created is inherent to people without qualities and the past, with the sense of possibility, or because, preoccupied with the crisis, they are trying to spare citizens from the thinking about their mutual correlation – is irrelevant in the cultural and imagology sense, despite immeasurable cultural richness of its member countries, this Community, expectedly, does not exist – *has no qualities*. In no domain of activity, other than economic and political, there are visible signs of mutual conditioning or permeation; the European Union still is, at least for semioticians, a space of deciphering meaning, its addition or loss. Given preference to experiential over imaginary, to the sense of possibility over the sense of reality, this is a community that can only be imagined, projected into the future, an experimental community whose collectiveness presently cannot be perceived nor represented by anything. In the absence of its image, and in *the absence of its own shadow* – as a lost spirit, its character is largely manifested through imagination of future perils and construction of contrasts.

In the process of discursive self-designing of the Union, the effort that is difficult to be ignored concerns creation of strong contrasts at all levels ('friends' and 'foes', 'Euro-sceptics' and 'Euro-fanatics', 'centre' and 'periphery', 'leaders', 'experts', and those who are not) – all oppositions that should convince us that the power is the real power, and not a *sort of power*. In addition to revival of essentialist premises, the rule of people without qualities and the past, with the sense of possibility, does not create anything beyond signs of its own illusion. To such rule and its self-preservation, in its effort to obtain any signs of its existence, today, 'Euro-sceptics' are more needed than 'Euro-fanatics'. In brief, the Community without qualities and people without qualities need to regenerate fictions of a real state or a real empire, real politicalness and

sociality, a real man. That simulacrum is conveniently served by seminars and conferences on the crises or the identity of the European Union, as the signs of life of the non-existent – ‘the reality of unreal’. Critical discourses are more than welcome, since *criticism and negativity alone still secrete a phantom of the reality of power* (Baudrillard). Finally, except for participation, it is difficult to do more for the simulacrum of the Community and its crises, since *somehow, it only participates in itself* as a project proving itself real through the imaginary, as Baudrillard writes (1991: 5).

“Simulation is no longer that of a territory, a referential being or a substance. It is the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal. The territory no longer precedes the map, nor survives it. Henceforth, it is the map that precedes the territory - precession of simulacra – it is the map that engenders the territory and if we were to revive the fable today, it would be the territory whose shrines are slowly rotting across the map. It is the real, and not the map, who investigates a subsistence here and there, in the deserts which are no longer those of the Empire but our own. *The desert of the real itself.*“

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## ДИСКУРСИ КРИЗЕ И ЕВРОПСКА УНИЈА КАО ЗАЈЕДНИЦА БЕЗ СВОЈСТАВА ПОГЛЕД ИЗ КЊИЖЕВНЕ ПРОШЛОСТИ

Позлазећи од прејисјавке да се јујем јавној језика прелазе значења и предсјаве о друшћеној сћварносћи, иј да је јавни језик ише у функцији њеној обликовања а мање у функцији ојсивања или дејекћонања проблема, савременим дискурсима о кризи Евројске уније аујори присћујају са резервом. Рајоје свој сјава образлажу неодређеношћу и обзначеношћу јојма криза, ико се иначе овај јојам ујошребљава у дневнойојшћким дискурсима. Указујем на јујем јавној језика јојма, јроузроковано неконзисћенином ујошребљом и јојрајношћу сјања које се именује кризом, изражавају сумњу и у његову аналјшћу о јојшћносћи. Према аујорима, овај јрофанисани јојам јосћао је јојформалјни израз симулације – као кризе, који је, било као ојравдање, нужносћ или јојвор, јројзвео бројне јоследице у јројекћих неколико јодина.

Прејисјавку је симулација – сјаћена као одсущво реалносћи више нејо као њено јрокривање (Jean Vaidinard) – носећи јроинциј деловања нашеј времена, аујори јромишљају кроз келјетј јрооујеној деловања лјијерајуре и јојкрејљују ијијерјројрајјој романа Човек без својсјава Роберја Музила (Robert Musil) као мишћојојшћкој ојрај анализе и рефлексје високе умејносћи у савременосћи. У јројм делу јшћекћу указујем на Музилову јојшћкку анијцијацију смера крејшања евројској друшћива, јојносћ на духовну климу и услове који су јојодовали развоју човека без својсјава. У одсущву јијшћосћина и јосебно у прејисјављању Музилове катјјорје смисла за мишћносћосћину јелу за сћварносћ, аујори јрејознају ијијерјрејашћивно јолазшишће за јромишљање Заједнице без својсјава, као друјој имена Евројске уније. Са јојој сјањившишћа, ије осим јубљења сјецифичних својсјава јодразумева и лшавање јрошћлојшћи, садашњ сјање одређују као врхунац владавине јуди без својсјава са смислом за мојносћ, а не као кризу Заједнице. Завршни део јшћекћа јосећују емјирјским јоказашћелјма друшћивних јромена анијцијираних романој Човек без својсјава.

Кључне речи: дискурси кризе, ера симулације, Евројска унија, Човек без својсјава, Роберј Музил.