

The paper analyzes the future of the European Union in the context of resolving the consequences of the health crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. The author is of the opinion that this crisis has exacerbated the negative impact of unresolved crisis over the past 15 years (institutional, financial, migrant, geostrategic) on European policies including Brexit (the first exit from the Union), by provoking a more national and less European response and thus widening the gap and reducing solidarity and mutual assistance between the 27 member countries of the EU. To what extent has the COVID-19 pandemic changed the relations of the member countries of the Union (closure of internal national borders) and influenced their attitude towards candidate countries for membership in the Union (closure of external borders and new methodology of accession process), how it set European policies priorities (*European Green Deal*), and whether this will eventually result in the renewal of the Union in the XXI century, are the questions that the author answers in this paper by applying the document analysis and comparative methods of the decisions and practices of the member countries of the Union. The aim of this paper is to show whether the European Union can be regarded as a mechanism through which Member States regain some degree of control over market and are able to deal more effectively with trans-border issues such as COVID-19 pandemic.

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Evropsko građanstvo i ustavni patriotizam: ka solidarnijoj Evropi

Pandemija korona virusa ponovo je stavila na agendu pitanje solidarnosti i ekonomске redistribucije unutar Evropske unije. Zdravstveni sistemi država Juga su najpogođeniji pandemijom, a posledično je došlo i do ekonomске i socijalne krize. Zahtev za preraspodelom bogatstva, mutualizacijom dugova i zajedničkim finansiranjem ekonomskog oporavka u početku nije naišao na odobravanje „štedljivih“ država Evrope. Za razliku od rasprava o krizi evropskog duga vođenih nakon Svetske ekonomске krize iz 2008. ovoga puta krizu su proizveli eksterni faktori, što je otupelo snagu argumenata zasovanih na navodnoj neodgovornosti pojedinih država. Istraživanje naručeno od strane Evropskog parlamenta iz maja 2020. pokazuje da je 34% ispitanih stanovnika Evropske unije zadovoljno nivoom solidarnosti između država u borbi protiv pandemije (Kantar, 2020), što navodi na potragu za mehanizmima koji bi garantovali veću

solidarnost unutar ovog poretku. Autor polazi od pretpostavke da je nadnacionalno udruživanje neophodno radi uklanjanja negativnih efekata ekonomske globalizacije i odbacuje suverenističke odgovore. U tekstu ispituje pojam evropskog građanstva, te kako ovaj koncept može pospešiti stvaranje solidarnijeg poretku. Problem posebno predstavlja činjenica da ono što je „urgentno potrebno da se uradi je ekstremno nepopularno i stoga praktično nemoguće demokratski uraditi“ (Offe, 2013), a tiče se široke ekonomske redistribucije, mutualizacije dugova, pa čak i stvaranje jedinstvenog fiskalnog sistema unutar Evropske unije. Autor posebno ispituje oblik građanstva zasnovan na konceptu ustavnog patriotizma (Habermas, 2006, Miler, 2010). Jedan od njegovih elemenata, zajedničko sećanje na posleratnu pomoć nemačkoj ekonomiji (Young, 2020), ovoga puta se može iskoristiti kao motivacija za slične politike solidarnosti.

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A curious case of amnesia in Thomas Hobbes: why the plague is not an ailment of the body politic?

Thomas Hobbes's prose is widely known for his extensive use of organic metaphors. This is strikingly evident even after quick a glance at *Leviathan*'s famous frontispiece, which depicts the state as an “artificial man”, the metaphor that Hobbes uses throughout *Leviathan* – particularly aptly so in its chapter 16. Furthermore, by building on a significant body of medieval theorising about the state as a human organism, Hobbes embraces illnesses as metaphors for various afflictions that threaten the body politic. In chapter 29, he talks about various symptoms (such as convulsions, fever, cysts or lethargy) as well as quite a few diseases and deformities that might afflict the commonwealth: rabies, pleurisy, bulimia, conjoined twins and parasites (roundworms). Hobbes's listing of illnesses here is purely metaphorical and serves only to illustrate what could happen to a state with an “imperfect constitution”. Chapter 29 of *Leviathan* thus does not cover the effect of diseases, taken in their literal sense, on the stability of a commonwealth. This exclusion becomes even more glaring if we consider Hobbes's command of Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* where the famous historian explicitly connects the Athenian plague to a political condition that could very well be described as a Hobbesian state of nature. In Hobbes's own translation, Thucydides writes how “[n]either the fear of the gods, nor laws of men, awed any man”. Therefore,