

CAN A PERSON BE ILLEGAL?  
REFUGEES, MIGRANTS AND CITIZENSHIP IN EUROPE

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|-------|--|
|       | THURSDAY: ROOM 6-1022  |
| 12.15 | <b>MATS ROSENGREN</b><br>Welcome - On academic responsibility, again.  |
| 13.15 | <b>JEAN LASSÈGUE</b><br>The Daoud Affair – On extra-European Secularism, Literature and Migration of Ideas in a Time of Crisis |
| 14.15 | <b>PHILIPPE CAUMIÈRES</b><br>Closure of the meaning; border of the political.  |
| 15.15 | COFFEE   |
| 15.45 | <b>FIRAT MAHMUT HACIAHMETOGLU</b><br>Non-European European: A novel postcolonial approach to Europe and its Others             |
| 16.45 | <b>STINE MARIE JACOBSEN &amp; NASTARAN TAJERI-FOUMANI</b><br>German for Newcomers  |
| 18.30 | <b>CECILIA PARBERG</b><br>How do you become a successful beggar in Sweden?   |
| 19.30 | PARTICIPANTS DINNER (ROOM 6-1022)  |

CAN A PERSON BE ILLEGAL?  
REFUGEES, MIGRANTS AND CITIZENSHIP IN EUROPE

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|       | FRIDAY: ROOM 6-1022   |
| 09.00 | COFFEE  |
| 09.15 | <b>EMANUELE PROFUMI (FRENCH)</b><br>Loi, force et politique. Quand la violence devient norme sociale? |
| 10.15 | <b>OLIVIER FRESSARD (FRENCH)</b><br>L'utopie cosmopolite  |
| 11.15 | <b>SHARON RIDER</b><br>"Little Mr. Satisfaction": Ortega's Challenge to European Man                  |
| 12.15 | LUNCH   |
| 13.15 | <b>ALEXANDER STAGNELL</b><br>The Fantasy of Diplomacy   |
| 14.15 | <b>SAMIRA MOTAZEDI, FRIDA SANDSTRÖM &amp; MASOUD VATANKHAH</b><br>Neshast                             |
| 15.15 | COFFEE  |

CAN A PERSON BE ILLEGAL?  
REFUGEES, MIGRANTS AND CITIZENSHIP IN EUROPE

|       |   |
|-------|---|
|       | FRIDAY: ROOM 6-1022 (II)  |
| 15.45 | <b>SAMIRA MOTAZEDI, FRIDA SANDSTRÖM &amp; MASOUD VATANKHAH</b><br>No One is Illegal (Ingen Människa är illegal) |
| 16.45 | <b>LOUISE SCHOU THERKILDSEN</b><br>Periphery and Borders in European Identity                                   |
| 17.45 | <b>SHELLEKENS &amp; PELEMAN</b><br>Inflatable Refugee   |
| 20.00 | <b>PARTICIPANTS DINNER (RESTAURANT MEZA, UPPSALA)</b>   |

CAN A PERSON BE ILLEGAL?  
REFUGEES, MIGRANTS AND CITIZENSHIP IN EUROPE

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|-------|--|
|       | SATURDAY: ROOM 6-1031  |
| 09.00 | COFFEE   |
| 09.15 | INGELA NILSSON & OLOF HEILO<br>The Fragile Borders of Europe                                       |
| 10.15 | ANTHONY JOHN LAPPIN<br>Borders of the Self   |
| 11.15 | DIMITRIOS IORDANOGLU & JOHANNES SIAPKAS<br>Dystopic democracy: the double life of Classical Athens |
| 12.15 | LUNCH  |
| 13.15 | ROBERT APPELBAUM<br>Citizenship and The Comedy of Errors   |
| 14.15 | STATHIS GOURGOURIS<br>The Ill Logic of Fortress Europe   |
| 15.15 | MATS ROSENGREN<br>Thank you and goodbye!   |

# CAN A PERSON BE ILLEGAL? REFUGEES, MIGRANTS AND CITIZENSHIP IN EUROPE

MATS ROSENGREN

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*On academic responsibility, again.*

In May 2014, at the *Journées Castoriadis* at the IMEC in Caen (the thematic of which was Borders), I recounted the desperate and precise chronicle aired by the Swedish radio correspondent Cecilia Uddén. The chronicle was triggered by the 2013 Lampedusa disaster – a disaster that then seemed unsurpassable in its horrifying details; today we have seen, and are still seeing even worse.

In her chronicle, Uddén made a pained plea for ‘non obedience’ when facing the inhumane, brutal system of ‘European management of the refugee problem’. This led me to pose the following question:

“Borders and frontiers, as well as connected demarcations such as citizen/sans papier; citizen/refugee, have come to shape and structure our contemporary lives, both on an individual and political level. I am in complete accord with Cecilia Uddén’s desperate call for non-obedience when facing a system, and a political situation, that, every day, and on almost every level, demands that people sacrifice what they hold dear. But I must admit that I am somewhat at loss as to what it would mean, concretely, for me, or for us here today, to disobey in a politically effective and responsible way.”

This question still haunts me, obviously. In my introduction to this workshop I would like to expand on it.

JEAN LASSEGUE

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*The Daoud Affair – On extra-European Secularism, Literature and Migration of Ideas in a Time of Crisis*

In his novel ‘Meursault, contre-enquête’ (2013) the Algerian columnist and writer Kamel Daoud uses specific resources in literature in a way which allows cultural conflicts to be exposed and diverging voices to be heard. Whereas Daoud’s novel was highly praised for its way of dealing with conflicts, the author has been criticized of fueling paternalistic, islamophobic and colonialist clichés when trying to negotiate similar conflicts outside the fictional frame of the novel. We would like to investigate according to which norm different genres (novel, paper article) are conceived as acceptable and why they trigger such different reactions.

# CAN A PERSON BE ILLEGAL? REFUGEES, MIGRANTS AND CITIZENSHIP IN EUROPE

PHILIPPE CAUMIÈRES

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*Closure of the meaning; border of the political.*

It is surprising to realize that the notion of border, understood as “a dividing line between two countries, or States” is still very often apprehended through the binary opposition nature / artifice. According to the Robert dictionary a border can be either artificial or conventional when it corresponds with an arbitrary limiting line or natural when it corresponds with a natural barrier. So we can understand why the same dictionary defines geopolitics as “the study of the interrelationship between the natural data of a country and its politics”. The inference is clear: geopolitics is said to be a discipline – some even consider it as a science – which enables stable entities to be formed so as to make long-term peace possible. Everything would be fine in a world where liberal democracies could assert themselves. The question is not so much to denounce such an approach, – which considers geography as based on natural data only, as if there was no cultural or ideological dimension to it, which reduces politics to geopolitics – as to try to understand why it is still upheld. Obviously, resorting to nature as the justification of a border tends to rule out conflict. As modern societies want to be democratic, they cannot make arbitrary decisions. Consensus is all the stronger when grounded on the recognition of a necessity. Thus the very notion of border becomes a denied institution which, more than an ideology, reveals that modern societies tend to conceal some facts from public debate, thus breaking the rule of democracy. Referring to the notion of natural border and using the word geopolitics both lead to a reflection which, far from being confined to the disciplinary fields they usually concern, questions the very notion of society.

FIRAT MAHMUT HACIAHMETOGLU

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*Non-European European: A novel postcolonial approach to Europe and its Others*

Europe is expanding without getting a single meter larger on the maps. The refugee crisis and the figure of the migrant constitute the two main phenomena that inform the sense in which the borders of Europe are covering an ever larger space. Precisely, it is the sense in which the Europeans understand Europe as a meaningful totality within which they always already find themselves is undergoing great transnational transformations today. The result is a Europe that gives space to its others, namely,

# CAN A PERSON BE ILLEGAL? REFUGEES, MIGRANTS AND CITIZENSHIP IN EUROPE

non-European cultures, as well. However, such a containment is not brought about on the basis of a symmetrical reciprocity; rather, the relationships between European and non-European cultures are, to a large extent, marked by the experience of colonization and globalization which had negative impacts on the non-European cultures. Since it is precisely on this unstable and shaky ground that Europe meets its non-European others, doubts and confusion have been cast on the precise sense in which the European and non-European cultures can live together. In my research, by introducing the concept of **the non-European European**, as a postcolonial phenomenological modality that consists in an existential vulnerability, I attempt to develop an alternative thinking consisting in the proposition that Europe may be articulated as the polycentric and pluriversal home(-lessness) of the alien cultures that co-exist together without destroying or subordinating the unique singularity of one another, just like a rainbow composed of an arch of colors.

STINE MARIE JACOBSEN & NASTARAN TAJERI-FOUMANI

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## *German for Newcomers*

In a German language workshop called GERMAN FOR NEWCOMERS, refugees, immigrants and expats are invited to learn and improve German by writing useful teaching material for themselves and others. The roles of the student and teacher is shifted and the participants will transform their own experiences with the German language from private and public places and institutions into a grammar book and a series of film scene tutorials, which will be made public Fall 2016. In our talk we will present visual and audio material from the workshop.

The workshop, which will be made public in an exhibition in Gallery Wedding in Berlin Fall 2016, is organised by artist Stine Marie Jacobsen in collaboration with social worker, anti-violence trainer Nastaran Tajeri-Foumani and actress, drama teacher Mirella Galbiatti both from social work organisation Gangway, language & counselling centre for young refugees and migrants BBZ and publisher Broken Dimanche Press.

CAN A PERSON BE ILLEGAL?  
REFUGEES, MIGRANTS AND CITIZENSHIP IN EUROPE

CECILIA PARBERG

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*How do you become a successful beggar in Sweden?*

*How do you become a successful beggar in Sweden?* is the title of my PhD dissertation, and it revolves around questions such as: What image is the begging person facing? What image is the giver facing when giving or not, to the beggar? What are the potential images in the space of action between the beggar and the giver, and how can images be made? Through various practices I try out how these "images" – collective as well as individual, visual as well as linguistic – are set in play in the society.

In this talk I will present three of my works, *The Chorus of Begging/The Chorus of Giving*, *Body on Street* and *Border*, and present some of my thoughts in making them and how they happened.

EMANUELE PROFUMI

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*Loi, force et politique. Quand la violence devient norme sociale?*

Récemment le philosophe du droit Alain Supiot a affirmé deux thèses qui ont une importance particulière pour résoudre les problèmes d'injustice que vivons dans notre époque de globalisation néolibérale : 1) La fonction anthropologique du droit est à la base du domaine du politique ; 2) Le droit est notre manière de métaboliser la violence sociale et éviter la guerre civile ou la dissolution de la société. La première thèse soulève un problème plus général sur comment il faut penser la relation entre droit et politique, et c'est le reflet d'une position assez répandue dans la philosophie du droit contemporaine qui trouve sa source principale dans la position que Kant exprime dans la « Métaphysique des coutumes ». Kant considère propre de la forme juridique ce qu'on peut dire, avec Castoriadis, être lié au « tous de la norme ». C'est l'idée même de « tous de la norme » qui nous permette de souligner à la fois comme la première thèse de Supiot est fautive et comme la deuxième est, par contre, la clé pour comprendre comment la violence devient norme sociale.

# CAN A PERSON BE ILLEGAL? REFUGEES, MIGRANTS AND CITIZENSHIP IN EUROPE

OLIVIER FRESSARD

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*Le culturalisme est-il un antihumanisme? A propos de la vogue actuelle du cosmopolitisme*

Une grande confusion règne aujourd'hui dans les esprits en Europe où, en 2015, deux événements majeurs sont venus se télescoper. D'un côté, d'impitoyables violences guerrières au Proche-Orient ont mis sur les routes une vague sans précédent de réfugiés qui viennent frapper aux portes de l'Europe pour y trouver refuge. De l'autre côté, de jeunes Français ayant investi l'imaginaire d'un islam radical et haineux ont commis contre leurs propres concitoyens des attentats terroristes barbares au nom d'une organisation étrangère.

Tandis que l'Europe se fissure faute de s'entendre sur une politique commune à l'égard des réfugiés, la France se divise sur la manière dont il faut traiter ces nouveaux ennemis de l'intérieur et sur le statut qu'il convient de leur attribuer. Les dirigeants politiques sont tiraillés par une opinion publique bipolarisée. D'un côté un courant, issu en grande partie des classes populaires, exprime une forte réserve, voire un rejet, à l'égard du flux des réfugiés. Ses partisans et les leaders "populistes" qui portent leur voix dans l'espace public sont qualifiés, par leurs adversaires, de xénophobes, voire de racistes, ou, tout simplement, d'"identitaires". De l'autre, une intelligentsia de gauche, qui trouve l'assentiment des milieux sociaux à haut capital scolaire et culturel, défend au nom des droits de l'homme, sur le seul mode de la conviction, une position cosmopolite qui tient pour peu de chose les identités nationales et les frontières étatiques.

Une bipolarisation aussi radicale ne peut être, politiquement, que stérile. Pour tenter de clarifier intellectuellement le débat, on proposera, ici, de reprendre la question de l'identité d'un point de vue sociologique. On s'interrogera, à partir de là, sur la légitimité de l'approche culturaliste, aujourd'hui vilipendée, face à l'universalisme revendiqué par le cosmopolitisme.

SHARON RIDER

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*"Little Mr. Satisfaction": Ortega's Challenge to European Man*

It is standard practice to distinguish between three dimensions of citizenship: political, social and legal. These correspond, roughly, to three different institutions: legislature (political rights), welfare systems (education and health care) and courts

## CAN A PERSON BE ILLEGAL? REFUGEES, MIGRANTS AND CITIZENSHIP IN EUROPE

(civil liberties). This model derives in large from TH Marshall's highly influential "Citizenship and Social Class" (CUP 1950) written in the context of the construction of the British postwar welfare state. Marshall defines citizenship as a "status bestowed on all those who are full members of a community", sharing rights, duties, and the protections of a common law. The bonds of modern citizenship develop first through the "struggle to win those rights," and then, once gained, by their "enjoyment." Thus modern citizenship implies also "loyalty to a civilization which is a common possession." A similar idea can be found earlier, perhaps surprisingly, in Ortega y Gasset's *The Revolt of the Masses* (1930). In reaction to the growing barbarism of totalitarian movements and regimes, Ortega posed two questions that are still salient: i) what, if anything, does it mean to be European?; ii) how, if at all, is it possible to retrieve an idea of European civilization that is at once viable and valuable? If we cannot begin to answer those questions, we certainly will not be in a position to welcome newcomers properly into the community.

### ALEXANDER STAGNELL

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#### *The Fantasy of Diplomacy*

For a long time the political scientists claimed that the death of diplomacy was imminent. It was never a question of if, but only of when, diplomacy, this remnant of the *ancien régime*, would have drawn its last breath. But as is clear for everyone diplomacy is still if not alive and well, then at least continuously treated as the foremost practice of international politics and the only peaceful alternative to war. Simultaneously the call for less talk and more action, the standard critique of diplomacy, was voiced even before the renewed peace talks about Syria had even begun in February this year. So what does this ambivalent treatment of diplomacy say about the practice itself, and why is diplomacy seen as both doomed to fail and our only hope for salvation?

### SAMIRA MOTAZEDI, FRIDA SANDSTRÖM & MASOUD VATANKHAH

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#### *Turning to a Neshast (performance)*

We, the participants, put our political selves in the situation of an asylum interview. By staging what has to be staged by the interviewee him/herself, we investigate the density of objectivity and narrativity. Emphasizing our personal experiences from such role-plays, we enlarge the elasticity of each of our positions, to be reconsidered

# CAN A PERSON BE ILLEGAL? REFUGEES, MIGRANTS AND CITIZENSHIP IN EUROPE

and remade. Reading a narrative in a pre-defined space with a table and many chairs, we perform the meeting: the interview. But instead of reinforcing the positions constituted through the conduct of speech acts, the relation between speaker and receiver is turned into a space for the renegotiation of the socially constructed positions that we ordinarily carry with us, transferring to ourselves and onto others. Reconfiguring the socio-linguistic resonance that is taking place within the reading, we end up in-between conduct and consequence: could we make possible for new, dissonant narratives emerging out of the ruins of speech? This might be the turning point: a neshast.

*Ingen människa är illegal // No One is Illegal (talk)*

The No One is Illegal Network (Swedish: *Ingen människa är illegal*) works to provide practical support to people who are forced to live undocumented after having had their applications for asylum refused. We demand permanent right of residence for all people who have arrived in Sweden and wish to remain. We believe in a world without borders, a world where no one is illegal.

The No One is Illegal Network consists of local groups in Östersund, Norrbotten, Uppsala, Stockholm and Gothenburg. The local groups are autonomous and organize themselves as they wish according to our manifesto. Activities of the groups may differ a bit but are all related to working practically and politically for the rights of undocumented migrants.

Much work remains to realize everyone's right to settle anywhere in the world. You can do a lot that is neither hard or difficult. No One is Illegal's local groups need help with everything from bringing leftover food, accompany someone to the doctor or organize support parties to stop deportations and mobilize for demonstrations and campaigns.

Read more: [Ingenillegal.org](http://Ingenillegal.org)

**LOUISE SCHOU THERKILDSEN**

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*Periphery and Borders in European Identity*

Étienne Balibar's thoughts on the borders of Europe explore how periphery is in fact central to the constitution of a European public sphere - a European people. My PhD project deals with the rhetorical evolution of European identity within the discourse of the EU and in this talk I will explore how these notions of borders and periphery are made manifest in specific EU-texts and what meaning they are given.

CAN A PERSON BE ILLEGAL?  
REFUGEES, MIGRANTS AND CITIZENSHIP IN EUROPE

DIRK SCHELLEKENS & BART PELEMAN

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*Inflatable Refugee (art installation and talk)*

*Inflatable Refugee* will appear in the Botanical Garden here in Uppsala 18-21 May.

Coinciding with the current migration crisis from East to West, Schellekens & Peleman have started to work on 'Inflatable Refugee'. A large inflatable adult male figure that represents a seated refugee. The 'Inflatable Refugee' gazes blankly into the distance. Has he arrived at a safe haven or will he be refused and be sent from whence he came? His sheer size allows him to look over and beyond us and keep watch on the horizon, not limited by borders or documents. It makes him inescapable, undeniably present. Do we see him as a human or as a problem? Is his presence an opportunity or a threat, devoid of human characteristics?

Schellekens & Peleman proportionally enlarged the 'Inflatable Refugee' to match the extreme reactions his arrival in the Western world evoked. His size represents how we perceive him. The artists have chosen to create this inflatable figure from the same material as the boats, used by human traffickers to cross the Mediterranean Sea, are made from. It's too fragile to withstand the waves of the sea, making the passengers on these boats extremely vulnerable. Schellekens & Peleman created the 'Inflatable Refugee' to be able to travel on water. Seated on a pontoon he floats and passes the skylines of big world cities and the lives of the people that inhabit them.

# CAN A PERSON BE ILLEGAL? REFUGEES, MIGRANTS AND CITIZENSHIP IN EUROPE

INGELA NILSSON & OLOF HEILO

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## *The Fragile Borders of Europe*

If there is any constant in European politics it is the ambivalence that characterises the relationship between the self-proclaimed continent and the southern and eastern borderlands that remind it of its relative position to the Mediterranean and Eurasia. Despite the generally accepted definition, Europe is not a continent, and it was historically always defined in relation to a bordering area of interaction – in the ancient era it was the Mediterranean Sea, in the early modern era it was Eurasian Russia. It becomes most obvious in the Balkan Peninsula and Eastern Mediterranean area, where the points of observation seem to overlap, and where the definition of an isolated Europe is itself challenged by the bridgehead to Asia at the Bosphorus. In this sense, the modern Turkish state founded by Atatürk has inherited a position from its Ottoman and Byzantine predecessors that is bound to evoke discomfort among Europeans less out of Orientalist prejudices than because it shows their interconnectedness to the world at large. With its eastwards expansion in 2004 and 2007, the European Union has similarly inherited a nervous siege mentality from the Habsburg Empire and its Medieval Balkan predecessors which has less to do with conscious fears of the Oriental “other” than with an unconscious apprehension of the fragility of the Western self.

In this double presentation, Ingela Nilsson will discuss the shifting and ambivalent European attitudes to its south-eastern borderland in the late Medieval and early Modern era as exemplified in the reception of the Byzantine Empire and its 1453 fall to the Turks, and Olof Heilo will continue by discussing the philosophical and literary definition of Europe up to the time of the 1814-15 Vienna Congress.

ANTHONY JOHN LAPPIN

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## *Borders of the Self*

The nature of the modern individual under a non-hierarchical democracy was early described by de Tocqueville. The later development of human rights both assumed an intrinsic nature for the individual within the type of state that would foster and guarantee those rights which were further characterized as self-generating and

# CAN A PERSON BE ILLEGAL? REFUGEES, MIGRANTS AND CITIZENSHIP IN EUROPE

universal; the discourse of human rights then became a means of distinguishing between modern and non-modern states. Yet a crisis arises in human rights where non-modern individuals (or rather, non-individuals, from non-modern states) seek to claim these. I shall return to de Tocqueville to suggest that the developments in indigenous rights and protected characteristics may offer a corporatist solution.

## DIMITRIOS IORDANOGLU & JOHANNES SIAPKAS

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### *Dystopic democracy: the double life of Classical Athens*

Fifth century BC Athens is often conceptualized as the origins of our contemporary world order, which envisions itself as both rational and democratic. In this paper we will focus on the darker side of Athenian democracy and its idealizations, and explore questionable appropriations of ancient democracy in contemporary political ideologies. These dystopic appropriations of Classical democracy do not only illustrate that democracies contain excluding mechanisms but also that the very notion of democracy is hijacked to whitewash antidemocratic ideologies.

## ROBERT APPELBAUM

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### *Citizenship and “The Comedy of Errors”*

In Plautus’s *Menaechmi* (ca. 200 BCE), two long separated twins rediscover one another in the seaport of Epidamnus, after inadvertently causing a lot of errors about each other’s identity. In Shakespeare’s adaptation (1594), two additional twins are added, as well as a framing story about two long separated parents, a tempest, and a war between two city-states, Syracuse and Ephesus. Plautus depicts a Hellenic world, where citizenship is natural and city-states are at peace. Conditions are much like the Roman conditions described by Agamben in *Homo Sacer*. Shakespeare depicts a more complex (if also monolingual world), where citizenship can be deadly, and ancient pagan religion vies with an anachronistic world of Christianity. In the course of the play, citizenship gets transformed in the direction of natural citizenship, with nature itself being understood as at once a domain of blood relations and familiarity and a sounding ground of universal redemption, in a Pauline sense.

Here is Shakespeare then is already a representation of the conflicts behind the theme of this conference, whether are a person can ever be illegal. Three people are

# CAN A PERSON BE ILLEGAL? REFUGEES, MIGRANTS AND CITIZENSHIP IN EUROPE

illegal in the beginning of the play; all legalized by natural law, pity, and blood. And unfortunately, there is something uncanny, even miraculous about it. In this paper I underscore the relation of the play to early modern conditions, where our nation-state system was being invented and the legality of personhood was already becoming a moral and intellectual challenge. I also underscore Shakespeare's precocious notion of 'universality'.

**STATHIS GOURGOURIS**

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*The Ill Logic of Fortress Europe*

The so called "refugee problem" is neither just current nor really exclusively dependent on the refugee phenomenon. It is rooted deep in the social-historical dimensions of what has come to understand and call itself "Europe" -- the name being more of a social-imaginary signification than denoting a cultural-geographical reality. The impetus here is to push beyond the analysis of current events to a profoundly ingrained structure of psycho-historical knowledge that fashions what is believed to be a logic of government, but is instead a project of self-destruction.