

# THE MEDITERRANEAN IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE CONFERENCE ON THE FUTURE OF EUROPE

Di

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1.1. I would like to thank COPPEM for the organization of today's event, promoted by the Sicilian Regional Government, which aims at celebrating the day of the Mediterranean. This day crosses, moreover, the opportunities of the *Conference on the Future of Europe (CoFoE)*, of its objectives, but also of its inner difficulties.

The future we have to face, starting from the need to address the dramatic economic effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, outlines major challenges and requires a vision that rebuilds the European institutions from the ground up.

The Schuman declaration of 1950, in the drafting of which J. Monnet collaborated, contains the insight and perspective: "*if it can count on a strengthening of resources, Europe will be able to continue to carry out one of its essential tasks: the development of the African continent*"<sup>2</sup>. The Mediterranean, that "*Middle Sea*" described by John Julius Norwich<sup>3</sup>, Fernand Braudel's "*Sea of Civilization*", consisting of "*a thousand things at once. Not one landscape, one sea, one civilization, but a succession of each. Not one civilization, but a series of civilizations piled on top of each other*."<sup>4</sup>, in confirmation of its millenary role, it will increasingly become the scene of great transformations, "*always decisive in human affairs*", as Don Luigi Sturzo recalled, considering it, indisputably, the "*European epicenter*"<sup>5</sup>.

In 2050, Africa will, in fact, account for 57% of global population growth and the Sub-Saharan population will increase from the current 15% to 23% of the world population (it was 10% in 1990), almost 2.5 billion people will live in Africa, compared with 1.1 billion today, and half of the population will be under 26 years of age. And this while the share of the population in the European Union that is around 6% will drop to 4%, the number of young people in Africa will be ten times the number in the European Union.

Within this context, Sicily's geostrategic role as Europe's frontier, a place where the most important network of backbones for digital interconnections between the world's hemispheres unfolds, or that of the cables and pipes in which energy or fuel sources flow, while the Strait of Sicily, which has become a "*strategic strait*" in a "*Disputed Sea*", crossed by tens of thousands of cargo ships coming from Suez, becomes the scenario of a clash between world forces that makes it one of the most important geopolitical junctions for the coming years, in which it is necessary to avert the prospect of a geopolitical clash, traversed by tens of thousands of cargo ships coming from Suez be-

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<sup>1</sup> Relazione introduttiva alla International web-conference "*The role of Regions, Governorates and Cities in the geopolitical future of the Euro-Mediterranean area*", web conference in the framework of the celebrating events of the Mediterranean Day 1 December 1st 2021 h. 9:30-12:00 CET

<sup>2</sup> The Declaration is reproduced in several languages (the original is in French) in [www.robert-schuman.eu/fr/declaration-du-9-mai-1950](http://www.robert-schuman.eu/fr/declaration-du-9-mai-1950)

<sup>3</sup> J. J. Norwich, "*Middle Sea*", Palermo, 2020.

<sup>4</sup> F. Braudel, *Il Mediterraneo. Lo spazio la storia gli uomini le tradizioni*, Milano, 2008, 7.

<sup>5</sup> Cfr. E. Guccione, *Municipalismo e federalismo in Luigi Sturzo*, Torino 1994, 80-81.

comes the scene of a clash between world forces that makes it one of the most important geopolitical junctions for the coming years, in which it is necessary to avert the prospect of neo-Ottoman, as the growing (and interconnected) Russian, but especially Chinese, influences.<sup>6</sup>

1.2. The Idea of a New Europe must rise to the level of the challenge, even more so after the failure of the Draft Constitutional Treaty of the European Union (EU), which proposed to modify the institutional structure of the Community, in order to simplify the decision-making process and give the EU and its institutions greater powers (prepared by the Convention on the Future of Europe, established with the Laeken Declaration (December 14 and 15, 2001).

Thus, the intuition of one of the greatest jurists of the continent, Jürgen Habermas, who identified in the Constitution and in its elaboration the road that would lead to the genesis of a constitutional patriotism centered on the founding values, around which would be built the foundations of the common civic and political identity, was reversed.<sup>7</sup>

Unfortunately, as is well known, the draft "*Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe*" - actually more of a normal Treaty and less of an actual Constitution - approved in June 2003 in Brussels and then by the Intergovernmental Conference in June 2004 in the provisional consolidated version, although launched in Rome by the Heads of State and Government of the 25 EU member countries (October 29, 2004), would never have come into force.

That "*European Constitution*" (448 articles and 36 protocols) was in fact ratified only by Italy and 17 other countries. The negative results of the referenda on the ratification of the Treaty-Constitution held in France and in the Netherlands (on May 29 and June 1, 2005), dealt a fatal blow to the constituent process which, on June 6, was subjected by the United Kingdom to the suspension of the ratification process indefinitely, while other member countries (Poland, Denmark) declared obstacles to ratification.<sup>8</sup>

2. The opening Conference on the Future of Europe is a joint initiative of the European Parliament, the Council and the European Commission, acting as equal partners with the Member States of the European Union in the knowledge that the Union must demonstrate that it is capable of responding to the concerns and ambitions of its citizens.

Having overcome the genetic phase made problematic by the pandemic, which precisely because of the effects it has determined gives the initiative of institutional redefinition new reasons and new sap, it finally begins with the clear choice of a deep involvement, in addition to the institutions, of the social partners concerned at European, national, regional and local level, with national and regional parliaments, the European Committee of the Regions, the Economic and Social Committee, also of citizens and the private-social sector, in a bottom-up process until now unknown in the phases of elaboration of the European Treaties.

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<sup>6</sup> A. De Santis, *Se perdiamo lo Stretto di Sicilia*, Limes 1/2021, which sees the Strait reached by the winds of geopolitical competition that sweep for some time every quadrant of the Mediterranean Sea.

<sup>7</sup> According to the German jurist, in fact, the absence of a European demos as a founding element was not an insurmountable obstacle: by building a constitutional Europe, inescapable crowning achievement of a growing integration, but lacking an adequate communication network between institutions and citizens, Europeans would also be made. J. Habermas, *Perché l'Europa ha bisogno di una Costituzione?*, in *Diritti e Costituzione nell'Unione europea*, a cura di G. Zagrebelsky, Bologna 2003, 94-118.

<sup>8</sup> The European Council of June 21-22, 2007 had no choice but to abandon the draft Treaty-Constitution, which was supposed to replace, by unifying them, the Maastricht Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the European Community, deciding to limit the reforming intervention to their mere revision which was carried out with the Treaty of Lisbon of December 13, 2007, which came into force in 2009. While the *European Charter of Fundamental Rights* officially approved in Nice in December 2000, became legally binding in the EU with the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty in December 2009 with the same legal effect as the EU Treaties.

The Conference should end in June 2022, during the French Presidency of the Council of the EU. We have, consequently, in front of us a year of hard work and fruitful confrontation on the crucial issues of the *New Europe*<sup>9</sup>.

The Joint Declaration, in linking the constitutional process to the Schuman Declaration of seventy years ago<sup>10</sup> recalls the strength of the European Union's founding political project, "*which has brought peace and prosperity and improved the lives of all European citizens. Now is the time to reflect on our Union, the challenges we face and the future we want to build together in order to strengthen European solidarity.*"

The joint declaration invites the institutions of Europe to organize events, in line with their territorial peculiarities in order to offer contributions to the conference, such as civil society initiatives at the regional level, including thematic ones that collect the contributors' ideas and proposals, in accordance with the principles and minimum criteria established by the structures of the conference and inspired by the values of the EU.

3. The aim of today's dialogue - held from Sicily, a European border region and the largest island in the Mediterranean - is to consider the Conference in the Mediterranean perspective arising from the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP)<sup>11</sup>, which should constitute an element of comparison and reflection<sup>12</sup>.

26 years after the establishment of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, also known as the Barcelona Process, the Mediterranean is far from being an area of peace, stability and shared prosperity and has a higher degree of fragmentation and conflict than in the mid-1990s.

Following the recent Joint Communication of the European Commission and the High Representative, dated February 9, 2021, on "*A Renewed Partnership with the Southern Neighborhood:*

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<sup>9</sup> The Conference, overcoming the original lukewarm proposals for Treaty adjustments made by the Juncker Commission (White Paper on the Future of Europe, 2017), was envisaged by President Macron and then relaunched by the Von der Leyen Presidency - "The time is ripe for a New Push for European Democracy" - and goes through a series of formal stances, most recently by the President of the Commission himself, the President of the European Parliament and the President pro tempore of the European Council.

As emerges from the poll commissioned by the European Parliament and the European Commission on the Conference on the Future of Europe; 3/4 of Europeans believe that the Conference on the Future of Europe will have a positive impact on democracy in the EU. Six out of ten Europeans agree that the COVID-19 crisis has led them to reflect on the future of the EU. A large majority of Europeans (92%) in all Member States agree that the voice of the people should be given greater consideration in decisions about the future of Europe. And when asked to choose the developments they would like to see in the future of Europe, the two most frequently cited were: the equalization of living standards in the various Member States (35%) and greater solidarity between them (30%), equally important were: the definition of a common health policy (25%) and the comparability of standards in education (22%).

<sup>10</sup> V. WORKING DOCUMENT on the 70th Anniversary of the Schuman Declaration, EU Parliament, Committee on Constitutional Affairs, Rapporteur: Domènec Ruiz Devesa, 5.5.2020.

<sup>11</sup> The European Neighborhood Policy applies to Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Moldova, Morocco, Palestine, Syria, Tunisia, and Ukraine. It is intended to strengthen the prosperity, stability and security of all countries involved. The ENP is based on democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights and is a bilateral policy between the Union and each partner country, which includes regional cooperation initiatives: the Eastern Partnership (EaP) and the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM).

<sup>12</sup> In November 1995 the European Community signed with 12 states of the southern basin of the Mediterranean the Barcelona Declaration for the creation of a shared space of peace and stability. In 2004 the EU, as a result of enlargement, gave birth to the European Neighborhood Policy, which was subsequently updated in 2015. 2008 marked the birth of the Union for the Mediterranean, an intergovernmental organization whose members are the 27 European states and 15 countries from North Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Europe (plus Libya as an observer country). In September 2020, the Commission proposed a new Pact on Migration and Asylum that covers the necessary elements for a comprehensive European approach to migration, establishing faster procedures for the asylum and migration system and affirming the balance between principles of fair sharing of responsibility and solidarity. On February 9, 2021, the Commission and the High Representative endorsed the Joint Communication.

*A New Agenda for the Mediterranean*<sup>13</sup> with the aim of launching a new Agenda for the Mediterranean, aimed at outlining the priorities and the framework of EU policy with a view to a strengthened partnership, the way has been opened for the review of the European Neighborhood Policy for the South in the next period<sup>14</sup>, assuming that the Southern Mediterranean region is facing socio-economic challenges - first of all those caused by the COVID-19 pandemic - climate, environmental, governance and security challenges, many of which derive from global trends and require joint action by the EU and the Southern Neighbourhood partners.

The strengthening of Euro-Mediterranean cooperation, which will not go unmentioned in the *Conference on the Future of Europe* and which involves, by way of example: a more accentuated involvement of local and regional authorities on the front line, both in past and current crises.

*Multi-level governance*, not even mentioned in the Communication, must be strengthened and envisioned as a fundamental basis for the future implementation of the *European Neighbourhood Policy*.

Moreover, institutional responses must be combined with investment and long-term transition processes that address the root causes of crises. While the *European Recovery and Resilience Plan* and the forthcoming 2021-2027 Structural Funds funding agenda are under discussion, the socio-economic situation of local communities requires that program design reflect territorial needs and that their implementation is as rapid as possible.

More specifically, local and regional authorities must be involved and empowered through a solid sharing and territorialization of the ENP, considering the decentralization of powers and decentralized cooperation as key tools to promote peace, democracy and to ensure greater stability and security of the Mediterranean area in the long term. Networks of regional and local authorities will have to assume a significant role in the institutional cooperation and democratic effort pursued with Europe's southern neighbourhood.<sup>15</sup>

The definition of an effective European migration policy based on solidarity should not be limited to asylum provisions, but should include financial solidarity mechanisms and the definition of a policy for legal migration, which is necessary for the economic development of Europe, while promoting a debate on an integration policy anchored in EU priorities for anti-discrimination and anti-racism.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/IT/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52021JC0002&from=it>

<sup>14</sup> The new Agenda focuses on 5 areas of focus: 1) Human Development, Good Governance and Rule of Law - Renewing our shared commitment to democracy, rule of law, human rights and accountable governance; 2) Resilience, Prosperity and Digital Transition - Supporting resilient, inclusive and connected economies that create opportunities for all, especially women and youth; 3) Peace and Security - Providing support to countries to address security challenges and find solutions to ongoing conflicts; 4) Migration and Mobility - Jointly addressing the challenges of forced displacement and irregular migration and facilitating legal and safe pathways for migration and mobility; 5) Green Transition: Climate Resilience, Energy and Environment - Protect the region's natural resources and generate green growth by harnessing the potential of a low-carbon future.

<sup>15</sup> For example, the Mediterranean Cooperation Alliance (MedCoopAlliance) represents a concrete example of such multilevel governance and cooperation, complementary to that of macro-regional strategies or sea basin initiatives. MedCoopAlliance represents a tool to support the territorialisation of the European Neighbourhood Policy for the South, in coherence with the implementation of the Global Agenda 2030 and related strategies, such as the European Green Pact and its neighbourhood dimension, the work of the European Committee of the Regions, the Union for the Mediterranean, those of ARLEM or the CPMR.

The "Alliance for Cooperation in the Mediterranean" was launched in Barcelona on 4 February 2019 to reflect on the future of cooperation in the Mediterranean region, towards a common and long-term strategy for a sustainable and integrated territorial development of the basin, by the CPMR Intermediterranean Commission, the Pyrenees-Mediterranean Euroregion, the Adriatic-Ionian Euroregion and the MedCities and Arco Latino networks of local authorities.

<sup>16</sup> The gradual creation of a comprehensive basin strategy, complementary to the EUSAIR and WestMED initiatives towards the Eastern part of the Mediterranean basin, should be envisaged and supported through the ENP. This, in a process towards a single long-term integrated strategy for the Mediterranean, aimed at a strong coordination mechanism that could see the outcome of the Conference. In addition, South-South cooperation between territories with similar characteristics and needs should be enhanced through the

The ENP must then prioritize the transversality of Mediterranean socio-economic sectors, considering to a greater extent that of the climate crisis. Cooperation to mitigate the impacts of climate change and building more resilient economies will have to be a priority for socio-economic progress. As for its transversality, green and sustainable reform must become the main pillar of the ENP for the Mediterranean (and not just a "section" of it), if not the *condicio sine qua non* to strengthen socio-economic partnerships and through multi-level governance, fostering public-private partnerships, cluster dynamics, links with civil society, and helping to meet other agendas in a complementary way, such as that of the UfM and its latest statement on the blue economy<sup>17</sup>.

4. From another point of view, precisely because today's intervention emanates from an island Region such as Sicily, the role of hinge between Europe and the Mediterranean partners that the Mediterranean Islands can play appears crucial, due to their historical, cultural, economic and geopolitical role.

Island regions - as it is well known - have specific geographical, economic, demographic and social characteristics, which involve peculiar challenges in the framework of the application of European policies: small size (area, population, economy), limited local market and difficulties in achieving economies of scale, high transport costs, poorly developed inter-industrial relations, lack of entrepreneurial skills, infrastructure and services for companies (compared to continental companies), compression of social and educational services to citizens and, more recently, suffer in more massive terms the migration phenomenon.

Article 174 TFEU is the foundation of the European policy of social, economic and territorial cohesion. As is well known, the first and second paragraphs establish that the EU aims to reduce the gap between the levels of development of the regions through the strengthening of cohesion policies, while the third paragraph states that particular attention must be paid to regions with serious and permanent natural handicaps, including islands.

The condition of insularity, the subject of multiple interventions by the *European Parliament*, the *European Committee of the Regions*, the *Economic and Social Committee*, in particular the European Parliament has adopted several resolutions (most recently "*Special situation of islands*", European Parliament resolution, 4 February 2016) as the European Committee of the Regions ("*Entrepreneurship on Islands: contributing towards territorial cohesion*", Opinion of the European Committee of the Regions 2017/C 306/10, May 2017).

However, beyond a few limited interventions, it can be said that the "condition of insularity" still remains marginal in the policies of cohesion and use of ESI funds.<sup>18</sup>

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ENP, to make programs and projects more goal-oriented and with a real impact on the local community.

<sup>17</sup> UNION FOR THE MEDITERRANEAN (2015), *Ministerial Conference on Blue Economy*, in [https://ufmsecretariat.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/2015-11-17-declaration-on-blue-economy\\_en.pdf](https://ufmsecretariat.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/2015-11-17-declaration-on-blue-economy_en.pdf), last accessed on 1/8/2019. Consider the report approved in Barcelona, January 23, 2020, at the XI session of ARLEM, *Report on the Blue economy for local and regional authorities in the Mediterranean*, rapporteur V. Bianco, in <https://cor.europa.eu/en/events/Documents/ARLEM/5th%20ARLEM%20Commission/Draft%20report%20on%20the%20Blue%20Economy%20for%20local%20and%20regional%20authorities%20in%20the%20Mediterranean%20Region/cor-2019-04007-00-00-tcd-tra-en.pdf>

<sup>18</sup> In the 362 islands of the 15 countries within the EU with more than 50 inhabitants that have them, a total of 17.7 million people live there (of which 3.7 million in the outermost regions and more than 6.6 million in Sicily and Sardinia), in these regions the GDP per capita is less than 80% of the EU average and a significant part of them still belong to the category of less developed regions, so they face structural and permanent difficulties specific to these territories, which entail additional costs for their businesses, weighing on their development prospects. Most of these island regions (classified NUTS 2 and 3) have not completed any process of economic convergence, and in the last 20 years their situation has even deteriorated, in particular due to the financial crisis, the austerity policies adopted by Member States and the lack of innovation of the worsening situation of connections and transport.

5. It is necessary to ensure - and COPPEM<sup>19</sup> And COPPEM will be able to play in this sense a leading role together with the regional Institutions (Regional Government and Assembly in the first place), as well as with the Members of the European Parliament and the members of the European Committee of the Regions - that Sicily, the largest island of the Mediterranean and the only large European island not to be a State or to enjoy a specific statute at European level, as well as the other Regions of Southern Europe can play their role in the European partnership by fully involving territorial (Municipalities and Provinces) and functional (Universities and Chambers of Commerce) institutions, civil society, social partners<sup>20</sup>.

From another point of view, it should be remembered that articles 2 and 21 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) establish that solidarity is a fundamental value of the Union, while under article 3 TEU the EU promotes its values, namely economic, social and territorial cohesion and solidarity among member states and the welfare of the peoples of Europe.

In a letter received from the European Commissioner for Cohesion, Elisa Ferreira, to whom the report on the costs of insularity in Sicily was sent, it was stated that the European Commission "*will evaluate the Recovery and Resilience Plans proposed by Member States in a transparent and fair manner, according to the criteria of relevance, effectiveness, efficiency and coherence, [...] the Commission will assess whether the Recovery and Resilience Plan is expected to effectively contribute to strengthening the growth potential, job creation and economic, social and institutional resilience of the Member State, contributing to the implementation of the European Pillar of Social Rights, including through the promotion of policies for children and youth, and to mitigate the economic and social impact of the COVID-19 crisis, thereby strengthening economic, social and territorial cohesion and convergence within the Union. In line with the requirement, the Commission has asked member states to outline in their Recovery and Resilience Plans how they will contribute to strengthening cohesion, taking into account local, regional, and national disparities, including rural/urban gaps. Again, this criterion does not imply a precise breakdown among different regions, social groups, or other subnational entities. Rather, the Commission will qualitatively assess, based on information provided by the member state, whether the plan is expected to effectively contribute to the elements outlined.*"<sup>21</sup>

The subject of economic, social and territorial cohesion - and here is the relaunched issue of the condition of insularity and the pressing need for equalization - as well as those that have become central in the European program of recovery and resilience of the ecological and digital transition, but also the issues of European democracy, the Mediterranean neighborhood, agriculture and

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<sup>19</sup> COPPEM's international network was created in 2000 by the Sicilian Region's legislation for Euro-Mediterranean cooperation, with the support of the Arab Towns Organization and the Council of European Municipalities and Regions; the first official meeting was held the same year in Gaza with representatives of local and regional authorities of the Euro-Mediterranean area. The objective of COPPEM is to promote cooperation and local and decentralized development, pursuing the objectives set out in the Barcelona Declaration (1995).

<sup>20</sup> The 2021 national Budget Law (paragraph 626) has allocated 2 million euros for the year 2021 to carry out initiatives, coordinated by the Department for European Policies of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, in agreement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, aimed at offering the possibility of implementing Italy's participation in the Conference on the Future of Europe. It would be opportune that also the European Regions invest in this opening phase of the democratic debate.

<sup>21</sup> In his communication, Commissioner Ferreira also adds that Member States will also have access to REACT-EU, which will be a €47.5 billion supplement to the 2014-2020 cohesion policy programs and "*Given that even for REACT-EU there is no regional distribution of funds, as it is an emergency instrument, I have written to Member States encouraging them to use these funds primarily in the regions that have been most affected by the crisis and have the least means to recover on their own.*"



fisheries, an integrated migration policy and the revitalization of *Frontex*. But in general it is the whole activity of the EU that will be the subject of the comparison with the citizens.

The Sicilian Regional Government has recently regained, with the work of the MEPs, with the Presidency of the Intermediterranean Commission of the CPMR of President Musumeci and that of the Intergroup for the Islands at the European Committee of the Regions, a central role in European policies in the coming years and that will be further strengthened by the coordination of the Commission for European and International Affairs recently conferred by the Conference of Regions and Autonomous Provinces.

It will be the Sicilian Regional Government to play, until 2026, the delicate role of interface between all Italian regions, the national government and European institutions with regard to the new European programming 21-27, the implementation of Recovery Fund measures, but also national cohesion policies.

The Island has been a protagonist in the construction of the European Institutions; the Messina Conference, which took place from June 1st to 3rd 1955 - as it is well known under the decisive push of the then Minister of Foreign Affairs Gaetano Martino -, adopted a final resolution that contained the commitment to create a common organization for the development of atomic energy, to establish a common market to be realized in stages, to facilitate the movement of workers, to ensure access to raw materials, to coordinate monetary policies, to create a European fund for investment. At the same time, it was decided to set up an intergovernmental committee to draw up a draft general common market and a specific common market for atomic energy.

The Report produced by the Committee was then shared at the *Venice Conference* (May 29-30, 1956) to become the basis of the Treaty signed in Rome, establishing the *European Economic Community*, in the spring of the following year. A Region, therefore, that wants to have its say on the future of Europe, to strengthen its democratic and reforming drive, but also to clearly indicate what needs to be changed in an institutional system in which intergovernmental relations still have too much space and European institutions too little, starting from a decisive strengthening of the role of the European Parliament and the European Committee of the Regions, making the best use of the multilingual digital platform that will allow European citizens to contribute to the success of the work of the Conference.

The opportunity for citizens, in particular for Sicilians, border Europeans by culture and history, to contribute to the strengthening of the European democratic house by bringing the culture, the needs and the longing for a redemption that only a more efficient (in terms of policy-making process) and fairer Europe will be able to offer, looking to an inclusive and peaceful Mediterranean, is the challenge that opens the *Conference on the future of Europe*, thus performing the task of creating opportunities and moments of confrontation and debate in the unceasing Heraclitus' *River of European democracy* that will be able to grow and progress.

And the hoped-for recovery of the Mediterranean's centrality in the debate of the Conference on the Future of Europe that is being called for today will be our task, also in view of the ecological challenge that involves this sea, pregnant with history, but now overloaded by human consumption and in some cases abuse, which is suffering from an extraordinary progression of warming and pollution that require urgent mitigation measures. And in this regard we must accept without hesitation the warning of Prof. Giorgio Parisi, recent Nobel Prize for Physics, who strongly invites humanity to "*no longer exploit the Earth, but build a world where everything is renewable. It*



*is a very difficult race; we must arrive in time, before the resources run out. The alternative would be to return to the Stone Age, when far fewer resources were consumed."*<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> Interview with the Corriere della sera of November 19, 2021 in [https://www.corriere.it/sette/incontri/21\\_novembre\\_19/giorgio-parisi-fisica-non-chiedete-se-dio-esiste-e166de72-47ae-11ec-8bc9-3ede90e62115.shtml?refresh\\_ce](https://www.corriere.it/sette/incontri/21_novembre_19/giorgio-parisi-fisica-non-chiedete-se-dio-esiste-e166de72-47ae-11ec-8bc9-3ede90e62115.shtml?refresh_ce)