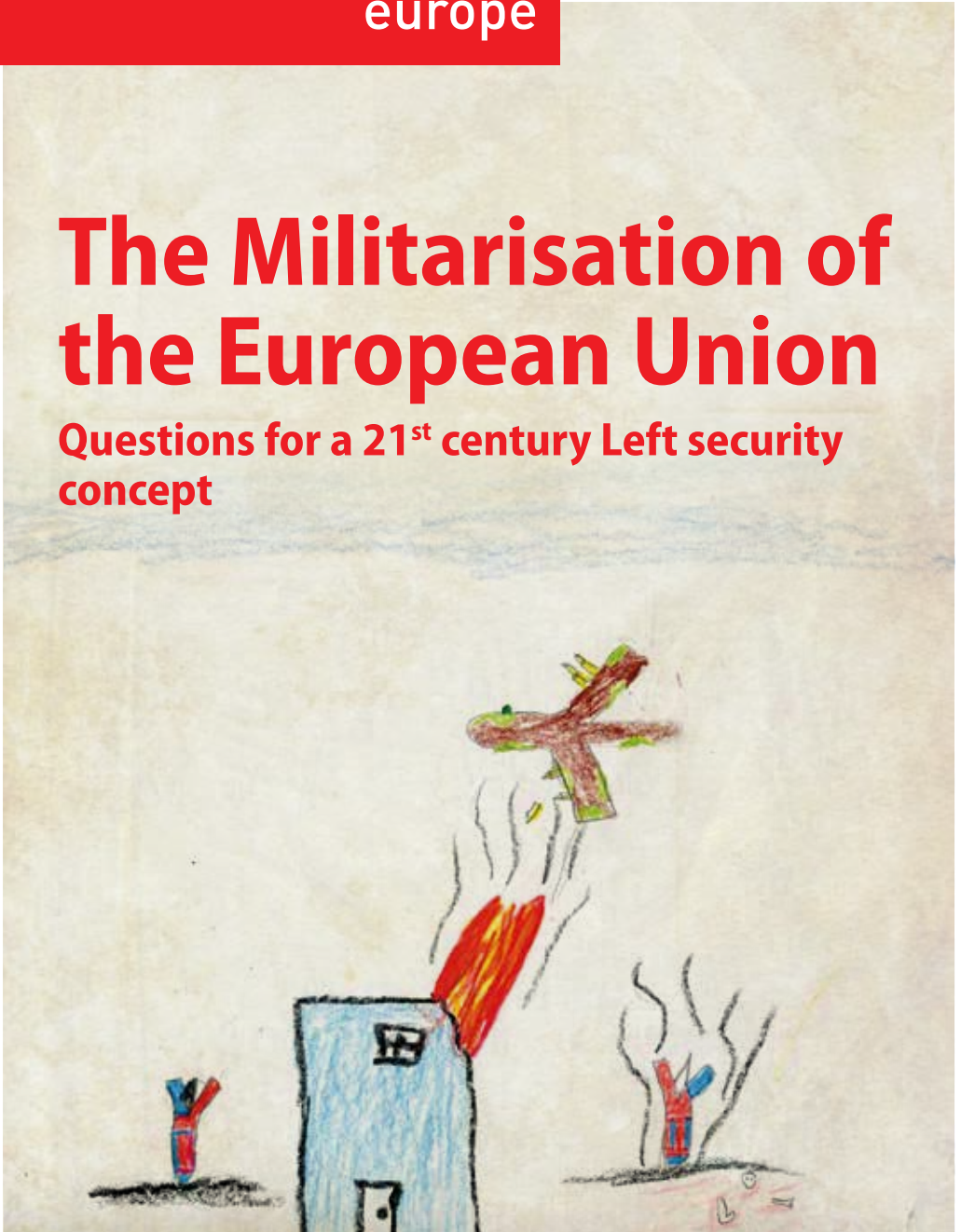




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europe

# The Militarisation of the European Union

Questions for a 21<sup>st</sup> century Left security concept



# The Militarisation of the European Union

## Questions for a 21<sup>st</sup> Century Left Security Concept

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### IMPRINT



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*Dena, 7 years old*

Country of Origin: Afghanistan

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## Preface

*Roland Kulke, Facilitator, transform! europe*

On Saturday 20<sup>th</sup> October 2018, Trump announced that he wanted to withdraw from the 1987 “Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces” Treaty. This treaty was signed by Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev, and stopped the arms race in short- and medium-range (500 km to 5,500 km) land-based weapons. Five days later, at midnight on 25<sup>th</sup> October 2018, 50,000 soldiers started the combat phase of NATO’s biggest military war game since the Cold War. The number of machines involved was incredible, with 10,000 vehicles and 250 aircrafts. The whole Harry S. Truman aircraft carrier strike group was involved, adding unbelievable destructive power to 65 other ships. NATO was following the “sabre-rattling” of Russia, which, just one month earlier, in September 2018, had invited China to take part in Russia’s biggest war games since the end of the Cold War with an incredible 300,000 soldiers.

What is the Nobel Peace Prize Winner, the European Union, doing in such daring circumstances where the militarisation of Europe's flanking powers, Russia and the USA, is reaching another level of ludicrous, mutually assured destruction? Is the EU actively using its diplomatic strength to initiate a new round of disarmament? On the contrary!

The President of the European Commission, Juncker, member of the conservative European People's Party, used the result of the Brexit vote to immediately call for the militarisation of the EU. Since the Brexit decision, the only political project that the neoliberal elites in the EU and its member states are pursuing is the multidimensional militarisation of the EU. In his "State of the Union Speech" on 12<sup>th</sup> September 2018, Juncker discussed only one new project for the EU: preparing the EU as a global player in hard politics. Our European elites are using the EU for a new round of militarisation of our societies. They are openly breaking the rules of the Lisbon Treaty, Article 41(2), which explicitly forbids a single cent of EU funds being used to pay for the defence sector.

In this situation, *transform! europe* has gathered a collective of authors to write a small brochure to stimulate discussion among European left parties and movements with regard to the current militarisation of the European Union. As this topic is so diverse, we did not aim to develop one coherent narrative. After intense discussions within our group, we distributed different tasks to each one of us, so that the different authors would focus on different aspects of analysing the militarisation of our European societies. Therefore, dear reader, here and there, you will find some overlapping between the different chapters, as well as different views on the phenomenon we are discussing. You might also find opinions that you don't share. Please take this as an invitation for discussion with us, other comrades and friends.

In the name of the writers' collective, I wish you an interesting and stimulating read.

*Roland Kulke*



*Asma, 9*

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## It's Not Only a Battle of Ideas

*Walter Baier, Political Coordinator, transform! europe*

On 28<sup>th</sup> July 1914, when the Austrian Emperor declared war on Serbia, he was envisaging a limited punitive action, imperialist business as usual. But after a few days, it turned out that he had unleashed a world war. Four years later, the battlefields were covered with 17 million dead, and old Europe no longer existed. One thing this demonstrated was that wars in the industrial age are no longer a 'continuation of politics by other means' but are elementary events, which, after a certain point, elude the control of their perpetrators. Therefore, especially in the atomic age, preventing war has to be the first priority of politics.

## TWO TENDENCIES IN POLITICS

The political situation in Europe has deteriorated despite modest economic growth. The South is wrestling with the consequences of austerity policy; in the East, the EU's promises of prosperity have not been kept. For some years now, in numerous countries, the notion that social problems are caused by refugees and immigrants has been gaining ground. A combination of social frustration and misinformation is currently destroying ethical standards and has led to a surge of the radical, nationalist right. The ugly spectre of nationalism is haunting Europe.

This fear for the future is not unfounded. Brexit, the trade war launched by the Trump administration, the danger of a new recession, military conflict in the Ukraine, the wars in Syria and Kurdistan, Turkey's slide into dictatorship, the list goes on – everything merges to form the image of a crisis that is affecting the very core of Europe's economic and political order.

What is irrational, however, is to believe that through closing its borders and upgrading its border guard system, Frontex, Europe can seal itself off from the world's problems.

The European Commission's White Paper on the Future of Europe is correct when it states that Europe's weight in the world is diminishing. Its share of the world's population, its contribution to the gross world product, and the importance of the euro as an international currency are all diminishing.<sup>1</sup>

These changes within the global capitalist order are not negative per se, as they represent a corrective of the world order skewed by colonialism. It is inevitable that Europe must come to terms with its new, more modest role in the world.

But, the question is: Through what forms will the transformation of the capitalist world order occur and how does this relate to the solution of global problems, above all the ecological challenge?

Two tendencies confront each other in each individual society and in global politics:

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1 European Commission, White Paper on the Future of Europe, 2017, p. 8.

On the one side, there is the rampant anarchy between the states and the people, in which the rights of the strongest are put to the test with increasing frequency and catastrophic consequences; on the other side is the possibility of using humanity's enormous economic and scientific potential, achieving the unavoidable transformation of world society without interstate violence, cooperatively and in the framework of a system of guaranteed mutual security and international law.

This confrontation is not conducted 'innocently' in the realm of freely competing concepts. Powerful interests are at stake. Worldwide military expenditures amounted to 1.74 billion US dollars in 2017.<sup>2</sup> International tensions and conflicts make up the business model of the arms industries and their lobbies, which exert influence on governments.

These are not the only players influencing governments. As crisis-ridden as the last decade has been for hundreds of millions of people, it has made the powerful more powerful and the rich richer. 82 per cent of worldwide growth was appropriated last year by the richest per cent of the world's population. It is easy to understand that in a world in which 42 billionaires own as much as one half of the world's population,<sup>3</sup> even a peaceful transformation in the direction of worldwide social equality will have to overcome enormous resistance.

To give an example: After the collapse of the Rana Plaza textile factory in Bangladesh, which claimed the lives of 1,135 workers, it took two years for 30 million dollars to be paid to the survivors and surviving family members. 30 million for 1,135 lives means 26,431 dollars per person!

In the same year, in 2015, a German passenger flight crashed in the French Pyrenees, killing 150 passengers and crew members. After a few weeks, the media reported that the parent company of the airline would pay an average of 2.3 million euros per victim, totalling 350 million euros – with, it should be noted, the life of a US citizen valued at 4.5 million, well above the average, and that of a citizen of the People's Republic of China at 0.5 million, well under the average.<sup>4</sup> Here, we have an actuarial presentation of the relative value of human life. On the international

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2 Data from Das Statistik-Portal, Länder mit den höchsten Militärausgaben 2017.

3 Karsten Seibel, 42 Milliardäre besitzen so viel wie die halbe Welt, *Die Welt*, 22 January 2018.

4 Tina Kaiser, Für US-Opfer werden 4,1 Millionen Euro bezahlt, *Die Welt* 3 April 2018.

financial markets, the life of a person from the capitalist metropolises counts for 87 times the life of a textile worker in Bangladesh. This is the political economy of global capitalism.

## CRISIS AND TRANSFORMATION

A great deal of blood is going to flow, the British historian Eric Hobsbawm said in a 2009 interview.<sup>5</sup> Wars, rebellions, and refugee and migration movements, with all their suffering and victims, confirm his prediction and the assumption that the form in which the world is now constituted is unsustainable.

Just as in the 1920s and '30s, a radical right is now materialising that preaches violence, promising to solve problems through sealed borders and internal militarisation. But social problems cannot be solved by force in the long run; this applies all the more to today's social issue, which has become a global one. Instead of building refugee camps on their borders, or indeed in Africa, the EU would be well advised to correct the unfair trade relations established in the European Partnership Agreements with African, Asian and Caribbean countries.

People in civil society, the churches and political movements are rising up today against violence, the violation of human rights and the curtailing of democracy. They would be natural allies in a peace movement.

If the interests of the many are to prevail over the egotism of the few, the relations of power in politics and the economy have to be fundamentally changed. However, the solution to problems cannot be postponed until a great day when the world is restructured on a non-capitalist basis; and it is hypocrisy to defer the solidarity with refugees that is necessary today until a time in the distant future when the causes of their flight can be removed.

The problem lies in finding the political forms of transition. The key concept for this is peace. Peace policy has to be based on the world the way it is, with its diversity of outlooks, its differences and sharply antagonistic interests that have emerged with global capitalism. Peace means negotiating differences and antagonisms without violence, and creating an appropriate legal and institutional framework for this purpose.

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5 Eric Hobsbawm, Es wird Blut fließen, viel Blut, Stern, 6 May 2009.



Since the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, quite some distance has been covered in the creation of a civilised international order: the founding of the United Nations, the elimination of colonial empires, the treaties on nuclear arms reduction, as well as the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe. Much of this is now in danger of being abolished or turned into its opposite.

One may question the premise that peace was actually the guiding principle at the beginning of the process of the capitalist integration of Europe. But the fact is that integration made almost three-quarters of a century of peace possible between the two main continental powers, Germany and France. Today the European Union is the world's biggest single market; it can also continue to be a political framework for the peaceful reconciliation of interests among Member States.

Its reigning neoliberal policy has gravely damaged the EU. The nationalist, radical right is using this to revive the age of aggressive imperialist rivalries. It is reactionary in every respect.

Turning Europe into a space for the peaceful coexistence of different peoples requires opposition to both projects competing for hegemony among the ruling classes: the neoliberal project and the nationalist project.

## **SECURITY IN EUROPE**

With the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, there was an opportunity to effectively disarm Europe, in particular, to free it of nuclear weapons. The USA and its allies let this historic opportunity go by. Through the successive expansions of NATO, the new US bases in Europe and the stationing of missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads in Eastern Europe, new tensions have been provoked. Trump's America First policy is rhetorically bringing US policy to the point of contradicting the elementary interests of European security.

This provides the objective background for an intensified discussion on security at the top levels of the EU. In June 2016, Federica Mogherini, the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, published a

strategic document for a militarily strong EU,<sup>6</sup> but candidly admitted a year later that ‘the Global Strategy has served as a springboard to relaunch the process of European integration after the British referendum.’<sup>7</sup>

The development of military power as a substitute for declining social and political coherence – how many political catastrophes in history have occurred in this way?

In November 2017, 25 of the 28 EU Member States agreed on the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO), whose aim is to open the way to a European army via a substantial increase in armaments on a national level and the creation of interoperability between national armed forces. Thus, the European Union is setting about creating a military instrument in the absence of a public debate on its meaning and strategic goals. Therefore, the first basic question is: On what democratic basis and with what kind of legitimation have the foreign and defence ministers made this major decision?

Europe is already over-militarised. There are good arguments to be made that Europe needs not more, but less military, and disarmament rather than armament. Aside from the non-transparent and authoritarian way in which this decision was made, the militarisation of the EU is a step in the wrong direction. First of all, it serves to provide EU subsidies to the military-industrial complex and to create an enlarged domestic market for high-tech arms.

## SECURITY POLICY AND DEMOCRACY

The European Union is not identical to Europe. The attempt to make it identical will inevitably lead to confrontations. Alternatively, a system of cooperative security that provides a common security-policy shelter for all states, from the Atlantic to the Urals, has to have the plurality of the political and social systems in Europe as its point of departure.

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6 Federica Mogherini, *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe – A Global Strategy for the European Union’s Foreign And Security Policy*, June 2016.

7 Federica Mogherini, *The EU Global Strategy – Year 1, 2017*.

Its basis must be the European states' common renunciation of force under binding international law, which would make multilateral disarmament and especially the abolition of nuclear weapons possible.

It is worthwhile considering the European Security Council idea launched at the beginning of the 1990s, which, analogously to the UN Security Council, would be vested with a monopoly on the legitimate deployment of military force.<sup>8</sup>

The Council of Europe, to which 47 countries with 820 million inhabitants belong, and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe could be the forums from which this kind of a universal European security architecture could emerge.

When, at the beginning of the 1950s, six states formed the European Coal and Steel Community, the purpose was to rein in the Franco-German conflict but, in the final analysis, also to mobilise the heavy-industry potential of the two states within the Cold War context. But the Cold War no longer exists, and the framework of six has been expanded, which is why the EU cannot continue to rotate around the German-French axis. Just as democracy in the Member States must be strengthened and enhanced, a sovereign European Parliament must become the political centre of the EU. It must not curtail, but must complement the national parliaments and subject the intergovernmental cooperation of the states to parliamentary public control.

Without the democratisation of its foreign policy, and thus, the placing of security policy under a sovereign European Parliament, the left can only reject the creation of a military identity for the European Union.

The attempt to carry out a militarisation of EU security policy in an authoritarian way will lead to the same disintegrative results as austerity policy. By contrast, the 2007 Treaty of Lisbon provides for security-policy pluralism, according to which the common foreign and security policy 'shall not prejudice the specific character of the security and defence policy of certain Member States'.<sup>9</sup>

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8 See Mikhail Gorbachev, *Listen to Reason – War No More! An Appeal by Mikhail Gorbachev to the World*, Benevento Publishing, 2017

9 Treaty of Lisbon, Article 42, §2.

What was thought of as *carte blanche* for the European NATO members also represents, on the other hand, a legitimisation of the status of the five neutral and non-aligned states, and could become a new instrument for peace policy. Neutral, nuclear-weapon-free zones in Northern Europe, in Central and Eastern European states (Austria, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland), and in the countries of the former Yugoslavia could become steps on the path to demilitarisation and the liberation of Europe from nuclear weapons, with the EU offering an international legal framework to fight for it.

Peace is politics. Success and failure depend on the relations of force among antagonistic tendencies. Democratisation of foreign policy is therefore a strategic goal. The Hungarian-Austrian social philosopher Karl Polanyi wrote that all great questions of politics are suitable to undergo public discussion.

Democracy is the most rational way of exercising power. Where narrow circles of politicians and experts arrogate the right to make decisions affecting everyone's future to themselves, they have to be stopped by public mobilisation.

This applies especially today. Europe needs a new peace movement that calls into question the political power and monopoly of rulers in interpreting reality, so as to renew politics along democratically determined lines.



Mustafa, 4

Country of Origin: Afghanistan

Country of Residence: Greece

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## Areas of Tension in Europe

*Erhard Crome, Senior Research Fellow with WeltTrends*

The situation in Europe as a whole is characterised at present by three developments:

1. The EU is endeavouring to continue its process of integration, both in terms of deeper integration and, despite Brexit, expansion towards the east. This includes the association agreements with Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova.
2. The disintegration processes within the post-Soviet region – as shown by the conflict over Ukraine – are not over and there is a strong correlation with the renewed integration processes, e.g. in the form of the Eurasian Economic Union between Russia, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Armenia and Kyrgyzstan.

3. The eastward expansion of NATO is part of a restructuring of the world driven by the USA. This comes up against the differentiated interests of the “old” NATO members on the one hand and the “new” accession countries on the other. Since the election of Donald Trump as US President NATO’s further development is subject to a redefinition of US interests.

In the West, faced with the collapse of the Soviet Union an independent Ukraine was seen as a key component in a geopolitical restructuring. Zbigniew Brzeziński, who was one of the pioneers of US global strategy, stressed that an independent Ukraine was the “geopolitical linchpin” for Russia remaining in a weakened position. This must, he said, be an integral part of the comprehensive strategy of the USA and the West in Eurasia.<sup>10</sup>

The US political scientist Parag Khanna identifies three imperial hubs in the world, though: the USA, China and the EU. The development in the world depends, he says, on how it succeeds in creating links with the rest of the world, creating zones of influence and permanently dominating these zones.<sup>11</sup> Today, the world is neither unipolar – with the USA at its centre, as many thought after the end of the Cold War – nor multipolar, but is a “concert of Powers” in which strong economic, military and political actors vie for power and influence. In contrast to Khanna, we include both Russia and India in this, as well as – to a certain extent – Brazil and South Africa, which exercise influence at least in their separate regions. Together with China, they joined forces to establish a regular coordination mechanism, the BRICS association, responding to the West as a political power. The Shanghai Organisation plays a similar role.

The USA and the EU – with Germany as the heart of the hegemony<sup>12</sup> – are, on the one hand, competitors; yet, on the other, they are “linked together” where they see themselves bound to pursue interests together, or at least in parallel. The expansion to the east by NATO and the EU are, therefore, not “two sides of

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10 Zbigniew Brzeziński, *Die einzige Weltmacht: Amerikas Strategie der Vorherrschaft*, S. Fischer Verlag, 1997, p. 74, 216.

11 Cf. Parag Khanna, *Der Kampf um die Zweite Welt. Imperien und Einfluss in der neuen Weltordnung*, Berlin Verlag, 2008.

12 Discussed in detail in Erhard Crome: *Deutschland in Europa. Eine neue Hegemonie*, in: Erhard Crome, Raimund Krämer (ed.): *Hegemonie und Multipolarität. Weltordnungen im 21. Jahrhundert*, WeltTrends, 2013, p. 165-205.

the same coin”, but disparate developments that differ from each other. Both expanded eastwards up to the border with Russia. When Western politicians and journalists claim that the West would gradually amplify “its values”, while Russian President Vladimir Putin ostensibly wants to extend his influence territorially in a manner typical of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this is pure propaganda. Of course, NATO and the European Union constitute territorial entities. The former is dominated by the USA; the second by Germany.

## THE EU AT A CROSSROAD

The question is, however, whether the EU as an integration alliance will in the long run tolerate the gap that exists between the centre and the periphery and a German hegemony. This is the “German question” all over again. Even at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century this seemed to be the German dilemma, similar to that of the old empire until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648: Germany, larger and richer in resources than any other European state (apart from Russia), but weaker than the other European states combined; seemingly too big to fit within the everyday structure; yet not in fact big enough to be able to dominate the other states and nations. In this sense, the “German question” was, for the Germans, always a question of their unity – and was henceforth settled with the national unification of 1990; for the other states and peoples of Europe, however, the question was of protection from Germany and its dominance on the continent. Germany is the main beneficiary of the introduction of the Euro, and it would bear the brunt of a collapse. Today, the dispute over the Euro is the main line of argument in the fight over the “German question”.

It is often argued that the solution to the hegemony problem lies in strengthening collaboration. In fact, however, both are closely intertwined. The sociologist Ulrich Beck drew attention to this, stating “the constellation of power in a German Europe” makes it clear that “Europeanization can take either of two opposing forms, two types of integration and cooperation: equal involvement (reciprocity), or hierarchical subordination (hegemony)”. In this context: “The putative inherent necessity of the austerity policy decreed by Germany led to the standard of equal involvement being pushed discreetly to one side and increasingly often being

replaced by forms of hierarchical subordination.”<sup>13</sup> Hegemony and cooperation are not contradictions, therefore, but rather hegemony is enforced through cooperation. It takes shape based on the conditions stipulated by the hegemon. This is not done by means of repressive measures, but through mechanisms of self-subjugation of the political and economic persons responsible in other countries. These mechanisms are implemented through the EU’s institutions by willing executors in EU departments and in the countries in question. The hegemon does not replace the networks with a command centre but rather asserts itself through them by controlling the networks’ key hubs. This is where the categorical difference between repression and submission is important (Michel Foucault). It works best when the hegemon is no longer at all visible as such, and only the “inherent necessity” is carried out.

Nevertheless, since its creation as an institution in 1950 the EU has been opposed to a hegemonic system from the viewpoint of a contractual situation. The acquiescence of the others must always be re-established. This places the highest demands on the networking of the hegemonic centre, moreover under the conditions of the sovereign equality of the states, which cannot be suspended within the EU and which results from international law. The institutional structure of the EU is not made for hegemony, whatever its origins, and is – in spirit and letter – opposed to a hegemonic quest.

The conflicts over the future of the European Union are, consequently, played out on three levels:

- There are still struggles – exacerbated in the aftermath of the economic and financial crisis – between work and capital, between dependent workers and owners of capital.
- There are clashes between the different states and major companies within the EU, as well as their various aspirations and ambitions.
- There is a conflict between German hegemonic policy and the institutional arrangement of the EU.

The contradictions and clashes that are played out on these three levels are interconnected and have a mutual influence on each other. In the end, the outcome

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13 Ulrich Beck, *Das deutsche Europa. Neue Machtlandschaften im Zeichen der Krise*, Suhrkamp, 2012, p. 56.



of these struggles to a large extent decides Europe's fate: what type of character will the EU have? Will it remain a refuge for neoliberalism, which at the same time is emerging increasingly clearly as a military power; or will it be a welfare-state structure that acts internationally as a civil power? The end result is undecided in the sense that the "objective conditions" make various outcomes possible. Ultimately, the decisive factor is the political ability of the real actors – and that not only means governments and top-level bureaucrats in the offices of Brussels, but primarily the people in all EU countries with their political movements and parties, trade unions and organisations – and with their civic courage.



Sana, 9

Country of Origin: Afghanistan

Country of Residence: Greece

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## Authoritarianism and Militarisation

*Ines Mahmoud, Researcher with Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung Tunis  
and Katerina Anastasiou, Facilitator, transform! europe*

The beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century seems to be marked by a rising tide of authoritarianism in Europe and beyond. In particular, the years following the 2008 financial crisis have been marked by extended states of emergency<sup>14</sup> and situations of permanent

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14 Amnesty International, Dangerously disproportionate: The ever-expanding national security state in Europe, 17 January 2017.

“crisis”, along with police brutality<sup>15</sup> and extended surveillance<sup>16</sup>. The current rise of authoritarianism<sup>17</sup> in Europe poses a specific threat to democracy, which in the past years, after the authoritarian handling of the financial crisis, has become an increasing focus for the left. Alongside a focus on fighting international trade agreements and promoting the democratisation of the EU however, the shifting emphasis on “securitisation”<sup>18</sup> and militarisation of the EU<sup>19</sup> must be met with equal attentiveness by the left. 2018, and the EU Commission is allocating significant funds to military spending<sup>20</sup>, unprecedented in previous years. With the establishment of PESCO<sup>21</sup> by the European Council in December 2017, a European military command structure has been created. The establishment of the European Defence Fund<sup>22</sup> (EDF) in 2017 and the European Defence Industrial Development Programme (EDIDP) in May 2018 makes the direction that the EU’s defence policy is going in clear.

Not least as a result of the growing differences with regard to the United States and in the course of the UK’s exit from Europe through Brexit, the EU has entered a new shift. In the so-called war against terror, as well as new, emerging, “preventive” security policies acting as emergency policies, such as the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act (CTS Act)<sup>23</sup> in the UK, constitutional as well as international laws in permanent states of exception are undermined.<sup>24</sup> In the CTS Act for example, it

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15 Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe, Police abuse – a serious threat to the rule of law, 24 February 2014.

16 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, Surveillance by intelligence services: fundamental rights safeguards and remedies in the EU – Volume II: field perspectives and legal update, October 2017

17 BBC, Europe and nationalism: A country-by-country guide, 10 September 2018.

18 On the shift towards security measures in the EU budget, see chapter 10 ff..

19 Alessandra Giannessi, transform! europe, Europe in a Changing Global Order: Militarization and the New EU Global Strategy for Security and Defence, 15 November 2017.

20 Yvonne-Stefania Efstathiou, European defence spending gets a boost from the EU, 18 June 2018.

21 See the fact sheet on the home page from the European External Action Service, 28 June 2018.

22 European Commission press release, EU budget: Stepping up the EU’s role as a security and defence provider, 13 June 2018.

23 Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015.

24 See the open letter “PREVENT will have a chilling effect on open debate, free speech and political dissent”, 10 July 2015.

was made a statutory duty for persons employed in the public sector<sup>25</sup> to “identify” and “prevent” extremism, according to vague guidelines given by the UK government.

In this permanent state of exception, rightless subjects are produced, who are placed outside political life and outside the framework of civil rights. This becomes most apparent on the borders of Europe, which are increasingly militarised,<sup>26</sup> and consequently leads to people seeking protection, facing deadly borders<sup>27</sup>.

On an EU level, military agreements, such as the EU-Turkey deal<sup>28</sup>, have been focused on more and more, while this shifting EU focus has not been sufficiently accompanied by an equal focus on the militarisation of the EU by the left. Big capital is becoming more and more unpunishable, from tax evasion to labour law standards.

Our societies are being militarised. The shift towards authoritarianism, alongside the militarisation of states and extension of police apparatus, is also leading to a militarisation of societies. Citizens have begun to organise themselves into militant groups, often supported by the state, as is the case with the so-called “Sicherheitsbürger”<sup>29</sup> in Austria. Parallely, current far-right<sup>30</sup> formations, often supported by parties,<sup>31</sup> and even governments<sup>32</sup> and local authorities<sup>33</sup>, are pushing for, or

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25 <https://educateagainsthate.com/teachers/prevent-duty/>.

26 Transnational Institute, press release, 2016 sees more EU border militarisation, arms industry profits from refugee tragedy, 19 December 2016.

27 Nick Buxton and Mark Akkerman, The deadly consequences of Europe’s border militarization, 19 December 2016.

28 Deutsche Welle, The EU-Turkey refugee agreement: A review, 18 March 2018.

29 <https://www.ots.at/t/sicherheitsb%C3%BCrger>.

30 Lizzie Dearden, German anti-terror police uncover hidden paramilitary training camps for far-right extremists, 23 June 2017.

31 Harald Vilimsky, Kriminalisierung von Waffenbesitzern durch EU erreicht neuen Höhepunkt, 21 June 2014.

32 Senato, la legittima difesa è sempre riconosciuta: via libera in aula, la riforma passa alla Camera, 24 October 2018.

33 Italian mayor offers ‘gun bonus’ to citizens, 21 October 2015.

even enforcing, the liberation of the possession<sup>34</sup> of firearms.

Alongside the threats that democracy is facing, the rule of law seems to be on the decline<sup>35</sup>. This is becoming obvious with the lack of compliance with international protection treaties when it comes to refugees entering European<sup>36</sup> space. We are faced with illiberal democracies<sup>37</sup> fighting for hegemony. Although the importance of the United Nations as an international mediator and instance of justice is frequently stressed by leftist parties in Europe, strengthening and democratising the structures of the UN, and specifically the Security Council, which still reflects an imperial global order with its veto<sup>38</sup> right, must be a recurring focus for the left.

The era we have entered of international wars as well as proxy wars<sup>39</sup> highlights new ethics of conflict and war. Killer robots<sup>40</sup>, autonomous weapons systems, drones, as deployed in the Israeli attacks on Gaza<sup>41</sup> and the war in Syria, as well as other weapons of mass destruction, are part of an international arms race that goes hand in hand with a monopolisation of high technology for the powerful<sup>42</sup>.

These wars are forcing people to flee in often life-threatening ways. Every year, thousands are dying in the Mediterranean and on their way to safety from war, environmental catastrophes, persecution and poverty. Due to the restriction of freedom of movement and the lack of opportunities for legal migration for ref-

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34 Quentin Ariès, Gun lobby stirs to life in Europe – It's not the National Rifle Association of America, but pro-gun groups mobilize against restrictions proposed by Brussels, 4 May 2016.

35 Rule of Law Crisis in the New Member States of the EU, The Pitfalls of Overemphasising Enforcement, Working Paper No. 1, July 2018.

36 <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2018/country-chapters/european-union>.

37 Arne Muis and Lars van Troost (eds.), Will human rights survive illiberal democracy?, March 2018.

38 [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_vetoed\\_United\\_Nations\\_Security\\_Council\\_resolutions](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_vetoed_United_Nations_Security_Council_resolutions).

39 Ian Bremmer, These 5 Proxy Battles Are Making Syria's Civil War Increasingly Complicated, 16 February 2018.

40 <https://www.stopkillerrobots.org/>.

41 David M. Halbfinger, At Gaza Protests – Kites, Drones, Gas, Guns and the Occasional Bomb, 8 June 2018.

42 Pieter D. Wezeman, et al., Trends in international arms transfer 2017, March 2018.

ugees and migrants are dehumanised. The EU Commission proposed an almost triple funding for migration and border management for the next, long-term, 2021-2027 EU budget, standing at 34.9 billion euros, compared with 13 billion in the previous period.

These global North-South relations, established during the colonial project and replaced with the development project of global financial institutions, remain with the obligation of fulfilling harsh loan conditions. These neocolonial structures, however, are equally represented in extractivist capitalism and the ongoing plundering of resources from countries of the global South. We are confronted with fossil fuel wars<sup>43</sup> and trade wars<sup>44</sup>, instead of focusing on transitioning plans for sustainable and socially just economic models for the future. Climate change has become a major factor for displacement<sup>45</sup> as well as famine.<sup>46</sup>

These challenges that we are faced with globally evoke the question of what role the left plays in confronting them. We must ask ourselves what “security” means from a leftist perspective.

A dominant security concept for the left has so far been the advocacy for peace, instead of the development of a concise leftist security policy. We must ask ourselves: Is this enough as a policy approach? How do we work towards a broad disarmament? How do we protect the South and the planet from the effects of climate change?

In conveying our answers to this question, we must acknowledge that we do so while entering a multipolar world identity, in which western-centric globalisation is over. We must reflect on what this means for international and transnational institutions, and open up to a critical approach on the possible refoundation of our positions and strategies.

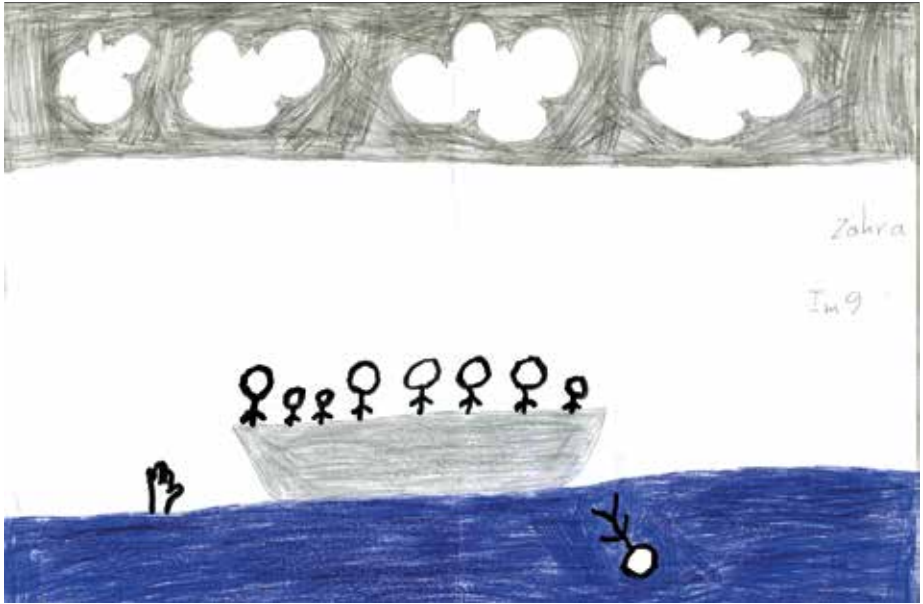
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43 Kevin Dayaratna, For a huge ‘peace dividend,’ end the war on fossil fuels, 27 November 2017.

44 BBC, Trade wars, Trump tariffs and protectionism explained, 26 July 2018.

45 Laignee Barron, 143 Million People Could Soon Be Displaced Because of Climate Change, World Bank Says, 20 March 2018.

46 UNHCR says death risk from starvation in Horn of Africa, Yemen, Nigeria growing, displacement already rising, 11 April 2017.



Zahra, 9 years old

Country of Origin: Afghanistan

Country of Residence: Greece

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## European migration policies and xenophobic pressure

Bruno Montesano, *Campagna Sbilanciamoci* and PhD cand. SOAS London

While nationalist forces rise all over Europe, liberal elites carry on with their conventional policies, officially human rights oriented, but in reality, quite inhuman. Over the last 15 years, under the institutional order preceding the recent xenophobic wave, 34,361 people have died while attempting to cross the Mediterranean Sea (United, 22 June 2018). According to the journalists' consortium *The Migrants' Files*, between 2000 and 2015, European policies that aimed at keeping migrants out of the EU – such as deportations, *Frontex*, border fortifications, research and development on security and defence technologies – cost 13 billion euros<sup>47</sup>.

47 <http://www.themigrantsfiles.com/>

All this was undoubtedly not fortuitous. European migration policies offer very narrow options for legal migration, reflecting the limits of the nation-state order and the economic structure leading to the exploitation of a vulnerable workforce. Living without fundamental rights, and constantly at risk of being expelled, forces migrants to accept any kind of work for low wages, often in conditions of near slavery. Among the economic interests behind the current “migration management”, a “xenophobic industry” is emerging by exploiting fear as a source of business. In 2015, the *Group of Personalities* was established, a “high level group of politicians, academics, think tankers and CEOs from research technology organisations and defence industry to advise on how the EU can support defence research programmes relevant to the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP)”<sup>48</sup>. There, CEOs, such as Tom Enders of Airbus and Mauro Moretti of Finmeccanica, directly use their power to steer the EU institutions towards the technology and services that they produce<sup>49</sup>.

With the 2008 economic crisis and its neoliberal management, which justified the reduction of welfare, social disparities grew. While liberal, and often centre-left, ruling classes implemented austerity, critically failing to keep the lower and middle classes’ interests as their compass, xenophobic feelings increased, and right-wing parties exploited the discontent and fear in disappearing jobs, directing it against migrants. Paradoxically, xenophobic parties pretend to “defend our people first”, even if they support the neoliberal economic policies that deprive the low and middle classes the most. Keeping the ruling classes away from popular rage, the far right deflected the resentment towards migrants, who represent possible allies against those responsible for the inequalities.

Importantly, the largest number of migrants arriving in Europe was approximately 1 million in 2015 (UNHCR), accounting for 0.2% of the European population. The arrivals fell to nearly 360,000 people in 2016 and to 184,000 in 2017, figures that do not reconcile the depicted “migration crisis”. Nonetheless, the European Union has fortified its outer borders, stipulating dedicated treaties with autocrat

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48 European Defence Agency, High-level Group of Personalities on defence research issues statement, Press Release, 18 June 2015

49 Statewatch, European Commission’s handling of military research ‘Group of Personalities’ to be investigated, 24 July 2017 and Transnational Institute Market Forces: The development of the EU Security-Industrial Complex, 25 August 2017



Erdogan (6 billion euros) and with the fragile and violent Libyan regime, harshly criticised by the UN for repeatedly violating human rights. In November 2017, the European Parliament approved a positive reform of the Dublin Regulation that replaced the criterion of the first-access country with a permanent and automatic relocation mechanism based on a mandatory quota system. In summer 2018, the reform is still awaiting the approval of the European Council but, due to the opposition of the Visegrad bloc, of Austria and Italy, it is very likely that it will not become effective. Amongst this shift towards a far-right consensus, NGOs and civil rights activists are criminalised, migrants continue to die at sea and on land, while nationalists claim to want them back in their countries.

At the same time, the liberal forces criticise the xenophobic ones, without doing anything concrete against the injustice produced by the fortification of Europe. Such failing liberal attitudes are well represented by the expulsion of a pregnant woman, Destiny, at the French border that condemned her to death<sup>50</sup>, and the extremely brutal Spanish fence built in Ceuta. While the relocation mechanism introduced in 2015 does not work efficiently, the pressure from the far right further reinforces the nationalisation of migration policies, posing serious risks for the Schengen Treaty. In several European countries, the national reforms of asylum laws design a stricter set of rights, creating a more discriminatory regime between national citizens and migrants (Minniti-Orlando decree in Italy<sup>51</sup>, Macron and Col-lomb's reform<sup>52</sup>, Kurtz and Kickl's bill in Austria<sup>53</sup>). For the 2021-2027 EU budget, the Commission, dramatising the magnitude of migrant's movements, is proposing to almost triple funding for migration and border management to 34.9 billion euros: 21 billion on border management and 10 billion on asylum and countering illegal migration. Sadly, the amount of money allocated for migrant rejection far exceeds the amount devoted to their acceptance.

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50 Marco Revelli, *The border where Europe lost its soul*, *Il Manifesto*, 3 April 2018

51 Giulia Segreti, *Italy approves measures to accelerate asylum procedures*, *Reuters*, 11 April 2017

52 Manon Rescan, *La loi asile et immigration définitivement adoptée à l'Assemblée*, *Le Monde*, 1 August 2018

53 Bethany Bell, *Europe migrants: Austria to seize migrants' phones in asylum*, 20 April 2018, *BBC*, *clampdown*

## EU DEFENCE POLICY

*“Si vis pacem, para bellum”*. The famous Roman phrase perfectly describes the current EU defence policy. In fact, a new 12-billion-euro fund was established for military expenditure, called the *European Peace Facility*. In addition, the Commission is proposing a 13-billion-euro European Defence Fund and 4 billion euros in security for the 2021-2027 EU budget. Moreover, part of the 100 billion euros for *Horizon’s* research and development, and the *Connecting Europe Facility* for transport infrastructures will be spent on defence and security.

Facing the crisis of European integration and the decline in the Atlantic relationship under the Trump tenure, in December 2017, 25 European countries decided to launch PESCO in a first step towards European defence. It operates through two structures: CARD (*Coordinated Annual Review on Defence*) and the *European Defence Fund*. The first one aims to assess the efficiency of military expenditure and foster its transparency. The second promotes investments in military capacities for EU projects on defence technologies. This fund will operate through a research window, mainly with the *Preparatory Action on Defence Research* (PADR), and a capability window, through the *European defence industrial development programme* (EDIDP), which would increase the competitiveness of the European defence industry, supporting the joint acquisition of defence products. Also, PESCO’s legal basis fosters monetary supply to the military-industrial complex. In fact, since Article 41 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) forbids the use of European funds for “operations having military or defence implications”, beyond Articles 42 and 46 of the TEU, PESCO is legitimated by Article 173 of the TFEU (*Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union*) on industrial competition. Thus, as recognised by EU institutions, the second aim for the whole European defence plan seems to be the provision of a prodigal stimulus for European security and defence enterprises, which can steer the EU institutions towards their production.

The fiscal multiplier of defence investments – an indicator that measures the effect on the economy – is lower than those on public services such as transport, health-care or education, to the extent that no relevant economic effects will be achieved. It is also easy to imagine how such production will instead create violence and additional costs to repair what will be destroyed. EU common defence, as currently conceived, will not foster European integration because, through the weighted vote and majority mechanism, Germany and France represent 33% of the European population and can wield veto power. Therefore, it will strengthen the current power

relations among EU member states. In addition, the heterogeneity of perspectives in foreign and security policy is proved by the *European Intervention Initiative* (EI2), the project of another army recently launched by Macron and joined by only nine EU countries, outside the official EU structures. On the one side, the EI2 seems to be an initiative aimed at involving the UK, with a more agile structure than PESCO. On the other, it reflects a hidden conflict with Germany, which France considers to lead PESCO. Hence, while the potential armies multiply alongside the internal fault line within the EU, without a specific political orientation, the threats for global peace grow. In the background of neoliberal insecurity, instead of adopting a *human security* approach, made up of social justice and political mediation, the EU is establishing a militaristic and pro-business model of defence and security, contributing to the arms race. Those who are against nationalism and the neoliberal status quo must oppose the militarisation of borders and security, and strive for the reconversion of military and defence firms to the production of green and social services.



*Sedighe, 11 years old*

*"I come from Afghanistan. Then I went to Iran. When I came from Turkey to Greece police with guns, three to four people end. In the sea, boats went down. My brother and my mother end".*

Country of Origin: Afghanistan

Country of Residence: Greece

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## **Instead of a Summary: Peaceful and Peace-loving Europe**

*Panos Trigazis, SYRIZA, Department of International & Foreign Policy*

Europe's history is full of all kinds of wars, including religious ones. Fortunately, so far, Europeans have no experience of nuclear wars. Nevertheless, the main battlefield of the two World Wars was our own continent. In addition, Europe very painfully experienced the Cold War, which divided it into two parts: East and West.

Eurocentrism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is more than an anachronism. Europe cannot be an island of security in an increasingly insecure and unstable world. The only option is to build an all-embracing common security, which is incompatible with militarism, new divisions and national chauvinism. Comprehensive European security is inextricably linked with global security. True peace requires disarmament, both nuclear and conventional.

The peoples of Europe must totally reject the “security or democracy” pseudo-dilemma and demand security with peace and democracy. The threats to peace and security in this century are very different from those that existed in the past century, or in the past in general. Present-day sources of insecurity come in various forms and must be dealt with accordingly.

During the Cold War, the peoples of Europe rose up, reacting in large numbers to the nuclear danger. As a result, an unprecedented peace movement developed, which embraced broad social strata over the entire continent. Thanks to this movement, the term “peoples’ diplomacy” was established and became part of the international relations vocabulary.

The terrible idea of a “limited nuclear war” in Europe was rejected in the 1980s through mass anti-nuclear struggles. Instead, the idea of a nuclear-weapons-free Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, was put forward. The same idea was at the core of the “Helsinki Process” established in 1975: a process that is still alive through the OSCE.

Let’s remind ourselves that this process was made possible after a proposal by the USSR and the decisive contribution of German Chancellor and SPD Leader Willy Brandt: the *Neue Ostpolitik*. If revived and strengthened, this process can constitute the basis for an all-European security system, including Russia. Therefore, to this end, what is needed is a new, peaceful and equitable relationship between the EU and Russia, which primarily requires the peaceful settlement of the Ukrainian crisis.

An all-European security system is the best and most realistic way to achieve the abolition of NATO, provided a new global balance is established and the role of the United Nations is upgraded following its deep democratisation.

Ordinary people very often ask: “Is disarmament possible?”. Our answer to this question is positive and is derived from historical evidence. Even during the Cold War, many agreements were signed between the USA and the USSR for arms control and disarmament. In particular, we are referring to the NPT (Non-Proliferation Treaty), which was signed 50 years ago and remains in force, respected by almost all countries with the exception of India, Pakistan, North Korea and Israel. In addition, civil society movements have played a catalytic role for the Mines Treaty and the 2017 Treaty for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons, for which the anti-nuclear movement was awarded the 2017 Nobel Peace Prize.

The biggest victory so far for European disarmament was achieved in 1987. Here, the leaders of the then two superpowers, Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev, signed the INF Treaty for the removal and destruction of the so-called Euromissiles, in the East and the West, which could have been the instruments for a “limited nuclear war”. American nuclear weapons are still deployed in some European countries and must be removed, with Russia reciprocating. Conventional forces may also be drastically reduced, leading to reductions in national military budgets. Growing military budgets around the globe are a major problem for today’s world and for Europe.

It is estimated that global military spending has risen so high that, in only a single day, humanity sacrifices close to five billion dollars to the “Minotaur” of war, according to the latest annual SIPRI report. While we do not accept the term “new Cold War”, because the Cold War cannot be repeated for a number of reasons, we are witnessing the very catastrophic consequences of tensions between Russia and the West, in particular with the USA.

Among the reasons behind this alarming development lies the eastwards expansion of NATO. Following the election of Mr Donald Trump to the post of US President, the NATO Council was asked to adopt a decision that member countries should increase their military budgets to at least 2% of their GDPs. During a time of deep economic and social crisis in Europe, this decision is unacceptable. Fortunately, most Western European members of NATO still have low military budgets, but in Central and Eastern European countries, military budgets have risen by 13%. At the same time, in Europe, there are several “frozen” conflicts and the decades-long Cyprus tragedy, despite the fact that the Republic of Cyprus is a full EU and Eurozone member.

As for the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), we recognise its necessity because we support the European integration process, which cannot succeed without a political union. However, we do not want the CFSP to be subordinate to NATO. In addition, the political question arises on what principles and with which content the CFSP will be built, a question which may be answered by ensuring democratic control and accountability. To this end, an upgraded European Parliament could be guarantor, as it is the only EU institution directly elected by the people.

Similar questions arise in relation to the creation of a “European army” and a European arms industry. Right-wing forces are politically and ideologically oriented to militarising the EU, arguing that, in this way, the Union will be more capable of defending its interests and playing its global role. However, Europe has exerted great influence all over the world because it was the birthplace of great liberating ideas, revolutions and comprehensive social protection in many countries. These are the best passports for the EU to travel and influence the world, not by sending troops abroad alongside NATO. This should be done only for UN peacekeeping operations. In addition, the CFSP should aim to bridge the North-South divide, especially in the Mediterranean, which is the sea border of Europe with the Third World. Therefore, a fortress Europe does not correspond with our vision of a 21<sup>st</sup> century, comprehensive European security. It is contrary to the realities of the contemporary world and is against the role that the EU ought to play in global affairs.

The so-called “refugee crisis” is not the proper term, though officially used, because the deterioration of the refugee-migrant issue reflects the deep crisis of the present global system, including the failures of the United Nations. The main answer to this crisis, from Europe’s point of view, is a strong commitment on behalf of the EU institutions and European governments to work out and promote a peace programme for the Middle East and the Mediterranean, without tailing behind the US policies in the region and USA-Russia antagonism.

Major sources of insecurity in European society include various kinds of phobias, such as xenophobia, Islamophobia, Russophobia and even Turkophobia, which poison our societies and promote superstition and hatred. Again, peace and equitable cooperation represent an answer to these plagues and, above all, the defence of the European social model.

Today, there are a variety of reservations and even opposition to PESCO, which are understandable. However, given the present state of the European building process, which is reawakening national sensitivities and even nationalist options, overdramatising the consequences of this project is not the best political approach. In any case, EU foreign policy and defence cooperation cannot, for the time being, lead to a single foreign and defence policy. However, to those who seem impatient for such a direction, we are saying, “do not put the cart before the horse”. The priority for the EU is to head towards a democratic social and ecological Europe, and then decide about a European army, etc.

## SUBREGIONAL SECURITY

By aspiring to and promoting the idea of all-European cooperation and security, we are not ignoring subregional needs and priorities. The Nordic Cooperation process may provide an example for other European regions. In addition, subregional common security processes may merge and be built in the form of Helsinki-type processes, as was proposed for the Mediterranean and the Balkans many decades ago.

In this direction, the proposal of Greece’s government for a Balkan co-development and common security process, including a Balkan Ecological Charter, must be wholeheartedly supported by Europe’s peace-loving and progressive forces. This proposal is served by the recent (17 June 2018), historic agreement between the governments of Greece and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia at the Prespa Lake, which will permanently solve the name issue (FYROM is to be permanently named the Republic of Northern Macedonia). It is not by accident that this agreement was achieved with United Nations mediation and because new governments took office in both countries in recent years, led by SYRIZA in Greece and by the Social Democratic Union of Macedonia in the FYROM. These two progressive parties have inherited the support of two-century-old ideas for internal Balkan friendship and cooperation. They recognise the growing interdependence among the countries and the peoples in the region.

Security throughout Europe depends on transforming the Mediterranean Sea into a zone of peace and equitable cooperation. This will occur primarily by bridging the North-South divide in the region and promoting peaceful solutions for Palestinian, Syrian and Cypriot issues. A strategic security option for this region,

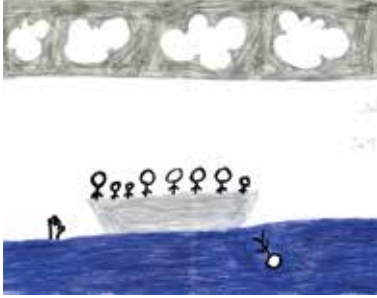


which constitutes the sea borders of Europe with Africa and Asia, could be a Helsinki-type process for the Mediterranean.

In conclusion, the above-mentioned ideas and proposals, which are in no way set out as being exclusively our own, are not being put forward as a prescription to cure every security illness in Europe. Instead, we are putting them forward to be inclusive and unitary, in the hope that they will constitute a basis for bringing together the broadest possible spectrum of social and political forces to jointly defend peace and promote security. The idea is to make a democratic peaceful and ecological transformation of the EU possible, heading towards a new Europe for a new World.

From its inception, two centuries ago, the European Idea was defined as all-European, pro-peace and democratic. On this basis, the EU can move forwards, not by aspiring to become a military superpower in an increasingly antagonistic and militarised world, but by becoming a pole for peace and global security.

The future belongs not only to a peaceful Europe, but also to a Europe acting for peace with justice, disarmament and conflict resolution throughout the world.

**Category: Past**


*Zahra, 9 years old*  
Country of Origin: Afghanistan  
Country of Residence: Greece



*Dena, 7 years old*  
Country of Origin: Afghanistan  
Country of Residence: Greece

**Category: Present**


*Alisina, 10 years old*  
Country of Origin: Afghanistan  
Country of Residence: Greece



*Khatereh, 16 years old*  
Country of Origin: Afghanistan  
Country of Residence: Greece

**Category: Future**


*Hasan, 7 years old*  
Country of Origin: Iraq  
Country of Residence: Croatia



*Taimoor, 16 years old*  
Country of Origin: Pakistan  
Country of Residence: Italy



*Ham and Ali, 11 years old*  
Country of Origin: Afghanistan  
Country of Residence: Greece



*Djiba, 17 years old*  
Country of Origin: Guinea  
Country of Residence: Italy

Category: Past



*Naeem, 15 years old*  
Country of Origin: Pakistan  
Country of Residence: Italy



*School Italy*  
Country of Origin: -  
Country of Residence: Italy

Category: Present



*Amir Ali, 10 years old*  
Country of Origin: Afghanistan  
Country of Residence: Croatia



*Mehdi, 8 years old*  
Country of Origin: Iran  
Country of Residence: Croatia

Category: Future

Newcomers arriving in Europe are an integral part of our society and our history. They are here to stay. Why did these people leave their homes? What does their life look like now? What future do they envision for themselves? *Colours of a Journey* collects and exhibits artworks done by refugee and migrant children, in which they draw their past, present and future, so that their stories and visions are embedded in European history, countering divisive rhetoric. [coloursofajourney.eu](http://coloursofajourney.eu)



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