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Angelos Giannakopoulos, editor

Solidarity in the European Union: Challenges and Perspectives

Research Paper 9

Angelos Giannakopoulos, editor

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for International and Regional Studies

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The Argentine government awarded him the title of Commander in the Order of the Liberator San Martin for his contribution to Argentine culture. The king of Spain awarded him the title of Commander in the Order of Merit.

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I. Angelos Giannakopoulos: Introduction
Solidarity: Sociological, Legal and Ethical Aspects of a Fundamental EU-Principle

In his address to the European Parliament in September 2015, the president of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, stated: "If I could describe Europe with just one word, it would be perseverance."[1] He admitted, however, that "European integration is a multifaceted and often complicated affair" and that Europeans "do not always get it right the first time."[2] On the other hand, he openly criticized the lack of solidarity in the EU during the refugee crisis but expressed his confidence that Europeans would finally "show their resilience."[3]

Despite the president's rather optimistic words, some participants in the public and academic debate on the EU's multiple crises have underlined that the lack of solidarity is the real reason for the depressing state of affairs in Europe. During the last act of the Greek debt drama in January-July 2015, for example, leading economists publicly criticized Germany for its lack of solidarity in working toward a final solution of the problem.[4] By the end of 2015 and early 2016, the issue of solidarity was dominating the public debate in Europe vis-à-vis the refugee influx into Europe. In both cases the emotional gap between "bad" and "good" Europeans seriously poisoned the discourse. In the meantime, two fundamental achievements of the union, the Monetary Union and the Shengen Agreement, are under permanent threat of being annulled.

But what is solidarity exactly? How can solidarity be defined, sociologically, ethically, and legally? And what is the importance of solidarity for European integration? In sociological terms, the founders of the academic discipline of sociology, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber, considered solidarity to be a fundamental principle of social integration.[5] Durkheim was the first to differentiate between mechanical and organic solidarity, terms indicating the essential difference between pre-modern and modern societies. Basically, solidarity implies the fundamental ties between members of a small or large community. Solidarity as such contains all the characteristics—values, beliefs,

1 https://www.project-syndicate.org/onpoint/european-solidarity-greek-crisis-refugees-by-jean-claude-juncker-2016-01?barrier=accessreg.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 An argument of one of the leading global economists, Nobel laureate Joseph Stieglitz, http://www.liberation.fr/monde/2015/07/15/joseph-stiglitz-l-allemagne-n-a-ni-bon-sens-economique-ni-compassion_1348536; see also http://www.zeit.de/wirtschaft/2015-12/eurozone-konvergenz-wirtschaftspolitik-ziele-studie.

5 E. Durkheim, *De la division du travail social* (Paris: Puf, 1930); M. Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft: Grundriss der Verstehenden Soziologie* (Erster Halbband, Tübingen: Mohr, 1956).

cultural norms, and relationships—that transcend individualist and atomistic attitudes or hierarchical structures in a society. Altruistic behavioral patterns and the mutual obligation to help people in need—the well-known "unus pro omnibus, omnes pro uno" principle—lay down the ground on which solidarity flourishes. Finally, a common identity and shared values and beliefs make solidarity an essential part of the cultural frame of a society.[6] Solidarity, however, implies not only the positive effect of inclusion. It is a crucial mechanism, too, of exclusion since it defines the boundaries between members and non-members of a community, such as a group, class, ethnicity, or nation.[7]

Moreover, ethically, solidarity obligations result from a sense that everyone is "in the same boat," giving rise to a sense of unity and community of interests and purposes, which each member of the group can achieve only jointly. In philosophical terms, there are two types of solidarity obligations, one negative and the other positive. On the one hand, there is the obligation to degrade the individual for the sake of the general and common good and, on the other, the obligation to provide support to members of the community who are in need. Some even link this viewpoint to the position of the well-known philosopher Jürgen Habermas, who asserted that the concepts of justice and solidarity are two sides of the same coin.[8]

Looking closer at European integration as a whole, we can state that in legal terms since its establishment and throughout its institutional development, the European Union demonstrates the importance of a series of fundamental principles, mostly derived from the constitutional and other legal traditions of its member states. The democratic principle, the rule of law, the principle of the welfare state, the protection of legitimate expectations, and constitutionally guaranteed individual rights not only lie at the foundation of European legal culture but are also the common legal basis upon which the European Union and the overall democratic legitimation of its functioning were created.

The unique structure of the European Union has highlighted the necessity for these principles to be adapted to the specific mode of European integration, based on the notions of coexistence and cooperation among

6 Durkheim, *De la division*.

7 Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*.

8 J. Habermas, *Erläuterungen zur Diskursethik* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1991), pp. 70; idem, „Gerechtigkeit und Solidarität: eine Stellungnahme zur Diskussion über ‚Stufe 6'," in W. Edelstein and G. Nunner-Winkler eds., *Zur Bestimmung der Moral: philosophische und sozialwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Moralforschung. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp,* 1986), p. 314. Cited in: http://www.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/research/hellenicObservatory/CMS%20pdf/Events/206-17-Events/Press-Release-President-Pavlopoulos.pdf. This applies also to the following pages below, i.e. pp. 6 and 7.

member states, combined with new, more specific, legal norms arising directly from the specificities of its organization. Such principles include, especially, the notion of subsidiarity and that of cooperation. The principle of subsidiarity is related to the multi-level, quasi-confederal organization of the European Union and requires decisions to be taken as close to the citizen level as possible.[9] The principle of cooperation arises naturally from the lack of a hierarchical structure,[10] from the variety of its constituent subjects, and from the de jure equality between them, such that the EU is regarded as a cooperative federation.[11] The principle of solidarity under the provisions of Article 3 of the Treaty on European Union, or Maastricht Treaty (TEU), on cooperation in good faith, and the provisions of Article 4 (3) constitute the legal and institutional substitute for the lack of a hierarchical structure in order to ensure unity. In other words, they make up the necessary coherent element of the union, allowing constituent member states—despite their de jure equality—not only to pursue their own national goals within it but to achieve common objectives, taking into account the particularities and difficulties of their partners and avoiding the pursuit of goals that go against the public interest. This latter, negative, dimension has become part of case law at the European Court of Justice (ECJ).[12] Already from the beginning of the European Union, the theoretical foundation of cooperation has underpinned the concept and the "ideology" of solidarity. Nevertheless, the notion of solidarity also includes the possibility of and/or the obligation to adopt positive solidarity steps toward a particular member state or toward citizens. In principle, the obligation of providing assistance comes into play if one party has caused another's state of emergency. On the other hand, if a party has brought the state of emergency upon itself, assistance is primarily voluntary and not mandatory. Finally, if the state of emergency has been caused by unforeseeable circumstances or by a third party, assistance shall be provided for the sake of solidarity.

Solidarity as a fundamental principle of European integration was mentioned for the first time in the 1950 Schuman Declaration[13] and was subsequently incorporated into the preamble of the 1951 treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community. After the concept of solidarity was

9 Article 5, § 3, Treaty on European Union (Maastricht Treaty).

10 Article 4, § 3, Treaty on European Union (Maastricht Treaty).

11 Roderick M. Hills, "The Political Economy of Cooperative Federalism: Why State Autonomy Makes *Sense,"* Michigan Law Review *96, no. 4 (1998): 813-944; R. Schütze,* "From Dual to Cooperative Federalism: The Changing Structure of European Law *(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).*

12 Judgment of the Court on February 7, 1973. Commission of the European Communities v Italian Republic, Case 39/72, pp. 24-25, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A61972CJ0039

13 http://www.robert-schuman.eu/en/declaration-of-9-may-1950.

included in the preamble of the 1987 European Single Act, solidarity gradually acquired a legal framework within the TEU. After becoming a part of the general legal framework of European integration and following ratification of the Treaty of Lisbon in 2009, *it became a basic legal principle of primary European law*. In addition to the statement of the contracting states which seek "deeper relations of solidarity among their peoples, while respecting, at the same time, their history, culture and traditions,"[14] solidarity is mentioned in the TEU as a common value and mission of the European Union with regard to the mutual relations of member states, their relations with third countries, and relations among all citizens of the union. Moreover, it is incorporated in articles of primary European law, establishing specific guarantees, full rights, and equally full obligations.

If we look more closely at the legal definitions of solidarity within the primary and secondary legal frameworks of the EU, we are struck by the fact that not only integration but also its underpinning principle, solidarity, is characterized by a variety of definitions.

In the preamble of the treaty establishing a constitution for Europe, for example, the notion of solidarity occupies pride of place. It specifies solidarity, along with striving for peace and justice, as one of the overriding goals of a united Europe in the international arena.[15] The Treaty of Lisbon, which amended the TEU, states the importance of the principle of solidarity between member states and their peoples (§ 1), between men and women (§ 2), and between generations (§ 3).[16] By setting the term apart from economic, social, and territorial cohesion, it stresses the normative force of solidarity as underlying successful European integration. The constitutional status of the principle of solidarity is expressed in the chapter on Fundamental Rights of the European Union: Chapter IV, entitled "Solidarity," deals with social justice, labor rights, and protection.[17] In the Citizens' Agenda of 2006 the European Commission places solidarity next to peace and prosperity as the goals to be realized by Europe in the context of globalization.[18]

Secondary EU law, on the other hand, employs solidarity in a variety of ways: a) as a goal or objective of EU social policy; b) as an interpretative or

14 http://www.lisbon-treaty.org/wcm/the-lisbon-treaty/.

15 Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/igcpdf/en/04/cg00/cg00087-re02.en04.pdf. I would like to thank my colleague Dr. Konstandinos Maras for most of these insights.

16 Consolidated versions of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (2010/C 83/01): http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2010:083:FULL:EN:PDF.

17 Chapter IV on Fundamental Rights of the EU 'Solidarity' 2000, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/charter/pdf/text_en.pdf.

18 Communication from the Commission to the European Council: A Citizens Agenda Com (2006) 211, http://www.statewatch.org/news/2006/may/com-211-10.05.06.pdf.

guiding tool to buttress other policies aimed at promoting social cohesion; c) as a means of fostering social inclusion and integration; and d) as a process of raising the level of participation and dialogue. Last but not least, the EC promotes solidarity and mutual respect among peoples as a guiding principle in the EU's relations with the wider world, especially vis-à-vis the union's Neighborhood Policy.

Similarly, the EC, in its 2007 communication on "Opportunities, Access and Solidarity," declares solidarity as a means of fostering social cohesion and social sustainability to be a major pillar of a new social vision for twenty-first century Europe.[19] The EC points to key areas in which the principle of solidarity pertains, including youth, human capital, living longer healthier lives, mobility, social inclusion, anti-discrimination, and equal opportunities.[20] The 2008 communication deploys the term solidarity in a variety of ways: a) as a goal or objective of EU social policy; b) as an interpretative or guiding tool to buttress other policies aimed at promoting social cohesion; c) as a means of fostering social inclusion and integration; and d) as a process of raising the level of participation and dialogue.[21] Last but not least, the EC highlights solidarity and mutual respect among peoples as a guiding principle in the relations of the EU to the wider world (Art. I-3, Objective 4).[22] For its part, the European Court of Justice has applied the principle of solidarity in a case concerning complaints made by self-employed workers against compulsory contributions to the mutual fund established to provide social protection.[23] The court has also cited the solidarity clause to defend certain welfare schemes from the application of competition law, to validate obstacles to free movement, and to justify requiring state authorities to provide temporary financial support to immigrant citizens. Regarding citizens' rights in the framework of EU solidarity principles, the ECJ has become a highly influential

19 Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions COM(2007) 726, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2007/com2007_0726en01.pdf.

20 European Commission (EC), Renewed Social Agenda: Opportunities, Access and Solidarity in 21st Century Europe (Communication) (COM) (2008) 412, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2008:0412:FIN:EN:PDF.

21 C. Barnard, "Solidarity and the Commission's 'Renewed Social Agenda'," in M. G. Ross and Y. Borgmann-Prebil eds., *Promoting Solidarity in the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 73-105.

22 Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe (EC 2004, C310/11), http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2004:310:0011:0040:EN:PDF.

23 Judgment of the Court of 17 February 1993—Christian Poucet v Assurances Générales de France and Caisse Mutuelle Régionale du Languedoc-Roussillon. References for a preliminary ruling: Tribunal des affaires de sécurité sociale de l'Hérault —France. Interpretation of Articles 85 and 86 of the EEC Treaty—Concept of undertaking —Organization charged with the management of a special social security scheme—National legislation attributing a dominant position to such an organization—Joined cases C-159/91 and C-160/91, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:61991J0159:EN:HTML

institution, handing down judgments which do not always accord with the core interests of most member states.[24]

The vagueness attending the use of solidarity in EC communications, as well as the nature of solidarity as formulated in the Treaty of Lisbon, reflects the fact that in contrast to quantifiable indices estimating the progress of socio-economic and regional integration, solidarity is: a) hardly measurable, and b) contingent upon a special kind of togetherness and mutual obligations.[25] Furthermore, the mutual attachment that the concept of solidarity denotes contains two dimensions: the genuine bonds, or existing common ground, between individuals, and the normative, mutual obligation to aid each other, should that be necessary. Cast in slightly different terms, whereas the former is of a descriptive nature and refers to the empirical reality of commonly shared interests, objectives, and standards, those ties are presumed to include normative demands, that is, mutually moral obligations.[26] These two dimensions of solidarity reflect the distinction made at the theoretical level between the sociological conception that understands solidarity as commonly shared norms contributing to social integration (Durkheim), on the one hand, and the notion that solidarity is a relationship between members of a more or less specified group (Weber), on the other. In the latter case, since it is about interpersonal relationships that bind social groups together, solidarity implies the force of inclusion/integration and exclusion/division.[27]

In order to observe normative, obligation-based mutuality in the European space, one must furthermore distinguish between the following aspects[28]:

a) Self-interest-based solidarity: The greater the interdependence and aggregation of economic exchange relations among member states, the more intensive the economic co-operation aimed at reducing imbalances between European regions (for example, with structural funds). The self-interest of wealthier member states lies in avoiding negative externalities resulting from relative deficiencies in the economic performance of other states.

b) Community solidarity: This refers to societal feelings, perceptions, and beliefs of belonging to a collectivity, the intensity of which varies with

24 W. Lamping, "Mission Impossible? Limits and Perils of Institutionalising Post-National Social Policy," in M.G. Ross and Y. Borgmann-Prebil, *Promoting Solidarity in the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 46-72.

25 S. Mau, "Forms and Prospects of European Solidarity," in N. Karagiannis ed., *European Solidarity* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), pp. 129-46, 130.

26 K.U. Preuss, "National, Supranational, and International Solidarity," in K. Bayertz ed., *Solidarity* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1999), pp. 281-93, 281.

27 S. Stjernø, *Solidarity in Europe: The History of an Idea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 85.

28 S. Mau, "Europäische Solidaritäten," *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 21(2008), pp. 9-14.

the nature of the collectivity in question, ranging from strong solidarity ties in low-scale social communities to weak mutuality bonds between states. Through the normative force of European state cooperation which enhances convergence on solidarity-based actions, the various national solidarities can be subordinated to the supranational level of European solidarity.

c) Citizens' solidarity: Solidarity includes not only community ties and cooperation bonds but also various civil rights (and obligations), normalizing mutual acknowledgement, ethical proprieties, and communal citizenship. Of particular significance regarding the solidarity effects they produce at the European supranational level are the rights EU citizens have in the realm of social justice. The latter transcends the confines of nation-state-based solidarity collectivities, becoming a sustaining factor of Europeanization.

d) Solidarity of social movements: Traditionally associated with social mobilization and protest forms, this aspect of solidarity focuses also on transnational citizens' movements, such as the common efforts of trade unions to act against some EU social policies inspired by neoliberal economic doctrines or against loan dumping. Thus, this type of solidarity represents a civil bottom-up movement for deepening European integration by helping overcome national barriers dividing collective actors.

e) Solidarity of compassion: In contrast to the former types, solidarity-based actions of this kind do not presuppose existing or normative prescribed spaces of collective mutuality, but rely on humanitarian exigencies. Forming a synthesis, these types of solidarity will predominate at different historical times coexisting or in conflict with competing political policies. Dealing with such solidarities must in principle also take into account four features that usually remain unproblematized: the issue of inclusion/exclusion, the elusive nature of the center of solidarity, the issue of inequality, and the simultaneity of commitment and belonging.[29]

The social, legal, economic and moral dimensions of solidarity in the EU institutional and socio-ethical landscape are compounded into a self-reinforcing phenomenon that can best be grasped in its entirety in a twofold manner:

a) As a normative complex consisting of ties, needs, and efforts.[30]

i) Ties: The extent of observing responsibility for others, thus meeting the pressure to provide assistance, depends on shared beliefs and attitudes on closeness and togetherness. The latter can refer to historical relations, cultural affinities, or sentiments of gratitude and friendship.

ii) Needs: The extent and urgency of solidarity is dependent on the scale

29 N. Karagiannis, "Solidarity in Europe—Politics, Religion, Knowledge," in Karagiannis, *European Solidarity*, pp. 1- 12, 4.

30 S. Schieder, *The Power of Solidarity in EU External Relations*, 2011, http://www.sisp.it/files/papers/2010/siegfried-schieder-849.pdf.

of assistance to be provided in terms of financial or geographical allocation of resources.

iii) Effort: The degree and intensity of solidarity display a conditional nature, for they depend on the efforts of the recipient to prove the success of resource transfer, thus reducing the gaps with the donors;

b) As a circle of creation (bonds and allegiances), expression (constitutional character), and sustainability (existential experience of security).[31] Regarding the first, it is beyond doubt that the EU trajectory is characterized by an ever-increasing interweaving of bonds which, in the form of identity, shared values and beliefs, rights and responsibilities, goes well beyond the pure abstraction of solidarity and occupies an intermediate position between strong national ties and the "soft" power of the legal framework. Regarding the latter, however vague the legal base of regulations may be it is nevertheless true that as a codified expression it is at this level that solidarity operates, shaping or promoting core values and guiding legal institutions. The dimension of sustainability in turn provides for the mediation needed in order to render solidarity a lived experience of secure EU citizenship.

Finally, as regards the principle of solidarity, in crisis management within the European Union, the following should be highlighted. The objective failure to effectively tackle problems within the European Union is an essential reason for activating the principle of solidarity. More precisely, the principle of solidarity under primary European law is particularly important in the context of addressing and managing serious problems and crises, whether they are limited to individual member states or affect it as a whole. This is because, in any event, the principle of solidarity requires: first, to tackle a problem jointly, regardless of whether one or more member states are affected, and second, this should be done regardless of any (co)-liability borne by any of them.

The crucial element for activating the principle of solidarity, in the first instance, is the objective failure to effectively address a major problem without external assistance. Examples of such crises in which the principle of solidarity is the legal basis for the joint action of member states within the institutional and legal framework of the European Union, are the European debt crisis as a consequence of the international financial crisis, and the serious problem of movement of a considerable number of people, especially from Middle East war zones to EU member states. The assistance provided by the newly established financial stability mechanisms in the first case (European Financial Stability Facility/EFSF—European Financial Stabilization Mechanism/EFSM),

31 M. Ross, "Solidarity—A New Constitutional Paradigm for the EU?" in Ross and Borgmann-Prebil, *Promoting Solidarity*, pp. 23-46, 35.

in the form of bailouts, may certainly be considered an institutional activation of the entire European system to deal with a crisis based on the principle of solidarity. However, it may be also interpreted as a relation of *uneven solidarity*, namely, as a *relation of power* between the creditors and the debtors. The former are represented by the northern European countries, the latter by the southern ones, thereby making visible, if not the division, at least the tension between North and South within the European Union.

The same "separation" could also apply in regard to the second severe crisis confronting the European Union, namely the refugee flows. On the one hand, the refusal of east European countries to meet their obligations as full members of the European Union, taking part in the system of redistribution of refugees, is definitely a blatant violation of the principle of European solidarity, and therefore a breach of primary European law. On the other hand, the crisis highlights a further "division" of the European Union between West and East. The proposal of the Visegrad group to establish, "flexible solidarity" at the Bratislava summit on September 16, 2016,[32] may be considered a sort of *permanent detraction* from European primary law, demoting somewhat the principle of solidarity *as a primary principle of European integration.*

In conclusion, and against the background of the EU's multifaceted crises—namely, a) the ongoing financial and refugee crises; b) the so-called Brexit; c) the obviously growing security threat; d) recent developments jeopardizing the state of law in some member states; e) the subsequent division between West and East following the one between North and South during the Euro crisis; f) the deterioration of shared prosperity both nationally and supernationally as the very precondition of the entire European project, which was intended to lead to the promotion of freedom and peace in Europe, g) the subsequent growing gap between citizens and political elites, h) the disillusionment with democracy and the ensuing political radicalization of an increasing number of citizens, as reflected in the success of far-right movements and political parties across Europe—this volume purports to reassess the social, legal, economic, and moral dimensions of solidarity in the EU. The discussion on the challenges facing solidarity as the leading principle of internal and external EU affairs focuses on aspects such as the future prospects of EU integration, as well as on the questions: Are the EU's integration and crisis management capacities already exhausted? Has European integration reached its limits? And, will the EU finally reach a position where it can fully put into practice and further enhance solidarity, and hence, integration?

32 http://www.consilium.europa.eu/el/meetings/european-council/2016/09/16-informal-meeting/.

II. Alfred Tovias

Solidarity in the Eurozone: Spontaneous, Organized, or Non-Existent?[1]

On solidarity, benevolent hegemons, and godfathers

Contrary to what we frequently hear, it is incorrect to state that the eurozone has not been working because of a lack of political leadership. The absence of such will only matters when, ultimately, the citizens of the countries which are part of the eurozone will decide, by a wide majority, whether they want a political federation or simply a confederation. That is certainly a difficult choice to make, even by informed voters. Thus, it is no coincidence that federal unions often come about when there is an external threat (as there was in the case of the United States of America and the Swiss Confederation), which helps focus the minds of undecided voters. An external threat pushes citizens to start thinking like Alexander Dumas' Musketeers: "All for one, and one for all." In truth, EU institutions would be delighted if they could identify an external enemy right now. But there is none, especially since the fall of the Soviet Union. Of course, with Putinism (as noted by The Economist[2]) developing fast, there may be some hope, ironically speaking. Radical Islam, even of the virulent sort, like Daesh (IS), is not perceived as a unifying threat for the immense majority of Europeans. Nor is there a danger of a renewal of the European Civil War of the twentieth century, since the memory of the First and Second World Wars and their lead-up is receding and is no longer a galvanizing force among older generations, let alone among the younger generations, where it is non-existent. What about targeting the US dollar as the enemy in order to justify the sacrifices needed to sustain a monetary union as a federal project, so as to compensate for the power of the American currency? This is a non-starter, since we know that the US was prepared to act as a benevolent hegemon between 1944 and 1971. Certainly, things have changed since then, but not sufficiently as to make the US currency the enemy. Although we can criticize US administrations since President Carter, the US has never practiced—since the demise of the Bretton Woods system and until now—a policy of "competitive devaluation" as it could have done. It actually did it in the 1930s (introduced by none other than President Franklin

1 The present essay is an entirely revised and updated version of an article published in Joaquin Roy ed., *The State of the Union(s): The Eurozone Crisis, Comparative Regional Integration and the EU Model*, University of Miami, 2012.

2 *The Economist*, 22-28 November 2016.

Roosevelt, who, paradoxically, was seen as very pro-European at the time). Currently, the undervaluation of the yuan is not considered an external threat to Europe by the EU establishment. The new president of the United States, Donald Trump, has tried to whip up anger against China on this matter but, to date, without effect.

In truth, a union (including a monetary one) does not increase the power of the group in itself, either internally or externally. If an agreement is reached between various constituents on a voluntary and contractual basis (as in a marriage, or for that matter, in the present case of the European Union, with its 28 members), it is unlikely to have more power if, on the one hand, there is no solidarity among its components (as there was among the Musketeers); on the other hand, they constantly need to prove to the rest of the group that they stand by what they consented to and are not simply taking a free ride on the backs of the others, lest they erode the sense of unity. In order to minimize the free-ride temptation, strong institutional structures are required, as well as a system of legal sanctions that can be imposed from the center, by force, if necessary—hence the need to establish a court of justice and a federal police. After all, we know that a federal state cannot function like a huge kibbutz, which is based on a voluntary association among its members. The only other alternatives are the readiness of one of the partner countries to act as a benevolent hegemonic power—or, in more graphically, as a godfather—or the union is imposed by a non-benevolent power, by force, on other satellite countries (such as the project of a European federation conceived by Napoleon, or, indeed, the Warsaw Pact).

Should monetary union come before or after political union?

The late Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany maintained that a monetary union was not possible without political union. It is clear that he saw the latter as essential and that he himself favored it. However, it is unclear if at the time this was also the wish of the majority of his fellow German citizens. It is safe to state that the German people overwhelmingly supported a unified Germany—and are still, or so it seems, solidly behind this concept. But it was never the case that most of the German people were openly for a united Europe, not even in the euphoric atmosphere prevailing in Germany under Kohl in 1991-92.

Curiously, most professional economists were in agreement with Kohl's thesis—particularly the German ones, but even more so some Anglo-Saxons. The difference between the first group and the British one was that the latter did not want their country to be part of a political union which, like Chancellor Kohl, they considered a prerequisite for a monetary union,

or like their colleagues in the US, were skeptical about the will of continental European to engage in the major step that political union implied. The latter entails first and foremost fiscal solidarity and nobody saw much evidence of that crucial ingredient in the EU of that time. Note that the UK government opted out of the monetary union project from the outset, probably for this very reason, although it did not state so openly. It preferred to stress the wish to retain sovereignty over its own currency.

The opinion whereby political union is a condition for the sustainability of a monetary union was defended on the basis of the fact that a eurozone of 15 or 20 sovereign states would not, in any event, be an Optimum Currency Area, a concept developed by Robert Mundell, a Nobel Prize winner in economics (Mundell, 1961).[3] It was inconceivable, so the argument went, that with such a large number of diverse countries it would be possible to manage a unified monetary policy which would suit each of the member states—that is, unless each of them adhered strictly to the theory of neoclassical economists and excluded monetary policy as a macroeconomic policy tool (with money strictly a trade facilitator, like monetary gold in the past).

Some professional economists, such as Jacques L'Huillier in Switzerland and Jose Luis Oller in Spain argued that it was better to do what Switzerland had done: first political union and then monetary union.[4] This can be achieved as long as the latter depends on a previous agreement among members on the degree or amount of fiscal solidarity in order for the monetary union to be sustainable or at least having a degree of centralized fiscal policy to allow for automatic stabilizers to do their job of cross-regional income transfers (as is the case in the US) . They both stressed that one cannot force things and that to count on the fact that, in the event of a monetary crisis, a rushed and improvised decision on fiscal solidarity taken under stress would not only be not likely but unwise and full of political risks. Why? Such a crisis would surely involve bail-outs of banks and/or countries in the union to be financed by taxpayers of the other member countries. German economists rightly argued that the monetary union would become a transfer union (because of the mutualization of debt). At the other extreme, a minority opinion held mainly in France was openly defended by well-known economists, such as Jacques Rueff, a former President of the Banque de France, who sustained that "Europe will be done by money or it will not be done" ("L'Europe se fera par

3 R. Mundell, A Theory of Optimal Currency Areas, *American Economic Review* 51, pp. 657-65, 1961.

4 J. L'Huillier, *La Naissance de l'Euro vue du Berceau du Franc Suisse*, Geneva: Lombard Odier et Cie, 1998; J. L. Oller-Arino, Jose Luis, The Politics of Monetary Union, in J. Muns, ed., *Spain and the Euro: Risks and Possibilities*, Barcelona: La Caixa, Research Department, pp. 179-95, 1997.

la monnaie ou ne se fera pas").[5]

This last thesis is equivalent to saying that political will, after all, can achieve anything, even a readiness to pay the net economic cost of asymmetrical shocks if it is necessary to maintain a dysfunctional monetary union that is composed of members which should not be included and not including countries which should but which are not (such as Switzerland, in the case of the Eurozone). Needless to say, even enthusiastic pro-European leaders and French economists such as Jacques Delors did not adhere to this extreme view. He must have been aware of what the famous 1977 MacDougall Report had argued, namely, that a monetary union would require strong centralization of fiscal policy. However, he and the group of experts that drew up the Delors Report later, in 1989, followed their political instincts, not their economic ones. They reflected a lack of enthusiasm prevailing at that time among European leaders for fiscal union and took quite a different approach than that of the MacDougall Report. It was "only" necessary to apply fiscal discipline on all the member states of the monetary union and not to adopt a Keynesian perspective of fine-tuning economies. Fiscal discipline would be enough to make the Eurozone sustainable in the long run. However, Delors was aware that if a centralized monetary policy was to be inspired by German neoclassical views (see above), strictly devoted to feeding the Eurozone with enough liquidity so as to have neither inflation nor deflation, it was absolutely necessary to leave a margin of maneuver in fiscal policy to the member states, as a means to stabilize their domestic economies in the event of need, but within limits. Mysteriously, it was stated that fiscal policies had to be coordinated among member states without stating what this really meant. Here, an inherent contradiction can be detected between the beliefs of Delors and those of most German economists. The latter have a long tradition of understanding fiscal discipline as permanently insuring that whatever happens the budget must be balanced and adjustment must be instantaneous. This is their fiscal policy and not one that is counter-cyclical to managing aggregate demand (as per Keynes). Note that both the German and Keynesian interpretations of fiscal discipline do not imply fiscal solidarity across borders. At most, one could state that the Keynesian version implies domestic, but not international, solidarity.

5 Quoted by J. Donges, *Perspectivas de la Union Monetaria Europea*, Barcelona: Real academia de Ciencias Economicas y Financieras, p. 10, 1998.

Is a currency area feasible without fiscal union?

From what was said in the preceding section, it becomes clear that it was politically impossible to imagine in the 1990s a EU budget contemplating public expenditure of the order of magnitude requested by the Mac Dougall Report. The latter was inspired on what was being practiced in existing federal and confederate unions in the world, namely, expenditure amounting to more than 15 percent of GDP, in contrast to EU expenditure of only around 1 percent, the situation that prevailed in the 1990s and even now. Thus, fiscal policy remained and still remains in the hands of member states. The EU budget was and still is too small, to exert a solidarity function. As is well known, the educational, health, social security and defense systems are in the hands of EU member states and it is the latter which absorb the immense majority of expenditure in a national budget. Take note that the distribution of expenditure for the different items just mentioned reflects national preferences. This in turn reflects widely different cultures, something that does not happen in the United States, Canada or Switzerland. In these countries there is a wide consensus about education, health and defense matters. Not only is there no overlap of public expenditure structures among EU member states but fiscal systems differ widely from one member state to the other (such as income tax, corporate taxes). And each member state decides how much it wants to tax its own citizens.

Therefore, the idea was to rely mainly on fiscal discipline since once they were in the Eurozone member countries would have to respect the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP). Keynesian fine-tuning of the economy was not to be used extensively. But the SGP was actually a very light regime of fiscal discipline because France was opposed to automatic sanctions being used against countries that violated rules regarding excess deficits. Any sanction was to be decided by ECOFIN, a political, non-technocratic body. Thus, when France and Germany flouted the rules they did not sanction themselves.

It thus may be concluded that there was no element of intra-EU solidarity whatsoever in the Maastricht Treaty and in what followed. That the initial Eurozone of 11 member states was much wider than an Optimum Currency Area (OCA) was known from the beginning. In fact, it was clear to all that the German Mark area (the old "Snake" of the 1970s) was closer to being an OCA than the Eurozone of the 11. Hence it was clear that the European Central Bank (ECB) would face a very difficult task. It was possible, however, to justify the existence of the Eurozone by arguing that the microeconomic benefits of having a common currency were great (contrary to the opinion of neoclassical economists, according to whom money is a veil; in other words, it is a simple trade facilitator, like language). Nowadays, with hindsight, we know that

these expected benefits have been widely exaggerated. In two research papers,[6] it has been amply proved that trade as a result of the creation of the euro increased at most by 15 percent in the first five years of its existence. The United Kingdom has not lost trade-wise from not being part of the Eurozone. Nor has London's financial performance decreased, as predicted at the time.

Furthermore, Sadeh has proven conclusively that after the creation of the euro there was increasing economic divergence between the German business cycle and those of Portugal, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Spain, Malta, and Cyprus, but also of Denmark, France, and the Netherlands.[7] There has been price convergence in the Eurozone for traded goods, but this is due more to the establishment of the Single Market than to the creation of the euro. What is more revealing is that neither the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) nor the Single Market has achieved price convergence of non-traded goods; on the contrary there has been divergence. In another empirical work, Sadeh (2009) shows that the member states of the Eurozone have diverged in their degree of backing of domestic microeconomic reforms.

In other words, economic divergence among Eurozone member states, even if not more substantial than convergence, has led (using language drawn from psychology) to a certain degree of schizophrenia which was not present in 1999, and thus to an identity problem. Which country represents a typical member state of the Eurozone? And raising the number of Eurozone members from 11 to 19 has only made the monetary union even more dysfunctional and heterogeneous than at its creation in 1999. Hence, it has become increasingly hazardous to pinpoint a typical Eurozone state.

The euro-zone crisis (2010-16): Distinguishing the short term from the long term

The focus of this essay is not on short-term problems that the Eurozone has confronted recurrently since 2010, such as several debt and banking crises, since these have been treated amply by the press, other media, and academic researchers and are therefore well-known to the wider public. But the more critical, long-term problem has been obviated by the media, Eurozone member state governments, and of course Brussels: namely, the lack of competitiveness of a number of member states when compared to Germany. Reference here is to the so-called PIIGS: Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece, and Spain. The excuse

6 T. Sadeh and A. Verdun, Explaining Europe's Monetary Union: A Survey of the Literature, *International Studies Review* 11, pp. 277-301, 2009; T. Sadeh, The Snake Is Back: Is the Euro Area Periphery Sustainable?, paper presented at the Congress of the Council for European Studies, Barcelona, June 20, 2011.

7 Sadeh, ibid.

for not addressing the problem is that debt and banking crises must be solved immediately as soon as they arise because there is systemic risk and no time should be wasted, while there is time to solve the matter of competitiveness. Of course, it is eventually forgotten and left brewing—with the exception of a few countries in the Eurozone that have realized there is a problem and engaged in domestic reforms in order to make their economies more flexible, up to a point (Ireland, Spain). But this is conditioned by the political situation, which has seen the rise of populist parties in Spain, such as Podemos, which reject "neoliberal" reforms, such as those implemented by Germany under Chancellor Schroeder, implemented after 2005.

Ignoring the problem of competitiveness is the wrong approach because markets understand the underlying political limits that governments have to tackle the problem. It is obvious that if some, if not all, of the PIIGS stay within the Eurozone, they are going to have a quasi-permanent problem of competitiveness unless they are willing to take the risk of deflation. Taking into account that some of the PIIGS are among the less open economies in the Eurozone (Greece, for instance), it seems evident that for service firms within these countries that supply to local consumers as well as to the state, in addition to all non-exporting SMEs, belonging to the Eurozone is of secondary importance. This applies, too, to the increasing number of poor citizens that do not travel abroad to other European countries for leisure or shopping. Moreover, if some of the PIIGS governments can obtain resources at short notice, imposing an inflation tax (that is, by printing money) appears a tempting proposition in an emergency, particularly if the government lacks the capacity to obtain loans or is unable to impose more taxes apart from the inflation tax. In some ways inflation is "the tax of last resort." Finally, we should factor into the equation that what is more important to low- and medium-technology firms, many of which are SMEs, is the consideration that in most of the PIIGS, the government regains the possibility of carrying out competitive devaluations, even if they know this is only a short-term solution. It is a way to deflate without generating unemployment and relies on the monetary illusion of a large majority of the population. This mechanism is well known to Italian, Greek, Portuguese, and Spanish entrepreneurs. Note, that it has been proven that deflation per se rarely re-establishes competitiveness. Thus, it might appear tempting at some stage to exit the Monetary Union and then devaluate. The demise of the Gold Standard and the Gold-Exchange Standard resulted from this sort of thinking. And devaluing to gain competitiveness requires that workers and consumers have a strong monetary illusion as long as there are no terms of trade deterioration, or the economy is small and very open, such as that of the Netherlands. Conversely, the effectiveness of devaluation tends to be greater in very large and non-open economies (such

as that of the US in 1933 or of Spain in the 1960s). Undoubtedly, Greece and Portugal correspond to the first case. It is already more difficult to assume that Spain, Italy, and Cyprus are non-open economies, but the first two have the advantage of being very large domestic markets, a factor that makes the option of exiting the monetary club very tempting. Nationalistic politicians of the PIIGS in the midst of a crisis would add that it is the lack of Eurozone solidarity that leaves them with no other option. My own opinion is that this has now become easier since the precedent of the Brexit vote in the UK, the election of Donald Trump, and the possibility of reverting to protectionism as a policy norm.

Exiting the Eurozone: Advantages and disadvantages

Does this mean that exiting the Eurozone would be easy for any of the PIIGS? Clearly not. One only has to remember that entry into the Eurozone required assuming a series of short-term fixed payments. Thus, leaving the Eurozone would also entail fixed costs, which would be even more devastating if payment for entering the euro has not yet been completed. After all, it took three years from the creation of the new currency in 1999 to the issuing of paper money in 2002. These costs, however, are predetermined and should not be confused with other costs related to default.

The political cost of exit can also be devastating. But once one country has left (Greece, for instance), other members might be tempted to follow suit. A domino effect would take place, in the opposite direction to the present one of EU enlargement, which has tended to encourage those that were reluctant to enter to ask to join after all. For instance, Greece's exit would create discomfort, if not havoc, in countries with similar financial markets (such as Cyprus or Portugal). On the other hand, Germany and the Netherlands, or at least part of their public and political establishment, would view the move in a positive light, regarding it as a necessary trimming of the Eurozone lawn.

In view of the above, other Eurozone countries could try to prevent wavering members from leaving (Portugal, Cyprus, Italy), either by sanctioning them or by bribing them. Economist Martin Feldstein made headlines when he raised the specter of secession in 1997, in his position as chairman of the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER). His warning that the creation of the euro could lead to war was misinterpreted by some in Europe, who thought he was referring to an hypothetical war between the EU and the US, while the allusion was to a war within Europe among EU member states.

It is assumed, then, that Eurozone member countries would not let a disorderly Greece default because, first, that would be ominous for some

French and German banks and, second, because of the risk of a domino effect. But as time passes the temptation for Greece to formally declare default will increase because of the problem of competitiveness mentioned above. According to Carmen Reinhart and Kenneth Rogoff[8], economic history shows that countries reduce the weight of external debt as a share of GDP by defaulting and not by growing more rapidly than average or by reimbursing debt. If they are countries with their own currency they can try as well to get rid of external debt inflation by printing money erratically. Obviously this option does not exist for members of a monetary union.

It should be stressed that if a state defaults without leaving the Eurozone, political and social costs will occur immediately afterward, thus making an eventual divorce much less expensive because the cost in terms of havoc and public welfare have already been largely paid (such as a run on the banks), while post-separation, devaluation is a possibility, making the future for all citizens look brighter. Default, then, is a bad dream while exiting the monetary union (that is, the Eurozone), as in the case of divorce, might be a relief. Argentina's experience in 2001-2 is a case in point.

In this context, it is easy to contemplate that after France and Germany realize that some of the PIIGS want to leave the Eurozone and try to deter them from doing so for fear of contagion, they will eventually capitulate and see exit as something not only inevitable but positive. It seems that in the current populist-driven political atmosphere, Germany and the Netherlands might see such a move as necessary weeding (and not, as is currently argued by those opposed to secession, as punishment, revenge, or sanction of poor students).

As long as the second indispensable country in the Monetary Union, namely France, accepts the German position the Eurozone has a guaranteed life. While it is possible that Germany will show no interest anymore in maintaining it, this did not seem to be a realistic scenario in the coming two decades until recently. However, with Brexit, the election of Donald Trump as US president, and the rejection of voters in a December 2016 referendum on constitutional reforms proposed by Italy's Renzi-led government, my mind has been slowly changing. It seems pretty clear that the Eurozone might survive a Grexit, but certainly not an Italian exit and even more so a French one.

8 C. Reinhart and K. Rogoff, *This Time it is Different: A Panoramic View of Eight Centuries of Financial Crises*, Washington, NBER, WP 13882, 2008.

Conclusion

If the creation and perpetuation of a monetary union imposed by force and/or based on conquest and occupation (such as Napoleon, Hitler) is excluded a priori, as it should be in the case of the Eurozone, the only benevolent hegemon that comes to mind is the current unified Germany. But it is legitimate to have doubts about this given its relatively small economic size compared to the rest of Euroland (not to mention the greater EU), which represents a block of 340 million people. More to the point, given the weight of the past, Germany cannot assume this role yet, even if it would like to, lest one or other member of the Eurozone refuse to accept it. It is unlikely, too, that the German parliament would be prepared to consider the idea, even if all the other 18 Eurozone members begged it to, because it would go against the whole idea of the European Union (a union among equals).

Thus, a real monetary union must be based on solidarity but not only in one direction from Germany outwards but among all the Eurozone member states. Would the other members be prepared to help Germany if it were in need? For instance, would they have considered coming to the help of West Germany at the time it had to engage in the immense task of economically stabilizing East Germany? Food for thought…

The issue of solidarity is linked to that of actual membership of the present Eurozone. In other words, the real problem of the Eurozone for the moment is not its survival but its present composition. Going back to the discussions that took place before the Werner Plan was adopted in 1970, it is worthwhile remembering the warning that in order to guarantee the success of the plan, serious thought would have to be given to the number of countries that would enter, apart from Germany and France (and then the EEC was made up of six countries only!). It was argued then that a small monetary union that excluded Italy would be more compact and durable as it would be less heterogeneous, even if politically less acceptable, and would create many tensions between insiders and outsiders. As a result, it was determined that Italy should be included, in the knowledge, however, that sooner or later there would be some asymmetric shock that would test the amount of solidarity among the six.

Precisely the same dilemma has preoccupied the leaders of the Eurozone since 2010, but rarely has the conflict arisen in discussions at the European Council level. According to many academic experts in the mid-1990s, the future EMU decided upon in Maastricht could be established under the circumstances of the moment but that in the medium and long run it would not be sustainable without some type of federal structure or political union because of the risk of asymmetric shocks. This was due to the heterogeneity of

economic structures of members and the different practices in management of economic policy. Apparently, the architects of the Maastricht Treaty then and the ECB now, not to speak of the present discussions on the euro crisis, all ignored and have continued to ignore at their own peril the importance of the principle of solidarity in light of the divergence of competitiveness levels.

In conclusion, there is no fiscal solidarity in the Eurozone to count on right now. Regarding monetary solidarity, I beg to differ with the current president of the ECB, Mario Draghi, who maintained that there is so much that monetary policy can do and no more. The loans given to the government of Ireland to solve its banking crisis in late 2010 by the European Financial Stability Facility and some individual EU member states) were not a significant show of solidarity, because, after all, they were not gifts. In December 2013 Ireland successfully exited the bailout program. In the case of the loans made to Spain for the same reason in 2012, it was the new European Stability Mechanism that made them, not directly involving the ECB. And Spain has been already operated voluntarily four early reimbursements to the Fund. In fact, monetary solidarity is extremely limited and has only been tested really in the case of Greece, a small country by Eurozone standards, and only up to a point. The European Stability Mechanism (ESM) is clearly not enough to bail out a country such as Italy. Nor are the other new monetary facilities introduced since 2010 by the EU. If we are speaking solely of solidarity, I have clearly expressed my doubts about doing something without expecting any recompense. After all, Mario Draghi was the one who coined the famous phrase (again paraphrasing): I will do whatever it takes to save the Eurozone. In fact, he candidly justified all that he was doing, including helping Greece directly and indirectly with his quantitative easing policies, while not being on the side of those countries needing his help. He said he wanted "only" to save the euro. Of course, underlying Draghi's agenda was a measure of spontaneous solidarity in that the ECB, over which he presided, was willing to buy the government debts of the PIIGS, thus assuming the risk that they would never be repaid. In other words, the ECB accounts will in time be progressively infected to the core if the PIIGS' competitiveness problem is not solved one way or another. It therefore seems that in the present state of affairs in the EU and the world at large, the PIIGS should not count on the fiscal solidarity of other Eurozone countries.

III. Deniz Şenol Sert and Fulya Felicity Türkmen

The EU-Turkey Refugee Deal: The "Disturbing" Balance between Protecting Refugee and Human Rights and Controlling Refugee Flows

According to the findings of a research project on the EU-Turkey land borders, published in 2012, there are five key difficulties regarding management of these frontiers: (1) their geographic location; (2) differences in the exchange of information between states and migrants; (3) the fine line between the status of regular and irregular migrants; (4) problems in states' asylum policies; and finally (5) concerns regarding the Greek-Turkish readmission agreement.[1] Some of the political, economic, and technical issues regarding the latter were emphasized. Since the EU-Turkey refugee deal has become a controversial topic of discussion, this chapter revisits these points to see their possible impact on the current arrangements. The research question to be addressed here is: under what conditions can readmission agreements be effective? We argue that in order to answer this question, several political, economic, and technical obstacles need further elaboration.

On the political level, for readmission agreements to be effective migration management tools, states should be willing to cooperate with each other. If the parties to the deal are unwilling to cooperate, as the Greek-Turkish Readmission Agreement has already shown, even its existence becomes meaningless. At the economic level, operation of the agreement is not possible without the necessary funding and resources. Especially when there are high numbers of crossings, custody, accommodation, identity verification, and cross-border communication constitute major budget items. In addition, there is also growing negative public opinion against the EU in Turkey, where resentments are increasing. Unlike many other countries that the EU has signed readmission agreements with, Turkey is an economically advanced country, with the eighteenth largest economy in the world. Thus, it is not in an urgent or desperate situation that would diminish its interests in such collaboration with the EU. Taking these points into consideration, already back in May 2016, just two months after the signing of the readmission agreement between the EU and Turkey, there were claims that it would not

1 D. Sert, The Gateway of Thrace: Migration Management on the Turkey-EU Border/s, in A. İçduygu and D. Sert, eds. *Borders under Stress: The Cases of Turkey-EU and Mexico-USA Borders*, Istanbul: Isis Press, 2012.

last long.[2]

As has been argued elsewhere, there are both dual and parallel domains of migration. The first, in which migrants exist, is full of uncertainty. As Appadurai[3] cautioned, regulation of migration requires an innovative, normative approach that does not treat migrants as security threats a priori, but as humans living in ambiguous situations and facing unclear futures. Within this context, it becomes paramount to provide people at risk with access to better living conditions and genuine refugees with access to asylum. The second domain is projected by the states that consider migration a security matter, largely ignoring the human aspect, which is exactly what Appadurai was warning about.

Bearing these two parallel realms in mind, we can draw a number of conclusions from earlier research. First, it is important to note that some characteristics in this migratory system cannot be changed. One is geography. Turkey is in an especially difficult position because it adjoins important countries of origin of asylum seekers, such as Syria, Iran, and, Iraq, with their long borders to manage. The country has 268 km of borders with Armenia, 9 km with Azerbaijan, 240 km with Bulgaria, 252 km with Georgia, 206 km with Greece, 499 km with Iran, 352 km with Iraq, and 822 km with Syria. These bound challenging neighbors and topographies where building a fence along the 206 km of Turkish-Greek land border, for example, would not change the geographical limits to states' control over migratory flows. People simply find different routes, a fact confirmed by field observations which demonstrate that once migrants detect increasing operations of the EU Border Agency Frontex at a certain location, they begin to use alternative routes to reach Europe.This is very closely related to the second point: information among migrants flows much faster than among states. Based on previous field research and interviews with asylum lawyers in Sofia, the following example can be instructive: if ten Somalis are granted refugee status in Bulgaria, a large group of people from the entire continent of Africa will quickly learn that they should declare themselves Somalis in the hope of receiving refugee status. Despite all the technological advancements, such a rapid flow of information is simply not possible among states. To illustrate, the fact that many African countries (such as Senegal and Somalia) do not have consulates and/or embassies in Ankara, Athens, or Sofia makes it very hard for policy-implementers in those countries to identify irregular migrants who claim to be coming from these states.

2 D. Sert, Türkiye-AB Geri Kabul Anlaşması sürdürülebilir mi? Türkiye-Yunanistan Geri Kabul Anlaşması örneği üzerinden bir değerlendirme [Is the Turkey-EU Readmission Agreement Sustainable? An evaluation of the Turkey-Greece Readmission Agreement, Presentation at the Workshop "Suriye'den gelen sığınmacıların Türkiye-AB ilişkilerine Etkilerinin Araştırılması [Research on the effects of asylum seekers from Syria on Turkey-EU relations]," Kadir Has University/Başkent University, Istanbul, Turkey, May 6, 2016.

3 A. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

This constitutes a major handicap in management of irregular migration where there is a fine line between legality and illegality, or regularity and irregularity. This third point especially is related to the issue of asylum. As the asylum systems of the states are rather perplexing, rejected asylum applicants become an important source of irregular migrants in all countries. This is not only a problem of the nation-state. In the context of the EU, asylum becomes a supranational problem because the Dublin Protocol turned geographies of external border countries into liabilities. A fourth point is related to the discussion that not all asylum applicants are genuine refugees; many are economic migrants who are trying to legalize their status. Thus, states are entitled to revise their immigration policies to create, facilitate, and to alleviate the conditions that make legal immigration possible. One option may be signing agreements of circular or temporary migration with source countries.

Instead, states tend to engage in signing readmission agreements. While readmission agreements allow them to send "unwanted" irregular migrants back to where they came from, they function as key, though complex tools of migration management with political, economic, and technical implications.[4] In order to utilize readmission agreements as effective preventive measures, states should be keen to cooperate with each other. As the Turkish-Greek readmission agreement has demonstrated over the years, if the parties are unwilling to cooperate, the presence of an agreement does not mean much. If the parties are prepared to cooperate, however, there might not even be a need for a specific readmission agreement. For example, for many years, Turkey and Bulgaria did not have a readmission agreement; rather based on a mutual agreement on interception at the borders resulting from good-neighborly relations, the two have readmitted irregular migrants de facto from each other. Still, on the economic level, the finances and resources necessary to manage a readmission agreement can become important burdens for such countries.

Readmission agreements: Definition and usage

The European Commission defines readmission as the removal of "persons who do not or no longer fulfill the conditions of entry to, presence in or residence in the requesting state."[5] As Cassarino notes, the topic is not new in

4 Sert, The Gateway, pp. 102-104.

5 European Commission, Community Return Policy on Illegal Residents, COM (2002) 564 final, Brussels, October 14, 2002. Also cited in J.P. Cassarino, A Reappraisal of the EU's Expanding Readmission System, *The International Spectator* 49, no. 4 (2014), pp. 130–45.

law, history, political science, or international relations.[6] What is new, however, are the ways in which cooperation on readmission has been configured and practiced over the last three decades or so, while gaining tremendous momentum in bilateral and multilateral talks between EU member states and non-EU countries.[7] As Cassarino has shown, readmission agreements have become typical tools of migration management for the EU over the years.[8]

In the face of an increasing number of irregular migrants and asylum seekers, Turkey has also begun to extend its network of readmission agreements. Turkey signed readmission agreements with 15 countries over the course of 15 years: with Belarus in 2013, Bosnia Herzegovina in 2012, Greece in 2001, Kosovo in 2015, Kyrgyzstan in 2003, Moldova in 2012, Montenegro in 2013, Nigeria in 2011, Norway in 2016, Pakistan in 2010, Romania in 2004, the Russian Federation in 2011, Syria in 2001, Ukraine in 2005, and Yemen in 2011.[9] However, Turkey readmits (a) its own nationals in accordance with its Constitution and Passport Law; (b) aliens having valid Turkish residence permits; (c) illegal third country nationals if it is proved that they departed from Turkey—they will be readmitted if returned by the same or a subsequent flight in accordance with (International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) rules and practices.

The EU-Turkey agreement is contained in a statement issued by the European Council on March 18, 2016. The agreement has three main objectives: preventing loss of lives in the Aegean Sea; breaking the migrant smuggling networks; and replacing illegal migration with legal migration. According to

6 J.P. Cassarino, A Reappraisal of the EU's Expanding Readmission System, *The International Spectator* 49, no. 4 (2014): 130–45. See for example: K. Hailbronner, Readmission Agreements and the Obligation of States under Public International Law to Readmit their Own and Foreign Nationals, *Zeitschrift für ausländisches öffentliches Rechtund Völkerrecht* 57 (1997); D. Bouteillet-Paquet, Passing the Buck: A Critical Analysis of the Readmission Policy Implemented by the European Union and Its Member States, *European Journal of Migration and Law* 5, no. 3 (2003): 359–77; G. Noll, Readmission Agreements, in M.J. Gibney, and R. Hansen, eds. *Immigration and Asylum: From 1900 to Present* , Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2005, pp. 495–97; C. Charles, *Accords de réadmission et respect des droits de l'homme dans les pays tiers Bilan et perspectives pour le Parlement Européen*, Brussels: European Parliament, 2007; N. Coleman, *European Readmission Policy: Third Country Interests and Refugee Rights*, Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 2009; S. Peers et al., eds. *EU Immigration and Asylum Law (Text and Commentary): Second Revised Edition*, Vol. 2: *EU Immigration and Law*, Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 2012, pp. 553-89; J.P. Cassarino, Informalising Readmission Agreements in the EU Neighbourhood, *The International Spectator* 42, no. 2 (2007), pp. 179–96; F. Trauner, and I. Kruse, EC Visa Facilitation and Readmission Agreements: Implementing a New EU Security Approach in the Neighbourhood, CEPS Working Document no. 290, Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, 2008; M. Panizzon, Readmission Agreements of EU Member States: A Case for EU Subsidiarity or Dualism? *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 31, no. 4 (2012), pp. 101–33.

7 Cassarino, A Reappraisal, ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-on-irregular-migration.en.mfa (accessed November 13, 2016).

the agreement, as of April 4, 2016, Turkey was to begin readmitting all irregular migrants, while the resettlement of Syrians from Turkey in EU countries would be set in motion. In this context, in the first week of the deal, Turkey took back 325 irregular migrants from the Aegean islands. Within the scope of the "1 for 1" formula, 78 Syrians were resettled in Germany, the Netherlands, and Finland. For every Syrian returned to Turkey from the Aegean islands, the EU was to start resettling another Syrian from Turkey. This exercise constitutes a striking example of burden and responsibility sharing, which Turkey has been advocating since the eruption of the Syrian crisis in 2011.[10]

EU-Turkey readmission agreement: Is it sustainable?

As stated earlier, for readmission agreements to be effective migration management means, states should be willing to cooperate with each other. If the parties to the agreement are unwilling to cooperate, as the Greek-Turkish readmission agreement has shown over the years, even the existence of an agreement becomes meaningless. On June 6, 2016, the Turkish press reported that Ankara had announced suspension of the Turkish-EU deal as a result of disagreements over anti-terrorism laws.[11] This is a decidedly political issue, linked not only to management of borders but to many other related topics as well. According to the European Commission report on Turkey for 2016: "Turkey continued to be a major first reception and transit country for irregular migrants from Asia and Africa heading to Europe. Over the reporting period, a large number of refugees and irregular migrants mostly (but not only) fleeing the conflict in Syria have been transiting through Turkey on their way towards the European Union. Illegal border crossings reached unprecedented numbers in 2015. In 2013 and 2014, the numbers of people who arrived in the EU directly from Turkey were 25,121 and 52,994, respectively. In 2015 this number increased to 888,457, an almost 16-fold increase. Around 98% of irregular entries occurred via the Greek islands from the nearby Turkish Aegean coast, often facilitated by smugglers. The remaining 2% were people crossing Turkey's land border with Greece and Bulgaria. According to the Turkish authorities, more than 146,485 people were intercepted in 2015 while crossing the border illegally, an increase of 150% from 2014. At least 806 irregular migrants died or went missing between Greece and Turkey in 2015, according to the International Organization for Migration. This number was 413 in 2016 until the end of September. Human losses at sea decreased sharply from 366 in the three months before the activation of the Statement (January

10 Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

11 http://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/06/06/ankara-halts-readmission-agreement-with-eu-disagrees-on-anti-terrorism-laws (accessed July 31, 2016).

to March) to 47 in the six months following its activation (April to September). Most of those who crossed the borders illegally continued their journey within the EU, eventually applying for asylum in an EU Member State".

With such high numbers of crossings, the operation of the agreement is not possible without the necessary funding and resources, where custody, accommodation, identity verification, and cross-border communication constitute major budget items. Very briefly, for the agreement to be operational there is a need for some 4,000 staff from Greece, member states, the European Asylum Support Office (EASO), and Frontex. The European Commission declared that the asylum process alone requires 200 Greek asylum service case workers, 400 asylum experts from other member states deployed by EASO, and 400 interpreters. For the appeals process, 10 appeals committees made up of 30 members from Greece, as well as 30 judges with expertise in asylum law from other member states, and 30 interpreters are needed. For the return process, it is necessary to recruit 25 Greek readmission officers, 250 Greek police officers, 50 return experts deployed by Frontex, as well as 1,500 police officers, seconded on the basis of bilateral police cooperation arrangements whose costs are to be covered by Frontex. There is also a need for 1,000 security/army staff. As far as material assistance is concerned, transport is required for return from the islands; this should consist of eight Frontex vessels (with a capacity of 300-400 passengers per vessel) and 28 buses. Twenty thousand rooms are required for short-term accommodation on the Greek islands (of which 6,000 already exist); also, as well as 190 containers for administration, including 130 for EASO case workers.[12]

The Commission declares "… after the activation of the EU-Turkey Statement in March 2016. Of 164,389 irregular crossings in 2016 until the end of September, 141,753 took place in the period preceding the activation of the Statement (January to March), and only 22,636 occurred following the activation of the Statement (April to September). The daily average of irregular crossings fell from 1794 in the period from January to the activation of the Statement, to 116 from its activation to the end of September. The decrease was partly due to intensified work by Turkey's law enforcement agencies to prevent irregular departures from coastal areas and measures restricting the free movement of people seeking international protection and people under temporary protection to the provinces to which they had been assigned, in combination with the implementation of a return scheme from the Greek islands that contributed to break the business model of smugglers".

In January 2017, Human Rights Watch published its report on the dire conditions of refugees on the Greek islands. It shows that the agreement has

12 European Commission, Fact Sheet: Implementing the EU-Turkey Statement Questions and Answers, Brussels, June 15, 2002.

not created a solution for their problems and has only acted as a deterrence mechanism. Within the scheme, 2.2 billion Euros have been allocated for actions in support of refugees and host communities in Turkey, of which 1.2 billion have been contracted and 677 million have been disbursed. However, public opinion against the Syrian community in Turkey is becoming increasingly negative, and new resentments are emerging.

Furthermore, data provided by the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) in Turkey indicate that until February 21, 2017, only 3,186 Syrians have actually left Turkey within the 1:1 scheme; as noted, for every Syrian readmitted by Turkey, the EU agreed to settle one Syrian from Turkey. Compared to 2.9 million Syrians hosted by Turkey (DGMM figure from February 21, 2017), the number is totally negligible.

EU-Turkey readmission agreement: Is it a balancing act?

As stated in the previous sections, there are many difficulties regarding the management and control of EU-Turkey borders. In this part, we discuss whether the EU-Turkey refugee deal is a balancing act between protection of refugee and human rights and controlled refugee flows by referring to the fundamental elements of immigration ethics. In many spheres, the EU has maintained its dedicated position as the defender of global human rights. Yet, its common immigration policies tend to contradict this general attitude and commitment to those core principles. When the issue is related to those fleeing from war, inhumane conditions, and poverty, an imbalance between national security needs and claims, and ethical considerations is sometimes evident.

In this respect, it is important to understand and explain two terms that are new in the EU's immigration policy and how these two terms are related to ethical dilemmas: externalization of migration management and neo-refoulement. As Hyndman and Mountz point out:

"In the European Union, proposals to process asylum seekers outside its borders have been displaced by efforts to exclude asylum seekers from making spontaneous claims while on sovereign territory. Shifting from legal frameworks of protection to more politicized and securitized practices of exclusion, neo-refoulement uses geography to suspend access to asylum".[13]

Externalization of migration coincides with its politicization and securitization when the focus shifts from the legal and humanitarian side of the issue. Bilateral re-admission agreements can be regarded as an instrument of externalization efforts. Increasing numbers of readmission agreements

13 J. Hyndman and A. Mountz, Another Brick in the Wall? Neo-Refoulement and the Externalization of Asylum by Australia and Europe, *Government and Opposition* 43, no. 2 (2008), pp. 249-269.

leave refugees with fewer places to make their claims for refugee status as the main goal is to keep migrants in their regions of origin.

Zapata-Barrero[14] suggests a more ethical- and human-rights oriented approach for international migration management by the EU. The ongoing "anything goes" attitude undermines many human rights principles and raises doubts and concerns about current migration and border policies. The increase in the number of people on the move makes us question states' responsibility toward "other" human beings besides their own citizens. In this case, a re-evaluation of states' moral obligations and responsibilities toward people who are not their citizens is strongly needed.

Strict and tidy definitions also pose many dilemmas and inadequacies from the ethical perspective. The rhetoric on the definitions of genuine refugees, economic migrants, and other sub-categories of migrants creates ethical distortions that merge with the impossibility, viability, and, undesirability of precise ontological categorizations.[15] We should bear in mind that concepts of migration are dynamic, as well as flexible and vague, and change with time. Moreover, as these concepts are adopted as widely as possible, their ambiguity manifests itself in the processes of interpretation and re-interpretation. For instance, classification and characterization of economic migrants leads to a group of refugees and asylum seekers whose claims and submissions are under constant suspicion. The important point here is the need to build a normative framework through which we can evaluate actions and measures taken for the regulation of migrant flows and perhaps create a buffer zone between human rights principles and securitization of migration and migration management.

There is a striking contradiction between the EU's founding principles which are based on a deep commitment to human rights principles—on legal, social and moral grounds—and current practices of migration management and border control. It seems that practices of neo-refoulement and externalization are at work instead of better schemes for sharing the burden and responsibility. Bilateral agreements provide governments with greater flexibility as they can customize each agreement according to their specific conditions. Yet, this flexibility also makes it easier to disregard the refugee side and state responsibility toward them. As these practices of the right to exclude would-be migrants contradicts liberal commitment to the moral equality of all people, the need for a new ethical framework becomes more evident. "An ethical EU asylum policy should also be based on humanitarian values, fair procedures, and solidarity,

14 R. Zapata-Barrero, European Migration Governance: From "Anything Goes" to the Need for an Ethical Code. *American Behavioral Scientist* 56, no. 9 (2012), pp. 1183-203.

15 O. Parker and J. Brassett, Contingent Borders, Ambiguous Ethics: Migrants in (International) Political Theory, *International Studies Quarterly* 49, no. 2 (2005), pp. 233-54.

both within the Union and externally."[16] This approach also reiterates the EU's exemplary image as an "ethical power" for addressing injustice and problems of inequality around the world.

Conclusion

All in all, we argue against the utilization of readmission agreements. They are not a balancing act between refugee and human rights and border control, but new mechanisms of neo-refoulement, and externalization of migration controls to transit countries. Neither Greece nor Turkey is a destination country for irregular migrants and even for asylum seekers. They are transit countries on the way to Western Europe where refugees seek better lives. Readmission agreements with transit countries, as is evident from the Turkey-EU agreement, can perform well as tools of deterrence for migrants—the number of crossings declined substantially following its implementation. However, in truth, they just act as mechanisms for transferring the burden of migration management to the other side. A more viable policy option is to pursue bilateral agreements on circular or temporary migration with source countries, rather than signing readmission agreements with transit states, as well as reformulating the asylum systems of nation-states and of the EU.

16 Z. Stayonava-Yerburrgh, Asylum in the EU: Between Ideals and Reality, Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, 2013.

IV. Karen Umansky and Alberto Spektorowski

From Notorious Anti-Europeans to Radical-Right Populists: Disillusionment with Democracy and Its Implications for European Solidarity

Introduction

Although the appearance of radical right parties is not a new phenomenon in post-World War II politics, a combination of prolonged economic stagnation and the most significant refugee crisis since the end of the war has turned these parties into central players. Their success in Hungary, Austria, France, and the UK, accentuated by the triumphal ascendance of Donald Trump to the presidency of the United States, portrayed as a country protected from extremism by its institutional mechanisms, has evoked a range of emotions across the world—from confused concern and fear to excitement and fanatical support.

"Good old" Europe and the concept of European solidarity are undergoing a major paradigm shift from multicultural liberalism to radicalism.[1] There has been a substantial increase in support for radical right parties that voice anti-immigration sentiments, nationalist idealism, and xenophobia**.** In the 2014 EU elections, the Front National in France polled 24.86 percent of the national vote, the Austrian Freedom Party 19.72 percent, and the Freedom Party of Netherlands 13.32 percent.[2]

These parties incite anger among Europeans, whose liberal and multicultural values, as well as solidarity, were hardly questioned two decades ago, by their demands to halt immigration and attempts to pass laws curtailing immigrant and minority social rights.[3] Scholars often refer to them as "extreme-right" or "radical-right" parties.[4] However, according to

1 Y. Tamir, *Liberal Nationalism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995; M. Waltzer, The Politics of Difference: Statehood and Toleration in a Multicultural World. *Ratio Juris* 10 (June), pp. 165-76, 1997.

2 European Parliament, Results of the 2014 European Election: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/elections2014-results/en/country-results-fi-2014.html

3 J. Mullen, European Rights Court Rules in Favor of French Burqa Ban, *CNN*, July 1, 2014.

4 M. Goodwin, Europe's Radical Right: Support and Potential, *Political Insight* 2 (3), pp. 4-7, 2011; R. Eatwell, Why are Fascism and Racism Reviving in Western Europe? *The Political Quarterly* 65 (3), pp. 313-25, 1994; C. Mudde, The Populist Zeitgeist, *Government and Opposition* 39 (4), pp. 541-63, 2004; P. Ignazi, *Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

the median voter theorem,[5] it is unclear how such parties can attract large electorates, which support narrow, extremist ideologies, and how they exert such a significant influence on public opinion. Moreover, these parties espouse additional issues such as anti-elitism, anti-establishmentarianism, and Euro-skepticism. Their strong appeal to the people and ambitions to proclaim their needs and to act on their behalf suggests they are different from the old radical right with which we were familiar. "Populism," omitted from the analysis of right-wing parties until recently due to its vagueness, has recently been reintroduced to the scholarly debate.[6] We agree that the populist character of these parties is too conspicuous to be ignored but for the purposes of this chapter we refer to them as radical right parties (RRPs).

The principal goal of this study is to understand the nature of RRPs, assess their threat to democracy and European solidarity, and determine the characteristics that account for their success. We suggest that the answer lies in the way they operate in the political arena. We hypothesize that RRPs, which embrace the politics of conflict, translate pervading public concerns into what we denote as "legitimate" enemies. This concept, according to Carl Schmitt's *Concept of the Political*,[7] implies that RRPs create an *enemy* in their political agendas, which becomes "legitimate" when it is held responsible for public concerns, thus validating its existence and the politics of conflict.

Based on the *theory of social construction of protest*,[8] we developed a model of the electoral behavior of RRPs, hypothesizing that the populist mass mobilization strategy of these parties consists of two processes: a bottom-up process, by which pervading public concerns are inserted in populist parties' election manifestos and campaigns; and a top-down process that shapes popular collective identities by creating "legitimate" enemies that allegedly pose a threat to the imagined community. The adequacy of this model is explored in the Netherlands and the UK.

Democracy under threat?

One of the major questions that needs to be addressed when dealing with

5 D. Black, On the Rationale of Group Decision-Making, Journal of *Political Economy* 56, pp. 23-34, 1948.

6 H. Kitschelt, Popular Dissatisfaction with Democracy: Populism and Party Systems, in Y. Meny and Y. Surel, eds., *Democracies and the Populist Challenge*, New York: Palgrave, pp. 179-96, 2002.

7 C. Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, trans. G. Schwab. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

8 B. Klandermans, The Social Construction of Protest and Multiorganizational Fields, in A.D. Morris and C. McClurg Mueller eds., *Frontiers in Social Movements Theory*, New Havens and London: Yale University Press, pp. 77-103, 1992;

the populist radical right is whether it represents an attack on democracy in general or only on its liberal aspect. Is it a manifestation of a rejection of European values of solidarity? At first glance, a straightforward answer suggests itself: RRPs accentuate everything that is in direct contrast to modern liberal European values. They represent such a clear attack on the European project that it is reminiscent of the 1930s. Pundits may question whether we are witnessing a return of fascism. Hatred and prejudice, which many people thought had been marginalized in western democracies by the defeat of fascism in 1945, decolonization, and the American civil rights movement, seem to have returned to the mainstream.

Comparisons may be drawn between contemporary times and the 1920s to 1930s: economic crisis, chronic unemployment, poverty, low workers' wages, and the decline of the middle class. Observers might discern parallels between the contemporary populist radical right and fascism: authoritarianism, charismatic leadership, nationalism, racism, protectionism, and anti-liberalism. If in the past the Jews were portrayed as the enemy of the nation, nowadays it is the Muslims. If in the past the democratic nation was under attack, nowadays it is the European Union.

Yet, while the Hungarian Jobbik and the Greek Golden Dawn may look like variants of fascist parties, such as Germany's Alternative for Deutschland (AfD), France's National Front, Austria's Freedom Party, or the Dutch Freedom Party (PVV), they do not comply with the definition of fascism, despite displaying xenophobic and nationalistic characteristics.

The question is not only whether we are facing a new political phenomenon but how to define the common goals, if there are any, of a new family of parties, which challenge the liberalism and solidarity of the European Union. This study aims to show that present-day RRPs, in contrast to fascist parties in the past, are democratic. In some cases, they can be seen as basically liberal, as in the case of Geert Wilders' PVV in the Netherlands. Their success and strength are based on a winning card of portraying liberal European technocratic elites as "legitimate" enemies of European solidarity and therefore of the "people." Islam is viewed as a synthesis of anti-liberalism, backwardness, and a major opponent of liberal rights, such as LGBT rights, for example.

Adapting Carl Schmitt's "friend and foe formula," we suggest that, paradoxically, RRPs represent a type of progressive democracy rather than the revival of a fascist, ultra-nationalist, anti-enlightenment authoritarianism. The idea of a "legitimate" enemy implies an enemy against which democrats, non-racists, and liberals can join forces. Authoritarian fascism challenged democracy as such. RRPs challenge *liberal* democracy, building an opposition of segments comprising the rejected working class and democratic, civic,

integrationist, and in some cases, LGTB groups against a coalition of liberal, technocratic, multicultural elites and Muslims. Rather than erecting a barrier against democracy, the new populist radical right is attempting to re-define itself by contrasting "the people" and a "legitimate" enemy.

This strategy, adopted in order to attract votes from the political center, was defined by Anthony Downs as one of the democratic characteristics of the populist radical right.[9] It moves to the center in an attempt to catch the median voter, and for that reason abandons anti-Semitism, old anti-democratic ideologies, and in some cases starts endorsing the struggles of progressive groups.

Why is this happening?

For decades, self-righteous urban, educated elites had made themselves richer at the expense of the poor, thus periodically resulting in peasant revolts, which jolted democracy out of its comfort zone. Globalization, modernization, and the free market economy created "winners" and "losers," dividing societies not between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but rather between young, technocratic, liberal elites, immigrants, and ethnic minorities, on the one hand, and the "losers" of modernization on the other. It, thus, unleashed two forces on a collision course: a rapid rise in inequality, and a route to the top percentile for talented females, blacks, and gays.

As long as it delivered a story of growth and a better future, those disempowered by neoliberalism could stand it. But neoliberalism no longer works and popular voices want power returned to the sovereign state, since they no longer trust the liberal technocratic elites. Combined with the cultural demands of Muslims, the scene is thus set for a "legitimate" enemy situation. In order to understand the nature of the contemporary radicalization of European politics, we define "populism" and "populist radical-right parties" and explain the logic of the mechanism of the "legitimate" enemy strategy in the following sections.

Conceptualizing populism and RRPs

Radicalism alone cannot account for the success of the "new" right parties; the populist incentive is a necessary ingredient to win the hearts and minds of voters. The radical aspect is easy to identify—these parties indeed change European values systems in a fundamental way. The populist feature, however,

9 A. Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, New York: Harper and Row, 1957.

is complex to trace. The existing literature lacks consensus on the definition of populism or a clear-cut understanding of its nature.[10] Some scholars define populism in terms of a political movement;[11] others are convinced it is an ideology,[12] while several posit that it is a political mobilization strategy.[13] Still, most tend to agree on two central components of a definition: appeal to the people and antagonistic distinctions between "us"—"the people"—and "them"—the others.[14]

"The people" versus "the other"

The co-dependence between "the people" and "the other" is an intriguing dichotomy. On the one hand, "the other" is defined as *what we are not*, meaning that *we*, "the people," need to bear distinctive homogenous characteristics "the other" does not share. Populism's focus on the identity of "the people," as opposed to that of "the other," creates an ideological rationalization of the politics of inclusion and exclusion.[15] This division resembles Carl Schmitt's friend-foe distinction, by which a collective identity is formed based on who belongs to "the people" and who does not.[16] Once this collective identity is threatened by external groups, it needs to be defended, creating the essence of the political, according to Schmitt. A world without friends and foes, Schmitt claims, becomes depoliticized, with no factual social, individual, or political values to strive for, but merely a materialistic satisfaction of personal needs. Consequently, liberal democracy based on equality of rights and on compromise as the paramount method for conflict resolution eliminates the friend-foe distinction from the sphere of politics and leaves citizens with an "empty heart," replacing emotional ideology with technocratic politics.

Our claim is that RRPs recognized the ideological vacuum of liberal democracy and reintroduced the notion of collective identity and contentious politics. This dichotomous vision of society, together with conflict being a

10 C. Mudde, Who is Afraid of the European Radical Right? Dissent 58 (April), pp. 7-11, 2011; M. Canovan, Populism, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1981; P. Taggart, Populism, Buckingham PA: Open University Press, 2000; Y. Meny and Y. Surel, The Constitutive Ambiguity of Populism, in Y. Meny and Y. Surel eds., *Democracies and the Populist Challenge*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-24, 2002.

11 T. S. Di Tella, T. S., Populism and Reform in Latin America, in C. Veliz, ed., *Obstacles to Change in Latin America*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965.

12 C. Mudde, The Populist Zeitgeist, *Government and Opposition* 39 (4), pp. 541-63, 2004.

13 H.-G. Betz and C. Johnson, Against the Current—Stemming the Tide: the Nostalgic Ideology of the Contemporary Radical Populist Right, *Journal of Political Ideologies* 9 (3), pp. 311-27, 2004; M. Canovan, Trust the People! Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy, *Political Studies* 47 (1), pp. 2-16, 1999; K. Roberts, Latin America's Populist Revival, SAIS Review 27 (1), pp. 3-15, 2007.

14 Y. Meny and Y. Surel, ibid.; K: Roberts, ibid.; P. Taggart, ibid.; F. Panizza, Introduction, in F. Panizza ed., *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy*, London, New York: Verso, pp. 1-32, 2005.

15 Betz and Johnson, ibid.

16 Carl Schmitt, ibid.

necessary condition for penetrating the political sphere by *shaping* political identity, is utilized by RRPs in their quest for power.[17] Two dimensions of antagonistic sentiments are accentuated in populist discourse for this purpose.

Antagonistic sentiments—horizontal dimension

The horizontal dimension of antagonistic sentiments incited by populists stems from the internal division of society into various social groups. "The people" is defined in most cases as the majority of the population (sometimes identified with the nation, but not necessarily) as opposed to immigrants, asylum seekers, minorities, or other *out-groups* that allegedly threaten the political, social, cultural, and economic status quo of the country. This struggle for ethnic or national homogeneity via the exclusion of other groups, is associated today mostly with the contemporary populist radical right.

Antagonistic sentiments—vertical dimension

While rejecting party systems and exhibiting hostility toward institutions of representative democracy, RRPs do not hesitate to use the political system to enter the realm of politics in order to gain public support. Radical populists attack the political system and its representatives, accusing them of being corrupt and incapable of carrying out their primary duty as elected public servants. Drawing legitimacy from the perceived corruption of the political elite and the shortcomings of the incumbent political order, RRPs engage in severe attacks on the government, its institutions, and politicians, using taboo-breaking rhetoric that undermines the system's status.[18] For the purposes of this research, radical populism is delineated in terms of an *antagonistic articulation of public concerns and their translation into enemies that are believed to endanger the collective identity of "the people."*

RRPs and their characteristics in a nutshell

While extreme right and left-wing parties address certain, usually small, segments of the population, what specifically characterizes RRPs, in contrast to mainstream or extremist parties, is a wide spectrum of issues they can present on their agenda, regardless of the party's assumed political positioning, concerns that transcend the traditional left-right division. This ideological volatility, or as Taggart coined it, "chameleonic nature," is intrinsically typical

17 Klandermans, ibid.; P. Worsley, The Concept of Populism, in G. Ionescu and E. Gellner eds., *Populism, its Meanings and Characteristics*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, pp. 212-250, 1969; G. Ionescu and E. Gellner, Introduction, in G. Ionescu and E. Gellner eds., *Populism—Its Meanings and National Characteristics*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, pp. 1-5, 1969.

18 Kitschelt, ibid.

of RRPs.[19] They recognize the political de-alignment and issue-oriented voting of the majority of the electorate and adapt their appeals to the people according to their current concerns.

Since RRPs are an outgrowth of the very essence of populism, they identify themselves with the people, and claim to represent its will, pursue its interests and needs, and, finally, strive to bring the power back to the people.[20] Although most politicians inevitably address the people, RRPs emphasize that, in contrast to the alienated and corrupt elites, they are part of the people. Engaging in direct *people-rhetoric* by exhibiting explicit closeness to the people, claiming to be the voice of the people, and advocating direct democracy, are considered other prominent features of RRPs.

RRPs' dichotomous, or "us" versus "them" vision of society, accompanied by antagonistic rhetoric, is manifested in two dimensions: the *vertical*, referring to elites, resulting in anti-state, anti-EU, and anti-political-leader themes; and the *horizontal*, which introduces the politics of exclusion and focuses on *unwanted* groups (out-groups) that supposedly pose a threat to "the people" and hence need to be eradicated from society.

The association between populism and political trust

Scholars claim that the success of the "new" right in Europe depends on the behavior of the mainstream parties, and comes about when and where mainstream parties ignore issues like corruption, European integration, immigration, and crime.[21] The literature further elaborates on this theory, adding that many RRP followers are deeply dissatisfied with the performance of their government on immigration and integration, despite numerous attempts to address these issues by national and local policy-makers.[22]

In similar vein, there is a scholarly near-consensus that populism is a by-product of representative democracy.[23] The gap between the people and the elite, which deepens markedly in difficult times, causes a sense of voter dissatisfaction with the established parties, thus creating a political vacuum that is filled by populists' claims of returning power to "the people".[24] Populism emerges "when existing representative institutions are viewed as incapable of responding to widespread frustration and discontent [of the people]".[25]

Levels of public dissatisfaction and distrust in political institutions and

19 Taggart, ibid.
20 Canovan 2002, ibid; Mudde 2004, ibid.
21 Mudde 2011, ibid.
22 Goodwin, ibid.
23 Canovan 1999, ibid.
24 Canovan 2002, ibid.
25 P. Oxhorn, Understanding Latin America's Populist Scourge: Problems of Popular Sector Class Formation and Collective Action, Paper presented at the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Guadalajara, Mexico, 1997.

populism are two intertwining phenomena. Populism, as a "health indicator" of representative political systems, articulates suppressed rifts that endanger the political order.[26] A high level of public confidence in governmental institutions is a source of legitimacy for the political elite in democracies, and therefore is expected to stimulate better government policy making and functioning.[27] Low levels of trust indicate that the political apparatus is not functioning properly and not satisfying the citizens' needs, creating fertile ground for radical populism.

Focal point of research and hypotheses

The dominance of liberalism and multiculturalism and growing public resentment toward immigration policies, and pervading distrust of European and national political spheres seem to be correlated. Theories that consider political, economic, cultural, or institutional causes as separate explanations for the rise of RRPs overlook a more comprehensive phenomenon at hand: the marginalization of the politics of difference by the liberal and multicultural dogmas that have dominated since the early 1970s. Following Carl Schmitt, we argue that the politics of difference are inherent and vital elements of western democracies. The inability to voice contentious politics based on identification under such liberal dogmas has resulted in growing discontent and a quest by European societies for "new" enemies. Liberalism, multiculturalism, and solidarity, which proclaim the politics of compromise, have cast a shadow on the politics of conflict and marginalized those who sought to voice their "legitimate" enemy in the political discourse. The quest for "legitimate" enemies, voiced by contemporary RRPs, can be seen as a by-product of liberal democracy which, according to Schmitt, cultivates the need for perceived enemies in the long term.

Suppressed discontent has exploded in the unprecedented emergence of RRPs, which are eager to break the code of silence and are not shy about defining new "foes" of "the people." We hypothesize that RRPs re-legitimize the quest for "legitimate" enemies by voicing major public concerns. Each concern, whether political (representation and corruption), economic (inflation and economic crisis), or cultural (globalization, modernization, immigration, etc.) can be seen as a threat to "the people." When a representative political system fails to protect "the people" from "conceived enemies," it becomes

26 Canovan 2002, ibid.

27 M. Bovens and W. Anchrit, Deciphering the Dutch Drop: Ten Explanations for Decreasing Political Trust in in *the Netherlands, International Review of Administrative Sciences* 74 (2), pp. 283-305, 2008.

an "enemy" in itself. RRPs utilize the quest for a "legitimate" enemy in their political platforms; hence their agendas are flexible and fluctuate according to the current "foes" of "the people." If RRPs are observed through the prism of *social construction of* protest,[28] it is expected that they will:

- H_1: implicate pervading public concerns in their agendas as a part of the bottom-up process that includes the formulation of grievances;
- H_2: introduce "legitimate" enemies, utilizing friend-foe distinctions to influence the public discourse, to construct public beliefs, and to form collective identities by creating a high level of association between pervading concerns and alleged enemies, thus holding the "enemy" accountable for the cause of public anxiety—a top-down process.

Methodology and data

We adhere to a comparative approach to test our hypotheses in two case studies: the Netherlands and the UK. These countries have witnessed the conspicuous popularity of RRPs; the Dutch PVV and the UK Independence Party (UKIP) can be considered among key players in the game of contemporary politics in Europe. However, despite their similarities, they generate different outcomes in their creation of "legitimate" enemies.

The cases selected help eliminate political culture as an alternative explanation. Levels of public trust in political institutions are remarkably different in these countries: whereas the Netherlands may be considered a relatively high-trust society, the UK displays significantly lower levels of public trust in political institutions, a fact that is expected to predetermine a vertical direction of antagonistic populist-radical sentiments.

These parties fit our definition of RRPs and many scholars refer to them as populist and radical.[29] In order to outline the idiosyncrasies of the appeal of these RRPs, their election manifestos were compared with those of traditional right-wing parties: the VVD (People's Party for Freedom and Democracy) in the Netherlands and the Conservative Party in the UK.

We combine an analysis of existing literature and original data to test our

28 Klandermans, ibid.

29 T. Akkerman, Friend or Foe? Right-Wing Populism and the Popular Press in Britain and the Netherlands, Journalism 12 (August), pp. 931-45, 2011; K. Vossen, Populism in the Netherlands after Fortuyn: Rita Verdonk and Geert Wilders Compared, *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 11 (1), pp. 22-38, 2010; M. Kobori, Populism as Rhetorical Politics in Britain and Japan: Devil Take the Hindmost, *Ritsumeikan Law Reviews* 30, pp. 107-22, 2013; J. Baggini, A Very British Populism, in C. Feischi, M. Morris, and L. Caballero eds., *Populist Fantasies: European Revolts in Context*, pp. 99-151, 2013; Abedi, A. and Lundberg, T. C. (2009) Doomed to Failure? UKIP and the Organizational Challenges Facing Right-wing Populist Anti-political Establishment Parties, *Parliamentary Affairs* 62 (4), pp. 72-87.

theoretical claims. The data include election manifestos of the Conservative Party and the UKIP and of the VVD and the PVV in the 2010 general elections in the UK and the Netherlands. Content analysis of the manifestos was performed with Wmatrix—a statistical method and software tool for linguistic analysis through corpus comparison, designed and developed by Paul Rayson from Lancaster University.[30] Public concerns and political trust were measured by utilizing data obtained from the Eurobarometer interactive search system, a tool that runs a search of the trend questions database.[31] Election results come from the European Election Database.[32]

The hypotheses regarding the bottom-up and top-down processes of mass mobilization by RRPs are tested by means of linguistic corpora analysis of election manifestos of the abovementioned parties. The research question is answered by focusing on the process of distilling public concerns for the relevant elections, tracing their utilization in the agendas of RRPs and mainstream parties in the selected countries, and delineating the translation of pervading public concerns into "legitimate" enemies by RRPs. The results were sorted according to the log-likelihood level (LL) of significance >6.63 ($p<0.01$).

The 2010 general election in the Netherlands

The 2008 economic crisis, which began in the United States, spread rapidly across the world, shattering financial foundations in the Netherlands as well. Economic and financial insecurity dominated the tone of the 2010 election in the Netherlands. Issues related minorities and their integration in Dutch society were exploited in this election, too. In fact, according to the polls, the latter had been regarded as a winning card of election campaigns since 2006.[33]

30 Wmatrix: http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/wmatrix/

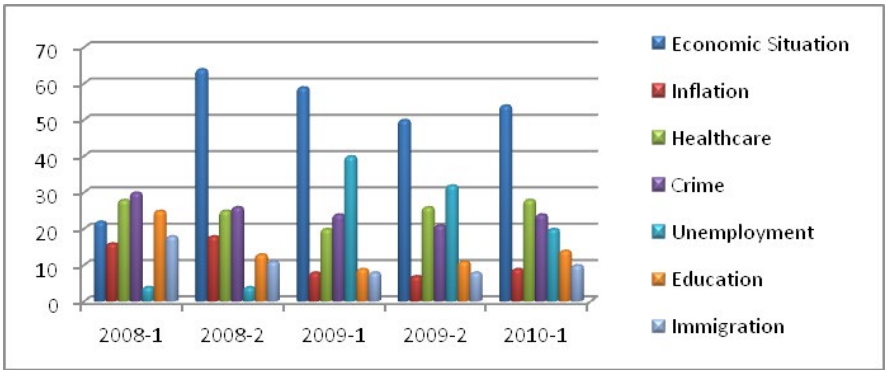
31 Eurobarometer: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/cf/index.cfm?lang=en

32 European Election Database: http://www.nsd.uib.no/european_election_database/

33 K. Aarts and H. van der Kolk, The Dutch Parliamentary Election of June 9, 2010, *Electoral Studies* 30 (3), pp. 577-80, 2011.

Concerns

Figure 1: Top public concerns 2008-2010



Source: Eurobarometer 2008-2010 (only concerns scoring over than 10 percent were included)

Figure 1 clearly indicates that the major public concern in the years preceding the 2010 election was the economic situation. Needless to say, most of the parties could not avoid this issue in their political platforms. The severity of the impact of the economic crisis triggered an unprecedented rise in another public fear—unemployment, which accounted for 40 percent of the answers at the beginning of 2009, compared to only 4 percent in 2008.

Trust in political institutions

Public trust in the Dutch parliament suffered a momentous drop of 7 percent in the second half of 2008, presumably due to parliament's ratification of the Lisbon Treaty[34], which was rejected by a referendum held in the Netherlands in 2005. Nevertheless, levels of trust in government witnessed a significant rise, from 51 percent to 66 percent in the second half of 2008. The average score for trust in the European Parliament in the years 2008-2010 was 59.[35] Hence, the probability that the EU or the government could be translated by the PVV into a threat and become a "legitimate" enemy in this election was low.

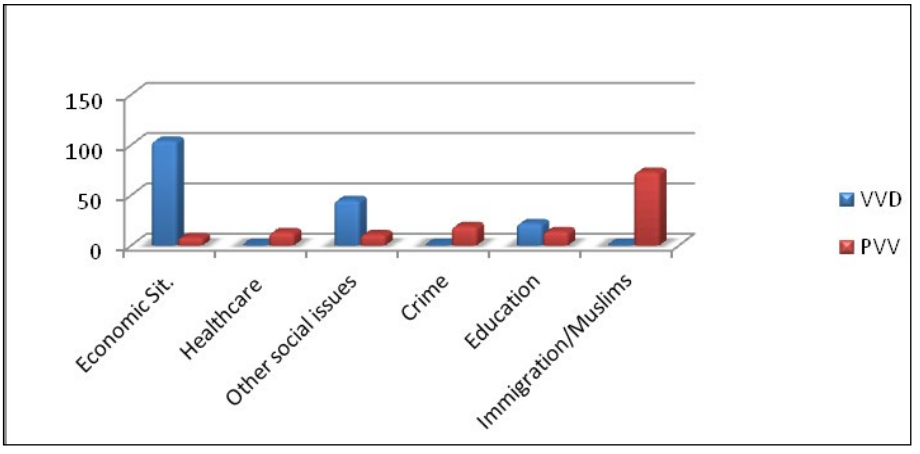
34 For more information see: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/en/FTU_1.1.5.pdf

35 Eurobarometer Survey question: "… how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it: the Dutch Parliament; the Dutch government; the EU Parliament."

Populist-radical vs. mainstream parties: Comparing the PVV and the VVD

Which was more concerned?

Figure 2: Utilization of public concerns in parties'agendas[36]



Source: Election manifestos of the VVD and the PVV (2010), LL>6.63

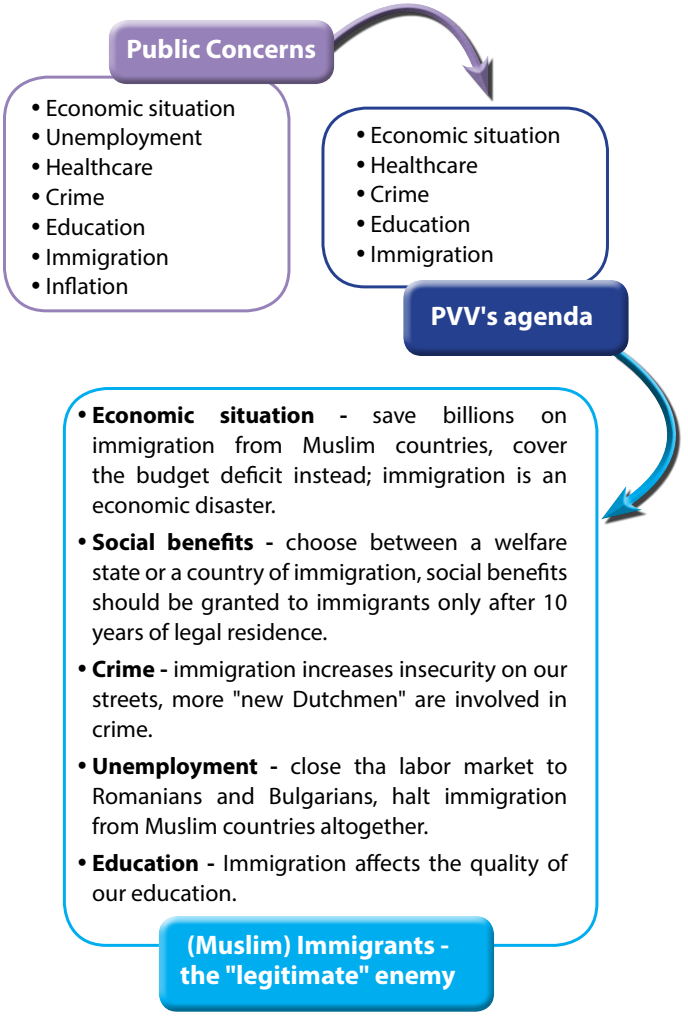
Figure 2 shows that the parties exhibited a pattern of mixed degrees of utilization of public concerns. While the economic situation—the most pervading public concern at the time—education, and other social issues such as integration were highlighted by the VVD, the PVV capitalized mainly on healthcare, crime, and immigration (mostly from Muslim countries). The issues addressed by the parties in their agendas largely matched public concerns presented in Figure 1. However, surprisingly, the matter of employment was overlooked by both parties, despite the growing rate of unemployment and related public apprehension. This finding, however, does not contradict the suggestion that RRPs address public concerns in their election manifestos as part of the bottom-up process of the construction of protest, but rather indicates an interesting trend among mainstream parties which have recently become more attentive to public needs and adopted some populist-radical strategies in order to present themselves as attractive contenders in the battle for the shrewd contemporary voter.

36 Based on a comparison of the VVD's and PVV's election manifestos.

Painting the "devil" black

Having eliminated the EU and the government as two plausible causes for anti-state and Euro-skeptic rhetoric, we were left with the horizontal dimension of populist antagonistic rhetoric, which unmistakably pointed in the direction of a "legitimate" enemy—Muslim immigration. The PVV's rhetoric is outspokenly negative, even hostile, towards immigrants, especially from Muslim countries. The idea of the welfare state is in direct conflict with immigration, creating a typically populist black-and-white picture: "we are either a welfare state or a country of immigration." The "common citizen" faces a dichotomous choice; standing at a crossroads, their identity is shaped according to their sense of belonging to an imagined community, which is under threat by the "outsider." Social benefits, education, security, and the economic situation are jeopardized by the immigrant and the "multicultural nightmare."

Figure 3: The PVV's creation of a "legitimate" enemy (the immigrant)[37]



In order to emphasize the magnitude of the threat, the PVV painted the *Muslim enemy* in the darkest possible colors—"Sharia fatalism," "Jihad terrorism," and "Islam as a totalitarian doctrine aimed at world domination, violence, and oppression" are only a few examples. The PVV explicitly propagates hatred and war: "Fight against Islam!" "Fight against mass immigration!" This dichotomous division into "us" and "them," or "the people" and "the other,"

37 Based on the 2010 PVV's election manifesto.

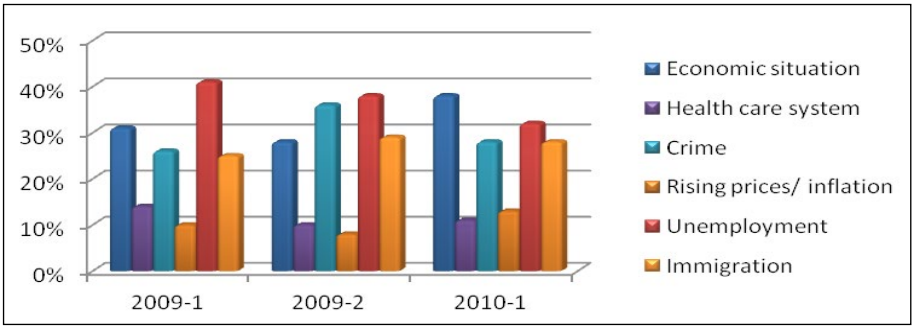
and a declaration of war against the perceived enemy in order to protect the imagined community, or "us," coincides strikingly with Schmitt's essence of the political, and is the second hypothesis of this thesis. The successful translation of pervading public concerns into a "legitimate" enemy which allegedly aims at destroying the Dutch welfare state is presented in Figure 3.

The 2010 election in the UK

Pre-election, the UK was impacted by two events: the MPs' expenses scandal and the economic recession. In 2009, unauthorized expenditures by members of the British Parliament were leaked to the press, resulting in public turmoil.[38] Public outrage aroused by the scandal was further escalated by its unfortunate timing. The global economic recession hit the economy of the UK, creating a deficit in the government's budget.[39]

Concerns

Figure 4: Top public concerns 2009-2010[40]



Source: Eurobarometer 2009-2010 (only concerns scoring over than 10 percent were included).

Figure 4 shows that economic instability stirred many public concerns, unemployment in particular. The third largest public issue on the eve of the election was crime, which reached a peak in the second half of 2009 and was mentioned by 36 percent of respondents. Immigration occupied the minds of more than a quarter of the respondents. Three additional concerns were:

38 The Daily Telegraph, MP's expenses: Our MPs still aren't getting the message, February 5, 2010, London.

39 J. Curtice and S. Fisher, The United Kingdom Election of 2010, Electoral Studies 30 (1), pp. 234-37, 2011.

40 Eurobarometer Survey question: *"What do you think are the two most important issues facing the UK at the moment?" Max 2 answers possible.*

pensions, taxes, and housing, but since their average score was less than 10 percent, they can be seen as minor matters only.

Trust in political institutions

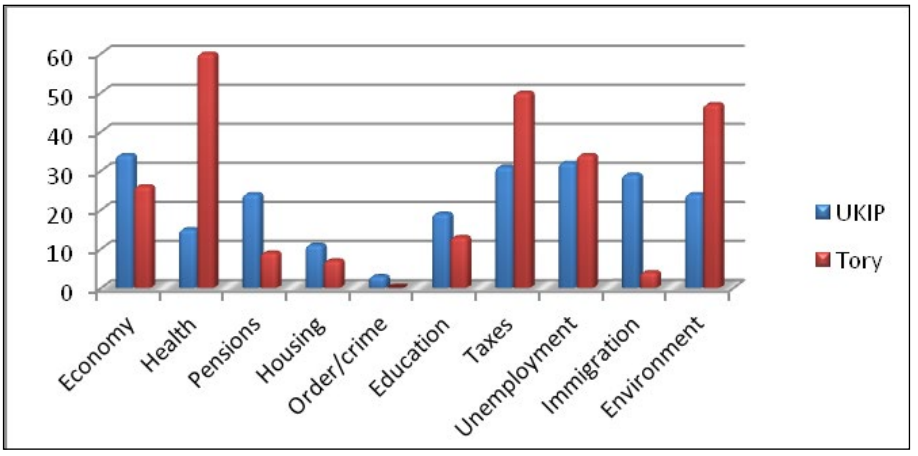
Levels of trust in the national government, parliament, and the European Parliament were initially extremely low in the UK. Unlike the Netherlands, the level of trust in government in the UK during 2008-2010 barely reached 24 percent.[41] Hence anti-establishment sentiments were expected to be prominent in this election and would provide the Euro-skeptic UKIP with legitimate grounds for its attacks on the government and the EU.

Populist-radical vs. mainstream parties: A comparison between UKIP and the Conservatives which was more concerned?

As in the Netherlands, a pattern of a mixed degree of utilization of public concerns is seen. Fears about the economic situation, pensions, housing, crime, and education were addressed by the UKIP considerably more than by the Conservatives, whereas issues related to the national health system, taxes, and environment were capitalized on mostly by the Tories. Unemployment was stressed relatively equally by both parties. However, the issue of immigration, although undeniably emphasized in public opinion polls, was underplayed by the mainstream parties, allowing the Euro-skeptic UKIP and the nationalist BNP to take the lead (Curtice and Fisher 2010). References to immigration made by the UKIP in its 2010 manifesto outnumbered those of the Conservatives by 29 to 4. This finding substantiates the claim that RRPs strive to address public concerns overlooked by mainstream parties.

41 Eurobarometer Survey question: "…how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust or tend not to trust it: the UK Parliament; the UK government; the EU Parliament."

Figure 5: Utilization of public concerns in the parties'agendas[42]



Source: Election manifestos of the UKIP and the Conservative Party (2010), LL>6.63.

Who's the enemy?

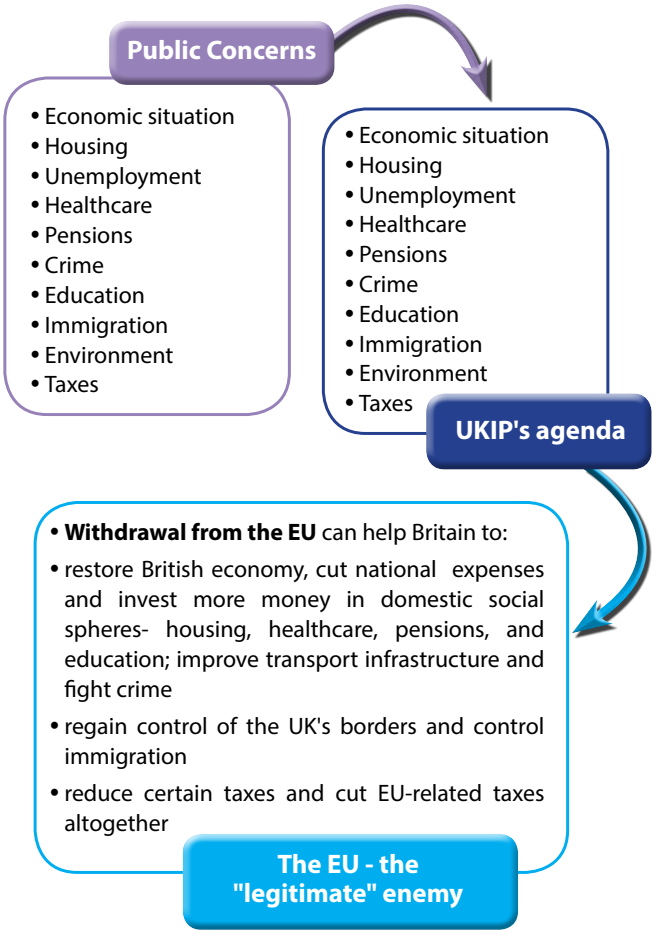
The hypothesis of this paper is that RRPs are expected to create a "legitimate" enemy and present it as a threat to the community, shaping a collective identity of "the people" and uniting it against the alleged threat. Low levels of political trust triggered by the expenses scandal, the overlooked issue of immigration, and the EU can be pinpointed as three potential "legitimate" enemies stressed by the UKIP.

1. The EU

Considering the Euro-skeptic nature of the UKIP, the EU was likely to become a "legitimate" enemy in the UKIP's agenda, as the findings show. The UKIP engaged in explicit anti-EU rhetoric and held the EU accountable for the difficulties facing the UK. Public concerns were translated by the UKIP into a "legitimate" enemy; accordingly, withdrawal from the EU would benefit the country in many spheres, including concerns mentioned in Figure 4, as well as transport infrastructure (see Figure 6).

42 Based on a comparison of the 2010 UKIP's and Conservative's election manifestos.

Figure 6: The UKIP's creation of a "legitimate" enemy (the EU)[43]



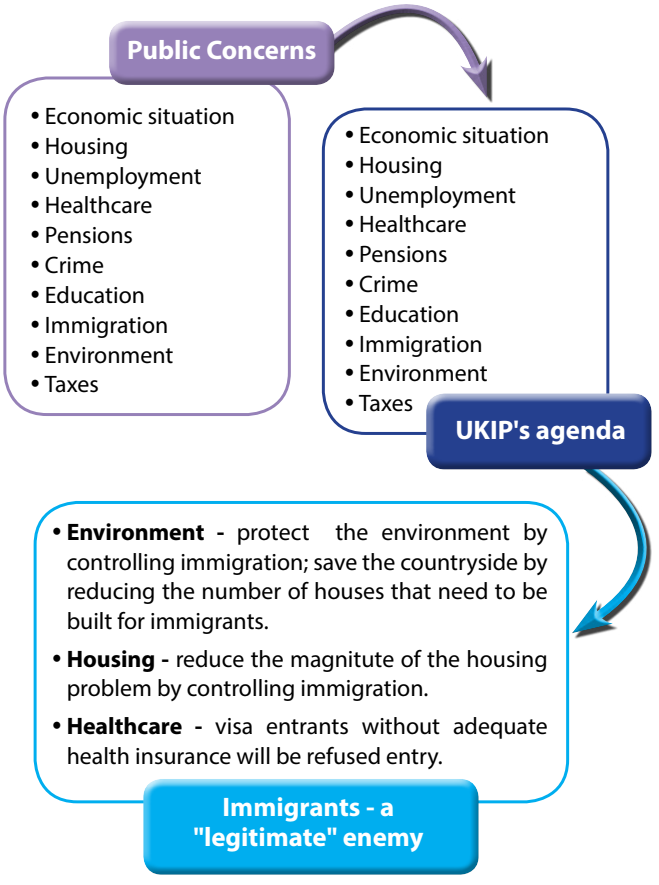
Although the Conservative Party employed a seemingly populist line in its manifesto, promoting referenda and opposing the EU for its involvement in the UK's domestic politics, it is clear that the Tories did not portray the EU as a "legitimate" enemy. Furthermore, they did not *translate* public concerns into a "legitimate" enemy. On the contrary, they emphasized negotiations, constructive work, and cooperation with the EU, while at the same time safeguarding British interests.

43 Based on the 2010 UKIP's election manifesto.

2. Immigration

Immigration, in contrast to the EU, was not connected to all public concerns in the UKIP's agenda, but rather to only three of them—housing, environment, and healthcare. Immigrants were held responsible for the destruction of the countryside and a growing demand for accommodation. An attempt to safeguard the British healthcare system was made by demanding adequate health insurance for all visa entrants. However, the translation of public concerns into a "legitimate" enemy worked only partially in this case and the manifestation of the immigrant as an enemy was downplayed significantly compared to that of the EU (see Figure 7).

Figure 7: UKIP's creation of a "legitimate" enemy (immigrants)[44]



44 Based on the 2010 UKIP's election manifesto.

No "legitimate" enemy was found in the Conservative Party's election manifesto, although the party does use populist rhetoric in order to attract voters. Although the Conservatives advocated reducing immigration, the party's reference to public concerns was not translated into an enemy, a fact illustrating the difference between a mainstream party that uses populist rhetoric and an RRP per se.

3. Government

The UKIP used little anti-government rhetoric in terms of both word frequency and its context. An RRP would be expected to seize the opportunity to position itself in opposition to the corrupt coalition and mainstream parties, especially when a political scandal plays into its hands. However, this issue was heavily spotlighted by the Tories. Flirting with anti-system rhetoric to demolish the former Labour government and portray themselves as a "clean" and competent alternative, the Conservatives introduced a set of populist initiatives: reducing the size of the government and reforms in the public sector, as well as radical changes in the way the government should act. Therefore, in order to avoid issue-competition, the UKIP had to refrain from concentrating on the government as a "legitimate" enemy, leaving the EU as the main "legitimate" enemy of the UKIP's 2010 election manifesto.

Although they addressed public concerns (sometimes more than the UKIP), the Conservatives failed to complete the top-down pattern RRPs seem to have adopted—and did not create a "legitimate" enemy in any of the three cases described above, whereas the UKIP clearly followed this pattern in the cases of the EU and immigration.

Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to shed more light on the nature of RRPs and to attempt to determine how they succeed in attracting such wide constituencies and the implications for European solidarity. It is suggested that the growing prominence and influence of these parties in contemporary Europe's political and social spheres correlates with the model of their electoral behavior developed in this research. Drawing on different theoretical approaches, it was hypothesized that RRPs translate public concerns into "legitimate" enemies as part of their mass mobilization strategy. The proposed model depicts two key processes in this strategy: a bottom-up process, in which public concerns are utilized in RRPs' election manifestos; and a top-down process, which shapes collective identities of the people by creating "legitimate" enemies that are held accountable for existing public concerns and allegedly pose a threat to the imagined community.

This pattern of behavior was found among RRPs in the two countries selected for this research, the Netherlands and the UK. Although the findings indicate that mainstream parties partially adopted the bottom-up process of articulating public concerns, neither of them used the mechanism of creating "legitimate" enemies, whereas this mechanism was indisputably present in the election manifestos of the RRPs. Therefore, this criterion can be cautiously suggested as a prominent feature of contemporary RRPs.

The findings support our argument that "legitimate" enemies can appear in different guises, depending on whether a party stresses the horizontal or vertical dimensions of populist antagonism. In the countries selected for this research, varying public concerns and political climates prompted the emergence of different enemies. The Dutch PVV capitalized on the horizontal dimension, translating public concerns into the alleged threat posed by immigrants, whereas the British UKIP utilized the vertical dimension, drawing a parallel between membership in the EU and existing public anxieties.

Furthermore, a link to levels of public trust in political institutions was found useful in the analysis of the political situation, in an attempt to determine a potential "legitimate" enemy. Relatively high and steady levels of public trust in political institutions in the Netherlands coincided with the choice of the horizontal dimension of the "legitimate" enemy created by the PVV —the immigrant. Although the political situation in the UK on the eve of the 2010 election, which was marked by a significant drop in levels of political trust triggered by a political scandal, was expected to emphasize the horizontal dimension of populist radical rhetoric, with government as a potential "legitimate" enemy, surprisingly no such results were detected. The UKIP, staying loyal to its Euro-skeptic agenda, chose the EU as the "legitimate" enemy, presumably because anti-Labor-government rhetoric was largely utilized by the Conservatives. Nevertheless, no "legitimate" enemy was found in the Conservative manifesto.

The RRPs' success in European politics raises the question of how to settle the striking dissonance between the age of liberalism, multiculturalism, European solidarity and the politics of consensus, and the wave of radicalism and hatred that has swept Europe, undermining values of tolerance, solidarity, and inclusion. Was Schmitt right? Is it inevitable that the *concept of the political* that propagates war and the politics of difference would eventually re-appear after a few decades of the politics of acceptance and compromise? Is it possible that without a perpetual war and quest for enemies the sphere of politics is empty-hearted? If so, does this mean that liberal democracy will inevitably lead to outbursts of radicalism? These and other related questions should be addressed in the current intellectual debate.

V. Kyriakos Filinis

Labor Market Performance in the Euro Area and the Idea of a European Unemployment Benefit Scheme

Introduction

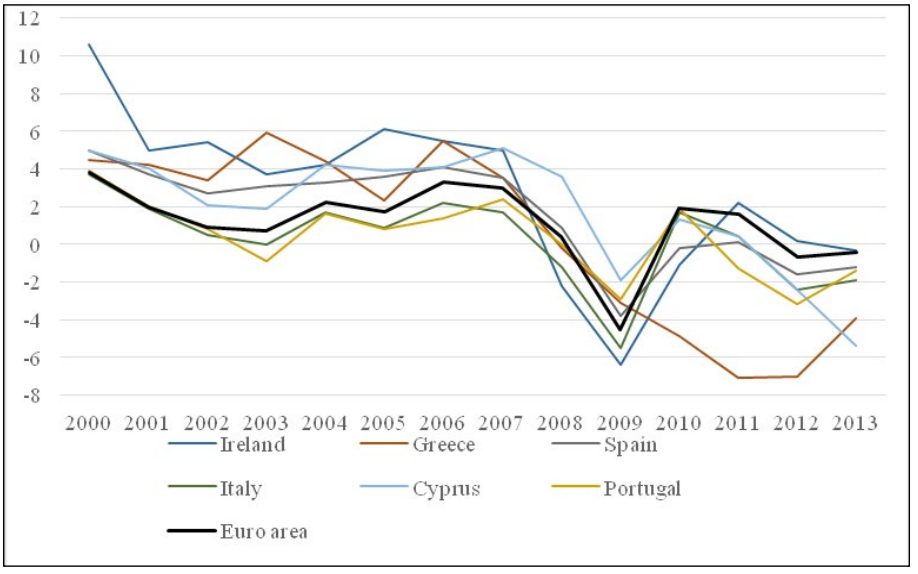
The current economic crisis has revealed the weaknesses of the euro area structure, as well as the long-term, structural problems of member states. Some are related to labor market disparities and the inability of existing mechanisms, which function within the framework of the European and Monetary Union, to mitigate them.

The evolution of the European labor markets since the establishment of the European and Monetary Union could reveal these weaknesses, as well as the impact of the crisis on them. The implementation of structural reforms in the labor market, along with further integration, could contribute to overcoming those weaknesses at the national and supranational level. Further, there have been proposals for the establishment of a European unemployment benefit scheme, which could function not only as a stabilization mechanism, but also as a means for implementing labor market reforms. The following sections argue for the creation of such a scheme and propose a general framework for its functioning. It should be noted that some technical issues related to this scheme are beyond the scope of this chapter.

The evolution of labor market performance

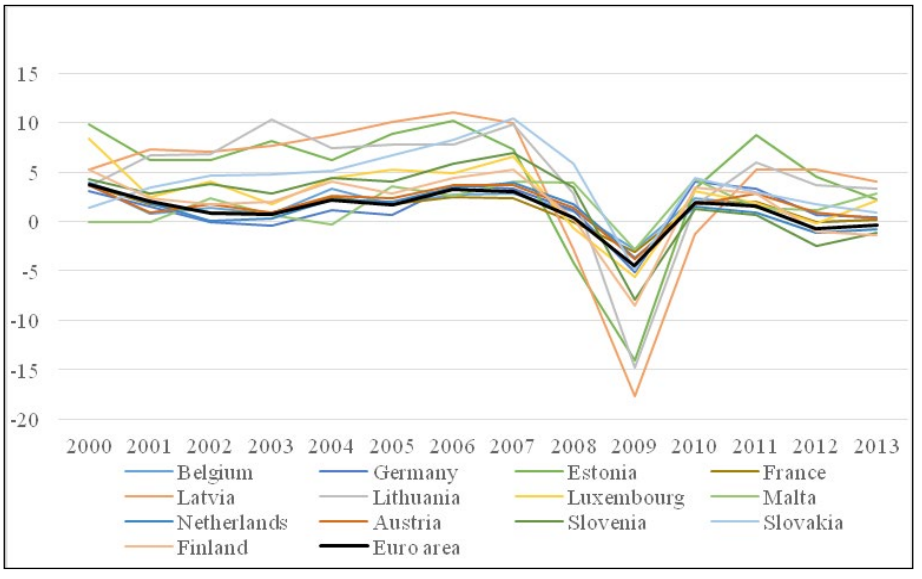
The current economic crisis has affected the euro area economies to different extents. As shown in Figures 1 and 2, the recession in Greece, Spain, Portugal, Cyprus, and Ireland was deeper and lasted longer than in the other euro area member states (Austria, Belgium, Germany, Finland, France, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Slovenia, Malta, Slovakia, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania).The inability of the first group of countries to tap international financial markets in order to secure their financial needs forced most of them to seek loans from their European partners, which were conditioned on implementing austerity policies.

Figure 1: Growth rates



Source: Eurostat

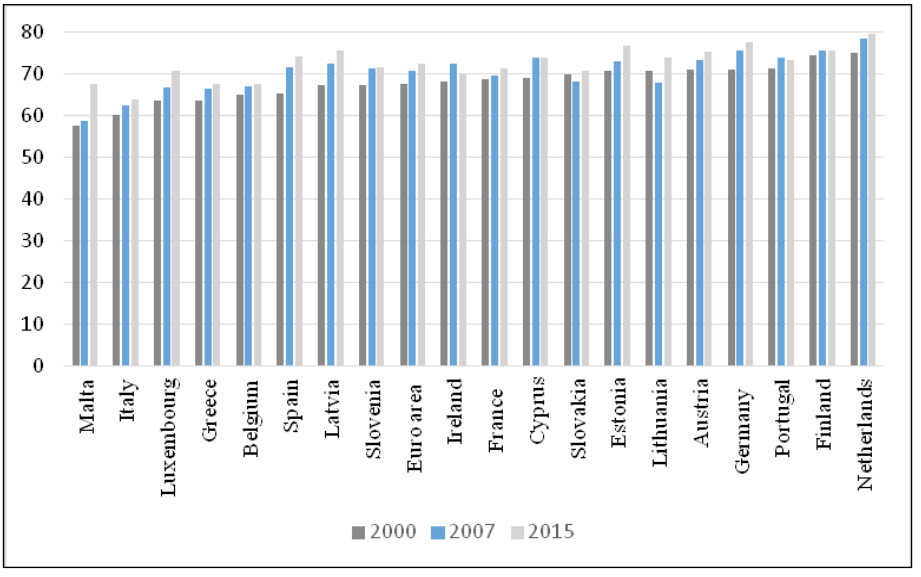
Figure 2: Growth rates



Source: Eurostat

The performance of the European labor market varied significantly before the crisis, and the disparities among them widened after its onset. In 2000, the economic activity rate of member states of the euro area ranged from 60.1 percent in Italy to 75.2 percent in the Netherlands, while in 2007, it ranged from 58.8 percent in Malta to 78.5 percent in the Netherlands. Although during the crisis activity rates increased in all labor markets, the differences remained substantial (Figure 3).

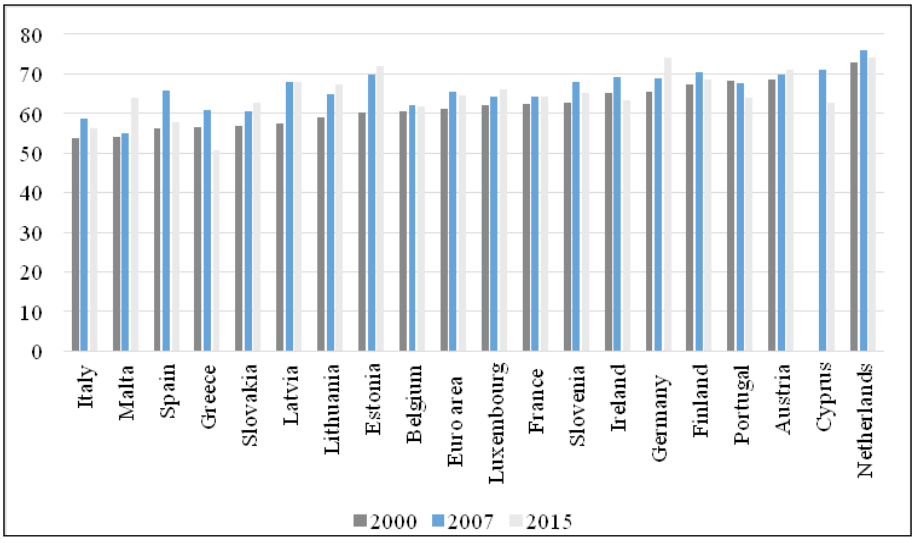
Figure 3: Activity rate (percentage of population, 15-64 y.o.)



Source: Eurostat

Before the crisis, there were strong disparities in employment rates between euro area member states. In 2000, employment rates in Italy, Spain, and Greece ranged below 56.5 percent, while in Portugal, Austria, and Finland they were higher than 67 percent. Until 2007, differences in employment rates among euro area members remained almost unchanged. The crisis further widened these gaps: the employment rate in Greece was 50.8 percent and in Italy 56.3 percent, while in Germany and the Netherlands it increased to 74.0 percent and 74.1 percent respectively (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Employment rate (percentage of population, 15-64 y.o.)

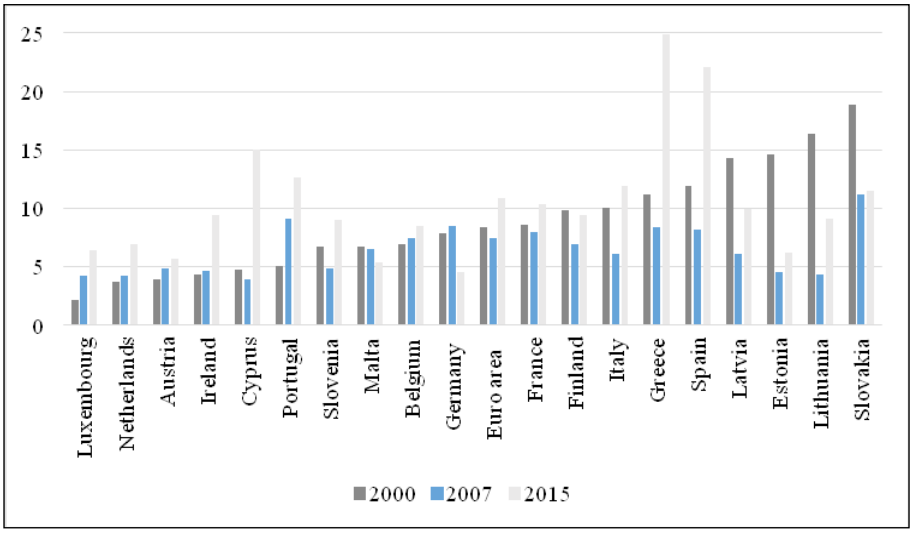


Source: Eurostat

In 2000, the unemployment rates in the member states of the euro area varied from 2.2 percent in Luxemburg to 11.9 percent in Spain. Shortly before the crisis, the lowest unemployment rate in the euro area was 4.2 percent (Luxemburg) and the highest was 9.1 percent (Portugal). During the crisis, these disparities increased substantially in the common currency area. In 2015, the unemployment rates in Germany, Malta, Austria, and Estonia were around 6.0 percent, while in Spain and Greece they were higher than 22.0 percent (Figure 5).

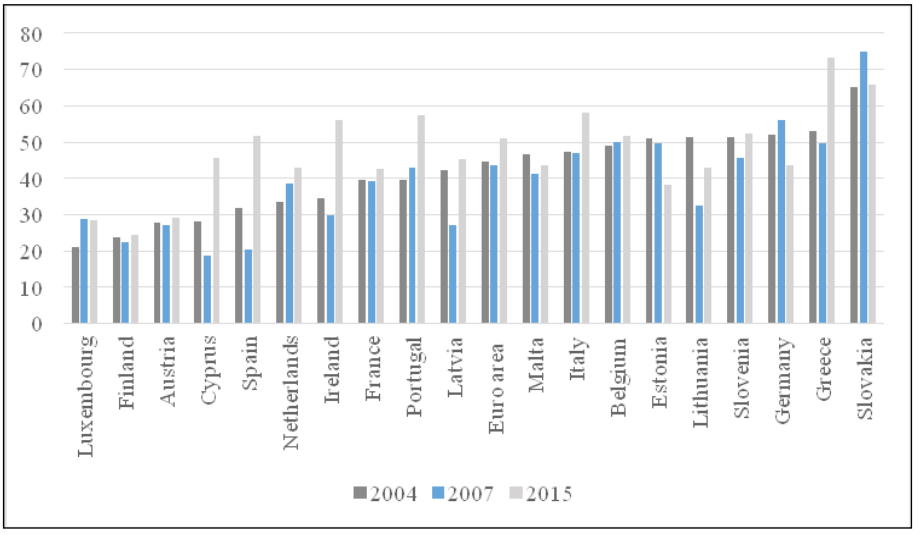
The same differences could also be noted in regard to long-term unemployment rates. In 2004, the lowest long-term unemployment rate among member states was 21.0 percent (Luxemburg), while the highest was 52.9 percent (Greece). Three years later, the gap between these rates remained almost unchanged, ranging from 20.4 percent in Spain to 56.0 percent in Germany. In 2015, the long term unemployment rates in Finland, Luxemburg, and Austria were lower than 30.0 percent, while in Greece over seven out of ten unemployed remain jobless for more than twelve months (Figure 6).

Figure 5: Unemployment rate (percentage of labor force)



Source: Eurostat

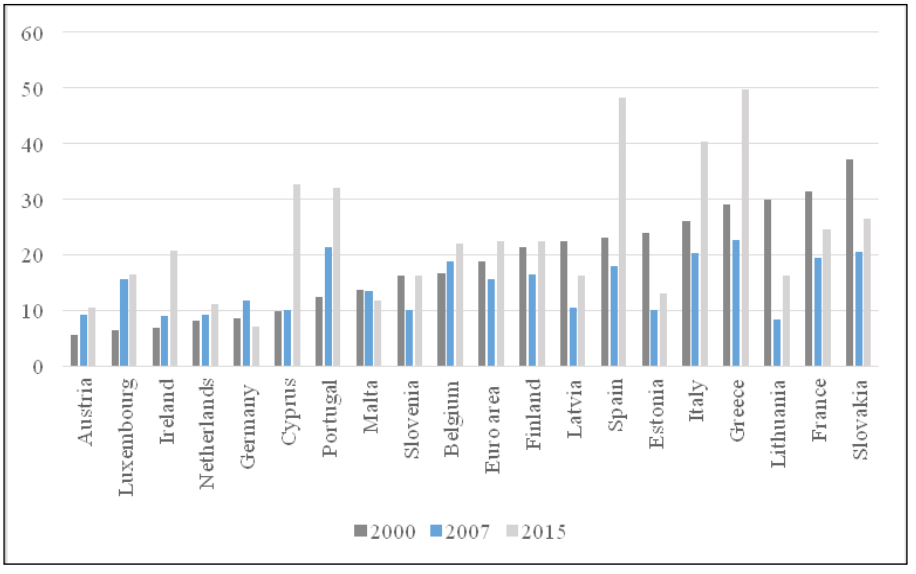
Figure 6: Long term unemployment rate (>12 months, percentage of total unemployment)



Source: Eurostat

During the economic crisis unemployment among youth escalated. In 2015, five out of ten young people in Spain and Greece were unemployed, while in Germany, Austria, and the Netherlands youth unemployment rates were lower than 11.5 percent. Before the crisis (2007), the highest youth unemployment rate among euro area member states was 22.7 percent in Greece and the lowest, 9.1 percent, was in Ireland (Figure 7).

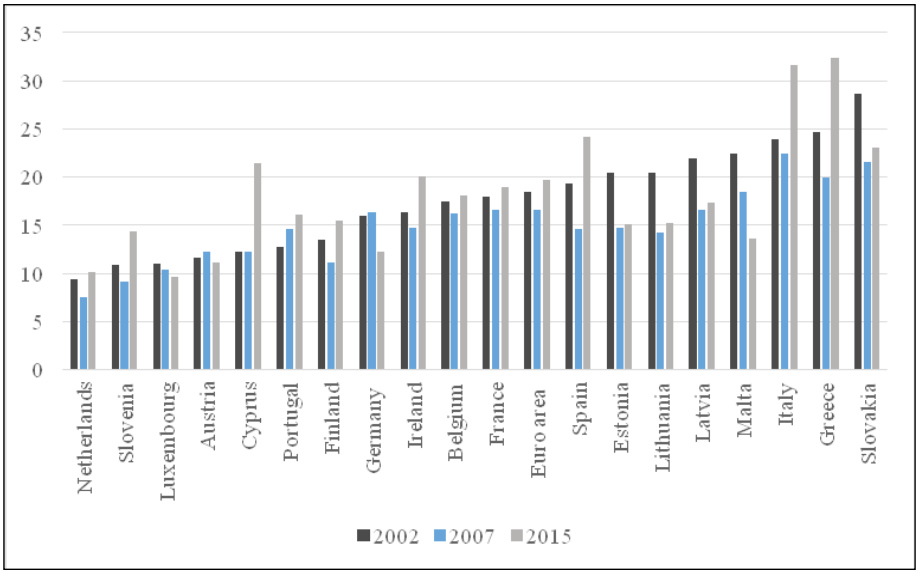
Figure 7: Youth unemployment (percentage of population < 25 y.o)



Source: Eurostat

The situation looks even worse if we focus on the NEET rate, which is the number of young people between 20 and 34 years old who are not in employment, education or training, as a percentage of the total population of the same age. In all countries, with the exception of Austria, Cyprus, Portugal, and Germany, the NEET rate declined during the period 2002-2007. In 2007, the NEET rate ranged from 7.5 percent in the Netherlands to 22.4 percent in Italy. Until 2015, this rate increased in all countries, except for Luxemburg, Austria, Germany, and Malta, and ranged from 9.7 percent (Luxemburg) to 32.4 percent (Greece) (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Young people not in employment, education or training–NEET(20-34 y.o., percentage)

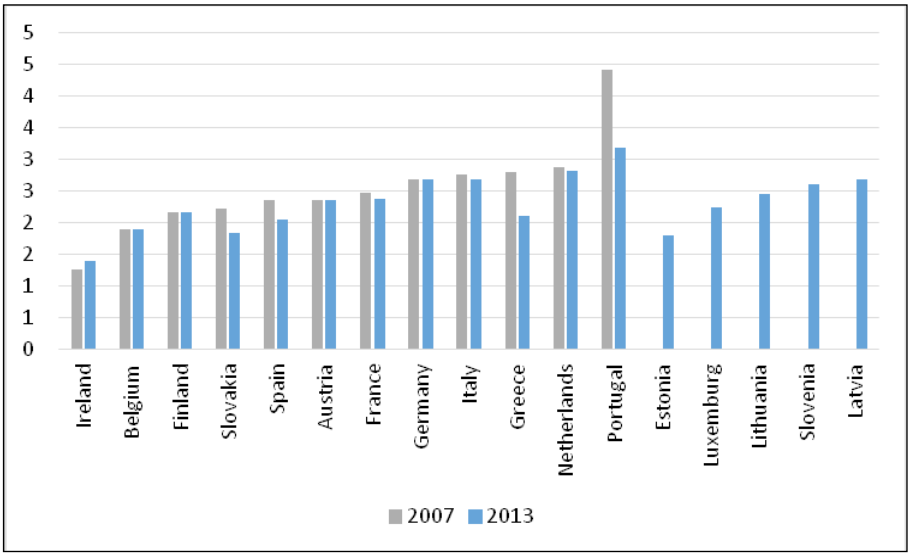


Source: Eurostat

The disparities between the European labor markets before the economic crisis could be explained by differing labor market institutions. In particular, in 2007, employment protection legislation was much stricter in Portugal, the Netherlands, and Greece compared to that in many other euro area member states (Figure 9). The indices of Greece and Portugal converged with those of other countries as a result of reforms that were implemented during the period 2010-2013. Restrictive employment protection legislation influences total employment in opposing directions: on the one hand, it increases the cost of dismissals, rendering them more expensive and difficult for employers; on the other hand, firms are reluctant to recruit employees due to the high cost of dismissing them afterwards.1

1 S. J. Nickell, The Determinants of Equilibrium Unemployment in Britain, Economic Journal, no. 92 (1982); S. Millard and D. Mortensen, The Unemployment and Welfare Effects of Labor Market Policy: A Comparison of the US and UK, in D. Snower and Guillermo de la Dehesa, eds., *Unemployment Policy: Government Options for the Labor Market*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Figure 9: Employment Protection Legislation Index* (Version 2)

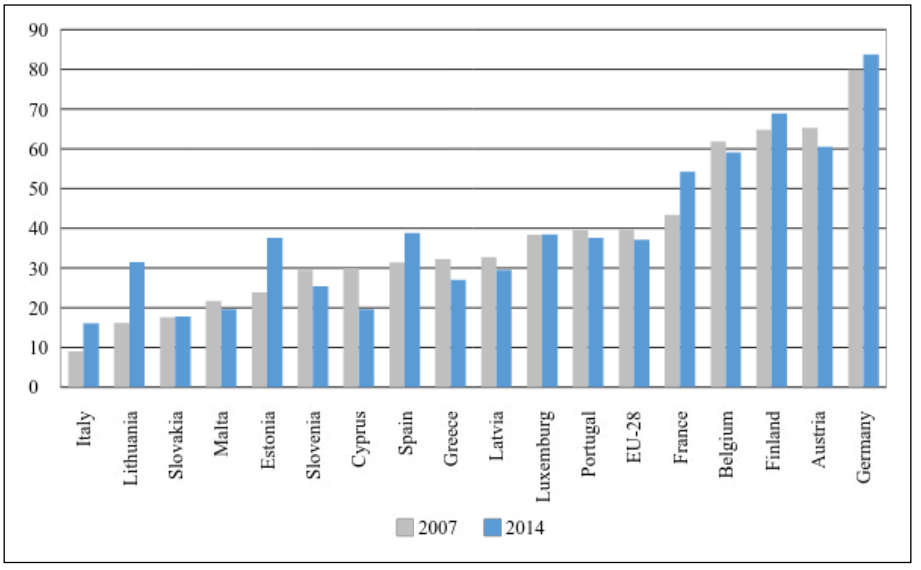


Source: OECD

*The index shows the degree of strictness of employment protection against individual and collective dismissals for workers with regular contracts. The higher the index, the more restrictive employment protection legislation is.

In 2007, fewer than three out of ten unemployed in Italy, Lithuania, Slovakia, Malta, Estonia, Cyprus, and Spain received unemployment benefits, while in other countries, such as Belgium, Finland, Austria, and Germany, more than six out of ten unemployed received unemployment benefits (Figure 10). Despite the increase of unemployment coverage in some countries, such as Lithuania, Estonia, and Spain, the disparities between member states remained substantial.

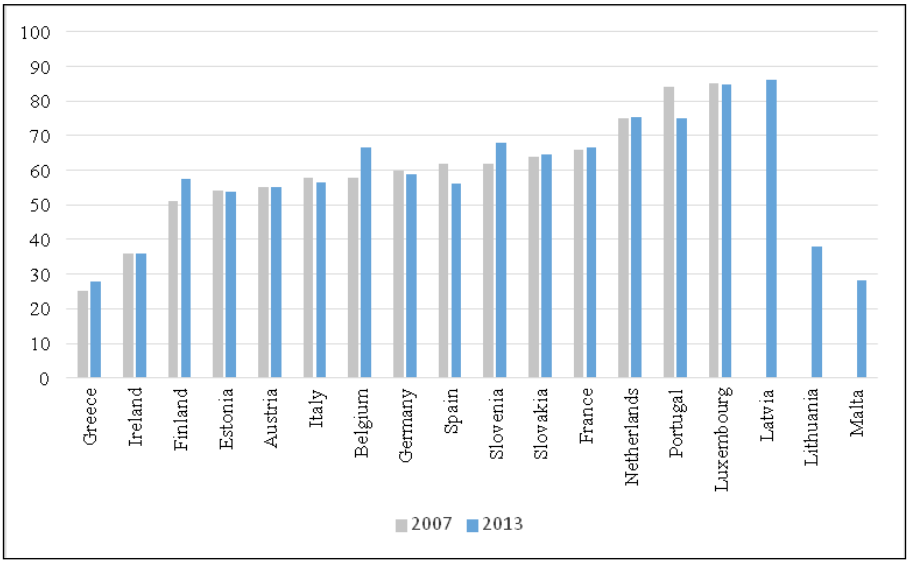
Figure 10: Unemployment benefit coverage –short-term unemployed



Source: European Commission, "Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2015," Brussels, 2016.

Furthermore, the unemployment benefit replacement rate differed significantly among euro area member states. In 2007, the rate was less than 36 percent in Greece and Ireland, while in Portugal, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg it was higher than 75 percent. Similar divergences could be noted also in 2013 (Figure 11).

Figure 11:Unemployment benefit net replacement rate*

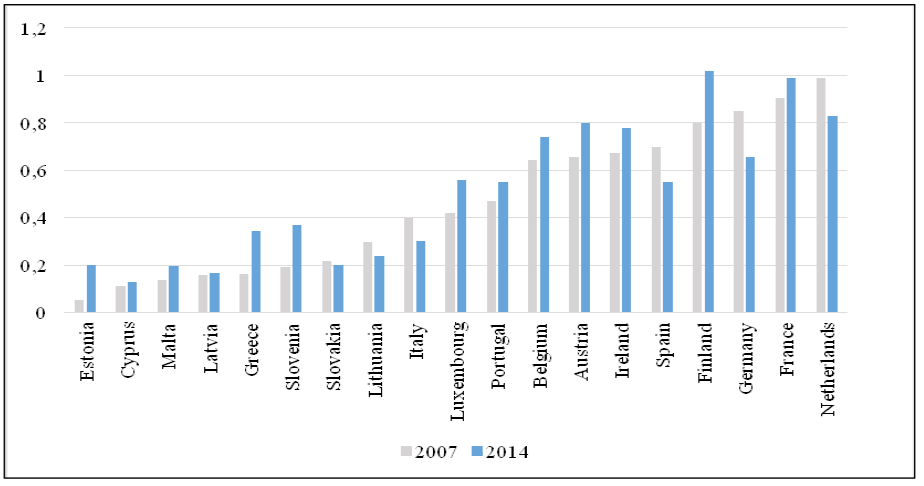


Source: Eurostat

*Net replacement rate shows the proportion of net income in work that is maintained after job loss and compares the net income derived from work with that derived from unemployment benefit system.

Finally, there were significant differences in public expenditure on active labor market policies. In 2007, many countries, such as Cyprus, Latvia, Estonia, Greece, and Slovenia, spent less than 0.2 percent of GDP on such policies, while in other countries, such as Germany, France, and Finland, public expenditure on active labor market policies as a percentage of GDP exceeded 0.8 percent. Despite the increase of expenditure on active labor market policies in all member states—with the exception of Lithuania, Italy, Spain, Germany, and the Netherlands—a similar trend was noted in 2014 (Figure 10).

Figure 12: Expenditure on active labor market policies (percentage of GDP)



Source: Eurostat

In sum, there were disparities between euro area labor markets, which could be explained to some extent by differences between the institutional frameworks governing national labor markets. Labor market institutions affect not only labor supply and demand but also their correlation.[2] In particular, labor market institutions greatly influence the natural rate of unemployment, and particularly its structure. The economic crisis widened these disparities, since business cycles affect labor market performance and particularly cyclical unemployment. Governments could improve labor market performance by implementing structural reforms in order to cope with structural unemployment, while cyclical unemployment could be dealt with through macroeconomic stabilization policies.

2 For an extended literature review on the impact of labor market institutions on labor market performance, see A. Arpaia and G. Mourre, Labour Market Institutions and Labour Market Performance: A Survey of the Literature, European Economy (Economic Papers), no. 238 (2005).

The idea of a European unemployment benefit scheme

According to the theory of optimal currency areas,3 labor mobility could serve as a mechanism for reducing regional unemployment disparities by moving the unemployed from depressed to growing regions or countries. But labor mobility between European countries is still weak4and it cannot reduce unemployment imbalances and serve as a shock absorber. Further, governments of euro area states are unable to use macroeconomic tools, such as fiscal and monetary policies and currency devaluation, to stabilize their economies and tackle unemployment. Thus, it might be worth considering whether a European unemployment benefit scheme could mitigate unemployment disparities between euro area member states.

There are many economic and political arguments in favor of a European unemployment scheme. First, the rationale for such a scheme is based on the spill-over effect of fiscal stimulus, which could be created among integrated economies. Even if European governments did not face fiscal restrictions, deriving from the framework of economic governance of the euro area, fiscal stimulus in one economy could benefit another one through the increase of imports. Therefore, the more integrated economies are, the less effective national expansionary fiscal policy is and the more reluctant governments are to boost their economies through expansionary fiscal policy in order to stabilize their economies and reduce unemployment.5

During the creation of the Economic and Monetary Union prevailed the idea that symmetric shocks could be addressed through common monetary policy and the occurrence of asymmetric shocks would become less likely as a result of market forces, the implementation of structural reforms, and labor mobility.[6] However, widening macroeconomic imbalances between European economies and the current economic crisis have not confirmed these expectations, highlighting the need for a stabilization mechanism through

3 P. Kenen, The Theory of Optimum Currency Areas: An Eclectic View, in R.A. Mundell and A.K. Swoboda, eds., Monetary Problems of the International Economy, Chicago: Chicago University Press, pp. 41-60, 1969; R. Mundell, A Theory of Optimum Currency Areas, American Economic Review 51, no. 4, pp. 657-665, 1961.

4 A. Brinke and P.J. Dittrich, Labour Mobility in the Euro Area: Cure or Curse of Imbalances? Jacques Delors Institut, Policy Paper 159, March 2016; F. Huart, M. Tckakpalla, Labour Mobility in the Euro Area during the Great Recession, Paper presented at the 12th Euroframe Conference Challenges for Europe 2050, Vienna, June 12, 2015, http://www.euroframe.org/files/user_upload /euroframe/docs/2015/conference/Session percent205/EUROF15_Huart_Tchakpalla_revised.pdf (January 7, 2017).

5 I. Maselli and M. Bevlavy, The Case for a European Unemployment Benefit Scheme, CEPS Commentary, May 19, 2015.

6 M. Beblavy, G. Marconi, and I. Maselli, A European Unemployment Benefit Scheme: The Rationale and the Challenges Ahead, First delivery of the study "Feasibility and Added Value of a European Unemployment Benefit Scheme," commissioned by DG EMPL and carried out by a consortium led by CEPS, p. 22.

which resources could be transferred from booming to depressed economies.

Such a mechanism could be activated by using a range of indicators, such as growth rate, output gap, or unemployment rate. The latter could be considered the most appropriate mechanism activation indicator, since it is easily measurable and sensitive to economic cycles.[7] In addition, an unemployment benefit scheme could be put in motion more quickly; and unemployment benefit expenditure has a higher fiscal multiplier compared to other types of expenditure, such as investment.[8]

Moreover, several political arguments can be used to justify the creation of a European unemployment benefit scheme. Since the onset of the economic crisis, Eurosceptic rhetoric has been on the rise across the continent and citizens rank economic performance and unemployment as the most crucial issues they are facing.[9] The creation of European unemployment benefit scheme could enhance solidarity among European citizens and send a clear message that European institutions are listening to what citizens have to say.

The idea of creating a European stabilization mechanism is not new. According to the Five Presidents' Report: "For all economies to be permanently better off inside the Euro area, they also need to be able to share the impact of shocks through risk-sharing within the EMU. In the medium term, as economic structures converge towards the best standards in Europe, public risk-sharing should be enhanced through a mechanism of fiscal stabilization for the euro area as a whole".[10]

Also, the former European Commissioner for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion László Andor has argued in favor of the creation of a European unemployment benefit scheme[11]: "A basic European unemployment insurance scheme would be a predictable, reliable, fair and at the same time effective instrument for improving the functioning of the EMU".[12]

Several studies have investigated the creation of a stabilization mechanism based on the unemployment benefit. For example, after examining various scenarios regarding fiscal stabilization in the euro area, Pisani-Ferri and others proposed transferring unemployment benefit expenditure to the supranational level, which could be financed by a common

7 L. Andor and P. Pasimeni, An Unemployment Benefit scheme for the Eurozone, Voxeu, December 13, 2016, http://voxeu.org/article/unemployment-benefit-scheme-eurozone (accessed on December 12, 2016).

8 M. Beblavy et al., ibid., p. 23.

9 Ibid., p.3.

10 J.-Cl. Junker, D. Tusk, J. Dijsselbloem, M. Draghi, and M. Schulz, "The Five Presidents' Report: Completing Europe's Economic and Monetary Union," European Commission Background Documents on Economic and Monetary Union, 2015.

11 See for example L. Andor and P. Pasimeri, ibid.

12 L. Andor, Social dimension of the Economic and Monetary Union: what lessons to draw from the European elections?, Lecture at Hertie Scholl of Governance, Berlin 13 June 2014, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-455_en.htm (accessed on 14 January 2017)

corporate tax.[13] Bevlavy and others proposed the creation of a reinsurance system, which could take the form of a central euro area fund, financed by national unemployment benefit schemes. This system could support the national unemployment benefit schemes of countries whose unemployment rate has escalated.[14] Dolls and others investigated the various forms which a euro area unemployment insurance scheme could take. For example, such a scheme could provide minimum insurance for a limited period, or it could function complementarily with national systems, by increasing the national unemployment benefit or by expanding the providing period, or it could take the form of a fully centralized unemployment benefit scheme.[15]

However, there are serious obstacles on the way to creating a European unemployment benefit scheme. The establishment of such a scheme requires the transfer of powers and resources from the national to the supranational level, which is not a politically feasible scenario. Moreover, social preferences regarding protection against unemployment vary significantly among European member countries and no mechanism exists that could aggregate them, as for example a voting system.

Another argument against the creation of a European unemployment benefit scheme focuses on the moral hazard problem, which arises when governments, by receiving resources from a central unemployment benefit scheme, do not implement the necessary, but especially unpopular, reforms, in order to improve labor market performance.

Several proposals have been made to avoid the moral hazard problem. Bevlavy and others have argued for the introduction of trigger and "claw back" conditions. According to the former, a country could receive resources from the scheme only if an indicator, such as the unemployment rate, has exceeded a relatively high threshold, indicating that the eligible country is in major recession. According to the "claw-back" condition, the contribution of each country to the scheme would depend on its net contributions over the past years: the more net resources were received in the past, the greater its contributions in the future.[16]

Studies regarding the establishment of a European unemployment benefit scheme have proposed various funding systems, such as a payroll tax, national contributions, corporate tax, or debt issue. With a payroll tax, the

13 J. Pisani-Ferry, E. Vihriälä and G. Wolff , Options for a Euro-area Fiscal Capacity, Bruegel Policy Contribution No. 2013/01 , Brussels, 2013.

14 M. Beblavý, D. Gros and I. Maselli, Reinsurance of National Unemployment Benefit Schemes, CEPS Working Document No. 401, Brussels, 2015.

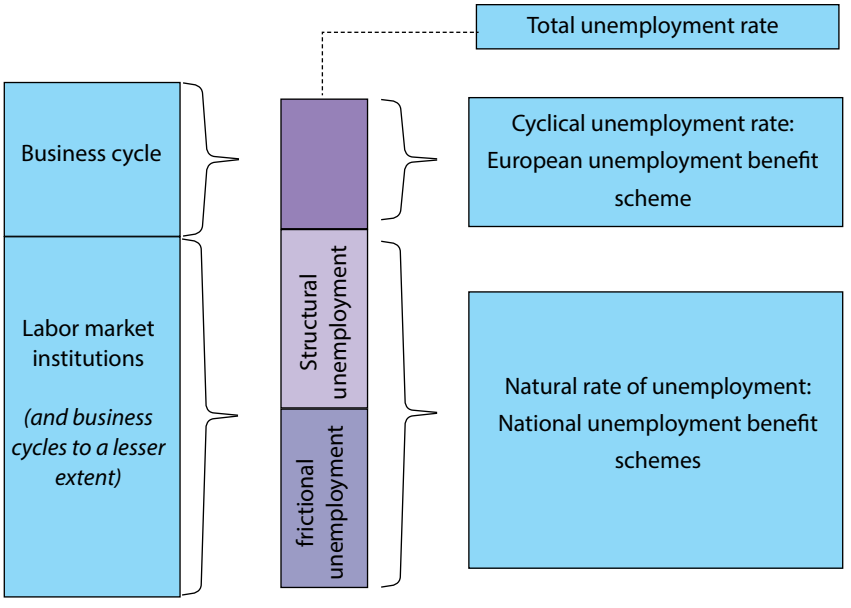
15 M. Dolls, C. Fuest, D. Neumann and A. Peichl , An Unemployment Insurance Scheme for the Euro Area: Evidence at the Micro Level, paper prepared for the seminar "Economic shock absorbers for the Eurozone–Deepening the debate on automatic stabilizers", Brussels, June 2014.

16 Beblavy et al., ibid., pp. 14-15.

system would be a form of insurance against unemployment, since employees (and/or employers) would pay contributions in order to receive benefits in the event of unemployment. If the system is financed by national contributions, the government could decide how it will collect the resources. Finally, the system's stabilization ability would be enhanced in the event of symmetric shocks, if a European unemployment benefit scheme is financed by debt issue, through the creation of surpluses during high growth periods and of deficits during recession.[17]

As shown in Figure 13, total unemployment can be divided into two parts; natural and cyclical. In this sense, some unemployed lose their jobs or cannot be employed for structural reasons and others due to economic reasons, such as recession. Governments should focus their attention on implementing reforms in the labor markets in order to mitigate the natural, and more specifically, the structural rate of unemployment. In other words, governments should implement appropriate active labor market policies and reform employment protection legislation, wage bargaining systems, and the unemployment benefit system in order to reduce labor market rigidities. Furthermore, more attention should be paid to the fields of skill and geographical mismatch between labor supply and demand.

Figure 13: Types of unemployment and benefit schemes



17 Ibid. p. 12.

Bearing in mind that governments are responsible for the structural rate of unemployment by maintaining labor market rigidities and not implementing structural reforms, but at the same time face restrictions in implementing stabilization policies for coping with cyclical unemployment, it might be argued that insurance of the labor force against the risk of unemployment could be delegated to national unemployment benefit systems as well as to a European one. The establishment of a European unemployment benefit scheme could work complementarily with the national systems. National systems could protect the unemployed who lost their jobs for structural reasons (structural unemployment), while the European one could protect those who lost their jobs due to cyclical fluctuations (cyclical unemployment) (Figure 13).

The providing period and the replacement rate of the benefits given by the European unemployment benefit scheme could be fixed for all countries. Thus, a minimum level of protection against unemployment risk is ensured for all European citizens, while each country could decide if it will provide a more generous framework of protection for its unemployed.

The advantages of a combination of a European and national unemployment benefit scheme can be summarized as follows:

- It would reduce the moral-hazard risk. National governments have incentives to implement necessary reforms in order to reduce the structural rate of unemployment, since they have to finance unemployment benefits for those who lost their jobs for structural reasons.
- It would function as a stabilization mechanism. Such a combination could reduce the probability of asymmetric shocks, since national governments would have incentives to implement structural reforms that reduce the rigidities of their labor markets. Furthermore, combining a European with national unemployment benefit schemes would contribute to the stabilization of depressed economies, and especially those that face financial difficulties.
- It would enhance solidarity among European citizens. Probably, European citizens would accept the creation of a European unemployment benefit scheme if they were certain that it would finance benefits only for the unemployed hit by recession. On the other hand, they would be reluctant to create such a scheme if they believed that it would finance benefits for persons who became, or remain unemployed, for structural reasons, because governments are reluctant to implement unpopular structural reforms.

However, there are serious obstacles toward the creation of such a scheme. First, it is difficult to separate natural unemployment from the total unemployment rate, since the former is an estimate. The Non-Accelerating

Wage Rate of Unemployment (NAWRU) could be used as a proxy for the natural rate of unemployment.[18] Furthermore, the establishment of a European unemployment benefit scheme presupposes political will on the part of governments to transfer resources and powers to the supranational level. But as the history of European integration has shown, governments are unwilling to proceed with such steps, especially those that entail financial cost.

Conclusion

The current economic crisis has affected the euro area economies and labor markets to varying extents. As discussed above, the crisis has widened the divergences between euro area labor market performance indicators, such as activity rate and employment and unemployment rates, which existed even before the onset of the crisis. Previously, these disparities could be explained by differing labor market institutions, such as employment protection legislation, unemployment benefit schemes, and active labor market policies. The lack of progress of European integration has dampened expectations for the convergence of labor markets through market forces, the implementation of structural reforms, and labor mobility, highlighting the need for a European stabilization mechanism which could be transformed into an unemployment benefit scheme.

Several economic and political difficulties hamper the establishment of such a mechanism, which presupposes the transfer of powers and resources to the supranational level. These include the moral-hazard risk, which weakens the incentive of governments to implement unpopular reforms in the labor market. In addition, technical issues related to the collection of resources, the providing period, and the replacement rate of the benefit, could prevent the creation of a European unemployment benefit scheme.

This chapter proposes the establishment of a European unemployment benefit scheme, which could function complementarily with national schemes. The latter would finance the benefits for unemployed persons who lost their jobs for structural reasons, while the European scheme would finance benefits for persons who lost their jobs due to economic cyclical fluctuations. By separating structural from cyclical unemployment, the moral-hazard risk might be resolved. However, the problem of a lack of political will would be hard to overcome.

18 F. Orlandi, Structural Unemployment and Its Determinants in the EU Countries, *European Economy* (Economic Papers), no. 45 (2012).

VI. Hartwig Hummel
The Meaning of Solidarity in Europe's Common Security and Defense Policy[1]

Introduction: Military solidarity to revive integration?

Faced with multiple political, economic, and social crises, European political leaders have recently turned to the project of an EU army in order to strengthen European integration and rebuild the feeling of communality among EU members.

Jean-Claude Juncker advocated a stronger Europe in security and defense matters in his campaign for the Commission presidency in 2014. He specified on his campaign website that he supported "permanent structured cooperation in defense matters." His original argument was primarily financial: In times of scarce resources, we need to match ambitions and resources to avoid duplication of programs. More than 80% of investment in defense equipment is still spent nationally today in the EU. More cooperation in defense procurement is therefore the call of the day, and if only for fiscal reasons.[2]

In a series of interviews and statements in spring 2015, he contended that the formation of an integrated "EU army" would improve the EU's standing on the world stage and send a message to an increasingly offensive Russian Federation, "that we are serious about defending the values of the European Union." [3] Juncker said an EU army would "help us to develop a common foreign and security policy, and to fulfill Europe's responsibilities in the world." NATO was not sufficient protection for the EU as not all EU members were part of the alliance.[4] Juncker later outlined his proposal, urging EU countries "to pool their defence capabilities in the form of a permanent structured co-operation (PESCO)." He called for the setting up of an EU military headquarters that would coordinate efforts toward creating a common military force with assets "in some cases owned by the EU." [5] In

1 The word "defense" is written throughout the text according to American English orthography. Otherwise, British English spelling applies to all citations and official documents.

2 Jean-Claude Juncker, My Priorities, 2014, http://juncker.epp.eu/my-priorities.

3 Juncker Calls for Collective EU Army, *Deutsche Welle*, March 8, 2015, http://www.dw.com/en/juncker-calls-for-collective-eu-army/a-18302459.

4 Jean-Claude Juncker Calls for Creation of EU Army, *Financial Times*, March 8, 2016, https://www.ft.com/content/1141286a-c588-11e4-bd6b-00144feab7de.

5 BBC, Juncker Proposes EU Military Headquarters, September 14, 2016, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-37359196.

addition, Juncker proposed establishing a "European Defence Fund" by the end of 2016.[6]

Immediately after the Brexit referendum in June 2016, French foreign minister Jean-Marc Ayrault and German foreign minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier issued a joint statement confirming that France and Germany "share a common destiny and a common set of values that provide the foundation for an ever closer union between our peoples. We will therefore move further towards political union in Europe and invite the other Europeans to join us in this endeavour." They said both countries "recommit to a shared vision of Europe as a security union, based on solidarity and mutual assistance between member states in support of common security and defense policy. Providing security for Europe as well as contributing to peace and stability globally is at the heart of the European project." They proposed a "European Security Compact" which would include mainly in-depth security policy analyses and high-level consultations.[7]

In August 2016, Italian defense minister Roberta Pinotti and foreign minister Paolo Gentiloni came up with the proposal for a "Schengen of defence." They said the EU should make full use of some provisions of the Lisbon Treaty, including Article 44 (on tasks entrusted to a group of states on behalf of the EU as a whole) and Article 46 (permanent structured cooperation), through strengthening common military capabilities, enhancing cooperation between member states, and boosting the EU defense industry. They called for the establishment of a multinational European force based on a joint mandate—a body with common command, decision-making, and budgetary structures in addition to, but not as a substitute for, national military forces.[8]

In a joint letter to Federica Mogherini, the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, sent in September 2016, the French and German defense ministers proposed specific steps to attain closer EU defense cooperation, including a new military HQ and swifter deployment

6 Charlie Peat, Juncker Left Red-Faced as European Military Leaders "think NATO is BETTER than an EU army," *Express*, September 28, 2016, http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/715148/Jean-Claude-Juncker-European-Union-EU-army-Sir-Michael-Fallon-military-leaders.

7 Jean-Marc Ayrault and Frank-Walter Steinmeier, A Strong Europe in a World of Uncertainties. Joint Contribution by the French Foreign Minister Jean-Marc Ayrault and Federal Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier, co-published at https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Europa/Aktuell/160624-BM-AM-FRA_ST.html and http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/french-foreign-policy/european-union/events/article/a-strong-europe-in-a-world-of-uncertainties-28-06-16.

8 Italian Ministry of Defence, A "Schengen of Defence" to respond to terrorism, Italian Ministry of Defence website, 11 August 2016; Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs/ Italian Ministry of International Cooperation; Gentiloni and Pinotti: Establishing a Schengen-like Defence Agreement to respond to terrorism, (La Repubblica, Le Monde)", Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation website, August 11, 2016.

of overseas missions. They suggested that EU military missions, such as the Sophia anti-migrant smuggler operation or the Atalanta anti-piracy mission, should in future operate from a joint military HQ instead of having a rotational command by EU states. The "EU states should create a new command centre for coordinating medical assistance, a logistics centre for sharing 'strategic' assets, such as air-lift capacities, and… satellite reconnaissance data…. joint battalions created by small groups of EU states—should be made operationally ready." The European Defence Agency should coordinate a program to be financed from the EU budget for military research and joint procurement of air-lift, satellite, cyber-defense assets, and surveillance drones. The two ministers stated that "a core group of EU countries could go ahead on the basis of articles 42 and 46 of the EU treaty on 'permanent structured cooperation,' " but that the project would be open to all EU states. Germany's defense minister Ursula von der Leyen added in a parallel speech that "we together, we Europeans, we are very strong if we improve our capabilities as Europeans." [9]

In this chapter I will scrutinize the basic concept behind these initiatives, the idea that military cooperation could create a sense of solidarity and commonality among Europeans and that it might revive the crisis-ridden European integration project.

The structure is as follows:

- I will first recall the history of European integration in order to show that there have been several attempts to link military cooperation to "European" solidarity and community-building, but that these have had little success.
- I will then take a closer look at the Lisbon Treaty provisions on solidarity in security and defense issues and conclude that the provisions remain vague and do not create clear-cut norms.[10]
- Finally, I will examine the practice of military solidarity in the case of France's activation of the EU mutual defense clause. I will reveal the opportunistic logic behind its activation of this clause and the limited scope of member states' military contributions, again questioning supposed European solidarity in security affairs.
- In my conclusion I will reconsider my argument in light of general theories of international relations.

9 Andrew Rettman, France and Germany Propose EU "Defence Union", euobserver, September 12, 2016, https://euobserver.com/foreign/135022.

10 Laura C. Ferreira-Pereira and A.J.R. Groom, "Mutual Solidarity" within the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy: What Is the Name of the Game?, *International Politics* 47, no. 6 (2010), pp. 596-616.

Security and defense cooperation in Europe

At the onset of the Cold War in 1948, the European allies of World War II—the UK, France, and the Benelux countries—concluded the Treaty of Brussels. Article IV of the treaty contained the following mutual defense clause: If any of the High Contracting Parties should be the object of an armed attack in Europe, the other High Contracting Parties will, in accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, afford the Party so attacked all the military and other aid and assistance in their power.[11]

This was a mutual defense clause which, unlike later mutual defense clauses in the NATO or EU treaties, provided for "collective, mutual and automatic action." Thus, the Treaty of Brussels "was a treaty of alliance in which each member took part in defending all the others… and the principle was that of automatic aid and assistance…"[12]

However, with the establishment of NATO by the United States in 1949 the Brussels Treaty became dormant. NATO established an integrated military structure, including even the sharing of nuclear deterrence, and NATO's Western identity took precedence over the Brussels treaty's European solidarity. Although France was among the founding members of NATO, the French government continued working for an autonomous European security community. In 1950, French foreign minister Robert Schuman proposed a European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). Its explicit aim was to prevent further war between France and Germany by pooling and denationalizing economic resources that were regarded as essential for arms production. The ECSC became effective in 1952 as a joint organization of France, Germany, the Benelux countries, and Italy. The ECSC eventually led the way to the European Communities of 1957 and today's European Union. The European Economic Community of 1957, however, did not get control over national security, including arms production and arms trade. Article 223 of the original EEC treaty allowed any member state to keep secret any information relevant for "essential interests of its security" and effectively excluded the "production of or trade in arms, munitions and war material" from the EEC.[13]

Responding to US calls for the rearmament of West Germany after the beginning of the Korean War, French Prime Minister René Pleven proposed adding a European Defense Community (EDC) and a European Political

11 NATO, The Brussels Treaty, October 1, 2009, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_17072.htm.

12 Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe (CVCE), Collective Defence and Control of Armaments, 2014, http://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/collective_defence_and_armaments_control-en-0115353c-3037-465e-9e2f-6b1bd5b17221.html.

13 CVCE, Treaty Establishing the European Economic Community (Rome, 25 March 1957), 2015, http://www.cvce.eu/de/obj/treaty_establishing_the_european_economic_community_rome_25_march_1957-en-cca6ba28-0bf3-4ce6-8a76-6b0b3252696e.html.

Community to the ECSC. The Pleven Plan of October 1950 provided for a common budget, common military procurement, and most importantly, integrated military forces, including German soldiers, to be placed under a single military and political authority. In August 1954 the French National Assembly rejected ratification of the EDC treaty, which had already been signed by all six governments. According to Arnold Kanter, France had been forced to accept German rearmament and "sought to make the best of a bad situation"; thus the Pleven Plan "was rarely justified by appeals to military necessity." Instead, discussions in the National Assembly were dominated by considerations of the French role in European integration and uneasiness about German rearmament, or, in Kanter's words: The anti-German sentiments and opposition to rearmament were compounded by the fear that any association with the resurgent Germany would result in France's being the subordinate member. EDC would result in France's having closer ties with former enemies than with her allies, destroying the facade of British-French equality and claims to status.[14]

Two months later, in October 1954, as a substitute for the failed EDC project, the Brussels Treaty was amended to become the Western European Union (WEU) and West Germany and Italy were admitted as new members. In practice, the WEU included three main elements: First, the mutual defense clause of the Brussels Treaty was incorporated into the WEU Treaty as Article V. Second, West Germany's dual membership in the WEU and NATO became the channel for West Germany's rearmament. West Germany renounced the production of weapons of mass destruction on its territory, and accepted restrictions on conventional arms production, and the WEU Agency for the Control of Armaments became responsible for monitoring those restrictions, which were gradually removed but not fully abolished until 1986.[15] Third, France sought to use the WEU as a framework to promote European arms standardization and co-production among European arms producers. The UK joined these European production projects, even after France had repeatedly vetoed its membership in the EEC.[16] However, the US often pressured the Europeans to transfer these armament projects to NATO, where US companies could take them over.[17]

The WEU remained sidelined to a minor role in arms control and

14 Arnold Kanter, The European Defense Community in the French National Assembly: A Roll Call Analysis, *Comparative Politics* 2 no. 2 (1970), pp. 203-28.

15 Assembly of Western European Union, Thirty-First Annual Report of the Council to the Assembly of Western European Union on the Council's Activities for the Period 1st January to 31st December 1985, Document 1061 (Paris: Assembly of Western European Union, May 20, 1986), p. 10; cited in David Yost, Dissuasion and Allies, Strategic Insights 4, no. 2, 2005.

16 Sally Rohan, The Western European Union: International Politics between Alliance and Integration, New York: Routledge, 2014, p. 91.

17 Ibid., p. 99.

collaboration in the arms industry until the end of the Cold War. Its mutual defense clause was never activated, neither during France's Algerian war, nor during Britain's Falkland war. Nuclear deterrence was organized by NATO or unilaterally by France. Under the nationalist presidency of Charles de Gaulle France increasingly opposed strong US domination of NATO and its special relationship with the UK but not with France. The French military gradually withdrew from NATO structures. In 1966 France split completely from NATO's integrated military command and non-French NATO troops had to leave France. However, France never left NATO's political structures. In 2009 France returned to full military cooperation.

Frustrated by so-called Eurosclerosis, perceived stagnation of European economic integration in the 1970s and 1980s, European leaders sought to push integration forward via the Maastricht Treaty for establishing a European Union which would include a "Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)." Ratification of the treaty was delayed by a negative referendum in Denmark. In order to make ratification by another Danish referendum possible, the European Council added an agreement to the treaty which listed four Danish exceptions, most important of which was an opt-out from European security and defense cooperation, which is still valid today. Thus, Denmark does not participate in the elaboration and implementation of decisions and actions of the Union which have defense implications, and cannot prevent the development of closer defense cooperation among member states.[18]

With the end of the Cold War the number of United Nations peacekeeping missions increased dramatically. The UN Security Council initiated larger and more complex military operations and imposed a series of arms embargos. Since the nascent European Union felt the need to get involved, but did not yet have the structures and capabilities to do so, it reactivated the WEU. In June 1992 the Ministerial Council of the Western European Union adopted the Petersberg Declaration. Accordingly, WEU members declared their readiness to make available to their own union, NATO, or the EU conventional armed forces for humanitarian and rescue tasks, peacekeeping tasks, and combat task forces for crisis management, including peacemaking.[19]

18 Palle Svensson, The Danish Yes to Maastricht and Edinburgh: The EC Referendum of May 1993, *Scandinavian Political Studies* 17, no. 1 (1994), pp. 733-750.

19 The Treaty of Lisbon further expanded these tasks in Art. 42 TEU to include: humanitarian and rescue tasks; conflict prevention and peace-keeping tasks; tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking; joint disarmament operations; military advice and assistance tasks; post-conflict stabilization tasks.

But there were clear limits to European military integration.[20] First, NATO continued to take priority and European leaders were quick to ensure that WEU and CFSP activities would supplement rather than replace NATO ones.[21] Second, WEU membership expanded but never fully corresponded to that of the EU; moreover, it was fragmented into various categories in order to accommodate different groups of countries, such as neutrals or accession candidates. In addition, some EU members got opt-outs from parts of the CFSP. Third, very soon the 1991 Gulf War and the Balkan wars highlighted the limitations of European military ambitions, and there was much talk about what Christopher Hill has called the "capability-expectations gap."[22]

It took some time for the EU to address this discrepancy. The Amsterdam Treaty, signed in 1997, only introduced new decision-making institutions to the CFSP and extended the EU's role in peacekeeping and humanitarian missions in cooperation with the WEU, but did not provide for a common European defense. The newly elected British government led by Prime Minister Tony Blair decided to give European military integration a new push. At the Franco-British summit meeting held in St. Malo in December 1998, in the shadow of the Kosovo crisis, the United Kingdom and France agreed to build up credible military capacities for the European Union so that it could take autonomous action when NATO was not involved. As a consequence of this summit, the 1999 European Council in Helsinki agreed on the creation of an EU military force of 60,000 troops by 2003.

In 2001 Irish voters rejected ratification of the Nice Treaty, partly out of concern for Irish neutrality. In a second referendum in 2002 Ireland finally ratified the treaty, after the European Council explicitly promised to respect the conditions of Irish neutrality, that is, a UN mandate and national government and parliamentary approval of any Irish participation in military activities of the EU.

In order to be able to make use of NATO military capabilities, including access to NATO intelligence and command infrastructure and the use of EU military forces under NATO command, the EU concluded the Berlin Plus agreement with NATO in December 2002. Most importantly, the agreement confirmed priority for NATO. NATO must first decline to intervene in a given crisis, before the EU could act militarily with the support of NATO. So far, the EU has conducted only two operations under the Berlin Plus agreement:

20 The EU was much more successful in the political dimension of CFSP which initially focused on the CSCE process, the policy of arms control and disarmament in Europe, nuclear non-proliferation and the economic aspects of security, in particular control of the transfer of arms and military technology. See Trevor Taylor, West European Security and Defence Cooperation: Maastricht and Beyond, *International Affairs* 70, no. 1 (1994), p. 5.

21 Ibid., p. 2.

22 Christopoher J. Hill, The Capability-Expectations Gap, or Conceptualizing Europe's International Role, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31, no. 3 (1993), pp. 305-328.

Operation Concordia in Macedonia and EUFOR Althea, which took over peacekeeping in Bosnia-Herzegovina from NATO. Turkish reservations delayed Operation Concordia by several months and Turkey has remained extremely reluctant to let the EU use NATO resources since then.[23]

The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) became operational in 2003 with an autonomous military mission in the DR Congo and the above-mentioned military mission in Macedonia under Berlin Plus. This happened amid the deep rift in the transatlantic community caused by the Iraq intervention of March 2003 when several EU members sided with the US intervention, while other EU members strongly protested against what they regarded as a gross violation of international law. In April 2003 the main opponents of the Anglo-American intervention, the government leaders of France, Germany, Belgium, and Luxembourg, met in Tervuren. They agreed to intensify their military cooperation and, most controversially, to set up an autonomous military planning and command structure. Other EU and NATO members criticized this initiative as a breach of the Berlin Plus agreement.[24]

After the turmoil of the Iraq war, European security and defense policy obviously lost much of its appeal to mobilize for European solidarity and integration. Nevertheless, ESDP progressed. The European Security Strategy was passed in 2003, stressing the EU's respect for international law. In 2004 the European Defence Agency was set up. In 2007 the Battlegroups, EU rapid deployment combat forces, became operational. However, to date they have not been engaged in military action. The Lisbon Treaty which entered into force in 2009, basically incorporated the WEU into the EU, including a modified mutual defense clause, and the WEU was formally terminated in 2011.

In the end, projects for "European" military security and defense solidarity and integration have so far tended to be divisive rather than inclusive, with frequent "opt outs." The Lisbon Treaty option for permanent structured cooperation in defense basically indicated recognition of the fragmented rather than integrated nature of European military solidarity.

Since the end of World War II, and again since the end of the Cold War, the provision of hard military security has been linked primarily to a "Western," rather than a European, security community, with the United

23 Eckhard Lübkemeier, Preface: The ESDP as a Key Project for European Unification, in Hans-Georg Ehrhart ed., *Die Europäische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik: Positionen, Perzeptionen, Probleme, Perspektiven* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2002), pp. 9-18; Antonio Missiroli, EU-NATO Cooperation in Crisis Management: No Turkish Delight for ESDP, Security Dialogue 33, no 1 (2002), pp. 9-26.

24 See the negative assessment by Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Why a Common Security and Defence Policy Is Bad for Europe, Survival 45, no. 4 (2003): 193-206; compare the rather positive evaluation by Hanna Ojanen, The EU and NATO: Two Competing Models for a Common Defence Policy, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44, no. 1 (2006), pp. 57-76.

States and NATO as key military security providers. Nevertheless, Europe has played a major role in the "softer" dimensions of security, ranging from the transformation of former dictatorships to liberal democracies and the détente process vis-à-vis the Communist bloc, in support of global governance and civilian peace-building. These are essential elements of common security and a stable peace, which have often been neglected by the Western alliance. However, seen from a historical perspective, it should be clear that recent initiatives to seek European integration via military security do not seem particularly promising.

The meaning of military solidarity in the Lisbon Treaty

A closer look at the provisions of the Lisbon Treaty will provide more insights into the present meaning of military solidarity in the European Union. As the Lisbon Treaty is just a revised version of the non-ratified Constitutional Treaty, it would be helpful to recall the debates in the Convention on the Future of Europe which drafted the Constitutional Treaty. This section draws on a very helpful article about the meaning of "mutual solidarity" within EU common foreign and security policy, by Laura Ferreira-Pereira and A.J.R. Groom.[25]

Under the impact of 9/11 and the Iraq war, and following the European Security Strategy of 2003, the Convention revalued the concept of solidarity in security and defense matters. It recognized the transformation of security from regional and international conflicts to global and transnational challenges and the need for "cohesive external action to promote stability and peace" beyond the Petersberg tasks.[26]

The text of the Constitutional Treaty included provisions for both new and old security threats. First, the treaty contained a guarantee of collective, possibly military, assistance in the event a member state experienced a terrorist attack or a human or natural disaster (Article I-43.7, plus implementation provisions in Article III-329).[27] At first sight, this looked like a collective defense commitment, but it was not; it was a non-automatic mechanism relating to

25 Ferreira-Pereira and Groom, "Mutual Solidarity", ibid. See also Marie Fuchs-Drapier, The European Union's Solidarity Clause in the Event of a Terrorist Attack: Towards Solidarity or Maintaining Sovereignty?, *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management* 19 no. 4 (2010), pp. 184-197; Marie Fuchs-Drapier, The European Union's Solidarity Clause in the Event of a Terrorist Attack: Towards Solidarity or Maintaining Sovereignty?, *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management* 19 no. 4 (2011), pp. 184-197; Monica Den Boer, Police, Policy and Politics in Brussels: Scenarios for the Shift from Sovereignty to Solidarity, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 27, no. 1 (2014), pp. 48-65.

26 Ferreira-Pereira and Groom, "Mutual Solidarity", pp. 605, 606.

27 Ibid., p. 606.

internal security issues and non-state threats, and could only be implemented upon the request of the afflicted government. Second, regarding traditional acts of aggression against the territory of any member state of the EU, Article I-41.7 obliged the other member states to assist the one under attack by all the means in their power. But while the comparable WEU clause stipulated that member states "*will afford*" the attacked member state military and non-military assistance, the Constitutional Treaty only stated that member states "*shall have ...an obligation*" of aid and assistance,[28] conditioned by the provision that the specific character of the security and defense policy of certain member states would be respected. Moreover, this assistance would be purely inter-governmental, without a formal role for common EU institutions. But at least political solidarity was reaffirmed by the understanding that no country could block others from involving themselves militarily in a deeper way.

Thus, the Constitutional Treaty contained military security and defense clauses, but the interpretation of solidarity contained in these clauses remained "conditioned by state-driven dynamics."[29] The security and defense regime of the European Union continued to be multilayered, with different groups of countries with different responsibilities and expectations, and with different provisions of security for different types of threats. Moreover, it did not challenge the primary responsibility of NATO for European defense. In other words, there was a rhetorical upgrade of military solidarity, which was not backed by its operationalization.[30] The Eastern enlargement of the European Union reinforced the basis tenets of the EU's security and defense arrangement and fostered what Ferreira-Pereira and Groom called the "atomisation of solidarity."[31]

The Lisbon Treaty was signed in 2007 and entered into force in 2009. It drew largely on the consensual provisions of the Constitutional Treaty, including security and defense provisions. The Lisbon Treaty further upgraded the "solidarity" articles by devoting a separate treaty chapter to them but did not change the substance of what had already been agreed upon.

Article 222 of the revised Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU)[32] provides for assistance in the event of a terrorist attack or a major disaster. Since this article is part of the TFEU, it includes the involvement of EU institutions. However, response is not automatic; it must be activated

28 Carmen-Cristina Cîrlig, The EU's Mutual Assistance Clause: First Ever Activation of Article 42(7) TEU, European Parliament Briefing, November 2015, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2015/572799/EPRS_BRI(2015)572799_EN, pp. 2-5.

29 "Mutual Solidarity" ibid., p. 606.

30 Ibid., pp. 606, 613.

31 Ibid., pp. 607, 609.

32 Since the Maastricht Treaty what is called "EU treaty" actually consists of two treaties: the "Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union" (TFEU) and the "Treaty on the European Union" (TEU).

by the government of the member state affected. Since 2002 the EU has had a special European Union Solidarity Fund to finance civil protection measures. In 2014 the EU revised the rules for the operation of the solidarity clause and the Solidarity Fund.[33]

Article 42(7) of the revised Treaty of the European Union (TEU) includes a mutual security clause for cases of armed aggression against a member state. However, its practical meaning remains unclear. So far CSDP[34] activities have been limited to peacemaking and crisis management missions and have not involved mutual assistance or territorial defense. Moreover, the EU's commitment to build up an army corps of 60.000 troops to be deployable within 60 days and for at least one year, together with air and navy elements and command, transport, and support facilities, has not yet been completely fulfilled and certainly does not suffice for full-scale collective defense.[35]

Article 42(2) of the revised TEU provides for the "progressive framing of a common Union defense policy. This will lead to a common defense, when the European Council, acting unanimously, so decides." But, again, this article explicitly states that the "specific character of the security and defense policy of certain Member States" should be fully respected. This relates not only to neutrality commitments or the primacy of NATO obligations, or even to the special situation of nuclear armed EU member states, but also reserves the right of members states to seek parliamentary consent prior to the deployment of armed forces.[36]

Article 42(6) is more explicit in its description of the multilayered structure of European Union security and defense. It stipulates that "those Member States whose military capabilities fulfill higher criteria and which have made more binding commitments to one another in this area with a view to the most demanding missions shall establish permanent structured cooperation within the Union framework."[37]

After scrutinizing the treaty provisions on security and defense, Ferreira-Pereira and Groom conclude that "difficulties in garnering general support for military solidarity in the EU testifies [*sic*] to the continued endemic influence

33 EUR-lex, Solidarity Clause, n.d., http://eur-lex.europa.eu/summary/glossary/solidarity_clause.html.

34 The Lisbon Treaty renamed ESDP to "Common Foreign and Security Policy" (CSDP).

35 European Political Strategy Centre (EPSC), In Defence of Europe: Defence Integration as a Response to Europe's Strategic Moment, *EPSC Strategy Notes*, no. 4, June 15, 2015.

36 Cîrlig, The EU's Mutual Assistance Clause, ibid., p. 4.

37 Europe External Policy Advisors and Europe External Programme with Africa (EEPA), The Lisbon Treaty, Article 42, n.d., http://www.lisbon-treaty.org/wcm/the-lisbon-treaty/treaty-on-european-union-and-comments/title-5-general-provisions-on-the-unions-external-action-and-specific-provisions/chapter-2-specific-provisions-on-the-common-foreign-and-security-policy/section-2-provisions-on-the-common-security-and-defence-policy/129-article-42.html.

of national interests."[38] This seems to be a rather common argument, but there could be an alternative explanation: the hesitant support for EU military solidarity could be explained by general constraints of post-heroic and post-modern democracies. I will return to this point in my conclusion.

Activation of the EU's mutual defense clause by France

Since the end of 2014 France has experienced a series of terrorist attacks which culminated in the mass killing in Paris on November 13, 2015. On November 16, French President François Hollande condemned these attacks as "acts of war" and announced that France would activate Article 42(7) of the Lisbon Treaty, for the first time ever. Member states responded immediately, expressing their solidarity and political support for France. At the Foreign Affairs Council meeting of the European Union, held on November 17, French defense minister Jean-Yves le Drian formally asked the member states of the European Union to provide aid and assistance to France on the basis of Article 42(7). Specific French requests were presented to the Political and Security Committee (PSC) on November 24, 2015. Member states then decided on their contributions to France, in accordance with its requirements.[39]

France's activation constitutes a precedent for application of the mutual defense clause of the European Union and provides additional insights into the meaning of military cooperation in terms of creating a sense of solidarity and commonality among Europeans. Two aspects are particularly interesting: First, why did President Hollande activate this clause and not use other options? Second, what kind of assistance did France actually receive from its European partners?

Article 222 of the TFEU is explicitly intended to regulate EU "solidarity" in the event of terrorist incidents and would have been the obvious choice of the French government. This article would have given France access to EU resources and involved the full range of EU institutions and decision-making processes. However, this would also have entailed the complexities of EU policy-making procedures.

Legally, activation of Article 222 would have presupposed that the member state affected had exploited all the "means and tools" at the national and EU level and "consider[ed] that the situation overwhelm[ed] its response

38 Ferreira-Pereira and Groom, "Mutual Solidarity", p. 614.

39 Suzana Elena Anghel and Carmen-Cristina Cîrlig Activation of Article 42(7) TEU: France's Request for Assistance and Member States' Responses, European Parliamentary Research Service, European Council Briefing, July 2016, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2016/581408/EPRS_BRI(2016)581408_EN.pdf, pp. 5-11.

capacity."[40] This was not what the French government wanted to communicate to its allies or to the French public. Instead, it framed the terrorist attacks as "acts of war."

This "securitization" of the terrorist acts in France as "acts of war" and not just as "criminal acts" served the French government to justify extraordinary emergency measures and the mobilization of collective self-defense. There were two options for calling upon French allies for defense assistance: Article 5 of the NATO treaty, which had been invoked by the US government after 9/11, and Article 42(7) of the TEU.

If France had activated Article 5 of the NATO treaty, it would have had to enter into difficult negotiations, especially with the US and Turkey, which were heavily engaged in the wars in Syria and Iraq, following their own agenda. Moreover, reference to Article 5 of the NATO treaty would have excluded non-NATO EU members, and any NATO member could have vetoed a decision by NATO.[41] Finally, turning to NATO would not have corresponded to France's long-time advocacy of an autonomous European security and defense system.

Thus, the French government decided to activate the mutual defense clause of the TEU. On the one hand, this sent a strong political signal in terms of securitization of the terrorist attacks. On the other hand, Article 42(7) of the TEU offered maximum flexibility. Unlike the former WEU mutual defense clause it does not require automatic military assistance to the state under attack, but provides for bilateral negotiations with other EU member states about the kind of assistance required.[42] It does not involve European institutions and European decision-making procedures and thus speeds up the whole process. Indeed, when EU defense ministers responded to the formal activation of Article 42(7) by their French colleague at the Foreign Affairs Council on November 17, 2015, they "underlined that "no formal decision or conclusion by the Council was legally required to activate the mutual assistance clause."[43] If at all, European institutions had only a supportive role in facilitating member states' assistance to France.[44] Moreover, Article 42(7) respects the multilayered security system of the EU with its complex national

40 Jorge Valero, France 'at War' Inaugurates EU's Mutual Defence Clause, Euractiv.com, November 17, 2015, http://www.euractiv.com/section/justice-home-affairs/news/france-at-war-inaugurates-eu-s-mutual-defence-clause/.

41 Note that Art. 5 of the NATO treaty is limited to acts of war in "Europe and North America," whereas Art. 42(7) TEU covers the entire territory of the member states, including overseas European territories to which EU law applies. See Cîrlig, The EU's Mutual Assistance Clause, ibid., p. 3.

42 Ibid.

43 Anghel and Cîrlig, Activation of Article 42(7) TEU, ibid., p. 2. The authors point out that "invocation by France of the mutual assistance clause in the formal setting of the Council has been considered purely incidental", p. 6.

44 Cîrlig, "The EU's Mutual Assistance Clause," p. 5.

qualifications, such as the Danish opt-out, neutrality provisions, priority of NATO commitments, and the need for previous parliamentary decisions on the deployment of military forces.

Article 42(7) also addresses a problem of international law. The UN Charter explicitly limits the right of individual or collective self-defense to cases of an "armed attack," meaning an inter-state conflict. Likewise, the NATO treaty refers to armed attacks. In a conventional reading of international law this does not cover transnational terrorist acts committed by non-state actors. However, Article 42(7) covers cases of "armed aggression." Its wording is much more flexible and encompasses new security threats such as transnational terrorism.[45]

Invoking Article 42(7) turned out to be mainly symbolic. France, as well as other EU member states, was already engaged in counterterrorist measures and some were already fighting against Daesh (IS).[46] Article 42(7) has served to legitimize French and European allied bombing operations in Syria by giving it a legal basis.[47] The French government expected substantial military contributions primarily from major fellow member states of the EU—the UK, Germany, Italy, and possibly Spain. The role of smaller member states was mainly to assist France indirectly by increasing their involvement in ongoing military missions under the command of the UN or the EU, or under national French command, or by providing political or intelligence support (see table 1).

45 Ibid., p. 3.
46 Valero, "France 'at War'."
47 Ibid.

Table 1: Member states' responses to France's requests under Article 42(7) TEU (as of July 2016)

	Support for operations in the Levant		French operations in Africa	EU CSDP Operations	UN Operations	Intelligence cooperation
	military	non-military				
Austria				X	X	
Belgium	X			X		
Bulgaria						
Croatia				?		
Cyprus		X				
Czech Republic				?	?	
Denmark	Defense policy opt-out					
Estonia				X		
Finland		X			X	
Germany	X	X	X		X	X
Greece						X
Hungary				X	X	
Ireland				X	X	X
Italy		X			X	
Latvia	X	X		X	X	
Lithuania					X	
Luxembourg				X		X
Malta	Assistance will be provided but with full respect for Malta's neutrality					
Netherlands	X	X		X		X
Poland		X				X
Portugal				X	X	
Romania		X		X	X	
Slovakia				X		
Slovenia				X		
Spain	?			X		X
Sweden		X		X	X	X
United Kingdom	X	X	X			

Note: Detailed contributions taken from Anghel/Cîrlig (2016, pp. 5-11) and summarized by the author.

In light of the fact that these contributions are meant to be expressions of mutual military solidarity and collective defense, the "outcome of the bilateral negotiations following the activation of the Article 42(7) TEU clause [seems] to be rather disappointing."[48]

Conclusion

Historical events, the provisions of the Lisbon Treaty, and experience of France's mobilization of the mutual defense clause in 2015 do not support Commission President Juncker's hope for a revitalization of European integration via a "common" European security and defense policy. Remarkably, the fact that France's activation of the clause was actually a kind of declaration of war by the European Union has not triggered a fundamental debate either at the political or at the public level. The Common Foreign and Security Policy does not present a political project of mobilizing the Europeans for "an ever closer union," but remains a rather bureaucratic endeavor for expert circles.

The fundamental problem is that the project to shape a common identity of a nation, a European nation, through experiences of common fighting and suffering in war, is no longer appropriate for the postmodern world. First, the nature of warfare has changed. Classical international wars of the Clausewitz type have become the exception and warfare has become dominated by what Mary Kaldor calls "new wars,"[49] with Western countries fighting "wars of choice" instead of "wars of necessity."[50] Second, "security" has been redefined from the classic notion of national security to the concept of "human security," and "securitization"[51] has been extended to a wide range of policies, including energy security, environmental security, and cyber security. Third, European societies in particular have purportedly changed and no longer view positively a willingness to kill or die for one's own political community; they have become "casualty-averse"[52] and "post-heroic societies."[53] Under these circumstances, calls for a "European army" will fail to create solidarity among the citizens of the European Union. In the end, the very target of integration,

48 Anghel and Cîrlig, Activation of Article 42(7) TEU, ibid., pp. 3-4.

49 Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organised Violence in a Global Era*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999.

50 Richard Haass, *War of Necessity/War of Choice: A Memoir of Two Iraq Wars*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009.

51 Barry Buzan, People, States and Fear. An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era, 2nd ed., Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1991.

52 Hugh Smith, What Costs Will Democracies Bear? A Review of Popular Theories of Casualty Aversion, Armed Forces and Society 31, no. 4 (2005), pp. 487-512.

53 Edward Luttwak, Toward Post-Heroic Warfare, *Foreign Affairs* 74, no. 3 (1995), pp. 109-122.

the EU, is frequently described in post-national terms as a novel "normative power," or an international actor of a new type,[54] and not as a traditional military power player.

In this sense I fully agree with Simon Duke's conclusion: "Finally, it can be asked whether security and defense is the appropriate vehicle for reviving the ailing integration project. It is unclear that this is the grand gesture that the EU's citizens want or need when their main concerns lie with immigration, terrorism and the economic situation…. Suggestions for a compact, a Schengen for defense, or a European Defence Union, could of course have a positive impact on concerns about immigration and terrorism but the response to the main public concerns has more to do with intelligence sharing, careful analysis, police cooperation, political dialogue, disruption of financial networks, anti-radicalisation programmes and various training programmes, than it does with military headquarters or a multinational standing force".[55]

54 Ian Manners, "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms? *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40, no. 2 (2002), pp. 235-258.

55 Simon Duke, Security and Defence as the (Unlikely) Saviours of the Integration Project?, EU-CIVCAP, October 6, 2006, http://www.eu-civcap.net/2016/10/06/security-and-defence-as-the-unlikely-saviours-of-the-integration-project/.

VII. Vassilis Kappis[1]

Breaking Away from the Union? The Case of Greek-Israeli Relations since 2010

How can we explain the divergence of Greek foreign policy from the European Union (EU) Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) since 2010? Between the late 1990s and the beginning of the Greek financial crisis in 2009, the country's external conduct had remained relatively stable and in close alignment with EU CFSP goals. Even Greece's long-standing rivalry with Turkey had been subject to the country's foreign "Europeanization" policy, culminating in the relinquishment of the Greek veto on Turkey's bid for EU accession at the 1999 Helsinki EU summit.2 The onset of the Greek crisis, however, coincided with initiatives which put the country's commitment to the EU CFSP in question. The establishment, in particular, of the Greek-Israeli security partnership in 2010 was a striking example of Greek "activism" in the foreign policy domain, with the once detached, if not downright hostile, relations between Athens and Jerusalem giving way to the notion of an Israeli-Greek geopolitical axis.3 In the following years, bilateral cooperation in security, intelligence, and economic matters flourished. Joint military exercises, moreover, attained a notable regularity and sophistication, resulting in a "status of forces" accord between the two countries, an unusual arrangement for an EU member. Previously, the United States had been the sole beneficiary of a similar agreement, rendered essential due to the permanent presence of NATO bases in Greece.4

At a time when Europe had turned its focus to the resolution of the escalating Greek financial crisis, the country's conduct in the Eastern Mediterranean appeared to stand in stark contrast to the EU's posture toward Israel, as articulated in the 2010 European Neighborhood Policy and subsequent European Council decisions.5 While the EU emphasized human rights issues and concessions to the Palestinians as its policy cornerstones vis-

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2 H. Athanasopoulos, *Greece, Turkey, and the Aegean Sea: A Case Study in International Law*, Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, (2001), p. 99.

3 P. Klokkaris, Cyprus-Greece-Israel: Strategic Relations, *Eastern Mediterranean Geopolitical Review* 1, no. 1 (2015), pp. 1-5.

4 From now on Greek and Israeli soldiers will be allowed to station either in Greece or Israel to participate in military training exercises, New Europe website, July 22, 2015, https://neurope.eu/article/greece-and-israel-boost-military-co-operation (accessed March 29, 2017).

5 S. Rosen, The EU's Israel Problem Goes Far Beyond Labels, Tower Magazine 34, (2016), at www.thetower.org/article/the-eus-israel-problem-goes-far-beyond-labels (accessed April 14, 2017).

à-vis Israel, Athens chose to distance itself from Brussels, surprising analysts with its support of Jerusalem in a number of strategic policy areas.6 Observers suggested that the Greek-Israeli partnership was merely a reaction to the deterioration of Turkish-Israeli relations, particularly following the Gaza flotilla incident in May 2010.7 Athens certainly took advantage of the regional dynamics in order to promote its interests, though the persistence of the Greek-Israeli partnership deserves closer scrutiny, as it has not only managed to "survive" the Turkish-Israeli rapprochement, but has also spearheaded Greece's diplomatic return to the Eastern Mediterranean, through a network of partnerships and collaborative projects with Egypt, Lebanon and Jordan.8 Today, the Greek-Israeli partnership is rapidly evolving into a cornerstone of Greek foreign policy. The perseverance of what appeared initially to be a short-term, almost instinctive, response to the Turkish-Israeli estrangement could be viewed as part of a wider Greek shift towards the Eastern Mediterranean, an area of prime geopolitical significance.

This geopolitical shift, therefore, appears to transcend the narrow confines of a short-term, zero-sum material calculation, as Greek elites increasingly highlight the country's role as an Eastern Mediterranean actor, a claim based on political, historical, and cultural factors. One could thus challenge the predominant narrative which views Greek foreign and security policy behavior through the prism of material, national interest-related considerations. More specifically, the country's foreign policy re-alignment could be indicative of an evolving Greek leadership self-image which is informed by identity-related, psychological factors, reflecting a novel "National Role Conception (NRC)."9 The extent to which this new NRC is incompatible with not only the "letter" of the CFSP but also European norms and values has yet to be determined, but could potentially exacerbate existing

6 A. Mekel, A New Geopolitical Bloc Is Born: Israel, Greece and Cyprus, *Jerusalem Post*, February 21, 2016; Greece Rejects EU Labeling Guidelines after PM Calls Jerusalem Israel's Capital, Tower Magazine, February 12, 2015, at www.thetower.org/2633-greece-rejects-eu-labeling-guidelines-after-pm-calls-jerusalem-israels-capital (accessed May 12, 2017); A. Tziampiris, *The Emergence of Israeli-Greek Cooperation*, Springer International Publishing, (2014), pp. 64-101.

7 A. Nachmani, Israel, Turkey and Greece: Dramatic Changes in the Eastern Mediterranean, in C. Shindler. ed., *Israel and the World Powers: Diplomatic Alliances and International Relations beyond the Middle East*, London, I.B. Tauris, (2014), pp. 282-284; J.L. Samaan, Israel-Turkey Strategic Ties Show Signs of Thaw, Al-Monitor website, March 20, 2013, at www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/03/israel-turkey-greece-relations-improve-gas-cooperation.html (accessed May 12, 2017).

8 Israeli MFA General Secretary to HuffPost Greece: Cooperation between Greece, Cyprus and Israel is robust and advanced (in Greek), Huffington Post, May 29, 2017, at www.huffingtonpost.gr/2017/05/29/eidiseis-diethnes-yuvalrotem-stis-15-ioyniou-h-trimeris-synantisi-korifis-elladas_n_16865622.html (accessed May 30, 2017.)

9 J. Hymans, *The Psychology of Nuclear Proliferation: Identity, Emotions, and Foreign Policy*, Cambridge University Press, (2006), p. 18.

tensions between Athens and Brussels, thereby undermining the country's prospects for retaining its hard-earned European orientation.

Perceptions in world politics: Rational and psychological narratives

In order to highlight the implications of the case study, it is crucial to map the theoretical premise of this foray which emphasizes the impact of leadership perceptions on international politics. In the past, realist scholars assumed that leaders understood well the core attributes of their strategic environment. Indeed, from Thucydides to Morgenthau[10] prominent theorists have espoused the notion that decision makers are in a position to accurately perceive parameters such as balances of power or the reliability of allied commitments, selecting their responses on the basis of a comprehensive cost-benefit analysis.[11] This model, articulated in the seminal *Essence of Decision*, leaves little room for leadership perceptions affecting foreign policy decision making.[12] Allison and Zelikow assumed, in essence, that states are consistent in their pursuit of "national security and national interests" in the face of external threats and opportunities.[13] Friedberg clearly noted that "assessment through rational calculation plays the part of a reliable but invisible transmission belt connecting objective change to adaptive behavior."[14]

Nevertheless, realist scholars have come to acknowledge a role for perceptions with regard to decision making. After all, "if power influences international relations, it must do so through the perceptions of those who act on behalf of states."[15] According to Wohlforth, "the corollary of a perceptual approach to power is the realization that expectations inform policy."[16] But while scholars espouse a crucial role for perceptions acting as a transmission belt between systemic attributes and decisions, they tend to limit their analytical value to the accuracy of capability and hostility appraisals. In other

10 Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, revised ed., Harmondsworth and Ringwood: Penguin Books, (1972); H. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, NY: Alfred Knopf, (1973).

11 R. Keohane, Theory of World Politics: Structural Realism and Beyond, in R. Keohane, ed., *Neorealism and Its Critics*, NY: Columbia University Press, (1986), p. 165.

12 G. Allison. and P. Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 2nd ed., NY: Addison-Wesley, (1999).

13 Ibid.

14 A. Friedberg, *The Weary Titan: Britain and the Experience of Relative Decline, 1895-1905*, NJ: Princeton University Press, (1988), p. 13.

15 K. Holsti, *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis*, 2nd ed., NJ: Prentice-Hall, (1972), p. 158.

16 W. Wohlforth, Realism and the End of the Cold War, *International Security* 19, no. 3, (1994), p. 98.

words, although leaders may, or may not, possess valid perceptions, state policies are primarily informed by their estimates of third party intentions and capabilities. Rational leaderships are thus expected to undertake a comprehensive assessment of power distributions and subsequently move to balance (ally) against (potentially) threatening actors.[17] Leaderships should thus be expected to "stay the course," unless interests or power shifts necessitate a foreign policy adjustment. While this realist notion of perceptual factors is analytically robust, it clearly prevents perceptual variables from having a meaningful impact on interest, and hence policy, definition.

The scholarly emphasis on the perception/misperception nexus in international politics has a logical explanation, as the importance of leadership perceptions with regard to foreign policy-making was initially acknowledged in a rather negative manner, gaining prominence only after the conclusion of World War II. Confronted with the recurrent inability of states to respond to warnings of impending attacks, military historians examined in detail such instances as the attack on Pearl Harbor or the outbreak of the Yom Kippur or the Korean wars.[18] Partly as a result of this pioneering literature on strategic surprise and intelligence failure, perceptual factors have been treated with apprehension by analysts and scholars, who routinely regard them as elements that may lead to escalation and inadvertent conflict. Indeed, the causal importance of misperception leading to strategic blunders has been well established, particularly in relation to the two world wars.[19]

The emphasis on cognitive deficiencies, however, may have obscured the wider analytical significance of perceptions; that is, perceptions should not be regarded as the only factor in case of policy failure. Even when miscalculations occur, it is far from certain that inaccurate perceptions were the underlying cause. In examining the erroneous decision of Anthony Eden to initiate the failed Suez War in 1956, for instance, one should not overlook

17 S. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, (1987); A. Sabrosky, Interstate Alliances: Their Reliability and the Expansion of War, in D. Singer, ed., *The Correlates of War*, NY: Free Press, (1980), pp. 161-98; T. Christensen and J. Snyder, Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity, International Organization 44, no. 1, (1990), pp. 137-168.

18 B. Whaley, *Codeword Barbarossa*, Cambridge: MIT Press, (1973); M. Handel, The Yom Kippur War and the Inevitability of Surprise, *International Studies Quarterly* 21, no. 3, (1977), pp. 461-502; R. Betts, Analysis, War, and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures Are Inevitable, *World Politics* 31, no. 1, (1978), pp. 61-89; A. Ben-Zvi, Between Warning and Response: The Case of the Yom Kippur War, *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 4, no. 2, (1990), pp. 227-242; R. Lebow, *Between Peace and War*, Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, (1981); G. Blainey, *The Causes of War*, NY: Free Press, (1973).

19 R. Jervis, Hypotheses on Misperceptions, World Politics 20, no. 3 (1968), pp. 454-479; R. White, Misperception as a Cause of Two World Wars, in R. White, ed., *Nobody Wanted War: Misperception in Vietnam and Other Wars*, NY: Anchor Books, (1970) , pp. 3-33; D. Winter, Asymmetrical Perceptions of Power in Crises: A Comparison of 1914 and the Cuban Missile Crisis, *Journal of Peace Research* 40, no. 3, (2003), pp. 251-270.

the British establishment's—rather accurate—belief that the country had entered a period of decline and needed to act in order to preserve its status.[20]

Psychological narratives have explored more ambitious notions of leadership perceptions in an effort to explain foreign policy decision-making as a process informed by multiple perceptual lenses. In this regard, scholars have employed variables pertaining to the values, motives, and preferences of policy-makers,[21] with concepts such as "belief systems," "images," and "perceptions" incorporated within various analytical frameworks.[22] A crucial assumption of these contributions was the complexity of cognitive and affective processes which construct images and ideas. No predictions could be made about how the material world is perceived in the ideational world, with scholars encouraged to ascertain empirically how individuals perceive a situation, process stimuli, and reach decisions.[30] During the Cold War, for instance, a number of scholars supported the notion that hostile images of the Soviet Union had a profound impact on American foreign policy beliefs, whether related to the USSR or not.[42] The existence of shared values or common elements of identity, on the other hand, could infuse a sense of trust and the desire to cooperate under conditions of uncertainty.[23] Liberal scholars have long argued, in this regard, that democracies tend to cooperate and form alliances.[24] Both psychological and material factors may, therefore, play an important role when assessing the origins and prospects of partnerships between, and among, sovereign states.

This implies that indicators of power differentials matter when we ascertain security partnerships, but factors related to values and shared identities could also shed light on the dynamics of security cooperation. The latter category of variables is competently captured by role theory and its emphasis on the behavioral implications of role-based identities. Drawing on insights from social psychology, National Role Conceptions can be defined as "the policymakers' own definitions of decisions, commitments, rules and actions suitable to their state, and of the functions, if any, their state should perform on a continuing basis in the international system or in subordinate

20 J. Renshon and S. Renshon, The Theory and Practice of Foreign Policy Decision Making, *Political Psychology* 29, no. 4, (2008), p. 511.

21 G. Allison, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, NY: Longman, (1999); C. Hermann, ed., *International Crises*, NY: Free Press, (1972); I. Janis and L. Mann, Decision Making, NY: Free Press, (1977); Lebow, *Between Peace and War*; O. Holsti, *Crisis, Escalation, War*, Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, (1972).

22 J. De Rivera, *The Psychological Dimension of Foreign Policy*, Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill, (1968); R. Snyder et. al., eds., *Foreign Policy Decision-Making: An Approach to the Study of International Politics*, Glencoe: Free Press, (1962).

23 C. Kegley and G. Raymond, *When Trust Breaks Down: Alliance Norms and World Politics*, Columbia: South Carolina Press, (1990).

24 E. Gartzke and A. Weisiger, Fading Friendships: Alliances, Affinities and the Activation of International Identities, *British Journal of Political Scienc*e 43, no. 1, (2013), pp. 25-52.

regional systems."[25] Various typologies of NRCs have been suggested, emphasizing attributes such as degrees of assertiveness, collaboration, and solidarity in states' foreign and security policy conduct.[26] These classifications enable scholars to categorize different behavioral patterns in international politics. It also enables scholars to undertake estimates of future behavior, based on the country's ascribed type of NRC.[27] Hymans, finally, provided a definition of NRCs which appears to be highly appropriate for security policy analyses, capturing both material and identity-related factors: Accordingly, a NRC is "an individual's understanding of the state's identity—his or her sense of what the nation naturally stands for and how high it naturally stands in comparison to others in the international arena."[28]

Role theory can be employed to make sense of foreign policy decisions that are not adequately explained by realist or liberal accounts, such as the decision of Ukraine and Belarus to reject a nuclear capability after the collapse of the USSR.[29] Finally, major foreign policy adjustments are amenable to role theory explanations, particularly when material considerations (with an emphasis on balances of power and capabilities) have remained relatively stable. The vastly different Japanese responses, for instance, to the 1991 Gulf War and the 2003 war in Iraq have been attributed to the decline of the country's pacific and multilateralist role conception and the corresponding rise of a NRC which favors international engagement and security policy activism.[30]

Greece's major attitudinal shift towards Israel since 2009 could, in this regard, constitute an appropriate test for the applicability of role theory in international politics. Was Greece's foreign and security policy realignment predicated on shifting dynamics of power and interests in the Eastern Mediterranean, or was the Greek strategic shift informed, instead, by perceptual adjustments related to Greek NRCs? Finally, it would be interesting to ascertain whether material and ideational considerations have a differentiated effect on Greek foreign and security policy before and after the

25 K. Holsti, National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy, *International Studies Quarterly* 14, no. 3, (1970), pp. 245-246.

26 G. Chafetz et al., Role Theory and Foreign Policy: Belarussian and Ukrainian Compliance with the Nuclear Proliferation Regime, *Political Psychology* 17, no. 4, (1996), pp. 727-57; N. Wish, Foreign Policy Makers and Their National Role Conceptions, *International Studies Quarterly* 24, no. 4, (1980), pp. 532-554; Holsti, National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy, pp. 233-309.

27 K. Ifantis et al., National Role and Foreign Policy: An Exploratory Study of Greek Elites' Perceptions towards Turkey, GreeSE Paper No. 94, *Hellenic Observatory Papers on Greece and Southeast Europe*, London School of Economics and Political Science, (2015), p. 9.

28 Hymans, *The Psychology of Nuclear Proliferation*, p. 18.

29 Chafetz et al., Role Theory and Foreign Policy.

30 A. Catalinac, Identity Theory and Foreign Policy: Explaining Japan's Responses to the 1991 Gulf War and the 2003 U.S. War in Iraq, *Politics and Policy* 35, no. 1, (2007), pp. 58-100.

2009 benchmark. After all, what may have been initiated as a mere response to regional dynamics may have evolved into a long-term doctrine, informed by deep-rooted beliefs.

A short-term affair?

For more than six decades, relations between Athens and Jerusalem had been detached, if not downright hostile. From Greece's long-held support of the Palestinian Liberation Organization to its courtship of the Syrian regimes of Hafez and Bashar al-Assad, Israel viewed the posture of its Mediterranean neighbor with apprehension.[31] The bilateral relationship hit an all-time low in 1973, when the Greek government "refused to provide bases and facilities to the American airlift of weapons to Israel" during the Yom Kippur War.[32] In 2009, however, this equilibrium was overturned, starting with the exchange of high-level visits between the two capitals. Cooperation gradually flourished, with treaties and agreements concluded and enacted at an impressive pace. For Israeli and Greek commentators, this evolving relationship reflected a power balancing logic since it coincided with the rapid deterioration of Israeli-Turkish relations.[33] Indeed, a historically close friend of the Arab world, Greece surprised analysts with this dramatic policy shift, which was (and still is) largely attributed to the gradual deterioration of Israeli-Turkish relations from 2008, which climaxed with the 2010 Gaza flotilla incident.[34]

It was only natural, then, that this narrative would cast a shadow over the long-term prognosis of Greek-Israeli relations. The prospect of a "détente" between Ankara and Jerusalem generated skepticism about the future of Greek-Israeli cooperation.[35] Turkey, after all, is a major "player" in the Eastern Mediterranean, possessing a robust track record of cooperation with Israel, ever since prime ministers Menderes and Ben-Gurion upgraded relations to include joint military and intelligence undertakings.[36] Another high point in Israeli-Turkish relations was reached in the early 1990s, when the two countries developed a strategic partnership aimed at curbing Iraqi,

31 J. Abadi, Constraints and Adjustments in Greece's Policy toward Israel, *Mediterranean Quarterly* 11, no. 4 (2000), pp. 40-70.

32 Ibid, p. 54.

33 E. Inbar, Israel's Challenges in the Eastern Mediterranean, *Middle East Quarterly* 21, no. 4, (2014), pp. 1-12; E. Karagiannis, Shifting Eastern Mediterranean Alliances, *Middle East Quarterly* 23, no. 2, (2016), pp. 1-11.

34 Mekel, A New Geopolitical Bloc is Born; Tziampiris, *The Emergence of Israeli-Greek Cooperation.*

35 M. Stern, Might Turkish-Israeli Rapprochement Be Premature?, *The Jerusalem Post*, January 13, 2016.

36 N. Schonmann, Back-Door Diplomacy: The Mistress Syndrome in Israel's Relations with Turkey, 1957-60, in C. Jones and T. Petersen, eds., *Israel's Clandestine Diplomacies*, Oxford University Press, (2013), pp. 85-101.

Iranian, and crucially, Syrian, ambitions to alter the status quo in the Middle East.[37] According to this logic, Turkey's clout in security and economic terms could undermine the strategic value of the Greek-Israeli relationship, should Ankara mend fences with Jerusalem, rendering the Israeli-Greek axis relatively unimportant, if not obsolete.

In mid-2016, six years after the Gaza flotilla crisis, Israel and Turkey signed an agreement to normalize relations. The deal included elements of compensation for the casualties of the flotilla and a minor easing of the Israeli blockade enforced in the Gaza Strip, a long-term Turkish aspiration.[38] The US-brokered agreement came after powerful political and economic stakeholders in both Ankara and Jerusalem lobbied for the restoration of the partnership, which had proven beneficial to both parties in the security domain. While incomplete, the Turkish-Israeli rapprochement has been gaining momentum, aided by resilient commercial ties between the two countries, the possibilities for mutually advantageous synergies in the energy sector and the consistent mediating efforts of the Obama administration.[39] Israel's growing potential as a natural gas exporter fueled the impetus for the renewal of bilateral cooperation. The discovery of substantial hydrocarbon deposits offshore Israel (and Egypt) has engendered a heated debate in Israel regarding optimal export routes. Turkey is viewed by key energy companies, as well as by diplomatic circles in Ankara and Washington, as a regional energy "hub" through which Eastern Mediterranean gas could reach European markets, at a time when both the United States and the EU are striving to diversify Europe's energy supply sources and hence reduce the continent's historical dependence on Russian hydrocarbons.[40]

Nevertheless, Israeli-Greek relations appear to be impervious to these developments, as demonstrated by the "status of forces" accord of 2015, a comprehensive agreement on hosting Israeli or Greek military personnel on Greek or Israeli territory, respectively.[41] Joint military maneuvers, meanwhile, have attained a notable regularity and sophistication, with the Greek and

37 Tziampiris, *The Emergence of Israeli-Greek Cooperatio*n, pp. 64-75.

38 Israel and Turkey reach deal to restore relations, Al-Jazeera website, June 26, 2016, at www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/06/israel-turkey-reach-deal-restore-relations-160626190909435.html (accessed May 17, 2017)

39 D. Arbell, Back Together? Why Turkey-Israel Relations May Be Thawing, Brookings Institute, December 14, 2015, at www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/posts/2015/12/14-turkey-israel-thawing-relations-arbell (accessed May 11, 2017).

40 Turkey-Israel natural gas deal important step for regional stability, Daily Sabah, April 27, 2017, at www.dailysabah.com/energy/2017/04/28/turkey-israel-natural-gas-deal-important-step-for-regional-stability, (accessed May 2, 2017); A U.S. Perspective on Regional Gas Connections, Remarks by former Ambassador Dan Shapiro at the Israel Energy & Business Convention, November 22, 2016, at https://il.usembassy.gov/november-22-2016-remarks-ambassador-dan-shapiro-israel-energy-business-convention/ (accessed May 20, 2017).

41 See footnote 4.

Israeli air forces undertaking complex exercise scenarios throughout an operational theater that extends from the Israeli Negev desert to the Greek mountainous range of Olympus.[42] Intelligence cooperation between the two countries is bolstered, culminating in operations such as the interception of a Gaza-bound flotilla in 2011 by Greek security forces.[43] At the same time, both Greece and the Republic of Cyprus have increased armament purchases from their Mediterranean neighbor, widely regarded as a global leader in high-tech weaponry.

The partnership is not limited to the military domain. Agreements on economic and technical cooperation are also being negotiated and concluded on a frequent basis, indicating a desire to further develop bilateral cooperation. Bilateral ties have expanded to include civil society and the commercial sector in both countries, indicating the establishment of a "soft-power" basis upon which interactions are conducted. The increase of tourist flows between the two countries is telling. Before 2010, an average of 150,000 Israeli tourists visited Greece annually, while by 2016, their number had increased to approximately 600,000.[44] In the politically sensitive energy realm, Israel and Greece have not only agreed to link their electricity networks through Cyprus and Crete, but have also bestowed the ambitious "East-Med" gas pipeline project with a degree of political backing which appears to be surprising when one considers the relative economic merits of the alternative (Turkish) option. The longest and deepest (below 3 kms in places) sub-sea gas pipeline in the world is projected to carry Mediterranean gas to European markets through the Cypriot and Greek Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs), with an estimated cost of six billion Euros and a tentative completion date of 2025.[45]

It is worth mentioning at this point that the Greek-Israeli partnership enjoys the support of all major political parties in Greece. The left-leaning government in Athens, elected in 2015, featured a number of influential anti-Israeli figures (including an openly pro-Palestinian prime minister, Alexis Tsipras). Nevertheless, cooperation between the two nations proved to be surprisingly resilient. This is a major turn of events, as the incumbent party strongly opposed military cooperation with Israel in its governmental

42 Here are some stunning photos of Israeli Air Force's largest ever international exercise, The Aviationist website, October 30, 2015, at http://theaviationist.com/2015/10/30/blue-flag-2015-exercise-photos, (accessed May 11, 2017); Top of the Olympus, IAF Magazine, at www.iaf.org.il/5642-37864-en/IAF.aspx (accessed May 6, 2017).

43 J. Mitnick, Israel's new friend: Why Greece is thwarting Gaza flotilla, Christian Science Monitor, July 5, 2011.

44 Landing of…Israelis in Greece for investments and vacations (in Greek), FM voice website, February 7, 2017, at www.fmvoice.gr/index.php/oikonomia/eidiseis/item/159485-apovasi-israilinon-stin-ellada-gia-ependyseis- kai-diakopes-i-kountoura-sto-israil, (accessed May 23, 2017).

45 Israel signs pipeline deal in push to export gas to Europe, *Financial Times*, April 3, 2017.

program.[46] Since George Papandreou inaugurated high-level Greek-Israeli consultations in 2009, all administrations in Athens have been consistent with this paradigm, without a single incident of transgression. And while one could suggest that the United States might be behind the Greek-Israeli partnership, there is little evidence of relevant activity, despite the historical promotion of regional cooperation under American patronage. US-Israeli relations in recent years have been complicated, with the occasional tense exchanges between the Netanyahu government and the Obama administration.

These realities cannot preclude the influence of material factors on the development of Greek-Israeli relations. On the contrary, the Papandreou government in 2009 could have well turned to Israel with a view to capitalizing on the Israeli-Turkish divide. A more benign interpretation of events is that Athens merely tried to rectify a historical omission by establishing a high-level dialogue with Jerusalem in a geopolitically turbulent part of the world. The intensification and resilience of cooperation, however, could indicate that deeper, inner dynamics have come into play.

The described dynamics fit the criteria of constructivist accounts of security cooperation. Alliances and security communities are gradually built on the basis of mutual trust and shared understandings about interests and threats faced by the actors involved. This is a step-by-step process with "humble" beginnings (military to military cooperation for instance) which gradually produces a trickle-down effect to other societal levels. The theoretical assumption is that the advancement of collaboration can have an impact on the identities of states, due to interactions among the various groups involved. Adler and Barnett showed that such patterns may subsequently lead to a broadening and deepening of cooperation, culminating in the establishment of a security community.[47]

This "perceptual" hypothesis suggests that the trajectory of Greek-Israeli relations may have reached a stage where it is no longer dependent on the purported Israeli-Turkish rapprochement, to the extent that it is empowered by deeper, ideational factors. The implications are important since our goal is to reflect on the impact of identity-related variables on the resilience of security partnerships. While power balances and common interests remain crucial in explaining patterns of international cooperation, psychological factors have an important role to play in determining the scope and longevity of interstate partnerships. In this manner, objective conditions and shared beliefs may bolster each other's effect. Indeed, alliances contingent on power and/or interests can be vulnerable to exogenous shocks

46 See clause 38 of the SYRIZA political party 2014 governmental program, at http://links.org.au/node/2888 (accessed May 11, 2017).

47 E. Adler and M. Barnett, eds., *Security Communities*, Cambridge University Press, (1998).

such as power shifts,[48] in addition to endogenous concerns such as the so-called fear of "entrapment,"[49] whereas state-to-state relations based on shared beliefs may turn out to be particularly durable. The suggested thesis offers a plausible answer to the perseverance of Greek-Israeli security cooperation under volatile and occasionally tense, domestic and international, political conditions.

Commentators have noted that Greece's new friendship risks alienating the country from Brussels, particularly since the EU has recently adopted a critical stance vis-à-vis Israel, highlighting the Union's soft power appeal in its effort to promote regional stability and a resolution of the Palestinian issue. The EU's tough 2016 resolution on Israeli settlement activities, for example, was met with fierce Greek resistance before Athens succumbed to diplomatic pressure by its EU partners.[50] Earlier in 2015, Greece had become the second EU member to object the Union's guidelines on labelling Israeli products manufactured beyond the 1949 armistice lines.[51] The essence of the EU approach towards the Eastern Mediterranean lies at the crossroads of human rights promotion, intercultural dialogue and economic development. However, the EU could find itself adopting a worldview which is more compatible with Israeli (and Greek) sensitivities. The advent of Islamist terrorism, for instance, has rendered governments across Europe more receptive to Israel's uncompromising approach in security affairs.[52] The terrorist attacks in France and Belgium continue to reverberate through the echelons of EU capitals, where the once dominant narratives prioritizing

48 G. Snyder, *Alliance Politics*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, (1997).

49 G. Snyder, The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics, *World Politics* 36, no. 4, (1984), pp. 461-495. EU adopts resolution criticising Israeli settlement activity, *The Guardian*, January 18, 2016, at https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/18/eu-adopts-resolution-criticising-israeli-settlement-activity-occupied-palestinian-territories, (accessed May 23, 2017).

50 EU adopts resolution criticising Israeli settlement activity, *The Guardian*, January 18, 2016, at www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/18/eu-adopts-resolution-criticising-israeli-settlement-activity-occupied-palestinian-territories, (accessed May 23, 2017).

51 Greece Rejects EU Labeling Guidelines After PM Calls Jerusalem Israel's Capital, The Tower Magazine, February 12, 2015, at http://www.thetower.org/2633-greece-rejects-eu-labeling-guidelines-after-pm-calls-jerusalem-israels-capital, (accessed April 29, 2017).

52 Statement by the Spokesperson on the Latest Attacks in Tel Aviv, Petah Tikvah and Jerusalem, EU External Action Service, Brussels, March 9, 2016, at https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/2834/statement-by-the-spokesperson-on-the-latest-attacks-in-tel-aviv-petah-tikvah-and-jerusalem__en (accessed April 10, 2017); Israeli Tech Can Help EU Fight Terror, Peres Tells French PM, Times of Israel website, March 25, 2016, at www.timesofisrael.com/israeli-tech-can-help-eu-fight-terror-peres-tells-french-pm (accessed April 10, 2017); PM Netanyahu Speaks with EU High Representative Mogherini, Israel MFA Press Release, February 12, 2016, at http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2016/Pages/PM-Netanyahu-speaks-with-EU-High-Representative-Mogherini-12-February-2016.aspx (accessed April 18, 2017); HN: EU Must Learn from USA, Israel in Fighting Terrorism, Prague Daily Monitor, March 24, 2016, at http://praguemonitor.com/2016/03/24/hn-eu-must-learn-usa-israel-fighting-terrorism (accessed April 11, 2017).

tolerance and multiculturalism sound increasingly unconvincing to domestic constituencies.

Irrespective of the mood in Brussels, there is little doubt among Greeks that the country is "returning" to the Eastern Mediterranean. Maps highlighting Greece as part of the region, as opposed to showing either the Balkan peninsula or the European Union are now making the rounds in Greek media outlets. The Greek press provides extensive (and positive) coverage to Egyptian-Greek, Israeli-Greek and other regional summits and high-level gatherings.[53] At the same time, Greek policy planners seem to acknowledge (or perhaps fall back to?) the idea of a historical nation with a distinct culture which finds itself increasingly vulnerable and isolated from the rest of the world. This self-image could, theoretically, enable Greeks to identify with a long-standing perception of Israel held among Jews.[54] Finally, the two nations' emerging identities as bastions of stability, secularism and democracy in a volatile region could be reinforcing perceptions of mutual affinity, at a time when authoritarianism and radicalism engulf large parts of the Mediterranean, including Greece's historical rival, Turkey.

These developments, finally, were concurrent with the "rift" between Athens and Brussels. In this regard, a possible (though not necessarily causal) link can be argued to exist between the Greek financial crisis and the country's foreign policy realignment. As the Greek crisis was unfolding, with instances of deadlock and tense, if not bitter, negotiations, the European self-identification of Greek leaders gradually eroded. Between the collapse of the Greek junta in 1974 and the onset of the Greek crisis in 2009, Europe was the main provider of Greece's international identity. As the financial crisis deepened, pro-European sentiments and statements became sparse and rather weak, whereas support for regional cooperation and alliances in the Eastern Mediterranean was bolstered.

Are we therefore witnessing the gradual distancing of another EU member state from the European integration process? If so, is the Greek financial crisis to blame? There is substantial scope for research here. While numerous studies have examined the impact of the Greek crisis on the country's economy and society, its foreign and security policy implications

53 Greece, Cyprus and Egypt end trilateral talks with broad declaration, e-kathimerini website, December 9, 2015, at http://www.ekathimerini.com/204199/article/ekathimerini/news/greece-cyprus-and-egypt-end-trilateral-talks-with-broad-declaration, (accessed May 17, 2017); Trilateral Greece, Cyprus, Israel Summit in Jerusalem, to vima online, December 8, 2016, at http://www.tovima.gr/en/article/?aid=850033, (accessed May18, 2017).

54 G. Kokkolis, Greeks and Jews: Two "Brotherless" Brothers [in Greek], iefimerida news website, at www.iefimerida.gr/blog-content/29039/έλληνες-και-εβραίοι-δύο-«ανάδελφα-αδέλφια» (accessed May 2, 2017).

have largely remained unexplored.[55] Theoretically, a foreign policy adjustment that coincided with the escalation of a major domestic crisis alludes to the existence of a link between domestic upheaval and foreign policy posture, with NRCs assuming the role of a "transmission belt" between the different levels of analysis. Through its impact on leadership identities, the Greek crisis could have indeed engendered a long-lasting effect on the county's international self-conception.

55 M. Matsaganis, The Greek Crisis: Social Impact and Policy Responses, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, (2013), at www.library.fes.de/pdf-files/id/10314.pdf (accessed April 21, 2017).

VIII. Denis MacShane

The Brexit-Trump Impact on European Politics

David Cameron did not have to lose his bet on Brexit and thus his position as Britain's prime minister. He had seen off powerful challengers to become leader of the Conservative Party, and had defeated the Labour Party comprehensively in two general elections. He had swallowed up and spat out the resurgent Liberal Democratic Party, which had done major damage to the Conservative Party in winning Tory seats since 1990. He was, in May 2015, the political master of all he surveyed. But now David Cameron faced a far more dangerous enemy than Labour opposition leader Ed Miliband or senior Liberal Democrats such as former leader Charles Kennedy. His enemy was his own casual, insouciant public relations style of politics. What neither Labour nor any other opponent could achieve—force David Cameron out of office—he managed to do all by himself.

From the moment he returned in triumph to No. 10 Downing Street (henceforth, No. 10) in May 2015 Cameron made every wrong strategic and tactical choice in his campaign to win the referendum. Two-thirds of Conservative MPs currently (in early 2017) sitting in the Commons owe their political careers to David Cameron. In 2015 he was in a strong position. To be sure, the promise to hold a referendum on Europe had been in the Conservative manifesto. But Cameron had also pledged to hold a referendum on the 2007 EU Lisbon Treaty at the time of the 2010 election and had wriggled out of it.

The anti-EU United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) had made no impression in the 2015 general election and the only parliamentary seat they held was that of a well-entrenched Conservative MP, Douglas Carswell, who had joined UKIP in 2014. Professor Matthew Goodwin, who rose to prominence as a pundit on British politics, and especially the UKIP, had predicted that party would win six House of Common seats in March 2015. They won none.

UKIP had more success when the issue was Europe. This was demonstrated by their steady expansion in European Parliament elections in 2004, 2009, and 2014, when they won 4.3 million votes and the largest number of seats in the European Parliament.

If Europe was on the ballot paper UKIP were a formidable force. But it was a one-pony party. When voters had to choose MPs to take decisions across the board on how Britain was to be governed they were not interested in UKIP. There were a few UKIP councilors, many of whom inherited seats from the extreme right-wing, anti-immigrant British National Party. But UKIP councilors were erratic and came and went without ever consolidating into a national force in local government to challenge other parties.

In short, UKIP was a nuisance to David Cameron and even more so to the Labour Party, which had lost the support of many white working class voters in recent years, much as Labour had in the 1980s. But Cameron had destroyed the much more potent parliamentary force of the Liberal Democrats, He also saw Labour writhing in misery at the loss of its Scottish seats. In September 2015, Labour elected a 67-year-old left-wing veteran, Jeremy Corbyn, who was a divisive figure. Like other leftist disarmers who headed Labour in the 1930s and 1980s he was not seen as a future prime minister.

So, was Cameron's first unforced error the decision to hold the referendum at all? Here we have to delve into the innards of the British state machine. Three times this century the British state machine has failed in its duty to advise a prime minister that what he wanted to do was dangerous for British interests and would lead to global instability and national insecurity. The report on the Iraq war by Sir John Chilcot has shown how not a single senior civil servant, top Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) diplomat, No 10 personal adviser, MI6 chief, British Army general, or anyone with access to the prime minister told Tony Blair that the Iraq invasion was a blunder which would turn into a disaster.

At least we know now how weak the official state apparatus was in the run-up to the Iraq decision. Moreover, the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Select Committee has produced a report severely critical of Britain's mistake in following an impulsive French president, Nicolas Sarkozy, and launching an intervention in Libya which resulted in the complete destruction of the Libyan state. This opened a 1,700 kilometer breach in the North African frontier through which jihadis, Islamist ideologues, refugees, and economic migrants from sub-Saharan Africa, as well as those living in Libya, could pour.

As with Cameron's decision to keep sending British soldiers to Afghanistan until 2015 so that 200 officers and men would die pointlessly, why was no one strong enough in No 10 to urge the prime minister not to repeat the mistakes in Libya that Tony Blair had made a decade previously in Iraq? And why did no senior state official issue a warning? Why was there no one in No 10 wise enough to point out to David Cameron the potential outcome of calling a plebiscite in 2013? Conservative Party MP George Osborne, a shrewd political strategist, was hostile to the idea of a plebiscite, but what of Ed Llewellyn, Cameron's Eton classmate and chief of staff to the prime minister from 2010 to 2015? Llewellyn had worked closely with Chris Patten, a Europhile Tory grandee who was far from being a Eurosceptic. Did he not urge his friend and boss to avoid granting UKIP their main demand—a referendum on Europe?

Even in May 2015, it would have been possible for Cameron to delay or

defer the plebiscite as he had done with the promise to hold one after 2010 on the Lisbon Treaty. But no one in the higher reaches of the state apparatus was willing to say "No, Prime Minister" to David Cameron any more than they were willing to say "No, Prime Minister" to Tony Blair.

Officials who worked in No. 10 now admit privately that the referendum bill was passed through parliament too hastily. "I am still kicking myself that we did not extend the vote to 16- and 17-year olds as we did in the Scottish referendum," one senior No 10 insider told me. Another No 10 said: "Right up to the last minute the Prime Minister was convinced that the British people would never vote to leave Europe. He just believed it was an impossibility."

In the 1979 referendums on devolving power to Scotland and Wales, there was a stipulation that at least 40 percent of the total electorate had to vote YES and that figure was not reached. In June 2016 only 37 percent of the registered electorate voted to leave, so had the same rules been applied as in 1979 Brexit would have been defeated. But No. 10 ignored all precedents or examples from other countries where a major constitutional upheaval demands a 60 percent, or two-thirds majority.

In addition, Cameron had been deliberately making it harder for younger voters to be on the electoral register. He ordered a new system to be put in place. Previously a parent, the owner of leased apartments, or a university recorded who lived in a family home, rented apartment, or student accommodation. Each person thus notified to the electoral registration body in each municipality could vote. Now Cameron insisted each vote had to be registered individually. The chances of students and other young people living away from home making the effort to get their names on the electoral register were not high. This meant that there was a 9 percent drop—some 1.9 million—in 18- and 19-year-olds who were eligible to vote between June 10, 2014 and December 1, 2015.

This gerrymandering was aimed at helping the Conservatives in the 2016 London mayoral and municipal elections, as on the whole young voters do not vote for right-wing candidates. Cameron insisted on forcing through changes in October 2015 designed to help his party and had a Commons majority to do so. But, in consequence, a large number of young, pro-EU votes were unable to vote in the referendum.

Having placed his own obstacles in the path of victory, Cameron and the No. 10 apparatus went to sleep for nine months. The prime minister continued to denigrate the EU describing Brussels as "bossy and bureaucratic," which was not language designed to generate pro-EU votes. The entire tone of the senior Conservative Party discourse in the summer and autumn of 2015 remained as it had been since William Hague changed the Conservative Party into one that was ideologically hostile to the EU, even if it stopped short of

UKIP demands to quit. At the Conservative Party conference in October 2015, then home secretary Theresa May won cheers as she cried: "The numbers coming from Europe are unsustainable!"—the language of UKIP for 15 years.

There was no political preparation by Cameron to win the plebiscite he had now legislated for. None of the long arms of the Conservative Party, No. 10, or high-level state officialdom reached out to try and get business to talk to employees or even to the press. Ministers were not dispatched to find arguments in favor of Europe. Indeed many of Cameron's key ministerial team, such as Iain Duncan Smith, Michael Gove, Chris Grayling, and Theresa May, continued stoking anti-European fires, blaming the EU for too many foreigners working in Britain or pointing to low economic growth across the Channel.

They never asked why productivity was 30 percent lower in the UK than in France, or why the UK ran huge balance of trade deficits with most other countries, or why if EU regulations were such a burden on business German, Dutch, Danish, or Austrian firms could win export orders and be profitable in their home markets. Nor did they ask why other European Union countries (and Norway) had a greater share of EU citizens who had come to work and live and did so without a non-stop political and media onslaught on them. Even if half of the current number of EU citizens in Britain were deported tomorrow it would only reduce the total UK population by 0.14 percent. There were no inquiring minds asking why countries with more balanced labor market controls, obligatory apprenticeships, fairer wages, and works councils gave a greater sense of confidence to local workers that their interests would be taken into consideration instead of the obsession of Gordon Brown and George Osborne with creating as many low-paid jobs as possible which could never be filled by "true-born" Englishmen and women.

Commonwealth countries have a far greater share of foreign-born residents in their population than the UK. Canada has 20.7 percent, New Zealand 25.1 percent, and Australia 27.7 percent, compared to 11.3 percent in Britain. But no Tory minister or MP was willing to make these self-evident points.

Once the referendum was lost there was lot of hand-wringing about the need to "have a conversation about immigration," as the left, pro-European think-tank Policy Network put it. In fact, this conversation had been taking place every day in working class pubs and clubs for more than 40 years. What had not taken place was a conversation about what should be done to help working people who feared dislocation as a result of the arrival of foreigners, whether from Pakistan or Poland, or what to do about foreign-made goods, from garments sold in H&M or Zara to steel dumped from China at below production cost price.

So No. 10 launched no campaign to win the plebiscite. Instead, government officials poured all their efforts into securing some kind of pledge from the European Union that Cameron thought would be sufficient to defeat the Out campaign. Cameron went on a grand tour of Europe to see German chancellor Angela Merkel, French president François Hollande, and other leaders to ask for special concessions for the UK that he could present to voters as showing Britain had a new status in the EU and could be excluded from its legal treaty obligations.

The problem was that no one in No. 10 appreciated that all 27 other heads of government in the EU had their own internal political difficulties. In Eastern Europe, Germany, or the Netherlands the term "immigrant" was taken to mean a Muslim, usually Arab, refugee, from Syria, Iraq, Yemen, or perhaps Eritrea or Somalia. In Britain "immigrant" now meant a white Catholic Pole or Slovakian.

To meet UKIP-Tory anti-EU demands on stopping Europeans working in Britain required a fundamental re-writing of the existing EU treaties as non-discrimination against workers on the grounds of nationality had been a fundamental principle in European treaties since the days of the first Coal and Steel Community in 1950.

Cameron did not like the term "ever-closer union," which referred to peoples not states and which had been in the preamble to the EU Treaty since the 1957 Treaty of Rome. For the rest of Europe this expression was motherhood and apple pie wordage, rather like the reference to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" in America's Declaration of Independence.

"Ever-closer union" had indeed been removed from the formal treaty language of the EU in the 2004 Constitutional Treaty when I was Minister of Europe. After the French and Dutch voted down the treaty in their referendums in 2005, and I ceased to be that minister the phrase was re-inserted into the Lisbon Treaty.

No Tory MP at the time had showed any interest in its removal or any concern about its return. But by 2015 the term "ever-closer union" was held up as proof by anti-Europeans that the EU was about to dissolve all its component nation-states into a single entity. This was complete nonsense, but any nonsense could be said about Europe, and often was by senior ministers and other politicians, without challenge from journalists or their own colleagues, and was frequently believed.

In February 2016, in a declaration from the European Council and Commission carefully written by lawyers in guarded, hedged words, the UK was told that it could have an opt-out from the reference to "ever-closer union" at some future stage when the next EU treaty was drafted.

Cameron was also told the UK could make future EU workers wait

a bit longer before claiming benefits. These moves to prevent what was dubbed "benefit tourism" were already broadly accepted in Germany and other countries which had experienced similar waves of arrivals in the labor market from poorer EU member states. In the UK, every study showed that European employees made a massive net contribution to the economy and the government budget, and paid far more in direct and indirect taxes than they received in the form of child benefits or hospital treatment.

Finally, Cameron did win an important concession. It was agreed that being in the EU's Single Market meant that the UK could raise objections if it was proposed to create new Eurozone rules which might discriminate against the City. In fact, in March 2016 the European Court of Justice issued an important ruling in favor of London when it decided that a proposal from the European Central Bank that all trade in euros, including derivatives and clearing contracts made in euros, should take place within the Eurozone, that is, to the exclusion of the City.

This was an extremely lucrative business for the City, with a volume of euro trades and clearing worth $120 trillion and most foreign banks and finance houses were based in London on the assumption they would be able to trade across the entire EU market of half a billion consumers. As long as the UK was fully in the EU the City would be protected, was the message. Cameron sought to return home saying he had now brought about "a reformed European Union." In March 2016 he finally went on the offensive saying it was in Britain's interests to stay in a "reformed EU."

However, no one really believed that the February 2016 deal, which was predicated on some future treaty, or confirmed what was happening anyway, amounted to a major reform and before long Cameron dropped the phrase. Instead, having done nothing for nine months after his return to Downing Street in May 2015, he finally began to campaign in March 2016. Again, it is still inexplicable that in June 2015 the state machine did not start organizing a coordinated, coherent, comprehensive campaign to secure the prime minister's wish of winning the referendum.

After the referendum the former Canadian high commissioner in London, Jeremy Kinsman, lacerated David Cameron in an open letter he published in Canada. It is worth looking at what he wrote.

Dear David Cameron

- *Referenda are the nuclear weapons of democracy. In parliamentary systems they are redundant. Seeking a simplistic binary yes/no answer to complex questions, they succumb to emotion and run amok. Their destructive aftermath lasts for generations.*
- *Never call a referendum without being sure of the outcome. You called this one*

primarily for reasons of tactical political positioning.

- *You should have been sure you had a high-performance team before you leapt. Ambitious defectors from your cabinet and untrustworthy political rivals undermined you.*
- *In any referendum over separation, the "independence" side appeals to the patriotic heart. The thinking of the Leave side is magical. It plucks at a dimly remembered but glorified past (that was never as good as nostalgia makes it), and offers a future that is imaginary.*
- *Your appeals to the nation's head didn't get through. In a post-factual political age, reasoning doesn't reach the heart. To win, you needed to mobilize convincing passion behind the case that the status quo is both preferable and improvable.*
- *You let the Leave side get away with claiming that the EU would negotiate as an equal partner with equal stakes as the UK because the volume of trade was roughly equal. The reality is that respective stakes are starkly unequal. On trade, the UK is dependent on the EU market for 45 percent of its exports. The EU is dependent on the UK for only 8 percent of EU exports.*
- *Why didn't the Remain campaign say more about non-industrial benefits from the EU? Is it because of a visceral inability to praise its merit after years of denouncing it? The contribution to the EU budget by the UK has been exaggerated beyond belief. It only accounts for 1.3 percent of the UK's budget. On the other hand, British farmers love the 55 percent of their income coming from the Common Agricultural Policy. The cultural and arts community needed its 230 EU grants. The one-third of university students hoping for Erasmus support for study in Europe will be stuck at home.*
- *Many who voted Leave say it was because they are unhappy over Britain's "domination" by the EU. Why didn't you demystify this toxic fable?*
- *Immigration is the issue people say they care about most. Do EU workers actually replace British workers? Sixty percent have jobs lined up before they arrive because UK employers need them. Unemployment across Britain is only 5 percent. Could the NHS do without the 10-20 percent of its professional staff that is from the EU?*
- *You must accept the principle that the free movement of labour is fundamental to being a member of the EU's single market. It's delusional or deliberately misleading to have gone along with the notion that Britain can deny this essential principle and still have full access.*
- *Your European colleagues liked you. In their guts, they know that the British lift the EU game in many ways. But they will not reward England's nativists because you and their many British colleagues are pleasant and professional.*

They were never going to give the UK a break in negotiations to unravel 43 years of gradual integration and institutionalized accommodation. They have identity-driven nativist adversaries baying at them in their own capitals.

- *Allow me to observe that partisan politics is all you have ever done. It's a handicap. Professional politicians over-react to tribal voices and noises from their camp. In your case, it's against the continuous drumbeat of jingoistic anti-EU right-wing journalism.*
- *The referendum shouldn't have been a response to party politics. Its significance is existential. It can't be undone. But people can't be expected just to absorb the pain and stay calm and carry on. There is real disbelief those about to take charge know what they are doing. Public antipathy and division will increase. The elected Parliament is against Brexit. Your friends abroad are aghast.*
- *I understand why you walked away abruptly. But given that your decisions ultimately enabled this crack-up, you can't leave for good without being clear about the size of the casualty ward to expect.*

Jeremy Kinsman is one of Canada's most experienced diplomats and has served as his nation's ambassador in top capitals; he is now a leading public policy thinker and writer in Canada. I quote him at length not just because I think his analysis is spot on (and I wish many like him had written like this before the referendum) but it is useful to see ourselves as others see us.

The Electoral Commission decided the question on the ballot paper was whether the voter wished to *Remain* in the EU or *Leave* the EU. In plebiscites on Europe in other countries the ballot paper has usually called for a simple Yes or No. It thus not only helped to reduce democratic participation in the referendum by not allowing millions of young British citizens or loyal subjects of Her Majesty who live abroad from voting, it also subtly altered the ballot paper away from the classic Yes or No of the traditional British voting choice.

It is a cliché that the secret weapon of the Conservative Party is loyalty. Its chief players swallow personal doubts and disappointments (at least until they write their memoirs) and rally around whoever is elected leader and becomes prime minister. Cameron in his fifteen years in Parliament had never shown any leadership in taking on UKIP or the Europhobic *fronde* within his own party. He made no effort between 2001 and the spring of 2016 to explain or defend membership of the European Union. He is a child and a man of the soft privileged south of Britain, of Eton and Notting Hill, Oxford and Chipping Norton, with little contact with immigrants or with the raw passion in poorer communities which had moved from racist Powellite hostility toward non-white communities in Britain to an open dislike of European incomers.

Cameron had after all defeated Labour in 2010 and then again in 2015 to

grant his party a 10-year stint in power. But he made no political preparations for his Brexit referendum. Ambitious Conservatives had twiddled their thumbs on the backbenches after 2010 as Liberal Democrats, a party and its MPs the traditional Tory MP despised, occupied many government posts. They faithfully carried out Conservative policy imposing austerity and cuts on the British population, which took their revenge in the referendum, but no Lib-Dem minister is today remembered as having achieved much other than carrying a red box from meeting to meeting while all major decisions were taken by David Cameron, George Osborne, and their coteries.

In May 2015, the long wait of Conservative MPs hoping to be ministers came to an end. All the government posts were now filled by Conservatives. Cameron made no effort to condition appointment to a ministerial post in his government on a clear pledge that he, as prime minister, would be supported in the referendum. He gave key positions to Conservatives like Iain Duncan Smith, Liam Fox, Chris Grayling, Michael Gove, and John Whittingdale, who had spent every waking minute in the House of Commons railing against Europe. He even invited Boris Johnson, who had been re-elected a Tory MP in 2015 and was mayor of London until the following May, to participate in the political cabinet.

Posts below cabinet level were also handed out to known anti-European Tories. It was almost as if Cameron wanted to fill his nest with cuckoos. Even if he was full of self-confidence that the referendum could not be lost Cameron might have taken out a little extra insurance by asking for a pledge of loyalty. Instead when the moment to begin the referendum came, Cameron found himself facing a very powerful cabal of senior Tories who were going to relish fighting to quit Europe.

Cameron had already announced that he would not seek to run as prime minister in 2020 and the Conservative Party would have to choose a new leader and prime minister in 2019. It was a confident move that meant Cameron was avoiding the mistake Margaret Thatcher had made of "going on and on and on," as she put it, until the Tories rose up and removed her. Yet it opened up very early the succession question as there is nothing a political party enjoys more than discussing who comes next. By holding the Brexit referendum two or three years before the choice of his successor Cameron must have known that it would be tempting to anyone hoping to enter Downing Street to use the referendum campaign as a way of ingratiating him- or herself as a tribune of the nation, and was in tune with Conservative Party activists who would elect Cameron's successor.

Enter at this point Boris Johnson, by far the most effective populist communicator in British politics. Johnson had said he was in favor of staying in the Single Market and was embarrassed some months after the referendum

when an unpublished article got into the press in which he said on balance it made sense to stay in the EU.

That was not what Tory activists wanted to hear. For Boris Johnson to have any chance to win the succession race when Cameron stood down he had to be the champion of rank and file Tory hostility to Europe generated by Johnson himself over many years of lurid and post-truth articles about the EU in the anti-European *Daily Telegraph* and other papers.

Even if Brexit was lost and the UK stayed in the EU, Johnson would have toured the country telling Conservatives what they wanted to hear about the iniquities of the European Union. Then, in the interval between the referendum and the contest to succeed Cameron, Boris would have visited every constituency to assure the Tory rank-and-file that they had been robbed in the referendum and that once he was installed in Downing Street, Prime Minister Johnson would give the EU what it deserved.

Yet Cameron made no effort to claim loyalty or to remove those cabinet and other ministers who were openly working for his downfall. There was cynicism in the air throughout the campaign as anti-Europeans like Chris Grayling piously insisted that Cameron should stay on as prime minister in the event of a Brexit vote. It was laughable, as clearly if Cameron lost this giant national vote of confidence he would have to go, as indeed he did.

Most remarkable was the disloyalty of David Cameron's two predecessors as Conservative Party leader, Michael Howard and Iain Duncan Smith. They may feel that the faithlessness came from the prime minister as David Cameron had never shown any pro-EU inclination as leader of the Conservatives after 2005, and as prime minister until the beginning of 2016, when he seemed to have finally understood that a British prime minister isolating Britain from Europe was not to the nation's advantage, nor would history deal kindly with a prime minister who had initiated such a rupture. The two former party leaders campaigned vigorously against their successor. Cameron looked weak, unconvincing, and without authority as he tried to persuade the nation to vote down Brexit.

Some Tories hedged their bets and stayed close to David Cameron just in case he won. Sajid Javid, the business secretary, said he would never have entered the EU, would have voted No in 1975, and would vote No in any referendum on a future treaty. Oliver Letwin also said 2016 was not the time to leave Europe but when the next treaty revision came around then the opportunity would arise. These were the advocates of *Brexit Interruptus* – withdrawal, but not just yet.

After her tirade against the EU at the autumn 2015 Conservative Party conference, Theresa May was seen as a natural to lead the Brexit campaign. But she is a cautious, hesitant politician and stayed nominally loyal to the

prime minister, although she made no effort in the campaign to help the Remain camp. On the contrary, in late April 2016 she made a speech saying Britain should withdraw from the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and leave the Council of Europe. This was not on the referendum ballot paper, but after the EU itself, the ECHR was the most hated institution among anti-Europeans and the Europhobe press. So May was sending a clear message of reassurance to Tory Eurosceptic that she remained with them. Even if they did not win EU withdrawal she would urge quitting the ECHR, as well as the Council of Europe.

Once the Brexit vote was decided and she became prime minister she quietly dropped the ECHR pledge. Leaving the EU was the bigger prize. But her public statement calling for withdrawal from the ECHR had cynically served its purpose in reminding Tory activists who would elect the new leader that she was one of them in disliking Europe.

Like his predecessors William Hague, Iain Duncan Smith, and Michael Howard, David Cameron had whipped up campaigns against immigration to use as a political stick to beat first Tony Blair and then after 2007, Gordon Brown. He foolishly made promises to reduce the level of immigration as an absolute number if he became prime minister. The more he talked up immigration the more voters took the issue seriously. In the 25 years since Thatcher became prime minister, the population and demographics of Britain had changed. The population grew by 10 million to the current 65 million. The birthrate declined and life expectancy rose. Having been until 1980 a nation with a net emigration figure, Britain became a country dependent on incomers to do all essential work. The economy was reshaped to be employment rich but income poor. As women entered the workforce, households still needed to have children looked after, homes cleaned, aging relatives cared for, and goods ordered online, delivered to homes by an army of white van drivers and Deliveroo [high-quality takeaway food] drivers, while new fleets of taxis from Addison Lee to Uber ferried customers around. These low-pay jobs were largely done by immigrant workers from within the EU or further abroad. It was the way the British economy functioned.

Inevitably, the two camps became dubbed Remain and Leave. The Leave camp split into two groups: one based on the Conservative Party and the other on UKIP. The off-shore-owned press pumped out Brexit propaganda independent of either the Tory or UKIP campaigns, which were nominally separate but were seen as one as both used the same language of dislike of foreigners and made the same claims about the money that would flow to British households once the country was outside the EU.

UKIP set up its own Leave campaign and UKIP leader Nigel Farage toured the country making the same speech that he had been making for 15

years. Farage is a speaker of conviction and passion. He has the demagogue's gift of distilling a complicated set of interlocking relationships into simple slogans. All UK laws are made by the EU. Not true. Britain pays 350 million pounds a week to the EU. Not true. There is no growth in Europe. Not true. The Europeans had caused unemployment in Greece and Spain. Not true.

But the demagogue is not interested in truth. He wants to stir up emotions and present a dragon which, if the people only fall in behind the leader, can be slain. In fact, there was little to choose between the Tory Leave campaign and the UKIP Leave campaign. Both were the culmination of more than 20 years of attacking the EU across the board.

It was surreal to hear a senior Tory, Andrea Leadsom, say on the BBC Radio 4 *Today* program, shortly before the Queen's Speech in May 2016, that 60 percent of all UK laws were decided in Europe, as if Her Majesty the Queen were in Brussels taking dictation from Commission officials on what she could or could not put in her speech announcing future legislation. No one on the BBC's flagship current affairs program challenged this palpable untruth.

Earlier, in what became the biggest single Leave Lie, Gisela Stuart, co-chair of Vote Leave, said on the *Today* program, on April 15: "Every week we send £350m to Brussels. I'd rather that we control how to spend that money, and if I had that control I would spend it on the NHS."

Once again the BBC did not challenge Stuart over this demonstrable untruth. The BBC did have an online unit called "Reality Check, to take apart this claim, which featured over the next three months as the Number One Lie of the Leave campaign.

Online the BBC noted: "The UK does not send £350m a week to Brussels—the rebate is deducted before the money is sent, which takes the contribution down to £276m a week. That figure includes £88m a week spent in the UK on things like regional aid and support for farmers. The government could decide after a Brexit that it should take that money away from farmers and give it instead to the NHS, but it might be an unpopular decision in rural areas". Then there's another £27m a week that goes to support things like research projects in UK universities and companies. If we deduct all that we end up with £161m, although even that includes development funding, which counts towards the government's pledge to spend at least 0.7 percent of the country's economic output on development aid. And before deciding to divert that £161m a week to the NHS, we would have to see what trade deal the UK ended up doing with the European Union.

But who was reading these corrections on the BBC's many online sites? The point is that the truth of the online BBC could not stop the lies which were broadcast on the *Today* program which, over the years, came to be dubbed "Radio *Daily Mail*," as many of its presenters, like the newspaper it was

nicknamed after, always seemed to insert a sneer, perhaps unconsciously but evident all the same, into their voices when it came to any story concerning Europe.

Another Brexit minister, Penny Mordaunt, was challenged when she kept insisting that 75 million Turks were about to join the EU with the right to travel, live, and work in the UK, which could not stop this happening. When the BBC interviewer, who knew a little about the EU, pointed out that the UK had a veto (along with the 27 other member states), she snapped, "No, we don't," and continued to maintain what was a complete untruth or in plain English, a lie.

The Leave Battle bus was emblazoned with the slogan proclaiming that if the UK left Europe there would be 350 million pounds a week to spend on the NHS. Again a lie as the UK gets back from the EU its mammoth agricultural subsidy budget; in addition, it gets 700 million pounds annually for university research and regional subsidies of hundreds of millions of pounds for south Yorkshire, Wales, or Cornwall, as well as Erasmus scholarships and funding for environmental and cultural projects.

Boris Johnson blustered at length when tackled on this point, but the damage was already done as scores of millions of TV news viewers saw Johnson and other Leave Tories standing in front of the bus with the untrue slogan beamed into their homes.

A Leave leaflet pushed through letter boxes said that "Britain's new frontier was with Syria and Iraq," while another showed a map accompanied by the statement that Turkey was "set to join the EU"; in a slightly different tint, next to Turkey were its neighbors Syria and Iraq.

At the beginning of the campaign Boris Johnson said that the EU was following in the path of Hitler in seeking to create a super-state. Even by Johnsonian standards the lie was grotesque. Johnson, as he always does, harangued and partly retreated, saying his remark had been misinterpreted, but he knew exactly what he was doing in planting in voters' minds the insinuation that being in the EU was something Hitler might have wished for. In his biography of Winston Churchill, Johnson wrote of "the Nazi European Union" and of "this Gestapo-controlled Nazi EU." He was making a point about Hitler's plans to dominate Europe but the smear against the EU and the obsession with quoting and linking Hitler to the European Union—which was set up precisely to ensure that the disasters of the 1930s could never happen again—is part of the Boris Johnson pathology about Europe.

Johnson and other Leavers were indeed inspired by a demagogue who said: "If you tell a big enough lie and tell it frequently enough it will be believed." The politician in question ran Germany between 1933 and 1945 and consolidated his hold on power with a sequence of populist plebiscites.

The obsession of the Leavers with Hitler was a theme of their rhetoric. As the economist John Van Reenen of the London School of Economics (now with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology) wrote:

For me, the nadir came a few days before the vote when one of Leave's leaders, Michael Gove compared me and my colleagues to paid Nazi scientists persecuting Einstein. This was apparently in response to a statement we signed (including 12 Nobel laureates) warning of the economic damage from Brexit. At least one of these derided experts had grandparents murdered in the concentration camps, so one can imagine how Gove's statement—supported by Boris Johnson—made them feel.

British MEP Richard Corbett usefully listed the main lies from the Leave side.

1. We send £350m a week to Brussels
2. We can't stop Turkey joining
3. We can't stop a European army
4. We are still liable to pay Eurozone bailouts
5. The UK rebate can be changed against our will
6. Our VAT exemptions will be ended
7. Cameron's deal was not legally binding
8. EU law is adopted by unelected bureaucrats
9. We can't control our borders in the EU
10. Criminals arriving in Germany can get EU passports and come over here
11. Health tourism costs us billions
12. EU needs UK trade more than vice versa
13. Past referendum results have been ignored
14. Auditors still refuse to sign off the accounts
15. CAP [Common Agricultural Policy] adds £400 to British food bills
16. British steel suffers because of the EU
17. Irish border will be unaffected by Brexit
18. UK can't deport EU criminals
19. UK is always outvoted in EU decisions
20. 60-70 percent of laws come from EU
21. Renationalisation of industries is impossible
22. We get no veto on future treaty change or integration
23. The budget ceiling can increase without our consent
24. We thought we were only joining a free trade zone

Corbett has provided chapter and verse on each of these 24 Leave Lies.

Nigel Farage's UKIP Leave campaign and the Tory Brexit Leave campaign were indistinguishable. Both focused on immigration to the exclusion of most

other themes. Those who hoped there might be a rational debate on the nature of modern sovereignty and a real balance sheet discussion of the pros and cons of the single market or the City of London enjoying trillions of euro-related trades, or being the center for clearing the common currency, were disappointed.

In a report analyzing the campaign based on extensive polling, the Electoral Reform Society (ERS) stated that no one believed the prime minister or any of the pro-European politicians campaigning against Brexit. "Towards the end of the campaign nearly half of voters thought politicians were 'mostly telling lies'," Kate Ghose, chief executive of ERS said. She added:

This report shows without a shadow of a doubt just how dire the EU referendum debate really was. There were glaring democratic deficiencies in the run-up to the vote, with the public feeling totally ill-informed. Both sides were viewed as highly negative by voters, while the top-down, personality-based nature of the debate failed to address major policies and issues, leaving the public in the dark.

The word "revolution" does not appear in the lexicon of British political history. The seventeenth century saw a civil war, a restoration, and then an invited invasion by a Dutch king to ensure Protestant supremacy and parliamentary sovereignty. There were major reforms in the nineteenth century but nothing that justified the word "revolution." That was something that happened across the Channel or the Atlantic.

Yet, it is hard not to see the process of Brexit as anything short of a revolutionary moment in the placid waters of Britain's political life. Added to this is the arrival of Donald Trump in the White House, whose victory was based on a sustained Brexit-type, post-truth campaign. Trump's radical early announcements provoked two million British citizens to sign a petition to Parliament and to march on Downing Street (which closed access to Parliament Square), demanding that the president be banned from a royal visit to Britain, which the prime minister had issued during her visit to the White House in January 2017.

It seems as though the two major English-speaking democracies had voted to end an era that had opened with the defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945 and continued through the 1947 Marshall Plan and the construction of the Euro-Atlantic peace and economic integration project with a US president and a British prime minister holding hands as they celebrated the Brexit vote.

The new Brexit-Trump axis of politics was based on a contempt for truth and a rejection of all the lessons of rationality painfully learned since the Enlightenment. Hannah Arendt, who gave the world the concept of "totalitarianism," might have been writing about the Brexit-Trump world when she stated:

If everybody always lies to you, the consequence is not that you believe the lies, but rather that nobody believes anything any longer. On the receiving end you get not only one lie—a lie which you could go on for the rest of your days—but you get a great number of lies, depending on how the political wind blows. And a people that no longer can believe anything cannot make up its mind. It is deprived not only of its capacity to act but also of its capacity to think and to judge. And with such a people you can then do what you please.

The modish word "post-truth" came into play as analysts tried to grapple with a new politics in which provable facts and assertions were regarded as old-fashioned forms of communication irrelevant to the era of social media and fake news. The BBC in particular gave up discharging its duty to truth as it allowed endless lies about the European Union to be broadcast without challenge.

The Brexit vote opened up divisions in Britain. The young voted for Europe. The old voted against Europe. Scotland voted for a European future. England voted to cut links with the EU. London voted to remain a giant European global city, but many smaller cities and towns in England voted to stop Europeans coming to live and work freely in their community. The Conservative Party was convulsed as a successful Tory prime minister and chancellor were expelled from office and those who had been excluded from power took over. The Labor Party was bitterly divided as its leader ordered his MPs to vote in the same camp as the Conservatives and the UKIP.

Scotland and Ireland were transformed by Brexit. The ruling nationalist separatist party in Scotland invoked the possibility of an independence referendum to secure a future in Europe. In Ireland, there were great fears on both side of the border that the full-scale rupture with all European institutions demanded by Prime Minister May would mean new tensions along the border with Northern Ireland which, before Britian's vote to leave Europe, was completely free, open, and tranquil.

After three centuries of representative parliamentary democracy Britain decided to experiment with a populist plebiscite. It has transformed British politics and may transform European politics as a Europe minus Britain is less than a whole. It is difficult not to conclude that the era that opened in 1946 with Churchill's two famous speeches in Fulton, Missouri—announcing the Iron Curtain that had fallen across Europe—and then in Zurich when he called for the creation of a "United States of Europe," came to an end in June and November 2016 with the Brexit-Trump vote.

IX. Christal Morehouse and Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer

The "New Pact for Europe"-Project: Debating the European Crises

Introduction

Multiple crises have dominated European policy agendas for nearly a decade. These can be grouped broadly into three categories: economic (including financial, banking, and sovereign debt crises), migration related, and security related (including terror attacks within Europe and armed conflict in the EU neighborhood). In June 2016, citizens of the UK voted to leave the EU, adding to the latter's growing list of urgent challenges. The UK vote in favor of Brexit underlines the increasingly unfavorable perceptions citizens around Europe have of the EU.[1] It also demonstrates the sizable influence that populists who promote nationalism have gained, and may continue to gain, at least in the near future.[2] The EU could reclaim the support of the people in three key ways: (1) by playing a major role in overcoming the crises that citizens in member states face; (2) by boosting the understanding and compassion that citizens from various member states have for each other; (3) by building enduring networks between people involved in policy and public dialogue in various EU countries, so that national narratives respect their neighbors' realities.

In response to the weakened state of the EU, a group of NGOs and think tanks[3] launched, in 2013, a project called New Pact for Europe (NPE). Building on three years of prior work, NPE 2016-2017 has been fostering debate between member states. This will culminate in a report that will benefit from in-depth analyses from ten EU member states. The report's analyses

1 A poll published just two weeks before the UK referendum on EU membership showed that doubts about the EU expressed by British citizens were shared by citizens in other main European countries. Most respondents (42 percent) considered that some powers should be returned to national governments, while only 19 percent were in favor of more transfers to the EU level and 27 percent preferred the status quo. See Bruce Stokes, Euroskepticism beyond Brexit, Pew Research Center, 2016, http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/06/07/euroskepticism-beyond-brexit/.

2 See Cas Mudde, Europe's Populist Surge, *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2016, pp. 25-30.

3 The NPE project is coordinated by the King Baudouin Foundation, the Bertelsmann Stiftung, the Open Society Initiative for Europe, and the European Policy Centre (EPC), supported by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the Open Estonia Foundation, the BMW Foundation Herbert Quandt, and the Network of European Foundations.

and recommendations will be discussed at the EU level and in many of the member states.

This chapter outlines the rationale for initiating the project, explains how the project is designed, and concludes with a few ideas on the future of Europe. The findings of the project will become available in late 2017.

Europe's new dialectic

Plurality has always been the cornerstone of the EU. For many years Europeans viewed differing opinions, and the diverse realities underlying them, in a tolerant way. Economic growth, freedom of movement, and a commitment to solidarity in exchange for peace made the EU relevant to the lives of most Europeans for half a century. Until a decade ago the EU took on ambitious projects, such as expanding its membership and introducing a common currency, the euro. Today, support for the EU is dwindling in many countries. Faced with numerous crises, the countries that make up the EU have entered into a new "European dialectic." This dialectic no longer follows the lines of left and right political ideologies. The political spectrum has become elliptical, with the populist far left and the far right overlapping on issues of trade, direct democracy, nativism, and anti-EU positions. The new European dialectic is a discourse of open and closed societies, one that threatens to undo decades of social and economic progress.

Diverging realities

When we speak of Europe, we often refer to it as if it were a homogeneous space that shares a *single* lived reality. But this is not the case. Today, at one and the same moment Europeans live in parallel realities. Mainstream media and social networks have fostered echo chambers that amplify seemingly incompatible perceptions and narratives regarding the situation of the various member states. This becomes apparent when we examine the three main crises that have affected the EU in recent years: the economic crisis, the migration/refugee crisis, and the security crisis. These emergencies have impacted Europe unevenly and the principle of avoiding war at all costs has faded. Today European governments are more opportune in obtaining *national* benefit even if this entails a significant cost for fellow Europeans.

An example of diverging lived realities can be found in economic outlooks across Europe. Whereas many countries around the world went into recession in 2008 and 2009, Poland did not. Greece was hit very hard and its economy has been subject to prolonged austerity for nearly a decade.

Germany went into a brief recession, followed by economic recovery and job creation. According to Eurostat, in 2016, the unemployment rate in Germany was at 4.1 percent.[4] Several other countries in Europe also have healthy job markets, such as the Czech Republic (4 percent), Malta (4.8 percent), Austria (6.0 percent), Denmark (6.2 percent), Poland (6.3 percent), and Luxemburg (6.3 percent). In Greece, unemployment was around 25 percent in 2015, with youth unemployment at nearly double that figure (49.8 percent).[5] Post-Great Recession recovery has proven difficult for many countries in the EU, including Spain (19.6 percent), Cyprus (13.3 percent), Croatia (12.8 percent), Portugal (11.2 percent), and France (9.9 percent) unemployment in 2016. As a result of these varied lived realities, the sense of urgency and perceived need for solidarity differ. In some countries, anti-austerity ranks high on the list of policy priorities, while in others the Great Recession is a fading memory.

Another example of diverging lived realities can be found in the refugee crisis that arose in Europe in 2015. According to Eurostat, since summer 2016, the arrival of refugees has been concentrated in a few countries, including Greece, Italy, Germany, and France.[6] Spain experienced significant migration and refugee flows, while France took a major part in the refugee relocation program within the EU.[7] Southern European countries along the so-called Balkan route experienced a large number of migrants and refugees in transit through their territories, before they closed their national borders unilaterally with physical barriers.[8] In contrast, the Baltic States and Poland have not had the same volume of arrivals or the transit challenges resulting from the largest global refugee crisis since World War Two.[9] This difference in experience has led to various perceptions about the urgency of the crisis, willingness to engage in solidarity, and perceptions of national sovereignty, identity, and security. The inability of policymakers to unanimously agree on a scheme of solidarity in 2015 and 2016, followed by some leaders' refusal to implement the relocation measures adopted, greatly damaged the reputation of the EU as a problem-solving collective. National narratives of sovereignty, a backlash against the growing influence of Germany, and the ineffectiveness

4 See Eurostat, Unemployment Rate, http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/employment-and-social-inclusion-indicators/employment-guidlines/indicators.

5 Ibid; Eurostat, Youth Unemployment Rate, Age Group 15-24, op. cit. Note: At the time of writing, Eurostat data was not available for Greece, 2016.

6 See Eurostat, Asylum and First Time Asylum Applicants, http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/asylum-and-managed-migration/data/main-tables.

7 See Mixed Migration Flows in the Mediterranean and Beyond, http://migration.iom.int/docs/2016_Flows_to_Europe_Overview.pdf.

8 Ibid.

9 According to a report published by the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR), "the current number of displaced globally is […] the highest since the aftermath of World War II," with approximately 65.3 million forcibly displaced people worldwide in 2015. See UNHCR, Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2015, http://www.unhcr.org/576408cd7.

of EU collaboration reached people in various ways across the EU. The poor multilateral coordination around the refugee crisis – and the atmosphere of fear created by terrorist attacks - also led to the temporary suspension of the Schengen Agreement[10] by some signatory countries, meaning that some national border controls were reinstated for an ongoing period of time. Free movement of people across borders is a pillar of the EU and the suspension of this freedom was a major blow to the European project.

A final example of diverging lived realities in Europe today can be found in the security crisis. Although security threats are felt to be omnipresent in Europe, civilian deaths caused by terror attacks have been brutal, tragic, and very recent. The state of emergency and military presence on the streets is heavy in France and Belgium. In Germany, the threat is also very real, with a December 2016 terrorist attack at a Berlin Christmas market exposing this country's vulnerability. Yet the national narrative on security and refugees has been less heavy-handed in Germany, with Chancellor Merkel underlining the country's commitment to an open society and refraining from suggesting that the nation is "at war," or invoking a state of emergency. In other countries, such as Poland and Estonia, concerns about security are rather about Europe's restless neighbors to the east and about NATO. Internal terror attacks do not feature prominently among those countries' worries. Another difference is in the perceptions of various EU countries about potential allies and foes among neighbors, with a divide on views of Turkey and Russia, in particular. While eastern countries such as Poland, Finland, or Estonia view Russia as a major threat to EU unity, people in countries such as Portugal or Greece do not share this feeling. On the other hand, Turkey is seen as a problematic ally in Greece, whereas in the Baltic countries people struggle to understand this attitude and tend to see the benefits of relations with Turkey.

Polarization and splintering

Recent elections in Europe have exhibited two expressions of fragmentation among people and political parties: polarization and splintering.

Polarization can be coined the "51 percent" problem. This means that people are split nearly 50/50 when they vote or express their opinion on key policy and social issues. For example, in Poland, the 2015 general election led to the Law and Justice Party (PiS) winning the election with 37.6 percent of the vote. This, however, translated into 51 percent of seats in the parliament (Sejm).[11] And with this thin majority, the government has exacerbated and instrumentalized what some are calling a 'cultural civil war' in the country.

10 This treaty signed in 1985 has removed controls at the signatory states' common borders.
11 http://www.parties-and-elections.eu/poland.html.

In the UK, the Brexit vote similarly exemplifies this problem, with a 51.9 percent vote in favor of leaving the European Union. UK society was, and continues to be, fundamentally divided on key issues. And instead of finding a way forward that could unite the entire country, one side won a paper-thin majority and life is changing dramatically for the whole country. Such majorities are a fundamental dilemma for democracies. Dramatically shifting policies based on a few tens or hundreds of thousands of votes are leading to accelerated polarization in many countries around Europe.

In Austria, the first (later annulled and then re-conducted[12]) election for the federal presidency also exposed deep divisions in the population, with Alexander van der Bellen (who ran as an independent but is formerly from the Green Party) winning a slim majority over Norbert Hofer (of the right-wing populist Freedom Party) from the opposite end of the political spectrum. For the first time since World War Two the Austrian president was not backed by either the People's Party or the Social Democratic Party and none of the candidates of these two governing parties managed to score more than 12 percent of the vote.[13] The outcome was 53.8 percent in favor of van der Bellen, underlining the polarization of opinion in Austrian society and the rejection of traditional political parties.

The splintering of society into nearly equal segments across the political spectrum since a shift to the right began is a widespread trend in Europe. For example, in Germany, during the Berlin state election in September 2016, the so-called people's parties of the center right and center left received a percentage of the vote that was almost undistinguishable from the traditionally smaller parties: the Greens, Left, and AfD.[14] The span between the top five parties was 14 percent versus 21 percent. The center left gained the largest portion of the Berlin vote and formed a three-party coalition of left-leaning parties. This fanning-out of opinions across parties requires coalitions. Luckily, coalition-building is not new to Germany and did not cause a political deadlock. Yet, such a widely-dispersed result can also lead to a legislation deadlock, in many cases, or to short-lived, unstable coalitions. Another example of splintering occurred in 2015-16 in Spain. There the government called on voters to go to the ballot box twice in general elections, after results from the first election would have required a coalition (or minority) government. But when the results of the second general elections again delivered a fragmented political landscape, Spanish political parties remained uncompromising, nearly triggering a third round of elections. There were many issues at play, which go beyond the scope of this chapter, including the rise of new political parties on the left and

12 This vote was repeated in December 2016, due to problems with counting absentee ballots.
13 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Austrian_presidential_election,_2016 .
14 See "Zweitstimmen," https://www.wahlen-berlin.de/wahlen/be2016/afspraes/zweitstimmen_gemeinde-1-berlin_gesamt.html.

a major corruption scandal on the right of the traditional political spectrum. In the end, and after a 10-month impasse, the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) agreed to allow Mariano Rajoy, leader of the conservative People's Party (PP), to become prime minister (mostly by abstaining from the vote on Rajoy's election to office). The Spanish constitution places a time limit within which the Congress has to elect a prime minister, after which the king must dissolve the parliament and call for new elections. Thus, the 2015 and follow-up 2016 general elections outcomes resulted in the most fragmented party mandates in the Spanish national parliament since 1977. In the 2017 general election in the Netherlands, medium-sized parties were the new norm, with 28 parties on the ballot list and 6 parties obtaining more than 9 percent of the votes.[15] This splintering of the political spectrum requires at least 4 parties to form a coalition but the differences between the parties simultaneously raise the question whether the next government will be stable.[16]

Fragmentation is a problem in particular for countries (and policy arenas) that do not have a culture of coalitions and political compromise. The French 2017 Presidential election is especially worrying. France's two traditionally main political parties – the Socialist party and the Conservative party – were both facing existential crises. They were sidelined by a new political movement launched by former French economy minister Emmanuel Macron called *En Marche!* And by the far-right National Front party of Marine Le Pen in the weeks ahead of France's presidential election. This election hinges on the issue of open and closed society, with the two leading candidates defending opposite views on France's attitude towards the EU and the rest of the world.[17] French politics will enter unchartered territories should the election outcome marginalize the two traditional mainstream parties. The newly-elected President may in this case struggle to secure a parliamentary majority at the legislative elections organized 1.5 months after the presidential election. In an increasingly polarized and fragmented political landscape, in which society mirrors political divisions in their views, dialogue has become an important force in bridging differences. NPE 2016-2017 is one initiative that is attempting to foster understanding and to "trickle-up" policy recommendations from national contexts. The NPE's design builds in a transnational cross-check of nationally-derived opinions. It also adds a European analytical layer to translate national ideas into potential European policy actions.

15 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dutch_general_election,_2017.

16 See Adriaan Schout, "The Dutch elections: fragmentation and a normalised EU debate" in "The 2017 elections across Europe: facts, expectations and consequences", *EPC Discussion paper*, European Policy Centre, 14 March 2017, pp. 5-9, http://www.epc.eu/documents/uploads/pub_7501_2017electionsacrosseurope.pdf.

17 See Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer, The upcoming French elections: the country's openness at stake, Ibid: 10-13.

How does the New Pact for Europe work?

NPE 2016-2017 builds on previous policy dialogues across Europe that have been ongoing since 2013.[18] The current phase of the project has been designed to engage and foster debate, to allow frank and open exchange between countries and between their citizens, to raise awareness about respective national positions, and finally, to stimulate creativity. Its methodology replicates the three fundamental levels composing the European Union: the national level of the member states, the transnational level, which is a place of direct exchange and conflicting interests between member states, and the European level, representing a synthesis of these positions. The basic objective of NPE is to advance debate at all three levels.

The bulk of the project's activities is concentrated in the national partner organizations. Ten countries are part of NPE 2016-2017: Belgium, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Portugal, and Slovakia. These countries were selected to reflect the size, geographical location, diverse interests, perspectives, and balance of newer and older member states. In each of these countries a think tank that is knowledgeable about both the national context and how this relates to the EU policy debate has been identified and associated with the project.[19] The partner organizations were given a budget to recruit and organize a National Reflection Group (NRG).

The NPE Steering Committee[20] created guidelines for the national partners to follow, including a clause that the national reflection groups be diverse, in expertise, occupation, and political orientation. Members of the groups are policy-makers, academics, business people, journalists, and NGO representatives. The guidelines set up a framework for discussing the state of the EU and proposing options in the three key areas of policy crisis: economics, migration, and security. They also required that the national partners obtain a commitment from their participants to a series of four discussions. The first was a national level discussion and the second was to compare their national

18 Two reports were published during the first phase of the NPE project and are available online : Strategic Options for Europe's Future, December 2013, http://www.newpactforeurope.eu/documents/1st_report_new_pact_for_europe.pdf, and Towards a New Pact for Europe, October 2014, http://www.newpactforeurope.eu/documents/new_pact_for_europe_2nd_report.pdf. they proposed and discussed five strategic options for the future of the EU.

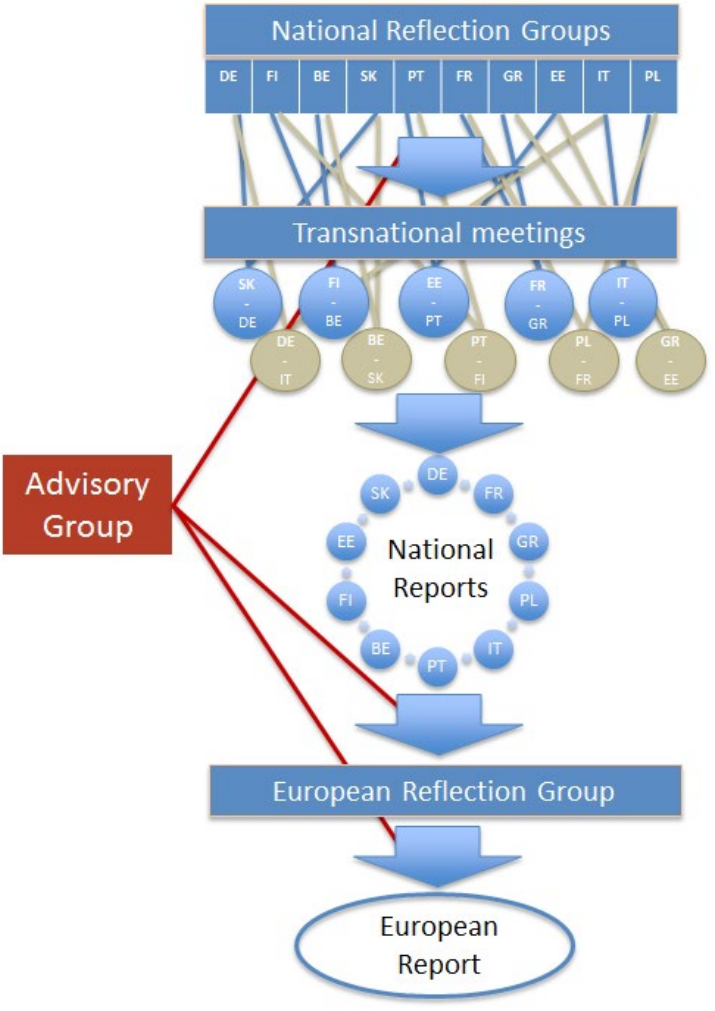
19 The ten national partners involved in the project are: Egmont – The Royal Institute for International Relations (Belgium), Open Estonia Foundation (Estonia), Finnish Institute of International Affairs (Finland), EuropaNova (France), Jacques Delors Institut – Berlin (Germany), Hellenic Foundation for European & Foreign Policy – ELIAMEP (Greece), Istituto Affari Internazionali (Italy), Institute of Public Affairs (Poland), Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (Portugal), and Globsec Policy Institute (Slovakia).

20 The NPE Steering Committee is composed of representatives of the King Baudouin Foundation, the Bertelsmann Stiftung, the Open Society Initiative for Europe, and the European Policy Centre (EPC).

perspective with that of another NRG. The third was a second transnational meeting with a different national group. A last meeting at national level was aimed at digesting and revisiting their policy recommendations after interacting with the two other national groups. Each of the NRGs is then producing a national report, which will benefit from having compared the national positions with those of other European countries.

The Figure 1 is a depiction of this process, including the two national and two transnational meetings. The country pairs for the transnational meetings can also be seen.

Figure 1: Process overview of NPE 2016-2017



The Figure 1 also demonstrates other key parts of the dialogue process: the Advisory Group, which includes thought leaders from around Europe, and the European Reflection Group, which consists primarily of one representative from each of the ten NRGs. The Advisory Group, which is chaired by Herman Van Rompuy, president emeritus of the European Council and former prime minister of Belgium, brings together high-ranking policy-makers, academics, NGO representatives, and other stakeholders from all over Europe.[21] Its role is to offer overall guidance to the project's development and provide input to the main reports drafted in the context of the NPE. Following the series of national and transnational meetings, the results will be analyzed and discussed by the European Reflection Group. This group's task will be to bring the analysis a step further through in-depth discussions at the European level. Members of this group will have to consider how the nationally generated recommendations can translate into policy recommendations at the EU level and to add fruitful thoughts and ideas regarding the future of Europe.

The discussions dig deep as to why some countries' perspectives may be in opposition to those in other countries. They have shown, however, many common approaches toward addressing the challenges the EU and the citizens of member states face. The idea is to encourage an evolution of national positions through confrontation with diverging views, but these transnational meetings should also be an opportunity to self-reflect on each state's role in the EU. Through dialogue, new relationships between the participants have been forged and discussions among people in various EU member states have multiplied.

The findings of NPE 2016-2017 will be published as ten national reports, followed by a final European report. This latter report, which should generate ideas that will inspire and motivate European leaders into action, will be published at the end of 2017, following the French and German elections.

Ways forward

Dialogue is the way in which disagreements in Europe must continue to be resolved. It is not a strong nation state that will keep the future of the continent secure; it is the commitment and belief that nations are stronger together. At

21 The other members of the NPE Advisory Group are Rudy Aernoudt, Gordon Bajnai, Franziska Brantner, John Bruton, Goran Buldioski, Poul Skytte Christoffersen, Philippe de Buck, Aart De Geus, Nikiforos Diamandouros, Andrew Duff, Elsa Fornero, Sylvie Goulard, Roberto Gualtieri, Danuta Hübner, Toomas Hendrik Ilves, Nina Obuljen Koržinek, Ivan Krastev, Roger Liddle, Monica Macovei, Ana Palacio, Anne-Sophie Parent, Xavier Prats Monné, Iveta Radičová, Maria João Rodrigues, Artur Santos Silva, Rafał Trzaskowski, Loukas Tsoukalis, Luc Van den Brande, Philippe Van Parijs, António Vitorino, Helen Wallace. Their full bios are available at http://www.newpactforeurope.eu/who-we-are/advisory/.

this point in time, divisive forces continue to stretch social cohesion in the EU. Several populist leaders suggest that nations have much to gain if they focus on their own interests and abandon the principles of solidarity. Openness, solidarity, and dialogue were dominant attitudes during the most peaceful years Europe ever experienced.

Consequently, NPE 2016-2017 constitutes a platform fostering dialogue between member states and aims at rebuilding trust between governments and citizens. Transnational exchanges underline the diversity of opinions between and within member states. The project seeks to help equip the EU with the tools it needs to meet the internal and external challenges it faces. The final report will thus include concrete policy recommendations on how the EU and its member states can collaborate, reform, and create new policies. The NPE project will distil and release its findings, which will become available in the first half of 2017 for the national level and at the end of 2017 for the European level.[22]

List of further readings

- Cas Mudde, Europe's Populist Surge, *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2016, pp. 25-30.
- Janis A. Emmanouilidis, Francesca Fabbri, Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer et al., The 2017 elections across Europe: facts, expectations and consequences, *EPC Discussion paper*, European Policy Centre, 14 March 2017, http://www.epc.eu/documents/uploads/pub_7501_2017electionsacrosseurope.pdf.
- Janis A. Emmanouilidis and Fabian Zuleeg, EU@60 – Countering a regressive & illiberal Europe, http://www.epc.eu/documents/uploads/pub_7020_counteringaregressiveilliberaleurope.pdf
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- Loukas Tsoukalis (2016) *In Defence of Europe: Can the European Union Be Saved*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Luuk van Middelaar (2013) *The Passage to Europe. How a Continent Became a Union*, New Haven: Yale University Press. Website of the New Pact for Europe: www.newpactforeurope.eu.

22 More information on the NPE project and regular updates on its development can be found on the NPE's website, www.newpactforeurope.eu.

X. Authors

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- **Denis MacShane** was Tony Blair's Europe minister, as well as deputy foreign secretary; he also served as UK delegate to the Council of Europe and to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. He was a Labor MP for 18 years, focusing mainly on European Union affairs. Between 1979 and 1994, he worked in Geneva for the international trade union movement. He was president of the UK-Swiss Parliamentary Committee and still skis every year in the Anglo-Swiss Parliamentary Ski Races in Davos. After completing his MA at Oxford University, he worked for the BBC and was the youngest president of the British National Union of Journalists in 1978. He coined the term "Brexit" in a newspaper article in January 2012, and in January 2015 published a book, *Brexit: How Britain Will Leave Europe* (IB Tauris). It was well received and reviewed but he was unable to persuade government, politicians, the media and the business community that David Cameron's proposed plebiscite would lead to a No vote to Europe. His next book, *Brexit: How Britain Left Europe* (IB Tauris, September 2016), takes the story forward to cover the Brexit campaign. He is currently working on a follow-up, *Brexit and the End of Europe?* Dr. MacShane writes and broadcasts on Brexit developments in the UK and across the Channel. He speaks French, German, and Spanish and has a wide network of political contacts, including serving and former government

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TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY אוניברסיטת תל אביב

S.D.A.C The S. Daniel Abraham Center for International and Regional Studies

Against the background of the EU's multifaceted crisis, i.e. financial and refugee crises, the growing security threat, Brexit, the deterioration of state of law in some member states, the growing gap between citizens and political elites, the political radicalization of an increasing number of citizens, etc. this book purports to reassess the social, legal, economic and moral dimensions of solidarity in the EU. The discussion on the challenges solidarity as the leading principle of EU integration currently faces focuses on fundamental questions vis-à-vis EU integration such as: are the EU's integration and crisis management capacities already exhausted, has European integration reached its limits or will the EU be finally in the position to fully put into practice and further enhance solidarity, and hence, integration?

The book brings together the contributions of the following internationally renowned scholars and experts in the field: Alfred Tovias, Professor Emeritus, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University, Alberto Spektorowski, Professor of Political Science at Tel Aviv University and Karen Umansky, PhD candidate in the Department of Public Policy at Tel Aviv University, Christal Morehouse, Senior Program Officer of the Open Society Foundation and Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer, policy analyst at the European Policy Centre (EPC) in Brussels, Denis MacShane, Europe minister as well as deputy foreign secretary in Tony Blair's government, Deniz Senol Sert, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, Ozyegin University, Istanbul and Fulya Felicity Türkmen, Assistant at Ozyegin University, Istanbul, Hartwig Hummel, Professor of European Politics and International Relations at Heinrich Heine University in Düsseldorf, Germany, Kyriakos Filinis, postdoctoral research fellow at the Crisis Observatory of the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), Vassilis Kappis, Lecturer at the Centre for Security and Intelligence Studies of the University of Buckingham, United Kingdom.

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