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# The Progressive Post

## SPECIAL COVERAGE

**THE US ELECTION:  
DEMOCRACY IS NOT  
JUST ABOUT VOTING**

## FOCUS

**THE NEW EU GLOBAL STRATEGY**

Featuring contributions from:

Joseph Nye

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Antonio Missiroli

Kati Piri

Margot Wallström

Cas Mudde

Ken Gude



## ***SI VIS PACEM, PARA BELLUM?***

### **A UNITED EUROPE IN A TURBULENT WORLD**

#### **NEXT ECONOMY**

Self-employed workers  
in the gig economy

#### **NEXT SOCIAL**

Confronting insecurity  
in the digital economy

#### **NEXT ENVIRONMENT**

Europe can be the leader  
of a just transition

#### **NEXT DEMOCRACY**

Primaries: the ideal way  
to choose a leader?

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# A UNITED EUROPE IN A TURBULENT WORLD

by Massimo D'Alema, FEPS President, former Prime Minister of Italy

The boundary between external and internal security has disappeared. It is inconceivable to fight terrorism in Europe whilst turning a blind eye to the actions of the Islamic State in the Middle East and thereby failing to tackle the organisation's roots, funding and support. Security is therefore, or should be, a common space on which Europe can build peace, starting with the neighbouring regions that surround us.



**O**n awarding the Nobel Peace Prize to the EU, the Nobel committee stated:

*“The stabilizing part played by the EU has helped to transform most of Europe from a continent of war to a continent of peace”.*

Following the accession of Croatia in July 2013, tensions and memories of the war still remain very present for the survivors, although stability has increased in the Balkans. The process of integration into the European Union would be a step towards calm.

## Responsibility to our neighbours

We also have a big responsibility in the South, across the Mediterranean, regarding the destabilisation of Libya that we contributed to. Even if it is insufficient, we must

support the government of National Unity now in place and broaden its representativeness.

On the Eastern Front, Europe must ensure that Putin respects the agreement on Ukraine. Moreover, we must cooperate with Russia to create peace and stability in the Middle East. In Syria, we have to admit that Russia occupies a role left vacant by Europe and the United States. It is necessary to end the Assad dictatorship and assure guarantees to non-Sunni Muslims. The truth is that Syria is built up on multiple ethnic and religious groups. The chaos in the Middle East cannot make us forget the fate of Palestinians at the heart of the conflict between the West and the Islamic world. Indeed, the Netanyahu government destroyed the prospect of peace and a two-state solution. If we let things pass, we also accept to

live with a permanent conflict that will impact international security, our security.

Only unity will allow us to carry out our international responsibilities. In foreign policy, and amid all the increasing uncertainty about the future of the transatlantic alliance, the EU urgently needs to forge greater strategic autonomy and to move forward with greater security and defence cooperation and coordination among its members. Therefore, we appreciate the work led by the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Federica Mogherini, and we hope that all European countries will show solidarity behind her to cement Europe as a major player on the international stage. The challenges are many, yet the potential of a unified European voice beyond our borders is of paramount significance too. After turmoil comes action, and our Union must act together or risk irrelevance.

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# WESTERN DEMOCRACY IN AN EXISTENTIAL CRISIS

**D**emocracy is a system set up to work for everyone. But it will only work for democrats if they invest in building, strengthening and forging a culture of democracy as a set of principles. As we have been reminded in several recent events, democracy is not just about voting. The election of Donald Trump served to sanction statements that were at odds with the very principle of civility

in democratic political debating rules. According to Donald Trump “Politics is a nasty business!”. Immediately after his election was confirmed, it is significant that European leaders called for respect for the values that western democracies stand for: freedom, respect of law, dignity of people regardless of race, sex, religion, skin colour and political conviction. Never before have such preconditions been demanded from an American President for working together.

Donald Trump’s election is a part of an existential crisis of western democracies. Rising inequalities and social exclusion, consequences of the deep financial and economic crisis, affect swathes of people in western societies. Neither answers nor solutions have been delivered. We have to accept that we are increasingly facing the threat of authoritarian leadership. This is not just a question of political correctness: discriminatory attitudes have now been given legitimacy by the fact

that Donald Trump won the presidential race. And they are endemic not only in Donald Trump’s rhetoric, but also that of others such as Vladimir Putin, Recep Erdoğan, Benjamin Netanyahu and Victor Orbán. We hope that further legitimacy will not be given to the extreme right next year in the French presidential elections.

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D’ÉTUDES PROGRESSISTES





# WILL TRUMP BE THE TRIGGER FOR AN EU ARMY?

by Vassilis Ntousas

After a bruising 18-month election cycle, the election of Donald Trump as the President of the USA sent shockwaves across the world. Trump sensed that for the first time in living memory there was greater fear of the American institutional establishment within the country's borders than outside, and he exploited that fear.

**T**his led to a result that can arguably be called the loudest rejection of the establishment in modern US history. For the next four years, the same office occupied by Franklin Roosevelt and Abraham Lincoln will now be held by a man who resorted to bigotry, demagoguery, arrogance, and disdain for democratic norms in order to get elected.

It will take some time before the contours of what this means for America and the world become clear, but the consequences of the dystopia that will likely arise will be both dire and plenty.

If past is prologue, the historical zigzagging of progress will resume in the US. With the Republicans now holding all branches of power and in a position to solidify a conservative majority on the Supreme Court for the next generation(s), the economic achievements of President Obama are expected to be curtailed. Many of the past decades' emblematic social advances such as the *Roe v. Wade* ruling risk being overturned. Equally

dangerous is the gradual normalisation of Mr Trump's bigotry and his vindictiveness towards critics, now to be amplified by the office he will hold and the power that comes with it.

## A break with the political class

The standing of the US beyond its borders will surely suffer from Mr Trump's sheer unpredictability and unapologetic aversion to nuance. The attractiveness of the President-elect's virulently nationalist elegy for America's lost greatness might have won him the election. But the country's foreign policy could now potentially become a source of volatility rather than stability, reversing a decade of internationalism, and swapping the primacy of *Realpolitik* with that of *Innenpolitik*.

Especially for Europe, whose international engagement has for a long time passed through a transatlantic lens. Trump's revisionism could signify the relegation of the transatlantic relationship from being

organic to purely transactional. If implemented, proposals such as abandoning commitments to NATO could upend the rules-based liberal international order upon which the US international *modus operandi* has been built since World War II. This could lead to the erosion of the ability of both Europe and the US to act in a concerted manner, from counter-terrorism coordination to trade cooperation, from Russia to the Middle East.

Nonetheless, the uncertainty on how reliably the continent can now depend on the US to guarantee its security could also create an opening for the EU to finally set its own house in order. While this will be difficult, the recent decision by all 28 Member States to move towards greater defence cooperation suggests that this might be the opportunity for the Union to assume its collective global responsibility.

Finding intelligent and intelligible answers as to how this can be done will be key for the EU to

navigate through the uncharted waters of a more turbulent world during a Donald J. Trump presidency. As Federica Mogherini, the Union's High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, subtly but aptly stated in reaction to the results:

*"[the transatlantic] ties are deeper than any change in politics. We'll continue to work together, rediscovering the strength of Europe".*



### > ABOUT

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# THE HELPLESSNESS OF THE LEFT ALLOWS THE TRIUMPH OF THE RIGHT

by Hanno Burmester

Five hypotheses on the election of Donald Trump:

## I.

The response to the election of Donald Trump is intense. Fear, disgust, sadness, and a feeling of acute threat.

Admittedly, his election is only a breach of taboo if we see our own perspective on the world as definitive. The utter dismay being felt today is similar to what millions of Americans felt during the election and re-election of Barack Obama to the White House. A black professor, trained at hyper-elitist Harvard, left-liberal all the way, politically active since his youth especially in the poorer African-American neighbourhoods of Chicago: people in many milieus

regarded this as purely insulting and as pushing the limits of what is permissible. For them, the unthinkable had become a reality.

Some celebrated Obama's election as a historic triumph (including myself). For many others it meant personal shame and humiliation. This change in perspective can't make Trump's election any less painful. However, it does put the result of the vote somewhat into historical context.

White America took revenge. The pendulum of history oscillated violently in one direction eight years ago and is now swinging to the other extreme.

## II.

The election of Trump brought something to mind that we as Germans have to keep reminding

ourselves of: No country can ever escape its ugly past. White supremacy, misogyny, homophobia, and xenophobia are historical constants that run much deeper in the white population of the US than tolerance, emancipation and equality. This ugliness needs a political home. If it has no home, it will build itself one.

In Germany this is no different. In the past, this ugliness had a cosy home in the form of the political parties CDU (Christian Democratic Union) and CSU (Christian Social Union). Xenophobes, chauvinists and homophobes could count on them for decades, albeit often tolerated only in silence. Today, this is no longer the case – at least in many parts of the CDU.

As a result, it is hardly surprising that those segments of the population that define their identity through the devaluation of others built themsel-

ves a new home. The AfD (Alternative für Deutschland) digs up those facets of ourselves that most of us would prefer to dissociate from forever. But as long as we pretend that there are no dark sides, we will not be able to effectively deal with them.

### III.

Trump is not a lapse. The next US elections will presumably produce similarly radical candidates. First, because the country has now been divided into constituencies so homogeneous that extreme polarization seems almost inevitable. Second, because the spirit of direct democracy has developed a misguided life of its own.

It is a popular misconception of the left-green movement that direct democracy is the better democracy by default. Today, illiberal parties, from the AfD to the Swiss People's Party, all peddle a way of thinking that has its origins within the political left. Referendums ennoble anti-constitutional voting results, and the call for the people's voice promises the blessing of a racially and culturally homogeneous country.

After Brexit, who can still argue in all seriousness that complex issues can be forced into a rigid yes-no referendum? After the election of Trump, does the political world still assume that direct, open primaries ensure a democratic process?

We need to reassess. Voter turnout is not the only basis for the democratic quality of a process. After all, the process is not an end in itself. What is more important is the final result of the election and whether it takes public interest into account.

### IV.

Clinton's centrist model is being phased out. The center-left has come to an end in the US, too. People have grown weary of a left that has come to solely defending and preserving instead of searching for the possible architecture of a new era.

The post-war order of Western democracy is coming to an end. Over the years, it has failed to adapt to a changing society. What is worse is that it knowingly accepted the fact that millions of people prepared themselves for permanent precarity with no chance of advancement. A left that allows this is – somewhat rightly so – easy to discredit.

Democracy is only readily comprehensible as the best choice for all if it takes care of everyone. If it fails to do so, democracy itself becomes negotiable – whether we approve or not.

### V.

Trump's election is just a taste of what might come. It is not unrealistic for Marine Le Pen to win the French presidential elections. If that happens, Europe will break up in a conflict of values, and that might just destroy our continent's democracy along the way.

Now, the left must deliver for all those who believe that our existing system has exhausted all possibilities. Otherwise, only the illiberals will offer them a place. And I'm not just talking about the disenfranchised, the uneducated, and the poor. I am also talking about the well-educated, high-earning people in my environment. People

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who want to know where those record-breaking tax revenues are actually ending up. People who want to know why politicians are tearing each other apart over two euros more or less on child benefits, while mental illnesses are spreading like an epidemic. People who want to know why combustion engines and coal remain sacrosanct, while climate change and smog-induced casualties go on forever. They ask why financial speculation and inheriting money is less heavily taxed than labor-based income. They wonder why public gyms and pools are being shut down while the world's richest corporations pay taxes in the range of one hundredth of one percent. We need good answers now. Otherwise, the right, that provides bad answers, will continue to win.



#### > ABOUT

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BRUSSELS, BELGIUM - Despite all the difficulties, Finland continues to put faith in the European Union.

# WHEN THE FORGOTTEN STRIKE BACK

by Mikko Majander

“The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer.” Thus promised Donald Trump in his first speech after becoming the President-elect of the United States.

Such rhetoric sounds very familiar to Finnish ears. “Forgotten people” was one of the favourite metaphors used by the grandfather of Finnish populism Veikko Vennamo in the 1970s when challenging the establishment. It was always a rocky ride for Vennamo’s Rural Party and its heirs, party splits and losses of electorate following relative successes, until the Finns Party made a breakthrough in the 2011 general elections. The high tide of populism in an all-European manner was confirmed four years later. The Finns Party became the second biggest group in parliament and entered a centre-right coalition government.

### Timo Soini as Foreign Minister

From his position of strength the unchallenged party leader, Timo Soini chose the post of Foreign Minister instead of managing the finances of the struggling country. The more power and responsibility he has gained, the more moderate his tone of politics has become. In international relations he fits well in Finland’s mainstream foreign policy that ultimately is defined by the President, Sauli Niinistö. Although Soini has acknowledged Vennamo as his great mentor, he maintained a good poker face when commenting on the rise of Donald Trump. Soini explained that his job is to represent the national interest of Finland, and that relations with the United States are very important, no matter who the President in the White House is. Not everybody in the Finns Party played it so cool. Laura Huhtasaari,

MP, cheered openly the election result that expressed the kind of worries and politics she shares: on immigration and putting your own people first, as well as free trade scepticism. Following the Brexit-vote, Huhtasaari saw Trump’s victory as another step towards the collapse of the European Union. Such views are rare and extreme in Finnish politics and public opinion overwhelmingly favoured Hillary Clinton in the final duel, although she failed to raise Obama-like enthusiasm. Many among the left supported Bernie Sanders, while the conservatives pinned their hopes on other Republican candidates.

### Small power realism

But history and geography have taught the Finns to conduct small power realism and they will no doubt adjust to the new leadership in Washington. However, Trump’s campaign speeches raise two concerns above others, one directly and another in a more indirect way. First, the security landscape around the Baltic Sea is in a state of flux. Russian behaviour in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine has made the defence of the Baltic States a pressing issue, and even the Swedes and the Finns are reflecting on the future of their current militarily non-aligned status. The question is, will NATO’s commitments in the region change in some way under Trump’s rule, and how would that affect Sweden’s and Finland’s security policy choices? The key factor is of course Trump’s Russia policy. Dialogue with Putin and efforts to negotiate peaceful solutions to present

deadlocks are welcome, but any deals on great power spheres of influence – hard or soft – are unacceptable by definition.

The second aspect concerns trade policy which naturally is an all-European issue. For a small export driven country like Finland it is a grim future perspective to see protectionist trends strengthening in international trade. In economic terms, “America first” may have emerged foremost in reaction to the Chinese challenge, but what will be its implications for the transatlantic community?

### Trump's effect on Finnish populism

In regard to Finland’s domestic policies and power balances, it is unlikely that Trump’s victory will give any greater boost to local populists. There is hardly an outsider’s promise left to give for the “forgotten people” as the Finns Party has already shared governmental power for a year and a half. And according to the opinion polls, aligning with the establishment has cost Timo Soini’s party half of its electoral support.

But the national picture is hardly enough in the integrated Europe. Despite all the difficulties, Finland continues to put faith in the European Union, seeing in strong institutions and in legitimate, just policies the guarantee that small nations are fairly heard and treated. The populist upsurge – nationalist by nature and transnational as a trend – surely challenges this approach. Even the best Europeans have to make sure that there always remains a fall-back position.



#### > ABOUT

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THE HAGUE, NETHERLANDS - Rutte faces a challenge from Geert Wilders for Catshuis in 2017.

# THE SORCERER AND THE APPRENTICE? GEERT WILDERS IN THE WAKE OF TRUMP'S VICTORY

by Cas Mudde

Donald Trump's shock victory in the US presidential elections has led to an explosion of media speculation about a "populist surge" around the globe with eyes focused specifically on European countries slated for national elections in 2017.

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**W**hile France and Germany attract most attention, for obvious reasons, the Netherlands deserves a special place because of Geert Wilders, the unofficial leader of the loose global “Counter-Jihad” movement.

### Socio-economic anxieties

To be clear, the success of Donald Trump (and Brexit) is both similar and different to that of populist radical right parties in Europe. Broadly speaking, they profit from a combination of economic anxiety, political dissatisfaction and racial resentment. In essence, it is the socio-cultural translation of socio-economic anxieties that boost the radical right. But Trump is more than a radical right leader; he was also the candidate of the mainstream right party and many non-radical right people voted for him out of party loyalty, having preferred a mainstream right opponent to Hillary Clinton, who is broadly despised in Republican circles.

While few, if any, Europeans will vote for a local radical right party because of the outcome of the US elections, Trump’s victory does give the European radical right a welcome narrative advantage. It allows them to argue that they, rather than the established parties, are the true voices of the current zeitgeist. Moreover, the fact that experts and

opinion polls were largely wrong on both Brexit and Trump strengthens radical right parties in their critique and dismissal of them in their own election campaigns. When experts will argue that the radical right is underperforming in the polls, Le Pen and Wilders can argue that these same experts didn’t predict the victories of Brexit and Trump.

### The perfect storm of the Greek crisis

Like most established radical right parties in Europe, the Party for Freedom (PVV), of which Wilders is the leader and only official member, spiked in the polls last year, profiting from a perfect storm created by the Greek crisis, the so-called refugee crisis, and various terrorist attacks in nearby countries. Having gained a mere 15 seats (out of 150) in the 2012 parliamentary elections, the PVV had been stuck around 20 seats until the refugees crisis catapulted it to highs of over 40 by the beginning of 2016.

But like other European radical right parties, early 2016 seems to have been its peak, at least for the moment, and the PVV has been losing support rapidly since. On average polls have Wilders’ party at 25 seats, a few seats behind the conservative VVD of Prime Minister Mark Rutte. Moreover, the relationship between Rutte and Wilders is at an all-time low, and both are trying to make the elections into a two-horse race. Consequently, Wilders’ chances of joining, let alone leading, the next Dutch government are miniscule.

### An authoritarian discourse

This is not to say his influence will be limited. Almost all Dutch parties have taken an uncooperative position on the EU’s refugee distribution plan and Prime Minister Rutte in particular has recently adopted a discourse that is increasingly rooted in authoritarianism and nativism. Moreover, the Dutch party system is one of the most fragmented in Europe, with no single party gaining more than a quarter of the vote. This means that the next (Rutte) government will probably be even weaker than the current one, which just lost its parliamentary majority, and will be confronted by an emboldened PVV as the strongest opposition party.



#### > ABOUT

**Cas Mudde** is an Associate Professor at the School of Public and International Affairs, University of Georgia, USA, and co-editor of the *European Journal of Political Research*.

# COUNTER-MEDIA CULTURE POLITICALLY DECISIVE IN THE US AND IN AUSTRIA?

by Natascha Strobl, Julian Bruns, Kathrin Gloesel

Across Western democracies, right-wing groups are following similar media strategies, claiming to be alternative and defining themselves in opposition to the establishment or the mainstream. It seems to be working.

**M**uch has already been said about the outcome of the presidential elections. Expounding Banalities such as “listening to THE people” (never defining who THE people are) was Trump's big advantage. But like Laurie Penny points out in the New Statesmen, THE working class is also female, black, Hispanic, lgbtq – and the left simply cannot abandon them. In both the USA and Austria, right-wing extremists have learned how to create and use social media in their favour. We can see similar traits

in the media strategies of both Donald Trump and Norbert Hofer.

## How the Trump campaign relied on right-wing media

After Trump became official nominee, his team immediately made use of the mailing list of the Republican National Committee, which contained about six million supporters. Trump had marketing entrepreneurs in his team set up a digital fundraising database and a social media campaign. The whole operation was called “Project Alamo” and it involved about

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a hundred people. By using negative campaigning, Trump's team aimed at liberals, young women and African Americans, discouraging them to vote for Clinton, especially in Florida. This strategy seems to have worked.

Additionally, Trump could count on a parallel sphere of media: websites publishing in his interest. One magazine that openly endorsed Trump was "Breitbart News Network", a website founded in 2007 by Andrew Breitbart, who wanted to break with established media and planned to set up opposing narratives regarding politics. After Breitbart's death in 2012, his successor Stephen Bannon shifted Breitbart's align-

ment and in 2016 declared it "the platform for the alt-right". In addition to that, Breitbart.com also approves of right-wing extremist groups in Europe such as the 'Identitarians'.

In August 2016, Trump made Bannon his campaign manager. This was a clear signal to the political far-right in the US. Breitbart now expects to profit from Trump's victory to set up offices in France and Germany, where it will openly support existing right-wing parties like the Alternative für Deutschland.

### How the Hofer campaign relies on right-wing media

In Austria the right-wing media network is an integral part of each FPÖ [Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs] campaign. Blogs and online newspapers like unzensuriert.at or Wochenblick are very blunt about their intentions. For example, they publish articles questioning the health of the opponent and with crude allegations against refugees. They do not provide evidence but claim it to be "secret information" from someone "within". Party leader Strache then shares the articles on facebook with comments like "interesting" or with his infamous facebook catchphrase "for your information". It gets shared wildly. By the time it is corrected by serious media, there is another story published.

Trump, Hofer, the FPÖ and many other actors of the extreme right have one thing in common: they have realised that creating filter bubbles in social media is crucial for success. Therefore, they created their own media-channels, which they claim to be "alternative", "rebellious" and "oppositional". To other political actors such as progressive parties, it is very difficult to reach people who are already caught in filter bubbles. Therefore, progressives have to find new strategies to cope with post-truth campaigns and right-wing counter-media. Social media is a political battleground that should not be underestimated in its importance.



#### > ABOUT

**Natascha Strobl** studied political science and Scandinavian studies in Vienna and Bergen. She is a researcher, author, blogger and political activist.

#### > ABOUT

**Kathrin Gloesel** studied Gender History and Politics and now does research on right-wing extremism and political educational work.

#### > ABOUT

**Julian Bruns** studied Scandinavian studies, German studies and philosophy in Cologne and Bergen. He is a PhD-candidate and an author.





■ LONDON, UK - Jeremy Corbyn has managed to create trust with a message of hope.

# TRUMP, SYMBOL OF POPULISM

by Frédérique Masson

Identity politics, nationalist slogans, spreading fear of the other, portraying foreigners as a threat, division of people, regressive remarks on women and gender equality, denial of climate change. The reaction to Donald Trump from this side of the Atlantic has often been disbelief.

rather than just being about one man, this is a national project: the promise that closed borders will improve quality of life; the use of differences in culture or beliefs as a way of crystallising fears felt at global level; the use of minorities as a scapegoat for unemployment figures. These are the same themes used by extremists across Europe today, and notably by the Front National in France: leaving the European Union, amalgamating Islam and radicalism, rallying together those in social and economic difficulty against refugees.

### A break with the political class

It is clear that it is hardship and economic inequality, in the United States as elsewhere, that has led to the development of populist parties. The objectives of these voters are the same in both France and the United States: to break up the established power, to change the political landscape, to throw out the political class. Although not as part of a populist movement, Icelanders voted in 2010 to break with the 'traditional' political class by choosing Jon Gnarr, an actor known for his clown acting, to be Mayor of Reykjavik, in a protest vote against economic difficulties. In Austria, the Freedom Party (FPÖ), failed to win the presidential election on 22 May 2016 after the elections were declared void. The vote, which will take place again on the 4<sup>th</sup> of December, will be observed closely to see if the populist trend continues. Eyes will then be on the French presidential election next May. Faced with this global trend,

how can progressives stop the rise of populist movements?

### The fight-back

In order to break the impression of political elitism, we must do everything to bring in new, young political leaders, who are more representative of today's society.

June 2017, the Parti Socialiste will be the first major party in France to have equal numbers of male and female candidates, diverse in class and ethnicity. In terms of communication, politicians must use language that closes the distance between politicians and citizens. French politics has gone from being bipartisan (alternating left/right) to tripartisan. The framework of traditional political parties has to be left behind. As in other European countries, we must support movements such as the Belle Alliance Populaire, a coalition of political parties including the PS, but also trade unions, charities, and students, against the movements that want to break the unity of the Republic and destroy our social model. Finally, an essential point: the way to combat mistrust is by creating trust. Bernie Sanders and Jeremy Corbyn have shown that it is possible to offer hope, and created genuine loyalty amongst supporters. We need to be able to defend our ideas, loud and clear, and not be afraid to stand up for the values that set us apart from the populist movements, rather than playing into the hands of populist leaders in an attempt to catch the attention of the electorate.

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THE WAY  
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”



#### > ABOUT

**Frédérique Masson** is the Deputy Secretary of the French Socialist Party in charge of elections since June 2015.

**Y**et, on Wednesday the 9<sup>th</sup> of November 2016, the world learnt that he had been elected President of the United States of America. How can a country, whose greatness is built on multiculturalism, diversity, freedom, and its influence throughout the world, yield to alarmist protectionism and isolationism? Because,



| BUDAPEST, HUNGARY - Members of the extreme-right Jobbik party strike on the day of Hungarian National Revolution.

# A WAKE-UP CALL FOR EUROPE

by Edit Inotai

Donald Trump's triumph is like shock therapy for European (and global) progressive forces. Who would have thought the billionaire clown, the reality hero could make it to the top?



**B**ut who would have thought Britain votes itself out of the EU? Or, on a somewhat personal note, who would have expected that the most potent opposition to Hungarian Prime Minister Victor Orbán's government, after being in power for more than six years, would be the radical right-wing party, Jobbik - while left-wing democratic parties are still clueless about how to win back voters. It is time to face the new reality. The most unimaginable things do happen in front of our eyes. It may improve Marine Le Pen's chances of winning in France. The German AfD [Alternative für Deutschland] can easily make it into the Bundestag next year. Voters think it is no longer embarrassing to vote for someone with harsh rhetoric and a populist agenda. If the US voters elected a controversial, dividing figure, what's wrong with the Kaczynskis, Orbáns, Le Pens and the other demagogues?

### The easy solutions

After all, it is so easy to find scapegoats in minorities (or refugees, as in the case of Hungary), denounce critical thinkers as traitors, and stir up emotions rather than promote rational debate. It is so tempting

to think that a charismatic leader can solve all the problems of the world - especially if he is given a free hand, not restricted by the complicated structures of democracy. Mind you, populists emerge not only on the right, but also on the left, offering similarly oversimplified answers to people's concerns. Matteo Renzi may fall in Italy and the protest party Five Stars could emerge as the major political force in parliament. Beppe Grillo for PM? Why not? It may look like the trend of the 21st century. The times of predictable - or responsible? - politicians are over. Although we benefit from globalization, we wear the same clothes, watch the same movies, get connected via Facebook or Twitter to create a real global village, it seems we still want to have our national heroes (emphasis on "national") who will protect us from the evil global forces.

### An uncertain future ahead

With the presidency of Donald Trump, transatlantic relations may become a journey through troubled waters. TTIP is a lost cause, the global climate deal is in serious danger, the future of NATO uncertain. On the other hand, a renewed American isolationism may push Europe into a direction of further integration - if led by reasonable politicians with vision. A withdrawal of US armed forces or just a weakening US support of NATO in Europe may offer a chance for a European common army or at least a strengthened cooperation in the field of security. However, it is still early to predict how many

of Trump's campaign promises should be taken seriously and to what extent experienced Republicans - mostly keen on free trade and security cooperation with Europe - will be able to "tame" the hot-tempered President. It seems

**“WHO WOULD HAVE EXPECTED THAT THE MOST POTENT OPPOSITION TO HUNGARIAN PM VICTOR ORBÁN'S GOVERNMENT, AFTER BEING IN POWER FOR MORE THAN SIX YEARS, WOULD BE THE RADICAL RIGHT-WING PARTY, JOBBIK?”**

or gender equality, press freedom or solidarity have become abstract slogans for many of our compatriots, especially when facing very specific daily difficulties like unemployment, insecurity, poverty or lack of opportunities. A democratic commitment should not be taken for granted. Democrats now have to fight for those values again, explain what they really mean, why they are important - even in everyday life, not just in highbrow terms. Social democrats and conservatives have to redefine politics (more ideology), reshape their rhetoric (straighter statements) and instead of lamenting, fight back.

Shock therapy like Trump's election can contribute to the renewal of democratic politics - or lead to the fall of it.



### > ABOUT

**Edit Inotai** is an editor and foreign policy analyst of the Hungarian business weekly *Figyelő* and Senior Fellow at the think-tank Centre for Euro-Atlantic Integration and Democracy in Budapest.

that it is high time for intellectuals and mainstream politicians (and media) to climb down from their ivory towers. Important values like democracy, human rights, racial



I ANAHEIM, USA - Anti-establishment sentiment is present across Western democracies.

# THE ANTI ESTABLISHMENT CHALLENGE FOR SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES

by Robert Ladrech

The anger felt towards the political class in advanced industrial democracies by large parts of the population must no longer be underestimated.

two issues, economic insecurity and immigration. The supporters of these parties have been described as the 'losers' of globalization, or the 'left behind', feeling not only economically insecure but frustrated by what they are told is an unfair system favouring immigrants, thus pitting 'native born' citizens with newcomers, and fomenting resentment and a focus on identity. Listening to Marine Le Pen recently, she now cloaks herself as leader of a European anti-globalisation movement.

### A push for the right-wing

These are, of course, the same sentiments that fed into the 1930's rise of fascist movements, and demagogic party leaders have exploited contemporary media to push their messages, whether it is Geert Wilders of the Freedom Party (PVV) in the Netherlands, Marine Le Pen and the Front National in France, or even Frauke Petry of the Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) in Germany. The election of Trump in the United States, following on the heels of Brexit, has cheered politicians such as Marine Le Pen because it may point to the 'normalisation' of this political phenomenon. In this regard, the social democratic parties in the Netherlands, France and Germany have a particularly difficult task in the run-up to their elections next year.

Politicians from Jeremy Corbyn of the British Labour Party to Sergei Stanishev of the Party of European Socialists have reacted to Trump's election by referring to it

as a 'wake-up' call for progressive parties. For the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA), French Socialist Party (PS), and the German Social Democratic Party (SPD), polls and recent electoral history demonstrate that their political position has been precarious for some time.

Each country's party system is different, but there are some common trends that Trump's election exacerbates. In France and the Netherlands, Wilders Freedom Party and Le Pen's Front National have not only been riding high in public opinion polls for the last several years, but local and regional elections (and national in the Netherlands) demonstrate that they are popular with voters. In France, it is now a foregone conclusion that Le Pen will be on the second ballot for the presidency in May 2017. In Germany, the rise of Alternative für Deutschland takes votes from both the SPD as well as from the Christian Democrats.

### Anti-establishment and anti-globalisation

By attempting to identify their parties with an anti-establishment and anti-globalisation sentiment, the extreme right has portrayed social democratic parties as part of the Establishment, 'fellow travellers' with the centre-right as agents of neo-liberalisation and subsequent job insecurity. The perception is not helped by the fact that the PvdA and SPD are junior members of a left-right, or grand coalition, in their respective countries. Both the PvdA and SPD have seen their vote in polling since they ente-

red government in 2012 and 2013 plummet to all-time lows. The SPD and the PvdA also must deal with electoral threats from their left, the die Linke in Germany and the Socialist Party in the Netherlands. Perhaps Trump's election will be the long-awaited catalyst for European social democratic parties to fashion a popular response to the feelings of insecurity among their core electorate.

Perhaps the long-term viability and renewal – intellectually as well as politically – of social democracy will now take centre-stage. Allowing the radical left and right to appropriate the mantle of opposition to neoliberalisation has undermined the belief that another Europe is possible under social democratic leadership.



#### > ABOUT

**Robert Ladrech** is Professor of European Politics at Keele University, UK and author of *Europeanization and National Politics* (2010).

**B**y the end of 2017, general elections will have been conducted in three key European states, namely the Netherlands (March), France (May and June) and Germany (September). A critical theme that links the political situation in these countries is the growing strength of extreme right-wing parties riding a wave of anti-establishment political reaction. Although the extreme right does not have a monopoly on anti-establishment sentiment – witness Syriza in Greece – it does challenge social democratic parties in the upcoming elections in the Netherlands, France and Germany. If the success of the Brexit referendum in the United Kingdom and the election of Trump to the US presidency impart a lesson, it is to avoid underestimating the anger of large swathes of the population in advanced industrial democracies toward the political class, including social democrats. The manipulation of this anti-establishment sentiment by extreme right-wing parties has focused on





NEW YORK, USA - Donald Trump's victory has sent shockwaves across Europe.

# TRUMP'S VICTORY: SOME LESSONS FOR EUROPEAN PROGRESSIVES

by Mario Del Pero

Trump's unexpected victory has sent shockwaves across Europe. It's a sort of Brexit on steroids, both for what it symbolizes and for its potential repercussions on Europe's politics and the transatlantic relationship itself.

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> ABOUT

**Mario Del Pero** is Professor of International History at the *Institut d'études politiques/SciencesPo* of Paris. His research focuses on the history of US Foreign Relations.

partial and at worst erroneous, and risks obfuscating more than clarifying. In a nutshell:

- Trump got more or less the same votes as Romney in 2012 (and he will probably lose the popular vote).
- Clinton failed to mobilize the broad, multifaceted democratic coalition of 2008 and 2012. Despite that, the vote confirmed the rigid bipartisan divide existing today in the United States, the high level of polarization and the diminishing mobility between two increasingly impermeable camps.
- A clear factor was turnout, particularly in some decisive counties of the de-industrialized Midwest, where Trump built his success.
- According to exit polls, the gap in the white vote has been broad (21 points, 58% went to Trump, 37% to Clinton), more or less at the same level of 2012 (20), but much larger than 2008 (12). Can it be the “Obama effect” – i.e.: the convergence of the unimaginable, and often vicious, reaction of parts of America to his election and the disillusionment of many electors with Obama? Highly probable, although more data are needed.
- Trump did better than Romney or McCain among low-income voters (under \$30,000), but still lost 41 to 53 to Clinton. The two were more or less even among high or super-high incomes. Trump built his victory, therefore, by outpolling Clinton among voters with median, or slightly higher, incomes (between 50,000 and 100,000 dollars).

Economic factors alone, then, do not explain Trump's success. Voters

chose him, and his radical, nativist message, for a plurality of other reasons: party affiliation (there was no Republican diaspora as hoped and predicted); identity – in this case racial-identity – politics; mistrust of the opponent, in an election where the negativity ratings of the two candidates were unprecedented.

### Lessons for Europe

Are there lessons for Europe, and for Progressive forces in Europe, aside from avoiding mono-causal, and often consolatory, explanations of a more complex – and, in part, peculiarly American – phenomenon? Three quick answers can be offered. The first is to avoid engaging the other side on its own territory and accepting a degraded and insubstantial political conversation. When it comes to demagoguery, a real demagogue will invariably outsmart a converted one. Lesson two: address a sense of insecurity that is pervasive and real. And which is not to be found only in downtrodden neighbourhoods of former steel towns in northwest Indiana or in some oxycodone-infested rural community in Kentucky. Last but not least, choose better candidates, aware that the current populist and anti-political mood will not disappear soon and it's the least propitious for figures that can be identified with the establishment. Like it or not, for what she was and represented, way more than for what she said and proposed, in this specific historical juncture there was no worse candidate than Hillary Clinton.

**T**rying to imagine what Trump's foreign policy will look like is a complex, perhaps at this stage futile (and vertigo-inducing) exercise. Were he to implement just a portion of what he has promised, the world would be facing rapid implosion. But that will not happen, and on foreign policy – more than domestic issues – the Trump administration could end up being less radical (and destabilizing) than what we fear.

Examining and interpreting Trump's victory, identifying its main drivers, is instead a useful exercise that offers some important lessons to European progressive forces. The common interpretation is that of a radical break with the past, catalysed by widespread economic insecurity that Trump and the Republicans effectively exploited. This reading – according to which the “losers of globalization” have propelled Trump to the White House – is at best



NEW YORK, USA - An America led by a president who is openly against gay marriage is unlikely to try to stop the trend of African leaders opposing gay rights.

# WHAT TRUMP'S VICTORY MEANS FOR AFRICA

by Arnold Wehmhoerner

Donald Trump's victory came as a shock to democrats in Africa. They had held up the American political system as a paragon of democracy and can't understand how this candidate is appealing to an American electorate.

Africans expect something better from a "first-world" country and a population that is better educated than the majority in Africa. At a time when the commitment of African leaders to democracy

and good governance is faltering, African democrats will now have a tougher fight for more democracy and against racism. It is unsurprising that some of the continent's questionable leaders rushed to congratulate the president-elect. Zimbabwe's

state-owned Herald newspaper rejoiced in the defeat of the "warmonger" Hillary Clinton. However, very little is known about Trump's position on Africa. The continent just seems not to be on his radar because he is an insular president focused on US

interests. This means that Africa is looking towards an uncertain future in its relationship with the new president. But based on his remarks during his election campaign, Africa needs to worry. Trump believes that trade deals are weighted against the US. The

new administration may revise the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) which is designed to give African countries easier access to US markets by scrapping import duties on certain goods. Under the act exports from Africa to the US have now reached \$4.1 billion, which makes it a vital economic lifeline for the continent.

### Reduction of foreign aid

Trump is not a fan of foreign aid. He may reduce America's extensive aid programme. Left-leaning US donors provide wide-ranging grants to African NGOs. These funds are likely to be reduced or re-directed to conservative organisations. A reduction of aid to and trade with Africa would automatically increase China's influence in Africa. Trump has pledged to make the US "great" again. This may override his isolationist tendencies and convince him to increase US support for Africa. Republican presidents have always been more prone to intervention. He will likely follow this line not just as far as trade and aid is concerned but especially with regard to the "War of Terror". Based on his Islamophobic tendencies he has said he would allow torture and wants to keep Guantanamo Bay open. One has to fear that the "War on Terror" will be intensified with increased collateral damage and less thought given to the protection of human rights.

A hard-line "War on Terror" combined with his rhetorical attacks on Muslims could become the most effective recruiting tool for terro-

rists across the globe, and in Africa for Boko Haram and Al Shabab. His promised tough tactics in the "War of Terror" would probably be counterproductive: studies show that abuses committed against civilians are likely to push people towards terrorism.

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It is feared that the new administration would sabotage the UN Framework Convention on Climate

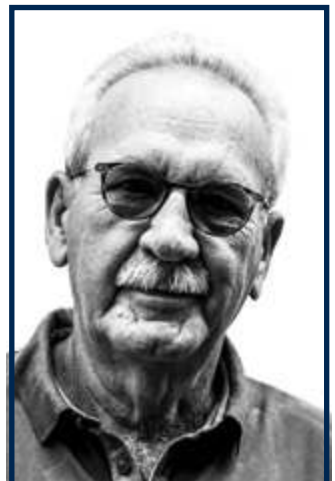
Change and similar strategies to solve global climate problems. This would have long-term catastrophic consequences for Africa because its small scale farmers are hardest hit by drying soils.

South Africa and other African countries just formally withdrew from the International Criminal Court by notifying the United Nations. They claim the court is biased against Africa. How can the US now oppose such a move when it is not a signatory to the Rome Statute that created the international court and when its leader wants to maintain Guantanamo Bay?

### Minority rights

Most African leaders do not support gay rights. Some countries like Uganda even persecute homosexuals. Even South Africa voted to scrap a United Nations gay rights watchdog. An American administration under the leadership of a man who is openly opposed to gay marriage certainly will not try hard to stop this trend. Life for gays in Africa will become more difficult. African states were created by colonial powers with little regard for tribes and ethnic compositions. African leaders have to deal with these complex foundations to build coherent nations. This can only be done by being conciliatory and open to compromise. Policies along tribal lines and confrontation are bound to lead to internal conflicts. Those African leaders who base their policies on populist tribal interests and on exclusiveness may feel encouraged by Trump's victory. The moral compass lost its bea-

ring. It suits most African leaders to have at the top of the most powerful country in the world a man who thinks along their lines of populism and autocratic rule. It is the time for progressive movements and civil societies in Africa to keep the idea of democracy and good governance alive. In such a situation it would not make sense to look for help from autocratic leaders of the BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India, and China). Rather, the European Union could serve as a model, a union that is based on democracy, multilateralism and solidarity across borders and ethnic lines. In that respect the EU has much in common with African states; both have to be based on compromise and rejection of exclusiveness. Will the EU be able to fill this role?



#### > ABOUT

**Arnold Wehmhoerner** is the FEPS advisor on Southern Africa.





■ HANGZHOU, CHINA - Trump's foreign policy could juggle existing relations between BRICS countries.

# IS PRESIDENT TRUMP A GEOPOLITICAL OPPORTUNITY FOR INDIA?

by Klaus Voll

The changes in the web of international relations brought about by the new president could present India with the chance to take on a new leadership role.

In India, public support during the American election campaign has been overwhelmingly in favour

of Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton. This also holds true for the majority of the 3.3 million Indian Americans. Altogether five Indian Americans - the highest number ever - have been elected into both houses of Parliament, all Democrats. The Indian government,

and Prime Minister Narendra Modi in particular, will be pragmatic in their approach to this new situation. The USA is India's leading foreign trade partner. Former Foreign Secretary Kanwal Sibal predicts that the current dynamic of bilateral relations will slow down in the immediate future. India will have to learn about the new personnel, who will be largely unknown. Nirupuma Rao, a former Foreign Secretary and ambassador to Washington, noted that "the American President-elect is generally not acquainted with the salient details of the India-US strategic partnership."

### Geopolitical implications of the Trump Presidency

Substantial geopolitical changes are expected under Donald Trump, who, in his political style and some of his opinions, is quite similar to Narendra Modi. From an Indian perspective much will depend upon his relationship with China, particularly in view of the sharpening differences between India and China.

Since Trump is against the 'US pivot to Asia', this would permit China to assert itself more in the Western Pacific and allow it to expand faster into the Indian Ocean. This would be contrary to the strategic vision built with Obama for the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean regions, which was supposed to counter Chinese muscle-flexing.

If this does happen, India must either try to influence the expected

American strategy or to fill the expected vacuum.

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”**

C. Raja Mohan, director at Carnegie India, has pointed out that Trump's election presents a rare opportunity for Delhi to expand its own influence and agency in the Eurasian region, rather than being the 'lynchpin' of the US pivot to Asia, and indeed become a leader in its own right. Improved relations with Russia

under Trump are seen in India as another good opportunity, in that Russia will lean less towards China and cooperate less with Pakistan, creating changes in the Middle East that could benefit India. Here a coordinated partnership between India, the EU and Britain could be envisaged.

A statement from former Ambassador Rao was telling: "Trump came across during the campaign as having a much more rational and less prejudiced approach to the situation in Syria and Russian involvement in the region, and it is hoped that his advent to office will see more collaborative, well-reasoned policy approaches and dialogue with Moscow to defeat the Islamic State instead of just pursuing the prospects of regime change in Damascus."

Others have suggested that Trump's election could have indirect implications for Pakistan, in that Trump could pull Putin away from Chinese premier Xi Jinping, and thereby ruin Pakistani ideas of a Beijing-Moscow-Islamabad axis.

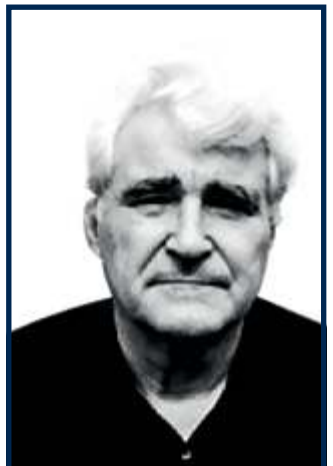
### Economic implications

The prospect of protectionist policies being put in place by Trump are only partly seen as directed against India. It has been noted that India is not necessarily ready for major free-trade agreements, and that the country could benefit geopolitically from the negative economic effects that American protectionism could have on China. That said, if Trump does start to fine outsourcing compa-

nies, as he has said he would, this could have a negative effect on the Indian IT industry.

According to Shyam Saran, a former Foreign Secretary and architect of the Indo-US Nuclear Deal, the strategic community in India is confident that in view of the consensus about good bilateral relations and a "strengthening of the strategic relations with India", no negative tendencies are to be expected with the new administration.

There are similarities between the Hindu-nationalist NDA-government's economic and social policies and what can be expected from Trump. Therefore it is to be expected that in India there will be less criticism of Trump's domestic politics and a greater focus on his future foreign policy.



#### > ABOUT

**Klaus Voll** is an advisor for FEPS on South Asia and leading European analyst on India's domestic and foreign policies.





NEW YORK, USA - It is still unclear what Trump's foreign policy will actually look like.

# THE IRAN DEAL IS IN JEOPARDY, AND OTHER DISASTERS

by Ken Gude

America is still in shock over Donald Trump's surprise victory on November 8<sup>th</sup>. We must now attempt to assess what a Trump administration foreign policy would look like. The obvious place to start is trade, but two other areas of intense interest for Europeans may come up more quickly: the Iran nuclear deal and the visa waiver program.

position to the Iran nuclear deal. Trump has said he will “renegotiate” the deal and ask Congress to impose new sanctions on Iran. When the Iran deal was put before Congress in 2015, every Republican voted against it. The reality that the deal has been implemented, sanctions have been lifted, Iran has dismantled its nuclear program, and frozen Iranian assets have been returned, does narrow Trump’s options somewhat. Trump can, however, direct his administration to re-impose some sanctions. Just two days after Trump’s election, one of his most ardent Republican foes, Sen. Lindsey Graham, said, “Trump has been right about the Iran deal, it needs to be renegotiated. I’m going to create leverage for him.” Much has been made of Trump’s experience as a negotiator, looking for every advantage, and Graham is trying to help him gain that leverage.

### Europe to stand up for the deal

But that cuts both ways. European governments supportive of the Iran nuclear deal must make clear, immediately, that Iran has complied with the terms of the deal and they have no intention to participate in any renegotiation nor impose new sanctions. If European governments are clear and firm that they won’t go along, it undercuts any leverage Trump is trying to gain, and he may back away from any meaningful attempt to reopen the deal. Leaving aside for the moment how controversial they are, Trump’s proposals to build a wall on the US-Mexico border and ban all

Muslims from entering the United States lack any detail on how they would be accomplished. Less prominent was his suggestion in March that “it’s time to stop” the visa waiver program, and it is easy to see how that could be implemented. While no Congressional Republican has, to my knowledge, recommended completely scrapping the visa waiver program, Congress did enact new restrictions just last year. In Congressional hearings on that measure, many Republican members indicated that they were not finished examining the program, and in a Trump administration it could be on the chopping block. European governments may have less ability to influence this issue than on the Iran deal, but they can make clear how much revenue is associated with the ease with which most Europeans can enter the United States. And I say this partially in jest and partially in sadness at the reality that he has such unprecedented conflicts of interest, Europeans should point out to the president-elect that fewer business and holiday travellers to the United States will assuredly mean fewer guests for Trump hotels.

### Trade deal uncertainties

Opposition to current American trade deals has been a centerpiece of Trump’s platform. It seems impossible that Trump would pursue any new trade deal, especially given a recent poll of Republicans by Pew that showed only 24% viewed free trade as a good thing, while 68% did not. But with Trump, you never know. Republicans in

Congress have traditionally been pro-trade. They can read polls too, however, and it’s extremely unlikely that TTIP, TPP, or any other trade deal gets through any time soon. Predicting a Trump administration is a guessing game. He has never held elective office before, lacks even a basic idea of how our government works, has proposed policies that upend decades of consensus, and has offered few details of how he would actually do it. Given all these uncertainties, it is best to focus our early attention on areas in which he is aligned with the Republicans who control Congress. The urgent priority is to prevent Trump from unravelling the Iran deal and ending the visa waiver program. More fights will lie ahead, but this is where to start.

**T**ump has offered so few details on his policies that it’s nearly impossible to accurately predict exactly what a Trump administration will do. Certainly, Trump’s admiration for Russian President Vladimir Putin is deeply troubling. It’s likely that President-elect Trump will pursue warmer relations with Moscow, but that is a position that is deeply opposed by most Republicans, even his own Vice President. We can have more confidence in predicting the Trump administration’s policies in areas in which Trump is more aligned with his Republican colleagues.

### New Iran nuclear deal negotiations?

In no policy area is Trump more in sync with Republicans than op-



#### > ABOUT

**Ken Gude** is a Senior Fellow with the National Security Team at the Center for American Progress.



WARSAW, POLAND - The Nato alliance could be under threat Trump doesn't believe the US has special relationships with countries because they are democracies.

# DONALD TRUMP AND THE TRANSATLANTIC ALLIANCE

by Jeremy Shapiro

Trump's view of allies and trade represents an existential threat to the transatlantic alliance. That threat comes less from the inconsistent policy positions he has taken in the campaigns than from some of his core beliefs that stretch back decades.

**T**ransatlantic relations have long been predictable, even boring. Even their dysfunctions and disputes are ritualised and repetitive — something that makes life difficult for analysts and journalists looking for new or exciting material. But it has served the interests of the transatlantic partners fairly well. In geopolitics, repetitive, boring disputes at summit meetings are in fact an amazing and historically rare achievement.

But now, for the first time in generations, the very concept of “alliance” is being called into question by Donald Trump, who has been clear that he views the alliance in instrumentalist terms. Unless the alliance is radically reshaped, Trump claims that America will simply walk away from Europe, leaving it to deal with its problems on its own.

Of course, a desire for more equitable burden-sharing has been present in American foreign policy for decades. President Obama’s pivot to Asia reflected the notion that Europe was not capable of dealing with its own problems and that the excessive American military presence in Europe had led Europeans to neglect their own forces.

US Secretary of Defense Bob Gates ended his tenure in office in 2011

with a blistering attack on European irresponsibility in defence:

*“The blunt reality is that there will be dwindling appetite and patience in the US Congress, and in the American body politic writ large, to expend increasingly precious funds on behalf of nations that are apparently unwilling to devote the necessary resources [...] to be serious and capable partners in their own defence.” To this he added that there is a “real possibility for a dim, if not dismal, future for the transatlantic alliance.”*

But comparing Obama and Trump shows what is new about the Republican nominee. Previous US efforts to equalise the security burden, including Obama’s, have always been based on the notion that America’s best partners are democracies, that its own prosperity is derived from a broad global system of trade and investment, and that Europe’s security must be protected — by Europe if possible, and by the United States if necessary. Previous post-war American presidents have explicitly looked for a more equitable partnership with Europe, but they believed that Europe’s security and prosperity were a core interest of the United States and have therefore been wary of abandoning Europe and leaving it to its own devices.

This bargaining approach, in which America’s commitment to Europe is never questioned, has weakened US leverage. Implicit in the current approach is the assumption that the United States will take up whatever slack Europe leaves behind. And so Europeans end up free-riding on American

security guarantees. However, the current model also reflects a historically sound belief that the United States does have a stake in European conflicts, and cannot ultimately stand aside from them.

Trump, in contrast, believes in walls and in oceans. In his view, America can and should stand aside from problems in other regions. For example, Trump doesn’t believe that the US should offer assistance on the European refugee crisis, because “we have our own problems”. Unlike any US president since Harry S. Truman, Trump doesn’t believe that America has special relationships with countries because they are democracies. After all, he sees democratic nations as inherently

deals with authoritarian leaders that can better support American economic and security interests.

Trump’s views on allies, on trade, and on authoritarian leaders are fundamentally at odds with the decades-old principles of transatlantic relations. His volatile temperament and his tendency to ridicule allies means that he would bring a new and damaging tone to transatlantic diplomacy.

It would be the height of folly to assume that winning the presidency will change Trump’s core beliefs or finally subdue his ego.

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#### > ABOUT

**Jeremy Shapiro** is a research director at the European Council on Foreign Relations. He has previously worked as a senior advisor on European and Eurasian affairs to the US State Department during the Obama administration.

weak. Instead of being lambasted by weak democratic allies, he believes he can formulate individual





WASHINGTON, USA - Carter, Clinton, Obama and Bush all presided over a period of American hegemony.

# THE GLOBAL ORDER AND THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN INFLUENCE

by Joseph Nye

Trump's victory suggests that many US voters feel disaffected with globalisation. But the USA will retain its global influence, both through hard and soft power.

**S**ince World War II, the United States has sustained alliances and institutions that constitute a liberal international order. Now, the rhetoric of Donald Trump in the 2016 election campaign has caused anxiety about the future of that order. It would be a mistake, however, to read too much about long term trends in American public opinion from the heated rhetoric of the election campaign. The information revolution has strengthened globalization. Unlike the 1930s (or even the 1980s) there has not been a reversion to protectionism. In fact, the US economy has increased its dependence on international trade. And a September 2016 poll by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations found that 65 per cent of Americans say that globalization is mostly good for the US. The label “isolationism” is not a very helpful description of current American attitudes.

### Guns vs butter vs taxes

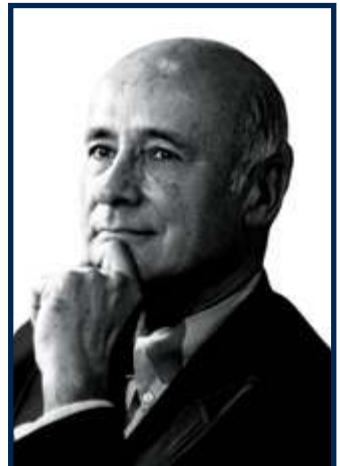
Some allies worry whether the US can afford to sustain the liberal economic order, but their concerns are misplaced. The US currently spends about 3.5 per cent of its GDP on defense and foreign affairs. As a portion of GDP, the US is spending less than half of what it did at the peak of the Cold War years. Alliances are not bleeding us. The problem is not guns vs. butter, but guns vs. butter vs. taxes. Unless the budget is expanded by a willingness to raise taxes, defence expenditure is locked in a zero-sum trade-off with important investments such as domestic repair of education, infrastructure, and spending on R&D. And the US remains among the most lightly taxed of all the OECD countries.

The US will remain the world's leading military power in the decades to come, and military force will remain an important component of American power. A rising China and a declining Russia frighten their neighbours, and American security guarantees in Asia and Europe provide critical reassurance for the stability that underlies the prosperity of the liberal order. Maintaining alliances is also an important source of influence for the United States.

### Soft power still important

At the same time, military force is a blunt instrument. Trying to occupy and control the domestic politics of nationalistic populations in the Middle East revolutions is a recipe for failure. And on many transnational issues like climate change or financial stability or norms to govern the Internet, military force is not

the answer. Maintaining networks, working with institutions, creating norms for new areas like cyber and climate change create the soft power needed to complement our hard power resources. Leadership is not the same as domination. There have always been degrees of leadership and degrees of influence during the seven decades of the American liberal order since World War II. Now with slightly less preponderance and a more complex world, American provision of global public goods, in cooperation with others, will be crucial to US well-being as well as to the world.



#### > ABOUT

**Joseph Nye** is a professor at Harvard University and widely regarded as one of the most influential thinkers on American foreign policy. He developed the concept of soft power, and has worked with the US State Department during both the Clinton and Obama administrations.





ROME, ITALY - The treaty of Rome was signed on March 25, 1957.

# THE JOURNEY OF BRINGING EUROPE TO THE PEOPLE

by Julian Priestley

The European Parliament began as a brief genuflection to the idea that the Commission be in some way accountable to a parliamentary body. Over the last 60 years it has grown into a real contender for political power. A far cry from the purely consultative body with little more than a theoretical right to censure the Commission described in the treaties.

Since the first stirrings of parliamentary democracy, politicians have shown talent, imagination and perseverance in the accretion of political influence for representative institutions. And so it has been at the European Parliament, with, sixty years on, the full range of powers one would normally associate with a fully-fledged parliament in any of our national systems. So, before the first elections, significant budgetary powers were won after an epic struggle, and used to the hilt to shape budgets; consultation on legislation became in relatively quick succession compulsory and general. This led to sharing in decision-making with ministers and, finally, equality of co-decision across the board. In Treaty making, a vanguard of MEPs put their foot in the door, and finally flung it wide open. No significant international agreement or accession now escapes parliamentary oversight. The appointment of the Commission has become essentially a parliamentary affair, with, in 2014 - the ultimate *lèse majesté* - the Parliament using the EP elections as the leverage to prise away from heads of government the right to propose and appoint the Commission President.

### A declining European electorate

As a unique transnational exercise in democracy, the first elections in 1979 had novelty value. More than 63% of this new 'European electorate' voted. In successive elections, turn out has fallen re-

lently, now to just over 42% (although the 2014 elections saw only a slight fall from the 2009 figure). And this mirrors an overall decline of support for European integration and trust in EU institutions. These observations require much qualification before conclusions may be drawn. National figures throw up stark differences. Voter turnout has actually increased in some countries. In 2014 it seems that where the 'presidentialisation' (*spitzenkandidaten*) of the campaign was most intense, voter numbers were up. And there appears to be an East/West divide. Turnout in member states which joined in 2004 and 2007 is abysmally low. Indeed when only just over 13% of Slovaks take part there would appear to be serious questions not just about European but about Slovakia's democracy. What is clear is that many Europeans do not feel represented by 'their' Parliament: their MEPs are often largely unknown (not true in Germany or even in France, certainly the case in the UK); their role is obscure. Broadly speaking very few Europeans have the faintest idea as to who does what in Brussels. To ignorance is added indifference, apart from the general feeling that Brussels means austerity, over-regulation and incompetence in meeting the big challenges (as over the refugee crisis).

### Toxic consequences of rising Euroscepticism

Disenchantment with the European Union (Brexit, the rise of

anti-European, populist parties almost everywhere) is part of a more general rejection of institutions, traditional politics, authority and expertise. The rise of the *hurlatori* is a global phenomenon but its consequences are particularly toxic for European institutions which are inevitably perceived as remote, complex and in their communication often flatfooted. In the short run in this climate there is not a great deal that the EU can do to bridge this gulf between voters and 'the Brussels elite'. It is first and foremost for the member states to ensure that public information about the EU and education about its institutions at last get some priority. But at least Brussels should do everything that it can do. The Parliament has taken digital communication seriously and communicates as effectively as it can, given all the institutional constraints. But the European political parties need to play the motor role for politicising Europe that their political groups have played in Parliament. In particular the parties should be given the resources to wage campaigns on their priority issues. For their election campaigns, they should redouble their efforts to put their Commission presidential candidates at their heart: and they should choose these candidates in an open democratic process aimed at motivating party supporters in the member states to campaign for the candidate that they have chosen. The EU has ended up after sixty years with a strong parliament, by accident and by design. The priority now must be its own popular legitimacy.



#### > ABOUT

**Sir Julian Priestley** was Secretary General of the European Parliament from 1997 to 2007. Since then he has written several books about the politics of the EU, most recently on the 2014 elections, 'The Making of a European President' with Nereo Peñalver Garcia. His most recent novel, 'Putsch' is a political thriller.



YORK, UK - Gig economy companies such as Deliveroo have been criticised for instable working conditions.

# CONFRONTING 'INSECURITY CUBED' IN THE DIGITAL ECONOMY

by Anthony Painter

Technological change, an increasingly flexible labour market and an intrusive welfare state have combined to create a new state of insecurity. To contend with this, a new social contract is needed. The cornerstone of this should be a basic income.

**T**he job is changing. This is not just a case of new types of work replacing others - a trend seen relentlessly since the industrial revolution.

Something more profound is taking place. The nature of the 'job' itself is changing. It is going through a transformation as great as the changes seen to the family since the 1960s, to the nature of old age as the Baby Boomers hit retirement, or the construction of identity, now that adolescents socialise as much online as off. Much has been said about the decay of other institutions - the church, trade unions, and the industrial age firm. But the transformation of the 'job' is perhaps one of the most significant societal changes seen in half a century. This is serious and it impacts the weakest more than others. In other words, it is something that social democrats should be taking very seriously indeed.

Work has been decoupled from a single job. The economy has shifted from a picture of full-time, stable and predominantly male employment to a picture that contains a much greater number of part-time, insecure, flexible jobs. Many have undoubtedly benefited from this change.

More women are now in employment and those with marketable skills are able to navigate more flexible labour markets to their advantage (often through high value self-employment). Yet if we look underneath the bonnet a more concerning picture emerges.

### The three dimensions of insecurity

Since 2007 almost all the aggregate increase in employment in the UK is accounted for by 'non-standard jobs', according to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). These include low-pay self-employment, 'flexible' and zero-hours contracts and part-time work. The rapidly growing 'gig economy' offers new opportunities for some but instability and low-pay for others. What is the outcome of the deconstruction of the traditional job? The answer for many is insecurity and volatility. This is the first dimension of what we might call 'insecurity cubed': the tripartite combination of job insecurity, insecurity caused by the welfare state, and that caused by technological change.

The second dimension, the increasingly punitive welfare state, now sits alongside this world of insecure work and anxious lives.

The edifice of the modern welfare state has become ever more intrusive as it compounds an entirely arbitrary sanctioning regime with moves into in-work conditionality and work penalties.

None of this has rebuilt faith in the welfare state; in fact, it has undermined it as those trapped in low or no pay cycles are seen as an 'undeserving' other. And there is a third factor: technological change. There are many predictions about the impact of intelligent machines on the world of work.

The best guide in these situations has to be the past; previous technological leaps have created more new (and better) work opportunities than they have destroyed.

However, these changes have hit particular groups of workers and communities hard and sometimes for considerable lengths of time. We should be alert to the possibility that changes could have a significant negative impact on whole categories of worker (whilst empowering others) and that these impacts could be more sudden or intensive than historical scenarios might suggest.

### A new social contract

These three dimensions of insecurity - a changing labour market, technological innovation and an intrusive welfare state - all suggest that a very different social contract is now required. Primarily, the tax and benefits system needs fundamental reform. The cornerstone of this new social contract should be a basic income.

In essence, a basic income is an intervention designed to underpin economic security. It gives people a greater possibility to pursue better work, try setting up a business, reskill, or undertake caring responsibilities.

Basic income alone is of course not sufficient. There will still need to be help into work but it will have to be higher quality, better tailored and targeted to encourage those who need support to engage. There will need to be greater support for particular groups of workers such as the low paid self-employed, for example, through government supported co-operatives and peer to-peer social enterprises.

The RSA's Brhmie Balaram has proposed a system of shared regulation involving gig workers,

consumers, and new sharing platforms to ensure fairness. With new powers, cities and other devolved areas will have to plan creatively to offer new routes into work and training for those locked in a low pay-no pay dynamic.

Rightful concerns over inequality have occupied the centre-left for some time. Those concerns should not be diluted. However, alongside them there must be a much greater focus on the impacts of insecurity associated with the decline of the traditional job. We need an agenda for insecurity cubed; that agenda has a basic income at its core.

 Read this article in its entirety on [www.progressivepost.eu](http://www.progressivepost.eu)



#### > ABOUT

**Anthony Painter** is a director at the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacture and Commerce, based in the UK. He has published books about social justice, reform of welfare and public policy, and the impact of new technology on the economy.





■ LONDON, UK - Thousands of taxi drivers bring the city to a standstill in protest against Uber working conditions.

# HOW DO WE PROTECT THE SOCIAL RIGHTS OF SELF-EMPLOYED WORKERS IN THE GIG ECONOMY?

by Oliver Roethig

The most exciting development of our age is certainly digitalisation - the spread of digital technologies across all segments of society and the economy. This process will influence our way of living, thinking and working in various ways, and will challenge our European social model.

**D**igitalisation and the connected transition to Industry 4.0 is – and will be – a radical transformation for workers in the service sectors. On the one hand, many experts forecast a net decrease in jobs across all European Member States in the coming decades. On the other hand, new forms of work and new economic forms – such as the so-called ‘gig economy’ – will emerge and will spread widely.

The digitalisation of Europe is an interesting process, which poses not only opportunities but also key challenges to current and future generations.

### The ‘bogus’ self-employed

So-called crowdsourcing platforms serving the ‘gig economy’ mostly use self-employed workers. These platforms allow companies to publish online tenders for work assignments for which job seekers can apply. As those who win contracts on crowdsourcing portals usually operate as free-

lancers through their one-person companies – an employment status exempting them from standard employment legislation and the right to information, consultation, and co-determination that an employee status grants, a growing number of people are excluded from fundamental social rights. Moreover, these workers are excluded from social protection, such as unemployment benefits, paid holidays, paternity leave arrangements, and so forth.

In addition, as companies ‘go digital’, more and more service workers perform their tasks by using digital mobile devices such as laptops and mobile phones. In theory, labour flexibility allows employees to work flexibly at times and locations of their choice. In practice, however, such flexible forms of work also involve the risk of ‘work without boundaries’, i.e. employees are available for work at all times. If we then couple that with the new forms of employment where workers are exclusively paid for tasks completed, it is a big question whether the working day will ever end.

In the attempt to find solutions, one suggestion could be that workplace regulations and standards should be universally applied irrespective of what forms of employment exist in an individual workplace. This would protect the (bogus) self-employed working within the boundaries of a company that uses a mix of forms of employment. With regard to the working and employment conditions for people finding jobs through online plat-

forms, we encourage the small and medium-sized enterprises and employers’ federations to sit with the trade unions and find sustainable solutions that guarantee quality jobs, and avoid unfair competition.

The digital economy will also lead to a polarisation of jobs as employment will emerge either at the top or at the bottom of the competence and wage scale.

For instance, IT engineers being at the forefront of digital innovation earn considerably more than warehouse packers who work at the end of the production chain. For many, having digital skills and constantly renewing them will be key for employment/job opportunities.

### Life-long training

The requirement to constantly re-skill will be forever present as it is estimated that skills will become obsolete after just two years. Frequent re-training measures that are equally accessible to workers in standard and non-standard forms of employment must therefore be in place. To meet this challenge, all workers, including those in non-standard employment, must have an enforceable right to paid educational leave and effective training schemes.

To ensure that the cost of life-long training is not borne by workers, both employers and governments must increase the investment in education and training. Such education and training systems are important in order to promote digital innovation striving towards a

fairer distribution policy within the European Union. Nonetheless, as corporate contributions to social security decline in line with the transition towards engaging with (bogus) self-employed rather than permanent employees, state revenue raising capacity and public budgets will suffer. This also raises new questions of taxation and a general funding of public services.

In general, EU policy has to ensure that all workers, regardless of their type of employment, are entitled to social protection and social rights. Equally, a universal access to further training must be ensured to avoid larger groups of workers being excluded from the core of the labour market.

 Read this article in its entirety on [www.progressivepost.eu](http://www.progressivepost.eu)



#### > ABOUT

**Oliver Roethig** is Regional Secretary of UNI Europa and a member of the ETUC executive committee.



LAS VEGAS, USA - Democratic presidential debate with candidates Bernie Sanders and Hillary Clinton in October 2015.

# PRIMARIES: THE IDEAL WAY TO CHOOSE A LEADER?

by Carlo D'Ippoliti

Primaries have become widespread across Europe, including in countries that do not have a first-past-the-post or presidential system. Reflecting on the choice to select a leader by election, as opposed to one being nominated by a committee of wise men (it's almost always about men), there are lots of reasons for the diffusion of loosely speaking “primaries”.

Some see direct elections as the most democratic way to select a party's (or a government's) leadership; others consider this procedure as a form of legitimization of the leadership (especially where the head of government is appointed rather than elected). Cynics will say that some parties moved to primaries because they were lured by the media attention and the renewed public interest that these spectacular procedures convey.

## “ DEMOCRACY IS MORE ABOUT DISCUSSION THAN BALLOTS. ”

The diversion of a complicated debate on policies to a simplified quarrel of personalities could be seen as a way to involve more citizens/supporters in the political process, and a means for the party of reaching a decision on where to stand.

There are further reasons still, but an interesting recent trend is that primaries are being increasingly criticised: both in theory and in light of recent events.

The booming field of behavioural sciences has now made clear that we do not take rational decisions, do not use all available information in the best way, frequently change our minds with no particular reason, and we are incredibly affected

by so-called framing effects: people's answers to a question change significantly based on the way it is posed to them.

### Chance and contextual factors

Add to this a number of more general criticisms against the simplistic equation of democracy with plebiscite. First, chance always plays a role. For example, extreme weather conditions in some regions of Colombia may have significantly impacted on the final result of a crucial referendum on peace there. Contextual factors can also contribute. Voters often decide based on their opinion of the sitting government, or on recent polls diffused by the media. Even more worrying, there is the perception that votes may just put a stamp of popular legitimacy on something leaders have already decided.

Finally, primaries are risky. Successful primaries, that is, with high turnout and a clear result, can boost a candidate and her party in view of the general elections, but a low turnout and a close result could propel a party to even more disputes than before the vote.

Jeremy Corbyn's election as leader of the Labour Party, though not strictly speaking a primary election, demonstrates some of these issues. Several commentators within the same party lamented that these elections do not necessarily help selecting the candidate that is most likely to win a general election. Their argument is based on the obvious truth that a party's

base does not reflect the diversity of the population at large. But there is an implicit blaming of the voters too, who supposedly would have chosen the candidate ideologically closest to them, rather than the one who would “obviously” have the highest chance of winning the general election.

### Primaries and the party structure

These sorts of arguments highlight the strict relation between primaries and the party structure. Primaries could be interpreted as ways to pick the most electorally palatable candidate, or the one whom party members like the most. Similarly, parties could be thought of as representing the interests and the ideological orientation of a specific part of society, or they could be seen as akin to an electoral cartel. In this sense, one's opinion on the benefits and downsides to primaries depends on one's views on the present and future role of political parties tout court.

Finally, the Democratic Party primaries in the USA highlighted a different sort of criticism against the primary system. During the primaries, candidates are typically expected to stand close to the median voter of their base, that is the ideal representative party member. Once nominated, however, it is deemed necessary that during the general election campaign candidates move towards the middle, in order to appeal to undecided voters. This two-stage strategy risks exposing inconsistencies in a candidate's position, or even pushing a can-

didate towards more “radical” positions during the primaries, which she will later regret. Some commentators think this happened to Hillary Clinton, who was, in their view, pushed to the left by the confrontation with such a radical opponent as Bernie Sanders.

In conclusion, democracy is more about discussion than ballots, and primaries have obvious shortcomings. However, they have a major advantage that most party conventions (or other appointment methods) lack: they make the party leadership and strategy contestable. If progressive parties ever decide to get rid of primaries, they must make sure to put in place other ways to open party strategy to scrutiny.



#### > ABOUT

**Carlo D'Ippoliti** is associate professor of economics at Sapienza University of Rome, Italy. He is a member of the FEPS Next Left Focus Group and assistant editor of the open access economic journals “PSL Quarterly Review” and “Moneta e Credito”.





BRUSSELS, BELGIUM - Vice Commissioner Šefčovič calls for a transition that is fair and inclusive for all.

# EUROPE CAN BE THE LEADER OF A JUST TRANSITION

by Maroš Šefčovič

By now we all know that climate change poses a threat to humanity and our planet. We have no choice. We urgently need a transition to a low-carbon economy and society. This is a necessity but we should also see it as an opportunity.

**T**echnology and innovation will allow us to decouple growth and greenhouse gas [GHG] emissions: our economy in Europe has grown by 46% since 1990

while at the same time we reduced our GHG emissions by 24 %. The other good news is that this transformation creates a high number of high-quality jobs. In 2014, nine million jobs were linked to the transition to a low carbon economy. By 2030, the number could double to

about 18 million jobs, according to a study by the Commission. But none of this happens automatically or is automatically an inclusive process. It obliges all of us, politicians, managers, trade unionists, workers, researchers, teachers, all citizens to roll-up our sleeves and manage this transition – at all levels – to make it fair and acceptable for everyone. When we adopted the Energy Union Strategy in February 2015, we stated already that change means disruption and a need to adjust. Many sectors of our economy, business models or job profiles will need to adjust. New business models will emerge with new technologies. People will need the right skills for this transition. And where this is not enough, social measures will be required. The challenge is to organise this transition, and to provide clarity and orientation for everyone affected by this transformation. This will allow us to anticipate, prepare and manage the changes.

### A fair and inclusive transition

Many people are already preparing and thinking of the technologies, businesses and skills of the future. We must encourage them and support them. The role of social partners is crucial in this regard. They have the insight and experience on the ground that can help to build trust in this transition. Others will try to defend the status quo and work harder on avoidance than on ways of preparing for the future. But this will not help our economy and our general welfare in Europe. We must ensure instead that this

transition is fair and inclusive, that it is for the benefit of our citizens and our future. Only by doing this will we be able to convince everyone to embrace this change. We see political backlashes around the world, and often, they are inspired by fear of change and a feeling of injustice. We cannot deny that change can have negative consequences for some, and we cannot deny that there is injustice. We must address these concerns and offer solutions that speak to everyone.

### Europe as an actor and a facilitator

There are great examples of successful transformations here in Europe. We have regions that moved from agriculture to high-tech and others that were centres of traditional industries and are today centres of the new economy. The recent studies by FEPS or ETUC provide interesting case studies [see 'further reading']. We can learn from these examples and help other regions to find similar pathways, corresponding to their needs. At the same time, the EU is already supporting the transition. We have EU funding instruments, which are important drivers for the transition in regions. The EU's Cohesion Policy provides 69 billion euros for investments related to all dimensions of the Energy Union between 2014 and 2020: 29 billion for energy efficiency, renewables, co-generation, smart energy infrastructure and low-carbon research and innovation; 40 billion euros for sustainable urban mobility and other low-carbon

transport such as rail, seaports and inland waterways.

It is also important to mention that at least 1.1 billion euros from the European Social Fund will be dedicated to improving education and training systems necessary for the adaptation of skills and for the creation of new jobs in sectors related to energy and the environment.

The new EU Skills Agenda adopted last June foresees a "Blueprint" for cooperation on skills in specific economic sectors. It will encourage stakeholders to work together to identify skill requirements and address the challenges. Business-education partnerships as promoted through the Alliance for Apprenticeships or the European Pact for Youth can also help stimulate cooperation between partners in the green and renewable sectors and education and training providers. The Commission will therefore in the autumn launch a new call for proposals under Erasmus+ on VET-Business partnerships.

### Energy Union

The idea of the Energy Union is to have a holistic approach and to create a policy mix that includes energy, climate, transport, industry, research, employment, finance, social and the economy. In addition to what we have already proposed (Emission trading system, low-emission mobility, security of supply, better interconnections), more legislative and non-legislative proposals will be presented soon. These include a reform of our European energy-efficiency policies in order to create jobs, growth and facilitate investment; a reform of the renewables legislation; and a new design of the electricity market, both to embrace the new technologies and needs of an energy system in transition, and to empower customers.

A different but equally important proposal will be on governance: how do we ensure that Europe as a whole delivers and makes this energy transition a success? We want the Member States to adopt National Energy and Climate Plans. These plans should show the pathways that Member States plan to take towards 2030 and include a perspective until 2050. The plans should provide long-term vision and predictability for all stakeholders.



*The New Social Contract: A Just Transition* available at [www.feps-europe.eu](http://www.feps-europe.eu)



#### > ABOUT

**Maroš Šefčovič** is the Vice-President in charge of Energy Union at the European Commission.



■ PONTEVEDRA, SPAIN - A Just Transition aims to ensure that all benefit from the inevitable changes that the fight against climate change will bring.

# A JUST TRANSITION: NO JOBS ON A DEAD PLANET

by Benjamin Denis

In December 2015, the COP21 reached a historic agreement in Paris to work together to curb the effects of climate change. The preamble to the Paris agreement states that countries will take ‘into account the imperatives of a just transition of the workforce and the creation of decent work and quality jobs’.

**T**here are no jobs on a dead planet. Scientists have been telling us for almost thirty years that climate change is there and that we have to dramatically reduce our greenhouse gas emissions. We

now know that we have to keep it below two or even one-point-five degrees. If you translate this into emissions pathways, it means the world should reach carbon neutrality well before the end of this century. As far as the EU is concerned, it should approach

carbon neutrality in around 2050. In other words, science and global politics are crystal clear: our future must be zero carbon!

### Just transition: a trade union concept

The destination is carbon neutrality but there are different ways to get there. Our way, as progressives, is a just transition. What does that mean? A just transition is dynamic but not a revolution. It is not a violent change. It is gradual and takes time. It requires a set of measures to accompany it, and above all the participation of citizens. As progressives, we argue for a path that creates quality employment for as many people as possible, and avoids increasing social inequality. Concrete initiatives must create real opportunities for retraining and, when necessary, strong social protection systems must provide the safety net. There will be costs to the transition, and they must be distributed fairly. Workers and citizens should participate in decision-making. The transition should not be done at the expense of rights. This is the conceptual framework of the just transition.

### Putting just transition into practice

Just transition is a progressive slogan, and our job as trade unions is to translate principles into concrete action. In this case, our aim is to anchor the concept in legislation. The just transition needs to be present at all decision-making levels. We did this in the Paris

agreement – it's not at the core of the treaty, we know that, but the just transition is nonetheless present in the primary framework for international action against climate change. It is a major political commitment.

“  
A JUST  
TRANSITION  
IS DYNAMIC  
BUT NOT A  
REVOLUTION.”

At EU level, trade unions are pushing for a just transition approach in two main areas. The first is a Just Transition Fund, aimed at helping workers in sectors negatively impacted by the transition to a zero-carbon economy. It would pay for retraining programs, support outplacement schemes or even contribute to early-pensions, and be financed through the auctioning of a significant share of Emissions trading system (ETS) allowances. The second area is the EU climate and energy national plans, one of the key elements of the emerging governance framework of the Energy Union. Unions want to see a focus on the employment and social aspects of the transition and the involvement of social partners in their design, monitoring and assessment. This would help policymakers monitor

the social impact of the green transition and fully tap the opportunities while properly managing specific challenges. Signs from the EU are encouraging. The current Commission, and in particular Vice-President Šefčovič, are making real efforts to frame communication on energy policies with references to a just transition and social partner involvement. The Parliament is currently discussing ETS reform, and the ITRE committee has proposed to set up a Just Transition Fund.

### Doing our homework

There is also work to be done within the trade union movement itself, particularly at local level. The European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) recently led a project aiming to take stock of what trade unions are doing at regional level to contribute to the fight against climate change. We found that there is a huge disparity of situations.

In certain regions, climate change has been on the social dialogue agenda for years. In others it has barely ever been discussed, and even then only in a defensive way, with members worried that reducing emissions means killing jobs. We want to go beyond that kind of attitude and encourage social partners at local level to engage on climate change. EU climate policies – notably the ETS – have helped to put climate change on the agenda of companies' boards. It is now time to do the same with industrial relations and social dialogue in a more systematic way.

### Leaving someone behind always has a cost

The political message of the just transition is that anticipating and managing the social consequences of change is absolutely crucial at a time when the European project seems more and more challenged by populism and far right parties. We have seen in the recent past that the regions where deindustrialisation has not been socially managed produce an environment where these disruptive political forces can flourish. If we want to avoid decarbonisation policies leading to the same situation, we have to think from the beginning about giving them a social face.



#### > ABOUT

**Benjamin Denis** is head of sustainable development policy at the European Trade Union Confederation.





FACELESS GAZE - An original painting for The Progressive Post by Antoine Carbonne.

# SI VIS PACEM, PARA BELLUM

by Christian Deubner

In the context of an ever more dangerous geopolitical environment, a stronger and more binding European integration centred around the External Security and Defence Policy could improve Member States' security. For that to happen, Member States must introduce tangible, qualitative steps to increase common decision-making and solidarity in their Common Security and Defence Policy.

In the past five years, new challenges have emerged in the EU's neighbourhood. In the East, Russia has become more

aggressive and more assertive; to the south and south-east, there are threats from failing states, civil wars, insurgencies and Islamic extremists, especially in Africa and

the Near East. Whilst the conflicts themselves are unlikely to reach Europe, their consequences do, and give reason to consider a reinforcement of the European

Union's external security and defence policy. Are these challenges sufficiently important to push EU member states to increase security and defence integration?

### Unilateral confrontation vs. cooperation

Up until autumn 2016, in confronting these challenges Member States chose either unilateral responses, alone or with an ally, or cooperation. Even if they opted for cooperation they did not always choose the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). The Treaty of Lisbon in combination with the NATO alliance compels EU countries to opt for a NATO-coordinated response when faced with armed aggression against their own or their allies' territory. This is excepting the few neutral member states: Sweden, Finland, Austria, Ireland. It is only for other types of armed challenge that the European CSDP was chosen, and even then, some member states would rather join United Nations' crisis management missions.

For example, in response to the Russian challenge to EU collective security, Member States chose NATO. Regarding challenges in Africa or the Near East, even with the perspective of high-intensity conflict, France and sometimes the UK had and have a strong preference for unilateral action, perhaps together with the US. Reacting to the largest-scale challenges in the south, EU member states chose the United Nations cooperation format.

sis-management operations have they – or rather the willing ones among them – chosen the Common Foreign and Security Policy/ Common Security and Defence Policy [CFSP/CSDP] cooperation format: missions with low-level expected violence, limited dimensions and increasingly with civilian objectives and instruments. And even then member states contributed small forces compared to what they contribute to NATO, the UN, or their unilateral operations.

Europeanising security and defence would require EU Member States to opt much more systematically for CFSP/CSDP and to reinforce cooperation structures. This would rechannel the resources formerly going elsewhere towards European cooperation, allowing them to become EU common contributions to NATO or UN missions.

But as of summer 2016, the game has still not changed: faced with new challenges, countries continue to opt for any one of the responses mentioned above. And yet the CSDP succeeds in setting up the missions that the EU Member States actually want.

### Differences between Member States

This absence of change can be explained by the different preoccupations of EU countries: some retain a preference for unilateralism; some fear casualties and the slowness of democratic decision-making; others, particularly

the southern and eastern Member States, have a different appreciation of external risk; and there is certainly a reflex to free-ride on US European engagement.

But at the same time, political elites' understanding of the situation has advanced during the past one-and-a-half years. In autumn 2016, with the crisis in the Near East deepening further and the one in Ukraine dragging on, and with the potential for African migration increasingly moving into the eye-line of elites, there is a more common appreciation of overall security risks and of the urgency of CSDP reforms. Many of the most prominent national and EU leaders seem ready to advance in common security policy this autumn.

And with security policy in general increasingly at the forefront of EU citizens' minds and the swing of public opinion to more acceptance of EU cooperation in security and defence, leaders have an incentive to act. Elections in France and Germany are approaching. On the one hand leaders have the opportunity to be seen as problem-solvers on security matters. But on the other hand they can also compensate for frustrations in euro governance and Schengen integration with advances in the traditionally national competence that is defence.

How this will play out and how far governments will in the end be willing to move beyond the status quo remains as yet a matter of speculation.

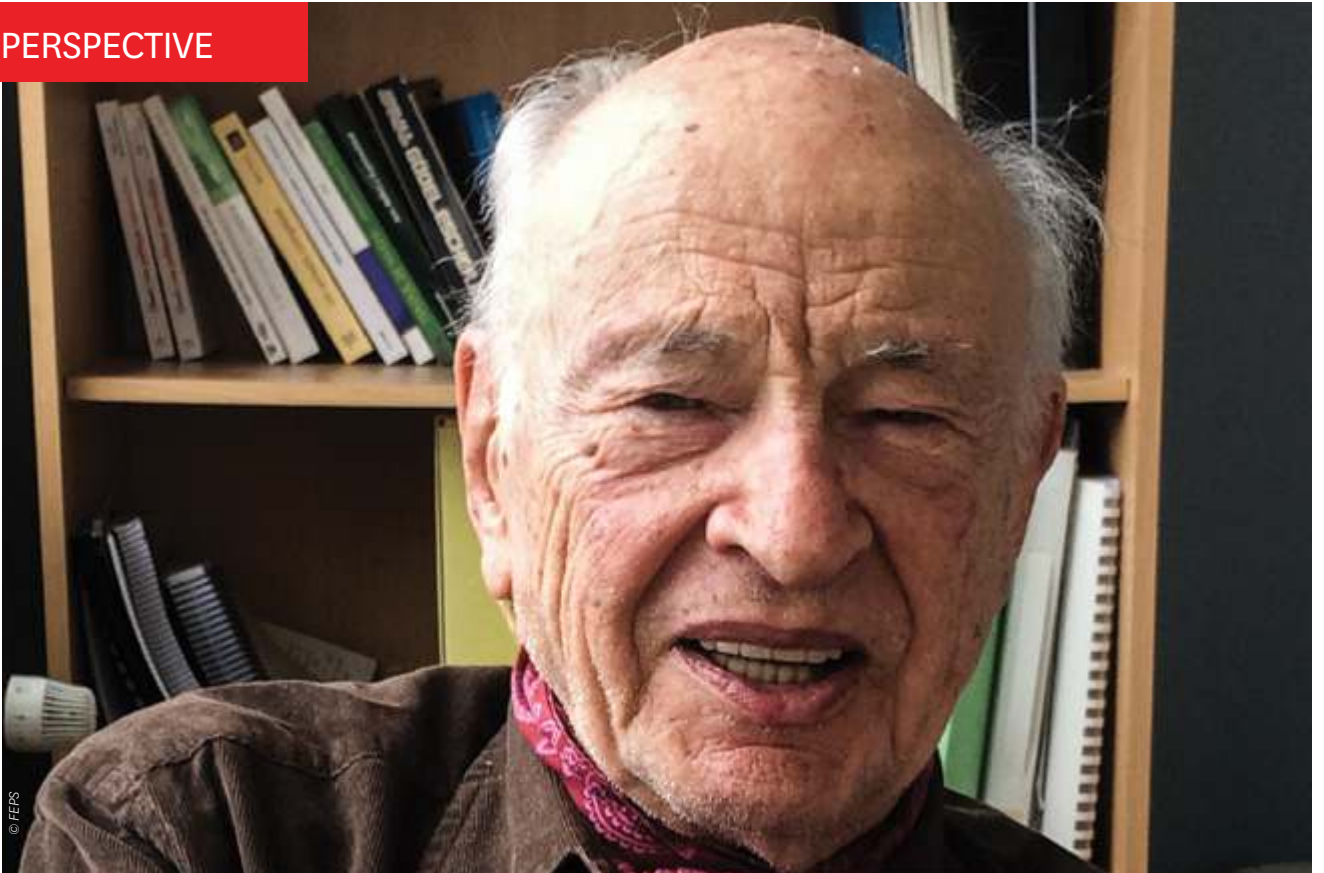
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#### > ABOUT

**Christian Deubner** is a German political scientist and economist. A member of the FEPS Scientific Council, he is an expert in European integration and Franco-German relations. He also teaches EU politics at the Berlin campus of New York University.



PARIS, FRANCE - Interview with the French philosopher and sociologist Edgar Morin.

# EDGAR MORIN

## “EUROPE NEEDS A PATHFINDER”

Interview by Alain Bloëdt

— In the introduction for the EU Global Strategy, Frederica Mogherini writes: “We need a strong European Union like never before. It is what our citizens deserve and what the wider world expects.” Do you think that the world is still waiting for Europe on the international stage?

**EDGAR MORIN:** It's a rhetorical phrase, because the world could have seen Europe as truly democratic and peaceful, with a profound humanist message facing current tragedies in the world. Not only did this message not come through, it was also scorned by two recent events; the purely financial short-sighted attitude towards Greece, and the refugee crisis. From this perspective, the world no longer expects great things from Europe.

— Is this a recent development?

**EM:** There have been several steps. Originally, Europe was born out of a need for peace following a suicidal war. As long as there were leaders who had lived through the Second World War, this goal was still very present. This was the case until Kohl and Mitterrand. But more recent generations of politicians do not have these ideas anymore.

— Was this not somehow inevitable?

**EM:** Of course, but there were no regenerative forces. Look at the inability of Europe to have a more human vision of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict! It would take

a new approach to politics, but no one has the magic formula up their sleeve. It is a long process, but I wonder if we really have enough time, given the situation. Europe is now facing a huge crisis where it needs to be revamped and to find a new path, but current politicians only think as far as tomorrow. They may call for rebuilding, but for this to happen we must have a common vision of what rebuilding means. We are lacking pathfinders.

— You are referring to Kohl and Mitterrand. Before them, there was a major event: the failure of the European defence community treaty in 1954. What was the impact of this event?

**EM:** The failure of the European defence treaty in 1954, under the influence of French nationalism, is the failure of the political Union. Whilst Charles De Gaulle was very positive about a lot of other things, like the Franco-German reconciliation or the war in Algeria, it is he who blocked the development of a political Europe. But, since there was an economic boom at that time, Europe ran with the economy with the ECSC [European Coal and Steel Community], EEC [European Economic Community], the Euro, etc. Having apparently become a strong economic force, Europe forgot that she remained a political dwarf.

— Didn't Europe have opportunities to take action?

**EM:** Yes, when expansion was needed and people and nations were

liberated from Soviet colonisation. But we took too long to integrate these people, once again for economic reasons. Yet, at the time, there was a cultural aspiration that guided these countries. When we finally let them in, these aspirations were gone and had been replaced by the economic interest that Europe could offer. Furthermore, this laudable integration was made in a historical context that made a shared political vision impossible.

— Why?

**EM:** During the first and the second Gulf War, the Eastern countries saw in US intervention the fight against an evil dictator reminiscent of Stalin. Other European countries saw these conflicts in a different way. Still to this day the Eastern countries have a historical trauma with Russia.

— Could Brexit become a crisis that can save Europe?

**EM:** Brexit generated a movement that hasn't yet reached its conclusion, that of a multi-speed Europe. It is just the latest episode in a series of crises, such as the economic crisis, for which we diagnosed the drastic remedy of austerity and thereby created a sense of disunity. Syria could have a gathering force. Europe should be pushing for an end to hostilities, but Europe is outside the game.

— The refugee crisis and the Turkey deal must have concerned you. Could Europe have managed the situation in another way?



**EM:** Turkey should have been a part of Europe a long time ago; and hence, the coup and its consequences could perhaps have been avoided. Europe is trying to get rid of refugees while closing its eyes to what is going on in Turkey, especially concerning the Kurdish people. Erdogan does not understand that he needs to empower the Kurdish people in Turkey. And what is more, we have reached the stage when the Kurds of Iraq and Syria are becoming autonomous. The question about the Kurdish nation is being asked in Turkey, much like the time of Guy Mollet when France refused to acknowledge that Algeria wasn't French. It is a race to the bottom.

— **Si vis pacem para bellum.**  
**Is Europe really in danger? If so, is rearmament necessary?**

**EM:** The question of whether to have a common defence is legitimate. In an increasingly deadly world, you cannot be completely unarmed. However, there is no current threat of invasion equivalent to Hitler's war machine. If there is a Russian expansionism, it is uniquely aimed at former territories of the Tsar that later became Soviet. There is no 'yellow peril' either. The Chinese want islands in the Pacific. Europe is not under any dramatic threat.

— **What elements are needed to promote peace?**

**EM:** A ceasefire in Syria and an attempt at a peaceful solution to the Middle-East crisis. This is the way to counter the most fanatical trends emerging in Daesh, Al Qaeda, etc.

It would also calm the conflict between Shiites and Sunnis. We must find a solution that will allow the Arab world to regain some dignity, despite its weaknesses. If we take Egypt or Algeria, a choice between secular dictatorship and fanatical dictatorship, both alternatives are scary. Military dictatorships are just as terrible as religious dictatorships.

— **Is it in Europe's interest to interfere in this world in upheaval?**

**EM:** Yes, if it is a decision based on the shared appreciation that in a globalised world, we share a common destiny. All people, everywhere, are subject to the same dangers: the destruction of the biosphere, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, not to mention the cyber warfare that could itself be terrifying. Economic deregulation, still under the control of speculative high-finance, accentuates inequality. Under these conditions of anxiety, people are focusing on ethnicity, religion and nation instead of understanding that they have these common interests. Therefore, the development of nationalist and religious fanaticism is also spreading.

— **What would you recommend?**

**EM:** A reform of the UN and the creation of new international institutions. The COP 21 was a big success. Why not use the same method when working with other issues? The problem is global, and therefore it concerns Europe as a part of the world.



> **ABOUT**

**Edgar Morin** is a French philosopher and sociologist.

## ANALYSIS



WASHINGTON, USA - Federica Mogherini is leading Europe's New Global Strategy.

# FOREIGN POLICY: NO LONGER A SUBJECT OF DIVISION?

Interview with Nathalie Tocci, special advisor to EU High Representative Federica Mogherini.

— **In a context of economic crisis, do you think that the EU Global Strategy interests European citizens?**

**NATHALIE TOCCI:** Rising insecurity is a concern for European citizens. The EU no longer projects peace and stability beyond its borders. It is more a question of the EU importing insecurity within its borders, although obviously much of the insecurity we are seeing within the EU – terrorism being the most obvious case – has its origins outside. Probably more than ever before, foreign policy which used to be the preserve of a few elites, is now a concern for European citizens because it touches their lives. Terrorism, extremism, energy security, migration and indeed financial turbulence are concerns for citizens but, generally, they do not make connections with foreign policy. It's the job of policymakers to do that.

— **At this moment of internal division, is foreign policy a way to rejuvenate the European project?**

**NT:** Foreign policy, has traditionally been an area of division between member states: we know the history of the attempts at integration in this field. But today it is one of the areas that least divides them. We are far more divided on issues like the economy and migration than we are on foreign policy. I am optimistic about greater cooperation because among member states, there is a growing appreciation of the scale of the challenges we are facing in foreign policy and more broadly in security policy.

They realise they cannot go it alone. Probably for the first time in EU history, there is an appreciation that while we may not necessarily like it, we need each other in foreign policy.

— **In concrete terms, what does the new Global Strategy change?**

**NT:** In contrast to the 2003 strategy, which only presented a vision, the new EU Global Strategy tries to propose actions. The strategy is called global for both geographic and thematic reasons. Geographically because it is the first time that we have a strategy with a global reach, even if the main interest remains surrounding regions. In terms of action, as we know, there is a structural problem. The EU will never act in the same way as the USA or Russia. But this can be a positive thing. We may react slowly sometimes but we tend to avoid doing stupid things!

— **If we take the issue of development, both now and in the past, the EU is not and has not been visible.**

**NT:** A couple of months ago, when I was looking at the results of a foreign policy instrument survey on how non-Europeans look at Europe's action on an international level, development was the least visible. There is something wrong here. We're the ones spending the most money and no one has noticed. The problem isn't just about communication; it's also about being more political. Thinking of trade, thinking of development, thinking of energy: these issues

are political instruments and not just technical instruments.

— **There are already commissioners for trade and development. Is there a risk of interfering with their responsibilities?**

**NT:** It is a gradual process. Already in the development community, there is a great appreciation of the need to be more political and it is not just a European issue. If we think about the sustainable development goals, they are far more political than the previous ones.

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— **Can we expect to see an EU army in the future?**

**NT:** Citizens want to feel safer, and do not care whether security is built by a European army or by a non-European army. We need to

start by assessing what does not work. We have 28 bonsai armies in the EU and we need to develop defence capabilities together, not for ideological reasons but as a matter of effectiveness. It's also about structure. In order to carry out our existing missions or operations, we need a better structure.

— **To a certain extent, the Euro currency makes people feel more European. Could an EU army also make a difference?**

**NT:** The symbol has to come with the communication. From a political perspective, do something that delivers. Fix the problem then find a way to sell it!

— **Could the Global Strategy push Europe to play a stronger role in the Middle East?**

**NT:** We have a big responsibility in the current situation. But we do not have the power to fix it. At the same time, we cannot wash our hands of it, we have to take on responsibility and the consequences of this implosion, which are coming to us. Europe can try - and only Europe can do that, the US cannot - to strengthen the resilience of countries that have not imploded yet, like Tunisia. We can also create a framework for more cooperative regional networks. We played a huge role in the Iran nuclear deal, for instance.

— **Talking of resilience, how can Europe export a model that is in crisis?**

**NT:** In terms of values, we have to

completely change our approach. It is not about us imposing our values on anyone else. We tried, we did not succeed and anyway, it was not a good idea. What we have to do is to live up to our own values in the way we engage with others. The world takes note. Just look at how we are dealing with the so-called refugee crisis. The best thing we can do, if we want to have a credible role beyond our borders, is to do put our own house in order.

— **What is your position on the Turkey deal?**

**NT:** Clearly, it's not a good result. If we think about the reasons for the EU-Turkey deal, it is precisely because we are not doing enough work at home. It is not in our interest to pursue a purely transactional approach to our relationship with Turkey on an issue like migration. Does it mean that all is bad? No.

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> **ABOUT**

**Nathalie Tocci** is special advisor to Federica Mogherini, Vice-President of the European Commission and High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. She is in charge of the new European Security Strategy.



# SOFT POWER

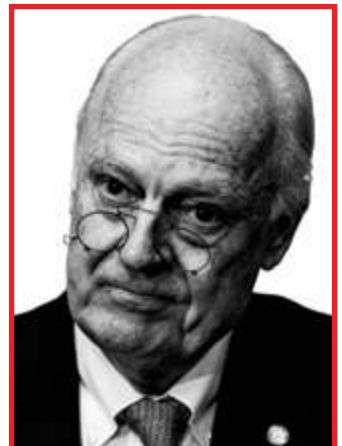
## THE DNA OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

by Staffan de Mistura

As an epitome of soft power, the EU is often conceived as a role model for peaceful integration. However, in a global context of conflicts, the rise of radicalism and terrorism, is soft power muscular enough to tackle the problems the Union faces today?

**A**s a citizen of two European countries, Italy and Sweden, married to a Belgian, and the proud father of two French daughters, I consider myself a quintessential European. My Dalmatian/Venetian father was even born a subject of that arch-European country, the Austro-Hungarian Empire. And I have come to think it may not be by mere coincidence that the Euro-

pean Union's star-adorned flag shares, albeit in a darker hue, the dominating blue colour of the flag of that other international organization that has come to define my life and work – the United Nations. I have worked for 43 years for the UN in 19 conflicts and a large variety of situations - from coming to the rescue of Meo tribes at the end of the Vietnam war and spearheading food distributions and aid-drops in famine-stricken Ethiopia in the mid-80's, to organising vaccination campaigns in Sudan and advancing peace and political processes in various countries of the broader Middle East throughout the past decade.



### > ABOUT

**Staffan de Mistura** is a Swedish-Italian diplomat and the United Nations special Envoy to Syria.

And through my encounters with the people in all these places, I have come to realize where the strength and the limitations of the global organisation lie: the name of the game is its moral authority.

### The muscles of institutions

The moral authority of the UN derives from a variety of factors encompassing the universality of our Charter, proclaimed in 1945 when World War II was approaching the end of its litany of horrors. The normativity of the international law that emanates from its legislative organs, the impact of its Secretary-Generals in war zones and peace processes throughout its history, and the field work of its specialized agencies all around the world in support of humanitarian assistance, development, and human rights of every woman and man. But few organizations have been as criticized as the UN for its perceived lack of muscle, its inaction when the membership of the Security Council is divided, and the sometimes gargantuan scale of its bureaucracy. Even its peacekeeping arm is tributary of the troops that are allocated to it and, most importantly, the mandates that are given by the Security Council. At the end of the day, my beloved UN is the sum of what its members want it to be, leavened by the creativity, commitment and moral courage of its staff. Just like the UN, the EU has been at times the subject of admiration, and equally of disappointment - often unfairly. The tale of a group of countries that managed to rise above the ashes of centuries of

dreadful wars, the last two of which engulfed the entire world in their madness, to found an economic community slowly turning into a political union, has been a source of inspiration for many. Including me, who as a university student used to participate in peaceful but vociferous demonstrations urging European - reluctant politicians to implement without delay the vision of Spaak, Adenauer and others.

### The EU as a role model

At the same time, the failures of the Union in times of crises, and the resentment they have created, sometimes amongst European peoples themselves, should not be ignored. As an epitome of soft power, the EU is rightly seen as a convincing role model for others. But the limitations of its paradigm have caused it to look frail and defenseless against perceived menaces from abroad - the financial crisis that started in 2008 has challenged the monetary and economic stability of the Union ever since. Even more telling in this regard has been the nexus of terrorist attacks in European countries and influx of refugees that have been linked to the destabilisation of the Middle East, Europe's near abroad. It would be easy to make a superficial assessment from that situation that the EU is threatened in its security and its identity, due to the alleged unrealism of its original vision. Nothing could be further from the truth. The soft power of the EU is not in itself a problem - on the contrary it is the Union's DNA, the defining element that holds it together. The real question is what to do with it, and

how to transcend it when needed.

### Europe needs to uphold moral values

The impact of the Middle East wars on Europe are a call on all Europeans to look into the roots of the symptoms that affect us. As I know from my daily work, the arrival of Syrian refugees in Europe is clearly a direct consequence of almost six years of conflict in their homeland, the advances of terrorist groups, and the failure to date of the international community to help Syrians solve the conflict that is tearing their country apart. While Europe is not directly involved in the conflict, it can contribute to addressing it by establishing a common understanding on how to receive refugees with dignity and by maintaining its efforts to fill the gap of funding. And as we saw with the Iran negotiations and in the Balkans, when united, European diplomacy and values can help build vital bridges in and with troubled regions, and even beyond. In my opinion, Europe will only succeed by upholding the moral values that shape the Union, not by turning our backs on them. My point is this: just like the UN, the ambition of the EU can be inhibited only by that of the member states that constitute it. The challenge of turning soft power and moral authority into operative tools to address the challenges of our time is our collective opportunity. It falls to us as European citizens to demand from our elected leaders that they show the values and imagination to be worthy of this aspiration. The future of the EU deserves no less than that.

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BERLIN, GERMANY - A 'Defence Union' is currently being discussed in Europe.

# OLD WORDS, NEW VIEWS

by Antonio Missiroli

One of the criticisms associated with plans for closer European defence cooperation is that there are no new ideas around. The 'EU Battlegroups', 'Permanent Structured Cooperation', even the ideas for an 'EU Operations Headquarters' or a 'Defence Semester' are seen as old and sometimes unwieldy initiatives, reminiscent of debates that have hardly made any progress over the past decade.

nations of old ideas with a new perspective in mind: out of the old comes the new.

### EU strategy for defence

The EU Global Strategy provides us with that new perspective because it frames 'defence' in a broader vision - based on common interests, principles and priorities - that takes fully into account the complex and multi-faceted nature of today's security challenges. It offers a response to the widespread demand for more 'security' among European citizens without ignoring that the drivers of their perceived *insecurity* vary quite significantly depending on whether one lives in Tallinn or Paris, Athens or Copenhagen, Brussels or Cologne.

The EU Global Strategy follow-up process - 'from vision to action' - recently launched by HRVP Federica Mogherini is intended to develop that wider, 'integrated' approach further by going deeper into the details of what the EU and its member states can achieve together in order to make Europe and Europeans safer in the short and medium term. Yet the specific challenge for the EU implementation plan for security and defence recently tabled by the HRVP is the relatively short timeframe to devise new ideas and incentives for cooperation. For this to work, markers need to be put down now in order to steer cooperation and integration long term: implementing any new operational or even strategic level of ambition will take time to develop.

For their part, labels such as 'EU Army' or 'Permanent Military Headquarters' have counter-productively hijacked the entire public discussion. Even the term 'Defence Union', alas, risks concentrating the minds on a hypothetical end product - still controversial among EU governments - rather than on the building blocks and practical steps which could indeed lead to closer European defence integration. What may appear useful in *political* terms - formulating and canvassing a long-term objective that would complement other existing 'Unions' - can actually backfire in *policy* terms.


Perhaps we need to look at the various policy ideas and treaty provisions that relate to defence in a different light. And maybe the key is to experiment with combi-

### The way forward

Just to give an example, a 'Joint Civil-Military Operations Centre' could well be established over the next few months: first by expanding the Operations Centre of the Military Staff Directorate-General into a sort of Military Planning and Conduct Capability, parallel and symmetric to the already existing Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability, then by interweaving them. However, the process of full civil-military integration will take more time, and may require maintaining distinct chains of command.

Similarly, closer interaction and gradual integration between the EU Intelligence Assessment and Situation Centre, and the Intelligence Directorate of the European Military Staff can enhance situational awareness and shared analysis without raising the kind of controversy - and ultimately opposition - that talking of a 'European CIA' does.

In both cases, quick deliverables inspired by the quest for efficiency and effectiveness could lay the foundations for long-term achievements while leaving time and space for adjustments informed by lessons learned along the way. This is only to reiterate that, in today's EU, putting an ambitious but potentially controversial cart before the horses risks complicating the kind of incremental integration based on *solidarités de fait* that the founding fathers of the European project correctly identified as the best way forward.

 Read this article in its entirety on [www.progressivepost.eu](http://www.progressivepost.eu)

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#### > ABOUT

Antonio Missiroli is the Director of the European Union Institute for Security Studies.





■ IDOMENI, GREECE - Kati Piri on a fact-finding mission.

# THE EU-TURKEY DEAL IS A SOLUTION BUT IT HAS TO BE IMPLEMENTED

by Kati Piri

If the EU is to stay true to its humanitarian values, the deal with Turkey must be accompanied by the large-scale resettlement of refugees and respect for the rule of law. It is not a blueprint for deals with third countries in North Africa.

has drastically dropped, so did the number of deaths in the Aegean. With a six-billion-euro pledge for the coming three years, the EU is heavily investing in improving the lives of 3.1 million refugees in Turkey. In addition, the overall situation of refugees has advanced as they've been given better legal protection and they have been given access to the labour market.

**“**Alarmingly short-sighted and inhumane” - that is how Amnesty International qualified the EU-Turkey deal. Six months later, the EU is using the agreement with Ankara as a model that should be at the heart of migration deals with other third countries. So it's time to take a look at what the EU-Turkey cooperation on refugees did to the EU's credibility as promoter of democracy and fundamental freedoms. As a result of the major refugee crisis, over one million people had reached the shores of the EU with the help of smugglers. For months, coordination and burden-sharing at the European level failed spectacularly. The only 'solutions' found were national ones: Hungarian PM Viktor Orban set the tone by building high fences around his country. The EU-Turkey deal was certainly not an ideal answer to the crisis, but the only viable alternative that aimed at replacing the dangerous and illegal routes with a safe and legal passage for the most vulnerable refugees. Its implementation, however, leaves much to be desired. What are the results achieved? As the number of people risking their life by embarking on the deadly sea route to Greece

### EU values at stake

The safe passage for refugees has, however, not been created. In the midst of the crisis, German chancellor Merkel has even appealed to a 'coalition of the willing' (realizing that joint EU action is not feasible) to take annually 500,000 people in via the UN Refugee Agency. Despite this, only a shameful 2000 Syrians have in the last six months been resettled to an EU-country - the same number that arrived in half a day on the Greek islands a year ago. And while the burden-sharing with the Turkish population isn't happening, the solidarity with Greece is also failing, in that the pace of relocations of refugees to other EU countries is very low. Furthermore, the assumption that Turkey is a 'safe third country' remains questionable. While there have been several reports of shootings by guards at the Turkish-Syrian border, the number of asylum requests in the EU filed by Turkish citizens is now also rising in the aftermath of the failed coup attempt of 15 July. And finally, the relationship between the EU and a candidate country cannot boil down to a transactional deal whereby Ankara is paid to keep

the refugees and in return Brussels turns a blind eye to worrying internal developments. Including the acceleration of the accession talks and the granting of visa-free travel in the EU-Turkey deal was, therefore, also a fundamental mistake because it gave the impression that EU standards are fluid if other interests prevail and thereby implying that we don't take our own values very seriously.

### The need for affirmative action

The deal with Turkey will turn out to be a practical and a moral failure for the EU if no large scale resettlement of refugees is taking place. That would mean that while the EU's borders have been fortified, no person fleeing war can any longer ask for protection in Europe. While improving the standards of living for the refugees in Turkey, we must share the burden of the Turkish population by providing shelter for the most vulnerable ones. In the same spirit, we should remind the European leaders of their pledges to relocate refugees from Greece and Italy. The return of refugees to Turkey is so far not happening, but is a delicate part of the deal. Frankly speaking, even returning asylum seekers to Greece or Hungary under the Dublin agreement is currently questionable from a humanitarian perspective. For that reason, the EU-Turkey deal should not be used as a model for agreements with third countries in North-Africa, where most countries don't have any legal infrastructure to provide refugees protection. It could further reduce irregular

migration, but the price we would pay in terms of moral values is too high: illegal push back of refugees to unsafe countries. If the EU wants to maintain that human rights are at the core of its values, this should especially apply to its most effective foreign policy instrument: the accession process. There are no credible alternatives, so it is important to sustain the EU-Turkey deal, while trying to improve its implementation. Nevertheless, the number one priority in our dialogue with Turkey must be the respect for the rule of law. An unstable and authoritarian Turkey is a much bigger threat to Europe than the collapse of the deal with Ankara. Secretary General Antonio Guterres put it wisely: "We can't deter people fleeing for their lives. They will come. The choice we have is how well we manage their arrival. And how humanely."



#### > ABOUT

**Kati Piri** is an MEP from the Dutch Labour Party, sitting with the S&D group. She is the European Parliament's rapporteur on Turkey.



STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN - Margot Wallström launched Sweden's feminist foreign policy in 2014.

# THE 'R'S OF SWEDISH FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY

by Margot Wallström

Swedish feminist foreign policy integrates gender perspectives holistically, through three important 'R's – Rights, Representation and Resources.

**T**wo years ago, I assumed office as Sweden's Minister for Foreign Affairs. One of the first things I did was to declare that Sweden will pursue a feminist foreign policy. This was received with

mixed reactions. Halfway through my term of office, the original commotion has settled and increasingly been replaced with interest and support. More and more countries are realizing that a feminist foreign policy is a very good investment. It is the right thing to do, as well as the smart thing to do.



Sweden's feminist foreign policy is about systematically and holistically implementing policies that contribute to gender equality and the full enjoyment of human rights of all women and girls. The goal is to strengthen women and girls through three 'R's: rights, representation and resources, guided by a fourth R, their realities. We do this by integrating a gender perspective into all the work of the Foreign Service through yearly action plans. Gender equality should not be seen as a thematic issue but as an overarching guiding principle. Policies and interventions should be guided by knowledge and employ gender analyses to ensure that entire populations are considered in all decisions and operations. This needs to be supported by gender and age disaggregated data as well as consultations with relevant actors, including civil society.

### Gender equality: an investment

Gender equality does not only have implications for single individuals or women. It affects whole societies. Our feminist foreign policy leans on knowledge, reality and overwhelming evidence telling us that working towards a gender equal world is possibly the best investment of our era. If women in the EU participated in the labour market to the same extent as men, the union's GDP would increase by 12% by 2030. Still, every third adult woman in the EU does not work. In a competitive, globalized economy, we simply cannot afford to exclude this human capital

any longer. Affordable child care, shared parental leave, individual taxation, equal pay and elimination of work place discrimination are important tools in increasing women's participation in the labour market. Sweden's own experience speaks for itself. When we introduced reforms for a more gender equal labour market in the 1970's, half a million women entered the workforce.

The promotion of gender equality can be approached from many angles. We have lobbied for increased representation of women in the EU administration and welcome that 50% of the Heads of Civilian Missions in the EEAS [European External Action Service] are now women. In all negotiations, such as COP21, CETA and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, we always apply a gender perspective when establishing our positions. And as part of our continuous effort to increase women's participation in peace processes, we have initiated both a Swedish and a Nordic network of women peace mediators. Recent studies show that inclusive peace processes, where both women and men participate, substantially increase the likelihood of peace agreements being reached and sustained.

### Feminism in EU policies

The EU holds enormous potential to promote gender equality globally. One key tool is the new Gender Action Plan for 2016-2020 which, for the first time, reaches beyond the area of development cooperation and covers all the EU's external relations. Sweden

was instrumental in broadening the plan and sees it as a formidable instrument in addressing the identified challenges. One of them is violence against women - the most prevalent human rights violation in the world. This violence cuts across ethnicity, race, class, religion, education level, and international borders and is used to terrorize and control not only individual women but entire communities.

Seizing this opportunity to accomplish substantial results should be a top priority of the EU and will require leadership from the Commission and the EEAS, as well as more knowledge, capacity and commitment across all staff. Accountability is fundamental and the evaluation processes need to be further improved.

In order to be credible in the promotion of global gender equality there is also a need to walk the talk. This means that dedicated efforts need to be made to ensure that decisions are guided by a gender perspective and that the target of 40 percent female senior and middle managers is met within the EEAS and the Commission. Again, we can refer to our own experiences, which continue to guide our priorities. Sweden has a government consisting of an equal number of men and women, and we employ gender budgeting to assure state funds are evenly distributed to all members of society.

### Not just a goal: a prerequisite

Working for gender equality is not only a matter of human rights and economic efficiency. Increasing

gender equality also has positive effects on peace, security, extremism, health, education and numerous other both internal and external challenges for the European community. That is why Sweden sees gender equality and women's and girls' full enjoyment of human rights not only as a goal in itself but as a prerequisite for reaching other goals.

It should also be noted that Sweden is not alone in the efforts to put gender equality on the global agenda. In 2015, John Kerry stated that fighting gender-based and sexual violence is not just a moral issue, but a question of collective security. Feminism is a component of a modern view on global politics, not an idealistic departure from it. It is about smart politics which includes whole populations, uses all potential and leaves no one behind.



#### > ABOUT

**Margot Wallström** is the Swedish minister for Foreign Affairs. She is also a former European Commissioner.





■ BULAWAYO, ZIMBABWE - Girls' access to education is still a struggle.

# A FIGHT FOR GIRLS' RIGHT TO EDUCATION

by Evernice Munando

Although gender equality in education is a fundamental right, girls still face discrimination and exclusion from classrooms in parts of the world. In Zimbabwe, the struggle for girls' access to education gave birth to a prize-winning project with the aim of improving the situation.

tertiary education sector actually paved an opportunity for me to better understand my fellow girls. In 2000, I was privileged to be elected as the Student Representative Council (SRC) vice president. I became the first female student leader in Zimbabwe to occupy such an influential post. At this time, privatisation of education was introduced in the country. Leaders in the Student Representative Council across the nation challenged the status quo through mass protests which eventually led to us being forced to leave college. That was the beginning of my advocacy journey. With a life ban from registering in any of Zimbabwe's institutions I ended up studying at distance. As a girl, I also became an outcast in the family because they believed that women cannot be leaders. It became clear to me that this issue is a source of conflict within both family life and society at large.

### Breaking patriarchal barriers

**T**he inaugural 2016 UNESCO prize for girls' and women's education came with a huge "bang" pushing forward the women's and girls' educational empowerment agenda post-2030. My experience advocating for the advancement of education in Zimbabwe has been a tough journey due to the uncertainties which always prevail in our nation when it comes to priorities and preferences of young girls. Being one of the victims of the deprivation to the right to education in Zimbabwe, my zeal to end social ills within the

The empowerment of female students' ideology was later established and it came to fruition in 2005, and eventually gave birth to the then Female Students Network. Having the belief that "women can do it", the organisation took many strides towards improving women's and girls' right to education. Despite the fact that the environment we operate in is very hostile, the Female Students Network has succeeded in breaking some barriers of patriarchy which deprive girls of equal access to education due to multi-sector

cultural, religious and traditional beliefs and practices. Girls are mostly denied access to education because they are forced into early marriages. I have witnessed cases where female students are given second priority when it comes to higher-education because women are often perceived as objects, which subjects them to stigmatisation, discrimination and abuse. These gender disparities and stereotypes also lead to domestic disputes and violence.

### Transforming gender perceptions

Globally and internationally, societies undermine women's and girls' capacities and potentials, and keep them from contributing to a sustainable, peaceful and equal development. We need to start at an individual, domestic and local level to transform perceived realities and gender-based stereotypes. But we also must work on a national and international level. How can peace prevail when female students are not given equal access to education? How can we strengthen our societies with gender-sensitive leadership, and change the perception of women to being actors of change, not victims? Above all, the situation demonstrates the lack of fairness, social justice and political will which contribute to conflicts on both local and international levels. Women are often more affected and put through more hardship than men in conflict situations. But it is important to remember that they are also powerful peace-builders. Their perspec-

tives when it comes to security, peace and conflict prevention have been recognised by several international agreements and resolutions. The Nobel Peace Prize awarded to Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Leymah Gbowee and Tawakkol Karman is public recognition of the impact of women peace-builders. Above all, female students need to be aware of their rights, so that they can claim peace through defending their rights. I also believe that peacebuilding is a two-way process that requires both parties to be involved. It is hence vitally important to involve girls and women in becoming instigators and negotiators for peace.

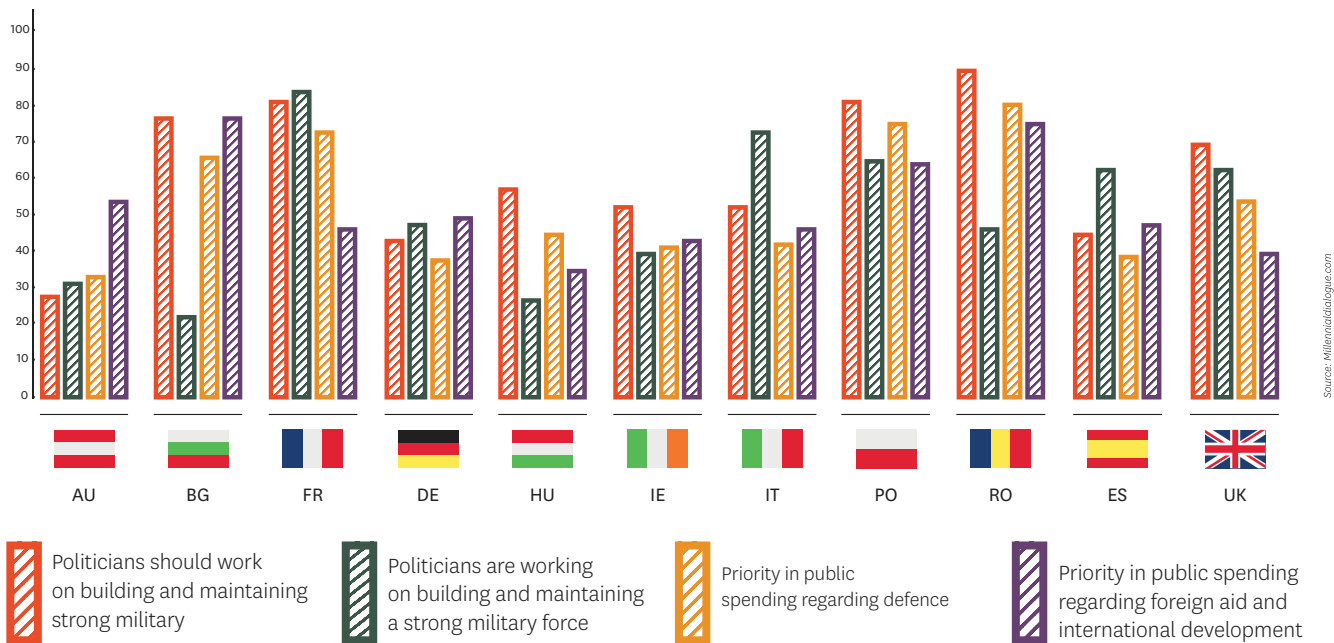


#### > ABOUT

**Evernice Munando** is the founder and Executive Director of the Female Students Network Trust, which was awarded the UNESCO prize for girls' and women's education 2016. As a activist for female students, Munando advocates for girls' right to education, by offering coaching, counselling, career guidance and mentorship.

## EUROPE WATCH

## MILLENNIALS' OPINION ON POLITICAL COMMITMENTS TO THE MILITARY AND FOREIGN AID



These graphs are based on data from the Millennial Dialogue surveys conducted by FEPS.

# MILLENNIALS AND PEACE IN A GLOBALISED WORLD

by Evin Incir

*“It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair.”*

Those words, from the first lines of “A Tale of two Cities” by Charles Dickens, always come to my mind while reflecting on the world of today. On the one hand, quality of life has increased in

many ways and lots of people has been lifted out of poverty. On the other hand, the sense of insecurity over the future is ever-present and growing. International crises, migration and climate change are all issues facing us today. I am proud

to belong to a generation that believes in progressive policies as a solution rather than policies of division. Brexit is one of the most recent proofs of Millennials' trust in the European Union and International communities. While around

60% of the older generation voted for Brexit, the Millennials did the opposite. If we break the Millennial group into several age groups, the post-referendum polls show that 75% of people between the age of 18 and 24 voted Remain. This at least gives an indicator of the perspective of UK millennials.

## The impact of globalisation

However, as the FEPS Millennial Report clearly shows, this trend is not only apparent for the UK. Perhaps this is nothing out of the ordinary; a generation that was born into a globalised world and that has seen its benefits through experience, is certainly aware of what is at stake. Furthermore, challenges and threats have become more globalised. Terrorism and environmental issues take no account of man-made borders. The solutions, therefore, cannot be derived from individual states alone. Global challenges require global solutions. Today, there is a

big difference between the priorities and solutions that Millennials and older generations would want to see. Yet it is clear that the same feeling that led to the foundation of the United Nations and European Economic Community is still one of the strongest reasons for the belief that the solutions of today require more regional and global cooperation.

## Increasing fear of conflicts and terrorism

In the Millennial report, one can clearly see that Millennials, to a great extent, feel that war and terrorism will affect the quality of their lives in the future. The consequences of the fear for rising conflicts and terrorism are reflected not only in the direct views of Millennials, but also the outcome of what they think should be a priority. The Millennials seem to be of the opinion that politicians should prioritize defence and military force in the public

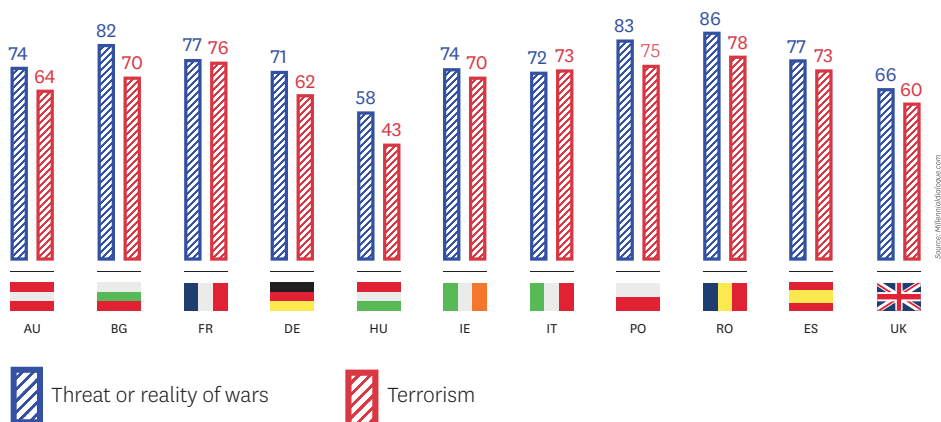
spending. Taking a look back in history, the exact same reasons, war and global threats, were the reasons for the creation of our global and regional unions. At the same time as the focus on military and defence grows, the report shows that Millennials in many countries also find it important to use public spending on foreign aid and international development, even if this is not prioritised to the same extent as defence. There seems to be a focus both on short and long term perspectives, prevention and cure. Increasing protection against the immediate problem but also attempting to prevent it from propagating. What is very clear though is that cooperation on a regional and a global level is very important.

## Another breaking point?

The stance of the young people of today sounds like an echo from another time. The political situation of today is not so different

from the situation during the early and mid-1900s: A lack of trust in politics and politicians, growing inequalities (even though more people has been lifted out of poverty), and the rise of extremism dominate public debates. The UNHCR mid-year trend report from 2015 showed that there are now over 60 million people living in forced displacement. This is a level that we have not seen since the second world war. Have we reached a breaking point similar to the one when the European Union was founded? One thing is for sure: Millennials have, unlike previous generations, a deep understanding of what it means to live in a globalised world. They are the first generation to have experienced globalisation's benefits and defects. They seem to believe that solutions will not be found by reinforcing borders.

## MILLENNIALS' OPINION ON HOW WAR AND TERRORISM WILL AFFECT QUALITY OF LIFE IN THE FUTURE



### > ABOUT

**Evin Incir** is the former secretary general of the International Union of Socialist Youth. Today she is a Programme Manager at Olof Palme International Center, Stockholm.



# INDIA'S EUROPEAN WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY

by Constantino Xavier

**After a decade of mutual probing, India and the European Union seem finally geared towards a robust strategic engagement. It was worth the wait.**

**T**he world's two largest democracies are now discovering common ground and aligning strategies on how to achieve sustainable development in an open society and on how to ensure security through a rules-based global order. However, beyond pretty words emphasizing their shared commitment to democracy, behind the scenes India and the EU often exchanged ugly punches throughout the 2000s. For example, while Brussels harped on the need for climate change mitigation or 48-hour working weeks, New Delhi kept invoking its right to pollute the environment and disregard labor rights to reclaim its pre-colonial levels of economic wealth. In the name of democracy promotion, Europeans also jumped on the United States' liberal interventionist bandwagons to pressure Myanmar and Sri Lanka, even while keeping mum on military rule in India's other neighbouring country, Pakistan.

## A stage of mutual confidence

Fortunately, the phase of mutual recriminations has finally ended and the EU-India mantra is now all about exploring the current "mo-

mentum." Sujata Mehta, New Delhi's top official in charge of Europe, thus recently noted that relations have reached a "stage of mutual confidence and maturity where we see the big picture similarly or when not, we can exchange perspectives on the big picture." Four broad developments have created this window of opportunity and will keep it wide open. First, the impact of the 2009 recession and this year's Brexit nudged both sides into a more frank engagement. India no longer takes the EU for granted and recognizes that its own economic prospects depend on the continued growth and internal stability of its largest trading partner. The EU, on the other hand, can no longer afford the luxury of exceptionalist idealism. Its new Global Strategy thus pivots around "principled pragmatism" and underlines the "direct connection between European prosperity and Asian security." Second, turbulence in the Middle East (or West Asia) has incentivized a greater EU-India security dialogue on their shared extended neighbourhood that stretches from Istanbul to Islamabad and from Moscow to Mauritius. This greater arc of Eurasian instability is of critical importance to New Delhi and Brussels' aspirations to become net security providers and help

stabilize their peripheral regions. Whether on stemming refugee inflows, countering piracy and radicalization, developing conflict resolution mechanisms or assisting in democratic transitions, the EU and India are on a converging path towards security cooperation. Third, the formidable rise of China is swiftly altering the balance of power in the Eurasian heartland. Beijing has pumped more than fifty billion Euros worth of investments into the EU since 2000 and developed new initiatives such as the 16+1 multilateral in Eastern Europe and the One Belt, One Road strategy. Despite its ongoing rapprochement with the United States, India will not want to place all its eggs into Washington's basket and is therefore also reaching out to Brussels to diversify its options and counter-balance China's European offensive.

## Cooperation for sustainable development

Finally, there is also the increasing realization that the EU and India's shared commitment to democratic governance can facilitate cooperation practically. India now recognizes the value of European expertise in crafting regulations, standards and scientific benchmarks to achieve sustainable development in an open society with competing interests, the rule of law, and an assertive civil society. On the external front, as the world's two

largest democratic systems, the EU and India also have similar stakes in preserving an open, liberal, and multilateral order that underpins several regimes, from free trade and cybersecurity to nuclear non-proliferation and freedom of navigation. In stark contrast with China, India's foreign and security policies are therefore in harmony with the "vital interests" that underpin the EU's external action, as defined in its recent Global Strategy: "peace and security, prosperity, democracy and a rules-based global order." Beyond a mere leap of democratic faith, Brussels and New Delhi will have to focus on these cardinal principles to explore the current window of opportunity for greater EU-India convergence.



### > ABOUT

**Constantino Xavier** is an associate at Carnegie India, based in New Delhi. His research focus is on India's foreign policy.

# BRAZIL AND THE EU: A SHARED GLOBAL VISION?

by Celso Amorim

The European Union has traditionally been perceived as a force for progress and enlightenment by Brazilians working in international affairs. Its dedication to peace and democracy has been an example we have tried to follow in our own efforts to build a more integrated and prosperous South America.

**F**rom Brazil's perspective, a united Europe is essential for a more balanced world order, free from the hegemony of any one single power. In economic terms, the awareness of this balancing role was clearly expressed in 1994 with the proposal of a Mercosur-EU trade agreement, first launched when Jacques Delors was at the helm of the European Commission and Itamar Franco was the Brazilian president. At that moment, after the conclusion of the Uruguay Round of the GATT, there was a severe risk that world trade would be segregated into different zones or blocs. In the case of the American continent, the expansion of NAFTA or the establishment of a Free Trade Area of the Americas, under US hegemony, made it imperative for us to seek arrangements with other powers. Negotiations between the EU and Mercosur were never easy and the more ambitious view of a better organized world fell victim to specific economic interests on both sides.

## The establishment of a strategic partnership

Ten years later, in the aftermath of the disastrous invasion of Iraq and with a progressive government installed in Brasília under President Lula, the efforts for closer relations with European countries again became a priority. Political affinities between the Workers' Party and several socialist or social democratic parties in Europe played a role in this rapprochement, which culminated in the formal establishment of a "strategic partnership" between Brazil and the European Union in 2007. Brazilian diplomatic action, not only in South America but also in Africa, India and the Arab World, increasingly attracted the attention of European and inspired eminent Brussels officials, such as Javier Solana and Durão Barroso, to look for closer political and economic cooperation with Brasília. Bilateral programs in areas like energy and science and technology were established or further

developed. In parallel, global issues, ranging from the Middle East and the Iranian Nuclear Program to broader economic questions became regular subjects of the "strategic talks" between leaders and their ministers.

## Strengthening multilateralism

Brazil and the EU have a vested interest in reinforcing multilateralism and in strengthening multipolarity – two phenomena that are interrelated but are by no means the same. Both of us are deeply committed to a world in which power is distributed in such a way that discourages recourse to unilateral action – be it in economic disputes or use of armed force. As the fifth largest country in terms of area and population and among the seven or eight major economies, Brazil wishes to see a Europe that can speak with one voice in defence of peace and prosperity for all.



### > ABOUT

**Celso Amorim** is a Brazilian diplomat who served twice as minister for foreign affairs, under the Franco and Lula administrations. His book *Acting Globally: Memoirs of Brazil's Assertive Foreign Policy* will be published soon in English by Hamilton books.

# IMAGINE EUROPE WITHOUT BORDERS

**W**hat are borders? How do they affect our lives? What makes them “real” or “imaginary”? How are they changing? What does this mean for us as individuals, and as citizens of our town, region, country or the European Union? A photo competition organised by the Party of European Socialists at the Committee of Regions invited amateur and professional photographers to respond to these questions using their lens. These are the winning entries.





2<sup>nd</sup> - Bernardina Cerlek, 33 years old, Zagreb, Croatia



3<sup>rd</sup> - Milada Kotorová, 58 years old, Kežmarok, Slovakia



Public Prize - Manuel Delgado, 25 years old, Cartaya, Spain.





# STREET PHOTOGRAPHY AS AN URBAN RESEARCH TOOL

In partnership with:



**T**he Brussels Street Photography Festival is the first European festival dedicated solely to street photography. It aims to

promote street photography as an urban research tool, a form of cultural communication and a visual art. The competition is organised into an international category and a Brussels category. We have chosen to feature the winner of the international public prize in *The Progressive Post*.

"In Limbo" is a visual exploration of the emotional impact on the Greek people, particularly those of the Greek capital of Athens, as the current and on-going crisis has burst into their lives.

It is a crisis that started as economic but soon became social and humanitarian and has affected irrevocably the perceptions

and the psyche of a whole nation about what was previously taken for granted.

My photographic exploration is suggestive, taking the pulse of the street that is no longer bustling with commercial vibrancy or even a fake euphoria, as it was up until a few years ago. Now an ineffable mixture of frustration, sadness

and anger penetrates "the every moment" of people's lives.

What was given is now taken back, day by day, year after year, and this regression is experienced as a series of painful losses in the form of loss of income, of security, of happiness and of human dignity.

"In Limbo" is a compilation of quasi-journalistic images from the past

four years, but the stories behind the pictures have been stripped away. My intention was to produce something abstract and lyrical rather than informative.

Zisis Kardianos won the International Series Public Prize at the Brussels Street Photography Festival.





**| Photographer:** Zisis Kardianos, Zakynthos, Greece, describes himself as a professional amateur and as a peripatetic photographer. His photos have been published in magazines, on book covers and shown in group and solo exhibitions in Greece and internationally. In 2012 he published his first book under the title "A sense of place".



CARTOON





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## TO WATCH

### *Voices from Chernobyl*

2016  
Pol Cruchten  
Luxembourg



Adapted from the 1997 book by Nobel literature prize laureate Sviatlana Aleksievitch, *Voices from Chernobyl* brings together the stories of those who witnessed the catastrophe. The film tells the story of the world of Chernobyl, of devastated daily lives. These voices are juxtaposed with the director's clear, bright, beautiful cinematography inspired by the works of Andrei Tarkovsky.

### *Where to Invade Next?*

2015  
Michael Moore  
USA



Stealing the ideas of Europe, the way to make America great again? When Michael Moore invades Europe, he travels from country to country to investigate what the US can learn from our welfare societies. On his journey he discovers a generous paid vacation system in Italy, an education system without homework in Finland, human prison health care in Norway, and free higher education in Slovenia. Michael Moore's 6<sup>th</sup> documentary is a humorous and solution-based film that, without being too naïve or idealistic, points out a range of problems in American society. At the same time it is a reminder of the hard-won social rights that form the base of our European societies.

## TO READ

## **Smart Citizens, Smarter State: the technologies of expertise and the future of governing**

by Beth Simone Noveck, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2015



Ideas about the relationship between technology and politics remain in constant evolution amongst progressive intellectuals. Marx's vision of the dissolving of political conflict into an administration of things, strongly influenced by the industrialism of Saint-Simon, doesn't win many over. But the possibility of improving workers' purchasing power offered by Fordism reconciled the left with technological modernisation for a long time. This reconciliation was then weakened not only by the rediscovery of alienation from work by the Frankfurt School philosophers, but also by the unemployment created by new techniques of production.

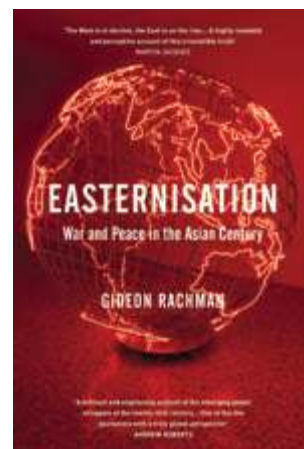
Beth Simone Noveck has chosen to explore another angle of the relationship between technology and politics by taking it outside of the context of the workshop. An academic much sought-after by governments on both sides of the Atlantic, Noveck is not afraid of Big Brother. Conversely, she sees in the development of communication a fundamental resource for restoring citizens' confidence in governing authorities as well as improving the coherence of political decisions and public expectations.

No irenicism in the explanation for Barack Obama's 'Open Government Initiative' in 2009, but a weak defence of the theory that the dipping of a President's public confidence rating below 20% is an emergency, and forces a modernisation of political participation, which can no longer be limited to exercising the right to vote. In the same vein, her hopes in the capacity of technology to instil dialogue and participation at the heart of the state are not the fantasy of some geek lost in the administration, but of an academic who has analysed the success of techniques already used by private sector businesses, such as Starbucks, in their attempts to build a user community, rather than just trying to attract clients.

Noveck doesn't hide the very relative nature of the Democrat administration's success in Open Government. But she attributes responsibility not to technological limitations but to the historical discrepancy between new possibilities offered and legal norms for protecting data confidentiality and maintaining the outdated culture of the state secret. In other words, there will be no technological revolution of politics and administration without a cultural revolution.

## **Easternisation: War and Peace in the Asian Century**

by Gideon Rachman, Bodley Head, London, 2016



The traditional school-book portrayal of the international balance of power has long painted global peace as the product of a bipolar world and a Cold War, won by the USA against the USSR in 1991. This portrayal is somewhat lacking because it leaves out China. Although a titan of history, her power had declined somewhat following the 19th century Opium Wars and the Maoist period, dominated by the search for a national modernisation.

During the 1970s, Henry Kissinger was the first Westerner to recognise China's potential in international affairs. A few years later, Paul Kennedy, in his bestseller *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*, reminded the general public of the cyclical nature of the appearance and disappearance of empires, drawing attention to the fragility of the hegemony attributed to the USA by western powers. Financial Times journalist Gideon Rachman extends Paul's Kennedy's analysis by claiming that the alleged diplomatic weakness of the Obama presidency is not the fault of his administration. Rather, it is sign of an ageing superpower fading in a new century characterised by the arrival of Asia, and in particular, China.

For Rachman, the growing power of China, unlike that attributed to Japan last century, is an inevitable reality. A reality based on the historical potential of an ancient empire, that the West will only really have overpowered for less than two centuries, and economic strength launched by the policies of Deng Xiaoping and Hu Jintao.

Gideon Rachman's thesis is largely inspired by Thucydide and the study of relations between Sparta and Athens; according to these, the rise of a new power is a source of tension between states and can lead to war. Will Washington and Beijing play out the Greek cities? Easternisation questions the new direction taken by Xi Jinping since his arrival in power in 2012 without claiming to bring a definitive answer. At the same time, he makes the debates that divide international relations experts on America and China accessible to all.



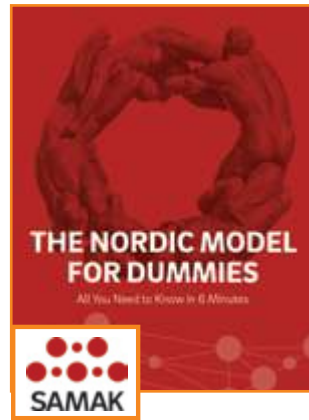
### ***Social Report 2015 Social adversity and inequalities: diagnosis and alternatives***

Various authors,  
Fundació Rafael Campalans



### ***Mondoperaio***

Associazione Socialismo



### ***The Nordic Model for Dummies. All You Need to Know in 6 Minutes.***

Jan-Erik Støstad,  
Secretary General of SAMAK -  
The Cooperation Committee  
of the Nordic Labour



### ***Towards a United European Left***

Mr Sandro Gozi, Italian Secretary  
of State for European Affairs.

The duration and intensity of the economic crisis have not only increased inequalities but also transcended the economic sphere. Given the success of our Social Reports 2013 and 2014, Rafael Campalans Foundation wants to continue to contribute to the debate on how to make a real welfare state model in Catalonia and Spain. That is a model in which social justice, that is equal opportunities, is at the center of the political agenda.

Mondoperaio is a monthly publication founded in 1948 by Pietro Nenni. The magazine is currently directed by Mr. Luigi Covatta. Mondoperaio focuses on features and contributions from academics, scholars and political leaders referring to the liberal and center-leftist political area. The magazine led a campaign for promoting the membership of the Democratic Party to the PES. The October issue contains a section on illiberal democracies in Turkey, Libya and Russia.

The Nordic Model for Dummies is based on the SAMAK/FEPS research project NordMod2030, and is an up to date, easy to read presentation of the Nordic social model for foreign readers. It highlights the Nordic model's "workhorse", its three basic pillars of Economic Governance, Public Welfare and Organized Labour, and how these in close interplay are able to convert egalitarian values to the Nordics' unique combination of equality, efficiency, gender equality and trust – at the same time acknowledging the Nordics' dependence on inputs and influences from all over the world.

Fondation Jean-Jaurès and EuroCité present a paper by Italian Secretary of State for European Affairs Sandro Gozi. Driven by his vision for positive transformation within EU progressive parties, Mr Gozi calls for a better coordination of the European left. Acknowledging the dangers posed by the rise of eurosceptic and nationalist discourses, the article challenges traditional views of the conservative Left on state control and opposition to market forces. A decisive call to action, it proposes a renewed Social-Democratic consensus for Europe that engages with the key topics of immigration, innovation and transnational politics.



### **Negotiating the European Union's Dilemmas: Proposals on Governing Europe**

Nicoletta Pirozzi  
& Pier Domenico Tortola,  
Istituto Affari Internazionali



### **Early job insecurity in Europe: mapping diversity and the impact of the economic crisis**

SOLIDAR



### **Inequality: The facts and the future**

Chifley Research Centre  
Inclusive Prosperity Commission



### **Cherishing All Equally 2016: Economic Inequality in Ireland**

TASC, Rory Hearne  
and Cian McMahon

This paper culminates and concludes the “Governing Europe” research project by presenting an overall assessment of the state of the European Union, and a set of prescriptions for the short and medium term, building on the analysis and findings of the individual contributions. The paper is organised around six main themes: a new narrative for the EU; politicisation - from threat to opportunity; differentiated integration; economic consolidation and politicisation of the Eurozone; a more Keynesian and social EU; thinking and acting bigger on the world stage.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> policy brief by the NEGOTIATE project, in which SOLIDAR is involved, is looking at the impact of the 2008 financial crisis on youth employment and more specifically the patterns of school-to-work transitions among several European countries. The analysis is coordinated by the team of the Department of Social Policy at Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences (UPSPS). The outcomes are also the subject of a lunch discussion that will take place on 16th November 2016 at the SOLIDAR Office in Brussels.

Inclusive Prosperity: Australia's record and the road ahead is the major report of the Chifley Research Centre's Inclusive Prosperity Commission. The argument of this paper is very simple: Australia faces a 'fork in the road' - the nation must choose its own traditions of egalitarian growth or an American - style future of rising inequality and concentration of wealth. The report identifies signposts of inclusive prosperity: well paid secure jobs, high quality accessible health and education, secure retirement income and affordable housing. All these are under pressure in Australia from economic change and conservative politics - progressive leaders should stoutly resist this.

Cherishing All Equally is TASC's second annual report monitoring economic inequality in Ireland. It updates indicators for different dimensions of inequality such as income and wealth, social protection, education, childcare, etc. Separate chapters focus on economic inequality in relation to gender and to children. Ireland's economic model involves low taxation and one of the highest rates of low paid work in the OECD. Consistent child poverty almost doubled during the recession. Despite economic recovery, overall rates of material deprivation continue to rise.





### ***Trialogs as a contribution to Good Governance***

Humboldt-Viadrina  
Governance Platform, Prof.  
Dr. Gesine Schwan, Dr. Audrey  
Podann, Katja Treichel

Trialogs are a particular dialog format for stakeholders from politics, economics and organized civil society, as well as science and media. The discussion's aim is to unveil multiple perspectives on current political issues and societal challenges. Trialogs facilitate a mutual understanding of conflicts, controversies and consensuses, that are important for the development of broad-based solutions oriented towards the common good. This essay explains the theoretical, intellectual and historical fundamentals of the Trialog concept. Based on our Trialog experience, it will also exemplify how Trialogs can stimulate and restructure the political decision-making process in a more participative and transparent way.



### ***The foreign policy of the National Front***

Fondation Jean Jaurès, FEPS  
S&D: Pervenche Berès, Jean-  
Yves Camus, Alexis Lacroix

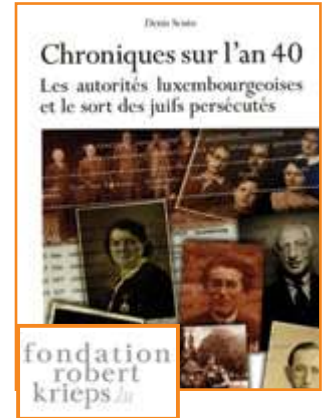
What are the international strategies of the National Front? With whom does the party build relations, especially in the European Parliament since the 2014 elections? These analyses by Pervenche Berès, MEP, head of the French Socialist Delegation, and Jean-Yves Camus, political scientist, head of the Observatory of political radicalism of the Jean-Jaurès Foundation, during a debate led by the journalist Alexis Lacroix, are to be found in the fifth book of the «Radicalités» collection by the Jean-Jaurès Foundation and FEPS.



### ***Unskilled and skilled workers pay for later retirement***

The Economic Council  
of The Labour Movement

Danish politicians have adopted a reform that increases the age of retirement for all workers. Consequently, the Danes will have the highest pension age of all the OECD countries by 2040. The higher retirement age will have consequences especially for the skilled and unskilled workers, who have more physically demanding jobs and generally shorter lives than the academic workers. Increasing the retirement age is very socially imbalanced, as many physically worn out workers will not be able to withdraw from the labour market.



### ***Reports on 1940. Luxembourg authorities and the fate of persecuted Jews***

Fondation  
Robert Krieps, Denis Scuto

A collection of explosive articles about the year 1940 in Luxembourg. On 9 June 2015, the Chamber of deputies in the Grand-Duchy voted unanimously to issue an official apology to the Jewish community in Luxembourg for the way that it was treated by the authorities after the Nazi's invasion of the country in 1940. Historian Denis Scuto played an important role in bringing this issue to public attention with his articles in the press and on the radio. This book presents a part of his research on the subject.



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