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Could regular migration reduce irregular migration?

by Maria Joao Rodrigues, FEPS President

The numbers are clear. According to the International Organization for Migration, the arrivals of refugees and migrants in Europe by sea have been declining since last year. It is no longer possible to hide behind the pretext of the “crisis” to justify the EU’s and its Member States’ political incapability or unwillingness to deal with this in an efficient and humane way. Nonetheless, in the European Union, the poisonous debate on migration has reached extremely unpleasant picks in 2018, and the arrival, in the early weeks of the summer, of yet another boat full of desperate people fleeing from dire situations has been the excuse for quarrels on responsibilities, triggered particularly by the change of government in Italy and the U-turn of Rome’s migration policy, which has shifted from a welcoming approach – albeit imperfect – to the closure of ports. Lives were saved, as well as European honour, by a brave initiative taken by the socialist government of Pedro Sanchez.

Migration continues to be a very divisive issue in the EU. In certain cases, it is becoming a collective obsession, fed by the many misperceptions surrounding it and by the insistent propaganda on traditional and social media. In some European countries, populist and right-wing parties have, so far, successfully hijacked the debate on migration, portraying themselves as tireless guardians of national identities and territories from the “invasion of migrants”, and increasingly filling the political discourse with xenophobic and racist tones.

The EU in the last few years has made important steps in organising a European border, in fighting against smuggler and trafficker networks as well as in preventing irregular immigration. A credible development partnership with Africa is crucial, but a comprehensive approach also requires increasing the legal possibilities for migrants to enter the EU – to prevent deaths at sea and irregular flows, to fight the exploitation of migrant workers and the consequent social dumping – and implies the adoption of consistent integration policies that favour social cohesion and avert tensions. A European migration policy based on the progressive principles of respect of human rights, human dignity and solidarity is indeed possible if it is grounded in a deeper comprehension of the phenomenon and moving away from an exclusively security-oriented approach. Of course, our European identity(ies) should be respected, but this is compatible with an open society which ensures protection for asylum seekers and counts on a comprehensive policy for migration management.

The adoption next December of the Global Compact for Migration, promoted by the UN, will offer the tremendous opportunity to build an ample international cooperation around the management and the governance of migration. An opportunity for cooperation and to foster a political change that European progressive forces should seize enthusiastically. A first test is coming in Europe when, beyond bilateral agreements to cope with the urgencies, the out-dated Dublin system is replaced by a real European asylum system.

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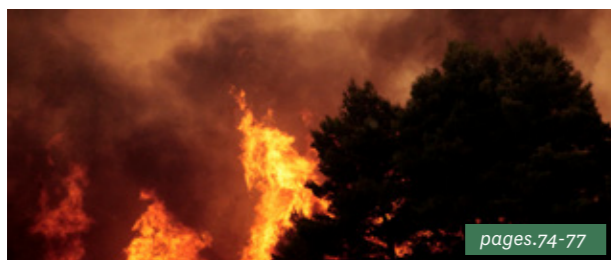


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European Parliament: illiberal take-over is not on the cards

Interview with Tobias Gerhard Schminke by Olaf Bruns

Tobias Gerhard Schminke is the founder and president of the poll aggregator @EuropeElects. He studies development studies in Halifax, Canada. Previously, he studied communication science and political science at the University of Haifa, Israel, and at the Johannes-Gutenberg University Mainz, Germany.

There are fears that the illiberal right-wing might take over in the 2019 European Election. Tobias Gerhard Schminke, founder of @EuropeElects, indeed sees big wins for the hard far-right and big losses for the centre-left – but according to current polls, the European Parliament won't fall into the hands of illiberal forces.

Progressive Post: *There's still a year to go to the elections to the European Parliament 2019, but there seems to be a huge increase of right-wing populists and nationalists all over the continent. Is this trend corroborated by the polls all over Europe?*

Tobias Gerhard Schminke: First, I want to caution against the language we are using when talking about the rise of right-wing, illiberal parties. Sometimes there is this idea that the right-wing is only a moment away from taking

over the whole continent. But let's check the facts instead: on the one hand, Hungary, Poland, Austria and Italy have illiberal, right-wing parties in government. Democracy and human rights are severely in crisis here.

In countries like France, the Czech Republic, Germany, Slovakia, Finland, Denmark, Bulgaria, the Netherlands and Britain, the right-wing opposition heavily shapes the policies set in place by government parties, which are themselves not illiberal in nature but fear losing voters to the right-wing if they do not follow their policies.



| Based on current polls, Europe Elects projects that Matteo Salvini's Lega will gain the most new seats for Marine Le Pen's ENF group in the European Parliament.

But there are also countries which have so far remained almost unaffected by right-wing political influence. There are no strong right-wing parties in Ireland, Spain, Portugal, or Malta.

Retreating to total numbers might give us a clearer picture: Europe Elects aggregated the numbers for the right-wing parties since the last election 2014. Those parties, who cooperate with Marine Le Pen – the ENF Group in the European Parliament – rose from five percent in June 2014 to around eight percent today. Also, the share

of the populist EFDD group has risen from six to eight percent. And the eurosceptic conservatives in the ECR group have risen from nine to ten percent.

If we add up those numbers and ignore tiny right-wing extremist and communist parties, we see that the share of right-wing voters in Europe since 2014 up until today has risen from approximately 20 percent to approximately 26 percent. In turn this means that around 70 percent of Europeans are still supporting liberal and progressive parties. Let's keep a cool head; Europe does

not have a right wing and illiberal majority.

PP: *When it comes down to numbers of seats in the European Parliament, in which countries is the illiberal right-wing camp expected to make its biggest wins?*

TGS: Currently, Europe Elects projects that Marine Le Pen's ENF group will mostly gain seats in Italy. The populist EFDD will probably no longer exist after the European election in 2019, because it will not meet the requirements to form a group in the

European Parliament. But parties close to this ideology could gain seats in Germany, Italy and France, and to a lesser extent the Netherlands, Sweden, and Estonia. The eurosceptic conservative ECR will gain seats mainly in the Visegrad states.

PP: Do you expect the remnants of EFDD – mainly the large group of the Italian 5 Star Movement – to join le Pen's ENF group and to form an even bigger and more influential common group? Perhaps even with the potential to take over S&D's position as the second biggest group?

TGS: It is very uncertain what will happen to the right-wing groups in the European Parliament. AfD is likely to join ENF. The political scientist

“
Right-wing support in Europe is up from approximately 20% to approximately 26% since 2014. Let's keep a cool head; Europe does not have an illiberal majority.
 ”

Manuel Muller, who is an expert on the European Parliament, currently assumes that ECR is the most likely to join forces with M5S. This would turn ECR into an even more ideologically diverse group. But M5S has shown in the past that they do not mind joining a group which might not share their own ideology.

In our projection, the right-wing groups ECR, EFDD and ENF already have six more seats than S&D. But it is highly unlikely that the right will unite into one group. Also, within the European right we have high diversity: social conservatism versus neoliberalism; pro-European and strict anti-Europeans, friends of Putin and his fiercest opponents. Therefore, it is unlikely that the right-wing will manage to unite.

If the Macron group becomes a reality and

#FutureOfEurope #Left
 The centre-left is expected to lose almost everywhere
 @tobiasgschminke



manages to attract many of the current S&D members, then a united right-wing group might have a chance to become second. But this is highly unlikely right now. Predicting the final composition of the Parliament has maybe never been so difficult.

PP: The centre-left appears to be in dire straits, to say the least.

TGS: The Social Democrats – the S&D group in the European Parliament – dropped from 25 percent of voters' support to currently only 19. The S&D lose almost everywhere on the continent; exceptions are Malta and two very left-wing S&D members: Portugal and the United Kingdom. We need to keep in mind though that the UK will be leaving the EU before the election, and the S&D will

lose a strong and well performing member in the election. Therefore, 2019 might be a historically bad election for S&D. And many voters shift from S&D to right-wing parties. The story that the right-wing is mainly getting voters from the centre-right is a fairy-tale. Most voters are coming from the S&D parties.

PP: In which Member States is the S&D group set to lose out most?

TGS: S&D has to face its main losses in Italy, Germany, and France – of course, these countries have the largest population in the EU. It should be mentioned though that voting behaviour between national polls, which are mostly the basis for the Europe Elects projection and voting behaviour in EU elections, might differ.

PP: With 410 seats, the 'grand coalition' of EPP (221) and S&D (189) currently holds about 55% of the 751 seats – according to current polls, are these two groups together still in reach of a majority?

TGS: Our projection model currently projects 179 seats for the EPP group in the European Parliament and 141 seats for the S&D group. This model already excludes the United Kingdom. Brexit will leave the parliament with 705 seats. This leaves S&D and EPP with 45.4 percent of the seats. The 'Grand Coalition' will rely on the votes of other groups, for example ALDE, ECR or G/EFA.



| Salvini, the Secretary of the Lega and Italian Deputy-Prime Minister, acts as if he were the majority leader.

MATTEO SALVINI, THE ANTI-IMMIGRATION STORYTELLER OF ITALIAN POLITICS

by Eleonora Poli

The anti-immigration narrative is granting him even more influence. Since the results of the national election, the Lega has reached around 30% of popular support, overtaking the Five Star Movement.

As incredible as it might sound, since the March 2018 national elections, Salvini, the Secretary of the Lega and current Italian

Deputy-Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior, has been acting as if he was the majority leader, although his party, with a still impressive 17% of the vote, is only the junior

partner in the coalition government. Indeed, its coalition partner, the Five Star Movement (M5S), scored 33% of the vote, while in opposition, the Democratic Party (PD) got 19%.

And here came Salvini's political gamble, which allowed him to acquire more power than the election outcome would have given him. By entering into a political alliance with the M5S, he easily outsmarted them. Being the first political force, the M5S needed the Lega to reach the required 40% and form a coalition government. This condition of necessity made Salvini indispensable to the M5S, granting him seemingly unlimited power.

#Migration the anti-migration rhetoric is not new to the Lega
@Poli_Eleonora



Profiting from this fortuitous situation, Salvini has been gaining even more influence by pushing the issue of migration (one of his electoral pillars) even harder to the forefront of the country's political agenda. Certainly, the anti-migration rhetoric is not new to the Lega. Born in the 90s as a regional separatist party, it gained support by fueling the wealthier Northerners' discontent about internal economic migration from the South of Italy. Yet, it was only recently that Salvini decided to transform his party into a nationalist platform for the whole of Italy: being involved in an electoral funding scandal worth 50 million euros, the Lega needed to reinvent its image and redirect attention to other issues. On the other hand, with former Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi unable to run because of his pending legal charges, Salvini had an opportunity to impose himself as a political alternative for right wing voters. Against this backdrop, the Lega has been building nationwide support by creating common "enemies": the EU, some unaccommodating member countries' governments and, above all, migrants.

Although the number of migrants has reduced over the past years, 45% of Italians still believe that the issue represents a threat to their security. The media have contributed to this perception. In 2017, almost one news item out of two was dedicated to immigration. Building on this, Salvini claimed that Italy has already done too much for migrants. He went so far as to ban NGO vessels rescuing refugees in the Mediterranean from the Italian ports. Recent opinion polls on voting intentions show that this narrative pays off. In a couple of months, the Lega almost doubled its support, reaching around 30.5% in the opinion polls.

Next chance: 2019 EP elections

Undoubtedly the European Parliamentary (EP) elections represent the next chance for progressive forces in Italy to overtake the Lega. If Salvini is able to perform exceptionally well at the EP elections, he could rightly claim to represent the first party in Italy and be even more nimble in pushing forward his anti-immigration programme. Now, more than ever, it is time for European progressive political forces to oppose his vitriolic rhetoric with facts.

European citizens need to become aware that migration cannot be stopped, but that it can be controlled through a sustainable EU agenda. Migrants could help Italy and the EU to overcome negative demographic trends and contribute to the sustainability of national welfare systems if legal avenues to the EU for skilled workers are opened.

Salvini is indeed right on something: the migration crisis is not an Italian but a European issue and solutions should be found at the EU-level. To win back support, Italian and European progressive forces have to go beyond the wall of empty rhetoric raised by nationalist parties such as the Lega. European and Italian citizens need solutions, and words should be followed by actions.

“
Building nationwide support by creating common "enemies": the EU, some unaccommodating member countries, governance, and above all, migrants



> AUTHOR

Eleonora Poli holds a PhD in International Political Economy from City University London. She is a research fellow at the Istituto Affari Internazionali and has worked as consultant for a number of organisations, such as Thomson Reuters and OSIFE. Eleonora has written several opinion pieces on the current European political and institutional trends and she has recently published a book, *Antitrust Institutions and Policies in the Globalising Economy* (Palgrave MacMillan, IPE series, October 2015).



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| Donald Trump: notoriously the perfect role model for populist language and tactics.

POWERLESS ARGUMENTS: DEMAGOGUE AND POPULIST LANGUAGE

by Robert Feustel

Right wing populist language doesn't speak to reason. It plays with emotions and stereotypes, with the purpose of strengthening the differences between the emphatic "us" and the stranger. Hence, it is mostly impossible to out-argue them. Other ways of dealing with right-wing demagogue communication patterns are necessary.

#Populism Current politics and right-wing populism especially is trapped in a hyperreal loop

@RobertFeustel



Notoriously, the perfect role model for populist language and tactics is Donald Trump. He consistently uses patterns of demagogue language as described by the German philosopher Max Horkheimer decades ago.

Horkheimer outlined six patterns:

The first is speaking with a bulk of superlatives ("the biggest wall," "the greatest nation", in Germany, it was the reference to Hitler's "thousand-year empire").

The second is the notorious and vigorous distinction between the emphatic and homogeneous "we" versus the other, which always means: the good guys here and the bad ones there.

The third one is an absolute goal, the suggestion that one day soon, the society will be clean and perfect, if the people followed their populist leader doubtlessly.

The fourth pattern Horkheimer annotated back in the 1960s, is the suggestion that the leader is one of "us". He could be a randomly chosen citizen, even if this is obviously not true. By the way, this notion addresses a simplified idea of democracy that does not need any mediation: within the populist action, "the people" rules unmediated, the populist's voice equals the people's voice. This somehow religious identity between the one speaking and the masses seconding is well known from fascist leaders.

The fifth pattern Horkheimer identified and that Trump, the German AfD, and other right-wing populists are using consistently, is a conspiracy theory against "us." This is very handy for delegitimising critique and opposing an imagined unified enemy.

Finally, and as a sixth pattern, concepts like right or wrong are not questioned, no doubt is allowed as to who, and who alone, tells the truth and who has conspired against "the people". No balancing, nothing but the one, true opinion.

Additionally, The Guardian (2018) has precisely named four operational tactics Trump uses very effectively: "1) Preemptive framing, to get a framing advantage. 2) Diversion, to divert attention when news could embarrass him. 3) Deflection: Shift the blame to others. And 4) trial balloon – test how much you can get away with."

This sums up the rhetorical strategies used by right wing populists. There is obviously no intention of reasonable argumentation or open discussion. It works like "psychoanalysis in reverse" as Leo Löwenthal called it: While the therapist is trying to transfer the neurotic and angst-ridden emotions of the patient into self reflection and a strong distance between the past trauma and the actual situation, the populist goes the other way round. He is cultivating prejudice with the purpose of gaining political benefit from emotions. The refugee for example is a perfect scapegoat. He serves as a projection surface for socio-economic uncertainty emerging from a disorder of the late modern or neoliberal capitalist system.

“

It can be dangerous spreading lies or hate speech, even if they are enclosed by critical comments and revealing arguments.

”

Hence, sober or realistic reasoning, the power of better argumentation, will not help challenging the right wing threat. Attempts of this type will always be classified as either a lie or a sophisticated twist launched by so called deluded profiteers of the system.

But, depending on the context, there are things to do - or to avoid.

First, it can be dangerous spreading lies or hate speech even if they are enclosed by critical comments and revealing arguments.

Second, endlessly repeating populist concepts turns out as amplifying the basic ideas covered within the term itself. The notion as such will be normalized accidentally.

Third, sometimes, avoiding or swallowing the striking argument because it often will be understood as fake or twist, brought up by someone who is up to mischief. Asking back and sowing the seed of doubt could work better in certain cases.

Finally, we have to realize that current politics in general and right-wing populism especially, is trapped in a hyperreal loop: narratives, stories, fake news, and lies are produced endlessly, and they have a real impact. For instance, the German angst of "islamification" occurs as a tremendous fake considering that there are less than 5 percent Muslims living in the country. Or the debates about felt insecurity which is directly opposing the real numbers of crime.

Therefore, it could sometimes be helpful to try reminding people of their real life, to observe the things out there, off-line, disconnected and away from screens and keyboards.



> AUTHOR

Robert Feustel has been a senior lecturer since 2006. Since November 2017, he has been a research assistant in the research project PODESTA (Populism and Democracy in the City) at the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena (Germany).

GEORGE SOROS AND VIKTOR ORBÁN: THE BATTLE BETWEEN PROGRESSIVISM AND POPULISM

by Tamas Boros

Before the populist breakthrough of the 2010s, conventional wisdom was that once populists actually came into power, they would quickly fail because they themselves would become the elite that they had previously fought against when they were in opposition. “When you are part of the elite, you cannot fight the elite” was the idea. Yet, the reality of the past years, particularly in Hungary, showed that this logic is flawed.

Despite eight years in government and the fact that oligarchs with close ties to the Prime Minister saw their wealth swell to billions of euros, in the early 2018 election campaign, Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s party still campaigned as an insurgent, using anti-elite rhetoric.

Orbán found the “ideal” enemy for this type of rhetoric in George Soros, an American billionaire who originally hailed from Hungary. In the governing party’s narrative, George Soros is a leader of the global elite that strives to undermine nation-states, and Viktor Orbán is the man destined to stop him from realising this evil aspiration. According to the narrative crafted by the governing party, the global elite is cosmopolitan, liberal, pro-migration and greedy – in contrast to the national elite, which is nationalist, conservative, anti-migration and on the side of the people.

By successfully portraying the world as a Manichean struggle between the global

The challenge for progressives is not to react to these but to identify those issues that are important to society and resonate with the public

@TamasBoros



elite and national leaders, Viktor Orbán has managed to cast himself as an ordinary man of the people despite exercising unfettered power over Hungary and controlling billions of euros in wealth.

George Soros’ name was already widely known in Hungary before the recent governmental campaign honed in on his person. After all, the billionaire has been trying to promote the democratic transition in Hungary from communism since 1984, and he has supported social convergence, healthcare and education with numerous programmes

and many millions of dollars. Previously, the leaders of the governing Fidesz party had correspondingly regarded him as a philanthropist.

The turn in their relations dates to the autumn of 2015, when Viktor Orbán began to blame Soros for the refugee crisis and then sketched an alternative image of reality in which George Soros controls numerous international organisations with the goal of destroying the nation states, by using migrants to completely transform European culture. This was the point when government propaganda deliberately set out to turn George Soros into a scapegoat.

The main tool used to this end were state funded propaganda campaigns, on which the government spent over 100 million euros of taxpayers’ money. This was complemented by the government-friendly media outlets’ character assassinations of Soros, vast efforts at discrediting him – over the past years, an average of 6,000 (!) articles were published in Hungary about Soros each month.



| Full page advertisement from the government in a Hungarian newspaper, right before the 2018 election.

The perfect scapegoat

Soros embodies everything that right-wing populists loath: He is a believer in an open and heterogeneous society, he believes in the system of international institutions, and he supports social minorities. He has the money, the network and the ideology to do all this. That is why Soros has emerged as a political enemy in numerous countries – from Russia all the way to Macedonia. In fact, the characteristics pinned on Soros by Orbán – the mendacious and actual elements alike – had also appeared in several previous anti-Soros campaigns outside Hungary. In and of itself, this could be seen as part of the standard political tug of war.

What makes Orbán’s populist campaign unique is not the novelty of its content, but the utter unscrupulousness that manifests itself in its (lack of) morality and the sheer unlimited material resources used to drive its messages home. Using the government apparatus in an anti-Soros campaign; spending millions of euros from the central budget on this campaign; using every tool of communication conceivable; repeating the same arguments ad nauseam; stirring a war-like atmosphere – this essentially subordinates the state to the needs and goals of populism.

“
The anti-Soros and anti-migrant campaigns have significantly contributed to the fact that Viktor Orbán won 49% of the vote in the parliamentary elections of 2018.
”

The anti-Soros and anti-migrant campaigns have significantly contributed to the fact that Viktor Orbán won 49% of the vote in the parliamentary elections of 2018. This political success will lead many other populists on the continent to conclude that anti-Soros and anti-migrant campaigns provide a recipe for political success in Europe today. However, one of the reasons for the success of such a strategy lies in the fact that the progressive parties have failed to identify issues with an emotional appeal that resonate more strongly with voters than their apprehensions about migrants, anti-elite sentiments and

conspiracy theories. Another key insight of the populist campaigns is that it is a mistake to look down on them, to consider them primitive, easy to rebut or extreme. The challenge for progressives is not to react to these but to identify those issues that are important to society and resonate with the public, which will effectively deprive the populists’ artificial enemy-creation mechanisms – the core element of their electoral success – of their dominant role in public discourse.



> AUTHOR

Tamas Boros is Co-director and head of strategy of Policy Solutions at FEPS.


Jean-Michel Lafleur

is a qualified researcher at the National Fund for Scientific Research (Fonds de la Recherche Scientifique (FRS-FNRS) and current Deputy Director at the Centre for Ethnic and Migration Studies (CEDEM). He holds a doctorate in Political and Social Sciences from the Paris Institute of Political Studies (Sciences Po) and completed his thesis on political transnationalism and the State at University of Liège (Belgium). His book is for free download at www.news.uliege.be/21questions

"The left remains too often fixated on denouncing issues, without providing any creative solutions"

interview with Jean-Michel Lafleur by Alain Bloëdt

Preferring to talk about a political crisis, or a crisis of reception rather than a migratory crisis, Jean-Michel Lafleur explains in this interview with the Progressive Post, how much nationalist parties have succeeded to frame the migration debate, while the left has remained too sluggish.

The Progressive Post: *The migration issue is debated from different perspectives depending on the country concerned. How is the debate in Belgium?*

Jean-Michel Lafleur: The unique situation we are facing in Belgium is a result of the federal state system where distinct regions are responsible for the integration of immigrants into society. This leads to increased tension between entry requirements for the area (region), which is determined at a federal level, and integration policies, which are defined at a regional level. However, one significant exception to this rule is access to citizenship (the granting of citizenship), which remains, of course, under exclusive federal jurisdiction.

PP: *How is the debate surrounding migration developing?*

J-M L: There has been a noticeable shift in the debate since the last federal elections in 2014 when the right-wing nationalist party, the N-VA (New Flemish Alliance) entered government for the first time in political history. This is no surprise to me as this party was elected despite their rather hard-line position on migration issues and integration and this is now being reflected at a federal level in the debate. Theo Francken, the current Secretary of State for Asylum and Migration, is a person who, as a Member of Parliament, was in charge of this issue, with very hard-line positions on family reunification or access to citizenship. Not to mention the tightening of the already narrow range of options for those who seek to gain access to Belgian territory. Since 2014 when the N-VA came to power following the formation of a coalition with a minority French-speaking party, the Centre-Right Reformist Movement (MR), they have had a direct



| "One can defend a restrictive migration policy, but at least with convincing arguments. I have not heard of a compelling argument to restrict migration yet"

impact on migration policy. They have introduced a series of reforms including asylum procedure, family reunification, migrant access to the territory for education, etc. We are witnessing the closure of all the doors that were previously slightly ajar.

PP: *What rhetoric accompanies such political decisions?*

J-M L: The rhetoric used tends to stigmatise and is designed to question the added value of migration, the reasons for migration etc. They allege that migration is principally motivated by the desire to obtain social welfare benefits for example. The rhetoric that is often used describes migration as a burden on society, whilst the reality is much more complex as many studies have demonstrated.

PP: *How do the opposition parties react?*

J-M L: Much of the reaction of the left is indignation at the provocative remarks from the Secretary of State. Nevertheless, they have failed to provide any counter-proposals or solutions to the issues. Often the

reaction is to denounce rather than provide any solutions.

PP: *How do you explain this?*

J-M L: The first reason is that the issue is quite complex: what should we do with asylum seekers? How many do we accommodate? It is often difficult for us to move beyond indignation as a first response, although it is possible. Another reason is that in Belgium, under the previous legislature, when the Socialist Party was in power, the migration policy was less than a perfect model to follow. Take the citizenship act: the act was amended during the previous legislature and has made access to Belgian citizenship much more difficult than previously. This cannot be directly attributed to the involvement of the Social Democrats in the decision-making process since they themselves had originally pushed for relaxation of the requirements a few years earlier. But this reform was designed during the period they were in power. In general terms, as Belgium is a country that has always coalition governments, the Social Democrats found themselves pushed to the right.

PP: *A network of community hospitals have been established, the public and civil society are also involved in welcoming refugees. Is this not an opportunity for the Left?*

J-M L: I think that the Social Democrat parties are aware that their electorate is very concerned about the migration issue. Every day, images of boats arriving are bombarded upon us, which gives us the impression to be invaded. But in French-speaking Belgium, the macro-economic situation is not very good. The historically largely working class electorate in these areas are the hardest hit and remain the most concerned about potential competition between migrant workers and native workers. On the other hand, middle-class and skilled workers feel less at risk from the arrival of migrant workers. One might argue that they are better able to perceive the benefits of migration than the working class.

PP: *How do you mean this?*

J-M L: Those for example, who can afford domestic services thanks to the service

#Migration A new consensus on migration to transcend political differences

@LafleurJeanM



voucher system are well aware that without foreign workers they would not be able to maintain such day-to-day comfort. This is not an issue for the lower socio-economic strata; those that have never used these services,

but who actively work in sectors such as the construction industry, where migration can actually increase competition for jobs. Although competition does not flow directly from migration, it is perceived by the public as such. The historically centre-left electorate perceive that their employment opportunities are reducing.

PP: *In your opinion, have nationalist parties acquired a decisive influence?*

J-M L: I have observed a certain level of reluctance amongst the left-wing parties and I think that this has arisen because they share the belief that they will not win over voters by speaking out on this issue. In the end, these parties prefer to present policies on other issues, which are perhaps more important to their electorate, or, at least, issues that are seen to transcend the migration debate, where prejudices are already deeply established.

PP: *In your opinion, how long can we expect this situation to continue?*

J-M L: When I see the recent and rapid changes in rhetoric and public policies, I think that this situation will not change soon and could deteriorate very quickly. When we consider the statements of Matteo Salvini concerning a census of the Roma population, the arguments of Theo Francken that migrant families should be confined, or that migrant boats should be sunk at sea, I see a dehumanisation of the migration issue.

PP: *Do you think that the situation could get even worse?*

J-M L: Until now, the situation has been expressed exclusively in rhetoric aimed at flattering right-wing electorate. But given that these parties have taken to power in Austria, Belgium and Italy, and perhaps soon the European Parliament, it could only be the beginning of a cycle that could lead to significant regression in terms of human rights in several Member States and even at a European level.

PP: *Is that not very pessimistic?*

J-M L: Yes, it is, because the situation does not stop there. Indeed, one of the consequences of this populist spiral, that is less talked about concerns those foreigners who are already present on the territory: the outbreak of racist attacks also affects those who are European citizens but are of African or Northern African origin. They are constantly required to justify their presence in the country, their contribution to society, to the State etc.

PP: *Given your research, are you not tempted to join the debate?*

J-M L: In my opinion ~ and I know everyone does not agree with this ~ the researcher's principal role is to further the debate with arguments and provide valid and verifiable data. This is the goal of our work *Why Immigration? 21 questions that Belgians are asking about international migration in the 21st century* (see the box).

PP: *Are we in a situation that worries you?*

J-M L: First of all, it is important to note that the parties hold positions on the migration issue that diverge, sometimes on scientific grounds, sometimes for ideological reasons but this is legitimate and a part of political debate. Let us take the N-VA (New Flemish Alliance) for example. The mayor of Antwerp, Bart De Wever's party defends their hard-line migration policy, which is an almost zero-immigration policy. To a certain extent, this policy can be seen as legitimate: The N-VA has received a democratic mandate from the Flemish voters to favour a proportion of that electorate. To some it may seem discriminatory, but it can be implemented within a legal framework - a policy that limits immigration for the purpose of producing a homogeneous, mono-ethnic country. The problem is that to support such a position, they rely upon misleading arguments: It is wrong to state that we will be better off by stopping migration. When a right-wing party declares that stopping migration would maintain the living-standard of the upper middle class, it is stating false facts. On the contrary, if we want to maintain our standard of living, we need immigration. Misleading arguments are often used to support restrictive migration policies.

PP: *Where do you place your red line on migration?*

J-M L: One can defend a restrictive migration policy, but one should at least use more convincing arguments. But to date, I have not heard of a compelling argument to restrict migration. I have read arguments of racist nature that favour a restriction on migration that denies the the international obligation we have taken for Human Rights or for complying with the Geneva Convention. Adopting such positions means to dismiss a whole series of international undertakings, and thus accept a position as political outcasts. We couldn't

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The debate is not about whether we want immigration or not - it is about how best to manage immigration.”

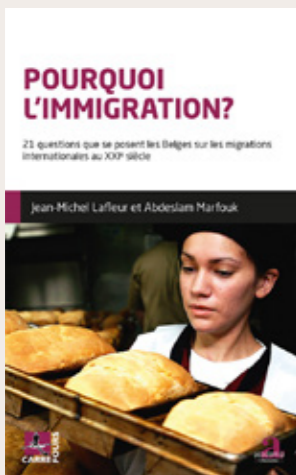
pride ourselves anymore to be an example follow on this issue.

PP: *How to change this debate which has become dominated by the nationalist parties?*

J-M L: We need to form a new consensus on migration that bridges political divisions. We must meet around a table, left-wing, centre-left and centre-right parties together, to determine a range of points upon which we can agree to form a minimum consensus.

PP: *Is this not just a utopian dream?*

J-M L: When Hungary or Poland decide that they do not want a single migrant, the time for European debate will be over. The debate is not about whether we want immigration or not, it is about how best to manage immigration. I believe that the centre-left and centre-right parties, even if they are reluctant to announce it openly, have more or less accepted that from an economic perspective, we need a certain amount of immigration. So we should ask ourselves: do we not all agree that it is important to provide protection to those fleeing war-torn countries or persecution? I think we would benefit from having a joint declaration, or at least a minimum basis, from which we can debate the issue, and then we can move beyond disagreements on how to implement the measures and agree a migration policy and possibly even resolve differences concerning asylum seekers.



His last book is available online for free

forewords



UNited for a different European migration policy

For years now, migration is on top of the political agenda - but there is still no movement towards a coherent and comprehensive European solution.

We are now in a situation that every time migrants are saved from drowning at sea there is a hectic behind-the-scenes negotiation amongst heads of state to agree on a small number of people who are to be given the possibility to ask for asylum. Those countries having agreed to accept migrants during this very hot summer are limited: Germany, France, Spain and Portugal. So it seems only 4 of the 28 European countries are willing to take migrants and rescue them.

include humanitarian visas for a safer journey, resettlement, and a relocation scheme governed by a quota system based on population, GDP, the number of spontaneous asylum applications and unemployment rates.

The proposal for a temporary European mandatory quota system failed. The majority of member states especially in Central and Eastern Europe never accepted it and even jeopardised the process of it being introduced.

Instead of finding a common European solution, xenophobic and emotional language prevails. Many examples can be cited and tragic incidents have taken the lives of many migrants already. This is the result of the “European fortress” approach guided by the lack of solidarity between member states. The issue is simply being selfishly pushed back.

The urgency to find a long-term solution and to prove the EU’s capacity needs to be on the European agenda more than ever, particularly ahead of the upcoming 2019 European elections.

#UNited4Migration
Instead of finding a common European solution, xenophobic and emotional language prevails



Conflicts in the Middle East and Africa, particularly in Syria, have steadily worsened and are not settled. Hence people continue to leave their home countries to find shelter and to survive. Alongside the numbers of people arriving by boat in Italy and Malta, there is a shift in routes: now one of the main routes goes from Morocco to Spain. This turns migration into a highly visible and much-abused issue provoking political hysteria too often and irrationality.

The current European system forces migrants to take illegal border crossings, criminalising them and throwing them into the hands of traffickers. Such policies do not protect human rights for all and do not give asylum for everyone in need. It casts tremendous doubt on the EU’s founding values.

Human rights, democracy and the EU’s global role in international protection are at stake, with potentially dangerous consequences.

Thousands of people are left in inhumane conditions, yet there are several options to ease such situations. Some were proposed years ago and

Progressives have to prove that they are not on this track and that they are pushing for coherent and long-term solutions. Migration is not only an

accidental issue, it is a structural and ordinary feature of our globalised world with the current peaks in the global context. As the conflicts are not about to end, migrants continue their perilous journey.

First and foremost, Europe has to be firm in protecting the rights of migrants and to demystify migration. Dishonest propaganda combined with fake news and daily infiltration that migrants are invading the territory, stealing jobs and changing the culture is simply not true and not at all acceptable and must be very strongly contested.

The duty of the progressives is to make a clear case for regular migration and to strengthen the legal possibilities to reach a destination country. This means without a doubt that the state should be in control of the means of developing and managing legal migration channels and efficient asylum practices as well as border controls.

#UNited4Migration better management can only be achieved if there is a common understanding that exclusion of migrants has to be countered by inclusion



But better management can only be achieved if there is a common understanding that exclusion of migrants has to be countered by inclusion. Better management can also only be achieved if there is a willingness to try the utmost to overcome war and conflicts in the Middle East and in Africa and to combine this with an all-encompassing and successful development policy.

This is the duty of Europe. Closing our eyes and not being shocked any more by

the tragedies is not human and against every European value. This message must be brought forward in political debates instead of running behind the nasty racist rhetoric.



> AUTHOR
Ernst Stetter is the Secretary General of Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS).

Urgently needed: a credible regular migration policy

The number of people on the move worldwide is growing. The numbers stress the urgency to develop comprehensive responses to migration grounded on shared responsibility and multilateralism.

When talking about migration, in Europe, the focus of discussion has been placed mostly on tackling irregular migration and fighting the people smuggling business. Consequently, efforts have consequently primarily concentrated

on dismantling networks of smugglers and traffickers, reinforcing border management and providing legal alternatives focusing on those in need of protection. This has allowed achieving important results in reducing irregular flows and decrease hazardous journeys across Africa and the Middle East.

But a comprehensive migration policy cannot only look at how to tackle irregular migration and provide protection to refugees. A sustainable approach requires a parallel investment in a stronger system for regular migration and integration. This is the only way to develop long lasting

solution addressing at the same time the reality of our labour markets and demography, the aspiration of migrants wishing to come and contribute to our societies, and the justified concerns of European citizens. An ambitious migration policy needs to look at all aspects of this complex phenomenon, developing governance systems that discourage irregular channels and promote sustainable regular alternatives.

Migration flows bring benefits to receiving countries' labour markets and boost economic growth: skilled migrants are a great source of entrepreneurial activity in particular in an era where economic systems need a flexible system in order to attract people with potential and skills. However, in order for these benefits to materialise, we need to remain vigilant on irregular migration, preventing its negative effects on social rights and wage dumping, addressing irregular employment and make sure that labour rights are respected. Only by doing so it is possible to garner enough support for a progressive migration policy that stops defining migration primarily as a security issue.

In developing our regular migration system we should not settle simply with defining rules for the highly skilled, researchers and students. While these may be the categories of migrants that enjoy most support among European citizens, we need to cater for the shortages we face in all segments of the European labour markets, and respond to the enthusiasm of an African youth who is eager to develop skills that can be useful in Europe and that can be brought back as a precious contribution to their societies of origin.

There are some positive examples at the international level where this balance is found. In Canada, for several years, the Government has put in place a strong

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Migration flows bring benefits to receiving countries' labour markets and boost economic growth.
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framework for legal migration that enjoys both support among nationals and is considered fair and efficient by those who want to migrate. While the geography of Canada cannot compare with that of Europe, its system should remain a polar star in looking at what we want to achieve. An opportunity in this regards is now offered by the implementation of the Global Compact for Migration that will be adopted in December by the United Nations. In that framework, all the EU Member States and the EU will need to look again at their migration policies within a new and comprehensive multilateral framework.

Thanks to concerted investment, Europe has managed to make some steps forward towards the development of a cohesive policy in tackling irregular migration. Problems still exist but results are there to remind us what we can achieve when we act together. Now is the time to invest the same degree of resources in developing a credible policy for regular migration. If we do not want to abide to the idea that managing migration equals erecting walls among societies, we have to invest in building doors that are open enough to ensure that we can build a house that can stand for generations to come.

“**UNited**
for a different
MIGRATION,”

On 11 July 2018, after lengthy consultations with stakeholders and negotiations among the UN Member States, the text of the *Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration* was finalised. It will be formally adopted by the UN Member States in Marrakesh, Morocco, next December. For the first time, a multilateral international agreement will tackle in a comprehensive and humane way all dimensions of one of the most challenging phenomena of our times.

In view of this historical event and considering the growing anti-migration and xenophobic sentiments that are spreading in Europe and elsewhere, the Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS) established a "FEPS Global Migration Group", which met twice – in Rome and Dakar – to formulate a new progressive vision of migration. The Group will meet once more in New York, on 21st September on the occasion of the "UNITED for a different migration" conference that FEPS organises in cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, the Fondazione Jean Jaurès, the Fondazione Italianeuropei and with the support of a number of national foundations. This will be an outstanding opportunity to present the result of the FEPS Global Migration Group's finding and, above all, to reflect on the implications of the Global Compact.

Read more on www.feps-europe.eu



| The first priority is the harmonisation of the right of asylum. The disparities are significant: Germany accepts 57% of all applications.

DEPOLITICISING MIGRATION

by Michel Foucher

A broad agreement between the 28 EU Member States on the implementation of migration policies is out of reach to be updated according to the June EU summit. The subject is notably controversial; the issue has become too politicised at a time when there is a pressing need to find pragmatic solutions. If we don't find a solution, the issue could overtake the democratic debate prior to the European Parliament elections in May 2019. The pragmatic vision of Michel Foucher: the depoliticisation of migration.

It's possible to move forward if we can distinguish between the short term and the longer term, between solutions that have been discussed in a restricted group and a global approach. The German attempt to mutualise the consequences of a unilateral decision in 2015

was bound to fail, as it ignored all previous debates and the history of the nations of the European Union. Also, the present external migration only affects a few distinct countries.

The first priority is the harmonisation of

the right of asylum. The disparities are significant: Germany accepts 57% of all applications, the Netherlands 80% and Sweden 72%, whilst France accepts only 26% (and Hungary 15%). According to the European Stability Initiative, four member states received three quarters of all asylum

applications (Germany, France, Italy and Greece) and handled half a million applications in 2017. On the basis of such findings these member states should be able to agree amongst themselves in terms of how best to harmonise the conditions for obtaining political asylum, at least in the short term, without having to wait for a near impossible EU-wide agreement.

The other priority is to continue to work with the respective countries of origin whose nationals are not entitled to the right of asylum, which is the vast majority of applicants.

Why can a Euro-African program based on contractual movement not be envisaged? Annual quotas for migrants, traveling without risk, movement of people for the purpose of training (students, medical assistance / caregivers, apprentices, leaders of associations, journalists, artists, etc.) in return for a promise to return to the country of origin, in collaboration with migrant associations. Such a quadripartite agreement between the member states and associations of the countries of origin and those of destination would be supported by significant European funding. This innovative Euro-African policy is not restrictive in nature, nor would it exclude working in parallel on deterring migrants from leaving together with local authorities or NGOs.

Such a migration program for training and return **would combine, in strict subsidiarity, the EU, the member states and the local agencies. We must therefore go beyond the present readmission agreements and develop a Euro-African co-development strategy.**

In short, it is a matter of "depoliticising" the question of migration by treating it as a question of mobility and to provide it with pragmatic answers based on precise knowledge of the history and geography of the flows.

But for such policies to be acceptable for EU citizens, a greater effort must be made to implement measures, more than equivalent, in favour of those European citizens

who have lost hope and are in need of help. Rather than paying attention to national-populist leaders who claim to embody "the people" while undermining democracy, it would be crucial to address those who vote for such leaders and to manage the Cohesion Funds in such a way that our goal of a Social Europe can be achieved. Electoral maps clearly show the places such interventions should take place.

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It is a question of “depoliticising” the question of migration by treating the issue as a question of mobility.
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The European Union must demonstrate its purpose and usefulness to those who feel left out. To prevent the migration controversy from turning the democratic

Rethinking the Europe-Africa relationship in terms of mobility and accessibility. The pragmatic vision of Michel Foucher #Migration



debate into national-populist rhetoric, the project of a social Europe must be considered a top priority. Intelligent management of Euro-African mobility should form part of an ambitious social policy of the European Union.



> **AUTHOR**
Michel Foucher is a geographer, former French ambassador and professor of applied geopolitics at the College of Global Studies (FMSH, Paris). His latest published works include the "The return of borders" (CNRS Editions, 2016) and "Towards a neo-national world? A discussion with Bertrand Badie" (CNRS Editions, 2017).

HUMAN MOBILITY: NEOLIBERAL GLOBALISATION AND FORCED MIGRATION

by Raúl Delgado Wise

What is the link between globalisation, inequality and migration? To answer this question, Raúl Delgado Wise analyses the capitalist context in which migration is taking place.

Neither the nature of contemporary migration nor attempts to advance towards an institutional framework for the global governance of migration can be assessed without an understanding of the current capitalist context. One of the most salient features of neoliberal globalisation is the concentration of all

major global economic activities in a handful of large multinational corporations (MNCs).

Four developments have favoured this concentration:

- *The upsurge of monopoly-finance capital*, i.e. the ascendancy of

finance capital over other types of capital. With the lack of profitable investment in production, capital began shifting toward financial speculation based on an unprecedented reserve of fictitious capital. The result has been the financialisation of the capitalist class, of industrial capital, and of corporate profits.

| Most current migration flows are forced displacements, and therefore require a more accurate description.



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- *The configuration and expansion of global networks of monopoly capital* as a restructuring strategy led by the large MNCs, which, through outsourcing operations and subcontracting chains, extend parts of their productive, commercial, financial and service processes to the Global South in search of abundant and cheap labour through global labour arbitrage.
- *The restructuring of innovation systems* through mechanisms such as outsourcing (including offshore) the scientific and technological innovation process, which allows MNCs to benefit from the research of scientists from the Global South. This restructuring reduces labour costs, transfers risks and responsibilities, and capitalises on the advantages of controlling patents.

A major and inescapable feature of neoliberal globalisation is *uneven development*. The global and national dynamics of contemporary capitalism, the international division of labour, the system of international power relations, and the conflicts that surround capital-labour relations and the dynamics of extractive capital have made economic, social, political and cultural polarisation more extreme between geographical spaces and social classes than ever before in human history.

This implies an unprecedented attack on the labour and living conditions of the working class. With the dismantling of the former Soviet Union, the integration of China and India into the world economy, and the implementation of structural adjustment programmes (including privatisations and labour reforms), the supply of labour available to capital over the last two decades more than doubled from 1.5 to 3.25 billion.

This has led to an exorbitant oversupply of labour which scaled down the global wage structure and increased labour precariousness. According to ILO estimates, the number of workers in conditions of labour insecurity rose to 1.5 billion in 2017—encompassing nearly half of the world’s labour force—with 800 million receiving a salary of less than 3 US dollars per day, while the global number of unemployed continues to rise. These conditions—which are unevenly distributed worldwide—have increased structural

#Migration Neoliberal globalisation, uneven development and forced migration: a link between inequality, globalisation and migration ?
@Raul Delgado Wise



- The renewed trend toward extractivism and land grabbing, led by the continuing over-consumption of the world’s natural resources and the expansion of carbon-based industrial production. This new extractivism has worsened environmental degradation, not only through an expanded geography of destruction, but also by global extractive capital’s strategy of environmental regulatory arbitrage.



The massive nature of migration associated with the contradictory and disorderly dynamics of uneven development has enlarged the traditional notion of forced migration.



pressures on many people to emigrate internally and/or internationally.

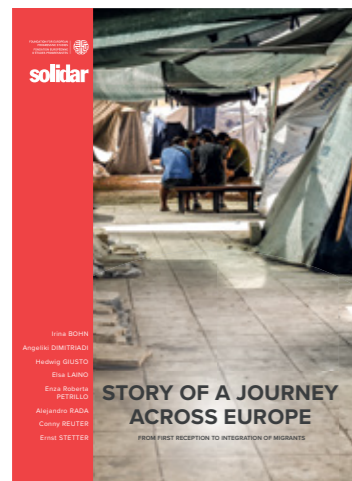
In this context, migration has acquired a new role in the national and international division of labour. The massive nature of migration together with the contradictory and disorderly dynamics of uneven development has enlarged the traditional notion of forced migration.

Although the conventional concept of ‘forced migration’ does not apply to all migrants, most current migration flows are forced displacements, and therefore require a more accurate description.



> AUTHOR
Raúl Delgado Wise is president and founder of the International Network on Migration and Development, co-director of the Critical Development Studies Network, and professor as well as director of the Doctoral Program in Development Studies at the Autonomous University of Zacatecas (Mexico). He is also editor of the magazine *Migración y Desarrollo*. He is the UNESCO Chair on Migration, Development and Human Rights.

Story of a journey across Europe: from first reception to the integration of migrants



Every migration story is a journey. Too often it is a perilous journey. Sometimes, tragically, it is a deadly one. Those who, after many hardships, manage to reach their yearned destination in the European Union must start a new – less dangerous, but not less frustrating – journey through the complexities, gaps, inconsistencies, contradictions, and contortions of local, national and European services, bureaucracy and legislation.

“Story of a journey across Europe. From first reception to integration of migrants” is the attempt to describe, through accurate assessments and photos, the various steps of this new “odyssey” from the moment of disembarkation to the relief of starting the slow process of integration in the hosting societies. A new journey that will take migrants alternatively through hopes and disillusionments, personal development and exasperation, self-empowerment and feelings of rejection.

The focus, emblematically, is on three countries that have, since the beginning of the so-called refugee crisis, received large numbers of newcomers because of their geographical position – Greece and Italy – or because it represented the most hoped for destination in Europe: Germany.

In the first two cases, the authors – respectively Angeliki Dimitriadi and Enza Roberta Petrillo – describe the situation of the first reception services in both countries, focusing on the gaps and shortcomings in the provision of services, raising serious questions about the full respect of human rights of such reception methods, especially in the case of the most vulnerable migrants, and underlining the crucial role played by civil society organisations. The third essay, by Irina Bohn and Alejandro Rada, symbolically, closes the journey across Europe by observing the inclusion of young refugees and migrants in Germany, and reflecting on the ways to foster their personal potential.

Photos by the Italian photographer Sara Prestianni in Greece, Italy and Germany, accompany this journey through Europe.



In the dead of the night an old barge approaches the dock of Lampedusa. More than 300 men, women and children hold their breath in the wooden shell that they left Libya in. Each “human layer” is a different “tariff”: those who sit in the bottom of the boat – at risk from suffocation – pay the lower price. Lampedusa (Italy), 2015.

Everyday dozens arrive in makeshift dinghies on the shores of the Aegean Islands. They cross the narrow but stormy stretch of sea that lies between Greece and Turkey. When they land, their faces, tense with the fear of death, relax for a brief moment of relief. Lesbos (Greece), 2015.



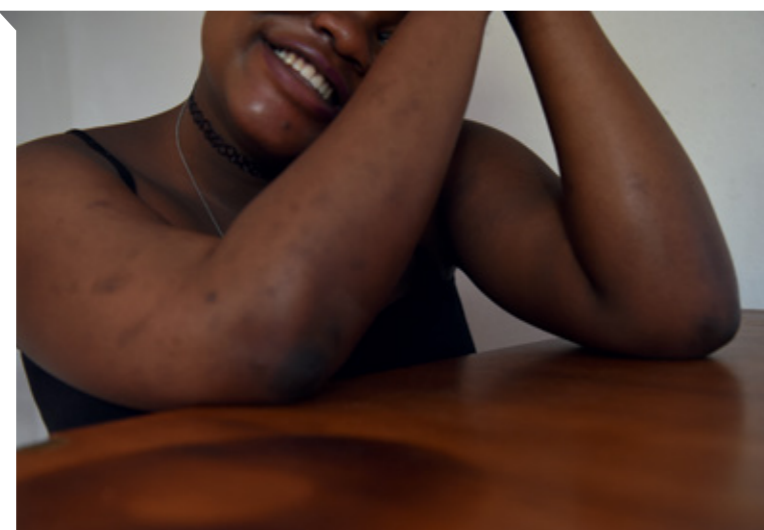
When they land in Pozzallo, migrants are led to the hotspot that is located only a few metres away from the pier. They will all be identified before being transferred to other reception centres and will receive a kit with essential items. Pozzallo Hotspot (Italy), 2016.



The block of transfers to the mainland forces a large number of people to remain in the Aegean Islands. Hundreds of people wait weeks before being identified and continue their journey towards the border with Macedonia (FYROM). Some nationals remain longer than others. Moria Hotspot, Lesbos (Greece), 2015.



Once they leave the hotspots, the asylum seekers are sent to one of the Italian reception centres. There, it is essential to implement a good reception model in order to undertake a true process of integration. Centro di accoglienza Arci Solidarietà, Bologna (Italy), 2017.



The EU-Turkey Deal and the closing of the border between Greece and Macedonia (FYROM) have turned the Aegean Islands into outright campsites, where migrants wait for permission to continue their journey and fear being returned to Turkey. Kios (Greece), 2016.



Once in Italy, many Sudanese people try to reunite with relatives and friends in other European countries. The main junction to reach France and then the United Kingdom is the border town Ventimiglia. There, waiting to cross the border is the daily routine. Ventimiglia (Italy), 2017.



In the outskirts of Ventimiglia, the Italian town on the border with France, an informal campsite has been established along the riverbed. Ventimiglia (Italy), 2017.



Rome is one of the main destinations of the people in transit: migrants and asylum seekers who, in spite of the fact that they have been identified in Italy, wish to reach other EU Member States and receive asylum status. Baobab, near the Tiburtina railway station, has become the hub for these people in transit. Baobab, Rome (Italy), 2016.



> AUTHOR
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According to official estimates, 161,000 foreign workers (16% of the total) are regularly employed in the agricultural sector in Southern Italy and at least as many are working without having been declared.

THE TOMATO CONUNDRUM

by Roberto Forin

Italy's tomato industry has been accused of pushing migrants into 'conditions of absolute exploitation'. But it also creates the very conditions that make migrants leave their countries in the first place, such as from Sub-Saharan Africa.

Italy is the first producer of tomatoes in Europe and the third producer worldwide. Every year, Italy produces more than 5 million tons of tomatoes with roughly 90% of the production destined for processing and exportation, with a sector turnover of more than 3.2 billion euros. The business is also lucrative for players

outside Italy. In January 2012, the British company Princes, a subsidiary of Mitsubishi Corp since 1989, established a new tomato processing plant in Foggia, in the southern Apulia region. The new factory is the largest tomato-treating site in the world and one of the most high-tech and advanced in Europe. It can process up to 400,000 tons of fresh

tomatoes a year and generates annual revenues of more than 200 million euros.

The agricultural sector in Italy is heavily reliant on migrant workers. According to official estimates, 161,000 foreign workers (16% of the total) are regularly employed in the agricultural sector in Southern Italy and at least

as many are working without having been declared. Migrant worker, many of them irregularly employed, hand-pick tomatoes for high-tech processing plants, some of them in extremely exploitative conditions, for as little as 20 euros for 12 hours per day. In reaction, the previous Italian government passed the "Legge sul Caporalato" in February 2016. The law, which criminalises employers as well

as intermediaries facilitating the employment of irregular workers, is a significant step in the right direction. But a lot remains to be done - to fight the exploitation of migrants and improve their working conditions, as well as to ensure the enforcement of the law - as shown by the recent killing of a migrant worker and trade union activist from Mali in Rosarno, Calabria, in June 2018 and the two car accidents who lead to the death of 16 migrants workers in the Apulia region in August 2018.

However, this is just one side of the story that connects Italy's leading position as tomato exporter worldwide with the lives of migrants who come to work, regularly as well as irregularly, in Europe.

EU unfair trade policies

While the majority of tomatoes harvested in Italy continues to be exported within Europe, a major destination for the tomatoes grown in the province of Foggia is the African market,



The law, which criminalises both employers and intermediaries facilitating the employment of irregular workers, is a significant step in the right direction.



are very rare but to give a sense of the scale of the phenomenon: according to the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), tomato paste imports from Italy and China to West Africa has risen by 650% from 1998 to 2003.

The impact has been devastating for local production in West Africa: farmers who invested in tomatoes in the 1990s were no longer able to compete with foreign products, which led them to either change sector or switch back to subsistence agriculture. Local transformation companies had to shut down, leaving many workers with few other options but to look for better opportunities elsewhere, including in Europe.

The impact of the Italian tomato exportation in West Africa is just one example of the negative impact of some EU trade policies. Beyond the tomato industry, and the agricultural sector altogether, unfair trade and dumping concern many other economic sectors in several African countries. The consequences on the job markets of the involved countries

particularly Ivory Coast and Ghana. In these two countries, since the early 2000s, Italian tomatoes, mainly in the form of tomato paste, have replaced local production. Over the last 15 years, the competitiveness of Italian tomatoes has been boosted by EU subsidies which reached up to 65% of the final market price. At the same time, the EU also facilitates the export, by reimbursing up to 45 euros for every ton of exported tomato paste. Statistics

are often dramatic, directly and indirectly impacting the migration aspirations of many frustrated workers.

The analysis of the "root causes of migration" has become increasingly popular these days, often accompanied by proposals to boost development aid in countries of origin to reduce migration flows towards Europe. Yet, the dynamics in the tomato industry in Italy and its wider links suggest that starting to take a radically different look at EU trade policy and private investments may actually yield better results.

From the exploitation of tomatoes to that of migrant workers
@roberto_forin



> AUTHOR
Roberto Forin is Programme Coordinator at the Mixed Migration Centre in Geneva. Previously, he has worked in the anti-trafficking field and in the humanitarian sector. Roberto has conducted field research on the exploitation of migrant workers in the agricultural sector in Southern Italy.

BELGIUM: ARE INTEGRATION POLICIES MISDIRECTED AWAY FROM THEIR GOAL?

by Sylvie de Terschueren

Integration of migrants must be a goal of the Belgian society as a whole. For CIRE (Coordination and Initiatives for refugees and foreigners), this should not come as additional pressure on the newcomer. Sylvie de Terschueren explains their bad fortune in Belgium and the challenges of a well-considered integration.

In recent years, the integration of newly arriving migrants has been a political priority in Belgium. Legislative changes have been made at the federal and regional levels. If the authors of these changes pride themselves to work for a healthy and open society with a view to guaranteeing the integration of newcomers, these measures do not hide the electoral logic that places the burden of integration on the foreigner, "the abuser of our hospitality and profiteer of our system" who, if he does not want to integrate, will be forced to do so.

By making the right to stay conditional to shared values and integration efforts, by precipitating mandatory housing and integration programmes without sufficient financial resources, our political leaders seem to wish to erect more obstacles to migrant's reception

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For the integration process to be a positive, respectful and worthwhile influence, it will take time and resources both in terms of financial and human commitment.
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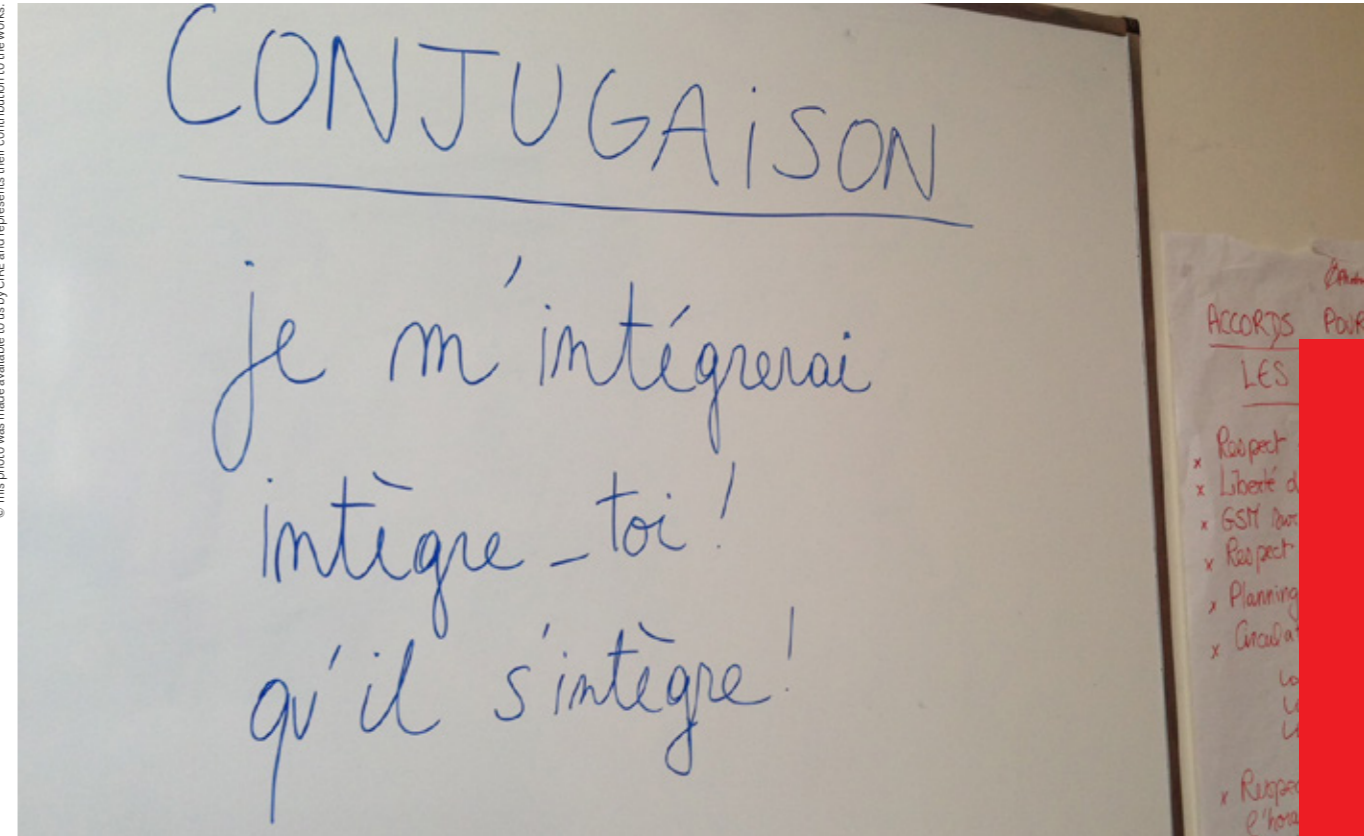
and integration and to restrict their rights at the same time.

The obligation to "integrate": what about the emancipatory approach?

Integration is a long-term, multi-dimensional and two-way process. The recipient society has a considerable role to play in how the public perceives and treats foreigners. The process cannot be achieved by the efforts of the foreigner alone and cannot be ordered under threat of sanctions. The integration of foreigners must be a goal of Belgian overall society.

The programmes must provide real prospects and allow the newly arrived

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Programs must rely on properly funded employment, education, housing and health policies.

#Migration programme for newly arrived immigrants: is it sufficiently ambitious and emancipatory?
 Sylvie de Terschueren
 @CIREasbl



immigrants to learn the language whilst providing guidance and support to them as they strive towards occupational integration. They must be "integrated" (the newly arrived immigrants must be able to follow the whole process); the programmes should create and nourish a rich and open space for reflection on the question of the norms and values of the recipient and origin societies. However, the recent legislative changes may turn such programmes into tools for controlling

or selecting certain migrant categories. Such changes also risk distorting the active welfare state. We risk conditioning public authorities to grant certain social benefits and the right to stay to those who make an effort to integrate and participate in programmes, whilst handing out sanctions to those who do not comply which undermines the positive vision of integration through a "safe/active" approach.

A supervision obligation with an obligation of means (best-efforts obligation)

The compulsory aspect of the programmes can be understood as an opportunity to promote access to fundamental rights and services to all newly

In Belgium, specific reception or integration schemes are set-up for young newcomers and help them to acquire basic knowledge about the functioning of Belgian society. These schemes also promote acquiring language skills, increasing their autonomy and social, economic as well as cultural participation.

These devices have variable contents and different audiences depending on the different regions Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels (and in Brussels depending on whether somebody follows the French or the Dutch-speaking schemes).

Notably in Flanders, the obligation to follow a welcome or integration course for newcomers has been compulsory for the last fifteen years, while it has only been introduced in the Francophone parts of the country recently.

arrived immigrants who enrol. But then, the respective governments must consider that housing and integration are part of the process that confers obligations and rights onto both them and the foreign nationals. The public authorities are under an obligation of means (best-efforts obligation).

Such means must be sufficient and proportional to match the integration of immigrants and allow the means implemented to function perfectly in practical terms.

A right to stay subject to undertaking steps to integrate and providing evidence of integration

Federal legislation that came into effect in January 2017 has made "willingness to integrate" a general condition for foreign nationals who wish to stay in Belgium. Under the new legislation they must prove that they are making "reasonable efforts to integrate". For reasons relating to jurisdiction, this legislation is yet to be fully implemented. At the time of writing, the federated entities and the federal government have yet to sign a cooperation agreement concerning the "Migrant Declaration" (which the migrant wishing to settle in Belgium must sign). It is undeniable that there is subjective selection of obligations (already provided for under Belgian law) and values which influence our considerations when faced with foreign

nationals who do not share the same values as "Belgians" and who are perceived as a danger to society.

What is the progressive vision of Brussels?

CIRE welcomes the implementation of a structural policy in Brussels that provides greater integration of people into multidimensional programmes. It remains to be seen if this policy is genuinely ambitious and emancipatory. For the integration process to be a positive, respectful and worthwhile influence, it will take time and resources both in terms of financial and human commitment, which the Brussels public authorities seem to underestimate. Consequently, can the provision of the programme be considered to be anything more than a mere media hype if the means available to the Brussels Government are insufficient to allow all newly arrived immigrants to enter the programme or to meet the entry requirements and if the institutional and legal complexities of implementing this provision impede implementation in real terms?

The question of the real prospects for migrants at the end of the proposed process is important in terms of motivation. The path must be articulated with well-financed employment, training, housing and health policies and be part of a policy of diversity and the fight against discrimination.

Finally, although the implementation of certain elements following the recent legislative changes will not be straightforward, a tone has been set. Migrants are under an obligation to integrate into society and only "integrated" migrants (those who comply with the values of Belgium) will have the right to settle in Belgium, or even to become Belgian.

We hope that the progressive political leaders within the Brussels administration will succeed in countering the prevailing vision we have outlined.



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At the end of the year 2016, 9.2 million foreign nationals lived in Germany, 12.1 million were foreign-born (14,7%), of which 7.25 million (8,8%) were born outside the EU. More than 20% of the population in Germany has a migration background.

IGNORING NO MORE: GERMANY MUST FACE THE CHALLENGE

by Sönke Schmidt

In the federal election of 2017, German citizens refused in numbers to follow the governmental narrative of the need to open up EU and German borders to refugees. While an open migration policy was officially maintained, radical populism with xenophobic undertones becomes a constant pattern of domestic politics and electoral campaigning. For the first time, the post war political culture seemed at stake.

#Migration Progressive positions in the SPD are toned down

@SonkeSchmidt



Historically, the German policy response to migration was mostly to look away. In the late 50s, labour recruitment from Europe and beyond became an established Government policy to cope with labour demand. Gastarbeiter - "Guest workers", as they were called - were recruited under the assumption that they would return after a period of time, which many did not.

The economic crises of the 70s reduced the inflow of immigrants. The 1980s saw a rise in asylum seekers under the Geneva Refugee Convention, but economically-motivated migration in disguise increased at the same time. It suited the economy and one's narrative.

The situation changed in the 90s, notably with a marked surge of refugees from the Balkan wars. In a nutshell, unemployment rose considerably as a consequence of economic productivity gains, German unification, globalisation and increased competition between EU Member States for investments. When immigration continued despite high unemployment rates, the over-simplistic Gastarbeiter narrative did not work anymore. However, rather than addressing the new situation head-on, the EU entered the standard setting arena under its evolving competencies in the field of justice and home affairs. Protecting the free movement of persons inside the EU and at

its external borders became an EU priority, whereas domestically, the migration challenge became an issue over which politicians could fall but not prosper.

The gap between the reality on the ground and the policy response grew wider. Since the turn of the millennium, Germany synchronised its migration and asylum policy increasingly with EU developments, hiding domestic policy decisions on these issues more and more behind EU directives and regulations.

Today, the OECD considers that Germany has become one of the most liberal countries in terms of labour migration policy, despite its relatively narrow focus on specific job profiles in demand. In parallel, the overwhelming majority of political parties are still struggling to face that Germany has become a multi-ethnic immigration country.

Against this background, some German parties started to turn xenophobic and anti-EU, prospering on the collective policy taboo that had developed over the years: the origins that triggered the strengthening of the radical right-wing party „Alternative für Deutschland“ (AfD) today. When Angela Merkel spontaneously opened the German borders to the refugees from Syria and other

countries, without a plan on how to handle this influx politically and administratively, it sent shockwaves, faultlines inside the EU and within Germany broke up.

The Left in Germany was part and parcel of the evolving policy gap. A low profile on migration policy allowed for short-term flexibility in electoral campaigns, but worked to the detriment of longer-term party interests, and missed out on the political obligation of explaining and promoting the understanding for a complex policy topic close to the minds, hearts and worries of most citizens.

A fragmented Left is struggling today with its mainstream clientele in all three progressive parties: "Die Linke" adopts a clear-cut, though internally contested approach exposing xenophobia as the wrong conflict

which risks overshadowing the underlying contentious issue of wealth and income polarisation. They now risk to lose xenophobic voters, and those who favour a controlled, pro-actively governed and orderly migration policy.

The SPD finds itself between a rock and a hard place. The Party's recently adopted 5-point plan sets important goals, notably by outlining the need for a comprehensive

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The SPD now risks to lose voters on the right as well as voters with positive views on migration on the left of the political spectrum.”



immigration law that also includes refugees, against the backdrop of a marked demographic decline in the years to come. However, it also plays these orientations down, in part driven by the need to compromise with right wing coalition partners, but also by fears to lose anti-migration SPD voters. In consequence, the SPD now risks to lose voters on the right and the left of the political spectrum.

The Green Party in turn promotes a clear-cut migration and asylum policy, based on a comprehensive immigration law that addresses labour migration, asylum and population policy. They speak out for the respect of the Geneva Refugee Convention, reject an annual cap on asylum seekers as unlawful and maintain their support to the German "welcome culture" of the years 2015/16, while promoting fast and fair asylum procedures.

This leaves the SPD in competition with two smaller progressive parties with clear-cut programmatic approaches, and squeezed at the same time between progressive and xenophobic approaches. Alongside its main coalition partner, the CDU, it tied itself to a shrinking political centre, counting on voters to honour the art of the possible and day-to-day pragmatism over political visions.

On the positive side, there is now full awareness of the need to deliver on a topic that drives the political agenda in Germany today.

Another positive aspect of the current crisis is that most Germans understood that domestic and EU policy agendas are intrinsically intertwined, for good reason. This collective learning process is important in

the fight to stem the tide of ethnocentrism and isolationism. It also provides a challenge and opportunity for all political parties to consider future national, European and global governance issues in a comprehensive way.

Additionally, the current negotiations on the EU's Multiannual Financial Framework 2021 – 2027 may allow the support of reasonable migration and integration policies that also address questions related to social cohesion, welcome cultures and absorptive capacities at local levels.

#Migration "A coordinated macroeconomic approach is needed"

@SonkeSchmidt



Finally, a coordinated macroeconomic approach, which considers the extent and structure of migration at the same time as issues such as the promotion of technological productivity gains: education and training: active labour market policies to mobilise the potential of the un- or underemployed: retirement age and other variables influencing labour supply and demand, is more needed than ever. The scope and targeting of migration will be very important for the future legitimacy of managed migration, alongside a humane asylum and refugee policy which indeed serves those in need.

Scoping an up-to-date and realistic progressive narrative remains a challenge.



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Jesper Bengtsson, chair of the Swedish PEN and Editor-in-Chief of the magazine *Tiden*. Jesper has been writing about Swedish and international politics for more than 20 years and published several books, his latest is a biography on Aung San Suu Kyi and Myanmar's struggle for democracy.

Migration management in Sweden and its impact

interview with Jesper Bengtsson by Alain Bloëdt

"No other country in Europe has accepted as many refugees in relation to its population as Sweden," Swedish Prime Minister Löfven used to say. Like Germany, Sweden welcomed several hundred thousand foreigners over the past four years but since, announced restrictive measures. Despite this reaction, migration is amongst the most important issues in the electoral campaign and the Swedish Democrats, the right-wing extremists, a big actor of the next elections (September the 9th).

The Progressive Post: How do you explain that extreme-right could become the second party in Sweden when they only entered the Swedish Parliament for the first time 8 years ago?

Jesper Bengtsson: The issue of immigration has played an important role for at least four years in Sweden, but I would say it was more important three years ago. We don't have that much immigration anymore. The regulations were changed in 2015 and we went from 163,000 immigrants that year, to around 20,000 this year, which is a normal figure. But still many people think that we receive a lot of immigrants.

PP: But the Green- Social-Democrat government has reacted EU?

JB: Yes, but it has not been very not successful. In Sweden they introduced border controls, stopped

permanent resident permits and stopped migrants who has received permanent resident permits from bringing their families. In the eye of the public opinion it worked in the short term, but it didn't in the long term. Both the Social Democrats and the conservative party have continued to lose support to the far-right Sweden Democrats, even though they made these changes.

PP: How do you explain that?

JB: I think there are two reasons for that. The first reason is that the government's change in policy was proof for many people that the Sweden Democrats were right from the start, and voters thought: "why don't we support the ones who actually understood what was happening?" which is quite a questionable conclusion to come to. The second reason is the propaganda saying that this is a country in deep crisis, which needs a big change to get it right again. That propaganda is supported by, grown by and now used by the Sweden Democrats.

PP: From the outside, Sweden always seemed a welcoming country. Is that something still true today?

JB: Yes, you can still say that and that's the contradiction here. Every year there is a poll about people's values. It is a very scientifically safe poll carried out by the university of Gothenburg. It shows that public support a more restrictive immigration policy has grown. Around 50 % is now in favour of a more restrictive policy, though we already have one of the most restrictive policies in EU. In the same time the support for Sweden being an open and multicultural society has also grown consistently in Sweden over the past 20 years. But it also shows that a big minority is much more against it than it used to be. This is the famous polarisation of society.

PP: Is it true that Prime Minister Stefan Löfven has changed his policies to protect and maintain his social model?

JB: Yes. It is probably difficult in the long run to have migration to Sweden in the numbers we had 2015 and continue to have the kind of welfare state we have, because we need to integrate the people who comes here. If you want to make them a part of society and it's a welfare society, then you have to think very carefully about how you do that.

PP: Integration takes a long time. When the government welcomes all these immigrants, how do they advocate integration?

JB: Well, according to studies, Sweden is one of the best counties in the world when it comes to integration. So, I think we work a lot on that and we have the resources to do that because the economy is growing and almost everyone who was born in Sweden has a job today, so there's very little unemployment.

| According to the University of Gothenburg, public support for a more restrictive immigration policy has now reached around 50 % while at the same time, the support for Sweden being an open and multicultural society has also grown consistently over the past 20 years.

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We went from 163,000 immigrants in 2015 to around 20,000 in 2018, which is a normal figure. But many people still think that we receive a lot of immigrants.

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PP: How long do you estimate?

JB: It takes about five years to get someone into the regular labour market and it takes resources, but migrants contribute to society when they get into the labour market. The numbers also show that if you take into account both the positives and negatives, immigration to Sweden has made us a lot richer over the years.



PP: When it comes to European integration, we cannot say that Sweden is a very pro-European integration country. Yet, at the same time, it is very proactive at welcoming migrants. What's the impact of these two, seemingly conflicting, debates?

JB: I consider myself to be somewhat of a federalist so I'm not the right person to ask, but I would say that what's important, at least for the Social Democrats in Sweden, is that you don't have tax policies on a European level and you don't have binding welfare policies on a European level. But immigration is not a tax issue neither a welfare issue. It's about a common border. It's quite logical to say that if we're going to have European integration on any issue, then immigration should be one of the first you deal with, after the single market. So, I understand why pro-Europeans are a bit confused by Swedish politicians.



| The Say Hello! campaign wants to raise awareness for each other to eliminate prejudice, hatred, and misunderstanding.

CHALLENGING THE HATRED

by Karl Flecker

Through the story of two immigrants to Canada, Karl Flecker highlights changing attitudes in Kingston, Ontario, Canada. An example of the impact of progressives in everyday life.

Jamal and Rufiada were boarding a city bus in their new home.

They are new to Canada and unfamiliar with the dynamics of anti-immigrant animus in Canadian communities.

Jamal remembers that day, standing next to

an older white man on the bus, who snarled at him, *“why are you coming here? We are not paying taxes for you to take our jobs - go back to your country!”*

“I’m a stranger here,” thought Jamal, but almost immediately others on the bus intervened and firmly but politely asked the older white man to stop talking to the young couple.

Without hesitation, strangers had put themselves between the newcomer family and the xenophobe.

This simple action stopped the tirade and at that moment Jamal thought. *“Perhaps this is a good place to call home - not just for us, but for all people.”*

In the autumn of 2015, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau announced that Canada would welcome 25,000 Syrian refugees. This gesture was a fraction of the 60,000 South Asian refugees Canada welcomed in the late 1970s, or the nearly 40,000 Hungarian refugees welcomed in the late 1950s and certainly far less than the numbers entering Europe today.

In a broken world, anti-immigrant animus, emboldened xenophobia, coupled with a rising tide of right wing political populism and irrational hate, has found a foothold. Canada is too often mischaracterised as a nation that practices tolerance and inclusivity, yet it also has seen a tremendous spike in hate crimes: a 250% increase between 2013 and 2017. Thankfully these numbers have dropped this year, but cause for concern remains.

Actions like those of the strangers on the bus are making a difference. So too do community-based initiatives like Kingston’s SayHello campaign. Short videos, postcards and YouTube posts featuring stories like Jamal and Rufaida’s are being shared on social media platforms. The campaign aims to provoke conversations in the community about discrimination, xenophobia and racism – particularly about the way these impact newcomers.

City governments and community agencies also stand up against anti-immigrant

animus. Community members, city councillors and a local graphics firm came together to create 500 brightly-coloured lawn signs with a simple message that says, *“No matter where you are from, we’re glad you’re our neighbour”* - the message is in five languages. And the city government has set up distribution centres of free signs throughout Kingston. This simple idea is being replicated in many communities.

Individual actions like these are helpful and so too are systemic efforts designed to promote social rights and inclusion. Numerous Canadian cities have adopted Sanctuary City policies and are developing education programmes for city staff and community agencies to ensure that undocumented persons can meaningfully access municipal services without fear of detention or deportation.

These initiatives ensure access to social rights and entitlements for vulnerable and undocumented people. The campaign also helps educate city staff, local politicians and community members to understand the neighbourhood value of inclusivity.

Community agencies are also investing in legal education and training projects. Again in Kingston, over 100 front line community agency workers and leaders from various ethno-cultural/immigrant communities have been trained to assist newcomers facing employment standards, occupational health and safety or human rights violations in workplaces.

#Migration Initiatives like #Kingston’s SayHello campaign form a part of the fight against anti-immigrant animus

@KarlFlecker



By building the capacity of those working directly with newcomers on legal protection and entitlements, immigrant communities are increasingly becoming more empowered. As Jamal noted, progressive communities can be a good place to call home - for everyone.



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Karl Flecker is an Immigrant Employment Specialist with the KEYS Job Centre based in Kingston, Ontario, Canada. He has worked on global labour migration issues, anti-racism efforts and building community power for more than three decades.



| Democracy does not presuppose closed borders, says Claudia Mancina.

A SHARED MIGRATION STRATEGY

by Claudia Mancina

In its inability to find a shared strategy to confront the problem of immigration, Europe is experiencing an extremely worrisome crisis. The reaction of fear and insecurity brings the continent’s inhabitants is putting our national and European institutions at risk and bringing to the political stage xenophobic, sovereigntist, and populist forces tempted to revoke or, at very least, drastically downsize the European project.

This reaction must be taken very seriously because it could change the future of our democracies. By invoking the wholesale acceptance of migrants and the universalism of human rights, we risk offering a misguided response, which can only be a losing one. If we place ourselves in the position of managing this reality and not only judging it, it is our duty to define a cultural strategy that allows us to confront the problem in a manner that is both morally correct and politically valid. It is of no use to feel morally right if we cannot translate our beliefs into politically viable options.

One fundamental point must be considered as we seek a strategy: there is a tension, one not easily resolved, between the human right to be welcomed across borders—certainly a universal right, already affirmed by Kant in 1775—and democracy.

Democracy, of course, does not rest simply on the physical reality of territoriality, or on an ethnic one, the community of Romanticism. The demos consists of neither the inhabitants of a particular region nor an ethnos or a people. The demos is essentially the constituency of a democracy: all of the citizens who are active and passive members of that democracy, the titleholders of the sovereignty. The demos may be made up of various ethnicities, as is the case almost everywhere, and it may admit newcomers into it. Democracy does not

presuppose closed borders. It does presuppose, however, the right of the democratic State that expresses popular sovereignty according to the forms dictated by the constitution—to establish rules, requirements, and rhythms concerning the acceptance of new citizens.

This means that the State has the right, and perhaps even the duty, to establish—in accordance with international law—its forms of hospitality. It has the prerogative to allow or deny entry by irregular migrants, within humanitarian limits; it has the right to patrol its borders (without shunning its duty to search and rescue); it has the entitlement to require that new arrivals integrate, that they respect the country’s laws, learn its language, etc. All this is so because it has the responsibility, above all, of protecting its citizens. The State draws its legitimacy from its citizens and, therefore, cannot consider human rights as equivalent to the rights of its citizens. We must not lose sight of the fact that such a thesis has contradictory implications and presents political and, above all, moral aporias.

I maintain, however, that the State has a fundamental responsibility toward its citizenry, and such will be the case until the day that democracy finds new forms, above all forms that transcend the national dimension. Human rights cannot be suppressed or ignored for this reason.

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Managing immigration is so complicated precisely due to the challenge of relieving the tension between the human rights of migrants and the responsibility of the State toward its citizens.”

Managing immigration is so complicated due precisely to the challenge of relieving the tension between the human rights of migrants and the responsibility of the State toward its citizens. Solutions that tend unevenly in one direction or the other will be precarious. These include both wholesale acceptance, which ignores the fear, even if unwarranted, of citizens, and the total closure of borders, which is not possible from a practical standpoint and is also morally indefensible. One possibility aimed at finding a political resolution to the tension lies in involving Europe as a supernational entity. It is up to Europe, as a whole, to find reasonable solutions according to its most authentic tradition, the humanistic one.

It is of no use to feel morally right if we cannot translate our beliefs into politically viable options
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| Social Democrats still fought for progress, but inequalities in many Western European countries worsened dramatically.

CHANGE LIVING CONDITIONS TO COUNTER SOCIAL CHAUVINISM

by Dirk Jörke and Oliver Nachtwey

In the early 20th century, many thought leaders of Social Democracy were convinced that "new social risks" - such as demographic change - would shape the social conflict of the future. Instead of the conflict between capital and labour, the social question would increasingly play out in conflict and problems of equality. Starting from the concept of the "Third Way", Jörke Nachtwey and Oliver Nachtwey argue for the need of a revival of social democratic core values to counter the rise of right-wing populism.

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*The traditional
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In the international debate on the renewal of social democracy, the book "The Third Way" (1989) by British sociologist Anthony Giddens had become widely known, as it summarised the key points of this transformation in a programmatic way. Renewed social democracy should abandon its "obsessive fixation on inequality" and instead focus on "equality as inclusion": equal opportunities on the labour market and education. These were the core elements of the Third-Way Social Democracy that were represented in many European countries.

This transformed social democracy bore the traits of a "market social democracy" with a political economy infiltrated by elements of neoliberalism. Competitiveness was to be extended to more and more areas of society, especially the labour market. Social justice was no longer understood as redistributive but interpreted as equalisation of market access opportunities. On socio-political issues, a strategy was developed based on the dualisation of the labour market: for the highly qualified and autonomous employees, lifestyle choices were increased, while for the less-skilled, more disciplinary measures were introduced.

At the beginning of the new century, almost all Social Democratic governing parties also adopted the neoclassical economic paradigm of reducing public debt and public spending (above all social spending), lowering corporate and top tax rates, privatising public enterprises and modifying labour markets. The axis of redistribution was neglected as a policy objective in favour of market integration and the empowerment of individuals.

As a result, the traditional dispute over distribution has been replaced by the conflict between liberal and authoritarian politics. The Social Democratic parties, which had originally represented both moderately liberal and moderately authoritarian voters, moved more in the direction of libertarian and pro-market positions in the subsequent period. The disciplined working culture gave way to a more anti-authoritarian middle-class culture (which also meant that many organisations became more democratic internally). Amongst party members, the proportion of workers declined steadily. Particularly in the party elites, members with a high school diploma or even a university degree became a majority.

In the area of cultural policy and the fight against discrimination, social-democratic parties have certainly been successful, not least because these objectives did not counter the logic of neoliberalism: the recognition of same-sex partnerships and the integration of well-qualified women into the labour market was successful in many places even with formerly opposed conservatives. From the perspective of neoliberalism, which seeks a general commodification, this was a welcome societal shift. Social democracy has increasingly become part of a "progressive neoliberalism," according to the US philosopher Nancy Fraser, based on an "unholy alliance of finance capitalism and emancipation."

Social Democratic parties continued to make a name for themselves as fighters for progress, but a progress that benefited mainly the middle classes and social climbers. At the same time, social inequalities in many Western European countries worsened, as shown by authors such as the French and the Serbian-American economists Thomas Piketty and Branco Milanovic.

Numerous studies have shown how the losers of globalisation have increasingly turned away from social-democratic parties. They either switched to the camp of non-voters, to parties left of social-democracy or, and increasingly, to right wing populist parties. This was surprising as most of the latter had promoted a neo-liberal economic agenda for a long time. However, this agenda has changed – at least partially – most

notably at the National Front in France (now Rassemblement National).

Many right-wing populist parties now represent positions that can be described as social chauvinism: they are both critical of capitalism as well as of migration and they are especially Islamophobic. This program, sometimes combined with authoritarian values, for example in the area of combating crime or in that of equality policy, has become extremely attractive to the losers of globalisation. They act rationally when they choose right-wing populist parties. That is precisely what should be understood by the progressive side.

Against the backdrop of the developments outlined here, it is unlikely that right-wing



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populism can be countered by a strategy of moralisation, based on the assumed certainty to be dealing with "racists". As long as modern market economies come with significant class differences, there will always be a proportion of people who see authoritarian solutions as the only way to overcome those class differences. This authoritarianism must certainly be fenced in, but above all it must be reduced.

The only way to do this is to change the social conditions that produce authoritarian attitudes patterns. This was once well-known as the goal of left-wing parties, especially social democracy. Reviving this goal is necessary, if one wants to prevent the further rise of right-wing populist parties in Europe.



André Krouwel is associate Professor of Comparative Politics and Communication Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and Founder of Election Compass online Vote Advice Applications

Millennials and women: the future of social democracy

interview with André Krouwel by Alain Bloëdt

While social democratic parties are being weakened by a new populist mobilisation in Europe, André Krouwel, founder of the the Dutch voting advice website 'Kieskompas' and political scientist at the Free University of Amsterdam, urges Social Democrats to target women and Millennials, two groups sensitive to sever social injustice.

Progressive Post: According to your projections, will populist parties expand again by occupying the space neglected by progressive parties, or are there other reasons?

André Krouwel: Indeed, a substantial section of traditional centre-left voters, the lower classes, lower-middle classes, are not by definition progressive; in fact there's quite a lot of academic evidence that indicates that they are relatively socially conservative and authoritarian.

PP: That's not what we used to think about the voters of centre-left parties!

AK: Maybe, but we always forget that you have to teach people what progressive policies are, what left-wing economic policies are, how to be tolerant... it's not an automatic, innate reaction for people. In fact, it's more natural to be nationalist, exclusive and conservative! And so,

#EP2019 It's more 'natural' to be nationalist, exclusive and conservative

@AndreKrouwel



since socialism is learned, you need to have a very good story and a very clear message saying why progressive left-wing policies are necessary.

PP: If progressives continue to lose traditional voters, where have their new voters come from? Are they from cities, are they young voters?

AK: There's very little new ground to be gained for many social democratic parties because the Social Democrats are very unpopular in many countries among the young, but in some countries you see a revival. What we seem to be seeing across Europe is that a new generation

NEXT DEMOCRACY

#EP2019 - target audiences for progressive parties

of young people are actually attracted to the left.

PP: Which specific cases are you referring to?

AK: In the last general election in the UK, we saw that the old class basis of voting had almost completely disappeared, which means that the Labour Party is no longer merely the party of the lower and middle classes. With the upper classes and religious voters favouring the Conservatives, you now see that almost 60% of young people in the two lowest age brackets voted Labour. Over 60% of older voters voted Conservative.

PP: Does this create a gap between generations?

AK: Absolutely. In the UK, there's a growing generational gap between older, Conservative voters who want to maintain the right, and new, young voters who feel completely left out because they're cut out of the pension system, and they have worse contracts. They have hardly any access to the labour market resources, pensions; housing is a huge problem, with housing in urban areas becoming increasingly unaffordable. There's a new generation of people who are interested in social justice and would love change in these areas, but don't really understand left-wing politics. This was visible during Bernie Sanders' campaign for the Democratic nomination in the US. He was able to appeal to young voters and very well-educated voters, but if you talked to them, they didn't actually understand left-wing politics anymore.

PP: Would you say that Millennials are the future of social democracy in Europe?

AK: And women, too. These are two groups that see that there is severe injustice in our

#EP2019 Next European Elections should be about creating more social justice

@AndreKrouwel



societies and they're not willing to just sit back and go along with right-wing conservative and populist forces.

PP: Why women?

AK: Women are more aware than men - because of the double burden they have at home and everywhere in society - that you need social investments, social support systems, government intervention in childcare or good labour laws, so that you can work part-time for a fair wage without being totally exploited. Women understand that the parties who gave them universal suffrage are also the ones who protect them. Men are often alpha males who think they can do it themselves.

PP: How could social democratic parties capitalise on this?

AK: There's a clear opportunity here to explain in a new and modern way why social justice is necessary and how it can be obtained. The problem, of course, is that the left doesn't always have the answer. The centre-left particularly, which

is often forced to govern with the right.. And so they're being watered down in Germany, in the Netherlands, in Belgium, even to some extent in Scandinavia where they do govern alone, but the right is becoming so strong that they have to adopt some of their policies. They're becoming weakened and can't formulate a clear alternative. Left wing politics is actually very popular.

PP: How could they inverse the situation?

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Housing is a huge problem for young people with housing in urban areas becoming increasingly unaffordable.

AK: If they seize on ideas such as ending austerity like the Portuguese government did, or like Jeremy Corbyn wants to do in the UK, they will find that those ideas are increasingly popular. Emphasising the need for investment in social housing, healthcare, education, even free education for all, is a winning strategy, particularly with younger generations.

And there's another good reason to do this: increasingly we will earn money not by making things but by knowing things. So there's a new, clear economic argument in favour of doing this.

PP: Should the strategy be to go into opposition to build a new narrative?

AK: No, the centre-left should be in government. They're not made for opposition. If you're in opposition you can hold the moral high ground and become an

economic populist, much like the radical left often is. We already have that version of socialism. It's an important version and it should be there because it's our conscience but it's not our practice. Social democracy was invented and developed because of its ability to actually implement transformative politics and to actually work on the social economy.

PP: New populist parties are currently talking about social investments, social protection. Does it make the situation much complicated for Social Democrats?

AK: If the right likes social-democratic ideas and implements them, that's perfect. I always say that Polish people don't hate the PiS (Law & Justice) because they support families and give them €400 or €500 to help their children. What you don't agree with is that they are nationalists, racist, conservative, religious, xenophobic, Russia-phobic, misogynist, etc.

PP: Are women and Millennials two target audiences that are easy to mobilise for the European elections, considering their usual high turnout?

AK: It's difficult, but at the same time it represents a huge opportunity because in

most countries the turnout is 30 to 40% or less, so every extra voter counts two and a half times. What you need to do is to home in on your base and mobilise people who are already inclined to vote for you.

PP: Which target audience do you think has the most potential for Social Democrats?

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Social democracy was invented and developed because of its ability to actually implement transformative politics.

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PP: If we go back to the Brexit referendum in the UK, it looks like Millennials are not enough to win an election...

AK: The story of the brexiteers is a crazy story because it's only an economic trade story. It's not about social justice, it's not about helping the environment. It's about how we as Britain can become richer, which is a right-wing story. And that is why Jeremy Corbyn is staying away from that debate because he can't win the debate on Brexit, because it's basically a story about just getting richer and you don't want to say 'no' to people trying to get richer.

PP: You haven't mentioned the issue of migration, which concerns many centre-left voters?

AK: For people who are inclined to vote for the centre-left, they think social justice - I mean making sure that people are taken care of when they need it, making sure that we have enough money for the younger generation, that we take care of our planet, that we reduce socio-economic inequality - is far more important than immigration. Immigration is part of that inequality; immigration is caused by global inequalities. And so immigration is a result of global injustice. So for many on the left, it is more important that you talk about addressing this inequality and creating more social justice, rather than focusing on the effects of what went wrong.

PP: But would you agree that immigration itself is a huge issue for the left?

AK: For sure! But immigration and refugees are very different and complex stories that you cannot solve in an election. Furthermore, creating more social justice will benefit everyone and everything. The message progressives should deliver is that you take care of each other. This the core of social democracy!

NEXT DEMOCRACY

#EP2019 - target audiences for progressive parties



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| The spike in the polls early in Martin Schulz's 2017 election campaign seems to demonstrate a proof of hunger for social democracy.

EUROPEAN ELECTIONS 2019: CAN THE SPD RECOVER?

by Jana Faus

After the SPD's historically low result in the November 2017 federal elections, the German Social Democrats entrusted the analysis of the defeat to a commission of 5 experts, who presented their more than 100 pages strong report *Aus Fehlern lernen* ('learning from errors') to the public in June 2018. Amongst the cardinal mistakes, the report mentions the late appointment of the SPD's candidate Martin Schulz, but it also examines the meaning of the short-term boost Schulz's appointment triggered in the polls. Jana Faus is one of the authors of the report.

In early 2017, Germans were open to a new chancellor, but they were not really tired of Angela Merkel, especially as most voters could not see any major difference between Merkel's CDU and Schulz's SPD. After Martin Schulz's nomination as the Social Democrat's top candidate to run against Merkel, polling figures for the SPD went up dramatically. Suddenly, the chancellor seemed within reach for the SPD.

But this flicker of hope did not last long, due, mainly, to a great many home-made mistakes.

However, the short-term boost in polling figures for the SPD can be read as a proof that voters are still open – even if not hungry – for social democracy. It is worth having a closer look at those voters who considered voting SPD when they felt the right candidate was running for office.

Who are the progressive voters?

In this particular moment, the SPD gained potential voters across all social groups. Clearly, there is an untapped potential lying dormant for social democracy. Particularly women, voters with a higher formal education and younger voters seemed open to voting for a progressive party. Mainly two

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groups could be identified within this potential: firstly, unaffiliated voters without party ID who saw Martin Schulz and the SPD as a reliable alternative to chancellor Merkel and her Christian-democratic party, and secondly progressive voters who wanted to support Merkel's refugee policy against right-wing attacks without wanting to vote for her party, the CDU.

What do they have in common?

Those voters share a value system that emphasises democratic accomplishments, human rights and liberties. They support open borders within the European Union, feel an imperative to help people in need, are concerned about the social coherence of society and believe that the open society in the European Union is under threat. However, they do see issues and challenges that come with a changing society: social inequality is increasing and solidarity between the different European countries is badly damaged. They believe that challenges like the refugee crisis need European and not national solutions. At the same time, they fear that certain countries – Germany in the first instance – are carrying too much financial responsibility compared to other countries. They are concerned that economically strong western European countries may be forced (again) to bail out countries in Europe's east and south. Underneath this perception lies the fear of losing out when resources are distributed.

How can those voters be addressed?

Progressive parties always face a singular struggle: how to get out the vote? Mobilising supporters is always easier for conservative parties as their voters have a higher propensity to vote. Mobilisation needs some kind of emotional 'branding' that must either be driven by a significant individual conviction or the feeling that every single vote counts.

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Progressive parties urgently need to make clear why the European Union is more than a huge bureaucracy, that democratic and liberal values are under enormous threat and that this very election might change their future for the better. Or for the worse.

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Progressive parties in Europe urgently need to make clear why the European Union is more than a huge bureaucracy, that

democratic and liberal values are under enormous threat and the next election to the European Parliament has the potential to change the future – for the better or for the worse. With Brexit approaching, they need to emphasise that member countries would be worse off without the EU and that the block is under real threat. Progressive parties are well advised to demonstrate that democracy and liberal values cannot be taken for granted but that it is in the voters' hands to secure the future of an open society in Europe.



> AUTHOR

Jana Faus co-founded pollytix strategic research, a research-based consulting agency focusing on social research, election campaigns and issue management. Jana has co-authored 'Aus Fehlern lernen' ('Learning from mistakes'), the analysis of the SPD election campaign 2017.



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A PROGRESSIVE RESPONSE TO UNILATERAL PROTECTIONISM: GOOD TRADE

by Arancha Gonzalez

Progressives have long had mixed feelings about globalisation. The reasons for this are understandable: progressives support the equality of opportunities and they fight excessive inequality. International trade and market openings do not necessarily lead to inequality, but they do, by definition, have uneven effects.

While trade makes countries richer overall, many people within them face painful adjustments to economic change. In advanced economies, workers displaced by competition from cheaper imports often need much longer to find alternative jobs than previously thought. In developing economies, some workers who lose their jobs when inefficient firms are forced out of business, end up moving into the informal sector, instead of into more productive work. For these workers, the downside of trade might outweigh the benefits of lower-cost imports.

Trade is similar in its effects to technological change, which is essential for overall productivity growth but puts many workers out of a job while enabling others to perform better and earn more. Since the 1980s, technological trends favouring highly-skilled workers have delivered outsized gains to small numbers of people, firms and regions amplified these effects.

#FairTaxation Progressives should support greater international tax cooperation

@AranchaGlezLaya



Addressing the negative effects of trade and technology belongs at the core of any modern progressive agenda. However, as long as broadly shared prosperity at home and around the world is part of progressives' promise to voters, they must pay attention to productivity – and consequently, to trade.

The rules-based open global economy has helped to lift over a billion people out of extreme poverty. For developing countries from Vietnam to Ethiopia, open markets have made it possible to increase growth by importing knowhow and using global demand to pull people and resources out

| Cross-border capital mobility has encouraged tax competition among governments, leaving them increasingly reliant on taxing consumption and labour income.

of subsistence activities and into more productive work. In advanced economies, closer to the technological frontier, the effects of trade are less dramatic, but it remains a crucial enabler of productivity gains that come with specialisation, scale and competition.

If protectionism is allowed to prevail, it would close off development prospects for the world's poorest countries, putting the Sustainable Development Goals out of reach, such as the eradication of extreme poverty by 2030. It would also lower growth potential in rich countries, potentially exacerbating political tensions that have accompanied the slow recovery from the 2008-09 financial crisis. Everywhere, it would lower people's purchasing power.

As long as globalisation was "ticking along", ambivalence about open trade was a luxury progressives could allow themselves. No longer. Today, progressive agenda would have three points:

One, oppose trade protectionism because it does not protect jobs. Speak up for the rules-based trading system embodied in the World Trade Organization - not out of naivety, but because it is the

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Progressives should foster “good trade”: environmentally sustainable, socially responsible and protective of consumer interests.
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most efficient way to manage the inter-connections of our economies. Do not get rid of the system, but rather invest in reforming rules which were last updated in 1995, long before the technology revolution. A technology-related trade agenda, for instance, could better define parameters for state intervention in technological innovation. Progressives should foster “good trade”: environmentally sustainable, socially responsible and protective of consumer interests.

Two, act boldly at home to ensure that the gains and opportunities from trade and technology are widely shared. The goal must be social protection, not trade protectionism. Accessible high-quality education is a prerequisite for social mobility. Active labour market policies equip workers to thrive in a changing economy. Gender equality in the economy would bolster growth. Progressives could explore new economic rights, such as capital grants or basic incomes, to reduce inequality and provide individuals a measure of insurance against economic risks.

Finally, address tax competition and tax avoidance. Cross-border capital mobility has encouraged tax competition

among governments, leaving them increasingly reliant on taxing consumption and labour income. Research shows that multinational corporations declare a disproportionate share of profits in a handful of tax havens. Progressives should support greater international tax cooperation to give national governments better tools to fund the social policies that play a major role in fostering popular support for open markets.

If today's protectionist backlash teaches us anything, it is that if enough people feel they have no tangible stake in the preservation of the open global economy, they will vote for politicians who threaten prosperity for everyone. The task of progressives should be to give people a good reason to vote for progressive parties.



> **AUTHOR**
Arancha Gonzalez is Executive Director of the International Trade Centre and United Nations Assistant Secretary-General.

TRADE WARS ARE NOT INEVITABLE

by Geoffrey Harris

Following the G7 fiasco in Canada, the US has followed up on its threats to put tariffs on many Chinese exports. The EU faces a complex challenge to come up with a coherent trade strategy in the face of policies and practices of the other two global economic powers. It should avoid taking sides but stick to an optimistic view that managed globalisation can be made to work. Europe and China have a common interest in working together to avoid a global trade war.



Read the full article on line
www.progressivepost.eu



> **AUTHOR**
Geoffrey Harris is a visiting Professor at the College of Europe in Bruges and former Deputy Head of Office of the European Parliament Liaison Office in Washington DC.

Also available by the end of September: an exclusive interview with former Director General of the World Trade Organisation, Pascal Lamy



NEXT GLOBAL

Progressive trade vs protectionism



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| On May 31 this year, Donald Trump imposed steel tariffs on close US allies like Canada.

TRUMP HAS (SOME) VALID CONCERNS ON TRADE, BUT HIS STRATEGY IS COUNTERPRODUCTIVE

by Todd N. Tucker

In the middle of 2016, something unprecedented happened on the US political scene. All three leading candidates for the presidency – Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump, and (until his concession in July) Bernie Sanders – were critics of “neoliberal” trade policies that put rentier profits above jobs and the real economy.

Their emphases differed, but all three promised breaks with the immediate past – including in their shared opposition to the 12-nation, Obama-negotiated Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). These positions came as a growing body of academic research shows how trade policies have left many US regions permanently behind.

Fast forward to January 23, 2017. Trump had shocked the political establishment with his victory, and one of his first acts in office was to withdraw the US from TPP negotiations. Yet despite much handwringing over the president’s rhetoric, his actual policy was just as, if not more, conventional than what a Sanders or Clinton presidency would have delivered. On top of her TPP

opposition, Clinton had long called for reform of US screening of inbound foreign direct investment, more muscular use of Section 301 penalties on countries like China that fail to protect intellectual property, more tariffs for enforcement purposes, and reviews every five years of trade agreements like NAFTA. Clinton may have even gone further than Trump (who has done

nothing) on crafting rules to stop currency policies like those China used in the past.

Nonetheless, there are some distinctly Trump-y ways of conducting trade policy. On May 31 this year, he imposed steel tariffs on close US allies like Canada, who were exempted from similar measures under George W. Bush and Obama. On the one hand, this strengthens the economic and legal defensibility of the measures. Under both US and international trade law, it is better to work towards the fullest achievement of economic security goals – rather than treat allies better than foes in a way that raises concerns about discrimination or arbitrariness. On the other hand, the move makes for awful geopolitics – as the administration found out at Canada’s G-7 meetings. This escalation will make it next to impossible for the US’ neighbours to accede to Trump’s demands on the North American Free Trade Agreement 2.0 talks.

He also actively sidelines the other branches of government. His steel tariffs were imposed using Section 232 of US trade law, which leaves little to any role for checks-and-balances by courts and Congress. Likewise, he has proposed going around Congress

on NAFTA and threatened Chinese investment restrictions in a week when Congress is attempting to come to a bipartisan and more lasting framework. By antagonising his co-equal branches, Trump risks their shutting down his discretion on trade.

Even if unwise as a matter of policy, Trump’s confrontational antics are bearing political fruit among Republicans. A growing body of political science research shows a substantial overlap between voters anxious about loss of a majority white America and those who fear the loss of American dominance over other countries. While there are methodological reasons to doubt the descriptive robustness of these findings about the world pre-2017, they’re rapidly

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A growing body of political science research shows a substantial overlap between voters anxious about the loss of a majority white America and those who fear the loss of American dominance over other countries.

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becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy, as Republican voters rally to their party leader’s point of view – despite evidence that Trump’s tariffs are already economically hurting their interests.

In the medium run, Trump may have succeeded in reigniting Democrats’ appetite for internationalism – something that seemed unlikely in 2016. Indeed, among the people leading the charge against Trump’s tariffs is none other than democratic socialist Bernie

Trump may have succeeded in reigniting the Democrats’ appetite for internationalism

@toddtucker



Sanders – who just two years ago was being parodied by comedians for his close similarities to Trump on trade. Moreover, major symposia have been dedicated to revitalising progressive engagement on labour rights and a wider range of economic issues than just trade. This positive consequence – though indirect – will be the one felt after this dark chapter in US history passes.



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Todd N. Tucker is a political scientist and fellow at the Roosevelt Institute. He is author of *Judge Knot*, a book about legal systems under neoliberalism.

NEXT SOCIAL

The new European Labour Authority

CREATING A EUROPEAN LABOUR AUTHORITY: WHAT ARE THE POLITICAL AND LEGAL CONSTRAINTS?

by Sofia Fernandes

| Major differences have emerged within the EU between mobile workers' host countries and countries of origin.

The creation of a European Labour Authority (ELA) is part of the European Commission's initiatives aimed at ensuring fairer worker mobility within the EU. The challenges to make it efficient and social however are high.

After proposing a revision of a set of European rules on the free movement of workers and the coordination of social security systems, the Commission wishes to ensure, through this new authority, that EU rules are enforced in a "fair, simple and effective way" throughout the EU. Against a backdrop in which the free movement of people stimulates heated debates between Member States and within each State, can

this project be achieved by 2019? Can the ELA rise to the challenge without becoming bogged down in the legal and political constraints related to its creation?

Overcoming political constraints: how to ensure support from all Member States

In recent years, major differences have emerged within the EU between mobile workers' host countries and countries of origin, as intra-European mobility has doubled in ten years. These differences were apparent in the revision of the Posting of Workers Directive and in the debate on the access to social benefits for mobile workers. The first challenge which the creation of the ELA faces is that of fuelling these differences and of bringing all countries together to work on this initiative.

The approach adopted by the Commission in its proposal last March is insightful in this respect as it confers a dual mandate upon the European Labour Authority. To meet the expectations of host countries, it must promote and support cooperation between national labour inspectorates to combat more effectively abuse and fraud which sustain a situation of unfair competition between countries. However, to ensure that countries of origin support the initiative, the ELA must also facilitate European mobility, in particular by guaranteeing better access to information for citizens as well as for businesses. The ELA will be a single contact point for European stakeholders on all issues concerning the free movement of citizens. The Commission rightly reminds us in its proposal of the untapped potential of the European labour market. Although the number of mobile workers has almost doubled compared to a decade ago, they only account for around 4% of the total EU workforce.

#SocialEurope Overcoming political constraints: how to ensure support from all Member States?

@fernandesofiaEU



Despite this dual role, it is possible that some governments may have their reservations about establishing a European Labour Authority as they wish to protect their national prerogatives. Rule enforcement and labour inspection are currently national competences. In some countries, trade unions play a major role in this area and this must be respected. The creation of the ELA will not result in a transfer of competences from the Member States to

The foremost objective should be to embody the attachment of Europeans to their social model, which has no parallel in the rest of the world.

the EU and must be implemented, at least initially, in compliance with the current treaty provisions.

What can the ambition be in view of the legal constraints?

To ensure an effective and standardised enforcement of European rules, it would have been useful to grant the ELA binding powers over Member States, in particular to settle disputes between the competent national authorities or to request joint inspections. There is, however, currently no legal basis to confer such a binding role upon the ELA. Therefore, it is important to ensure that the ELA will not be reduced to a mere cooperation and information exchange platform for national authorities and a contact point for citizens and companies. Although this option may seem the most convenient politically and the least expensive economically, it would not be sufficient to address the tensions provoked by mobility and to strengthen the European labour market.

Current EU primary and secondary law allows the European Labour Authority to have an operational role for dispute mediation (without arbitration), the management of European tools and platforms – such as the EURES network – as well as for

supporting joint inspections (triggered by national authorities) and capacity building. If the ELA is to reflect the European ambition for a fairer single market, it must be endowed with this operational role. And it should not be ruled out that, in the medium or long term, the ELA could have a binding power over States, as is the case for other European agencies such as Eurojust, which may for instance resolve conflicts of jurisdictions or request that Member States conduct investigations.

Behind the technical and political debates that will certainly surface, including over the location of the seat of the future authority, this project can help fulfill the EU's objective, enshrined in its treaties, to be a "social market economy". The European Labour Authority's foremost ambition should be to embody the attachment of Europeans to their social model, which has no parallel in the rest of the world.



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NEXT SOCIAL

The new European Labour Authority



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| ELA's main task should be to complement activities of labour inspectorates in case of irregularities related to labour mobility.

A SINGLE MARKET FOR MANY LABOUR MARKETS

by Jan Cremers

The European Commission plans to set up a European Labour Authority (ELA) to ensure and control social standards for those who work in another Member State. However, according to Jan Cremers, the proposal lacks teeth. The ELA's main task should be to complement, monitor and supervise the activities of labour inspectorates and other national compliance and enforcement bodies and to strengthen their investigative competences in case of infringements and irregularities related to labour mobility and/or cross-border recruitment.

The EU's Single Market project seeks to ensure the free movement of goods, services, capital and citizens. Mobile EU28 citizens move mainly for employment-related reasons, and labour mobility based on the free movement of EU-citizens or within the framework of cross-border provision of services has increased over time.

Problems encountered by national labour inspections in charge of controlling firms' compliance with national and European rules

are often due to frictions between the juridical framework of the Single Market for service providers and foreign establishments and the limited territorial mandate of the competent authorities.

Moreover, conflicting rules, spread over different policy areas, legal complexity and the fragmentation of mandates hamper effective compliance and enforcement activities and therefore favour the emergence of unreliable actors. These new forms of regulatory arbitrage, regime shopping and the evasion of

existing labour standards cannot be effectively monitored and sanctioned.

The creation of the Single Market has given primacy to economic freedoms binding across the EU, while the control (and enforcement) of labour legislation and working conditions is based on a mandate that usually ends at national borders. As soon as a transnational dimension is introduced into labour market relations, compliance control is hampered. In recent decades, this has become manifest in several industries, first and foremost

in labour-intensive industries such as construction, manufacturing, ship-building, transport and logistics, but also more recently in all kinds of services.

The use of a foreign (artificial) entity in a cross-border context can lead to the introduction of questionable forms of labour recruitment, with blurred labour relations, the circumvention of social security payments and tax evasion. Freedom of establishment and the free provision of services provide a breeding ground for artificial arrangements (such as 'letterbox' companies), as these freedoms provide an unrestricted entrance to the national labour markets.

The solution could be an European Labour Authority (ELA) that legitimises and facilitates cross-border cooperation in the control and examination of all aspects of cross-border provision of services and transnational mobility.

In my opinion, the ELA's main task should be to complement, monitor and supervise the activities of labour inspectorates and other national compliance and enforcement bodies and to strengthen their investigative competences in case of infringements and irregularities related to labour mobility and/or cross-border recruitment. This asks for a broad mandate to detect and investigate, complemented with the competence to take all necessary enforcement measures leading to the cessation or prohibition of abuses. The ELA must have the competence to initiate and authorise joint inspections and to oblige Member States to cooperate in these investigations, in cases where relevant stakeholders bring claims forward or demand investigative assistance. This includes the competence to launch common actions that go beyond

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The ELA should work towards an effective and dissuasive EU-wide fining policy, comparable to existing EU-wide sanctions in other areas of the acquis, that can lead to a suspension or cessation of fraudulent activities.

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The proposal, however, limits the possibility of requesting that the ELA launches a joint initiative to the Member States. Given the broad range of existing national practices in the area of control and enforcement of labour market regularity, this is a too narrow procedure.

The ELA's competence to strengthen the legal capacity of the national enforcement bodies in joint and EU-wide investigations in cases of infringements or irregularities related to cross-border labour mobility needs to be reinforced. Therefore, other parts of the Union acquis have to be integrated into the Authority's scope.

The planned combined tasks relating to cross-border labour mobility and the coordination of social security should be complemented with legislative areas not yet covered, such as the tackling of artificial arrangements (i.e. letterbox companies) and the transnational cooperation and fight against fraudulent service providers. Furthermore, it has to be settled that the involved national authorities may use as evidence any information, documents, findings, statements, certified copies or intelligence communicated on the same basis as similar documents obtained in their own Member State. Moreover, the ELA should be tasked with working towards an effective and dissuasive EU-wide fining policy, comparable to existing EU-wide sanctions in other areas of

the restricted competence limitations that exist in relevant policy areas in most Member States.

After president Jean-Claude Juncker promised to come up with a proposal to establish such an Authority, the Commission published its proposals in a draft Regulation in mid-March 2018.

the acquis, that can lead to a suspension or cessation of fraudulent activities.

The regulatory frame for fair labour mobility is settled, on the one hand, by the legislator, and on the other hand by the partners in collective bargaining. Member States have installed paritarian, sectoral or interprofessional bodies with a mandate to act if there is an industrial dispute or in the case of irregularities. These joint bodies, often composed of representatives of management and labour, have the task of preventing, solving and settling disputes.

Social partners have established compliance and counselling institutions and cooperate in concerted campaigns. Therefore, the recognised competent European trade union and employers' organisations that are consulted by the Commission under Article 138 of the Treaty must have the power to issue an alert to the competent authorities of the relevant Member States and to the ELA.

#SocialEurope Labour rights often end at national borders

@JanCremers



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Jan Cremers is associated with the Law School of Tilburg University. He acted as a European trade union leader and was a Member of the European Parliament. In 2013, he received an honorary Doctor of Letters degree at Westminster University 'in recognition of his services to the European Social Policy'. He publishes regularly on the posting of workers, labour migration, workers' rights and industrial relations.

NEXT ECONOMY

Tax havens - new rules for advisors and experts



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| Ambiguity on what precisely constitutes a tax avoidance scheme creates the risks that tax evaders get their way.

MORE TRANSPARENCY RULES, LESS TAX AVOIDANCE

by Leyla Ates

The European Council has taken important steps to enhance the exchange of information between tax administrations in order to promote tax transparency and fair tax systems in EU countries. This in turn creates a deeper and fairer single market. However, ambiguity in disclosure obligations and a high threshold requirement risks leaves the door open wide enough for dubious tax schemes to slip through.

One of the benefits of the European Single Market is that EU citizens and businesses have the freedom to move, do business and invest across national borders. But since direct taxation is not harmonised across the EU, this freedom also entails that some taxpayers manage to avoid or evade paying tax in the countries they reside or do business in. In 2011, the EU Council agreed to ramp up cooperation

between tax administrations to help make sure taxpayers pay their fair share (Council Directive 2011/16/EU).

On 25 May 2018, the cooperation between tax authorities was enhanced to include mandatory automatic exchange of information in relation to reportable cross-border arrangements (Council Directive 2018/822/EU). This new directive further expands the scope of automatic exchange of information

in tax matters, which had already been enlarged to include automatic exchange of financial account information in 2014, of cross-border tax rulings and advance pricing arrangements in 2015, and of country-by-country reporting in 2016.

Mandatory disclosure rules require intermediaries such as tax advisors, accountants and lawyers to report to tax administrations on aggressive tax planning schemes they are selling

or making. Taxpayers are also required to report to tax administrations on the aggressive tax planning schemes they are making use of.

Mandatory disclosure of aggressive tax planning schemes

The mandatory disclosure rules aim to combat tax avoidance by means of helping identify regulatory loopholes, helping tax administrations to assess the risks, having deterrent effects on taxpayers and reducing the supply of these schemes by tax advisors.

In 1984, the United States became the first country in the world to introduce mandatory tax disclosure rules. Since then, a few other countries including some EU members have also introduced mandatory disclosure rules into their tax systems (The UK, Ireland, Portugal, plus Canada, South Africa, South Korea and Israel among non EU countries). Indeed, the Lux Leaks and Panama Papers scandals and the fiscal State Aid cases pushed this anti-tax avoidance mechanism up on the EU base erosion and profit shifting agenda by demonstrating the role of intermediaries in the area of aggressive tax planning. As a first result of this political pressure, the European Council has now not only required common tax rules for mandatory disclosure in Member States by 31 December 2019, but also placed an obligation on all Member States to automatically exchange information on reportable cross-border schemes by 1 July 2020.

More information for all EU governments

The new directive requires that the information is automatically exchanged with other EU members through a central directory. Thus, all EU countries will have access to a database on tax avoidance schemes. A similar database called the "aggressive tax planning depository" has existed within the OECD: such depository includes 400 types of schemes but is only available to a close-knit group of

countries. The new directive will create a level playing field for all EU member countries in terms of access to such relevant information.

Failure of the Promoter-Based Approach

The assessment of the recent progress however is not entirely positive. The potential for ambiguity on what constitutes a tax avoidance scheme creates a serious risk that cross-border arrangements go unreported. Precisely because there are numerous and regular conflicts between tax administrations and taxpayers/advisors on the interpretation of tax laws, it should be expected that many schemes will be designed in grey areas which certain promoters might choose to interpret as not being subject to the remit of the reporting obligation. To mitigate against this risk, the reporting obligation should not just fall on either the client using an aggressive tax planning scheme or the promoter (tax advisers) of the scheme, but on both.

Unfortunately, the directive places the disclosure obligation primarily on the intermediaries, i.e., the tax advisors, accountants and lawyers designing and selling aggressive tax planning schemes. In some limited instances, taxpayers are also obliged to disclose tax planning schemes. If both were obliged to report independently on marketed/used tax avoidance schemes, the detection of illicit schemes would have been facilitated.

High Threshold Requirement: The Main Benefit Test

The new Council directive sets out generic and specific hallmarks for describing whether a transaction is reportable or not. This is a general implementation under existing mandatory disclosure regimes. However, the directive also sets 'the main benefit test' as a threshold that a reportable scheme must satisfy before it is assessed against the generic hallmarks and some specific hallmarks. For a scheme to satisfy the test, it must be established that

#FairTaxation The new Council directive sets out generic and specific hallmarks for describing whether a transaction is reportable or not.

@TR_Tax_Prof



the main benefit, or one of the main benefits which a person may reasonably expect to get from the scheme, is a tax advantage. While threshold requirements are often used to filter out irrelevant disclosures and reduce tax administrative burdens, setting up a high threshold for disclosure can create an inappropriate justification for escaping mandatory disclosure obligations. The OECD stated that the main benefit test is a high threshold for disclosure. Thus, the European Council has opened a door through which intermediaries may inappropriately skip out on their mandatory disclosure obligations.

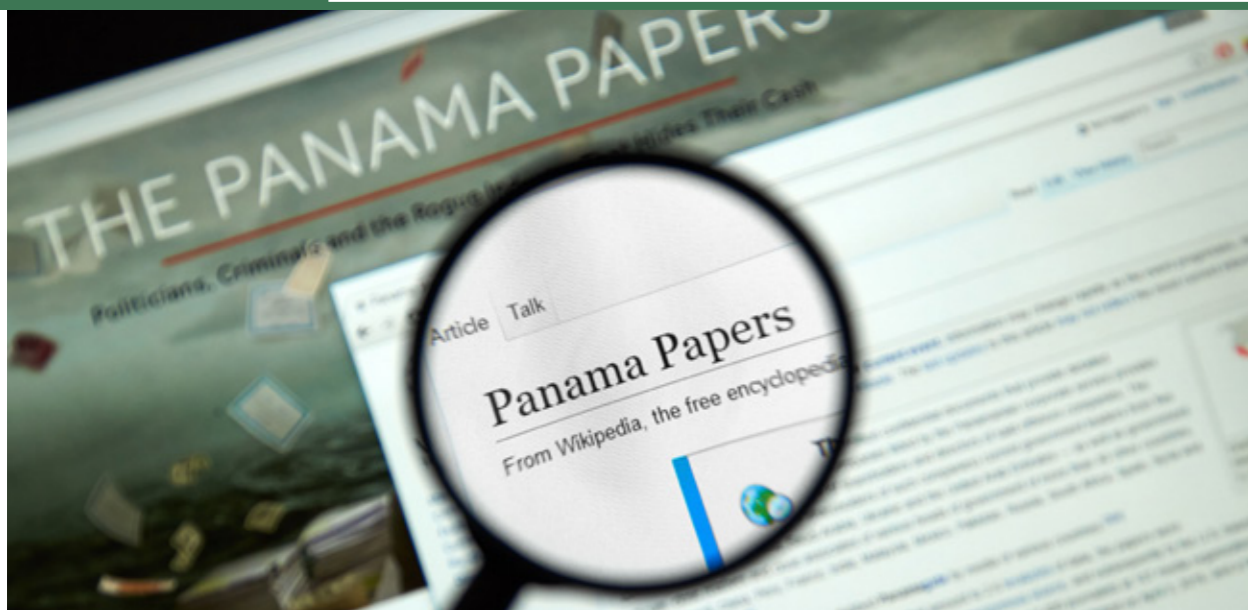


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Leyla Ates holds an LLM and PhD on tax law from Marmara University, Turkey, and an LLM from University of Wisconsin Law School, USA. She teaches tax law at Altinbas University in Turkey and has taught in Cyprus as well as in Germany. Currently, her research has been supported by the Horizon 2020 program of the European Union through the project COFFERS (Combating Fiscal Fraud and Empowering Regulators).

NEXT ECONOMY

Tax havens - new rules for advisors and experts



The Panama Papers indicated that the supply chain for tax avoidance schemes typically includes regulated service providers that would have been expected to comply with reporting obligations.

THE OECD FIGHT AGAINST BANK SECRECY

by John Peterson

The OECD's Common Reporting Standard (CRS) has brought an end to international bank secrecy. Under the CRS, information on offshore accounts is now collected around the world by financial institutions and transmitted to the tax administration in the account holder's jurisdiction of residence, using the information exchange architecture in the Multilateral Convention on Mutual Administrative Assistance (MCAA). However, the CRS will only be fully effective if countries also have rules in place to prevent taxpayers (with the help of their advisors) structuring their way around these reporting obligations.

This year, over 100 jurisdictions have started to exchange financial account information under the OECD/G20 Common Reporting Standard (CRS). Increased transparency has already led to a significant number of taxpayers voluntarily disclosing their offshore financial assets to tax authorities, resulting in over €93 billion of additional tax revenue for governments around the world.

While the CRS covers a wide scope of financial institutions – the information to be reported and the scope of account holders subject to reporting – there are still taxpayers that continue to search for ways to hide their offshore assets and to avoid reporting them.

The OECD already has a strategy in place to identify schemes that purport to avoid reporting under the CRS. This includes an

online disclosure facility that allows interested parties to report potential CRS avoidance arrangements. This disclosure facility is backed by a process for systematically reviewing and analysing actual or perceived loopholes and providing additional guidance on the application of the CRS.

A further part of the OECD's strategy to address CRS avoidance was completed in

March this year, with the release of model disclosure rules that require professional advisers and financial intermediaries to inform tax authorities of their role in designing or implementing structures that obscure their client's ownership of assets or income (offshore structures) or arrangements that could be used to avoid CRS reporting (CRS avoidance arrangements). These rules were developed in response to a request from the G7 and have already been adopted by EU Member States. While these model rules do not form part of the CRS itself, they are expected to be considered in assessing whether a country has met their commitment to implement anti-abuse rules to prevent circumvention of the CRS reporting and due diligence procedures.

The OECD model mandatory disclosure rules apply not only to promoters of CRS avoidance arrangements and offshore structures but also to any person that provides assistance or advice with respect to the design, marketing, implementation or organisation of such schemes (together, referred to as "intermediaries"). By requiring intermediaries to disclose not only the details of the design of the scheme but also information

on the users and any other intermediaries involved in the supply of such schemes, the rules are expected to operate as a deterrent to advisors and their clients from the marketing and use of these types of structures and arrangements.

Evidence from tax administrations, including the compliance work undertaken by the Joint International Taskforce on Shared

Intelligence and Collaboration (JITSIC) in respect of the Panama Papers, indicates that the supply chain for these type of schemes typically includes a number of regulated service providers that would be expected to comply with these type of reporting obligations.

The rules only apply to those intermediaries that have an appropriate link with the reporting jurisdiction and do not require an intermediary to disclose information that is subject to obligatory professional secrecy rules. There are also rules that limit the need for the intermediary to make duplicate disclosures in respect of the same arrangement or structure. In the event that there is no intermediary that is within the territorial

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However, for the new rules to meet their objectives, it is crucial that relevant scheme information is shared with the tax administrations where the scheme users are tax resident.

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scope of the disclosure obligations, or the intermediary is not required to disclose the arrangement or structure due to professional secrecy rules, the disclosure obligation falls on the user of that scheme.

However, for the new rules to meet their objectives, it is crucial that relevant scheme information is shared with the tax administrations where the scheme users are tax resident. For that purpose, it is neces-

sary that the jurisdictions concerned have a reliable exchange of information relationship in place to ensure that the relevant information reaches the jurisdiction of tax residence of the relevant taxpayer in a timely and structured manner. To this end, the OECD is currently working on an exchange of information framework for the new rules, to be developed under the Multilateral Competent Authority Agreement (MCAA), and with

#OECD An exchange of information framework for the new rules to be developed.



currently over 115 participating jurisdictions offers the most global international legal basis for the exchange of the information disclosed under the new rules.

Tremendous progress has been made in the adoption and implementation of global information exchange standards in the 4 years since the CRS was originally published. These disclosure rules are another important step in ensuring that we have a comprehensive, coherent and effective global exchange system that is fit for purpose in a globalised economy.



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THE POLISH LEFT AND WOMEN'S FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL

by Krystyna Kacpura

Polish women are literally fighting for their lives. The present women's movement in Poland, illustrated by the Black Protests, represents a challenge to the right-wing government and anti-gender groups who mobilise against policies of equality, women's reproductive rights and anti-discrimination. It is also an opportunity for the Left to come back to a social debate controlled by PiS (Law & Justice) and to stand up for a group expecting more social justice.

Outside of the Parliament, left wing parties and women's organisations merged to establish the "Save the Women" civic committee as a counter-initiative in reaction to the "Stop Abortion" draft law.

Helped by religious fundamentalists, the current radical and right-wing Polish government has decided to use Poland as an experimental battleground, the first stage of their efforts to "re-Christianise Europe". Why Poland? There are many reasons, but the most important are: it's an almost 100% Catholic country, with some of the most restrictive abortion laws in Europe, and the ruling right-wing party PiS for "Peace and Justice" with its absolute majority in Parliament. There is no left-wing opposition in the Parliament anymore. Fundamentalists were sure that there was nobody strong enough to oppose their law initiatives directed against basic women's rights.

Even if the Catholic Church and the ruling party largely support the ban, they did

not initiate it. The Ordo Iuris institute - a so-called "legal think tank" and hardline conservative advocacy group - was the author of the draconian law which was submitted by the Stop Abortion coalition as a citizen's initiative. The proposed draft law foresaw a total ban of abortion with no exception, criminalisation of women and doctors who perform abortion, investigation of every case of an unintended miscarriage as well as no more access to prenatal tests and hormonal contraception.

A wave of activism

This radical neo-conservative movement made a huge mistake. They went one step too far. For Polish women, it became too much to endure. Until now, they silently bore the restrictive anti-abortion law for the sake of so-called "sacred peace in the society". When they realised that a draconian law, a total ban of abortion, was to be introduced, there was an explosion of anger, outrage and determination to take action.

Outside of the Parliament, left wing parties and women's organisations merged to establish the "Save the Women" civic committee as a counter-initiative in reaction to the "Stop Abortion" draft law. The committee worked out an alternative draft law, entitled "On the Rights of Women and Conscious Parenthood" which would guarantee a full standard of reproductive rights.

On 23rd of September 2016, both drafts law were discussed in the Parliament. The "Stop Abortion" proposal was sent for further proceedings to the parliamentary committees, while "Save the Women" was rejected in the first reading.

Grass-root organisations across Poland like the Federation for Women and Family Planning have built a powerful coalition raising awareness about the threat to women's health and human rights. They launched effective media campaigns putting pressure on the government throughout 2016 culminating in the Black Protest strikes where women dressed in black took the streets nationwide as a sign of protest.

#WomenRights Black Monday surpassed all feminists' dreams and expectations

@KrystynaKacpura



This wave of activism reached the peak on the 3rd of October 2016, called the "Black Monday". The event surpassed all feminists' dreams and expectations. Thousands of women protested in over 60 Polish cities, despising the pouring rain (hence the umbrella as the demonstrations' emblem). First, politicians from the ruling party intended to neglect the women's protest, but shortly they understood that women were determined to fight to the end as long as it was needed. Three days later, the Parliament somewhat nervously rejected the draft law proposed by the "Stop Abortion" Committee. It was a powerful and critical moment within a long fight. Polish women have won this battle. However, this victory is not the end of the road. Following the conservative government's latest attempt in March 2018 to restrict access to abortion, the Polish parliament's committee for human rights endorsed the draft law in spite of renewed mass protests and the strong calls from the Council of Europe and UN experts to reject it. Therefore, the fight for women's sexual and reproductive health rights has to continue and the role of civil society is more important than ever.



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Krystyna Kacpura is graduated from University of Warsaw and post-graduated from the State Institute of International Affairs. She has worked at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Currently she is the Executive Director of the Federation for Women and Family Planning and of ASTRA, the Central and Eastern European Women's Network for Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights, with has 28 members organisations from 17 countries.

GENDER AS A SYMBOLIC GLUE MAKES EUROPEAN FREEDOM OF EDUCATION AT STAKE

by Andrea Pető

In early August 2018, when Budapest usually suffocates in a heatwave, and most educational institutions are closed for holidays, the Hungarian government proposed to ban gender studies at universities. The position and role of conservative and far-right parties in the anti-gender mobilizations in Europe is not anymore a surprise. But this state intervention in university programmes shows that the concept of 'gender' become a central rhetorical tool of those efforts that try to determine for the wide audience what "pure reason" should mean, and thereby try to create a new consensus of what should be seen as normal and legitimate.



Read the full article on line
www.progressivepost.eu



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Andrea Pető is Professor at the Department of Gender Studies at the Central European University in Budapest and a Doctor of Science of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Her works on gender, politics, Holocaust and war have been translated into seventeen languages. In 2018, she was awarded the 2018 All European Academies Madame de Staël Prize for Cultural Values. She is a member of FEPS Scientific Council.

NEXT LEFT

Women's civil rights movements



| Dublin, Ireland- 30 September 2017: March For Choice by the Abortion Rights Campaign (ARC).

IRELAND... FINALLY

by Shauna Stanley and Lizzie O'Shea

On 25 May 2018, when Irish voters flocked to support the repeal of the 8th Amendment to the constitution, the women of Ireland won reproductive rights that had been taken from them three decades prior. They also provided inspiration to women fighting for their rights all around the world. Reproductive health rights are often considered controversial. However, the campaign shows the body politic are often more supportive of policies that give women the right to make their own choices than they are given credit for. The real reluctance is often among politicians, who prefer the status quo to pursuing reforms.

The background to the campaign was the death of Savita Halappanavar from blood poisoning after she miscarried and was denied an abortion. Halappanavar, a dentist, was 17 weeks pregnant with her first child when she was admitted to hospital for intense back pain in October 2012. Staff determined that a miscarriage was inevitable, but would not operate as the foetal heartbeat remained. Almost a week later, Halappanavar died of a septic miscarriage, but not before her husband Praveen had repeatedly requested a termination. His

request was declined, with one nurse telling him "this is a Catholic country." Thousands of people took to the streets with candlelight vigils being held all across Ireland.

Halappanavar was one of many women who have suffered under the rigid confines of the 8th amendment. The amendment dated back to 1983, when a referendum succeeded that introduced a requirement that law-makers value the life of the mother and foetus equally, effectively prohibiting the regulation of abortion. Since that time, around 170,000 women have travelled abroad to obtain an abortion,

usually to the UK. There were no exceptions; foetal abnormality or health risks to the mother were not accommodated by this legal regime, and women in Ireland paid the price.

The death of Halappanavar created a sense that the law had to change. In 2016, this momentum was translated into a program for review in the form of the Citizens' Assembly – 99 citizens, chosen at random as a broadly representative sample of society. The Citizens' Assembly was charged with reviewing several policy areas, one of which was the 8th amendment. The proposal was the result of

#CivicRights A unifying campaign garnering across generations, class divisions and the urban/rural divide.

@Shauna Stanley and Lizzie O'Shea



a power sharing arrangement between two political parties and an experiment with involving more ordinary people in policy making. Instead of deflection and inaction, which many expected, the Citizens' Assembly generated momentum. It created a space for input from experts and citizens, without vagaries and challenges of partisan politics.

The Citizens' Assembly confirmed what many women knew: the Irish people needed to reconsider the legal status of the 8th amendment. These recommendations were upheld by a Joint Oireachtas Committee in December 2017, and put in motion the process of a referendum. The process highlighted the power and possibility of trusting everyday people to make difficult and important decisions, especially in a context in which top-down politics had failed.

Given how many women had undergone the experience of abortion, a central part of the campaign for repeal was telling the story of those women. One source which proved decisive for many voters was the Facebook page "In Her Shoes: Women of the Eighth." The concept of the page was to give undecided voters the opportunity to 'take a walk in her shoes' by sharing anonymous stories of the everyday women making reproductive choices in Ireland. In the lead up to the referendum, this page, with a following of over 100,000 likes, was credited as decisive by many voters.

Fundraising was also essential. The diaspora proved highly responsive, especially in a context where many were denied their right to vote (Irish citizens living abroad for more than 18 months are not entitled

to vote). Given the real risk of money from well-funded anti-choice groups in the US, every euro counted. Irish people living in Australia and New Zealand rallied together to host fundraising events, collectively raising over \$15,800 for pro-choice organisations working on the campaign in Ireland.

Notably, the referendum was passed in 39 of 40 constituencies across Ireland, and was viewed as a unifying campaign garnering support across generations, class divisions and the urban/rural divide. The success of the campaign was in engaging a diverse cross-section of Irish society to have conversations about reproductive rights, and to campaign locally. The *Together for Yes* campaign, which campaigned for the Yes Vote in the referendum, was made up of over 70 community groups and organisations. The seeds of these groups were sowed by the Abortion Rights Campaign (ARC), which since 2012 worked on mobilising regional communities in setting up their own local ARC chapters, with street stalls at community fairs, coffee mornings in the community, creating visibility and awareness of the issues, and ready to become local *Together for Yes* chapters well before the official Yes campaign launched in March 2018.

Examples of the country-wide support is evident in the wide variety of grassroots groups which decided to write online materials and went door-knocking around the country - Grandparents for Repeal, Farmers for Yes, Migrants and Ethnic-minorities for Reproductive Justice, Irish Catholics for Together for Choice. Many activists are keen to archive the 8th - that is, to make sure the successes and lessons from the campaign are memorialised so they can be drawn on by activists in the future.

The fight for reproductive justice continues in Northern Ireland, where women's bodies are still governed by legislation dating back to 1861. As a result of the referendum in the Republic of Ireland, the pressure has increased on Northern Ireland to emulate the liberalisation of abortion in the Republic. With recent news that Catholic hospitals are prepared to resist the legalisation of abortion, there will be difficult questions about how to manage reproductive health care services and ensure women's rights are respected.



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Shauna Stanley is an Irish Law graduate living in Melbourne. She is a pro-choice activist and a co-organiser of the Melbourne-Irish Abortion Rights Campaign. Before she moved to Melbourne, she was a member of the Abortion Rights Campaign.



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Lizzie O'Shea is dual Australian/Irish citizen and a lawyer with experience in human rights. She is an active member of Melbourne-Irish ARC.



Will the 2018 heatwave reignite the climate change debate?

interview with Jean-Pascal van Ypersele by Alain Bloëdt

Jean-Pascal van Ypersele is a Belgian climatologist and physicist, a professor at UCL (Catholic University of Louvain-la-Neuve), and a member of the Georges Lemaître Centre for Earth and Climate Research. He was also a candidate for the presidency of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). He co-authored "Une vie au coeur des turbulences climatiques" with T. Libaert and Ph. Lamotte.

While Europe was baking in this summer's heatwave - a consequence of climate change that no-one talks about, but which should be on everyone's mind - Belgian physicist and climatologist Jean-Pascal van Ypersele is not impressed by the efforts of politicians, not least the European ones.

Progressive Post: *The Commission intends to 'mainstream' all of its policies to better combat climate change. Do you think this is a good idea?*

Jean-Pascal van Ypersele: It would be a wonderful idea. However, in the meantime, we should be asking ourselves where the policy of mainstreaming is in Mr Juncker's plan. There is no such thing.

PP: *Has Europe missed a golden opportunity?*

J-PY: After the economic crisis in 2008, we tried to get things back to the way they were before. It never occurred to us to link the issues of the economic crisis to those of climate change and start again by taking advantage of extraordinarily powerful investment opportunities that could have driven things in a new direction.

#ClimateChange Since #COP21 in Paris, Europe has merely been satisfied with the signing of the agreement

@JPvanYpersele



PP: *Could this be linked to Europe's very isolated position internationally?*

J-PY: This is especially related to the current lack of vision in Europe. Europe has done a lot for European climate policy, but now, China has woken up and has invested heavily in developing its renewable energy industry.

PP: *So, this must be good news?*

J-PY: Of course. It's always better to have two major players than just one. But Europe needs to be a lot more active than it has been since the Paris agreement.



| The fires seen in recent years in southern Europe are in large part caused by the drying up of the Mediterranean basin and region.

PP: *Another missed opportunity?*

J-PY: I just wonder what stopped more things from happening between 2015 and early 2018.

PP: *What do you mean by that?*

J-PY: I get the impression that since COP21 in Paris, Europe seems to be satisfied with just the signing of the agreement. The agreement was indeed ratified extremely quickly and that in itself is already wonderful. But the document that was ratified by all the European countries that signed the Paris agreement lays out climate policies based on numbers from back in 2013-2014. It's only recently, several years later, that we hear about an updating of the document's objectives, notably the reduction of emissions (which is only one aspect of climate policy), so that these new objectives might finally be consistent with the agreement's new objectives.

PP: *You're referring to the 2°C increase in temperatures?*

J-PY: I'm referring to new objectives because they are, in fact, different objectives to that of keeping temperature rises below the 2°C mark, which came out of the Copenhagen agreement

and was later confirmed in Cancun. The Paris agreement says "well below two degrees", which is not the same thing as 2°C and makes 1.5°C a much clearer objective. However, the European Union is only now updating these commitments and its intentions, as those that were reflected in the NDC (Nationally Determined Contributions) - the document that was introduced before the ratification of the Paris agreement - do not coincide with Paris' new level of ambition.

PP: *It's a much more ambitious objective than the 2°C.*

J-PY: Indeed, given the emissions produced in the past and all the greenhouse gases that were produced, remaining beneath the 1.5°C or even "well below 2 °C" would require a much more drastic reduction of emissions.

PP: *How do you explain this passivity?*

J-PY: Maybe it was down to the time needed for the Commission to prepare itself, for the Parliament to include the right points in the agenda, for the debates to take place and come to the fore. To be honest, I'm not familiar enough with the mechanics to know, even if I have noticed more movement lately, including in some European countries. What's more, I know that the CO2 tax has remained

the same ever since the World Summit in Rio in 1992, as taxation at a European level, requires unanimous support from all countries. If we could exempt a lot of the aspects of climate and energy policy from this restrictive rule, groups who wish to go further than others could aim for greater cooperation.

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We should ask
where
the policy of
mainstreaming is
in Mr Juncker's plan.
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#ClimateChange To say that we, in Europe, cannot yet see the consequences of climate change is to ignore your eyes and ears.

@JPvanYpersele



PP: *The extremely well-argued reports of the IPCC must surely be alarming enough to remind us that there's no time to waste?*

J-PY: I think that politicians, who I am critical of for their lack of awareness of the urgency of the situation (even if there are exceptions), are confronted by a number of other challenges on top of that of climate change. If the reports of the IPCC haven't been sufficiently heard or translated into actions at the necessary levels, it's because they weren't able to demonstrate with enough clarity the sense of urgency or the opportunities for action that are available to us. There has also been the work of undermining fossil fuel lobbies, which has succeeded in delaying awareness and many measures.

PP: *Could the heatwave of this summer reignite the debate?*

J-PY: I really hope so, as in all our climate projections, most of the negative consequences - which are already beginning to appear today - are yet to come. Unfortunately, many don't consider the future implications and find it hard to believe anything other than what they see today.

PP: *Even despite the very real fires?*

J-PY: Indeed the fires we have seen in recent years in southern Europe, in Portugal, Spain and this year in Greece, are in large part caused by the drying up of the Mediterranean basin and region, something that forecasts have been predicting for the least twenty years. Of course, there have always been forest fires

around the Mediterranean, but their intensity and their frequency are linked to global warming. To say that we, in Europe, cannot yet see the consequences of climate change, is to ignore your eyes and ears.

PP: *But all of this evidence still seems to not be enough...*

J-PY: This is probably down to the fact that the consequences of global warming remain most acutely felt by the most vulnerable populations, which are, more often than not, not in power and not in a position to take decisions. Take a heatwave, for instance: if you are rich, you have an air conditioning system at home, at your office or in your car, so it's not something that you will really suffer from.

PP: *Philosopher Michel Serres believes that most journalists, politicians, et. are, from a young age, exclusively trained in human sciences, sociology, psychology, law or administration, but what drives the modern world and makes it unique in a historical sense, are the so-called hard sciences. Do you think that this has an influence on the fight against global warming?*

J-PY: Absolutely. What comes into play then is a certain ignorance, the inability to plan for the future coupled with a tendency to be preoccupied by the short-term, and the roles of certain retrograde, outdated sectors of the economy that do everything they can to stop change. Succumbing to inertia is always easier. Rather than investing in change, these players invest in lobbying so that nothing changes. In the United States alone, the coal, oil and gas sectors spend US\$900 million every year to create confusion

In all our climate projections, most of the negative consequences - which are already beginning to appear today - are yet to come.



| "It's only recently, years later, that we hear about an updating of CP21 document's objectives, notably the reduction of emissions."

around both the problem of global warming itself and its solutions.

PP: *How has the climate sceptics' argument changed in the face of the almost unanimous consensus of the scientific community?*

J-PY: Studies have shown that more than 97% of competent scientists agree that the biggest contributing factor to global warming in the last 60 years was humanity. It has, therefore, become difficult even for the "creators of confusion" - I refuse to use the term "climate sceptic" as scepticism is the basis of scientific research, and I don't see why we would let climate sceptics monopolise scepticism! - to say that the climate isn't changing. So now they turn their efforts to creating confusion around the solutions to climate change: "we'll never be able to reduce emissions to zero", "fossil fuels are essential to our lives"... despite having been discovered only 200 years ago! We also hear: "it would cost far too much!". The arguments have changed over time.

OBJECTIVE - ZERO EMISSIONS!

If we are going to emit greenhouse gases, we have to make sure that the amount we produce is absorbed and is not stored in our atmosphere, for we are simply adding a layer of thermal insulation around our planet.

We are below, with outer space all around us. When we are cold in the winter, we add another layer until we feel comfortable. But if we add too many layers, we end up suffocating. It's important to stop at the right moment. Of course, greenhouse gases are very particular insulators, as they let the sun's rays in, but do not let infrared rays out. But if we summarise by saying that greenhouse gases, CO₂ in particular, are thermal insulators under which we find ourselves unable to escape, we understand that it isn't good enough to just reduce emissions slightly, we need to stop them.

We have long talked about, and still do, the factor of four; in other words, dividing emissions by four. But that still leaves 25%! In simple terms, this means that we might change our bed sheets less often, but we have also added to earth's insulation and the temperature below continues to rise. If we don't stop, we'll suffocate! That's why we need to aim for zero emissions. We can't meet temperature-stabilising objectives, whether they're 2°C, "well below two degrees", or 1.5°C, if we don't stop adding to the layer of insulation around our planet.

FOLLOW UP

Cities leading the debate on climate change



| Cover of the last Progressive post n°8 – Progressive cities vs Conservative states

CITIES POLITICAL INFLUENCE NEEDS TO BE STRENGTHENED

by Wolfgang Teubner

In order to achieve the goals laid out in the Paris Climate Agreement, a massive transformational effort is needed - one which will affect every aspect of our lives. Currently, more than 70% of Europeans live in cities; hence, this transformation can only happen with the support of cities and their political leaders.

The ultimate goal of the Paris Agreement, to keep the increase in the global average temperature to below 2° C by 2050, is easy to understand and communicate. Translated into CO₂ emissions this would mean approximately 2t per capita per year, which is far less than what we see today.

Without ambitious demands for energy efficiency for new buildings and incentives for renovation and upgrading, investors and homeowners would not optimise the energy efficiency of buildings.

@ICLEI_Europe



Although the goal is clear, what is needed to achieve it is sometimes much harder to identify and agree upon. What is obvious though is that a dramatic transformation is needed to decarbonise our economies and our lifestyles. Some of the aspects of our daily lives, which will be impacted by this transformation, include, among others, the way we move around, the way we build and use our homes, the way we produce and consume energy as well as food.

Currently, climate change mitigation measures are largely discussed with a focus on technological solutions, such as renewable energy, innovative mobility solutions and changes due to more electrification, building technology and smart ICT (Information and communications technology) based solutions. Although there is no doubt that

technological innovation will be fundamental in making progress, it will not have the desired impact if it is not accompanied by substantial behavioural changes.

The interaction between people and technology, as well as between people and the natural and built infrastructure, is shaping the living culture of our societies. Therefore, the fight against climate change requires both the technological and cultural transformation of our societies, as detailed in the Basque Declaration.

Currently, more than 70% of Europeans live in urban areas. With this figure set to rise, cities and local governments are key in shaping this cultural transformation.

By planning and providing grey and green infrastructure, public services, permissions and concessions, as well as regulation, local governments considerably influence the framework in which people's daily lives unfold and the development of the culture they live in.

Few people would bike or walk unless appropriate infrastructure was provided, allowing commuters to travel safely and comfortably. Eco and climate-friendly mobility would not be thinkable without a strong and efficient

public transport service. At the same time, new technologies make it much easier to share cars and bikes, thereby reducing traffic congestion, reducing the demand for car parking spaces, and ultimately reducing car usage and ownership.

Without ambitious demands for energy efficiency for new buildings and incentives for renovation and upgrading, investors and homeowners would not optimise the energy efficiency of buildings.

The upgrading of green infrastructure, like trees, parks, and facades, will function as carbon sinks and help to stabilise the urban microclimate by supporting cooling, storm-water management, improvement of air-quality while at the same time generating health and social benefits. All these measures to re-shape the urban fabric need a perfect interplay of good planning, good development, good regulation and the right mix of incentives and disincentives.

Climate change is experienced differently in different places; therefore, there is no 'one-size-fits-all' solution. Climate strategies and policies need to be adapted to specific areas and settings. This can best be achieved at the urban level.

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Cities are leaders in climate action – therefore their influence on relevant policies needs to be further strengthened!
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FOLLOW UP

Cities leading the debate on climate change



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"Few people would bike or walk unless appropriate infrastructure are provided."

Mayors and political leaders in urban areas have illustrated their commitment to mitigate climate change, adapt to the unavoidable consequences of existing climate change, today and in the future, and the need to protect and improve the quality of life for their citizens through the Global Covenant of Mayors: a global alliance which brings together more than 9,000 cities and regions that are engaged and committed to support and often exceed the nationally determined contributions of their countries or the EU.

However, to achieve this, we need better and more extensive support from national governments, both through better policies and regulation, as well as financial support and incentives. Although cities and regions have become recognised actors in the European and international climate arena, city leaders need to be more directly involved in the

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Climate strategies and policies need to be adapted to specific areas and settings. This can best be achieved at the urban level.

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shaping of legislation and finance for combatting climate change.

Cities' knowledge of the problems and potential of solutions should be used by involving them in policy development and preparations of legal frameworks. Cities are key in helping to define which national and international measures provide enabling frameworks for dealing with the problems of our times.

In this way, cities also support national governments to reach global and European goals, which the states have agreed on, such as the UN's Sustainable Development Goals, the Paris Climate Agreement and the EU Urban Agenda. In the Basque Declaration for example, cities have indicated that they are ready to support national governments in the implementation of global and European frameworks.

Urban areas account for 60 to 80% of global energy consumption and around the same share of CO₂ emissions. This shows that cities are part of the problem, they should also be seen as part of the solution. In this regard, cities are ambitious and forward thinking, which is well evidenced through the goals and targets of Members set themselves. For example, many of our Members have set themselves the ambitious target of reaching carbon neutrality: Copenhagen (Denmark) hopes to achieve this by 2025, Turku (Finland) by 2029, Oslo (Norway) by 2030 and Reykjavik (Iceland) by 2040.

These targets and goals are supported and encouraged by ICLEI globally and most recently through our ICLEI Montréal Commitment and Strategic Vision, which was adopted by the ICLEI Council in June. ICLEI's vision is to aim for climate neutrality in government infrastructure and operations before mid-century.

Some of our Members - Stockholm, Paris and Barcelona -, have called upon the European Commission directly to adopt the Paris Agreement targets as goals of its long-term strategy on emissions reduction. That means acknowledging a 1.5°C increase in global temperature and a net-zero emissions society as necessary goals for the European Commission's future strategy.



> AUTHOR

Wolfgang Teubner is Regional Director for Europe and Managing Director of the Local Governments for Sustainability (ICLEI) European Secretariat GmbH. He is responsible for the strategic and economic development of the organisation in Europe. He has more than 25 years of professional experience working with local governments on sustainable urban development, including Local Agenda 21, climate adaptation and mitigation, as well as sustainable urban transport policies.

ADAPTING TO CLIMATE CHANGE: A MYRIAD OF TECHNICAL SOLUTIONS

by André van de Nadort

As a municipality, it is our task to provide our inhabitants with a liveable environment. This includes climate adaptation - responding to changing climate conditions. In the Netherlands, as in other countries, we are dealing with increasingly severe rainfall. We want to reduce our vulnerability to this and take measures to limit potential damage.



Read the full article on line
www.progressivepost.eu



> AUTHOR

André van de Nadort is Mayor of Weststellingwerf in the Northern Dutch province of Friesland. He is a member of the Dutch delegation to the Committee of the Regions in Brussels and, among other activities, he is active in the Durability and Energy committee.



Júlia López Ventura is C40's Regional Director for Europe. C40 is a network of the world's megacities committed to addressing climate change. She worked before during a decade for the city of Barcelona.

Climate action: cities first!

Interview with Júlia López Ventura by Alain Bloëdt

As a follow-up to the previous Progressive Post edition, "Progressive Cities vs Conservative States", Júlia López Ventura analyses how cities are substituting states in the fight against climate change. López Ventura is C40's Regional Director for Europe - a network of more than 90 of the world's greatest cities.

The Progressive Post: *Do you share the opinion of many, that cities are now taking the lead on climate change, compared to many regions and states?*

Júlia López Ventura: Yes, I think so. At least 70% of the greenhouse gas emissions are generated in cities and these emissions cause climate change. Many cities are already aware of this crucial factor and are ready to take action now. Cities can be quicker than nation states in many aspects, that is why I believe they are taking the lead. Also, the fact that some nation states that should be leading on climate change fight have stepped back, have had the counter-effect that cities in these countries have reacted by taking back this leadership. This is the example of the United States withdrawing from the Paris Agreement and American cities, regions, universities and businesses starting the "We Are Still In" movement. Climate change has become a popular topic that everyone is talking about, which is

7 out of 10 megacities are saying that they are suffering from the consequences of #Climate Change

@jlopezventura



great news, but I am not sure if the is the effect that President Trump was looking for.

PP: *How do you explain this new role of cities in the fight against climate change?*

JLV: C40 works with 96 of the biggest cities in the world. When we ask them about the effects of climate change that they have already experienced and 7 out of 10 megacities are telling us that they suffer from the consequences of climate change. Climate change does not



| Swimmers take to the water in the River Seine in central Paris. The City of Paris has made major investments in cleaning the water of the River Seine, to make it safe for citizens to enjoy.

respect borders, either, and it does not respect whether we are ready or not. Take the drought right now in Cape Town, the hurricanes that wreaked havoc in Puerto Rico, Houston, Miami and the Caribbean last year, or the monsoon floods that forced millions from their homes in India and Bangladesh. In C40 we believe that there is no topic that requires more collaboration and urgent action than the fight against climate change.

PP: *Why is it clearer to cities?*

JLV: They see first-hand how it has an immediate effect on the economy but also on health. This is why their data is so important to us and why we take it so seriously. One of our former Chairs, Michael Bloomberg, who was Mayor of New York City at the time, always said, "You cannot manage what you cannot measure". So we ask cities to provide us with data every year.

If they want to be C40 members sending us data is mandatory, as we need it to carry out our research. Using this data to find the benefits of fighting climate change can be a huge help to mayors, who can use it as evidence to convince those who are still skeptical.

PP: *What assessment criteria do you use to measure the progress you make with cities and the impact you have on fighting climate change?*

JLV: We believe that the Paris Agreement is the most powerful global tool for delivering the action needed to avert catastrophic climate change. In this sense, we are working with all our cities so that by the end of 2020 they will all have a plan in place to ensure that they can deliver on their obligations to the Paris Agreement individually. In numbers, we have assessed that emissions from

C40 cities need to have peaked by 2020 and average per capita emissions need to almost halve by 2030. As I said, every year cities release their emissions data and this is how we help them measure the progress made in actually reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Of course, it is not only about reducing emissions, we also aim at helping our cities adapt to the effects of climate change that are already here and do it in the most inclusive way, so that the benefits of fighting against climate change reach all citizens.

PP: *Could you give us some examples of cities that are succeeding in reducing their greenhouse gas emissions and what are the measures they have taken?*

JLV: This is a difficult question, there are so many! From the rollout of fleets

FOLLOW UP

Cities leading the debate on climate change



© Henri Garaty / Paris

| Community garden in a central square of Turin.

“
The three main causes of greenhouse emissions in cities are energy use in buildings, transport and waste.
 ”

of thousands of electric buses in Chinese cities; the efforts from the Nordic cities to decarbonising their electricity grid; the retrofiting of buildings across North American cities to improve energy efficiency to the efforts by European cities like Oslo, Paris, Rome, Madrid or Barcelona to ban the most polluting cars from city centres. No city is perfect in all areas, because priorities differ from one city to another.

PP: How do you explain the fact that priorities differ from one city to another?

JLV: Of course, politics play an important role in defining climate priorities. However, the key

is to understand what the main causes of greenhouse gases are in each city and be able to track progress in each one of these areas. For this reason, it is essential that every city has developed an inventory of greenhouse gas emissions, and preferably following international standards. The three main emission sources that occur in almost all cities are: stationary energy, transportation and generated waste, and they vary from

city to city. For example, for a city like Moscow, an important cause of emissions is in-boundary transportation, yet for cities in the south of Europe like Rome and Barcelona, buildings are also important. This is why it's so important for cities to collect this essential data every year.

Local Progressive leaders

- London, UK**
Sadiq Khan
Labour party since 2016
- Manchester, UK**
Andy Burnham
Labour party since 2017
- Birmingham, UK**
Anne Underwood
since 2018
- Copenhagen, Denmark**
Frank Jensen
Social Democrats party since 2010
- Malmö, Sweden**
Katrin Stjernfeldt Jammeh
Swedish Social Democratic since 2013
- Berlin, Germany**
Michael Müller
SPD since 2014
- Vienna, Austria**
Michael Häupl
SPÖ since 1994
- Thessaloniki, Greece**
Yiannis Boutaris
Independent since 2011
- Florence, Italy**
Dario Nardella
PD since 2014
- Lisbon, Portugal**
Fernando Medina
Social Party since 2015
- Barcelona, Spain**
Ada Colau
CatComú since 2015
- Brussels, Belgium**
Philippe Close
Socialist party since 2018
- Bergkamen, Germany**
Roland Schäfer
SPD since 1998
- Hamburg, Germany**
Peter Tschentscher
SPD since 2018
- Paris, France**
Anne Hidalgo
Socialist party since 2014
- Karlsruhe, Germany**
Frank Mendrup
SPD since 2013
- Nantes, France**
Johanna Rolland
Socialist party since 2014

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TO WATCH

Que reste-t-il du Rêve Américain?
(USA:2018), documentary, by Claus Drexel

2017, on the eve of the election of US-President Donald Trump, does the American Dream still exist? We are in a small town in the heart of Arizona on the mythical Road 66. Between barroom talk and Sunday sermons, lucid and whimsical predictions on the future of the United States, the picture of the inhabitants is gloomy. Supporters of both "Hillary" and "Donald" are similar in their profoundly anchored disillusionment.

A full immersion in redneck culture, far from Washington, between an America armed to the teeth and fully disarmed by the growing economic precariousness at the same time, a real bitterness pervades this documentary.

With the visual aesthetics of fiction cinema, Claus Drexel delivers a Western made in 2018.



Ni Juge, ni soumise
(Belgium: 2018), documentary by Jean Libon and Yves Hinant

Lovers of documentaries without comment will be delighted with the return of the directors of the Belgian cult show "Strip Tease", 20 years later.

In this film they followed a "super judge" in Brussels for three years: Anne Gruwez, a straightforward woman with a fool proof commitment for her work.

Never intimidated, Anne Gruwez gives a dazzling lesson in integrity and commitment. She puts offenders at their place with ease and makes the most obtuse

think twice. A film about a cluttered judicial system that is often not adapted to the needs.

With their first feature film, the two filmmakers plunge the viewer into the daily work of the judiciary.

Between criminal investigations and hearings, crime scenes, the documentary resembles a detective film loaded with black humor.



TO READ

**Fascism
A Warning**

Madeleine Albright
(Former US Secretary of State)

In her new book, former US Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, analyses Fascism in the twentieth century and how this cruel legacy is still shaping our contemporary world. The book is not only a warning to all of us living in uncertain times where populist movements are growing and weakening our representative democracies, but it also describes how current leaders such as Putin, Erdogan and Kim Jong-un use the same tactics that fascists used in the last century. It is important to understand the lessons from the tragedies of the past and to find concrete solutions now so that we can be spared from experiencing those horrific times again.

Fascists tend to claim to speak for the people or the entire nation. Yet they do not respect the rights of the others and are willing to use violence or any other means to achieve power. When analysing the historical depth of current populism, one can only be shocked that our societies have not drawn the lessons. The book - , and especially the title - may be seen as exaggeratedly alarmist, but Albright argues that we should take the assault on democratic values and fundamental freedoms very seriously.

The temptation to close one's eyes and wait for the worst to pass is immense, yet this precisely what many did when Hitler or Mussolini took power. Back then, many were shocked by the tactics of the fascists,



which they deemed unimaginable until they experienced them, and people thought the situation could not get any worse. But it did.

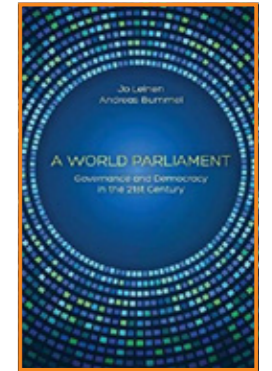
The overall shadow looming over the book is of course Donald Trump and the way he is governing the USA. Trump is, as Albright rightly puts it, the first anti-democratic president in modern-day America. He flaunts his disdain for democratic institutions, the ideals of equality and social justice, civil discourse and the United States and the world itself. But it is not only Trump, it is also the Orbans, the Kaczynskis, the Salvini and all the other nationalist movements appearing in Europe and elsewhere. The cartoon Albright uses to describe our democracies is a dialogue between a Priest and a Bishop. The Bishop asks the Priest, who's eating an egg, if it is not rotten. The Priest answers, "some parts of it are excellent, if not perfect". This relates to Democracy, which can and should always be made better and enhanced to avoid disaster.

The book should be read as the author's very personal account, based on her own experiences as a child in Europe and afterwards, as a career diplomat in US Politics. The author ends on a note of hope by referring to Nelson Mandela who helped his country to overcome violence, division and the threat of Fascism. That's precisely the lesson Madeleine Albright wants us to retain.

by Ernst Stetter

**A World Parliament,
Governance and
Democracy in the 21st
century, Berlin, 2018**

Jo Leinen, Andreas Bummel



Supported by FEPS, the publication "A World Parliament" is a federalist manifesto with global ambitions that does not focus on Europe in isolation. But it is more than a manifesto. The text written by MEP Jo Leinen and Andreas Bummel, director of "Democracy without borders", is also dense with information. Without any need to adhere to the authors' assumptions or to reach the same conclusions, the book is important in a time where most political parties have abandoned any internationalist perspective, whilst they are searching for a future essentially in a national or even only regional context. This book is arguably more important than ever in a time of diplomatic re-positioning of the United States, Russia and China, which increasingly raises the question of the meaning of "interdependence" in the context of a global village: is it a vehicle for peace or for war between nations?

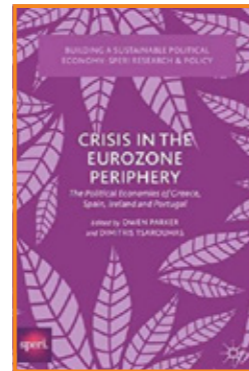
The first section of the book is certainly, since the writings of David Held and Daniele Archibugi, the most exhaustive and most concise summary of the origins and ramifications of a unified project for political management of humanity. Jo Leinen and Andreas Bummel avoid the easy celebration ofmanuel Kant's "Perpetual Peace"

Project and prefer to anchor the globalist perspective in classical Greco-Latin thinking (Diogenes of Sinope, Cicero) as well as the connection to Asia, ... and the connection, established by Vitoria, between the formation of a cosmopolitan structure and the protection of individual human rights. Then, in the eighteenth century, Christian Wolff re-positioned the social contract theory, inaugurated by Thomas Hobbes, within the sphere of international relations and argued for the need for a supra-state, an international state or "Völkerstaat". And this took place shortly before the American revolutionaries attempted their own experiment by forming the "United States" on the territory of a continent. The book then examines the formation of the contemporary globalist movement starting from the initial intra-European networking of parliamentarians in the nineteenth century providing rare and exceptional informative insights.

The second part of the book however highlights the flaws that come with its qualities. By placing in the constitution of a world parliament the hope of resolving all the challenges that question the survival of the human species as well as its environment, the book forces to examine the

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Crisis in the Eurozone Periphery; the Political Economy Of Greece, Spain, Ireland and Portugal, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018



Owen PARKER,
Dimitris TSAROUHAS

reasons for the lack of audience of such a project beyond academic circles, who are reluctant to promote it themselves.

It is conceivable that a popular and democratic adjustment to the state representation system of the United Nations is capable of rationalising and pacifying the world, that must be "non-polar" according to the assessment conducted by R. Haas, where no superpower is able to impose their power or influence. However, unlike former federalist theorists such as Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, the authors of "A World Parliament" do not - or very rarely - question the means necessary to coordinate the formation of a supra-state structure and equally civil societies, which today are heavily pointed to by both the revival of nationalistic passions and a decline in political participation.

by Christophe Sente

"Crisis in the Eurozone Periphery" was co-written by Dimitris Tsarouhas of Bilkent University in Ankara and Owen Parker of Sheffield University. Highly praised by academics such as Andrew Gamble and Ben Rosamond, the book brings together contributions from several experts in international and intra-European relations who examine the recent political and economic developments in Portugal, Ireland, Greece and Spain: four countries a time referred to by the insulting acronym of "PIGS" by some Anglo-Saxon commentators who alluded to a direct connection between a lack of fiscal or moral discipline and the difficulties of these states to lift their public finances from a slump characterized by budget deficit, indebtedness on the markets and the consequences of weak growth.

Without entertaining any unnecessary controversy, the book deconstructs this neoliberal caricature and contrasts the caricature with the factual context which includes integration of the four States into the European Union and notably, their participation in the Monetary Union. The comparative table neatly highlights

that the history of each of these member states is unique, that there is no similarity between them even if they were all hit by a comparable crisis, but which didn't even happen simultaneously. Therefore, the so-called Mediterranean tropism argument does not stand up to scrutiny, because two of the four countries do not lie on the Mediterranean sea.

The book also goes beyond the deconstruction of this concept. It unites empirical and chronological data from the recent past from Portugal, Ireland, Greece and Spain into an analytical framework. This framework borrows terminology from the neo-Marxist theory of dependency and more specifically from the idea of contradiction of interests between the "centre" and the "periphery". While the book uses the vocabulary of the dependence theory, it doesn't follow its conclusions.

Rather than yield to the simplistic concept, common today amongst the radical left and attribute responsibility for the deterioration in living conditions to Berlin or Brussels - or to London, as others have done previously - Tsarouhas and Parker explain how sometimes questionable economic policy

decisions have been shared by both the so-called executioners and their alleged victims. Their book demonstrates both the complexity and dynamics involved in European integration. In one moment they are considered virtuous - when they contribute to the consolidation of democracy - and pernicious in the next, when the interpretation of the Treaty of Maastricht criteria by the Troika reproduces significant far-reaching political changes in the South hitherto exclusively imposed in the former communist European states. The book also suggests that if the European construct was reduced to a project focused solely on monetary policy, it would suffer from the fragility of such a mono-issue project.

by Christophe Sente

Rebelle jeunesse (Rebellious Youth), Paris, Robert Laffont, 2018



Henri WEBER

Sometimes lives can be transformed into novels and, on rare occasions, those who live such lives are good writers. Henri Weber is one of those few. With "Rebelle jeunesse" barely complete, hopes are high for what he calls "the next volume in his journey" - without specifying though the number of volumes that are to come.

Although it is an autobiography, the book is principally a continuation of previous academic works that describe and analyse - reminding the the works of François Dosse, Jean-François Sirinelli and Alain Bergounioux - key figures of the French intellectual landscape from the second half of the 20th century. Many names associated with the illustrious Sorbonne and Nanterre universities, with the best European left-wing journals as well as with theatre and cinema appear in the narrative. Weber brings to life more than just their names, he skilfully adds colour to the characters and resurrects those who have passed away with great affection.

"Rebelle jeunesse" showcases a quality narrative that is not self-centred. One cannot expect Henri Weber to completely disappear from the story of the French left while he the

leader of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist League) and later became the right arm of Laurent Fabius. While he is a hero, the book is bigger than his own life for at least two reasons.

Firstly, because the pages are as amusing as they are modest. Weber dedicates them to his upbringing in a Jewish family, being deported and then becoming a refugee. He relates his experiences to contemporary issues faced by those recently displaced: the conditions of granting asylum and the imposition of the host country laws on migrants. Here, however, Weber chooses a family memory that highlights that the question of integration does not have the dramatic significance that the conservatives often have us believe it does. Integration is the responsibility of the family unit and the school: "Listen to me son...if you continue to misbehave in school and in our neighbourhood, French citizenship will be denied and we will remain forever stateless and refugees." The equilibrium of the democratic system through the social contract explained in a few simple words.

The other aspect of significant interest in the book is the place

given to for the events of May 1968. The book does not provide memories of a veteran, but an analysis which questions a European left in disarray and tempted by a return to a caricatured critique of the market economy. "The liberal movement, May 1968, stood against all authoritarian forms of power - at school, at university, in the family home, in relationships, in companies, in the city (...); a hedonistic and community inspired movement, that was in rebellion against repressive puritanism...and mass loneliness". How to summarise better where the hopes of the left could lie in 2018 for contributing to collective emancipation and successfully distinguishing itself from new populist right-wing groups?

by Christophe Sente

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