

VOLUME 12 ISSUE 3 | SUMMER 2018

*in*FOCUS

QUARTERLY

EUROPE: PAST AND PRESENT COLLIDE



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Featuring an Interview with Congressman PETER J. ROSKAM (R-IL)

LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

What attaches Americans to Europe? What attaches Jews to Europe?

In the 20th century, the American answer was axiomatic – so much so that twice we committed millions of young men to brutal warfare and billions of dollars in military and economic assistance to preserve our brothers and sisters. During the “long twilight struggle” between the West and the Soviet bloc, we continued to provide political leadership, military capability, and money to protect our friends and partners. Having defeated the Kaiser, Hitler, and the Soviet menace, we were rewarded with “Europe whole and free.”

For Jews, the relationship was always fraught with complexity. There were good times, when the Jewish community advanced and enhanced European life. And there were too many other times to count. But even after the Holocaust, Jews gravitated to the principles of liberal Europeanism that the United States protected. And Europeans often measured themselves by the quality of Jewish life that arose from the ashes.

In this issue of *inFOCUS*, we explore European politics and the continuing odd importance of Jews in the politics of

a continent with far fewer than it used to have. Or ought to have.

Arch Puddington warns of the growing tendency to falsify European history. Adriano Bosoni highlights far-flung separatist movements. Benjamin Weinthal, Michel Gurfinkiel and Michael Ledeen examine Germany, France and Italy. Nicholas Rostow considers whether



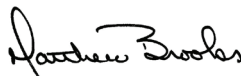
Europe’s supranational institutions can withstand continental strains, while Owen Paterson sees opportunities in Brexit. Norman Bailey offers a hopeful view of energy production and

Jolyon Howorth provides a set of provocative forecasts for NATO.

Don’t miss our interview with Rep. Peter Roskam, chairman of the House Ways and Means subcommittee on Oversight. And do read Shoshana Bryen’s review of James Kirchick’s *The End of Europe*.

If you appreciate what you’ve read, I encourage you to make a contribution to the Jewish Policy Center. As always, you can use our secure site: <http://www.jewishpolicycenter.org/donate>.

Sincerely,



Matthew Brooks,
Publisher

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Lamps On!

Reflections on the EU

by **NICHOLAS ROSTOW**

On August 3, 1914, the eve of British entry into World War I, Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey told a friend that “[t]he lamps are going out all over Europe; we shall not see them lit again in our life-time.”

I begin this reflection on the European Union with this famous observation because it encapsulates the whole point of the European project launched in the wake of World War II. Grey went on to note “that a great European war would be a catastrophe on an unprecedented scale, and that this would be so obvious to all the Great Powers that, when on the edge of the abyss, they would call a halt and recoil from it.”

They obviously did not do so. Crowds in Europe’s capitals reacted with enthusiasm to the outbreak of World War II as if they anticipated catharsis from . . . intractable, endless, social and political conflict? Boredom? In the late 1940s, the leaders of Europe’s greatest powers, although those states were much diminished by the destruction of 1939-45, understood what their predecessors had failed to grasp: the need to do Europe’s business in a different way and within different structures if they were to escape the historical ruts of European geo-politics.

The British Brexit debate and the messages carried to Europe by people who have the President’s ear missed the foregoing premise for what became the European Union (EU). As a result, it seems easy to fans of Brexit and their confrères in Italy, Hungary, and elsewhere to dismiss the project as a product of elites without regard to ordinary people. From this perspective, elites formed

European-wide organs out of touch with the people who give them legitimacy. Whatever their merits, criticisms of European institutions on the ground that they often appear to be duplicative or operating mainly or even sometimes solely for the benefit of themselves, miss the point. What government and what politician, however democratically elected, has not appeared to lose touch, or really has lost touch, with constituents? What bureaucracy has not, consistent with one of Parkinson’s Laws, operated without regard to the outer world? These political and bureaucratic tendencies do not undermine the legitimacy of elections or the democratic source of government offices. Those participating in the debate in 2016 failed to remind the British electorate

Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, and Bush 41—understood and accepted that the European project strengthened world peace and American security. Their administrations were deeply engaged with their European counterparts in fostering European integration after World War II. European economic and potentially political cohesion formed an integral part of the Marshall Plan idea. Integration rooted in democratic process and the rule of law seemed a logical response to Europe’s wars, which had shaped world history for centuries. U.S. engagement took different forms, including efforts by private American citizens to help Europeans think through and resolve problems associated with trying to create a new European order. In view of how much

All U.S. Cold War Presidents...understood and accepted that the European project strengthened world peace and American security.

that the European Community and now the EU restructured Europe’s security and proved to be an integral part of the longest period of peace among European great powers in history. The same period also has known the largest number of democratic, European states.

■ *America’s Role*

Absent in 2016 were strong messages from America’s leadership about the U.S. vital national security interest in European peace and prosperity. All U.S. Cold War Presidents—Truman, Eisenhower,

has been forgotten, a modest refresher on the EU’s object, purpose, and structure seems to be appropriate.

■ *European History*

To understand the whys and wherefores of what became the EU requires some understanding of European history and culture. First, among other things, Europe’s history has been a history of violence. Conflict has characterized every century since the fall of the Roman Empire, and each European-wide war has involved more devastation than the

last. Since the middle of the eighteenth century, wars among Europe's great powers have been world wars, fought between Europeans everywhere Europeans found themselves. And, since the Napoleonic Wars spawned the Concert of Europe, the increasing destructiveness of war, especially the charnel houses of 1914-18 and 1939-45, propelled the search for alternative ways of structuring and conducting international relations: governments and invisible principles such as the balance of power had failed to maintain peace. The European project, beginning with the European Communities and continuing in the European Union, reflected the belief that European peace was essential, not only to Europeans, but also to people everywhere, and that new methods for securing that peace were necessary.

■ *Economic Union*

Second, the founders of what became the European Union thought economic union was a way to break with the violence of the recent past and the cycles of European-wide wars that had punctuated the previous five centuries. The framers of European integration believed in democracy and that their Europe should reflect democracy. They were intensely practical men who had wide experience in intergovernmental work. While some favored a new creation, "the United States of Europe," others preferred intergovernmental integration by means of a voluntary association of states. The intergovernmental idea prevailed, but there never has been consensus about the final product: a new country? A stand-alone common market with few supranational attributes? A common market with a single currency and therefore a single approach to fiscal and monetary policy? A pluralistic polity with central and polycentric aspects? The obvious complexity of Europe—consisting of ancient, sovereign states, with different capacities in terms of power and power projection, and different political and legal cultures, but most having strong senses of nationalism and awareness of long histories of

conflicts with neighbors—meant that no single conception of the new post-World War II European structure was going to take hold, at least in the near-term.

Treaties among democratic states would form Europe's institutions. If those states so agreed, organically democratic, European-wide institutions subsequently could develop. Such institutions and the transnational effort their existence and operation reflected would keep the peace and enhance prosperity. The founders of post-World War II Europe were successful.

Third, from the outset, the purpose of European integration was strategic and political. The object was to address the problem created by German unification in 1871. After 1871, Germany was the most powerful European state, and it was restless. It remains the most powerful but no longer is restless. The idea in the minds of such originators of contemporary Europe as Jean Monnet and Robert Schumann was to enmesh a democratic Germany in a larger democratic whole. The European Coal and Steel Community of 1952 and the European Economic

Community of 1957 were meted out to the European constitution by voters in France and the Netherlands in 2005. The next zig was the Lisbon Treaty in 2007, which repackaged much of the rejected constitution in amendments to the 1957 Treaty of Rome—the foundational document of the European Community. Another zag is Brexitism. Is it a yearning for something more fulfilling than European peace and prosperity? Is it a product of excessive optimism about the EU's ability easily and without stress to integrate new members after the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact?

■ *European Institutions*

The EU of today consists of variegated institutions, formed at different times for different purposes, often a jumble with overlapping jurisdiction, and established as part of the layering process that has built the union. EU institutions represent different forms of democratic legitimacy: some are intergovernmental, such as the European Council of heads of state or government and the Council of the European Union, which consists

All European institutions operate directly by the consent of the governed or indirectly by such consent as a result of inter-governmental councils consisting of representatives of democratically elected governments.

Community and the European Atomic Energy Community, 1957, reflected that requirement. They proved to be steps along the way to treaties ultimately establishing the European Union and the common currency, the Euro.

EU history has involved zig-zags. The first zag was the defeat of the idea of pan-European defense—the European Defense Community, which went down in 1954, the year of Dien Bien Phu. It was too soon after World War II for France, which had originated the idea, to accept German rearmament, even within a larger whole. Another zag was the defeat

of heads of member state government departments. The European Commission is an unelected group of senior officials and policymakers appointed by member states but independent of such member states in their exercise of treaty functions. The European Commission is as close to being an executive as the EU has. The European Parliament is directly elected. Member states appoint judges on the European Court of Justice; all member states concur in the appointment. This list of institutions is intentionally incomplete. The number, complexity, and staffing of EU institutions perhaps fuel



European Union flags outside the organization's headquarters in Brussels, Belgium. (Photo: Jorisvo)

resentment among Europe's citizens who have enough trouble living their lives without layer upon layer of government telling them what to do and how to do it.

A substantial number of Europeans experience the EU with indifference, confusion, and resentment. One therefore frequently reads about unelected officials in Brussels and a European Parliament without power to initiate legislation. Perhaps even more damning, Europeans exhibit insufficient concern about what goes on at the level of Europe: participation in European-wide elections is far below participation rates for national elections. Skeptics or cynics are wont to quote Ortega y Gasset from 1930 that "Europe" was for practical purposes 'the trinity of France, England, and Germany.'" Each of the three has its own take on the EU. The British remain formally committed to a European balance of power. But, if British understanding of the reality were deeper than it appears to be, Brexit would cease to be an option. For Germany, the EU represents the brightest of futures and the strongest protection against, and break with, the past. For France, the EU is where De Gaulle's certain idea of France can retain vitality. Other members also

pursue their interests and advance their identity in the EU context.

All European institutions operate directly by the consent of the governed or indirectly by such consent as a result of inter-governmental councils consisting of representatives of democratically elected governments. It is impossible to overemphasize this point although commentators of all stripes frequently fail to emphasize it adequately. Such pundits and others are convinced that there is some undemocratic conspiracy afoot, mainly involving unelected civil servants and bureaucrats with their own agendas at odds with those of elected officials. At the same time, the EU is not yet a government of the United States of Europe. Great and small European powers pursue their national interests within it. For this reason, if for no other perhaps, the large number of European institutions seem to be more responsive to those interests than to "the people." That is not a reason to destroy the EU or to leave it. For Europeans, and for everyone else, what is the alternative to working within it, to improving it, to increasing its visible democratic legitimacy? Turning the historical page backward . . . to what? Old,

blood-soaked historical patterns?

It is fitting to end this reminder about the EU's central purpose by stating categorically that the European lamps are on if not necessarily ablaze in all respects. We need to remember that the European Union and the United States have roughly equivalent gross domestic products (GDP) although with its larger population the EU has a lower GDP per capita. However measured, the European Union constitutes an enormously powerful agglomeration that has yet to achieve full capacity to exercise that power. Jean Monnet envisaged the EU as one end of a trans-Atlantic barbell with the United States at the other end. Together they could ensure minimum world order. Some of his American interlocutors wanted a tighter, organic connection. Neither has quite become the reality. Despite political fissures, social dyspepsia, and "populism," the ties that bind Europe and America ought to prove stronger than the centrifugal forces. The peace of the world and democracy depend on that proposition proving true.

NICHOLAS ROSTOW, *Ph.D.*, is senior research scholar at Yale University.

Why Brexit is great for the UK and the U.S.

by the Hon. OWEN PATERSON

The American Revolution and the 2016 Brexit vote had democratic control at their hearts; everyone is familiar with the rallying cry of “No taxation without representation.” As with the European Union today, American dissatisfaction with British rule was as a result of our overreach in the colonies. It went too far and America declared that enough was enough. You wanted to decide how to spend your own money – not be told to send it off to Great Britain.

On June 23, 2016, 17.4 million people in the United Kingdom – more than have ever voted for any issue or political party in our history – voted to leave the EU.

Article 50 was triggered on March 29, after 494 Members of Parliament voted for it in the House of Commons. The automatic legal effect of this is that on March 29, 2019, the EU treaties in their entirety will cease to apply, with no post-exit treaty obligations on the United Kingdom.

In June 2017, we had a General Election in which 85 percent of the votes cast were for parties advocating leaving the Single Market, the Customs Union and the remit of the European Court of Justice. The main “Remain” Party – the Liberal Democrats – saw its number of votes fall.

The European Union (Withdrawal) Bill will repeal the European Communities Act 1972, which gave effect to European law in the United Kingdom, and convert into UK law the entire corpus of European law. We are building on the precedent which Americans set even before independence – first adopting British

law in order for it to be altered subsequently. The Reception Statute passed in the Colony of Virginia in 1776 ran:

...the common law of England, all statutes or acts of Parliament made in aid of the common law prior to the fourth year of the reign of King James the first...shall be considered as in full force, until the same shall be altered by the legislative power of this colony.

Despite these decisive steps, there are still those – President of the European Commission Monsieur Jean-Claude Juncker among them – who believe that

However, we will leave. For the first time in EU history, a country will not be cowed into rerunning a democratic vote whose verdict went against the Commission and the long-term European Project.

And this project is not static. The Five Presidents’ Report of 2015 proposed fiscal, economic and finally full political union by 2025. Without the restraint of the British pebble in the shoe, Juncker, in his “State of the Union” address on Sept. 13, 2017 was proposing consolidation and compulsory membership of the Eurozone, and by 2025 a fully-fledged European Defense Union. He called for a single European president and the use of passerelle clauses allowing the Commis-

In June 2017, we had a General Election in which 85 percent of the votes cast were for parties advocating leaving the Single Market...

we will back down, or that the process can be derailed. This is unsurprising from a man who, before the French were asked to ratify the proposed European Constitution in 2005, said “If it’s a Yes, we will say ‘on we go’, and if it’s a No we will say ‘we continue’”.

He was true to his word. The French failed to ratify the Constitution, so it was simply reheated as the Treaty of Lisbon and on the project went. When the Danes and the Irish had the presumption to vote against the EU consensus, they were told to go away and vote again until they produced the right answer.

sion to bypass the concerns and wishes of democratic national governments.

So, I have absolutely no regrets that I was one of three founding MPs of the referendum campaign group “Vote Leave.” Our central message was that we must “take back control” – of our laws, our money, and our borders.

- To control our own laws, we must end the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice and leave the Single Market;

- To control our money, we will cease sending \$11 billion net to the EU each year;

- To control our borders, we must leave the Single Market; and
- To control our trade policy, we must leave the Customs Union.

The idea that one can trade with Europe only through membership of the Single Market is nonsense.

These simple statements, which resonated with 17.4 million people, are not negative ones. They are not anti-Europe. They are positive expressions of the age-old truth that a sovereign country will be more successful when it governs its own affairs.

■ *Single Market*

Membership of the Single Market – the internal market of the EU – requires acceptance of the indivisible European principle of the Four Freedoms – the free movement of goods, services, capital and, most contentiously of all, people; it requires regulation of all aspects of our economy.

In 1999, 61 percent of UK trade was with the EU, now it is 43 percent. By 2025, it has been projected that our exports to the EU will account for under 35 percent. The European Commission itself says that 90 percent of global economic growth in the next 10 to 15 years is expected to be generated outside Europe, a third of it in China alone.

Compare that to the relationship between our two countries. The USA is the UK's largest export partner and our second-largest import partner for trade in goods and services. In 2015, the USA accounted for 19.7 percent of the UK's exports and 11.1 percent of imports. The USA and UK are the largest single investors in each other's countries, at 24.5 percent and 23.6 percent respectively.

The idea that one can trade with Europe only through membership of the Single Market is nonsense. Being within the Single Market means meeting all of its regulatory standards. This sort of

compliance is required on export product standards for all exporters wishing to sell in any foreign market. The difference with the European Single Market,

however, is that those regulations are applied across the whole economy, even to sectors with no connection to European exports. This burdensome bureaucracy is a long way from the original vision of a group of sovereign states sharing a minimal, common level of regulation.

■ *Customs Union*

While we remain in the Customs Union, we cannot pursue our own trade deals. Its advocates like to portray it as a co-operative trading association of member states – akin to an economic

...the Customs Union denies its members the right to set their own trade policies and forces them behind a protectionist wall...

version of NATO – but it is not. In setting the Common External Tariff, the Customs Union denies its members the right to set their own trade policies and forces them behind a protectionist wall separating the EU from the rest of the world. New free-trade deals may be struck only by the slow, bureaucratic union and not by member states individually. Consequently, the EU has so far not concluded a free-trade deal with the United States, Japan, China or India. Most existing EU free-trade deals are, in fact, roll-overs from the colonial days of individual EU countries.

To the UK, the economic case is clear. Analysis from Prof. Patrick Minford concludes that leaving the Single

Market and Customs Union will provide a saving of \$400 per household per annum on food bills, or some \$10.8 billion overall. It will also bring down consumer prices more generally, by around eight percent overall; and stimulate competition across the economy, raising productivity and GDP by around four percent.

Deloitte has explored the potential effect of a “tariff war” on the German car industry, which exports 1 in 7 of its cars to the UK. It assumes a 10 percent tariff on vehicles and a 4.5 percent tariff on parts. Deloitte believes that EU carmakers will lose \$10 billion a year worth of revenues, with \$8 billion from German carmakers alone. In the first 12 months after the UK leaves, German car exports to the UK would collapse by 255,000 units, representing a 32 percent decline, with 18,000 jobs in the German car industry put at direct risk.

We currently have zero tariffs, and conformity of regulations and standards is already in place. There ought to be no

reason that independent countries cannot trade freely, and no reason whatsoever that free trade cannot be maintained with a fully-fledged free trade pact. Reciprocal free trade is in all our best interests.

■ *European Court of Justice*

Last summer, the British government released a number of initial position papers relating to key areas of negotiating policy, to which the Brussels response has been ludicrously obstinate. In reply, the EU has made a series of outlandish demands for an arbitrary “divorce bill” of \$120 billion— rejected by the UK with a forensic legal rebuttal.

We will pay what we legally owe.



Britain's Secretary of State for Exiting the EU David Davis at a press conference in Brussels on June 19, 2017 (Photo: Alexandros Michailidis)

Edward III's refusal to pay the Bardi and Peruzzi families in 14th century Florence was the last time the UK failed to honor its international obligations. But recent reports by the House of Lords and respected lawyer Martin Howe QC establish that there is no credible legal argument obliging the UK to continue contributing to the EU's ongoing programs after Brexit. Our attitude echoes that of George Washington, who wrote in a letter to Alexander Hamilton in 1796, "We will not be dictated to by the Politics of any Nation under Heaven, farther than Treaties require of us."

The European Commission has also demanded that the European Court of Justice – the highest court in the EU – continue to rule on the rights of EU citizens in the UK after Brexit. If immigration was a manifestation of Britain's non-independence, then the continuing remit of the ECJ would surely be confirmation of it.

There is no exact legal precedent

for such a bizarre suggestion, which would create a privileged class of over 3 million EU residents in the UK, whose rights would be enforced by a court beyond the influence of our government and Parliament.

The British government has, quite rightly, ruled this out. Independent sovereign nations cannot be bound by rulings of the courts of other nations. Once again, Washington put our approach

perfectly in that same letter to Hamilton, "If we are to be told by a foreign Power...what we shall do, and what we shall not do, we have Independence yet to seek, and have contended hitherto for very little."

That is not to say that British courts should give no attention to future decisions of the ECJ. It is standard practice for the courts of countries in an international treaty to pay attention to the judgments of their partners, and to try, if possible, to apply a consistent interpretation.

As the late Justice Antonin Scalia of your Supreme Court – himself no friend of foreign judgments influencing U.S. courts – said, "We can, and should, look to deci-

...leaving the Single Market and Customs Union will provide a saving of \$400 per household per annum on food bills, or some \$10.8 billion overall.

sions of other signatories when we interpret treaty provisions... Even if we disagree, we surely owe the conclusions reached by appellate courts of other signatories the courtesy of respectful consideration."

It would be inconceivable for the

United States to accept any court overruling its own Supreme Court, but it has always been accepted that account be taken of preceding legal decisions.

Take the case of *Amalfitano v. Rosenberg* in New York in 2009. The Court of Appeals ruled that “attempted deceit” was sufficient to sustain a cause

new administration is as pro-British as any we have seen since the Second World War. Your new ambassador to the United Kingdom, Woody Johnson, got off to a great start when he said “As far as the president is concerned, the United Kingdom, our most enduring ally, is always ahead of the line.”

The Special Relationship has been a cornerstone of our foreign policy for 70 years, whether that is procurement and development ... or our comprehensive intelligence sharing schemes.

of action under judiciary law Section 487, on the basis that it derived not from common-law fraud, but from the first Statute of Westminster – a criminal statute adopted by the Parliament of Edward I in England in 1275.

We will adopt just the same attitude toward the ECJ’s preceding decisions. But, as a simple matter of principle, we cannot accept continuing ECJ jurisdiction once we have regained independence.

■ Opportunities for America

Increasingly, regulation is being made at world level. As a member of the EU, we have been represented as 1/28 of a vote on the world bodies – the WTO, the World Organization for Animal Health (OIE), the Codex Alimentarius Commission and the International Plant Protection Convention.

We have been prevented from working with like-minded countries to tackle pressing policy concerns and prevented from reaching trade agreements with countries which would buy our produce. We can now retake our full seat – regaining a right to vote, a right to initiate new standards and propose amendments to existing ones – determined to cooperate with old friends in the Anglosphere and forge new alliances.

Britain has no greater ally than the United States, so it is welcome that the

The Special Relationship has been a cornerstone of our foreign policy for 70 years, whether that is procurement and development — the United Kingdom is the only Level One partner in the largest aircraft procurement program in U.S. history, the F35 Lightning II — or our comprehensive intelligence sharing schemes.

But our ties to the United States run far deeper than that. We are united by our history, our culture and, perhaps most of all, by our language. With such

The United Kingdom intends to be bold and ambitious, retaking our place as a dynamic, globally-oriented nation.

strong and long-standing bonds, we should all be very optimistic about a new U.S.-UK trade deal being, as President Trump put it, “very big and exciting!”

Indeed, as your new ambassador put it:

Britain’s decision to leave the European Union takes your country into new territory — but you are not heading there on your own. The United States is committed to standing with the UK through Brexit... whatever the outcome of the negotiations between the UK and the EU,

Britain should know you will have a strong and reliable trade and investment partner in America.

■ Conclusions

In the months and years ahead, Britain must be guided above all by the decision which its people made in June 2016. The constitutional position we face is unprecedented. We have held a number of referendums over the last 50 years, but this is the first in which the people have contradicted the view of the political, judicial, financial, media, and academic establishment. Failure now to deliver what 17.4 million people voted for would do catastrophic damage to the integrity of the whole establishment.

We will leave the political and legal arrangements of the European Union. In a whole range of fields – security, academia, scientific research, cultural exchanges – we look forward to maintaining the closest possible cooperation with the EU. The United Kingdom intends to be bold and ambitious, retaking our place as a dynamic, globally-oriented nation.

For the United States, this is unequivocally good news; you are regaining an independent ally in trade and on

the global bodies which determine world regulation. The Special Relationship will go from strength to strength, in George Washington’s words, to “animate and encourage each other, and show the whole world, that a Freeman contending for Liberty on his own ground is superior to any slavish mercenary on earth.”

OWEN PATERSON is Member of Parliament (Conservative Party) from North Shropshire and from 2012 - 2014 also served as Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs.

The Ministry of Truth for the 21st Century

by ARCH PUDDINGTON

In his 1943 essay, “Thoughts on the Spanish Civil War,” George Orwell spoke of his fears about the falsification of history. “Nazi theory,” he wrote, “specifically denies that such a thing as ‘the truth’ exists. There is, for instance, no such thing as ‘Science.’ There is only ‘German Science,’ ‘Jewish Science,’ etc.” He went on: “The implied objective...is a nightmare world in which the Leader...controls not only the future but the past. If the Leader says of such and such an event, ‘It never happened’ – well, it never happened...This prospect frightens me much more than bombs...”

These lines were written when much of the world was dominated by two great totalitarian powers, Nazi Germany and

an important instrument for autocrats, including the strongman leaders of illiberal democracies like Poland and Hungary.

■ *Russia Leads the Way*

Under Vladimir Putin, Russia has built a propaganda apparatus that rivals the Nazi machine under Joseph Goebbels and is far more nimble than the lumbering system developed under Stalin. Early in his tenure, Putin decreed an overhaul of history teaching with the particular goal of rehabilitating Stalin and burnishing the image of the Soviet state. The reinterpretation of Stalin’s leadership was formalized with the publication of a new curriculum guide for teachers of Russian history.

Once in power, communists acted on the Orwellian idea that “who controls the past controls the future.”

the Soviet Union. Both fascism and communism—but communism especially—rejected the concepts of objective truth and the neutral interpretation of history. Once in power, communists acted on the Orwellian idea that “who controls the past controls the future.” Among the first steps in the Sovietization of Eastern Europe was the rewriting of history, going back centuries; the suppression of inconvenient facts; the airbrushing of national heroes from the historical narrative; and the establishment of what amounted to ministries of truth throughout Moscow’s vast empire.

While the age of totalitarianism has passed, the falsification of history remains

The manual’s content dovetailed with Putin’s broader promotion of a narrative in which Russia is a great power that overcame the hostility of determined enemies, especially the United States. According to the manual, Russia’s dark chapters—its domination of Eastern Europe, Stalinist purges—were the understandable responses to the country’s underdevelopment and encirclement by foreign enemies. The new history portrays an all-wise Russian state, under both Stalin and Putin, whose requirements always take precedence over the needs of the individual. Putin took unusual interest in the preparation of the history manual. He called

for history textbooks “written in proper Russian, free of internal contradictions and double interpretation.”

And in unveiling the new guide, he struck a theme that runs through Russian propaganda in the Putin era: “We can’t allow anyone to impose a sense of guilt on us.” More broadly, Putin was saying that a sovereign state has the right to interpret its history in whatever way it wants, to ignore or distort the tragic chapters, and to burnish the reputations of mass murderers and thugs.

■ *The Ukraine Factor*

The reinterpretation of history has been intensified in the wake of the seizure of Crimea. A recurring theme of post-Crimea propaganda is the notion that Russia faces the same threats from the West today as during the Cold War. To make this point, Russian television aired a documentary meant to justify one of the more shameful events of the Soviet period, the 1968 Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia. The invasion was undertaken to crush the reformist Prague Spring movement, whose leaders were moving away from state socialism and seeking a neutral geopolitical status much like Austria enjoyed at the time. The documentary used archival footage to build a concocted case that the invasion was necessary to thwart a NATO-inspired coup. The clear purpose of the film was to portray NATO as a permanent threat to Russian interests, now as in 1968.

To further bolster the case for the invasion of Ukraine, Russian propaganda devoted great energy to demonstrating the fascist nature of the Maidan

revolution, relying heavily on invocations of Soviet history. The Ukrainian activists who helped drive out corrupt President Viktor Yanukovych and the European-oriented politicians who replaced him were labeled as present-day followers of Stepan Bandera, a controversial nationalist leader who fought the Soviets and at times cooperated with the Nazis in a doomed campaign for an independent Ukraine during World War II. Russian media also featured a number of documentaries that emphasized Russian, as opposed to Soviet, resistance to Hitler. The objective was to equate contemporary Ukrainians who favored full independence from Russian influence with Nazi collaborators.

■ *Assaults on Academic Freedom*

Since the occupation of Crimea, it has become increasingly dangerous to express dissenting views on Russian foreign policy in Russia's schools and universities. Putin made the point when he referred to a "fifth column" and a "disparate bunch of national traitors" sowing discord within Russia. He also signed a law that criminalized the purposeful distortion of the Soviet Union's role in World War II. Historians who make the "wrong" interpretations of the Hitler-Stalin pact, the huge casualties suffered by the Red Army, or the rape and plunder committed by Soviet troops as they marched toward Berlin might also risk criminal penalties.

In late 2016 the Russian Security Council discussed the establishment of a new center to counter the "falsification" of history. A group of experts identified six topics from Russia's past that they claimed were being actively distorted as part of an anti-Russia strategy. Among the topics: the Soviet Union's ethnic policies, the Hitler-Stalin pact, the Soviet Union's conduct during World War II, the 1917 Russian Revolution, and the Soviet Union's suppression of uprisings in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany during the Cold War. In each case,

the most serious and respected historical accounts have been written by foreign scholars, due largely to the pressures, including outright censorship, brought to bear on Russian historians during Soviet times and more recently during the Putin era.

■ *China: Evading the Past*

Mao Zedong's Great Leap Forward ranks among the most deadly politically -inspired catastrophes in human history. From 1958 to 1962, Communist Party authorities, under orders from Beijing, herded millions of farmers into communes and proceeded to seize grain harvested in the countryside to feed the urban population. The result was the death of some 30 million people.

To this day, Communist Party officials have refused to acknowledge anything approaching the full dimensions of the tragedy. Nor have they admitted that the party, and especially Mao, were responsible. Often, they blame the weather.

In late 2016 the Russian Security Council discussed the establishment of a new center to counter the "falsification" of history.

There are no official monuments to the victims, no serious histories available to the general public, and most significantly, no effort to place accountability where it belongs. Indeed, under Xi Jinping, unquestioning support of the Communist Party, including reverence towards Mao, is demanded of party officials and public servants, including teachers.

■ *Seven "Don't Mentions"*

In 2013, the General Office of the Communist Party Central Committee issued a secret directive prohibiting universities from permitting the discussion of seven themes—the "Seven Don't Mentions." According to the directive, lecturers were not allowed to take up universal values, freedom of the press,

civil society, civic rights, elite cronyism, judicial independence, and past mistakes of the Communist Party.

The most disturbing item in the roster of Don't Mentions was the leadership's mistakes. While the authorities have never come close to permitting a serious investigation of either the Great Leap Forward or the Cultural Revolution, these and other aspects of the party's past were not considered utterly taboo, as long as the discussion did not lead to serious challenges to orthodox historical interpretations. According to the policies set down under Xi Jinping's leadership, talking in classrooms about Mao's errors is now forbidden.

The Communist Party's refusal to come to terms with the crimes of the Mao era has enabled a revival of the former leader's personality cult that has captured the support of millions of Chinese. As Jamil Anderlini wrote in the *Financial Times*, Mao has come to be seen as a symbol of a "simpler, fairer society—

a time when everyone was poorer but at least they were equally poor." Xi and his colleagues have used Mao-style tactics and terminology in their drive for ideological discipline and political loyalty.

■ *"Polish Death Camps" Law*

The reinterpretation of Polish history has been a central concern of the Polish Law and Justice Party (PiS) since its election triumph in 2015. In early 2018, the PiS pushed through a law which criminalized any reference to Polish responsibility for crimes committed by the Nazis during World War II. Exceptions carved out for scholarly research and works of art did not allay fears about the potential persecution of those holding to the "wrong" explanation of sensitive wartime events

given that Jan Gross, an eminent historian who had published books that dealt with Polish crimes against Jews during and immediately after the war, had been harassed by prosecutors and attacked by PiS propagandists.

According to PiS officials, the law was made necessary by what they suggested were widespread references to “Polish death camps” a phrase that placed blame on Poles for Nazi atrocities. To describe this justification as disingenuous is an understatement. The phrase, “Polish death camps,” is inaccurate. But the phrase usually refers to Nazi camps located in Poland, like Auschwitz. Poles are not being stigmatized for the crimes of Hitler, Himmler, and Heydrich.

Poland has been the victim during a number of Europe’s darkest chapters. But serious historians have generally treated Poland with sympathy and admiration, sympathy for its suffering and admiration for its heroism in the face of oppression, including resistance to the Nazis, rebellion against Soviet domination, and role as the first satellite state to gain independence and democracy.

In championing the death camps law, the PiS government is ironically joining with arch-enemy Russia as vanguards of historical revisionism.

The comments of PiS officials suggests that the real issue is not Polish death camp references but historical writings that attempt to deal honestly with the complex relationships between Christian Poles, Jewish Poles, Nazis, and Soviets during the war period. To point to the role of Christian Poles in crimes against Jews clashes with a PiS nationalist story that seeks to minimize the role of non-Catholic Poles in the nation’s history. A similar phenomenon is underway in Hungary, where Prime Minister Viktor Orban has advanced a semi-official version of the country’s history that

downplays such details as Hungary’s wartime alliance with Germany and the actions of the Arrow Cross, a fascist group, and the historical significance of the country’s Jewish population.

■ *History Held Hostage*

In championing the death camps law, the PiS government is ironically joining with arch-enemy Russia as vanguards of historical revisionism. Indeed, the comments of PiS officials often echo those of Putin and his acolytes. In both countries there are comments to the effect that demands for a reinterpretation of history is evidence of a society “getting up off its knees.” There are also claims that the redefinition of history through state action is strengthening sovereignty.

In fact, all the evidence tells us that regimes that demand mangled versions of history actually surrender a measure of sovereignty by ensuring that those who write honest accounts will be scholars from beyond the country’s borders. There are many great historians of the Communist experience, but practically all are American, British, or emigres

who resettled in the United States or Europe. Even today, the great histories about Russia, Central and Eastern Europe, and China under the Communists are being written by Westerners like Timothy Snyder, Anne Applebaum, and Frank Dikottter.

The ultra-nationalist impulse that lies behind the mandate for history falsification has other consequences as well. In Russia today, Stalin’s reputation is at high water mark, with many ranking him as the country’s greatest leader. Mikhail Gorbachev, by contrast, is treated shabbily by the new official histories

and is therefore widely regarded as a weak leader whose democratic reforms contributed to Russia’s decline. In Poland, the xenophobic themes struck by the PiS government have contributed to an upsurge in anti-Semitism, a troubling development in a country that had been making, steady progress in coming to grips with its unhappy treatment of its Jewish citizens. Moreover, the current government has launched a campaign to delegitimize Lech Walesa and other leaders of the Solidarity freedom movement by refashioning the history of the anti-communist struggle to the advantage of its own favored personalities.

At the same time, in much of the world there have been major efforts to confront uncomfortable truths about the past. This is certainly true of Germany and South Africa. Latin American countries including Chile and Argentina have probed the histories of ugly conflicts between military juntas and Marxist revolutionaries. In China’s own backyard, South Korea and Taiwan have moved to address the complex legacies, including outright crimes, of dictators.

The process of accounting for the mistakes and crimes of earlier decades can raise a tangle of ethical and emotional challenges in any country. But resistance to a full examination of the past is especially bitter in societies where communism held sway.

While few people today admire totalitarian Marxism as a governing system, there is a reluctance to reject it with the same moral clarity as in assessments of Nazism. Scholars, not to mention political figures, who express even modest admiration for Hitler are immediately and properly condemned. As long as Stalin and Mao, two of history’s worst mass murderers, escape similar opprobrium in their own countries, a reckoning with historical truth and an understanding of its lessons will be postponed.

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French Jews and the Macron Experiment

by MICHEL GURFINKIEL

On the face of it, France is a happy exception in a collapsing European Union. Last year, Emmanuel Macron, a 39-year-old centrist and Europhile reformer with little political experience or backing, was unexpectedly elected president. Moreover, he secured one month later an even more stunning victory: *La République en Marche* (LREM), his hastily improvised political party, garnered 314 seats out of 577 at the National Assembly. Under French constitutional provisions, this is a recipe for a stable and all-powerful “republican monarchy.” Quite a contrast, apparently, with the chaotic politics that bedeviled many other European countries – from Britain to Germany, and from Spain to Italy – in 2016, 2017, and 2018.

But just how real was Macron’s victory? In many respects, he merely won by default. In the presidential election’s first ballot, on April 23, 2017, he received 24 percent of the vote. While this was certainly an achievement for a complete newcomer, three other candidates (the far right’s Marine Le Pen, the conservative François Fillon, and the hard left’s Jean-Luc Mélenchon) reached almost similar levels, a bit over or under 20 percent. What helped Macron in the second and decisive ballot on May 7, in which he got 66 percent, was that he faced Marine Le Pen, a person about whom most French citizens feel uneasy. A Macron-Fillon duel or a Macron-Mélenchon duel might have led to a different outcome.

Likewise, the main factor in LREM’s parliamentary victory was a 51 percent rate of abstention in the first ballot on June 11, 2017, and a 57 percent rate in

the second ballot on June 18. All told, the first presidential ballot’s returns, and the fact that at least 40 percent of the voters supported right-wing or left-wing radicals then, may provide a better clue of long term French political tendencies than the three ensuing electoral returns.

Macron scored some successes during his first year as president. First and foremost, he restored some *gravitas* to the presidential office – whereas his predecessor, François Hollande, was reviled for his shabbiness. Second, he managed to set up a rather effective cabinet, drawn both from the moderate left and the moderate right, but with a slight advantage to the right (his minister of education, Jean-Michel Blanquer, openly advocates a return to very traditional educational practices and a restoration of the teachers’ author-

economic elites have resolved to give him a chance, rather than to bet again on the classic political class. As a result, both the formerly dominant conservative and socialist parties are withering

The dark side is that true opposition to Macron and LREM now stems from the radicals. *France Insoumise* (“Indomitable France”), Mélenchon’s hard left party, has engaged in a relentless fight against Macron’s reforms, along with most unions and fringe Trotskyite or anarchist groups: repeated strikes, demonstrations, street violence. While these tactics may not be enough to derail the reforms, they are likely to have an electoral impact in the longer term. As for the far right, it reeled from Marine Le Pen’s defeat in 2017, but then realized that those classic conservative politicians or voters who did not

Immigration from non-European and non-Judeo-Christian countries, and especially from Muslim countries, has reached such proportions that the gradual replacement of the native populace and culture ... seems entirely plausible.

ity). Third, he started many long-awaited social and fiscal reforms that run against entrenched privilege, including unions and bureaucratic privilege. Fourth, he quickly established himself as a world leader, or at least, due to Angela Merkel’s eclipse, as the last authoritative spokesman for the European Union.

For the time being, such successes have allowed Macron to consolidate his grip on French politics. The social and

defect to Macron may be interested in a broader New Right coalition. Marine Le Pen may be outflanked in this respect by her very young and very shrewd niece, Marion Maréchal-Le Pen.

■ Rising Radical Power

Why are leftwing and rightwing radicals getting so powerful in contemporary France? Essentially, they tackle an issue that the classic political class



French anti-terrorist forces confronting radical Islamists involved in the terrorist attacks on Paris in November 2015. (Photo: Frederic Legrand)

prefers to ignore: the demographic upheaval known as “Great Replacement,” an expression coined some years ago by a talented if controversial writer, Renaud Camus. Immigration from non-European and non-Judeo-Christian countries, and especially from Muslim countries, has reached such proportions that the gradual replacement of the native populace and culture by a new population and a new culture seems entirely plausible. Leftwing radicals tend to welcome it as a change for the better. Rightwing radicals see it as a cosmic disaster – except for some of them who are ready to strike an alliance with radical Islam in order to topple “plutocratic” and “Jewish” Western democracy.

In the 635-page confession he co-authored in 2016 with journalists Gérard Davet and Fabrice Lhomme, *Un président ne devrait pas dire ça* (Things A President Should Not Say), former president Hollande admitted, “the French have a problem with Islam, it’s a fact,” and that it might lead to a “partition” of the country.

The French Muslim community is the largest and the fastest growing in Europe. In 50 years, from the late 1960’s to the late 2010’s, the population

of the Republic of France (including the overseas territories which are as French as Hawaii and Alaska are American) grew from 50 million to 67 million: a 34 percent increase. In the meantime, the Muslim population seems to have grown, either naturally or as a result of migration trends, from 1 million or so to 5-6 million at least: that is to say a 500-600 percent increase. As for the ratio of Muslims against the national population, it grew from 2 percent to 7-9 percent.

■ Muslim Immigration

The real impact of Muslim immigration is even bigger in generational terms: the younger the population, the higher the proportion of Muslims. While less than one-tenth of French citizens were Muslims in the 2010s, proportions were one-fifth regarding French citizens or residents under 24, nationwide, and even higher in some places. A 2015 Ipsos investigation in the greater Marseille area in southern France found that 25.5 percent of the local youths in their mid-teens identified as Muslim. Similar figures were to be found in all other big cities in France, where most of the population lives.

According to a Fondapol survey released in 2014, the proportion of “strictly religious” French Muslims rose from 27 percent in 1994 to 42 percent in 2014. To again quote the survey on Marseilles, 83 percent of the young Muslims describe religion as “something important or very important,” against only 40 percent of the non-Muslims (and 22 percent of the Catholics). Another Ifop survey released in 2016 suggests that 29 percent of French Muslims hold *Sharia* – Islamic religious law – as more important than the law of the land, and 65 percent condone the Islamic rules of female “modesty” in the public sphere, including *hijab* or *burka*, Islamic garb, and *burkini*, the Edwardian-style all-body bathing suit.

Have these views and attitudes fostered “no go zones” or de facto enclaves in many parts of the country – or terrorism? For years, vigilante Muslim groups have set up illegal “street mosques” or enforced Ramadan observance or female modesty in Muslim-populated neighborhoods. Other militant groups have even made inroads in non-Muslim neighborhoods. Systematic harassment of “immodest” women, either Muslim or non-Muslim, has become commonplace. During the 2018 month of Ramadan (from mid-May to mid-June), dozens of Muslim BDS (boycott, divest and sanction) militants raided supermarkets all over France to impose the removal of Israeli products; there were also instances where similar gangs assaulted shops and supermarkets in order to break bottles of wine or liquor.

Regarding terrorism, it should be stressed that more than 2,000 French Muslims joined the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria in its 2013-2016 heyday, and that French-born jihadists or jihad-inspired thugs killed about 200 people and wounded or maimed 300 people in successive terrorist attacks on French soil: from the murder of soldiers and Jewish teachers and pupils in southern France in March 2012 to the murder of cartoonists and Jewish shoppers in Paris in January 2015; from the killing spree in Paris

in November 2015 and Nice in July 2016 to the murder of a 86-years-old Catholic priest during mass a few days later; and from the brutal murder of Sarah Halimi, a 65-year-old retired Jewish doctor, in April 2017, to the no less brutal murder of an 85-year-old Holocaust survivor, Mireille Knoll, in March 2018.

No wonder that right-wing columnist Eric Zemmour, whose essay “Le Suicide français” (The Suicide of France) sold more than 200,000 copies in 2014, steadily warns of a “coming civil war.” Or that one of France’s premier writers, Michel Houellebecq, sold 350,000 copies of *Soumission* (Submission), a 2015 novel about the election of a “moderate Islamist” as president of France in the 2020’s. Macron’s explicit gamble is to solve the demographic question and prevent the “war of culture” through a rapid “modernization” of the country. He may also have an agenda within the agenda: rebuilding the government’s authority step-by-step and reestablishing traditional French and Judeo-Christian culture as fully normative.

■ *France’s Jewish Community*

French Jews do not feel more comfortable within this context than other European Jews. It may even be argued that they feel less comfortable since, through the second half of the 20th century, they had enjoyed a stunning revival both in demographic and cultural-religious terms.

There were about 300,000 Jews in France in 1945, right after the Holocaust, including some 100,000 thoroughly assimilated or even converted “ex-Jews” who had been rebranded as Jewish by the Nazis and the collaborationist Vichy regime and were desperately trying to make sense of all that. Seventy-five thousand Jews, both French-born and foreign-born, had been rounded up and murdered in Auschwitz from 1942 to 1944. Some 30,000 additional Jews may have perished in various other ways.

In the late 1940’s, tens of thousands of Holocaust survivors from Eastern

Europe came to France, most of them as refugees applying for immigration to Palestine or the United States. Many stayed. More refugees came from the Islamic countries in the 1950’s, 1960’s and 1970’s, in the wake of civil disturbance, war, independence or revolution: first from Turkey and Egypt, then from Morocco and Tunisia, then from Algeria, and finally from Iran. In 1962, the Jewish population of France had doubled to 600,000, including many who had abandoned their Jewish identity through assimilation or intermarriage. By the mid-1970’s, it was said to reach a peak of 700,000.

Such a critical mass allowed for a sudden burgeoning of Jewish religious and cultural identity: synagogues, kosher food, Jewish day schools, Jewish media,

among many French Muslims helped a hitherto repressed classic non-Muslim anti-Semitism, right and left, to come back with a vengeance. By 2000, news from the so-called Second Intifada ushered widespread anti-Jewish violence. There were similar outbursts after the Lebanon war of 2006 and the Gaza war of 2014. Dieudonné M’Bala M’Bala, a French-Cameroonian humorist and anti-Semitic agitator, became a popular idol. And most French Jews felt that the government or the news media were more often than not resorting to denial, or even attempting to turn anti-Jewish violence into “inter-communal clashes.”

So much so that the Wandering Jew hit the road again. Thousands left neighborhoods overwhelmed by Muslim radi-

Reborn French Jewry was, however, on a collision course with the rapidly growing and increasingly assertive Muslim community...

Jewish literature (domestic or translated), community centers. France’s geographical proximity with Israel stimulated family tourism, Zionist tours, an eagerness to learn Hebrew. By the mid-1980’s, there was a general revival of Orthodox Judaism in the country, soon to be followed by a growth of Reform and Masorti (Conservative) Judaism. “Marginal” Jews, who in previous generations tended to intermarry and vanish, were suddenly more likely to “return” to Orthodoxy or to join non-Orthodox congregations. The only shadow in this otherwise rosy landscape was, from 1967 on, the French government’s anti-Israel and pro-Arab policies.

Reborn French Jewry was however on a collision course with the rapidly growing and increasingly assertive Muslim community, whatever the good relations that might exist between individual Jews and Muslims or between the religious or intellectual Jewish and Muslim establishments. Moreover, the unreconstructed anti-Semitism prevalent

in some towns or townships ruled by radical left-wing municipalities for predominantly Christian and conservative places, seen as much safer: all in all, 50,000 Jews are said to have moved from some parts of greater Paris to other parts. Then, there was emigration to Israel – Aliyah – another 50,000 at least or more according to some estimations, in only one decade. Finally, many Jews moved to Britain, North America and Australia.

The common factor between these migrations is a lack of trust in the future of France – shared, as a matter of fact, by many Christian or secular French. Another incentive is that once you were raised as a proud and happy Jew, you find it difficult to relapse into a near-Marrano status.

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The Futures of NATO

by JOLYON HOWORTH

Editor's Note: NATO was established in 1949, with 12 members, to curtail possible Soviet aggression against Europe; it now has 28 members. After the collapse of communism and demise of the Soviet Union, many predicted the demise of the Atlantic Alliance. It survived as a high-level political agency for managing transatlantic relations and later as a regional crisis management agency, open to former members of the Warsaw Pact and taking on more global responsibilities. Another transformation may be coming.

As French philosopher and essayist Paul Valéry noted in 1937, “the trouble with our times is that the future is not what it used to be.” The sentiment applies to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and a mission that’s been in a state of constant flux since the end of the Cold War.

NATO has transformed for at least five futures.

■ Five Futures

In the 1990’s, realists predicted NATO’s imminent demise, pointing out that no alliance in history had outlived the disappearance of the threat against which it was formed. But NATO survived the 1990’s as a high-level political agency for managing transatlantic relations. U.S. proposals that the alliance should “go out of area or out of business” reflected a sense in Washington that payback time had come for 40 years of unconditional U.S. security guarantees to Europe. Europeans in general balked at the idea of offering blanket support to U.S. global strategy. NATO’s first post-Cold War future ended in deadlock.

Conflicts in the Balkans (1991-1999) offered a brief second future for NATO as a regional crisis management agency, a profile encapsulated in the 1999 “new

strategic concept” adopted at the 50th anniversary summit in Washington and best articulated, several days previously, by Tony Blair’s Chicago speech on the necessity of humanitarian intervention.

In Bosnia (1995) and in Kosovo (1999), NATO conducted its first military operations, seemingly demonstrating that it could go “out of area” and put an end to ethnic cleansing. These operations proved controversial. An international commission of inquiry deemed the Kosovo campaign as “illegal but legitimate.” Moscow subsequently used the campaign as a precedent for Russian unilateral interventions in Georgia and Ukraine/Crimea. NATO’s first “shots in anger” rebounded awkwardly.

Meanwhile, a third future for NATO was devised in the mid-1990’s with membership expanded to former members of the Warsaw Pact. This process, conducted in the name of a Europe “whole and free,” saw the alliance progressively advance to Russia’s borders. In 1997, George Kennan, the father of con-

the day after the twin towers fell, NATO invoked “Article 5” – an attack on one member-state is an attack on all. The U.S. response was initially ambivalent. The Pentagon, still furious at European leaders for vetoing specific bombing runs during the Kosovo war in the 1990s, had no desire to involve NATO in Afghanistan. Key allies United Kingdom and France were cherry-picked to assist.

■ Going Global

But once the Bush administration switched its attention from Afghanistan to Iraq, the alliance as a whole was called into service and a fifth future was envisaged to stabilize the former while the U.S. military focused on the latter. NATO took over the UN-mandated International Security Assistance Force, (ISAF) in 2003. Almost by default, NATO had in effect “gone global,” thereby giving rise to the brief campaign from 2004 to 2008 to create a global alliance incorporating democracies including Japan, India, Australia and even Israel. During

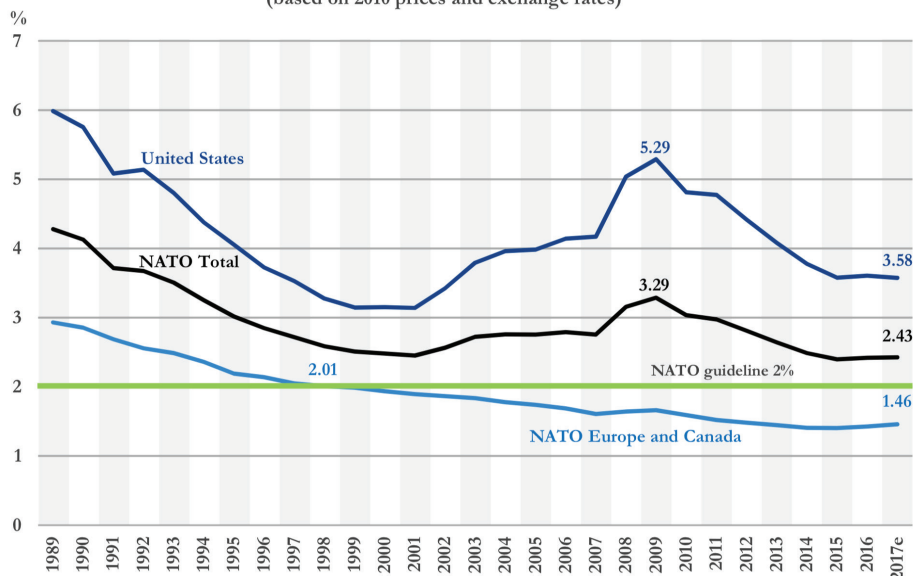
An international commission of inquiry deemed the Kosovo campaign as “illegal but legitimate.”

tainment, denounced NATO expansion as “the most fateful error of American policy in the entire post-Cold War era.” As Kennan predicted, Moscow’s reaction, especially under Vladimir Putin, has been robustly reactive. In 2016, the eminent Russian and East European expert Richard Sakwa commented acerbically that “NATO exists to manage the risks created by its existence.”

The 9/11 attacks provided a fourth future for the alliance. For the first time,

the 2008 election campaign, Republican candidate John McCain advocated NATO’s transmogrification into a “League of Democracies.” That idea, universally rejected by the European allies, fizzled along with McCain’s presidential bid. So, to all intents and purposes, did NATO’s brief experiment with “going global,” as the ISAF experience proved both politically divisive and a military failure. ISAF was disbanded in 2014, and NATO’s future seemed once again up for grabs.

Graph 5 : Defence expenditure as a share of GDP (%)
(based on 2010 prices and exchange rates)



Libya

Meanwhile, in 2011, the alliance engaged in a renewed experiment with humanitarian intervention and in mid-March launched “Operation Unified Protector” in Libya. This operation proved as controversial as the Kosovo mission and considerably more counterproductive. Exactly half of the NATO member states were politically opposed to the mission, with only a handful engaging in the airstrikes intended to protect the Libyan population from the predations of Muammar Qaddafi. In mid-April, the mission morphed from protection of the population to regime change, ensuring prolongation for six months until Qaddafi’s death in October. The spillover from this mission destabilized much of North Africa and the Sahel, galvanized radical Islamists from Nigeria to Syria, and precipitated Libya into a still ongoing civil war. Perhaps the most notable aspect of the Libyan operation was the explicit new posture of the United States – a key feature of what came to be known as the “Obama Doctrine” – American “leadership from behind.” European states were expected to take on the heavy lifting.

The notion at the heart of President Donald Trump’s initial assertion that “NATO is obsolete” is a variant on the Obama doctrine and one that goes back to

the Cold War period: burden-sharing. The American complaint is that the Europeans are free-riding on American security guarantees and should be cajoled (Obama) or threatened (Trump) into stumping up more resources for their own defense.

This political standoff between Europe and the United States has been rendered more complex by Putin’s actions. By annexing Crimea and intervening militarily in Ukraine and by appearing to threaten a number of NATO and EU member-states, particularly the Baltics, Putin has both thrown down the gauntlet to NATO and offered yet another, possibly its sixth, post-Cold War “future,” returning to its original role as a security trip-wire in Europe.

A Sixth Future?

A complexity surrounding this sixth “future” for NATO is that the Europeans have been developing their own “autonomous” security project, the Common Security and Defense Policy. This was sparked in the 1990’s both by European aspirations to become a global actor and by American pressure for the EU to take over responsibility for the stabilization of its Eastern and Southern neighborhoods. That pressure, growing in intensity over the past two decades, has become strident under President Trump.

This is not just a political football.

Many leading American international relations academics have, in recent years, argued a strong case for progressive U.S. disengagement from NATO, accompanied by concomitant European assumption of command responsibilities within the alliance. Libya showcased America’s “leading from behind.” In a context where the United States sees its primary security challenges in the Asia-Pacific region and in the Middle East and where Europe faces challenges essentially in its own neighborhood, NATO’s status has become a major geostrategic conundrum.

In June 2016, the European Union published a document outlining the European Global Strategy. The objective is for the EU to achieve “strategic autonomy,” while at the same time engaging in ever-closer cooperation with NATO. While the document says little about the implementation of these seemingly contradictory projects, the way ahead seems clear.

Europe does not need two rival security entities in its relatively limited geographic space. EU-NATO cooperation, in my view, should lead over the next decade to the Europeanization of NATO. Under this schema, Europe would achieve strategic autonomy through its progressive apprenticeship in leadership via NATO, and the United States could reduce its footprint in the alliance and concentrate on strategic challenges elsewhere.

General Dwight D. Eisenhower said at the time of NATO’s creation in 1949: “If NATO is still needed in ten years, it will have failed in its mission.” Perhaps in 2029, its 80th anniversary, NATO can declare “mission accomplished” when Europeans become entirely self-reliant in security terms. That was the initial intention of NATO’s founding fathers.

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“History is a Merciless Disciplinarian”

An *inFOCUS* Interview with Representative PETER J. ROSKAM

Congressman Peter J. Roskam is in his sixth term representing the 6th District of Illinois and currently serves as the House Ways & Means Health Subcommittee chairman for the 115th Congress. Active on national security issues and promoting America’s role in the world, Rep. Roskam leads the House Democracy Partnership, assisting legislatures in emerging democracies; serves as a co-chair of the House Republican Israel Caucus, the largest Republican congressional organization dedicated to strengthening the U.S.-Israel relationship; and serves on the Board of Directors for the National Endowment for Democracy. *inFOCUS* Editor Shoshana Bryen spoke with him in early June.

***inFOCUS:* THIS ISSUE OF *inFOCUS* IS ABOUT EUROPE – SOME OF AMERICA’S MOST IMPORTANT RELATIONSHIPS ARE THERE, BUT THERE ARE ISSUES TO RESOLVE. FOR ONE, CHANCELLOR MERKEL AND PRESIDENT MACRON ARE TALKING ABOUT A EUROPEAN DEFENSE UNIT PULLING AWAY FROM US AND MAKING EUROPE SEPARATE FROM US.**

Rep. Peter Roskam: Past is prologue in a sense, in that there’s a lot of shared history with Europe, over the last century in particular, and we’ve developed these relationships and are really inextricably linked. Notwithstanding current controversies, there is a body of work here and an intricate level of connection of our security interests that is very, very deep. I think, though, sometimes there’s bravado and provocations and statements for public consumption.

I remember hearing once from one of the French diplomats when we were having a little spat some years ago – remember Freedom Fries? Someone said to him, “Are you concerned about your relationship with the United States?” And the diplomat said, “Of course, I’m not afraid. We’ve had a 200-year relationship with this country, plus.” I think we ought not over react to different public posturing, because I think the infrastructure and the shared interests are

pretty profound. Letting someone voice a level of concern is fine, but I think when push comes to shove, we’ve got so much to offer and a deep level of connectivity that I’m not afraid of the fraying of this relationship.

***iF:* AND YOU SAID ONE OF THE KEY WORDS, WHICH IS INFRASTRUCTURE. AS YOU KNOW, NOT ALL OF OUR NATO FRIENDS MEET THEIR NATO COMMITMENTS, AND SOME OF THE ONES THAT DO ARE SO SMALL THAT IT REALLY DOESN’T MATTER THAT MUCH. HOW DO WE CONVINCE THE NATO ALLIES THAT IT’S NOT JUST A POLITICAL ALLIANCE, BUT THEY HAVE TO PAY AND THEY HAVE TO BUILD A BIGGER MILITARY, AND THEY HAVE TO BE MODERNIZED?**

Rep. Roskam: Part of the answer is raising the level of the public discussion. This where I think the administration has done a good job. There was always a small group of people that were aware of the diminution of contribution of some of these countries over the years, but there really wasn’t a level of public discussion. Well, when you have the Commander in Chief of the United States raising this at an international level, it’s a focal point. And my sense is that this is influencing other things.

I think it’s having an impact on the

discussion where UN Ambassador Nikki Haley is giving voice to how money is being allocated. There’s a similar theme there; it’s all about the allocation of resources and who’s bearing the burden. But that’s all to say that I think the President giving voice to these things is a very good first step.

When it comes down to it, the Europeans are going to make decisions that are good for the Europeans, but with Russia being as aggressive and provocative as it is, I think the Europeans – when it’s all said and done – will come to the same conclusion, that NATO is a necessary alliance for a threat that hasn’t diminished.

***iF:* DO YOU THINK THE UNITED STATES IS AHEAD OF EUROPE IN THINKING OF RUSSIA AS AGGRESSIVE AND THREATENING IN VARIOUS PLACES?**

Rep. Roskam: The Europeans are living closely with this and it’s clearly within their sphere of influence. The type of things we saw in 2008 in Georgia, for example, with South Ossetia and Abkhazia coming under Russian domination, now Crimea, what’s happening in the east in Ukraine, that’s certainly within a European sphere of influence. The provocative nature of the Russians vis-a-vis the Baltics right now, those are messages that are loud and clear.

The type of aggression that the Russians are exercising in terms of soft power – manipulation and trying to influence electoral results – is part of a larger theme. The larger theme is that liberal democracies are under pressure all around the world. I chair an entity in the House called the House Democracy Partnership, and we interact with emerging democracies. In many cases, these are countries under a lot of pressure from authoritarianism: Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Burma, Sri Lanka. And in Europe, we have relationships with Kosovo, Macedonia, and Georgia and Ukraine and we're interacting on a parliamentary basis with them. While most government-to-government contact is at the executive branch level, we're trying to make connections at the legislative level. Our theory is that if you have a strong parliament in a country, chances are you have a strong democracy.

Authoritarianism is on the rise and Russia is a big part of this. Basically, the authoritarian challenge to democracies is this: "You [democracies] can't legislate your way out of a wet paper bag. You can't resolve big questions, democracies, and the future belongs to the strong man, to the authoritarian."

I think smart thinkers in Europe recognize these trends and there is an interest on the part of some of the established European nations to try to influence other democracies around the world on the good side of this, the virtuous side of this.

It all comes down to countries clearly operating in their own interest, which is their prerogative. But it's clearly in the Europeans' interest to look out over a landscape and not over-interpret what the Russians are doing, but not to under-interpret it or be dismissive of clear acts of aggression.

■ *Ukraine & Estonia*

iF: COULD YOU TALK MORE ABOUT YOUR RELATIONS IN UKRAINE? HOW DO YOU SEE THE FUTURE? DO THEY EVER GET CRIMEA BACK? DO YOU HAVE TO MOVE ON FROM THAT



U.S. Representative Peter J. Roskam.

AND TRY TO CREATE SOMETHING IN THE UKRAINE THAT'S LEFT?

Rep. Roskam: For the United States with Crimea, I think it's very important for us *not* to "move on." If you look at the disposition of the Baltic States today, they were the beneficiaries of the fact that the United States *never* recognized the Soviet aggression against Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania. That was foundational for those countries and they're better off today as a result of that. And if you interact with those leaders and those big diaspora groups in the Chicago area – and I've had that chance – they will tell you they are so deeply appreciative of that. Is it symbolic? Yes, it is symbolic, but symbols matter and this is a significant thing.

I am of the view that Ukraine's future is really in Ukraine's hands at this point. The United States in particular, and other western nations, have stepped up in a lot of ways and have been generous in financial support and so forth. But at its core, Ukraine's foundational problem is corruption. Can it navigate through and get on the other side of a corrupt regime? If it can, then its future is very bright; 50 million people, heart of Europe, all these sorts of things, an unbelievably rich history, and this complicated relationship with the Russians. But they've got to deal with the corruption problem themselves.

They've made some good moves. They have made improvements in their police, dismissing the entire national



A Russia-backed rebel armored fighting vehicles convoy near Donetsk, Eastern Ukraine, May 30, 2015. (Photo: Mstyslav Chernov)

police force because it had a reputation for being corrupt. They hired a totally new force, paid them more, created new standards – incredibly successful. They’ve done some good things in terms of judicial reform, which is moving in the right direction. They did very good things in terms of energy subsidies, normalizing some of their energy policies and reducing their dependence on Russia. But Ukraine’s future is in Ukraine’s hands, I think.

iF: THE RUSSIANS PRIMARILY DO CYBER WARFARE AND THOSE KINDS OF THINGS AGAINST THE BALTIC STATES. BUT IF THERE WAS A RUSSIAN INVASION OF THE BALTIC STATES, IS NATO PREPARED AND WILLING – AND WILLING IS A BIG QUESTION – TO DEFEND A SMALL COUNTRY LIKE ESTONIA?

Rep. Roskam: Yes. History is a merciless disciplinarian and a merciless teacher that suggests you can’t wave off those small provocations. If the United States or the European allies, the NATO allies, equivocate on Article V, it won’t end well. We’re better off defending the things that

we’ve pledged to defend, and I have every confidence that we would do that.

iF: WHICH GOES BACK TO THE CAPABILITIES QUESTION. DO WE HAVE THE ABILITY OR DO WE NEED TO BE PUTTING PRESSURE ON NATO FOR MORE RESOURCES? AND IN THE UNITED STATES AS WELL? WE HAVE OUR OWN DEFENSE PROBLEMS.

Rep. Roskam: The bipartisan budget act that passed earlier in the year is a tremendous shot in the arm for the United States military. Secretary James Mattis came, communicated what the resources needed to be, and Congress agreed, and that was funded, and that’s great news. So that is really tremendous.

The United States is clearly the senior, the biggest factor in NATO, and by demonstrating that increased level of commitment, I think it’s an invitation for other nations to say, “All right, you’re in, you’re doing what you need to do, U.S.; we’ll match that.” But regardless of what the Europeans do it’s in our interest to make sure that the Baltic states are not subsumed by the Russians.

iF: AND I ASSUME WE EXERCISE THERE FIRST OF ALL, TO GIVE THEM SOME SENSE THAT WE’RE THERE FOR THEM, BUT ALSO BECAUSE MAYBE WE BELIEVE WE’LL NEED TO BE THERE?

Rep. Roskam: Yes, that’s right. And I think that that military presence and the joint exercises and so forth are significant beyond NATO. For example, Georgia is not a NATO country, and yet NATO does training in Georgia. I said to the Georgians one time, “Georgia’s not in NATO, but NATO’s in Georgia, and that’s a good thing.” That NATO presence outside of Tbilisi is a very good thing.

■ **The Iran Deal**

iF: MOVING TO ANOTHER PART OF THE WORLD, HOW DO WE GET OUR NATO ALLIES OR OUR EUROPEAN – FORGET NATO FOR A MINUTE – OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES TO COME UP WITH A POSITION ON IRAN THAT WORKS FOR US? WE’VE STAKED OUT A POSITION, A LOT OF EUROPEAN COMPANIES HAVE PULLED OUT OF IRAN, BUT THE EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS ARE NOT INTERESTED IN OUR POSITION.

Rep. Roskam: We deal with it by being clear and listening, hearing them. But they're on a pathway that we shouldn't be on, so let's be on a pathway that makes the most sense and I think we'll be exonerated. Here's what we know: the Iran deal, the JCPOA was not a good deal at

If you're a European country or a European company, you've got a decision to make. Do you want to risk getting crossways with U.S. law and the U.S. Treasury Department based on the possibility of selling into a marketplace that is Iran, that is really under tremen-

the neighborhood what you do."

That tells me is there is some top-down in terms of Erdoğan and his disposition, but also that some of this is bubbling up; this is grassroots coming up. How do we deal with it? I don't have an easy answer. On the one hand, Turkey has played a real strategic role for all the obvious reasons: location, Muslim nation, and so forth. Very, very important. And yet there was some foreshadowing of this back in the '70s when they invaded Cyprus, which was a shock - that's not how allies behave toward one another. We have a complicated relationship that is not going to get any less complicated anytime soon.

... Ukraine's future is really in Ukraine's hands at this point.

its foundation, and it was flawed in a couple of areas. Number one, as Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said, he wasn't worried about the Iranians cheating; he was worried about the Iranians sticking with the deal because it was so good for them. It absolutely fulfills their nuclear ambitions.

Second, the sunset issues and the state sponsor of terror issues and their ballistic missile issues are all very, very provocative things. The Trump administration made a decision, I think it was a good decision, to say we're out of this deal. The statements that the administration issued were interesting. They said we're going to get out and here's why; we are going to reimpose sanctions in a very aggressive way, which is key; and then finally, we are open to coming back and revisiting this with Iranian interlocutors if they make a decision that they want to interact with us and come up with a new deal that makes sense. Terrific.

If we were to wait for the Europeans to come around, we would be waiting forever, with all due respect. It's a good thing the U.S. acted, and my instinct is that we're going to have a tremendous amount of influence on the commercial side because the only thing that brought the Iranians to the table in the first place was the sanctions regime. Their economy was really, really struggling; they came to the table. The Obama administration, in my view, mishandled the negotiation, was too hungry for a deal, and ended up with the JCPOA.

dous pressure? Or do you want to stay on the safe side of that line? I think many companies are saying, notwithstanding the diplomatic rhetoric coming from their capitals, they want to stay on the safe side of the line and not risk jeopardy with the U.S. Treasury Department.

iF: ANY CHANCE THAT RUSSIA AND CHINA WILL TAKE ADVANTAGE OF A WESTERN PULL OUT AND INSERT THEMSELVES INTO IRAN?

Rep. Roskam: I have every expectation that they would try to take advantage of that. There will be a vacuum but it's not as if they've been absent to begin with. So yes, we create a vacuum by pulling out, but it's not as if they're newly-provoked to go in. They're full-in, they're all-in, and there's no end in sight there.

■ Turkey

iF: STAYING IN THE REGION, TURKEY IS STILL A NATO ALLY. WHAT DO WE DO WITH THEM?

Rep. Roskam: It's a complicated relationship, isn't it? I was at a conference in Turkey a few years ago and just was walking around Istanbul, and I was surprised at the number of women on the street whose heads were covered. And this is in, quote, "secular" Turkey. And I have a friend who's a Christian pastor who explained to his landlord what he did for a living, and the landlord said, "That's all very interesting. Just don't tell anybody in

iF: DO YOU THINK THAT WE MIGHT ACTUALLY SHOOT AT EACH OTHER IN SYRIA OVER THE KURDISH AREAS?

Rep. Roskam: I don't have an expectation that that happens, and we've got to make sure that doesn't happen. We have to be very clear with them.

■ Europe, Israel and BDS

iF: THE EUROPEANS SEEM TO WANT IT BOTH WAYS IN TERMS OF ISRAEL. THERE IS A LOT OF COOPERATION MILITARILY BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND ISRAEL, AND BETWEEN EUCOM AND ISRAEL, BETWEEN NATO AND ISRAEL. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE'S THIS PROBLEM OF RISING ANTI-SEMITISM IN EUROPE. HOW DO WE SQUARE THAT CIRCLE? IS THERE ANY WAY THE U.S. CAN BE HELPFUL HERE?

Rep. Roskam: The BDS movement is really an insidious effort to marginalize Israel, and it has some roots in Europe. We changed the trade laws in the United States, so now it is a stated trade objective of U.S. trade negotiators as they're interacting with European state counterparts to raise this as an issue. That's important. This is now not the U.S. simply bringing it up on happenstance. This is now part of the regular trade regime for us to be saying

this is a strategic interest of the United States. We want to make sure that our best friend in the region is strong, and we view economic isolation of Israel as being a provocation. The U.S. has been helpful and I believe will continue to be helpful.

iF: DOES THAT GIVE THEM INCENTIVE ALSO TO ADDRESS ANTI-SEMITISM IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES? SEEING THE RISE OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN GERMANY AND FRANCE IS FRIGHTENING.

Rep. Roskam: It's frightening and this is just a couple of generations away from terrible events that took place in Europe in the last century, and in memory of people today who lived through that or whose families lived through that. No one can be dismissive about these flashpoints and these trends. And what I observe is what tends to happen is that there will be just one bit of news and we think, "I'm sorry to hear about that." And then we move on and there is another bit of news, and people say, "Well, I'm sorry to hear about that thing that happened, too. I'm sorry to hear about that." And then when somebody puts it all together, you realize this is not just bits of news but a trend. We're seeing something that's much more aggressive and much more insidious. I have talked to friends who said they're moving out of France, for example, and they're moving their families to Israel because they're Jewish families and they don't feel safe in France. Well, shame on France for that.

We can continue to give voice. There's a very strong effort here in Congress; I co-chair the Bipartisan Task force for combating anti-Semitism. We've included language as it relates to anti-Semitism in Europe, and we're seeing flashpoints of it here in the United States as well on American college campuses; not as advanced I would say as we're seeing in Europe to compare, but when it shows up, it's awful for the person that is experiencing it. We have to be vigilant. We've introduced bipartisan legislation that I have confidence is moving through the House.

In addition, some of the anti-Semitism and the BDS movement has shifted to international organizations. Maybe shifted is not the best way to describe it. Maybe it was already there, but because we've dealt with it on the trade side of things, we're recognizing an opportunity to have an influence there with these international governmental organiza-

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Nationalism in Central Europe

iF: WE SEE IN PLACES LIKE HUNGARY AND POLAND, ROMANIA A LITTLE BIT, THE RISE OF NATIONALISM THAT IS NARROWLY BASED AND NOT TERRIBLY WELCOMING OF OTHER PEOPLE. THESE COUNTRIES ARE NATO PARTNERS, TOO; COUNTRIES WE EXPECT TO BE OUR BEST FRIENDS. DO YOU WORRY ABOUT THE RISE OF THAT KIND OF NATIONALISM IN SOME OF THOSE COUNTRIES?

Rep. Roskam: Yes. It's a concern, it's a flashpoint. The United States has had complicated relationships with a lot of countries for many, many decades, and the level of complexity now is manifesting itself in Central Europe. There are significant things that we've got to be mindful of. I'm confident that when it comes down to it, we can continue to articulate the values that we hold dear, and I think one of the ways that we can do that is by being clear and being articulate and being vocal about these things, and not creating a sense of ambiguity or a double standard or a wishy-washiness that allows some of

American diplomats are on the front line, but we also have exchanges

back and forth with some frequency, with all kinds of these close relationships that Americans have with Europeans. We have congressional exchanges, we have a whole host of things. So, while diplomats are there and are living in these other countries, there are others among us who can give voice to this.

iF: AND I UNDERSTAND THE ADMINISTRATION IS ABOUT TO NAME A SPECIAL ENVOY TO MONITOR AND COMBAT ANTI-SEMITISM.

Rep. Roskam: That's right. That's a good indication of them taking it seriously.

iF: TO WRAP UP, ARE YOU OPTIMISTIC ABOUT AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH EUROPE? ARE YOU WORRIED?

Rep. Roskam: I'm optimistic. I think we have a strong history, and even when you have bumps and bruises along the way, to take a look at the great trajectory of a shared value system and a deep sense of interconnection between America and Europe, I think our future together is very hopeful.

iF: THANK YOU FOR YOUR YOUR INSIGHTS, ON BEHALF OF THE JEWISH POLICY CENTER AND THE READERS OF inFOCUS MAGAZINE.

Taking Stock of Europe's Separatist Movements

by **ADRIANO BOSONI**

It's no secret that the geography of Europe invites fragmentation. Its mountain chains, peninsulas and unconnected rivers led to hundreds of cultural pockets with unique languages and identities. Centuries of war, invasion and forced migration further redefined political and ethnic borders, resulting in a continent overcrowded with sovereign states. About a quarter of all the countries in the world are in Europe, and within almost every one are smaller groups demanding greater political, economic and cultural rights.

That is why Catalonia's push for secession from Spain makes the European Union nervous. In the past few decades, not many self-determination movements within Europe have reached the magnitude of Catalonia's. And other nations are watching closely the region's instability, fearing that it might ignite their own separatist forces. But while many EU members will need to confront factors similar to those that drove the Catalan secessionists, each specific movement is different, existing within its country's unique economic and political context. And Catalonia by no means offers an easy roadmap for others to follow.

■ **Cautious Camaraderie**

Most of Europe's self-determination movements sympathize with the Catalan cause. But they rarely express interest in directly following Catalonia's path, especially after witnessing the political and economic uncertainty its unilateral actions have created. In France, for example, the president of the regional assembly of Corsica recently hailed the "birth

of the Catalan Republic," but then admitted his small island is still not ready for independence. In Romania, the leader of the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania took a similarly cautious stance, saying that the Hungarian minority does not want independence, only the right to protect its identity. And in Spain itself, the government of the Basque country is concerned that Catalan secessionism could reignite calls for Basque separatism and possibly set the stage for Madrid to take direct control of the region as it did in Catalonia.

However, the aforementioned movements are minor compared to those in countries such as Italy, Belgium and the United Kingdom, where self-determination groups are active and powerful, often influencing the direction of their nations' political agendas.

■ **Italy: Avoiding Comparison**

In Italy, the Alps to the north create a natural border with its neighbors, while the Apennines split the peninsula down the middle. Off the coast, the country controls the two largest islands in the Mediterranean; Sicily and Sardinia. Geographically divided and regularly subject to invasions, Italy has long struggled against fragmentation. After unifying in the 1860s, the country remained defined by strong regional identities and contrasting

levels of economic development — especially between the wealthy, industrialized north and the relatively poorer and mostly agricultural south.

Northern regions generally contribute more in taxes to the Italian state than they get in return. And in recent decades, Italian self-determination sentiments have been more active in the north, defended by, among others, the Northern League political party. Born in the late 1980s, the Northern League originally focused on achieving greater fiscal autonomy for northern Italy. By the mid-1990s,

Geographically divided and regularly subject to invasions, Italy has long struggled against fragmentation.

the party openly demanded secession. But after a series of disappointing electoral results and a leadership change, the party embraced anti-immigration, anti-establishment and Euroskeptic rhetoric in the early 2010s to appeal to a bigger audience. It now promotes a platform closer to Italian nationalism than northern separatism.

Even if Rome does not have an Italian Catalonia on its hands, it still faces the challenge of finding a balance that satisfies the regions without jeopardizing Italy's fiscal revenues. The fact that the League, which is popular in the north, is now a part of Italy's coalition government means the issue could reignite in the coming months. Should Rome fail to reach such a balance, secessionist rhetoric may return.



A rally marking the 300th anniversary of loss of independence of Catalonia to Spain in September 2014. (Photo: By Iakov Filimonov)

Current opinion polls show most northern Italian voters prioritize fiscal autonomy over independence. On Oct. 22, 2017, the two northern regions of Lombardy and Veneto held non-binding referendums to address this concern, in which voters authorized their regional governments to ask Rome for more autonomy on issues such as taxes and education. Lombardy and Veneto have made it clear that their claims have nothing to do with Catalonia, arguing that they do not want independence.

■ **Belgium: A Delicate Balancing Act**

Farther north, in Belgium, the Catalan crisis puts Brussels in an uncomfortable position. Like Italy, Belgium is a divided country. There is Flanders, the Dutch-speaking north; Wallonia, the French-speaking south, and bi-lingual Brussels-Capital region. Those in wealthy Flanders are often critical of those in poorer Wallonia. And though both regions contain nationalist movements, Flemish nationalism has been particularly active in recent years, as many in Flanders consider Belgium's

system of transferring funds from wealthier regions to poorer ones unfair. Furthermore, Belgium's complex federal government (in which Flemish and Walloon political parties must share power) tends to produce oversized coalition governments that voters see as ineffective.

The goals of Flemish nationalists vary, with some suggesting Belgium become a confederation and others demanding outright independence for

former Catalan president has fled to Brussels. Some Flemish nationalist groups are supportive of the Catalan cause, and a senior member of the New Flemish Alliance (N-VA), Flanders' main nationalist and conservative party, recently offered asylum to deposed Catalan leaders.

But Brussels, insistent both on keeping its secessionist movements under control and on remaining loyal to the European Union, later said the N-VA's

... many in Flanders consider Belgium's system of transferring funds from wealthier regions to poorer ones unfair.

Flanders. A common middle ground is the desire for Brussels to transfer additional prerogatives — on areas such as social security and justice — to the Flemish regional government.

The Catalan crisis has exacerbated the Belgian government's struggles to stay united, especially now that the

statement did not reflect Belgium's official position. In another balancing act, the country joined the rest of the union in supporting Spain's territorial unity, while its prime minister, the francophone Charles Michel, appealed to Flemish nationalist sentiments by criticizing the use of violence against Catalan voters.

Still, as much as Flemish nationalists may feel a solidarity with the Catalan independence movement, they are confronting a different political reality. Opinion polls suggest that support for the N-VA has decreased in recent months, partially because of its failure to accomplish much of its socio-economic agenda since entering the federal government in 2014. Support for the right-wing Flemish nationalist Vlaams Belang party is also in decline. Meanwhile, the popularity of center-left parties unconcerned with the Flemish cause has surged. As nationalist parties approach federal elections in mid-2019, they will have to decide between radicalizing their rhetoric — possibly alienating moderate voters — and adopting more moderate positions.

■ **The UK: More Regions, More Problems**

Meanwhile, in the United Kingdom, the Catalan crisis has further complicated the already tumultuous post-Brexit landscape. The referendum to leave the European Union has renewed long-standing discussions about territorial integrity, particularly as it relates to Scotland and Northern Ireland. And Catalonia's pursuit of independence is only fanning the flames.

In Scotland, which held an independence referendum in 2014, a majority voted to remain in the European Union. And though the governing Scottish National Party (SNP) has long been supportive of the Catalan cause, it does not want to be seen as backing unilateral moves by regional governments or antagonizing Spain and the bloc at large. The SNP is currently pushing for another independence vote and is particularly wary of damaging its valuable relationship with the European Union.

However, with London preoccupied by Brexit negotiations and the SNP in a weak position after a disappointing general election performance, a referendum seems unlikely until at least the end of Brexit negotiations in mid-2019. In the meantime, London will likely try to

placate the secessionists by transferring control of certain policy areas to Scotland.

As London works to appease Scotland, it must also manage growing uncertainties within Northern Ireland. After the United Kingdom leaves the EU single market, hard borders will likely divide the Republic of Ireland, which will remain in the European Union, and Northern Ireland, which along with the

[Brexit] has renewed long-standing discussions about territorial integrity, particularly as it relates to Scotland and Northern Ireland.

rest of the United Kingdom will not. Even a comprehensive free-trade agreement would require control measures for products entering the union or the United Kingdom, jeopardizing the continuity of the Good Friday peace agreement.

The issue has put Northern Ireland's two largest parties at odds. The nationalist Sinn Féin sees the Brexit as an opportunity to raise the issue of unification with the south, which the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) firmly opposes. And though they are supposed to govern together, the parties have been struggling since March to reach an agreement. London has threatened to take direct control of Northern Ireland if they fail, but — especially in the wake of events in Catalonia — it will avoid intervention for as long as possible.

■ **Practical Constraints**

The reality is that as much as European countries fear independence movements within their own borders, the secessionists face dilemmas of their own. Many such movements within the European Union want to ultimately form countries that would belong to the bloc, with some believing that because their territories are already part of the union, they would automatically

become members after independence. Others think that they may be temporarily excluded but would quickly qualify for membership because they already comply with the bloc's criteria. Still others argue that by retaining passports from their previous country, citizens of a new country would continue to enjoy many of the benefits of EU membership, regardless of the new country's status.

The bloc's treaties do not contain specific procedures for how to address breakaway territories, but EU institutions by and large accept the principle that newly independent regions of member countries would not automatically join the union. They would need to apply for membership, and current members would have to approve them unanimously. This, of course, creates a problem for secessionist movements and makes the prospect of a unilateral secession much less appealing than one that was civilly negotiated between a region and its former country.

Thus, the Catalan crisis puts Europe's self-determination forces in almost as much of a quandary as it does EU member states, as they struggle to support Catalonia's mission without condoning the region's unilateral actions. Secessionist movements will continue to threaten the territorial integrity of countries throughout Europe. But though the hearts of the secessionists may be with Catalonia, the crisis in the region has likely given their minds some lessons to reflect on.

ADRIANO BOSONI is senior European analyst for Stratfor, an international geopolitical intelligence firm.

German Jewry: A Bleak Future

by **BENJAMIN WEINTHAL**

To understand the plight of Jews in Germany, it's worth considering a few outbreaks of contemporary anti-Semitism and the largely indifferent response to Jew-hatred from mainstream society.

In early June, a Jewish teen named Jonathan was playing an Israeli song — “Tel Aviv,” sung by Omer Adam—in Berlin’s Bahnhof Zoo subway station. Three Arab Germans heard the words “Tel Aviv” and confronted Jonathan and his friends.

One of the Arab men told Jonathan—after confirming that he was Jewish via an interrogation: “Seventy years of murdering children! I don’t want to hear this Jew s*** here! This is our town, our turf. If I see you here again, I’ll slit your throat, you f***ing Jew.”

The German Arabs physically attacked Jonathan and his friends, with one of the men trying to push Jonathan onto the tracks. The assailants fled and the security guards at the station chose not to pursue them. The *BILD* newspaper published an article drawing attention to the “disgusting, brutal, anti-Semitic incident.”

The attack met for the most part with soggy indifference from Germany’s chattering classes.

Since 2015, Chancellor Angela Merkel’s government has admitted more than a million refugees and migrants from mainly Muslim-majority countries, where Muslims are steeped in hatred of Jews and of Israel.

A second telling example of the growing—or perhaps continued—in-difference was the April attack by a

Syrian refugee on Adam Armush, an Israeli Arab, because he dared wear a kippa (yarmulke) on a Berlin street.

The assault triggered headlines in the German and foreign media because there was video evidence of the attack. *Der Spiegel*’s influential columnist Jakob Augstein blamed the Israeli for having “come up with the idea to wear the kippa and use it as a provocation.” Augstein—who inherited significant ownership in the Spiegel news organization—has played a key role in mainstreaming

the spokesman for Hamburg’s nearly 2,500-member Jewish community, Daniel Killy, said a breakdown in security in the Federal Republic has created a highly dangerous situation for Jews.

“No, we are no longer safe here,” Killy told the *tagesschau.de* news outlet. Killy said the collapsing sense of state power, excesses of the extreme right-wing, the loss of political credibility, and “the terrible fear of naming Islamism as such” have all contributed to creating a climate of insecurity for Jews.

A detached observer might ask of modern
Germany: Have we learned anything from the
Holocaust?

media anti-Semitism. The Simon Wiesenthal Center ranked him ninth on its “2012 Top Ten Anti-Semitic/Anti-Israel Slurs” list for his bigoted statements.

Armush told the *Deutsche Welle* news outlet: “I am not Jewish, I am an Israeli and I grew up in Israel in an Arab family,” adding, “It was an experience for me to wear the skullcap and go out into the street yesterday.” He said he filmed the attack “for the police and for the German people and even the world to see how terrible it is these days as a Jew to go through Berlin streets.”

For observers of Jewish life in Germany, the anti-Semitic attack on Armush came as no surprise. In 2016,

The response to the attack on Armush was a call for an anti-anti-Semitism protest. “Berlin wears the kippa” was the name of the feel-good rally on April 25 against Jew-hatred. It attracted some 2,000 people, according to press reports. The real number of attendees is believed to have been fewer than 1,500, in a city of 3.7 million. The demonstration took place under conditions that resembled those in a maximum-security prison.

A second protest against anti-Semitism in the largely Muslim neighborhood of Neukölln in Berlin had to be called off after a mere 20 minutes because of the anticipated violence of pro-Palestinian counter-demonstrators.

To put things in perspective, roughly 150,000 people marched in Berlin in 2015 against a planned free trade deal between the United States and Europe.

Germans frequently invoke the phrase “nip it in the bud” at Holocaust remembrance events when referring to anti-Semitism. Dead Jews trigger widespread commemoration events across the country, but the fight to stop anti-Semitism against living Jews limps—at best—on both legs. A detached observer might ask of modern Germany: Have we learned anything from the Holocaust?

The third example of the pernicious indifference to post-Holocaust anti-Semitism regards the annual al-Quds Day march in Berlin. Protesters took to the streets on June 9 in greater numbers than in previous years, to call for the destruction of the Jewish state, at the rally in the heart of the city’s bustling shopping district.

Police said that roughly 1,600 protesters turned out to urge the obliteration of Israel. The number of pro-Israel counter-protesters paled in comparison, totaling some several hundred. The commissioner from Berlin’s 10,000-member Jewish community responsible for combating anti-Semitism issued a public call for mobilization. Civil society, trade unions and the mainstream democratic parties ignored him.

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, created al-Quds Day in 1979, as a worldwide demonstration designed to negate Israel’s existence. The al-Quds Day rally in Berlin attracts a motley assortment of Hezbollah and Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) members, Iranian regime supporters, neo-Nazis, Islamists and run of the mill haters of the Jewish state.

There are 250 Hezbollah members in Berlin, according to the city’s domestic intelligence agency. Across the Federal Republic, a total of 950 Hezbollah operatives recruit members and raise funds for their lethally anti-Semitic activities. It is worth noting that Hezbollah

operatives blew up an Israeli tour bus in Burgas, Bulgaria in 2012, killing 5 Israelis and their Bulgarian Muslim bus driver. A total of 32 Israelis were injured in the terrorist attack.

Chancellor Merkel has ignored requests from President Barak Obama, President Donald Trump, the U.S. Congress and presidential candidate

Dead Jews trigger widespread commemoration events across the country, but the fight to stop anti-Semitism against living Jews limps...

Hillary Clinton to outlaw the entirety of the Lebanese terrorist organization in Germany. She refuses to fathom the dialectical interplay between Hezbollah-sponsored anti-Semitism in Germany and an acute increase in Jew-hatred in her country.

Germany, in sharp contrast to the the United States, the Arab League, the Netherlands and Canada, has classified only the Shi’ite Hezbollah’s so-called “military wing” as a terrorist organization.

The massive rise via migration in the number of Sunni-animated radicals also heightens the dangers for Germany’s Jews. According to statements from Germany’s interior ministry in April, the number of Salafists—members of hardcore Sunni extremist groups—in Germany has doubled since 2013. There are now 11,000 Salafists in the country—up from 5,500 in 2013, according to ministry records.

All of this helps to explain the entrenched—and rising—anti-Semitism in Germany. The stakes are high for the country’s small Jewish community of roughly 100,000.

Josef Schuster, the head of Germany’s Central Council of Jews, warned Jews, following the attack on Armush, “against showing themselves openly with a kippa in a big-city setting in Germany, and to wear a baseball cap or something else to

cover their head instead.”

Jews cannot appear in public without hiding their identity. As a result, they have been increasingly turning inward, to avoid conflict with German society over anti-Semitism and Israel. Most of Germany’s pre-Holocaust Jewish population immersed itself in “hyper-acculturation,” to use the phrase of

the Oxford University German studies professor, Ritchie Robertson. But, significant parts of the post-Holocaust community, which largely consists of Jews from the former Soviet Union, have engaged in hyper-isolation and a striking denial of the coming storm.

A *Wall Street Journal* exposé from April 3 on anti-Semitism merely scratched the surface of what is unfolding in German schools. A Jewish boy named Solomon, the paper reported, was forced to change schools after fellow students threatened to kill him. According to the report, “Solomon’s parents, who until recently hosted a Syrian refugee, took no action until their son came home with bruises.”

His transfer to a new school “changed little.” The *WSJ* reported that “a teacher said Solomon should try to avoid provoking the Palestinian student who was his most violent tormentor.”

In the same month as the report on Solomon, the 15-year-old German-Jewish student Liam Rückert told the Berlin newspaper *BZ* that he planned to relocate to Israel to continue his education, due to rampant, Muslim-animated hatred of Jews in the Berlin public school system.

“I want to go to a boarding school like my brother in Israel. I already visited him and he is doing well there,”



Demonstrators at the annual Al-Quds day march in Berlin. (Photo: Montecruz Foto)

Rückert said. His mother, Billy, is from Israel and taught her sons Hebrew.

The lack of political will—and the impotence of German security forces—to rope in the tsunami of anti-Semitism could result in more cases of aliyah from the country.

As Jews find it increasingly difficult to live with dignity in Germany, we may see a revival of interest in the thinking of the great Zionist leader Ze'ev Jabotinsky (1880-1940), whose clarion call for aliyah as an existential necessity proved prescient. Jabotinsky, who was filled with pessimism about the future of Diaspora Jewry, would not have surprised by the fragmented and anxiety-filled state of German Jewry today.

The sexual assault and murder of the 14-year-old German-Jewish girl Susanna Feldman on the night of May 22 was allegedly committed by the Iraqi migrant Ali Bashar. German police claimed that there was no evidence that Feldman's Jewish background played a role in the crime. Question marks are warranted over the police statement as well as regarding a stunning lack of robust German journalistic curiosity concerning anti-Semitic incidents.

And in Cologne, after a series of mass rapes and sustained sexual assaults

against women during New Year's 2015/2016 festivities, the authorities in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, where the city is located, described the celebrations as "peaceful."

The crimes of rape and sexual assault of women were not limited to Cologne during the New Year's period and were committed by men largely from Afghanistan and Arab countries.

Germany's woefully inadequate system for classifying anti-Semitic crimes is also cause for alarm. As anti-Semitism rises in the country, the authorities continue to classify Islamic-animus anti-Semitism as a "politically motivated right-wing extremist crime." A telling example, cited in *Die Welt*, was an outbreak of Hezbollah-related anti-Semitism that was registered

as right-wing extremism.

Supporters of the Hezbollah terrorist organization participated in an anti-Israel march during Operation Protective Edge in 2014. Twenty Hezbollah supporters yelled the Nazi slogan "Sieg Heil" (Hail Victory) at a group of pro-Israel activists in Berlin. The "Sieg Heil" call violates Germany's anti-hate law and was designated as a far-right extremist crime.

The result is German whitewashing of the leading cause of lethal anti-Semitism in Europe: *jihadi*-based eliminatory anti-Semitism.

The Holocaust survivor Charlotte Knobloch, who is head of Munich's Jewish community, said in 2017: "The Muslim associations have for decades not only done nothing [to combat anti-Semitism], rather they have allowed anti-Semitic hate preachers from Muslim countries to bring their anti-Jewish ideology into German mosques and into the heads of young Muslims."

Germany's tiny Jewish community—100,000 among a population of over 82 million in the Federal Republic—is in dire straits today and faces an increasingly precarious future. Chancellor

Germany's tiny Jewish community—100,000
among a population of over 82 million in the
Federal Republic—is in dire straits today and faces
an increasingly precarious future.

Merkel and mainstream German society would do well to remember the words of the British historian Sir Ian Kershaw: "The road to Auschwitz was built by hate but paved with indifference." Acute indifference is now the norm in Germany.

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The Italians

by **MICHAEL LEDEEN**

The Italians have stitched together yet another government, this one a left-right “contract” they call a yellow/green alliance. The two leading parties, The (formerly “Northern”) League and the Five Star Movement disagree about such basic issues as refugees, taxation, and whether Italy should stay in the eurozone. It is hard to imagine the government lasting very long, and already there is a high level of public conflict.

Most of the analyses miss the central point: Italian unification did not succeed, and today, as in the 19th century, it is fair to describe Italy as more “a geographic expression” than a country whose residents have a strong sense of national identity. Thus, regional and civic conflicts typically overwhelm efforts to make national policy, and federal governments are inherently unstable.

Italy was formed in the middle of the 19th century, under the auspices of the King of Piedmont/Savoy and his brilliant counselor Camillo Cavour. It was a hodge-podge of governing systems and cultures, since component parts had been under French, Austro-Hungarian and Spanish rule for centuries.

Ten years later, in 1870, the Papal States were added. Naples and Sicily—also known as the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies—were conquered. But they did not ever truly assimilate. We can see this simply by traveling from north to south. Everybody speaks basic Italian; however, Neapolitans speak their own dialect and Sicilians often communicate in a distinctly separate language. I wrote a book about Naples trying to explain its uniqueness, and others have done the same for places like Florence and Venice.

Insofar as there has been real national unity, it was imposed, first by Benito Mussolini who made extensive use of national radio broadcasts, and then by the U.S. Army, which fought the Nazis from Sicily to Milan. There are still several American military bases in Italy, from north to south.

When I first went to Italy in the mid-1960s, it was widely expected that the dialects would die out. This does not seem to have occurred, although common Italian does dominate mass communications, whether printed or broadcast. Nonetheless, the divisions remain strong, in some ways dominant.

If you ask a Tuscan where Africa

starts, he will tell you “just north of Rome.” If you ask a Roman, he will answer “just north of Naples.” A Neapolitan might well tell you “right here.” And laugh.

The north-south divide is the most powerful one. Northerners love to observe that the south has received lots of aid, from the central government, from the EU, and from the United Nations. It is still impoverished. On the other hand, the Veneto has received no aid, and is one of the richest regions in Europe, even though it hasn’t much in the way of natural resources. Well, sure, once you understand that the north has a tradition of wealth creation, while that function in the south is monopolized by organized criminals. And while the legendary southern mafias are now global bands, they don’t get as much popular support in the north.

So, don’t think “Italy.” Think in terms of a variegated land where different cultures more or less get along, but policy centers around the regions, not Rome.

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The Vittoriano in Rome, honoring King Victor Emmanuel and the unification of Italy. (Photo: Blue Planet Studio)

Natural Gas: What it Means for Israel and Europe

by **NORMAN A. BAILEY**

Editors Note: Israel is not part of Europe, the theme of this issue of inFOCUS. But Israel's trade, political and social relations to the continent are central to its thinking – and to that of Europe. As European countries – particularly Poland and Ukraine – worry about their reliance on Russian gas during frigid winters, Israel has forged an energy future that may challenge Russian leverage over European policy.

Amidst the almost unbroken gloom and doom (mostly well-justified) about just about everything in our fracturing world it is a pleasure, for a change, to write about a development that is almost entirely good news. Israel, for the first 50 years of its existence, was almost totally devoid of natural resources, with the exception of some potash exports from the Dead Sea area. This was the basis of the joke that God promised the Israelites that he would lead them to a land of milk and honey, but he neglected to mention that all the oil and gas would go to others.

Finally, in 1999, Noble Energy of the United States and the Delek Group of Israel began to plan and then carry out exploration and development of natural gas reserves off the coast of Israel. Ten years later the Tamar commercially-viable gas field was discovered and development began. Two years later the massive Leviathan field was also discovered and is now in the course of development. Other large fields have in the meantime been identified in Cypriot, Lebanese and Egyptian waters.

Having no experience with natural resource development, both the legal and regulatory structure of Israel was unprepared for the discovery of a major resource off-shore. This led to several delays while commissions were formed and prepared their reports, political considerations were dealt with and a concerted effort on the part of environmental groups in league with certain Is-

raeli industry, commerce and agriculture are now powered primarily by gas. Unlike coal, the importation of which will be almost entirely eliminated, petroleum and its derivatives will still be required for the vehicle fleet, although commercial and public vehicles are being converted to gas and in future a larger percentage of private cars will be electric or hybrid.

...Russia is engaged in its own long-term strategy of turning the Black Sea into a Russian lake and penetrating the Middle East through Syria...

raeli officials to stop the development of Leviathan was finally overcome.

Now that gas is flowing from Tamar and will soon be flowing from Leviathan, it is time to step back and assess what all of this means for Israel in particular and the Middle East in general, as well as the significance for natural gas producers and consumers outside the region.

■ **The Internal Market**

The discovery and exploration of natural gas in the waters off the coast of Israel is an unmitigated bonanza for Israel itself. Israel is as of now self-sufficient in natural gas and as a result correspondingly less dependent on outside energy sources. Seventy percent of Israel's electricity is now produced using gas and that figure will soon be 100

percent. Israeli industry, commerce and agriculture are now powered primarily by gas. Unlike coal, the importation of which will be almost entirely eliminated, petroleum and its derivatives will still be required for the vehicle fleet, although commercial and public vehicles are being converted to gas and in future a larger percentage of private cars will be electric or hybrid. It is estimated that over the life of the fields the state of Israel will receive about \$20 billion in taxes and royalties, save \$9 billion that would otherwise have been spent on more expensive fuels and \$2.8 billion dollars in reduced pollution costs due to decreased air pollution because of the switch to less-polluting gas from coal and petroleum. In the five years since Tamar went on line, there has been a reduction in air pollution of 48 percent. Partially as a result of the natural gas development Israel is now running a comfortable budget surplus.

■ **The External Market**

In 2014 and 2016 Israel signed gas supply agreements with Jordan involving export earnings of \$10.5 billion and earlier this year a \$15 billion deal to supply



A Noble Energy drilling rig in the Tamar gas field off the coast of Israel. (Photo: Noble Energy)

Egypt. To go with its budget surplus Israel now has an equally comfortable trade surplus. Jordan and Egypt, of course, are the two Arab countries which have diplomatic relations with Israel and the gas deals enhance the relationships with both countries. In addition, plans are in discussion to expand gas sales to other countries, such as Turkey and Greece, as well as to join with Cyprus (which has a large gas field called Aphrodite in its territorial waters) in selling gas farther west in Europe. This development, in addition to the new North American gas surplus, will be significant in substituting for Russian and Qatari supplies. To the extent that eastern Mediterranean gas can substitute for Russian gas, Russian leverage on the European gas-importing countries will be lessened accordingly.

■ **Geopolitical Considerations**

With the reduction of the prices of oil and gas in recent years, primarily due to technological developments (“fracking”) leading to massive increases in production in the United States and Canada as well as elsewhere, the export earnings of most of the OPEC states (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) as well as Russia have decreased substantially. Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) are responding by attempting to liberalize their economies and diversify their sources of income. Russia, on the contrary, is moving in the opposite direction; that is, toward greater central control of the economy, and is not anxious to expose its political system to outside influences through economic or political liberalization.

Substantial additions to the international supply of natural gas and gas liquids from the eastern Mediterranean will add to all these pressures. Whereas Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Bahrain and Egypt have formed a front against Iran and its Gulf ally Qatar, bringing them ever-closer to Israel politically and militarily, Russia is engaged in its own long-term strategy of turning the Black Sea into a Russian lake and penetrating the Middle East through Syria, by building naval and air bases on the Syrian coast and supporting the beleaguered Bashar al-Assad regime. All this along with continuous displays of military strength and in the case of Ukraine and Georgia actual armed conflict, all along its borders with eastern Europe and the Baltic Sea, are very expensive. The continuation of increasing production of

oil and gas worldwide cannot be viewed by the Kremlin with anything other than concern.

■ **Negative Factors**

Unfortunately, few things in life are entirely positive, or at least, without possible risks. Russian concern, as mentioned above, is one factor that in future may bring Israel and Russia into conflict, although to date, the Israeli government has handled the relationship with great skill. In addition, there is always the possibility of an accident affect the drilling rigs, production facilities and pipelines off and on shore. Although every possible preventive measure has been taken, complete assurance of safety is never possible, whether a fire in an offshore facility, a sudden surge of gas flow leading to a pipeline rupture, a ship colliding with a drilling rig, or other eventuality.

The continuation of increasing production of oil and gas worldwide cannot be viewed by the Kremlin with anything other than concern.

Finally, if Israel is forced into a war with Iran or with a terrorist organization such as Hezbollah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, al-Qaida or ISIS, both offshore and onshore facilities are at risk, including all offshore platforms. This obvious risk has caused the Israeli government to devote much greater resources to the Israeli Defense Force's navy, traditionally the poor cousin of the Israeli military branches. It has also resulted in a decision to station future offshore facilities closer to shore so they can be more effectively defended, and that, in turn, has caused a new outbreak of concern and anti-gas agitation on the part of Israeli environmental organizations.

■ **Sovereign Wealth**

The Israeli government, in the face of the natural gas bonanza, has decided to create a sovereign wealth fund in which

to place the surplus earnings it is now receiving and will be receiving in future. At this point the use of the fund is not clear. In other countries, these accounts have been regularly pillaged to cover current expenses, white elephant projects or simple corruption. In other cases, especially Norway, sovereign wealth funds have been efficiently and honestly administered and serve as a formidable barrier to economic downturns.

For many years, Chile had a sovereign wealth fund into which excess earnings from copper exports were placed and which served to partially fund the Chilean armed forces, relieving the pressure on the regular budget. Israel might do well to decide to dedicate some percentage of the gas fund to the Israel Defense Forces and Border Police, since defense and security expenditures are a very large portion of the state budget.

Another possible use of some por-

tion of the gas fund might be the initial capital funding of community investment corporations or funds, established on a geographic basis (cities, regions, etc.) or on a social basis (minorities or other groups), thereby alleviating the growing concentration of wealth which plagues almost all the Western world (and not only the West) currently and which has been the source of much angst and soul-searching on the part of economists and political activists, as well as governments and civil society.

Whatever the final decisions are with reference to the use of the gas revenues they will be central to the economic, social and political directions in which Israeli society will move in the future. As with any sudden access of wealth, what is now an unmixed blessing can turn into a curse. Excessive dependence on gas earnings, however, is very

unlikely since Israel had many decades to turn itself into a scientific and technological powerhouse, leading to massive inward investment and equally impressive export growth having nothing to do with any natural resources.

A vigilant central bank and the sterilization of excess earnings in a sovereign wealth fund should lay to rest initial worries about any inflationary effects from the gas bonanza. In fact, since the gas began to flow, Israeli inflation has stayed very modest. Meanwhile, the country has also avoided the deflationary pressures until recently affecting many other countries following the economic crisis of 2008-2009.

■ **Final Considerations**

Once energy needs and immediate budgetary requirements are fully satisfied by existing and prospective earnings from natural gas, the country must make crucial decisions about covering defense and security needs as well as the most appropriate distribution of the new wealth of the commonwealth among its members. On this, as well as other factors, the future of the country depends. Can it rise to the challenge? Without question. Will it? That remains to be seen.

Israel is a huge economic, financial, scientific and technological success, lifting itself up from its earliest days of deprivation, attacked by seemingly overwhelming forces and triumphing against all odds; surviving very serious foreign and domestic policy mistakes, and plagued by religious and ethnic conflicts. This miraculous country is saddled with a dysfunctional political system that often makes bad decisions for equally bad reasons but seems somehow to end up on the right side of history. The future is the one thing we can know nothing about. What we do know is that if it is faced with courage and wisdom, tomorrow will be better than today.

NORMAN A. BAILEY, *Ph.D., teaches economic statecraft at The Institute of World Politics.*

“Widespread Self-Righteousness”

review by SHOSHANA BRYEN

What happened to the Europe Americans loved to love? Ancient and modern, “like us” but not too much, clean, good food, low-crime, democratic, and friendly. Was it ever so? Was that view from Sorrento a scrim to cover something much less inviting? Was the post-WWII period just an interlude in a longer history that, while having aspects to recommend it, is also non-democratic, rabidly nationalistic, anti-Semitic, and intolerant of opposing views?

And most important, is there something called “Europe” at all, or is the divide between the United Kingdom and Ukraine not only less manageable than that between Texas and California, but also fundamentally different? Are the historic and cultural differences between Greece, the United Kingdom, Germany, and Ukraine so great as to preclude their being in the same Euro-structure? Are European institutions a way of suppressing not only dangerous forms of nationalism – which most Europhiles accept as the price of two World Wars and a lot of other violence – but also a way of suppressing all political thought to the right of the far left? What made the European left so a) self-righteous and b) powerful?

And what, if anything, can be done to bolster the “better nature” of Europe in the 21st century?

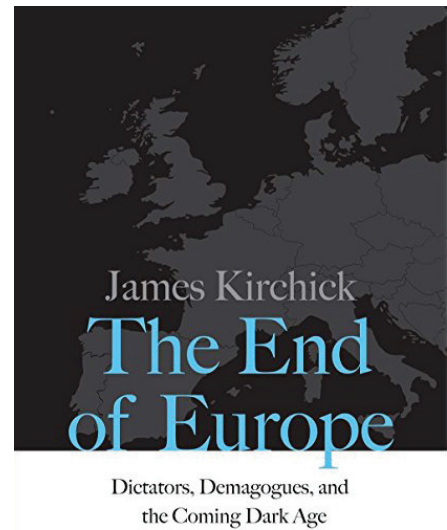
These are only some of the questions implied by James Kirchick’s ultimately disappointing *The End of Europe*. Unfortunately, he doesn’t raise them, he doesn’t answer them, and his cure for the “coming dark age” appears to be more of the disease. A prolific writer, Kirchick is a visiting scholar at The

Brookings Institution, a columnist for *Tablet Magazine*, and has appeared in the *LA Times*, *The Washington Post*, *POLITICO* and more.

Kirchick loves Europe – at least the Europe that used to be, in his view – and fears it is gone. But maybe the post-War version was only a blip, fashioned of American money and military protection, war weariness and war wariness, and bolstered by the explosion of enthusiasm that greeted the fall of the Soviet Union. Maybe Europe is returning to roots that are less salutary, but no less real.

The book chapters cover Russia, France, Hungary, Ukraine, Greece, and Germany plus the European Union (EU). Thematically, it spans immigration and assimilation, Russian meddling, left- and right-wing nationalism, economics, anti-Semitism, and “group think.” Some of the themes pass through countries. Russia’s understanding of its role as protector of Russians “abroad” and almost paranoid fear of the West is a strong element in German and Ukrainian politics. Hungarian nationalism – both the respectable sort that manifests itself as patriotism and the disreputable sort that downplays the role of Hungarians during the Holocaust as well as current manifestations of anti-Semitism – looks a little bit like Ukrainian nationalism. But oddly, Kirchick finds no anti-Semitism worth mentioning in the latter. He might check the new monuments to pogromist Symon Petliura and Nazi-collaborator Stepan Bandura. Or the sign pointing Babi Yar visitors to the grave of Ivan Rohach.

He worries that some of the formerly Soviet-occupied countries don’t have



**The End of Europe:
Dictators, Demagogues,
and the Coming Dark Age**

James Kirchick

enough depth to remain true democracies. In the Hungary chapter, he writes,

A key feature in distinguishing real democracies from ones that exist solely on paper is respect for the culture and spirit of democracy, a quality defined, in the truest sense of the word, as “liberalism” ...Democracy, in other words, needs democrats, and it’s these that Hungary lacks, beginning with the prime minister.

On the other hand, he credits Ukraine with a deep internal longing for democracy and liberalism.

Many [in Europe] see the EU flag as a symbol of bureaucratic oppression, a trapping of Brussels’ ‘imperialism’ and strangulation of national sovereignty. To Ukrainians, this simple standard...is an aspiration, an icon of grand ideals such as individual rights, the rule of law, economic prosperity and political freedom...

Whatever Ukraine’s historic plus points are, rule of law and political freedom have never been among them. Ukraine was number 130 out of 176 countries in Transparency International’s corruption index for 2017. At least Hungary had an uprising. But the truth is that neither has a history of democratic governance and it may simply be too much to expect them – or others – to develop one in the 25-plus years since their liberation from communism.

Or develop one ever.

If a region’s history is kings, strongmen, armies, changing borders and never actually ending wars, the idea that the late 20th century’s European borders are the final incarnation of countries may be unacceptable to its member states. (See Serbia and the Battle of Kosovo Polje, which started in the 14th century and had ripples in the 20th.) Hungary and Russia certainly believe in 21st century border changes, but so do Catalan, Flemish, and Basque separatists, revanchist

Muslims who covet Andalusia, and some Alsations.

The chapter on France is interesting. Kirchick accurately describes the current situation of French Jews in a country where Muslims have terrified the authorities. But while attaching Hungary’s current government to its WWII past with Gorilla Glue, not permitting Budapest to get away with, “It wasn’t us, it was the Nazis,” Kirchick has not a word for French governments that refused to take responsibility for the Velodrome D’Hiver until 1995. “It wasn’t us, it was the Nazis.”

Immigrants are a second major theme – as Europeans, particularly Germans, first considered the flood of Syrian and African migrants not to be a problem in the scheme of wealthy European socialism. This was accompanied by the idea that the wealthy, white West had an obligation to the poor and the dark – and specifically Germany had an obligation to “the other” in light of its past. No, that’s not a nice thought but it was their thought. As migrants became a social/cultural issue, Kirchick sees the left-wing response in Europe stoking inevitable nationalist sentiments. The strength of left-wing censorship of dissenting views on immigration pushed many center-left-to-center-right voters farther right than they might otherwise have gone.

For decades, Sweden’s open-door policy to refugees, economic migrants and asylum seekers...was politically untouchable, unanimously accepted by the country’s ruling parties, and rigidly protected from criticism by a media and societal elite that forbade even the slightest dissent.

“Liberal opinion has, for more than two decades, maintained that most Muslims are just like everyone else, but with more modest dress sense and more luxuriant facial hair; any differences would fade with time and contact,” former chair of the UK Equality and Human Rights Commission

Trevor Phillips wrote. “I too thought that Europe’s Muslims would become like the previous waves of migrants...I should have known better.”

In the UK, liberal snobbery and the iron fist with which dissenters were punished is well-documented – even before Tommy Robinson went to prison:

Labour MK Gordon Brown was overheard calling a lifelong Labour voter a “bigoted woman” after she challenged him about European immigration. “The salt of the earth were treated as the scum of the earth and unsurprisingly, they wouldn’t stand for it,” James Bloodworth...observed. Had (Jack) Straw and his colleagues adopted a more prudent position and listened sympathetically to the Labour base instead of reflexively scorning its apprehensions as inherently racist, they could have avoided more than merely red faces.

Events move so quickly that *The End of Europe* finds itself outdated when Kirchick writes, “MP John Cruddas...concluded that Labour is “becoming a toxic brand.” In the spring of 2018, it completed the process, with Party leader Jeremy Corbyn openly touting his friends in Hamas and Hezbollah.

This juxtaposition of a “democracy deficit” and a left-wing hammer on unacceptable political positions raises yet another question. If the best European (or American) politics are played between the 40-yard lines – and Kirchick refers to the German center-left/center-right coalitions – what are “moderates” supposed to do when their center is gone and the left looks increasingly harsh and determined to impose social or economic policies inimical to the old patriotic center? The answer is that voters move right, hoping the right-wing parties they choose won’t go “too far.”

The chapter on the EU is noteworthy in that regard. European institutions emerged from WWII in large measure

to ensure that German nationalism would remain under control. It didn't. It may have been eliminated at the highest levels of government but Nazi overtones remain at the lowest levels of politics.

In the Conclusion, Kirchick appears

Hardly likely. And in what might be an admission – though he doesn't say so – Kirchick finally gets to the point that Europe's late 20th century liberal structure came from the United States, not from some internal democratic gushing stream.

So, what is left is for the Europeans to do it themselves with a “muscular liberal center” – though Kirchick has given no evidence of its existence – “that is as proud of a hirsute diva as it is willing to use force to defend itself, as welcoming of Muslim refugees as it is unyielding in defense of the values it insists they adopt, and as devoted to the social welfare state as it is committed to private entrepreneurship.”

In other words, more “Europe” and more pan-European institutions, more liberal Social Democrats. More “insisting.” OK. But nowhere prior to this last paragraph of the book has he suggested that those people exist or that they have the ability or will to insist on anything.

The real conclusion, then, is that *The End of Europe* may, in fact, show you how the end of Europe will emerge. It will make you sad for what you knew Europe to be once and angry for the self-destructive policies European governments are pushing as they move toward their own demise. Kirchick's prescription may just get them there faster.

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...maybe the post-War version [of Europe] was only a blip, fashioned of American money and military protection, war weariness and war wariness...

to believe that Europe has a lousy history (“arbitrary rulers who led their peoples into wars of aggression and genocide over matters like religion or family honor”) that can only be tamed by subsuming their nations into an amorphous “European” identity (“Europeans have enjoyed far greater rights and freedoms while living under some form of supranational EU authority than they have at any other point in history.”) The diagnosis may be correct, but the medicine he offers entails EU intervention in Hungary and Greece; and voluntary Muslim adoption of “Europe's post-Holocaust commitment to sustaining Jewish communities and recognizing Israel's legitimacy.”

Twice, American presidents intervened in the continent's wars. Hundreds of thousands of young men from California to Maine gave their lives to defeat fascism in Europe; millions served under arms to stop the advance of communism. A continent composed of peaceful economically prosperous democracies – rebuilt by Marshall Plan aid and protected by the U.S. military – is America's greatest gift to the world.

Yes. It is. But the U.S. has neither the will nor the power to do it for them again.

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■ *A Final Thought ...*

“Never Again” in Syria?

“Never Again” was a rallying cry for Jews after the Holocaust. Never again would Jews be defenseless – force-marched, starved, and gassed, waiting to be rescued by an indifferent world.

It worked out pretty much that way.

But what happens when it happens in Syria?

The Syrian military under the protection of Russian air cover has dropped weaponized chlorine on civilians in various Sunni areas of Syria. Secretary of Defense James Mattis laid blame on both, saying, “Either Russia is incompetent or in cahoots with Assad.”

The UN called starvation in Syria a war crime as early as 2016.

Iran is not using cattle cars, but it is assuredly committed to forcible removal of the Sunni center of Syria and transferring Shiites in behind them. More than five million Syrian have left the country and another six million are internal refugees with Iran directing traffic.

American sources put the number of Iranian-commanded Shiite militia members at more than 80,000; Israeli sources say that includes some 10,000 “violent Shia militias recruited from across the Mideast, including Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan.” The rest are Syrian – presumably Shiite. Iran controls more troops inside Syria than the

Assad government. The Iranians plan to stay; what about their mercenary armies? Where else would they go? Iran has been dragooning Afghans and Pakistani refugees in Iran into the militias, and “offered financial incentives... to encourage them to join pro-Syrian government militias.” This is a violation of their refugee status.

So where would they “go back” to? Leaving them in Syria, commanded by Iranian officers, would leave a Shiite mass in a foreign place. If Iran decided to “reunite” them with their families, it would constitute a forcible transfer of population in the multi-tens of thousands.

Former foreign minister Ali Akbar Velayati has called for a long-term Iranian military presence in Syria and Iraq. “If Iran is not present, no country can be the standard-bearer and guarantor of stability in the region.”

Responding to its own security requirements, but also cognizant of the weight of history, the Israeli government has said Israel will not permit Iranian/Shiite entrenchment. The United States should join Israel in that determination – not because we need to determine whether Bashar Assad stays or goes, but to fulfill the promise embedded in “Never Again.”

– Shoshana Bryen
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